

# THE Ukrainian Weekly

Published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a fraternal non-profit association

Vol. LXI

No. 26

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

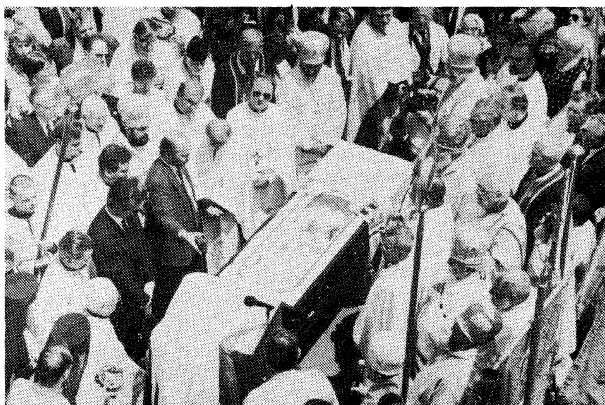
SUNDAY, JUNE 27, 1993

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## Thousands mourn patriarch

As church bells tolled mournfully on Wednesday, June 23, 2,000 mourners came to pay their last respects to His Holiness Mstyslav I, patriarch of Kyiv and all Ukraine. In all, some 3,000 clergy and laity attended the three days of patriarchal funeral rites on June 21-23 at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church Center in South Bound Brook, N.J. Among them were hierarchs and clergy of Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in the U.S., Canada, Ukraine, England, Western Europe, South America and Australia, the Ukrainian Catholic Church, as well as the Belarusian, Greek, Carpatho-Russian and Serbian Orthodox Churches. In the photo on the left, mourners surround St. Andrew's Memorial Church; below, hierarchs and clergy are seen gathered around the glass-covered coffin of the patriarch during the outdoor panakhida after the archpastoral liturgy inside the church. Later, the patriarch's body was entombed inside the memorial church's crypt. A tryzna, or memorial repast, concluded the services. (A complete report on the patriarchal funeral rites will appear in next week's issue.)



## Clinton plans merger of RFE/RL, VOA

### RL Ukrainian archive future now uncertain

by Roman Woronowycz

JERSEY CITY N.J. — President Bill Clinton proposed on June 22 a new idea for consolidating the two international broadcast agencies funded by the United States, after months of rehashing a plan to eliminate RFE/RL that found little support in Congress. Where this leaves the proposed Ukrainian archives of the radios' Research Institute remains uncertain.

The future of RFE/RL has been in doubt since March of this year when Bill Clinton's newly released budget proposed that the surrogate news service budget be eliminated by 1995. The administration, however, did not foresee the large support for the radios in Congress, amongst diplomats and academics.

The newest iteration of the Clinton administration's vision for international

broadcasts to the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe calls for RFE/RL and the Voice of America (VOA) to be reorganized under a new Board of Governors for Broadcasting. Bob Maher, public affairs director for the Board for International Broadcasting (BIB), which has overseen the workings of RFE/RL since 1973, said this will allow the agencies to eliminate duplication of administrative and transmission operations.

Also marked for a shearing, according to a New York Times news report of June 14, is the \$20 million budget of the invaluable collection of documents of Soviet-era newspapers, official documents, and underground samizdat, the largest in the Western world, held in RFE/RL's Research Institute.

Mr. Maher said that although the details of the specific cuts have not been worked out, the future of the archives is assured. "The value of the archives has been agreed upon," he said. In fact, at a

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## Kuchma unveils new measures to speed market-oriented reform

by Marta Kolomayets

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — With a sense of urgency in his voice, Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma unveiled a more detailed, improved economic program, designed to set reforms in this nation on a market-oriented course.

Mr. Kuchma's 20-minute address to the Parliament on Wednesday afternoon, June 23, came after a turbulent week of power struggles between the prime minister and President Leonid Kravchuk, which had elements of political intrigue reminiscent of a Tom Wolfe best-seller.

His proposals came after a 10-day miners' strike in the Donbas region, which threatened Ukraine's economy with total collapse and deepened the political strife between Ukraine's two leaders.

"I never supported the miners' strike, but I now view this strike as a catalyst

that helped solve long-neglected issues," the prime minister told the lawmakers.

In his five-point program, Mr. Kuchma said that to lead the country toward a free-market system, the government would have to take the following actions immediately:

- establish an income tax system, including a value-added tax of 20 percent, and review the entire tax situation;
- reach a political accord with Russia, which would include a moratorium on energy prices;
- immediately transform state enterprises into corporations and give shares to the populace;
- force small and medium privatization; and
- promote export of Ukrainian products.

In more detail, he explained other aspects of his proposal, including securing foreign credits to buy energy and

(Continued on page 5)

## DEVELOPMENTS IN UKRAINE

**New interpretations of history**

by Dr. David R. Marples  
Special to RFE/RL Research Institute

## CONCLUSION

## Western Influences

Important as these new publications are, it is unclear whether their appearance has significantly changed the Western view of modern Ukrainian history. In contrast to the copious historical literature on Russia, there has been a relative dearth of English-language monographs on certain topics in Ukrainian history. This lack of coverage applies less to such topics as the Ukrainian Revolution or the dissident movement of the 1960s and 1970s than to domestic politics and social upheavals.

Thus, the first major Western history of the Ukrainian famine of 1932-1933 was published only in 1986;<sup>11</sup> there is as yet no comprehensive Western monograph on the climactic years of World War II in Ukraine;<sup>12</sup> and not a single party leader of Ukraine has been the subject of a serious academic biography.

***It might be more beneficial for Ukrainian historians to analyze the nature of the Stalinist system in its Ukrainian variant. Did Stalin, for example, have particular plans for Ukraine that differed from those for other regions? Did Nikita Khrushchev's leadership, which ran Ukraine for most of the postwar years of Stalin's rule, adopt an independent line on any issues?***

My own study of collectivization in Western Ukraine in the 1940s was an attempt to fill a similar Void.<sup>13</sup> Historians of Ukraine had to wait until 1988 for the appearance of a credible monograph covering the entire history of the country from the 10th century to the present.<sup>14</sup>

In short, the study of contemporary Ukrainian history in the West, if not in its infancy, can hardly be said to have reached an advanced stage.

Moreover, Western perceptions of Ukraine have inevitably been shaped by the presence of a generation of Ukrainians whose formative experience was the wartime years. Generally speaking, this experience was far from a happy one as Ukraine passed from one occupier to another. Those Ukrainians who left Ukraine in the wake of the German Army found that their anti-Soviet attitudes made them virtual outcasts in their new host countries. Even at the height of the Cold War and McCarthyism, when anti-Sovietism was acceptable, Ukrainian emigres were often dismissed as extremists by the Western scholarly community. Nevertheless, the emergence of this tightly knit group in the West was to have major ramifications for the study of contemporary Ukrainian history.

The postwar emigres came, by and large, from nationally conscious Western Ukraine; and even in emigration, their loyalties lay with their pre-war associations and groups.<sup>15</sup> As a result, much of the literature produced by these groups focused on the history of the wartime period, or the 1930s under Polish rule.

One consequence of the emigre influence on Ukrainian historiography (magnified by the new emphasis on citing emigre works in historical articles) has

been a one-side examination of Ukraine in the modern period. Western Ukraine, which even today is the catalyst of the more radical currents in Ukrainian politics, has received attention out of proportion to its relatively small size. By contrast, the heavily industrialized, Russophone east and south are featured only in the most rigidly orthodox and narrow Soviet accounts. This flaw is typical of the literature on 20th century Ukrainian history produced over the past two years.

Thus, the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) have been featured extensively in official and unofficial publications as the backbone of resistance to Stalinist rule in Ukraine. Statues of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the more militant wing of the OUN, have been erected, and he is widely regarded as a national hero. Indeed, visitors to Kyiv are often inundated with publications about Bandera from the vendors in the subways beneath the Khreshchatyk (the capital's main avenue).<sup>16</sup> There is thus a danger that the history of contemporary Ukraine will be written purely

from a Galician perspective.

## The Shadow of Stalinism

And what of interpretations of Stalinism, the most comprehensively

(Continued on page 12)

<sup>11</sup> Robert Conquest, "The Harvest of Sorrow" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> I am excluding here the now dated study by Thor Kamenetsky, "Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine: A Study of Totalitarian Imperialism" (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1956).

<sup>13</sup> David R. Marples, "Stalinism in Ukraine in the 1940s" (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martin's, 1992).

<sup>14</sup> Orest Subtelny, "Ukraine: A History" (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988). This work superseded the only previous and somewhat flawed complete history by Dmytro Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian History" (edited, updated, and with an introduction by Oleh W. Geras) (Winnipeg: Humeniuk Publication Foundation, 1975).

<sup>15</sup> On this question, see the comments by I. L. Rudnytsky in the introduction to his book "Rethinking Ukrainian History" (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981), p. ix. A Kyiv historian has noted that Stalin provoked a fratricidal war in the 1940s between the OUN-UPA and the Ukrainian troops conscripted to fight it. As a result, he states, contemporary publications on the history of the OUN-UPA have been characterized by "extreme political polarization." See S.V. Kulchytsky, "History and Time. Reflections of a Historian," *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, No. 4, 1992, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Many of these typewritten brochures have been produced by political parties. See, for example, the journal of the Cherniv branch of the Ukrainian Republican Party (Volyn, No. 2, August-September 1990), which contains extracts from an article on the life of Stepan Bandera.

**Newsbriefs on Ukraine****Rukh to oppose governing structures**

KYYIV — Vyacheslav Chornovil, leader of Rukh, released a statement here on June 2 declaring his party's new policy of opposition to all government structures. The move came after the Parliament refused to grant additional powers to the president and the government. Rukh's statement said it "believes that construction of alternative programs and formulation of alternative state institutions on the basis of statehood and democracy are crucial and unavoidable." The statement criticized the lack of concrete action on radical economic and social reform proposals, the growth of corruption and the steep drop in living standards. It emphasized that Rukh's support for Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma's government had been based on hopes for reforms, heretofore unrealized. The government's inability to activate reforms stems from the intransigence of the Parliament. The statement also criticized president Leonid Kravchuk for failing to use his powers effectively, for a lack of principles and for an undesirably strong tendency towards political compromises. Rukh's leaders believe all this is threatening Ukraine's economy, society and her political independence. (Respublika)

**Zaporizhzhia N-plant leaks contaminants**

KYYIV — The largest nuclear power station in Europe, the Zaporizhzhia plant in central Ukraine, leaked contaminated water into "a five-meter radius outside the reactor" on June 15, according to a plant spokeswoman, Tatiana Dehtiar. Ms. Dehtiar spoke to a Reuters reporter by telephone, and admitted that water used to clean the reactor had seeped through two containment walls, and had overflowed because of blocked drainage pipes.

This is the third incident at the station in two months. In late May, a workman died in an explosion and fire set off when he mistakenly began dismantling an active hydrogen pipe. A week later, a technical error shut down one of the plant's five 1,000-megawatt water-cooled reactors.

Morale at the plant is low because of low pay. Monthly wages of 36,000 kbp a month (about \$12) are up to 10 times lower than those of coal miners, who just

ended a strike for higher salaries. The item quoted Mykola Oberkovych, head of the station's information department, as saying that "if nuclear power workers went on strike, it would mean the entire collapse of industry." Mr. Oberkovych added, "Zaporizhzhia is still working, and one of every eight lightbulbs in Ukraine depends on its power." (Reuters)

**Chornobyl fallout still in Alp's snow**

PARIS — Seven years after the explosion at the Chornobyl nuclear power station, Jean Francis Penglot of the National Center for Scientific Research in Grenoble, France, delivered a report on June 16 asserting that radioactive fallout has been found under 66 feet of snow atop Mont Blanc, the highest peak in Europe. Mr. Penglot's research team found traces of Cesium 137 from the Chornobyl plant in snow taken the previous week near the mountain's 15,770-foot summit in the French Alps. Mr. Penglot also said that fallout alighting below the snow line had long been washed into rivers, but that it would take much longer for radioactive particles caught in snow to slide down along with slow-flowing glaciers. The Grenoble team also said that the level of radioactivity was only marginally lower than the 10 bequerels per 2.2 pound of snow recorded just after the disaster in Ukraine. (Reuters)

**CIS joint military command dissolved**

MOSCOW — According to Western and Russian news agency reports, defense ministers from various CIS countries suddenly decided to dissolve the joint CIS military command. The abrupt decision was made at a meeting here on June 15, as efforts aimed at maintaining a unified defense structure seemed headed for an impasse. In the interim, the existing command will apparently be replaced by a "joint staff for coordinating military cooperation" between CIS states, headed by the current main staff chief, Russian Col. Gen. Viktor Samsonov. The CIS joint command was the direct successor to the USSR's Ministry of Defense. The decision to disband it appears to mark the final burial of that institution. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

**THE Ukrainian Weekly**

FOUNDED 1933

An English-language newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a non-profit association, at 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

Second-class postage paid at Jersey City, N.J. 07302.  
(ISSN — 0273-9348)

Yearly subscription rate: \$20; for UNA members — \$10.  
Also published by the UNA: Svoboda, a Ukrainian-language daily newspaper.

The Weekly and Svoboda:  
(201) 434-0237, -0807, -3036

UNA:  
(201) 451-2200

Postmaster, send address changes to:  
The Ukrainian Weekly  
P.O. Box 346  
Jersey City, N.J. 07303

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The Ukrainian Weekly, June 27, 1993, No. 26, Vol. LX  
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## State Department won't confirm information on Popadiuk's successor

by Roman Woronowicz

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — United States Ambassador to Ukraine Roman Popadiuk will soon leave his post to be replaced by an as yet unnamed Clinton administration appointee, a State Department official confirmed on April 22.

The official said that the Clinton administration is systematically replacing and appointing ambassadors "in the normal context of a new administration making new appointments."

Mr. Popadiuk was named the first ambassador to Ukraine in December 1991 by the Republican administration of George Bush soon after Ukraine voted for independence.

The State Department would not comment on rumors floating in the Ukrainian American community that William G. Miller, president of the Committee on American-Russian Relations, was to be appointed to replace Mr. Popadiuk.

The committee over which Mr. Miller presides is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit, educational institution established to strengthen American understanding of the new relationship between the U.S. and Russia.

The committee's statement of purpose reads: "The committee is concerned about the continuing economic and social distress in Russia. The committee believes that the U.S. government must, in the United States' interest, pursue policies that will help to alleviate the economic crisis in Russia, thereby helping to lay the foundations of economic stability required for the development and maintenance of a democratic civil society."

In declining at present to announce a new nominee, the State Department said only that it is administration policy not to release names of ambassadorial appointees until the person selected is officially presented to the public.

## House passes foreign aid bill allocating \$2.5 billion for NIS

UNA Press Service

WASHINGTON — In an unusual move, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a two foreign aid bills in two days. On June 16, the House passed \$9.3 billion foreign aid authorization bill (H.R. 2404) by voice vote. The following day, the House approved the \$13 billion appropriations bill (H.R. 2295) by a vote of 309-111. The bills contained authorization and appropriation of \$2.5 billion of aid for the newly independent states (NIS) of the former Soviet Union.

The report of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs which accompanied the authorization bill stated:

"The committee believes that the United States must actively assist democratic and economic reform in Russia, Ukraine and other former Soviet republics. However, while assistance to Russia should remain the central focus of U.S. policy, the United States and the G-7 nations cannot overlook other new independent states, in particular Ukraine, that have enormous economic and political needs and are also important to U.S. security interests.

"The United States must make a greater effort to treat Ukraine as a separate and important entity. The U.S. must initiate a larger, more effective assistance program for Ukraine that promotes political and economic reform and is specific to Ukraine."

While the report language supported aid to Ukraine, it is uncertain how much of the \$2.5 billion will be available for Ukraine. While funds authorized and appropriated are not generally earmarked for specific nations but for programs, the analysis of the distribution of the \$2.5 billion and what amount is already planned for Russia is in dispute.

During consideration of the authorization bill, Rep. Jon Kyl (R-Ariz.) offered an amendment to "reduce the \$900 million in aid to Russia to \$200 million in aid to the other republics." Quoting the director of the International Monetary Fund mission in Moscow and the World Bank president, Rep. Kyl argued that Russia has not undertaken the necessary economic reforms to effectively utilize the funding already in the pipeline.

According to the statements of Ambassador Strobe Talbott at a meeting with the leadership of the Ukrainian American community, \$1.5 billion (or 60 percent) is earmarked for Russia and \$1 billion is for the non-Russian NIS nations. However, a chart distributed by the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus of the House of Representatives stated that Russia will receive \$2.2 billion (88 percent) of the aid, leaving only \$300 million for "other ex-Soviet republics."

Christina Rufenacht of the State Department office tasked with aiding the NIS stated, in a meeting with UNA and UCA representatives, that \$1.5 billion (60 percent) is earmarked specifically for Russia and \$1 billion is available to all the NIS nations including Russia. Efforts were made by the UNA Washington Office to clarify the numbers with Ambassador Talbott's office, but the request went unanswered.

He went on to state that "Russia has not undertaken important foreign policy reform," pointing out that Russia still has missiles pointed at the U.S., is undertaking the development of three new missiles, and has indicated that it wants to revise the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty. Stating that the last "is a very important point," he went

on to say that the attempted revision is "so that they can amass more troops along Russia's southern border. The targets are Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova." Lastly, Rep. Kyl argued that Russia "is not doing enough to help itself," but is accumulating "debt throughout the world and has defaulted on loan after loan." The Kyl amendment failed by a 118-317 vote.

During the debate Rep. Louise McIntosh Slaughter (D-N.Y.) associated herself with the report language urging more assistance to Ukraine. She went on to state that "to date, Ukraine has been largely neglected by the United States economic and technical aid programs. With more than 18 percent of the former USSR's population, Ukraine received under 6 percent of the total United States aid provided to the former Soviet Union in fiscal year 1992 and fiscal year 1993. To let this continue would be neither fair nor prudent."

In arguing against the Kyl amendment, Rep. Robert Michel (R-Ill.), the minority leader, referenced his April visits to Ukraine and Russia. He stated that "our aid can help the Russians and the Ukrainians and others begin to solve those problems (of the former Soviet Union). A democratic, prosperous Ukraine and Russia can, in time, become trading partners helping our own economy." He went on to argue: "Not to help Russia and Ukraine is to abandon them, and to abandon them is to harm them, and to harm them is to harm ourselves."

While urging passage of the authorization bill, Rep. Sander Levin (D-Mich.) stated: "I am concerned about whether United States assistance to the former Soviet republics is being distributed equitably among all the republics, not just Russia. A free-market effort is also under way in Ukraine, where reformers also face considerable obstacles." Questioning whether the U.S. government has information of whether funds "have been spread fairly," the Michigan congressman noted that "according to calculations done by some groups, Ukraine received a disproportionately small percentage of that aid."

After passage of the authorization bill, the House moved to consider the foreign aid appropriations bill. The report of the House Committee on Appropriations which accompanied the bill included a section on "Assistance for the Victims of Chernobyl."

It read, in part: "The committee supports assistance for a program of scientific research and treatment grants for victims of Chernobyl. ... Experts estimate that as many as 4 million individuals today, mostly in Belarus and Ukraine, live in zones of high radiation fallout. ... Humanitarian assistance is urgently needed to help alleviate the suffering and hardship of the victims of Chernobyl, particularly in light of the severe shortage of medical supplies and effective health care treatment, as well as the need to resettle those still living in areas where radiation far exceeds safe levels."

With the appropriations bill, the House faced yet another effort to cut the "Russian aid bill." Rep. Sonny Callahan (R-Ala.) offered an amendment to delete \$1.6 billion in aid to Russia. Supported by conservative Republicans and some members of the Congressional Black Caucus, the Alabama legislator argued that he is not opposed to the aid but thinks it should be considered as a free-standing bill. He stated that such a bill would tell Russia that "they are going to

## U.N. secretary general visits Kyiv

by Marta Kolomayets  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali thanked the Ukrainian government for its role of peacekeeping in the war-torn former Yugoslavia during a two-day visit to Kyiv on June 17-19. He also appealed to the Ukrainian leadership to consider sending peacekeeping forces to Somalia.

Arriving on his first official visit to Ukraine, a founding member of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros-Ghali told journalists that his visit to Kyiv "is devoted to strengthening Ukraine's role in the U.S." He was greeted at Boryspil Airport by Mykola Zhulynsky, deputy prime minister of humanitarian policy.

During his two-day visit, Mr. Boutros-Ghali met with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, Supreme



Boutros Boutros-Ghali

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## Knesset speaker causes furor

KYIV — In the first visit by a senior Israeli official to Ukraine since its independence, Shevach Weiss, the speaker of the Knesset, toured the country, met with Ukrainian political leaders and issued an address to Parliament.

Mr. Weiss met with President Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma on June 15, and later spoke at a session of the Supreme Council. He praised the host country's steps toward democracy, and encouraged Ukrainian-Israeli cooperation in the field of energy engineering.

Mr. Weiss also visited his native town of Boryslav, in the Lviv region, where he and his family were sheltered by a Ukrainian woman during the Nazi occupation. According to a June 16 Reuters report, Mr. Weiss appeared on a Ukrainian television program crouching in a cellar to show how and where he was hidden.

However, the Israeli politician unleashed a storm of controversy in his address to the Ukrainian Parliament when he mentioned atrocities committed against Jews and others during World War II. Although a June 18 RFE/RL item mentioned that Mr. Weiss "expressed satisfaction with the over-all

treatment of Jews in present-day Ukraine," in Ron Popeski's June 22 Reuters report, Mr. Weiss is quoted as saying that his attitude to Ukrainians is "ambivalent... as it is with other nations who worked with the Nazis, serving the machine of destruction and hurling European civilization on the path of unprecedented crimes."

This prompted a group of deputies to publish an open letter in the daily *Molod Ukrainy*, in which they rebuked Mr. Weiss for denouncing all Ukrainians for the crimes of individuals. The Weekly has obtained a copy of the letter cited by Mr. Popeski, in which the Ukrainian parliamentarians wrote, "We are convinced that no one can accuse an entire people for the actions of some of its representatives, because this is unfair... To follow Mr. Shevach Weiss's logic, one could have an ambivalent attitude to the Israeli people.... [since] there were quite a number of Jews in the repressive organs of the Cheka and the NKVD. But does this give us the right to accuse the entire Jewish people for these crimes against the Ukrainian people? No! And no again!" The deputies also demanded an apology.

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## Decore heads Liberal opposition after losing bid for Alberta premier

by Christopher Guly

HULL, Quebec — Although he wasn't able to unseat 50-year-old Progressive Conservative Premier Ralph Klein, Laurence Decore's Alberta Liberal Party performance in the province's June 15 election helped wipe the official opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) from the electoral landscape. Mr. Decore, 52, is now Alberta's opposition leader.

He is also the country's sole Ukrainian Canadian leader of the opposition. Two neighboring Canadian premiers, Saskatchewan's Roy Romanow and Manitoba's Gary Filmon, also claim a Ukrainian heritage.

The Conservatives, who claimed their seventh straight majority government in Alberta, won 51 seats with 44.7 percent of the popular vote. Before the election, the Tories held 56 seats.

The Conservatives have held power in Alberta since 1971, when then-premier Peter Lougheed pushed the 36-year-old Social Credit government out of office.

Meanwhile, the Liberals jumped from nine to 32 seats, with 39.7 percent of the popular vote. The NDP lost its 15-seat caucus, including 51-year-old leader Ray Martin's seat.

Both Mr. Klein and Mr. Decore were each re-elected in their Calgary-Elbow and Edmonton-Glenarry ridings.

The Tories claimed victory in rural Alberta and Calgary, while the Liberals dominated northern Alberta and Mr. Decore's power bastion in Edmonton.

Although Mr. Klein's government carried an unprecedented \$20 billion government debt into the election, an Angus Reid-Southam News poll taken a week before gave his party 42 percent of the committed vote. The Tories captured 44 percent.

However, Mr. Decore managed to do much better than the same poll predicted by actually jumping from the predicted 33 percent of committed votes to almost 40 percent.

More than 43 seats are required in Alberta's 83-seat legislature to form a majority.

the cuts announced in March. That budget called for slicing \$281 million from the RFE/RL budget. The new budget foresees \$240 million in savings, ostensibly cuts that both agencies now will bear.

Mr. Maher of the BIB believes the inter-agency review that the White House undertook after this spring's public outcry, when the liquidation of RFE/RL was proposed, changed President Clinton's mind. "At the beginning of the year the attitude was to whack the whole thing. Now we have a consensus of the value of the radios," he said.

The new agreement calls for a seven-person board to be appointed by the president, who will also appoint the chairperson. It will answer to the USIA, which will have one seat. The five other members will be pulled from the journalistic field. Mr. Duffy of the USIA, speaking at the Senate hearing said, "The administration's plans recognize the need to preserve the journalistic integrity of all international broadcasters and, at the same time, the need for accountability to the American taxpayer."

Mr. Maher of the BIB believes the consolidation of the two surrogate news services will actually benefit RFE/RL. "The heart of the BIB was to guarantee the independence of the radios. Now we have a new board... So we are extending the independence (of surrogate news services) a little further," he said.

## Clinton...

(Continued from page 1)

hearing of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relation Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics and International Relations, Joseph Duffy, director of the U.S. Information Agency, which directs the work of the VOA, said the Soviet collection is one of the most significant in the world and called for all the documents to be placed on microfiche.

But plans for the development of a Ukrainian archive, which seemed moving toward fruition last April, now are fuzzy simply because a tight budget could freeze the money needed for the proposed archivists.

Eerie silence surrounds mention of the future of the Ukrainian archives. A. Ross Johnson, who had disclosed the original expansion plans to *The Weekly* last April, would not comment on the new status of a Ukrainian collection under the proposed agency restructuring. Bohdan Nahaylo, who heads the research section that includes Ukraine, was not available for comment, and researchers in the section wished to remain off the record. More information is expected once the Office of Management and Budget releases the new budget figures, which is expected shortly.

On the other hand, Terry Shroeder, public relations officer for RFE/RL in Munich, was quick to point out that morale among the employees is low. On June 23, he said, "As of right now, my personal reaction is one of apprehension. I think it is generally shared by my colleagues because we have not been fully informed (about the budget situation)." By the next day, he, too, was under a news blackout, this one imposed by the White House.

The White House is trying to control the aftereffects of an erroneous New York Times article of June 23, which alleged that RFE would terminate broadcasts in seven languages: Polish, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Estonian, Lithuanian and Latvian. The report also said that 1,200 RFE/RL and VOA employees would lose their jobs. A government official called the story "completely inaccurate."

The official said that no specific budget figures are yet available, but that the White House is attempting to maintain

## Ohio court delegation visits Ukraine

COLUMBUS, Ohio — Chief Justice Thomas J. Moyer of the Supreme Court of Ohio is leading a nine-member delegation to Ukraine to continue discussions on establishing a new legal system for the emerging democracy.

Members of the delegation will meet with Ukrainian parliamentary and judicial officials and observe court proceedings during the privately funded visit.

A delegation from Ukraine came to Ohio last August. At that time, Chief Justice Moyer, Dr. Fedor G. Bourchak, head of the Law Department of the Supreme Council (Parliament) of Ukraine, and Dr. Alexander N. Yakimenko, head of the Supreme Court of Ukraine, signed a memorandum of understanding forming a sister relationship between the two judiciaries.

"Ukrainian officials have expressed an interest in adopting sweeping reforms, including a system of trial by jury, and this second phase of the Ohio-Ukraine judicial program will give us a chance to assess that nation's current system and future needs," Chief Justice Moyer said.

The Ohio delegation was to arrive in Kyiv on the afternoon of June 23 and will return to Ohio on July 1.

They will observe the Supreme Court of Ukraine, the Kyiv Local Court, the Supreme Council of Ukraine and the High Court of Arbitration.

During a side trip to Kharkiv, they will visit the Kharkiv Local Court and Kharkiv City Council, and the Kharkiv Judicial Academy and the Academy of Law Sciences of Ukraine.

They will also visit Lviv to observe

the Lviv Regional Court and will meet with Dean Mykhailo Kostytsky of Ivan Franko University Law School.

Their last day in Ukraine will be spent with the Union Lawyers of Ukraine and at the Ukrainian Law Foundation and the Institute of State and Law of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Returning to this country, the Ohio delegation will begin preparing a specific program about the American Judicial system for Ukrainian judges and attorneys. Topics will include roles of attorneys and judges, the jury system, the legal system in a democracy, criminal and civil legal systems, and the selection of judges.

Eventual plans call for a Ukrainian delegation to come to Ohio for an eight-week training session. They will return to their country to train larger groups.

Members of the Ohio delegation, in addition to Chief Justice Moyer, are Judge John J. Donnelley of the Cuyahoga County Probate Court, chairman of the Ohio Judicial Conference; Judge Burt Griffin of the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas; H. Ritchey Hollenbaugh, president of the Ohio State Bar Association, Peter Gerhart, dean of the Case Western Reserve School of Law; William T. Monroe, a trustee of the Ohio State Bar Foundation, which is underwriting the trip; Helen Kryshalowych and Volodymyr O. Bazarko, Cleveland lawyers of Ukrainian descent; and Joseph Dehner, a Cincinnati lawyer who has been involved in the sister-relationship between Cincinnati and Kharkiv.

## Student congress begins in Kyiv

WASHINGTON — The First Joint World Ukrainian Congress of Students (JWUC) takes place in Kyiv June 25-27. On May 4, the organization committee of the congress received a statement from the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers noting that the JWUC is "an important event in the life of Ukrainian youth."

The founders of the congress are the following: K. Dudnyk of the Union of Ukrainian Students; V. Krylenko of the Ukrainian Students' Union; Yaropolk Kulchycky of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CUUS); and Orest Vasylykiv, co-chairman of the organization committee.

Delegations from Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Poland, Ukraine, the U.S.A., as well as individual students from some European countries, are expected to par-

ticipate in the world congress.

The topic of the first plenary meeting will be the "Contemporary Role of the CUUS." This meeting will center around the issue of whether the CUUS will move to Ukraine or if its leadership will remain outside the Ukrainian state.

A special session will be devoted to the possible creation of an All-Ukrainian Students Coordinating Information Bureau. Such a bureau would encompass a broad spectrum of tasks as a political-economic structure and in the future would become an independent, profit-making organization working to connect young Ukrainians with the main trends of world development.

The World Congress of Ukrainian Students aims to become an international organization whose purpose is to unite students of Ukrainian origin living abroad with students from Ukraine.

## Lviv lawyer graduates from SMU

DALLAS — Amid the pomp and circumstance of commencement exercises, the blue-and-yellow flag flew in Dallas once again as another lawyer from Ukraine graduated from the Southern Methodist University School of Law. On May 23, Ihor Verhun received his LL.M. degree in comparative and international law.

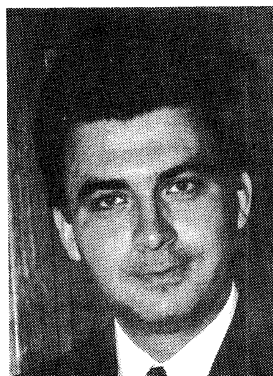
Mr. Verhun, 29, is a graduate of the Lviv State University Faculty of Law and spent the last nine months in the United States on a scholarship. He returned to Lviv on June 2.

He is the second student to successfully complete this program, which was initiated and substantially underwritten by the Ukrainian

American Bar Association in conjunction with SMU, which has now offered two full academic scholarships to graduates of Lviv University.

The Ukrainian National Association provided a large grant for the initial student, while the Fund to Aid Ukraine based in Cleveland provided a \$1,000 contribution for each of the two students.

The UABA has already begun fund-raising for the third student, Natalya Myronenko of Lviv, who has been accepted by SMU in the same graduate program for the 1993-1994 academic year. She arrives in the U.S. in August.



Ihor Verhun

## Byzantine and Latin rite bishops of Ukraine confer

LVIV — Bishops of the Byzantine and Latin rites in Ukraine met on May 19 in Lviv to discuss pastoral concerns and consider ways in which the two hierarchies can work together for the common good of the Catholic faithful and the people of Ukraine, reported the Press Office of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

Led by Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Archbishop Marian Jaworski, Metropolitan of Lviv for Catholics of the Latin rite in Ukraine, and Apostolic Nuncio Archbishop Antonio Franci, the bishops discussed the current relations between Byzantine and Latin-rite Catholics and the Church's relationship to the Ukrainian nation.

The prelates reaffirmed the solidarity of the church in Ukraine with the Apostolic See and its commitment to serve for the good of the country in spiritual and social aspects. The mutual inter-

ests of the Byzantine and Latin rite Churches to promote the teachings of the Universal Church and the ways in which this could better be accomplished were particularly accented.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the opening of the Apostolic Nunciature in Ukraine, the bishops of Ukraine agreed to work toward greater unity in the coming years by meeting regularly to discuss pastoral and procedural issues as well as future programs and initiatives of the Holy See. It was also agreed that the bishops would consider the development of initiatives of particular need to the faithful of Ukraine.

The meeting was held one day after the anniversary of the official opening of the Apostolic Nunciature. The event was celebrated with a divine liturgy of thanksgiving in the Cathedral of St. George which was attended by all the bishops of Ukraine. Following the meeting, a mass of thanksgiving was held in the Latin-rite Cathedral of the Dormition of the Blessed Virgin.

## Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada marks 75th anniversary

MONTREAL — The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, an indigenous religious community, is celebrating its 75th anniversary this year.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada dates its beginning to 1918 in Western Canada. A gathering of 150 lay delegates in Saskatoon in July of that year organized the "Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Brotherhood of Canada," which solemnly vowed to: "incorporate the newly formed Church in Canada, establish a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox seminary; organize Ukrainian Greek Orthodox congregations; provide priests for each and every congregation; and prepare and call a general Sobor of members and followers of the new Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada to complete its organization."

This resolution was followed by the Church's First Sobor (Church Council), held in Saskatoon on December 28, 1918 — a sobor at which there were no clergy. Two bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church had recognized and agreed to help the new Church community become established as an autonomous body, but political pressure from their community caused them to distance themselves from the Ukrainian Church.

It was not until the Second Sobor, held in Winnipeg in November 1919 that the Church found spiritual leadership under Metropolitan Germanos of the Patriarchate of Antioch. By then, several priests had come to

serve the Church from other jurisdictions, and a seminary was formed to train new candidates for the priesthood. The Church remained under the leadership of Metropolitan Germanos until 1924, when Bishop John Theodorovich arrived from Ukraine to lead the Church.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada became a metropolia in 1951 with the arrival from post-war Europe of the distinguished scholar and academician Metropolitan Ilarion.

The diamond jubilee celebrations will take place in Winnipeg on July 2-4, with a special commemorative sobor. A Ukrainian Orthodox Youth Rally is scheduled from June 30 to July 1 in Winnipeg, with noted speakers from Canada, the U.S. and Africa. An All-Canada Clergy Conference on June 30, and a scholarly conference at the seminary, St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg, on July 1, are also on the program of events.

The Church born in Saskatoon in 1918 now has over 120,000 faithful gathered together in 275 parishes served by 100 clergy, under the leadership of Metropolitan Wasyl. Three university student residences are Church-affiliated institutes, in addition to the seminary, which is affiliated with the University of Manitoba.

In 1990 the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada was received into eucharistic communion by the Patriarchate of Constantinople, held to be the "first among equals" in the Eastern Orthodox communion throughout the world.

## Kuchma...

(Continued from page 1)

creating an investment agency by the end of July. He also spoke of a land/property tax and restrictions on National Bank credits.

Mr. Kuchma's proposals, which were turned over to committees of the Parliament's presidium are, in fact, another attempt to gain extended special powers for his government, something the prime minister first requested over a month ago.

With only two weeks left in this current parliamentary session, before that body's annual two-month summer recess, both the Parliament and the government are scrambling to show the populace they did indeed make some progress in moving this state along the road of economic and political reform.

However, their moves reflect the symptoms of this country's problems: the more talk and scrambling around there is, the more everything remains unchanged, and the more the people suffer.

"After today's events, I see that everything is status quo," said Taras Stetskiy, a member of New Ukraine. "We continue to function in bedlam."

Mr. Stetskiy also outlined two possible solutions after events early in the week, when Mr. Kravchuk rescinded a June 16 presidential decree that had made him the head of the government and demoted the prime minister to chairman of an extraordinary committee of the Cabinet of Ministers that was to deal with the economy of this country.

In a new decree, on June 21, Mr. Kravchuk said he had abolished the committee and his power over the Cabinet of Ministers at the suggestion of government officials, deputies and others "to further study mechanisms on how to divide executive power."

However, most deputies viewed cancellation of the June 16 decree (see the Weekly, June 20) as the president's attempt to regain his position of power. According to various sociological surveys, both the people and lawmakers are losing their confidence in Mr. Kravchuk, who has not been able to lead his country decisively and effectively.

"We should pay attention to the actions of the last few days," said Aleksander Charodeyev, a deputy from the Donetsk region. "This nuance

means that Kravchuk got scared by Kuchma's decisive actions," he said, referring to Mr. Kuchma's statement in Dnipropetrovsk on Saturday, June 18, when he said that he could not work in conditions which made him the head of some special committee.

Speaking to striking miners and metallurgists that day, Mr. Kuchma had said: "the creation of such a committee in fact, liquidates the post of prime minister, and the government is headed by the president. I've been delegated to the role of vice-president," he concluded.

Then, on Sunday, June 20, at an international symposium on the Ukrainian Constitution, where President Kravchuk opened the gathering, the president said he was willing to review the decree: "I will not demand, I will not insist that the government work without changes if this is not what the prime minister wants."

"I hope that Leonid Danylovych (Kuchma) and I will reach an understanding, because he is a qualified, responsible man, who wants to lead reforms," President Kravchuk said.

However, the political games have continued, as President Kravchuk has told reporters that his June 16 decree had been confirmed with Mr. Kuchma.

When Mr. Kuchma arrived from Dnipropetrovsk on Sunday evening, June 20, he told reporters waiting for his arrival that the foreign minister received a copy of the decree prior to its announcement on Ukrainian television. The prime minister did not.

"It is necessary to end the political games around the prime minister. I never did take part in politics, and even tried to distance myself from all of this. I don't know who profits from these games. I just don't know," said Mr. Kuchma at the Kyiv airport.

On Monday morning, June 21, Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plushch was asked about his analyses of the current situation. He said perhaps the Parliament would give extended powers to the government.

"But now I do see that the crisis of power exists. I felt it earlier, but didn't say anything because I did not want the crisis to become deeper. Now, I see that the crack has widened, to the point that I don't know how to get rid of it. But I do know that it must be liquidated in a constitutional, lengthy process, and that course is only through the Supreme Council," he concluded.

## Bishop Paisiy of South America celebrates his 80th birthday

by Cheryl Krochak

MINNEAPOLIS — One of the newer hierarchies in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is Bishop Paisiy of South America, who this year celebrated his 80th birthday. He has been a bishop in the Church for nearly five years, and was previously a pastor in Bayonne, N.J., for about 13 years.

The bishop took the name Paisiy from an 18th century monk who set up a monastery in Moldavia as well as St. Elias monastery on Mount Athos; who also wrote books and distributed them to other lands.

Bishop Paisiy was previously an educator (an elementary college, and seminary teacher), a social worker and a librarian before he became a priest, so he felt it was an honor to adopt the name of Paisiy by exemplifying some of the traits and characteristics of a Ukrainian monk he admired. He is bishop of South America for faithful in Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Venezuela.

Bishop Paisiy was born in Ukraine as William Iwashchuk. He received his undergraduate degree at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich in 1935, and his seminary training at the Ukrainian German Theological Academy in Munich, Germany, in 1949. He completed post-graduate work and received a master's degree in library science from Northern Illinois University in 1973.

After graduation from Northern Illinois U., Bishop Paisiy became director of the Ukrainian parochial school

(affiliated with St. Vladimir's Cathedral) in Chicago. He had organized that school in 1949.

He was ordained into the priesthood in 1975. He was assigned to be both a professional librarian and a priest — four days a week in a parish, and three days a week at the Ukrainian Orthodox Center's library at South Bound Brook, N.J. That library was the first Ukrainian library to use the library of Congress classification system. It is used by the whole community and is by many students from East Coast colleges and universities. Bishop Paisiy built up the collection to over 30,000 volumes.

As bishop of South America, Bishop Paisiy assisted some 10 parishes with money gathered from Easter collections; the money collected was used to purchase necessary items to improve or supplement what was already on hand. The bishop also donated about \$3,000 of his own money.

He has organized theological courses in Brazil, and there are currently seven candidates for the priesthood from South America. About \$30,000 is needed to start a seminary in South America. Bishop Paisiy said he would also like to see a couple of bishops come from South America, as they would better know how to solve problems among their faithful.

Bishop Paisiy is a member of the Metropolitan Council and the Eastern Orthodox Clergymen's Association. He is temporarily serving as pastor at St.

(Continued on page 11)



## THE Ukrainian Weekly

### Benefits of bilingualism

Once upon a time, it was thought that being bilingual is actually detrimental to children. As a result, many Ukrainian parents, among others, wondered: Should I teach my children Ukrainian, or English, or both? Some actually found themselves acting against the advice of their pediatricians when they decided to teach their children Ukrainian first.

Writing not too long ago in *The New York Times* in the "Parent & Child" column, Lawrence Kutner noted: "Bilingualism is a topic abounding with misconceptions. 'He noted that in the U.S. more than in any other country, there is an erroneous concern that being bilingual is bad for children. Some of these misconceptions, the columnist went on to note, can be traced back to the writings of psychologists of the early part of this century, who concluded that bilingual children couldn't compete academically with monolingual children. Subsequent research, however, showed these early studies were flawed.

Speaking of yet another misconception about bilingualism, Dr. Rene Cisneros of the Julian Samora Research Institute at Michigan State University told the columnist: "One of the biggest misconceptions people have is that if children learn a second language, it will be at the expense of the first." Again, this is not borne out by research. "What a child learns in one language carries over to the other," Dr. Cisneros explained.

This latest research supports the arguments put forward on the pages of this newspaper in 1983 and 1985 by Dr. Bohdan Y. Cymbalista, the late psychologist and prominent Ukrainian American community activist. Dr. Cymbalista posed the question: Is it good for a child to have been exposed to two languages? His answer was strongly affirmative. He cited the findings of B. McLaughlin (1978) "The bilingual child has a sense of prestige and accomplishment that the monolingual child lacks. Knowledge of an additional language stimulates educational efforts in general." He went on to note that other studies had found that bilingual youths do consistently better in school work and that, particularly on the college level, they were academically superior to those students who knew only one language. The reason, he wrote, was that bilinguals "appear to have a more diversified set of mental abilities, for example, (they) are more facile at concept formation and abstract thinking, and have greater mental flexibility. As well, they tended to score higher than their monolingual peers on measures of creativity and problem solving, both of which involve 'divergent thinking,' i.e. a cognitive style that involves imagination.

Dr. Cymbalista's advice to the Ukrainian community was to create and maintain "a net of structural and organizational relationships among themselves...where the various needs of its members can be met, according to the interests of every one." These ties, he explained, "have to be of a primary (family playmates, friends, social cliques) as well as of a secondary type (religious, educational, charitable, social and cultural)."

That advice was echoed in the aforementioned *New York Times* column. Mr. Kutner asked: What is the best way to help your children become multilingual? The answer was provided by Dr. Cisneros: "If there's peer pressure outside the home not to use the language, build up another community of people who speak it." (That pressure, we might add, is everywhere: from schools to extracurricular activities, and the mass media, where English is the language of information and entertainment.) That other community, in the case of Ukrainians, Ukrainian community, that translates into everything from Saturday schools of Ukrainian studies, our myriad summer camps and activities, our youth organizations such as Plast, SUM and ODUM, folk dance ensembles, pre-schools, you name it.

All of the foregoing, of course, is food for thought during these summer months as we take the time to sit back and plan for the coming school year. Our advice: don't forget the Ukrainian component in your children's lives which will enhance their bilingual (or multilingual) capabilities. Bilingualism is a plus from which our children will benefit now and throughout their lives.

June  
29  
1908

### Turning the pages back...

Anna Sten (née Fesak) was born on June 29, 1908, in Kyiv, the daughter of, according to publicists, a local ballet master and a Swedish mother. The famous Russian director

Stanislavsky discovered her when she was 15 and took her to Moscow's Film Academy. In three years, she was touring with Moscow Art Theater, and awing critics as Grushenka in adaptations of Dostoyevsky's "Brothers Karamazov."

The star of many Soviet films throughout the late 1920s, she became a cult figure in Germany, where she moved in 1931. Hollywood's Sam Goldwyn took her to the U.S. in 1932, deciding she would be his studio's answer to Greta Garbo. Her first film was an adaptation of Émile Zola's "Nana." She went on to appear in "We Live Again" (with Frederick March, 1934), "The Wedding Night" (with Gary Cooper, 1935), and "Soldier of Fortune" (with Clark Gable and Susan Hayward, 1955), also working in England.

Not as successful with audiences as Mr. Goldwyn had hoped, she made films until 1962, and then appeared in many stage productions (debut in Montreal in 1941), and headlined as Jenny (a role she took over from the legendary Lotte Lenya) opposite Scott Merrill in Brecht's "Threepenny Opera," in San Francisco.

Recently, she made a rare public appearance, in May 1989, at the Biograph revival theater in New York City, where she lives, to introduce "We Live Again."

Sources: "Sten, Anna," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); David Shipman, "The Great Movie Stars," (New York: Hill & Wang, 1979); Lincoln Center Audio Visual Arts Library and Archive clipping file.

## Monarchists meet

### An afternoon at the Lviv opera

by Peter Bejger

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

LVIV — On May 27, the long-promised "First International Forum for the Restoration of the Monarchy in Ukraine" was held in the Lviv Opera House. The event, which attracted a motley audience of approximately 100 malcontents, was organized by the Union of Monarchists in Ukraine under the direction of "Count Sir Commander Otaman Father" Orest Karelin-Romanyshyn-Rusyn.

Distinguished guests included the pretender to the Ukrainian throne, Prince Michel Karatchevsky-Volk, whose title is "Grand Prince of Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Karatchevsky," and the Prince's son, Prince Michel is an international businessman who divides his time between Paris and Warsaw.

Princes Anatole and Michel Masalski, two brothers who are cousins to Mr. Karatchevsky and, therefore, also pretenders to the throne, also attended. Two other claimants to the throne — Oleko II Dolhorukiy and Prince Volkonsky — failed to appear.

Evidently there were organizational problems with the festivities. The Lviv press reported that as late as the morning of May 26 the opera house administration knew nothing of the forthcoming event. However, a directive from the mayor opened the doors of the opera house to the monarchists.

Local authorities, however, were not as forthcoming on another issue. Mr. Karelin bitterly criticized the city for not allowing the monarchist flag to be raised over Vysoky Zamok. Karelin unveiled the standard — a traditional blue and yellow banner with a crown, cross and trident in the top left corner — on the stage of the opera house. The design is elegant, but for the tacky gold lame material used for the yellow elements in the standard. (The sleazy color and texture of the material recalls the most tasteless prom dresses from America's suburbia.)

Mr. Karelin and company also kvetched about the Lviv Opera troupe. It appears they refused to perform "Zaporozhets Za Dunayem" unless they were paid \$100. We heard a lot about this the rest of the day. Mr. Karelin furthermore whined about the fact Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky failed to greet the monarchists during a memorial service that morning.

Finally the monarchists got down to work. The major theme that emerged from the presentations was "Monarchy or Anarchy." Mr. Karelin and the princes advocated a constitutional monarchy as the only hope for the country to pull out of its current political and economic crisis.

Unfortunately, the would-be kings of Ukraine could not address their subjects in the Ukrainian language. Mr. Karatchevsky and the brothers Masalski could speak only Polish or Russian. Elaborate promises were offered with promises to learn the national language.

The audience was treated to a number of other interesting speakers. A fat bearded man wearing a colorful robe and strange necklaces claimed to be the "general bishop" of a "Coptic Church" in St. Petersburg. He spoke of a "secret order" in Russia that had infiltrated the government. He called for support to establish "a great monarchy."

This did not go down well with the intensely patriotic Ukrainian audience, and the idea was promptly condemned by the princes at a press conference later.

Monarchists from Poland and Bulgaria described their activities. For some incomprehensible reason the audience was also subjected to a young Hare Krishna devotee — shaved head, saffron-colored robes and all — who ranted away in Russian.

The most interesting speaker, however, was a major — in uniform — from the Ukrainian Armed Forces. He was a "closet monarchist" because his views could cause expulsion from the military. Obviously an intelligent man, he delivered a stirring speech on the present chaos in the country and the need for order. He condemned leftover Communists and corrupt democrats, and brought the house down when he noted, "The democrats promised we'd get rich if they were elected. They were elected and got rich."

The festivities concluded with the audience singing the national anthem and cries of "God, King and Country!"

It is not hard to imagine what brought people to this extraordinary event. They are looking for a man on a white horse to lead them to the promised land. However, that man might not turn out to be someone wearing a crown.

Peter Bejger is an American writer living in Kyiv.

## Shevchenko to speak

NEWARK, N.J. — People's Deputy Oles Shevchenko, vice-president of the Ukrainian Republican Party, will speak on the political situation in Ukraine on Thursday, July 1, at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church hall at 7 p.m.

He will be joined by Volodymyr Katelnitsky, president of the John Demjanjuk Defense Committee in Ukraine, who will speak on the Demjanjuk case. Also slated to appear are Ed Nishnic and John Demjanjuk Jr.

The event is sponsored by Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine.

## UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine

The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that, as of June 22, the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 14,819 checks from its members with donations totalling \$382,472.41. The contributions include individual members' donations, as well as returns of members' dividend checks and interest payments on promissory notes.

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



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## May 23 articles simply superb

Dear Editor:

Two pieces in the May 23 Weekly are, according to my interests, simply superb. The article concerning the efforts of director Yaroslav Hrytsak of the Institute of Historical Studies in Lviv clarifies as nothing I have seen in the greater American press the penalties a people pay when the "politically correct" crowd is permitted to rule the roost. Perhaps when truth is thrown out the window, as was the case under the Soviet system, the identity of a people quickly follows. Mr. Hrytsak appears to be intent on recovering both. The closing paragraph of the article quoting Mr. Hrytsak is filled with a tremendous optimism which is easy even for a non-Ukrainian to share. Bravo!

If I ever had doubts that the study and teaching of history are essentially political activities those doubts were dispelled by the column of Dr. Myron Kuropas in the same issue. The very naive assumption was made that in August of 1945 when the world war ended, a peace ensued. In fact the war continued. Only the form of lead changed. Instead of issuing from the muzzles of guns it was set in lines of type.

Nowadays we are using word processors and E-mail but the war for hearts and minds goes on. How ironic that as Mr. Hrytsak and presumably others in Ukraine attempt to dig their way out of the rubble of decades of leftist historical propaganda the United States is up to its eyeballs in the stuff. I am sure Dr. Kuropas realizes that a huge percentage of our active professors, to the extent they deal with Central and Eastern Europe at all, are the product of the very Sovietology virus to which he calls our attention. Given this situation it is a cause for concern that Ukrainian historians should look to the United States as a model.

Thankfully Dr. Kuropas is able to point to at least some American historians with the integrity and fortitude to have countered the great Soviet lie. I appreciate the non-Ukrainians scholars Dr. Kuropas honored. A couple are unfamiliar to me and so I am some the wiser. I hope he will mention in some future column the Ukrainian historians who have tried to set the record straight so that non-Ukrainian students can enlarge their reading lists. If we are to resist and turn back the P.C. tide we need all the ammo we can get.

Jeffrey Ojeda Bellinger  
Wheatland, Wyo.

## Proof of failure in Western policy

Dear Editor:

Eugene M. Iwanciw's excellent article "What is U.S. aid to Ukraine worth?" (June 13) points to an even greater failure in Western policy than, at first, seems apparent. The New York Times (June 14) reported even worse figures than Mr. Iwanciw's. Of the \$1.8 billion in aid pledged at the G-7 summit in Tokyo to the former USSR, only \$300 million will go to the non-Russians. That is, the non-Russians, who accounted for 50 percent of the former Soviet population, will obtain only 16.66 percent of G-7 aid. Russia will obtain 83.34 percent,

or 33.34 percent more than its share of the former Soviet population. Who can now argue that the West is not Russophile and Russocentric?

Ukraine's miserable share of U.S. and Western aid to the former USSR has not only severely damaged the West's image in Ukraine, it also makes a mockery of any U.S. threats to impose sanctions or exert pressure if Ukraine does not undertake unilateral nuclear disarmament. Secondly, despite Ukraine's success in peacefully resolving its national minority question and that of nationalizing former Soviet armed forces, together with its praiseworthy record on national minority policy in comparison to the bulk of the former USSR, Western and U.S. policies have failed to give Ukraine any rewards for this.

Yet, surely Western policy towards the former USSR should differentiate between those republics where human and national minority rights are observed, such as Ukraine, and those where they are not. In Mr. Iwanciw's table, Ukraine is ahead of Uzbekistan only in U.S. aid, although Uzbekistan is one of the most repressive republics of the former USSR.

Taras Kuzio  
Harrow, England

## Visa International reacts to letters

Dear Editor:

Thank you for bringing to our attention the matter of Visa cardholder statements that identify transactions accrued in Ukraine as having taken place in Russia.

Visa International is a membership association of more than 19,000 financial institutions. These member institutions contract directly with merchants, set the terms for those relationships and handle all the customer responsibilities.

A request will be submitted to the appropriate member financial institution in this case — asking it to change the computer program that designates country origination on cardholder billing statements. The change will be made as quickly as feasible.

Once again, our appreciation for letting us know about this matter.

David Brancoli  
San Francisco

The writer is vice-president for corporate communications for Visa International.

## Interfaith relations improve in Ukraine

The story below is reprinted from the May 21 issue of The Jewish Press.

by Jed Sunden

KYYIV (JTA) — After decades of anti-religious propaganda and state-sponsored anti-Semitism under the former Communist regime, the Ukrainian government is now in the forefront of supporting religious revival and improving interfaith relations.

Mykola Zhulynsky, the Ukrainian deputy prime minister for humanitarian policy, convened this week a Council for Religious Affairs, with representatives from all the leading

(Continued on page 13)

## NEWS AND VIEWS: The status of the Ukrainian family in Ukraine

The World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO) is a non-governmental organization recognized by the United Nations. Its relationship with the U.N. began in 1950 through its membership in the World Movement of Mothers (Mouvement Mondial des Meres), a Paris-based organization that has NGO consultative status at the U.N.

WFUWO representatives were active also in conferences held in conjunction with the U.N. Decade of Women (Mexico City, 1975, Copenhagen, 1980, and Nairobi, 1985), various parallel gatherings of NGOs and in UNICEF conferences devoted to children's issues held in conjunction with the Year of the Child.

In 1991, the WFUWO was recognized as a non-governmental organization by the Department of Public Information at the United Nations. Most recently, in March of this year, the WFUWO was granted consultative status with the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). It is the first and only Ukrainian organization in the world to even be considered for such standing with the United Nations.

Earlier this year, Dr. Natalia Pazuniak of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations spoke on the status of the Ukrainian family in Ukraine during an NGO seminar of the Committee on the Family. Looking ahead to 1994, which has been proclaimed by the U.N. General Assembly as the Year of the Family, the seminar focused on the condition of family life in Central and Eastern Europe. Presentations about Ukraine, Romania and Latvia occupied the committee on January 28. Following are the remarks of Dr. Pazuniak.

by Dr. Natalia Pazuniak

According to J. Messner, "Society without the institution of the family is a tree without roots." When a family cradle is destroyed, the entire society suffers. Recently, the family home of Taras Shevchenko, the house where the poet genius of the Ukrainian nation was raised at the beginning of the 19th century, was burned down by suspected Communists who regret the new political reality. Their action may be interpreted as an attempt to defeat the new nation, by striking against a symbol of the Ukrainian family.

Ukrainian women have risen up to an enormous challenge, undertaking the task of turning around the destruction of the past 70 years and attempting to restore the values of the family. Since the realm of Kyivian Rus' during the Middle Ages, women have been the guardians of the family and hence of the Ukrainian people. The family was bound by strong ties, based on Christian ethics. It was a mortal sin to bear a child out of wedlock. In the 19th century, for example, among the rural population the unwed daughter who became pregnant was chased out of the household by her parents, regardless of the circumstances. (This is poignantly described in Shevchenko's poem, "Kateryna.") The decline of the traditional family under the Communist atheistic regime has had the effect of crippling Ukrainian society.

Another blow occurred as a result of artificial demographic changes in Ukraine such as the resettlement of the native population outside of Ukraine's borders, the loss of millions during the forced collectivization of farms in the

1930s and the substantial population losses during World War II.

The reduction in Ukrainian population was coupled with a significant influx of Russian settlers. The immigration was introduced by Moscow's totalitarian regime with the utopian goal of creating a Homo Sovieticus, and a society with such features as cultural materialism and the predominance of the Russian language. Revitalizing the ethics and principles of the family should be a priority in Ukraine's national recovery. The active involvement of the organized women of Ukraine is a condition sine qua non in this process.

The 72 years of Soviet domination have left a grim legacy. Economic priorities such as the development of heavy industry and the military complex were achieved at the expense of all other sectors. The standard of living and the quality of life for most of the population have been very low. To make ends meet in the family, women were often forced to work in physically demanding occupations unsuitable for women. The shortage of adequate housing and governmentally mandated space allowances often forced several families to live together in one apartment, sharing one kitchen and one bathroom.

Living and working conditions adversely affected women's health and sexuality, resulting in an astounding incidence of both spontaneous as well as induced abortions. It has generally been the women who have had to stand, in freezing winter or hot summer, in endless queues to purchase food and other everyday goods. The general pauperization of society led to undue concentration on material values. Whenever women manifested their individual initiative by straying from the party line, they suffered persecution.

Since working parents often lacked time and opportunity to rear children, this reduced their influence on the development of their children, who were raised primarily in party-indoctrinated state schools. The child, as a product of the system, was nurtured on the distortions and misinformation endemic in Soviet textbooks. Ukrainian history was not taught and the language belittled and neglected.

Because of the stresses of overcrowded living conditions and of everyday hardship, parents were alienated from their children, and spouses were alienated from each other. Marriages suffered under the strain, and divorce rates increased.

Ukraine suffers from an ecological disaster of catastrophic proportions because of the irresponsible and uncontrolled growth of industry, capped by the tragedy of the Chernobyl nuclear accident. Statistics indicate that public health has been endangered particularly in the heavily polluted regions of southeastern Ukraine. The human being was treated as a socio-biological object by the Soviet regime, while the human collective was treated as an abstract phenomenon condemned to a meager existence and to work for state interests.

Demographic data reveal an alarming decline in population. According to Soviet statistics, Ukraine has the dubious distinction of occupying first place among the former republics in term of the incidence of pediatric diseases and resultant mortality. As a result of hazardous work and living conditions, a study suggests that only 30 percent of

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# The politics of culture in today's Ukraine: a discussion

by George G. Grabowicz

## PART II

### The levels of politics

The politics of Ukrainian culture involves several distinct levels. These include 1. The specific concerns relating to Ukrainian culture that are continually being raised in the broad political arena and the solutions or approaches that are being advocated. In effect, this is the realm of cultural policy even though it is not official or implemented policy. 2. The gamut of "players" so to speak, the range of involved participants in the formulation of the problem, or more generally, the discourse that they create around it. For if one deals with politics in the way it really is, and not as an abstraction, the question of players in the arena, with their premises and agendas, capabilities and limitations, and their specific mental sets, becomes all important. 3. Fundamental issues. These are structures, one might say, that shape the overall state of Ukrainian culture, its prospects and its emerging profile.

Each of these levels (and not only the second) can be illustrated by a range of individuals cases or events. The Taniuk affair, the Oliynyk affair, the Honchar anniversary, the recent elections at the Academy of Sciences, the theatrical awards ceremony (the Kyiv equivalent of the Oscars) — the list can be expanded to include virtually any prominent figure or happening — provide invaluable material for understanding the politics of culture in their raw actuality; clearly, these phenomena are of themselves more colorful than the patterning of the process, but they can only comprise an anecdotal history, which for all the color cannot supplant a sense of the whole.

To begin with matters of policy (stated or implied); in the most general terms, judging by the press and the media, the issue that attracts the most attention, and most heated commentary is the basic issue of asserting the Ukrainian character of Ukraine, a new "Ukrainizatsia." (Ukrainization) This is the "minimum program" which commands a broad consensus. But even this "minimum program" faces daunting problems. For one, those that oppose it, in large measure the former Party apparatus, are still a dominant political presence, and a majority in the Parliament. In the absence of revolutionary change, i.e., under conditions of legal procedure, such an opposition is a major impediment — and to this central issue we will return.

In terms of substance, it is evident that the notion of Ukrainization is still rather rudimentary — as indicated by the absence of overall goals or general policy. In essence it remains a defensive stance that does not fully take into account the fact that Ukraine is now a sovereign and independent state and that, as a result, all matters pertaining to its culture have a bearing on, and need to be seen in the light of, national policy, even if in given areas that policy will be entirely laissez faire.

There are several major components here, the most prominent of which is language. Historically this has always been the issue of issues — and rightly so, for language is the deepest and most effective carrier of the cultural code, encapsulating collective memory and values and identity. Recourse to language is the single most evident means of identifying with the given culture. Even if that identification is partial or conditional (if one

is not ethnically Ukrainian, for example, or even if one is Ukrainian, one may wish to speak another language at home, say, Russian), knowledge and use of the language signals one's acceptance of and respect for the culture and the institutions, ultimately the state, that have arisen on its basis. This much is a given, and is universally applicable.

In Ukraine, however, it is an issue: the goal of bringing into life the law on language that was promulgated just before independence, whereby Ukrainian is given the status of official language, is still far from achieved. In some areas — the Crimea, the Donbas, Luhanske, large areas of eastern and southern Ukraine — very little has been done to implement it. In fact, depending on the region, there is still much opposition from local authorities and the Russian speaking population to the introduction of Ukrainian. In short, this is still a struggle, and newspapers like *Kultura i zhyttia* often carry articles on what is an on-going controversy, and, for many Ukrainians, an on-going trauma.

One many argue, of course, that with statehood achieved, the language issue recedes in importance: Ukraine (presumably) is now a country like any other, with institutions, laws, citizenship and so on, the the quality of being Ukrainian is

Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society: "Prosvita" (Enlightenment), with which sections of the former have merged; various publications, like the biweekly "Slovo;" or on the right fringe of the spectrum, but with a telling name, the newspaper "Mova ye natsiya" (The Language is the Nation).

The establishment of the Ukrainian language as a language with prestige, with officials status, and as the basic medium of communication in a Ukrainian state is a legitimate issue, and one that is entirely commensurate with the goal of a democratic and open society. In contrast to the situation of some years ago, the "language picture" is basically improving, the war is being won (above all due to the official use of Ukrainian in the Parliament and in government, and to new entrance requirements for higher education), but the fact that it is still a struggle is indicative of the problems Ukrainian culture still faces. Ultimately, however, this is only the surface of a deeper set of problems, specifically the interrelation of Ukrainian and Russian culture, the political and economic viability of the new state and ultimately, the overall attractive power of its society and culture.

Analogous to the language issue is the problem of education, of establishing a

***The government and state structures still have not given voice to a policy regarding... Ukraine's enforced non-being. ...In Ukraine the perpetrators of its former suppression, at the very least co-conspirators in this policy, are still part of the establishment.***

now established and conveyed through a range of formal measures (judicial, administrative, and so on) — and not solely through the overarching, virtually metaphysical modality of language. Moreover, it has been suggested that in the interest precisely of assuring the viability of the new state, and of asserting its multi-ethnic nature (Ukraine, after all, is home to all who live there, not just the Ukrainians) the language issue, and its implied ethnocentrism, should really be downplayed. It is more important, so this argument goes, that there be publications in Russian loyal to the new Ukraine than that they be in Ukrainian. And nothing will be so counterproductive to this new state than a linguistic Ukrainization that needlessly alienates the large Russian minority.

It is hard to disagree with these positions. But they do not capture the situation. The major issue that is not considered here is precisely the large, and still applicable, historical pattern of Ukrainian dependence and second class existence. In the radical formulation that was recently used by Jaroslav Dashkevych, who represents the intellectual wing of Ukrainian nationalism, in some areas of Ukraine (he was specifically speaking of the Crimea, but this may be extended to the other regions mentioned) Ukrainian society and culture exist in conditions of "apartheid." The trauma that this engenders — not only to the majority ethnic Ukrainians, but to the fabric of pluralistic Ukrainian society — is real, and it supersedes the fine distinctions of whether the discrimination in question is on the order of "apartheid" or of a less malign form. It certainly has generated a gamut of responses, the most constructive and structured of which are the Taras

new "Ukrainian" curriculum, without communist and Russocentric dogmas, distortions, and so on. Here, again, there is on-going resistance. It is somewhat more covert than the at times virulent opposition to linguistic Ukrainization, but it is present.

As with the language issue, there is considerable progress. Petro Talanchuk is a minister of education who is strongly supportive of Ukrainization, and the move to make the structures of the Education system (e.g., VAK, the Vyscha Atestatsiyna Komisiya, which has the power to confer higher degrees) sovereign and vested in Ukraine and not in "the center," in Moscow has begun. There is a general consensus (although for many it may well be more lip service than genuine conviction) that communist and imperial dogmas must be shed, and a desire is spreading among the middle and lower echelons to assert Ukrainian history and culture as individual and equal.

But here, too, this is more on the surface, and more on the popular level than in deeper structures, or in the institutions that actually set the tone. Looking beyond the immediately apparent, one sees that the changes are often more cosmetic than substantive. Institutes' names are changed — from "Institute of Atheism" to "Institute of Comparative Religions," for example, from "History of the Party" to "Political science" — but all the old people remain and with them all their inculcated dogmas, limitations and, above all, ignorance and incompetence. This is by far the bleakest aspect — the fact that there is no real reform in the policy on "cadres."

Especially in the humanities and social sciences, which are the core of the problem, there has been virtually no

change, no significant, let alone massive, realignment of personnel. Everyone who taught and espoused Marxism-Leninism, official atheism, dialectical materialism, socialist realism, and so on, all such persons are still at their posts, presumably professing something else, but in fact capable of teaching or conveying only what they had done all their lives.

It is estimated that when the DDR was absorbed into the Federal Republic of Germany, only 25 percent of the scholars in the Humanities and Social Sciences divisions of the East German Academy of Sciences were kept on; the rest were simply let go. In the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, as of now, no one has been fired or retired. There is not even any talk of this occurring in the near future. At the general elections to the Academy only two months ago, Boris Paton, who has been President since the Khrushchev era and who had overseen the near total decline of the Academy in the Humanities and Social Sciences, was easily reelected; there was no opposition to speak of. The various calls in the Ukrainian press for reform in the Academy were characterized by the Academy establishment as radical rabble rousing — and went unheeded. For its part, the answer this establishment proposes is measured evolution; "we are not in the position" the argument goes, "to indulge in rapid shifts or changes; we simply do not have the new personnel to replace the old."

While self-serving, this is also only a superficial answer, indeed something of a red herring, and it is part of a larger systematics to which we shall return. At this point, if one considers scholarship, especially in the Humanities, as part of culture — and one cannot but see it as such — then policy in this realm of Ukrainian culture is absent, or, more accurately, is both passively and actively obstructionist. Despite some cosmetic and symbolic activity — some well publicized, but again only nominal moves to open this or that Institute or section, to hold this or that conference, or announce such or another prize — the structure as such has not budged. Insofar as systemic academic reform is concerned, the whole picture is bleak.

By all indications, a similar picture obtains in other institutions — museums, libraries, archives and so on, which are all part of large centralized bodies or ministries. To provide an accurate judgment, one needs constant and broad access to information — and while there is more of it than ever before, it is still not fully available.

Judging by what is, the picture is very mixed. Depending on local conditions there may be genuine improvements — as in Lviv where the well-respected Dr. Krushelnyska was appointed director of the main scholarly library and proceeded to try to reform its workings. In the Kyiv central scholarly library, however, after the incumbent director was dismissed for malfeasance (but not officially indicted), his replacement was drawn from the upper ranks of the bureaucracy. In both cases, the operant causes and issues are local and personal — and there is little evidence of a national policy on these matters.

The most obvious instance of the assertion of a new Ukrainianness appears in the mass media, in the press, the radio and on television. And here the picture is also very mixed, showing truly positive and negative sides at the same time. On the one hand, there is great variety and real openness and freedom,

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## NOTES FROM THE PODIUM

by Virko Bailey

### A short history of Ukrainian music

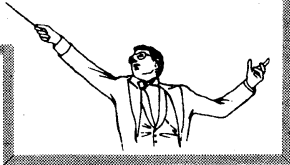
#### PART II

As I wrote previously, the lacuna in Ukrainian music is the 19th century. The situation is particularly depressing when it comes to symphonic repertoire. The reasons are many, and some of them were political in origin. But there is another reason. The art of non-religious music is a development of an urban culture and a distinctly modern, or enlightened, phenomena. The cradle of modernity is the urban society.

Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith wrote in their book "Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries," that modernity includes: "keeping informed about the world and taking an active role as a citizen; valuing education and technical skill; aspiring to advance oneself economically; stressing individual responsibility and seeing the virtue of planning, including family planning; approving and being open to new experience, including the experience of urban living...; manifesting a sense of personal efficacy; freedom from absolute submission to received authority in family, tribe, and sect, and the development of newer, non-parochial loyalties..."

The urban culture of Ukraine in the 19th century was predominantly non-Ukrainian. As such, it was always part of either Polish, Russian or Austrian hegemony. Music, unlike poetry and to a lesser extent prose, cannot exist without a firm network of urban support. Symphonic organizations, operatic theaters and concert halls demand an enormous expenditure in maintenance. Thus, the fact that there is so little is of no surprise.

But what is there? Well, first of all, there is a "Symphony on Ukrainian Folk Themes" that was believed to have been composed by an unknown author sometime at the beginning of 1790s. A piano reduction was published around that time in the "Journal de musique pour le clavecin ou pianoforte, dedie aux dames par B., W., amateur." More recent scholarship has assigned the work to Ernest Wanzura, a Czech by descent, who for almost 20 years worked organizing concerts and performed on the harpsichord for the Directorate of Imperial Theaters in Russia. He wrote three such symphonies, No. 1 on Ukrainian themes, No. 2 on Russian themes and No. 3 on Polish



themes.

Then there was the Symphony in G Minor, for a while known as No. 21 by Mykola Ovsianyko-Kulykovsky (1768-1846). The original score of the symphony supposedly bore the inscription: "For the dedication of the Theatre of Odessa, in 1809, Symphony No. 21 - N. Kulykovsky." The manuscript was discovered and led to its first performance in 1949. Unfortunately, although remnants of the symphony do seem to exist, the whole enterprise was a mystification worthy of Edvard Strikha and the enchanting *Zoze*. It appears that the project was put together by the Kyiv violinist-composer Mykhailo Goldstein — and it fooled a number of well known musicologists (so hungry were they for anything to fill that lacuna).

It is now listed as having been written by an anonymous composer that most likely worked in the serf-orchestra of Ovsianyko-Kulykovsky. The whole symphony is based on Ukrainian folk tunes, with the finale being a "Kozachok." This particular version of the piece was recorded and released in the West in 1956 on Westminster WXN 18191, performed by the best orchestra in the former USSR, the Leningrad Philharmonic, conducted by Yevgeny Mravinsky. It has also been released on Melodiya. Diligent detective work in various used-record shops and in writing to collectors can result in finding this rare performance.

As to the "mystification," I suggest that Muzychna Ukraina simply publish the facsimile of the original score — and thus put an end to the whole speculation. But that may not happen until all parties to this venture, including the musicologist who made a career on this "discovery," are dead.

We are left with two works by two very different composers. Both works lay unknown for many years. And to this day we are not sure when one of the composers died.

Mykhailo Kalachevsky was born on September 14 (26 according to the new calendar), 1851 in Popivka, Ukraine, and died between 1910 and 1912 in Kremenchuk, now in the Poltava district. After receiving degrees both in music (composition and theory at the Leipzig Conservatory, graduating in 1876) and jurisprudence, he settled in Kremenchuk, where he continued his musical activities and law practice until the end of his life. By 1905, however, he had developed a serious debilitating disease that left him essentially paralyzed.

An enigmatic figure who lived in relative obscurity far from musical centers, he wrote a small number of works, most of which are still presumed to be lost (including a requiem for soloists, chorus, strings, and organ, String Quartet, Piano Trio, and several choral works). What has survived are the "Ukrainian" Symphony (written as a diploma work in Leipzig), a collection of 19 songs on texts of various Russian poets, and four piano pieces.

The influence of Glinka and Dargomyzhsky is evident in his songs, whereas the piano pieces reveal a debt to Tchaikovsky. His artistic individuality prevails, however, in his ability to infuse all of his work with a distinctive Ukrainian lyricism.

Kalachevsky's major surviving work, the "Ukrainian" Symphony, is written in the traditional four movements and is scored for a typical mid-19th century orchestra. Although unquestionably strongly influenced by the aesthetic tendencies in Western Europe (especially the aesthetics espoused by Robert Schumann), it still manages to transform such traditions by use of certain characteristics of Ukrainian national style. This is achieved in no small degree by clever use of folk romance, song, and dance forms (such as the "Kozachok") in place of the usual ABA form, scherzo, or rondo. In addition, the theme of the introduction, a tranquil and lyrical melody based on the popular song "Viyut vitry" (Winds Are Blowing, Violent Winds) is transformed into the turbulent and dance-like principal theme of the first movement.

Kalachevsky's "Ukrainian" Symphony belongs to that class of early symphonies by youthful composers, such as Bizet's Symphony in C, which, although lacking the maturity of the recognized masters of the genre, is nevertheless fully formed, with a subtle individuality that deserves repeated hearing. Due to the political circumstances of 19th century Ukraine, it represents, along with Volodymyr Sokalsky's Symphony in G Minor (1892), one of only two symphonies of importance written by Ukrainian composers during the second half of the 1800s.

Volodymyr Ivanovych Sokalsky, the son of a professor of economics at Kharkiv University, was born on May 6, 1863, in Heidelberg and died in 1919. After receiving his degree in jurisprudence from Kharkiv University, he worked in various court systems in Vitebsk, Kharkiv and Novocheerkassk. In composition he was essentially self-taught. As a student he often appeared as pianist, later as conductor; he also worked as a music critic under the pen-name of "Don Diez."

His principal works, in addition to the Symphony in G Minor, are the children's opera "Ripka" (The Turnip), Dramatic Fantasy for Orchestra, Andante elegiac for violoncello and orchestra, "Impressions Musicales" and "In the Meadows" for piano and songs. Unfortunately, his compositions have

sometimes been mistakenly attributed to his uncle, Petro Sokalsky, noted folklorist, music critic and composer of such operas as "The Siege of Dubno" and "Mazepa."

The symphony falls into the category of lyrical, rather than dramatic. Unlike the symphony of Kalachevsky, for the most part it does not contain direct quotes of folk songs. At the same time, much of the melodic and rhythmic character of the symphony suggests the spirit if not the letter of the Ukrainian melos.

The structure is that of a traditional classical four-movement symphony. The first movement, a sonata-allegro, is made-up of two contrasting themes, the first is very energetic, while the second very typical of vocal romance, a genre popular with composers of the Russian Empire. The second movement is interesting in that it is in three parts: a scherzo and two trios. One of the trios is a sort of musette, with an organ point in the bass, and the second a waltz.

The third movement is a lyrical elegy, very dreamy, and very strongly influenced by the music of Tchaikovsky. The final movement is a (by now obligatory) "Kozachok." Here the Ukrainianism is most obvious — and extremely well done.

The two symphonies are worthy of periodic revivals. They are of interest not only because they are by Ukrainians, or because they use Ukrainian themes. Rather, they deserve performance because they are also individual statements on the art of the symphony as it was developing in the second half of the 19th century. They complement the established 19th century Russian repertoire, which for a long time had the monopoly on such material.

Both symphonies have been recorded. The recordings are fairly old, and the quality certainly not high tech. The performances are perfunctory. But they must do until better ones are released (which is being planned now by the author of this column). Kalachevsky is available on Melodiya Mono D 02820-21, Ukrainian SSR State Symphony Orchestra, N. Rakhlin, conductor. The same ensemble and conductor recorded Sokalsky's symphony on Melodiya Mono D 03696-97(a). Good hunting!

## Knesset...

(Continued from page 3)

In reply, the Israeli parliamentarian wrote a letter to Ukrainian authorities, stating that the row over comments in his speech was due to a translation error. Mr. Weiss explained that words had been dropped in the translation of his Hebrew text, and stressed that he was referring only to a part of Ukrainian society.

Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatolii Zlenko told Reuters correspondent Mr. Popeski that he considered the controversy over the speech closed after Mr. Weiss's letter of explanation. The letter appeared in the parliamentary daily *Holos Ukrainy*. "This was a translation error," Mr. Zlenko said, "the words 'in part' were left out, referring to the Ukrainian people." The minister also offered that "viewed in that context, it is true that Ukrainians did serve in the police and other institutions," but that "one mustn't blame an entire people. There are no misunderstandings here. Relations are fine between Israel and Ukraine."

This was not the only controversy Mr. Weiss was thrust into, however. The Knesset speaker also offered comments on the pending appeal of John Demjanjuk, sentenced to death in an

Israeli war-crimes trial. According to a *Respublika* report of June 16, Mr. Weiss made these statements after two deputies of the Supreme Council confronted him, seeking Mr. Demjanjuk's release. "Even today, John Demjanjuk has no alibi," Mr. Weiss told them, "as soon as the Israeli court obtains 101 percent guarantees of his non-participation in the mass shootings at the Treblinka concentration camp, he will be freed."

Reuters reported on June 16, that Mr. Weiss told Israel Radio that he had called two Ukrainian deputies anti-Semites. "They were belligerent, very wild, they made a number of anti-Semitic comments — I flew into a rage, I'm not ashamed," Mr. Weiss said. Later, the visiting dignitary told reporters in Lviv, "I want to explain to people who take part in demonstrations that neither I nor the Israeli Parliament can release Demjanjuk from prison. This is a matter for the courts, and I believe the courts are competent in this matter."

The Reuters correspondent concluded his June 22 report by writing that "post-Soviet Ukraine's leadership has made a point of cultivating good relations with Israel and promoting the culture of the former Soviet republic's 500,000-strong Jewish community to make up for strained relations in the past."



Volodymyr Sokalsky (1863-1919)

## The politics...

(Continued from page 8)

especially in the print media, with dozens if not hundreds of new magazines, newspapers, bulletins; many of these are very recent and many (surprisingly good ones) are located in the provinces. Their overall impact is unprecedented and unquestionably positive. On the other hand, virtually all of these publications are handicapped financially, often with little access to paper, with strictures (largely financial, although in some parts of Ukraine also political) on mail dissemination. Some have already shut down; many are on the verge of bankruptcy.

What is more telling is that, when compared to the Russian language press, originating in Russia and in Ukraine, the Ukrainian language press is in an acknowledged inferior position — as to financial strength, as to size of print runs, and above all, as to quality. While there are some very fine printed sources — "Post-postup," and "Respublika" among newspapers, Vsesvit, Suchasnist and some new ones like Khronika among the journals — the overall picture, as virtually all in Ukraine would admit, is of a decided advantage especially in quantity but also in quality on the part of the Russian language press. Since the press is now independent, one cannot directly speak of government policy here. (Again, this is only partially true — in fact the government plays a major financial role, for it subsidizes some publications and not others). One can however, speak of government policy as to the non-print media, radio and television, where it has a monopoly — and here the picture is quite revealing.

By all accounts, the Ukrainian radio has variety and despite being state run can often be interesting and unpredictable. Television is another matter. While it is afforded a new, strengthened Ukrainian profile, it appears in all respects as but a poor second to the

Russian Ostankino channel which, as before, is broadcast directly to Ukraine from Moscow. (As far as the now available western channels, CNN and others are concerned, the contrasts are even more apparent). The difference in the quality of programming, the level of professionalism (especially as regards commentary and discussion, access to and involvement with Western sources), the sheer sophistication of staging and technical proficiency are all too obvious. This is doubly unfortunate since television is so popular a medium.

At the moment, however, Ukrainianization has not signalled quality. In fact, in television, it is more often associated with the staid and the sentimental and the ethnographic. At times it is mawkish and provincial in the extreme. The most innovative and challenging developments both in contemporary and in traditional Ukrainian culture are virtually invisible as far as the television screen is concerned.

The area where Ukrainianization had a great potential, and a reasonable start, but where it has now suffered a serious setback, is in book publishing. In large measure, the entire national rebirth of the last few years was fueled by major advances in bringing the record of Ukrainian history and culture to the public through dozens of scholarly and popular publications. In the course of the last year or so, however, as a direct result of massive inflation and steep increases in publishing costs, book publication in Ukrainian has fallen precipitously.

As reflected in the ubiquitous book stands up and down the Khreshchatyk, the standard fare is sex manuals and pornography and cheap melodramas — all of it in Russian. While there are some books, more often brochures, on Ukrainian topics (many of them apparently subsidized by diaspora nationalist organizations) the sum effect of market economics has been to drive the very books that have speeded Ukrainianiza-

tion off the market. This is by far the most often heard complaint, and the evidence for it is plain to see.

To the extent that the government, which still has a major monopolistic role in Ukrainian society, has or purports to have a stake in Ukrainianization, it is clear that that stake is primarily rhetorical. Where before it would publish communist propaganda in millions and millions of copies, year in and year out, it now has made its stated commitment to supporting and asserting Ukrainian culture entirely secondary to economic exigencies, purportedly taking a laissez faire approach. So it would appear. But this is only on the surface. The real reason is altogether different — and altogether systemic.

### A new ideology of "Ukrainianness"?

If asserting a Ukrainian spirit, be it new or traditional, is the surface of present cultural policy (and as we have just seen, it is in fact more stated than real, more hoped for than implemented), then the real content, that which lies beneath this surface, is an attempt to establish a new Ukrainian state ideology. This is the closest we come to a national cultural policy. The conscious and unconscious assumption, of course (for the new establishment is after all the old establishment, with only minor changes), is that every state has an ideology — how can one do without one? Precisely in the spirit of pragmatism (not to say opportunism) that has been left on the ruins of the old Soviet empire, and in keeping with the systemic forces that we will examine in a moment, that ideology is basically politics writ large — in effect it is the ideology of the state as such.

In a curious and entirely patterned way, this conforms with the traditions of both the right (the nationalists) and the left (the communists). The fact that the poles have been reversed, that in Ukraine the latter are called right and the former left, should not confuse us; it merely illustrates the changeable and contingent nature of some labels. From both these sources, and from a general consensus in the ruling establishment, and perhaps in the population at large, there is agreement that the state is worth special, solemn, and programmatic attention — intellectually, emotionally and above all ritually.

This is not yet a full-fledged ideology of statism, but it is quite indicative that calls for asserting, supporting and expanding the task of state building, of instilling a new state pride and state consciousness are continually on the lips of various politicians and in the media. This is not an ethnic nationalism, for in the calls for state building, "derzhavne budivnytstvo" or "derzhavotvorennia" the appeal is to all the nationalities of Ukraine, not only the Ukrainians, and as such it is a positive and pluralistic conception, but it is also one which while maximally stressing consensus and confluence of various societal forces all but consciously downgrades the role of individual and minority opinion, and beyond that seems rather indifferent to the cultural component.

For the nationalists, one should add, the official emphasis on pluralism is seen as a hedging on the essential Ukrainianness of the country. As we have already seen, in the writings of their serious spokesmen, Ukrainians are described as living in a situation of apartheid, as a discriminated majority. At the same time, they are correct in their judgment that the new ideology is sorely deficient in its understanding of Ukrainian culture.

Since Ukraine's state ideology is in the process of being formed, one cannot yet speak of it as having definitively sac-

rificed cultural content (especially as it relates to intellectual and artistic quality and to structural reform) in return for consensus and political expediency — but the tendency is precisely in that direction. What is already clear is that in this proto-ideology of Ukrainian statism, culture is seen functionally, as a political commodity, of opportunity, or problem to be solved or financed, but not as an immanent value. The test for this, again, is the question of genuine, systemic reform, and in this regard culture, in the main, is treated opportunistically.

The final basic features of cultural policy — which in themselves are broadly ramified, but which given the situation just described must inevitably be in a preliminary state — are perceptions of identity, especially as they relate both to one's history and prospects for the future and to one's contacts with the outside world. In effect, cultural policy must necessarily deal with history (past and future) and international relations; without them it will remain in some degree regional or provincial, colonial, or ethnographic. And here again, there is much ambiguity.

On the one hand, considerable work is being done on restoring the record, on unearthing the past. Serious and often ground breaking work is devoted to the euphemistically-called "blank pages" of official Soviet censorship and taboos and mendacity regarding the Ukrainian past, both distant and recent. But this is still being done with only a modicum of official government support.

It may seem paradoxical, but in fact the government and state structures of a country that has come into being after having been condemned for so long to non-existence by its colonial masters still have not given voice to a policy regarding this centuries-long enforced, at times genocidally enforced non-being. It is as if the state of Israel had doubts as to whether it should officially, as a matter of state policy, study the Holocaust, or commemorate the millions of victims of genocide. To put the question in this way is to begin to answer it: Ukraine is not Israel. In Ukraine the perpetrators of its former suppression, at the very least co-conspirators in this policy, are still part of the establishment.

If the examination of the past is only beginning, and only semi-officially, the future is largely left unattended. The question of planning and prospects, just like the question of the reform of various structures (which is but a concrete instance of such planning) is simply not a priority. This is particularly true as regards the interrelation of Ukrainian culture, above all the arts and scholarship, with the world at large. This issue has simply not reached the level of national policy.

One needs to be ever mindful, of course, that these are issues facing a state in the process of being born, of a government still learning the very rudiments of governance. In such circumstances, error and confusion are to be expected and in some sense even forgiven. But this assumes that they are precisely that — error and confusion. If there is a systemic pattern, if it is not error and confusion, but conscious policy and different priorities, then our image of a new state stumbling about like a toddler learning to walk will turn out to be sentimental and self-deluding.

Dr. George G. Grabowicz is director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. The text of this serialized article is based on the eighth annual Ivan Franko Lecture, which he delivered on April 12 at Carleton University in Ottawa.

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## House passes...

(Continued from page 3)

have to assist the United States of America in trying to spread democracy, not only in Russia, but around the world." Mr. Callahan then referred to Russia's continued aid to Cuba, sale of armaments to Serbia, Iran and Iraq, and continued support for North Korea. The amendment was defeated by a 289-140 vote.

During the debate, Rep. David Bonior (D-Mich.), the majority whip, stated: "Last year I rose to express my concern that the lion's share of the aid under the Freedom Support Act would go to Russia at the expense of the other republics of the former Soviet Union. In our efforts to strengthen democracy in Russia, we must not ignore the equally important democratic challenges facing us in newly independent nations such as Ukraine."

"Unfortunately, last year this is exactly what happened. Russia received 62 percent of all the Freedom Support Act funds. In comparison, Ukraine received less than one-tenth of what Russia got. On a per capita basis, Ukraine was third from last of all the former Soviet republics....We must address this imbalance in aid levels," he said.

The Michigan congressman went on to state that "for good reasons, Ukrainians feel dwarfed by Russia. They remember the tsarist treatment of Ukraine, Stalin's imposition of collective farming, and the millions of Ukrainians deaths excused by this notion that to make an omelette, you have to break eggs. During a recent congressional delegation visit to Ukraine and Russia, I could not help but notice that Russian Vice-President (Aleksander) Rutskoi still had an old map of the Soviet empire hanging in his office." He went on to associate himself with report language urging more aid to Ukraine.

Rep. Jim Lightfoot (R-Iowa) stated that he is concerned about continued aid from NIS nations to terrorist nations. In his comments he stated that "it is reported that Ukraine has sold Surnburn-class anti-ship cruise missiles to Iran. This was part of a larger, three-way deal that also included Russian tanks and planes." Working with the committee, he drafted report language requiring a State Department report to Congress on such sales.

Also pointing out that Ukraine has received a disproportionately low percentage of U.S. aid to the NIS, Rep.

Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.) stated that "a democratic Ukraine is the key to the consolidation of democracy in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland. Furthermore, Russia will never fully develop if Ukraine is not also free and prosperous."

Stating that Ukraine is "emerging as a pivotal actor in defining the shape of post-Soviet Europe," he stated that "for three and a half centuries the Ukrainian people have sought to escape the subjugation of their Russian overlords. Now they are within reach of consolidating and perfecting this process. If Ukraine is successful in its attempt to build a viable democratic regime, it could serve as an example for other republics in their democratization process."

Prior to and during House consideration of the two bills, the Washington offices of the Ukrainian National Association (UNA) and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) contacted all members of Congress, urging support for a more equitable distribution to Ukraine of the \$2.5 billion for the NIS.

In commenting on the passage of the bills, UNA Washington Office Director Eugene Iwanciw stated: "Many members of Congress still do not know the difference between Russia and Ukraine, much less the smaller states that emerged from the Soviet Union. During the debate, many members continued to refer to the nations of the NIS as either the 'Soviet Union' or 'Russia.' A number of representatives who visited Ukraine and Russia in April referenced their trip and urged 'aid for Russia.' Clearly, there is a lot of work to do to educate our elected representatives."

## Bishop Paisiy...

(Continued from page 5)

Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Minneapolis, after the recent death of the congregation's priest, the Rev. Myron Pacholok.

Bishop Paisiy noted: "I have traveled through 11 countries around the world, and the people here in the United States often don't appreciate what we have here. ... You do not realize how much we have and how well off we are compared to many people around the world. God bless the U.S.A. — we have the freedom to worship God as we want, and the opportunity for different Orthodox people to come together to meet and work. I love this country, and I love the people here in Minneapolis."

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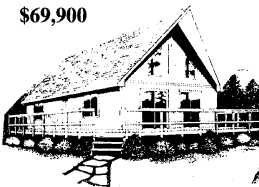
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## New interpretations...

(Continued from page 2)

studied topic in modern Ukrainian history? First of all, the difficulties of defining Stalinism are so great as to make the whole exercise virtually pointless. Is one referring to the system or to the man? And to which period? Can Stalinism be restricted to the years between 1928 and 1953? In the 1993 edition of his pioneering study "Why Lenin? Why Stalin?" (now entitled "Why Lenin? Why Stalin? Why Gorbachev?"), Theodore von Laue argues that the Stalinist period only ended in 1985.<sup>17</sup> Von Laue's approach may serve as a convenient means to portray Mr. Gorbachev as something new, a break with the past, but it also suggests that certain features of the Soviet system should be equated with, if not attributed to, Stalin.

In fact, it would probably be more

accurate to argue that Stalin introduced little that was new. Rather, his contribution to the development of the USSR was to utilize instruments of power introduced under Bolshevik rule between 1917 and 1922 and transform them into something more brutal and all-embracing. Ultimately, the system may have outlasted the man, but it was subsequently modified. There were, for example, no mass famines in Ukraine after Stalin died, despite the fact that the USSR soon became an importer of grain.

It is a fact, however, that most of the fundamental transformations of Ukrainian society occurred under Stalin: the famine of 1932-1933; the purges; the catastrophic collectivization campaigns of the 1930s and 1940s; the unification of Ukrainian territories in 1939 and 1944-1945; the wartime occupation; the warfare between nationalist insurgents and Soviet forces between 1944 and 1951; and the destruction of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the early post-

war years.

Newly released documents suggest that the repression may have been worse than at first feared. They have also led to speculation that the size of the resistance movement was considerably larger than originally surmised. Thus, the estimated number of OUN-UPA combatants has risen steadily from the original 10,000 to a highly implausible 200,000.<sup>18</sup> If the latter figure is accepted as accurate, it would suggest that the anti-Stalin movement was in fact a tidal wave. In reality, it never posed a serious threat to the security of Soviet rule in Ukraine.

It might be more beneficial for Ukrainian historians to analyze the nature of the Stalinist system in its Ukrainian variant. Did Stalin, for example, have particular plans for Ukraine that differed from those for other regions? Did Nikita Khrushchev's leadership, which ran Ukraine for most of the postwar years of Stalin's rule, adopt an independent line on any issues? A study of these years would suggest that Stalinism consisted of a rigid and remote leadership pursuing well-worn policies indiscriminately, ignoring regional variations, and pushed to extremes only by the emergence of a distinct national consciousness in the Soviet borderlands. It is more logical to perceive Stalinist agricultural policies, for example, as motivated by a desire for the acquisition of grain rather than by an aversion to Ukrainians as an ethnic or national group.

To date, there is little indication that Ukrainian historiography is thinking in terms of a broader perspective. Precisely because the study of contemporary Ukrainian history is so new, it has been difficult for historians to compare it with that of other republics in the USSR; and because the effects of Soviet policies have been so tragic, the worst motives on the part of the perpetrators are often assumed.

The essence of the problem posed by the study of 20th century Ukraine, and the Stalinist period in particular, may be that Ukraine is not one entity but several. Paradoxically, it was Stalin — the perpetrator of the repression that dominated the first half of the 20th century in Ukraine — who transformed these disparate parts into the whole constituting the nation of today. The only major territorial change following the unification of Ukrainian lands in 1944 and 1945 was the addition to Ukraine of the Crimean peninsula in 1954. But the component parts of Ukraine had never been independent in their own right and were only welded together by an uncompromising leadership. Today, Ukraine's historians are operating in another sphere: that of a newly independent nation. A host of regional problems and peculiarities are surfacing, many for the first time.

### Prospects for Recovery

In a reflective article published in the spring of 1992, Dr. Kulchytsky noted that the lifting of censorship meant that Ukrainian historians were now responsible for rescuing "our science" from crisis. The best means out of the current impasse, according to Dr. Kulchytsky,

was what he called a "frontal assault on the archival sources." What might delay the process, in his view, is the complete absence among his peers of a basic knowledge of contemporary historical theory as developed by various schools of history around the world.<sup>19</sup> While the documents are now available, Ukrainian historians may lack the training to deal with them adequately, owing to their long confinements to the old methods and ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, the rapid pace of political change has rendered historical analysis more difficult.

Dr. Kulchytsky points out that the new textbooks on the history of Ukraine issued to 10th and 11th graders in the fall of 1991 were outdated as soon as they arrived.<sup>20</sup> Recently, there has been a campaign to produce mass editions of guidebooks, historical readers, and textbooks for schools, gymnasiums, and higher educational institutions through the cooperation of the Institute of History and the Ministry of Education. Constructing an integrated program of historical instruction will be a difficult process, however, as each new interpretation of modern history casts doubt on previous ones.

Nevertheless, the current analyses of Ukrainian history are beginning to produce a clearer picture of events. Future articles to appear in *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal* include contributions by Omejan Pritsak, Roman Solchanyk, Volodymyr Kosyk, Stepan Velychenko, and Ihor Stebelsky — all Western scholars who cover between them a wide variety of fields.<sup>21</sup> The 20th century has been opened to new historical scholarship.

On the other hand, scholars cannot be expected to recover ground lost to the backwardness of Ukrainian historiography overnight. Historians in Ukraine often find themselves at a loss to explain catastrophic events in any way other than attributing them to the machinations of Stalin or the administrative-command system. It should be borne in mind that the system imposed on Ukraine under Stalin was subject to regional variations and often inconsistent in its policies, and that its harshness or relative leniency depended upon fluctuations in the political situation at home and abroad. Finally, it is not always possible to separate the history of Ukraine from that of Soviet regional policies in general.

*The author is an associate professor of history at the University of Alberta, Canada. His book "Stalinism in Ukraine in the 1940s" has recently appeared.*

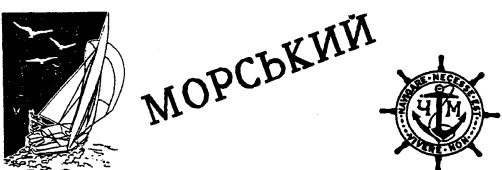
<sup>17</sup> Theodore H. Von Laue, "Why Lenin? Why Stalin? Why Gorbachev? The Rise and Fall of the Soviet System," third edition (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1993).

<sup>18</sup> Marples, "Stalinism in Ukraine..." p. 58.

<sup>19</sup> Kulchytsky, "History and Time..." pp. 5 and 8.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>21</sup> The future topics are listed on the back cover of *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, No. 9, 1992.



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## The status...

(Continued from page 7)

Ukrainian men are capable of reproduction. At the same time, the rate of miscarriages is significant. The mortality rate in Ukraine is twice as high as in the West, and, most significantly, at this time, Ukraine's mortality rate is higher than the birth rate in all regions. If appropriate measures are not taken to alleviate this situation, it is inevitable that the population will continue to decline and the new generation will be unable to support the older generation.

Independent Ukraine inherited this tragic state of affairs. To date, its government has been unable to bring about meaningful changes because of its inability to replace the established bureaucracy.

Step by step, cultural traditions need to be revived. The traditional image of the Ukrainian woman has to be slowly reintroduced by casting off the features of the Russian subservient woman, the "domostroy" type. In Ukrainian tradition, the woman "held three corners of the household."

Another area that deserves significant attention is education. Ukrainian authorities are faced with the daunting task of countering the Russification that predominated, not only in language and literature, but also in history, geography, sociology and other disciplines.

Despite the enormous challenges facing the newly independent Ukrainian state, some promising trends have emerged. For example, women have been reviving age-old traditions formerly suppressed by the Soviet regime. There is hope for a brighter future.

## Interfaith...

(Continued from page 7)

religious organizations in attendance.

"The Ukrainian government has no desire or intention to politicize religion, and we sincerely hope that we can work with the leaders of all religious faiths," Dr. Zhulynsky said in his introductory statement.

"It is especially important now, in these difficult economic times, that the religious leaders help preserve the morals of our country," he later explained.

Responding to the overtures of the government, Ukrainian Chief Rabbi Yaakov Bleich said, "I think the fact that the government has resumed these meetings after such a long period is in itself a positive step that bodes well for the future."

According to statistics released by the government, there are now more than 60 different faiths and over 14,000 religious communities established in the Ukraine, whose total population exceeds 50 million.

Included are 52 Jewish communities and a Jewish population estimated at over 500,000.

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10:00 pm Social Get-together in the "Trembita" Lounge  
Music: SOUNDS OF SOYUZIVKA

### Friday, July 2

10:00 pm Dance — music provided by SOUNDS OF SOYUZIVKA  
LATE NIGHT KARAOKE

### Saturday, July 3

8:30 pm CONCERT — CHAIKA Ukrainian Dance Ensemble / Yonkers/  
VIKTOR SHPORTKO, vocalist  
10:00 pm DANCES — music provided by TEMPO;  
FATA MORGANA

### Sunday, July 4

2:15 pm Outdoor Concert TARAS PETRYNENKO and "HRONO"  
8:30 pm CONCERT — Vocal-instrumental Ensemble  
VESELYI LVIV  
10:00 pm DANCES — music provided by TEMPO; FATA MORGANA

### Saturday, July 10

8:30 pm CONCERT — Vocal-instrumental Ensemble OBEREHY  
10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by UKRAINIAN SOUVENIR /N.Y./

### Saturday, July 17

10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by SOUNDS OF SOYUZIVKA

### Saturday, July 24

8:30 pm CONCERT — TARAS PETRYNENKO and "HRONO"  
10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by FATA MORGANA

### Sunday, July 25

2:15 pm OUTDOOR CONCERT featuring FATA MORGANA

### Saturday, July 31

8:30 pm CONCERT — SOYUZIVKA DANCE WORKSHOP RECITAL;  
director: ROMA PRYMA BOHACHEVSKY  
10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by VODOHRAY /N.Y./

### Sunday, August 1

2:15 pm CONCERT — SVITLANA NYKYTENKO, soprano  
HANNA KUPOROSOVA, pianist

### Saturday, August 7

8:30 pm CONCERT — DUMKA CHOIR /N.Y./  
VASYL HRECHYNSKY, conductor  
10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by OLES KUZYSZYN Trio /N.J./

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## PREVIEW...

(Continued from page 16)

**Saturday, July 3, and Sunday, July 4**

**LEHIGHTON, Pa.:** The Ukrainian Homestead is having two dances over the July 4 weekend. The Saturday dance in the main hall features the Oles Kuzyszyn Orchestra and starts at 9 p.m. Admission \$10, \$8 for senior citizens. The Sunday dance features D.J. Lewko Strocky and starts at 9 p.m. Admission \$5. For further information call Alex Prociuk at (215) 235-3709 or the Ukrainian Homestead at (215) 377-4621.

**Saturday, July 10**

**IRVING, Texas:** The Ukrainian American Society of Texas invites the public to its annual July 4 summer picnic, to be held at St. Basil the Great Byzantine Catholic Church grounds, 1118 Union Bower Road. The festivities will run from 1-6 p.m. Admission is free; please bring a covered dish to share with other participants. The UAST will provide beer and soft drinks. For additional information please call (214) 438-5644.

**Sunday, July 11**

**LEHIGHTON, Pa.:** The Ukrainian Gold Cross will hold a three week overnight children's camp for children ages 7 to 14 years from July 11- July 31. Children will be taught Ukrainian dancing and the art of garden-making. Swimming, sports and field trips will also be featured. Registration is \$20 per child, and the weekly fee is \$120 per child. For further information please contact Wolodymyra Kawka at (215) 623-2309, or Uiana Prociuk at (215) 235-3709.

**Saturday, July 24**

**Glen Spey, N.Y.:** The United Ukrainian American Citizens Committee of the USA will hold a banquet at 2 p.m. at Verkhovyna Resort. Dr. Oleh Bilorus, Ukraine's ambassador to the United States, will be presented with the "Diplomat of the Year Award 1993". The guest speaker will be Andrew Zabrodsky, vice president of the UUACCA. The second anniversary of a free and sovereign Ukraine will be celebrated at this time. For additional information call or write: Ted Odosee, 2186 Mahoning Drive W., Lehigh, Pa. 18235. (717) 386-3836.

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

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

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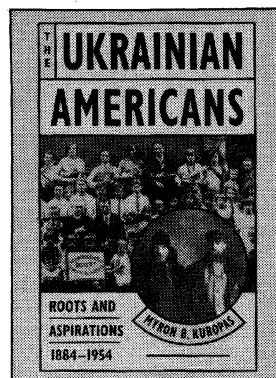
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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Sunday, June 27

**SASKATOON, Sask.:** "Ukrainian Culture as Expressed Through Art" will be the topic of the Curator's Gallery Talk at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, 910 Spadina Crescent East. Works in the exhibit "Art and Ethnicity: the Ukrainian Tradition in Canada" will be used to illustrate the talk, which will start at 2:30 p.m. For further information contact Rose Marie Fedorak at (306) 244-3800.

Wednesday, June 30

**WASHINGTON:** The Washington Group, in cooperation with Meridian International Center, is sponsoring a discussion on "The Current Power Struggle in Ukraine," to be held at the Meridian House, 1630 Crescent Pl. NW (one block west of 16 Street.). The program will begin at 7 p.m. Featured speakers include: Mykola Zaludnyak, the presidential representative of Poltava Oblast; Oleksander Lavrynovych, vice-chairman of Rukh and vice-chairman of the parliamentary commission on elections; and Valery Sheludko, assistant to the general procurator of Ukraine. A reception will follow the discussion. Donations will be accepted.

Wednesday, June 30—Sunday, July 4

**WINNIPEG, Man.:** The Ukrainian Professional and Business Federation Convention presents "Ukraine: The New World Agenda". This international conference will take place at the Westin Hotel. It will address the present economic state in Ukraine, the business climate in Canada, as well as provide hands-on workshops and personal experiences in joint ventures. Participants will be able to

exhibit their company profile, services and merchandise. Conference speakers will include Victor Pynzenyk, deputy prime minister of Ukraine; Oleg Rybachuk, head of foreign relations, National Bank of Ukraine; Denis Goresky, newly appointed trade commissioner to Ukraine; Lev Lukianenko, Ukraine's ambassador to Canada; as well as Gary Filmon, premier of Manitoba, among others. Conference registration will be on June 30. For program, interview, and registration information contact Ron Basarab at (204) 943-4116 or (204) 943-8642 (fax).

Thursday, July 1—Friday, July 2

**WINNIPEG, Man.:** St. Andrew's College is sponsoring an academic conference to mark the 75th anniversary of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada. The conference will feature a discussion of pastoral and historical issues relating to the development of the Church. It will take place at Holy Trinity Orthodox Cathedral on Thursday 8:30 a.m.-5 p.m. On Friday the 38th Convocation of St. Andrew's College will be held at the Garden City Inn, 2100 McPhillips St., starting at 7 p.m. and concluding with a reception at 8:30 p.m.

Saturday, July 3

**LEHIGHTON, Pa.:** The Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine Branch 12 (Philadelphia) is having a picnic at the Ukrainian Homestead. The picnic will start at 2 p.m. and will end approximately at 6 p.m. Admission is \$5 per person. This includes food, music and entertainment. For further information contact Alex Prociuk at (215) 235-3709.

(Continued on page 14)

## At Soyuzivka: July 1-4

**KERHONKSON, N.Y. —** The Ukrainian National Association estate's Fourth of July festivities will feature an array of talent, including a vocal-instrumental ensemble and a rock band from Ukraine, a Ukrainian folk dance troupe from Yonkers, N.Y., and a singer from Kyiv.

The holiday weekend events actually begin on Thursday evening, July 1, with the traditional Hutsul Night, featuring the Veselyi Lviv vocal-instrumental ensemble. At 10 p.m. there will be a get-together at Soyuzivka's Trembita Lounge, with music provided by Sounds of Soyuzivka, that is musicians/singers Hryc Hrynovc and Stepan Ben.

Sounds of Soyuzivka will also be the featured band for the dance on Friday night, July 2, which will be followed by "Late Night Karaoke."

The first of the weekend's three concerts is slated for Saturday, July 3, when Viktor Shportko, a merited artist of Ukraine, and the Chaika Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, which is affiliated with the Ukrainian American Youth Association of Yonkers, will perform.

Mr. Shportko is a winner of various international song fests who has appeared throughout Ukraine and in every republic of the former USSR. He toured North America in 1988-1989. He has performed most recently with the Veselyi Lviv ensemble of musicians and singers that has been touring the United States.

Chaika (from the Ukrainian word for gull and the name of the famed Kozaks'

boats) includes young professionals and students who devote many hours of their free time to Ukrainian dance. Now celebrating its 13th anniversary, the troupe's choreographer is Orest Rusynko and its administrator is Walter Yurcheniuk. The Chaika dancers have performed at many Ukrainian and international events up and down the East Coast of the United States and Canada.

There will be two concerts on Sunday, July 4. The afternoon concert beginning at 2:15 p.m. will feature Taras Petrynenko and Hrono, a rock band from Ukraine. Mr. Petrynenko, a poet, composer and performer from Kyiv, uses haunting melodies and moving lyrics to comment on the ongoing changes in Ukraine. This marks the second U.S. tour of Taras Petrynenko and Hrono. The ensemble also comprises Tetiana Horobets, Oleksander Mocherivsky and Volodymyr Leschenko. The evening concert scheduled for 8:30 will be performed by Veselyi Lviv.

Two bands will provide music for dances on Saturday and Sunday night: the New Jersey-based Tempo and Fata Morgana, formerly of Ukraine. The dances begin at approximately 10 p.m.

The mistress of ceremonies for the entertainment programs is Marianka Hawryluk. Anya Dydyk-Petrenko is program director.

For further information about Soyuzivka programs and accommodations, phone the UNA resort at (914) 626-5641.

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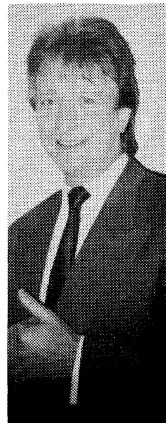
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Headliners during Soyuzivka's Fourth of July program include: (clockwise from top left) Viktor Shportko, Taras Petrynenko and Hrono, and the Chaika Dancers.

## Youth sports games postponed

**NEWTON, N.J. —** Due to technical reasons, the Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S. and Canada (USCAK-East) has postponed the XIX Ukrainian Youth Sport Games. The event will take place July 31- August 1 at the Ukrainian Fraternal Association Estate in Glen Spey, N.Y.

The events are scheduled as follows: July 31 — track and field, tennis and swimming; August 1 — soccer, volleyball, including the USCAK-East men's and women's volleyball championships. Participants must submit entries to: Ireneus Isajiw, RD 6 Box 192, Newton N.J. 07860; (201) 383-8636.