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## THE ENVIRONMENT: Pollution plagues large areas of Ukraine

by Volodymyr Boreyko  
Special to IntelNews

KYYIV — Large areas of Ukraine suffer from water, soil and air pollution, and much of the country's territory is affected by radioactive fallout from the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear accident. That is the reality confronting the second most populous newly independent state located on the territory of the former USSR.

Areas suffering permanent environmental pollution are located in the oblasts of Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Rivne, Volyn, Vinnytsia and Cherkasy.

This includes territory with permanent radiation pollution at above pre-Chernobyl accident levels and the irradiation of the population at over 0.1 ber per annum. In areas adjoining Chernobyl (Kyiv and Zhytomyr provinces) 80 percent of the radiation derives from isotopes of cesium-134 and cesium-137. Outside the 30-kilometer zone there are areas where 100 percent of the radiation is derived from cesium isotopes.

The total area polluted with cesium-137 at levels above 1 curie per square kilometer is close to 37,000 square kilometers including 1,960 square kilometers that are contaminated at 5 to 15 curies per square kilometer, 820 square kilometers at 15 to 40 curies per square kilometer, and 640 square kilometers at above 40 curies per square kilometer. The polluted areas include 3.5 million hectares (8.6 million acres) of agricultural land and 1.5 million hectares (3.7 million acres) of forests. Thirty-two districts in six provinces have suffered various degrees of radiation. In 150 populated areas the average density of cesium-137 in the soil in 5 curies per square kilometer, with 22 of these being 15 curies per square kilometer and higher.

### Water

In 1990, 19.7 billion cubic meters of effluent were dumped into the country's rivers, of which 2.9 billion cubic meters were toxic. The volume of this effluent continues to grow. Principal sources of water pollution include housing, and the metallurgical, chemical and oil-refining industries.

The problem of small rivers, of which there are 22,500 in Ukraine, is especially acute. Almost 25,000 kilometers of their length needs cleaning. The cost of this work is estimated at 3 billion karbovan-tsi (about \$3 million U.S.). Small rivers are being intensively polluted with pesticides, mineral fertilizer and effluent from animal-rearing complexes.

The average annual outflow of the Dnipro River is 52.4 cubic kilometers. The total volume of effluent in the river is estimated by scientists to be 22 cubic kilometers — almost half the river's water.

A total of 10 billion cubic meters of untreated water was emptied during the last five-year period into Ukraine's lakes, ponds, rivers and seas. The principal polluter (80 percent) was the metallurgical industry.

### Soil

The principal source of soil pollution is the misuse of pesticides and mineral fertilizer. However, lately there has been a noticeable fall in the use of pesticides. Compared with 1986, amounts used in 1990 fell by 30 percent and totalled 130,000 tons.

Residual levels of pesticides in the soil are found in all provinces, often in concentrations exceeding permissible levels. One problem is the use of unsuitable and banned pesticides. Over 12,000 tons of these have now been stockpiled. Nitrate levels in fodder crops exceed permitted levels by 30 percent.

Especially badly polluted areas (61,000 square kilometers) are concentrated along the Dnipro and Dnister rivers, in the Donbas, on the eastern part of the Black Sea coast, in the vicinity of the Chernobyl power station and in many major cities. Close to 116,700 square kilometers are very polluted, and 121,000 square kilometers are lightly polluted. These are located in continuous bands concentrated in the vicinity of the Chernobyl power station and the southern parts of Ukraine.

The most favorable areas for habitation, work and recreation in Ukraine are the moderately (114,800 square kilometers) and lightly polluted (49,100 square kilometers) parts of the country. Nearly all of these are located in the central, western and eastern parts of the country.

Water storage facilities occupy approximately 2.1 percent of the total land mass in Ukraine, while industrial plants take up close to 250,000 hectares. The mining industry has destroyed 226,000 hectares or roughly half a percent of the country's land mass. In the last 30 years the area of farmed land has been reduced by more than 2 million hectares (of these, 1 million was considered arable land) — and not at the expense of reforestation schemes or the creation of national parks.

The annual rate of agricultural land  
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## Parliament OKs Kuchma government's plan for national economic policy

by Borys Klymenko

KYYIV — Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma told the Parliament on February 3: "Give the government room to work, not just draw up programs." This was the Ukrainian prime minister's reaction to a proposed amendment submitted by the Supreme Council. Later, by a vote of 283 to 21 with 69 abstentions, the Parliament ratified the government's plan of action outlined in its "Basic Principles of a National Economic Policy." The Parliament could do no less, considering that it had ratified these very "principles" last March.

However, in the course of a year, none of the six core programs put forward by Vitold Fokin's government had been put into action. Most of the parliamentarians now seem willing to give the current government a chance to implement at least one.

Prior to the debate on the new plan, rumors had circulated that the Supreme Council's deputies would kill the Kuchma program. However, Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil suggested that the reactionary majority in Parliament had expended most of its energies in mid-January and would probably not present any opposition at the moment.

A week earlier, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk had said at a meeting with his district representatives: "I support Kuchma's government because I support stabilization. Any efforts at compromising the government are directed against the Ukrainian state."

Economic stabilization and reform, now in a crisis, present the government with contradictory priorities. According to the government's "Basic Principles," these priorities are to: "halt the fall in production; develop mutually beneficial economic ties [with other countries]; renew the administration of the state's economic sector; ensure that the government's authority is effective and viable; implement anti-inflationary measures; develop market infrastructures for resources, products and capital; privatize and commercialize trade, food supply and the service sector; and incorporate state enterprises."

The condition of the economy, as outlined in the government's report, is almost apocalyptic:

"The economic situation in Ukraine in early 1993 is extraordinarily complex, and is characterized by sharp increases in inflation, a total imbalance of credit and financial relations, a deep crisis in the ability to meet payrolls, significant drops in production, sharp

worsening in the sphere of foreign investment (particularly in manufacturing), failures in the foreign economic policy and a marked decrease in the general standard of living.

"There has been a breakdown in regional communications and in contact between the various branches of the economy. Hard currency income is not even sufficient to purchase the most basic and critically needed imports.

"The economic crisis is closely related to structural problems in the country's economy. The economy had been hypermilitarized, there is an excessively large amount of heavy industry, production facilities are aging and outmoded, there is a strong general resistance to technological progress, and a heavy dependence on a wide range of imported natural resources."

"Decreases in production, which began in 1990 and became widespread in 1992, have set the economy back, according to leading indicators, by 70 years," the report concluded.

In order to bring the economy out of its current crisis — or at least to stabilize it — requires the action of a kamikaze government, according to

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## Communist bloc demands ouster of Morozov

KYYIV — Members of Parliament who were once members of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which is now banned, have begun circulating a petition demanding the resignation of Minister of Defense Konstantyn Morozov, reported the Respublika news service.

As well, the Communist bloc is calling for the removal of Maj. Gen. Volodymyr Muliava, director of the Defense Ministry's Social-Psychological Service. Both men are depicted by the Communists as ultra-nationalists.

The Ukrainian Republican Party reacted to the petition drive by cautioning the public to beware of Communist fabrications and disinformation.

A URP statement called on the people of Ukraine to defend members of the armed forces who serve Ukraine and who will be able to defend Ukraine from imperialism.

The statement notes that "having emerged from their foxholes," the Communists have begun a new attack, using fabrications and twisting facts, as

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## Newsbriefs on Ukraine

• **KYIV** — Ukraine and Russia have had some recent success in resolving differences concerning the repayment of the debt of the former Soviet Union, *Kommersant* reported on January 29. Meeting in Kyiv last week, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin and First Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers Ihor Yukhnovsky were able to agree upon criteria by which Soviet assets abroad will be valued. Russia has assumed the Soviet debt obligations of all the other republics in exchange for their relinquishing any claim on Soviet assets abroad. Achieving such a deal with Ukraine has as yet eluded Russian negotiators. Resolving the outstanding issues of debt obligations is one of the obstacles preventing Western creditors from approving comprehensive debt restructuring for Russia. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **DONETSK** — Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma says Ukraine for all intents and purposes, bankrupt, Radio Ukraine reported on February 1. Speaking to miners in the Donetsk region, he reported that last year's deficit amounted to 1.325 trillion karbovantsi (about \$20 billion in world prices). Mr. Kuchma, noting that 60 percent of Russia's deliveries move on Ukraine's railroads and through its ports, said that thus far Kyiv has not received a single kopek from Moscow in

compensation. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **KYIV** — Parliament has called for important modifications of recent governmental acts concerning economic reform, *Interfax* reported on January 25 and 27. Parliament on January 25 adopted in principle an interim draft decree on the socio-economic situation in the country that recommended the government re-establish fixed prices for some necessities, such as milk, butter, salt, sugar and vegetable oil. On January 27, parliamentarians urged restrictions on the resale of land bought from state enterprises for private commercial use. Parliament also recommended the government amend recent decrees on leasing so that current leaseholders receive special privileges for retaining such contracts. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **SEVASTOPIIL** — The new commander-in-chief of the "Joint Russian-Ukrainian Fleet on the Black Sea," Vice-Admiral Eduard Baltin, conducted a conference of the fleet's military council on January 28, said an *ITAR-TASS* news report. Vice-Admiral Baltin informed the council he had met with both Russian and Ukrainian defense ministers before arriving in Sevastopol. Both had expressed their willingness to visit the fleet to resolve

outstanding questions. On January 29, Russian TV's "Vesti" reported that 10 percent of the fleet's officers, NCOs and sailors had taken the oath of allegiance to Ukraine. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **KYIV** — The Congress of National Democratic Forces held a press conference in Kyiv on January 29 to discuss an initiative to form an "anti-communist and anti-imperial front" in Ukraine. Ukrainian TV reported that the organizers called attention to the activation of those forces intent on depriving Ukraine of its independence and regaining power for the Communist Party. The proposed front has called for a mobilization of democratic forces to oppose such plans. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **KYIV** — Rukh intends to support President Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, said its leader Vyacheslav Chornovil at a press conference held here on January 28. DR-Press also quoted Mr. Chornovil as saying that Rukh will begin another referendum campaign in the spring on dissolution of Parliament. Should the situation in the country worsen, Rukh is prepared to add another question to the referendum regarding support for the dissolution of the Communist Party. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **MOSCOW** — British American Tobacco (BAT), one of three major international tobacco firms, has joined its competitors, RJ Reynolds and Philip Morris, and has invested in a joint venture in Ukraine. The *Financial Times* reported that towards the end of last year BAT signed an agreement with the Ukrainian government to run two plants, one in Pryluky and the other in Cherkasy. RJ Reynolds currently controls the largest portion of Ukraine's cigarette manufacturing capability. Its two plants in Lviv and Kremenchuk have a combined capacity of 20 billion cigarettes, about 25 percent of Ukraine's cigarette market.

• **KHARKIV** — Berezh 93 is the name of a festival dedicated to the Ukrainian theater that will be held here from March 31 to April 10. The event is billed as the first all-Ukrainian multinational festival of theater. It is being sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and the Cultural Fund of Ukraine, the Kharkiv Academic Theater and the Les Kurbas Center, as well as the Kharkiv Oblast administration. Well-known drama troupes from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Poland are expected to participate. (Respublika)

• **TOKYO** — A Japanese paper has reported that China has recruited "hundreds" of Ukrainian and Russian military and nuclear scientists and engineers. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* on December 29 quoted "a reliable source in Beijing" who said China had obtained specialists in cruise missiles, anti-submarine warfare, missile and nuclear technology who were working in Chinese factories. Offices had been set up in Ukraine and Russia to recruit the scientists. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **KYIV** — A Ukrainian government delegation has signed several agreements with Kazakhstan on economic cooperation between the two countries, *Interfax* reported on December 29. The most important of the agreements provides for Ukrainian participation in the development of Kazakhstan's oil and gas industries and for payment procedures that must be changed because of Ukraine's withdrawal from the ruble zone. Ukraine also asked to buy 1.1 million tons of wheat from Kazakhstan. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **ALMA-ATA** — A Ukrainian delegation that held successful talks in Alma-Ata went on to Ashgabat on December 29 to discuss payments for Turkmen gas in 1993, reported *Interfax*. A major dispute over the price Ukraine would pay for Turkmen gas had estranged the two countries for several months in 1992. Agreement was finally reached on price, but now there is a major trade imbalance between the two states. Nurmukhamed Khanamov, chairman of Turkmenistan's State Committee for Supplies, told *Interfax* the 1993 imbalance favoring Ukraine could reach 100 billion rubles. Turkmenistan is asking that Ukraine sharply increase the volume of its exports. The Ukrainians have proposed purchasing Russian goods and supplying them to Turkmenistan, permitting that country to re-export goods from Ukraine to Afghanistan. They also suggested paying for some gas purchases in hard currency. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **TIRASPOL**, Moldova — The Supreme Council of the "Dniester Republic" unanimously voted on January 26 to express confidence in the minister of state security and the deputy minister of internal affairs, and to deny Latvia's request for their extradition, *Basapress* has reported. The two officials, who go by the names Shevtsov and Matveyev in Tiraspol, were known

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## Socialists to form shadow government

*IntelNews*

**KYIV** — At a February 2 press conference held by the Political Council of the Socialist Party of Ukraine, speakers said that Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma's anti-crisis program is only deepening the economic situation in the country.

As a result, the Socialist Party will be forced into forming a shadow government in March of this year, said Oleksander Moroz, leader of the Socialist Party.

Mr. Moroz said the government's measures lack a proper scientific foundation and criticized the Kuchma Cabinet for not even bothering to consult with the Institute of Economics

affiliated with the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

He stressed that the Socialist Party considers workers' collectives the only group having the right to receive state property through privatization. Current privatization programs will only serve the interests of speculators, said spokesmen for the Socialist Party.

The current economic crisis in Ukraine was blamed on the decision to ban the Communist Party in Ukraine and do away with the centralized distribution system. Mr. Moroz said that because today's government officials have thus far not been able to create a new system, the Socialist Party is in the process of drafting its own economic program.

## Liudmyla Kovalenko Maniak, co-editor of "Famine-33," dies

**KYIV** — Exactly seven months after her husband was killed in a bus accident, Liudmyla Kovalenko-Maniak, a radio-journalist, magazine editor and president of the All-Ukrainian Association of Researchers of the Genocidal Famine of 1932-1933 (AUARGF), died here suddenly of undetermined causes on January 23.

Ms. Kovalenko-Maniak was born on May 5, 1936, in Bochechky, near Kotop in the Sumy Oblast. She graduated with a degree in journalism from Kyiv University in 1958, and immediately began working at the local radio network.

Later, she joined the staff of the magazines "Ranok" and "Ukraina," where she attained high editorial positions. In recent years, Ms. Kovalenko-Maniak also worked as a deputy editor of the monthly on popular and religious affairs, *Liudyna i Svit*, and

worked as a manuscript editor for numerous publishing houses.

During the perestroika period, she joined her husband, Volodymyr's work in interviewing survivors of Nazi depredations and the Stalinist terror in Ukraine, gathering testimonies and documentary material about the famine of 1932-1933 and other atrocities perpetrated by the Soviet regime. The couple then compiled and co-edited the first volume of the commemorative monograph, "Famine 33," published in 1990.

Following Mr. Maniak's death on June 23, 1992, Ms. Kovalenko-Maniak was elected to replace him as the head of the AUARGF. Vice-President Dmytro Kalenyk will now assume the post.

Funeral services were held on January 27. Ms. Kovalenko-Maniak is survived by her son, Antin, family and friends.

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# INTERVIEW: The Vatican's administrator for Toronto eparchy

As of December 29, 1992, the Rev. Roman Danylak is the apostolic administrator for the Toronto Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy, with episcopal character, that is, with the powers of a bishop.

The Rev. Danylak, formerly a consultant to the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of Canon (Church) Law for the Eastern Churches (1973-1990) has been serving as the chancellor of the Toronto Eparchy since 1966, and as pastor of its cathedral, St. Josaphat's, since 1978.

In the wake of two weeks of increasing controversy over his appointment, The Weekly contacted the Rev. Danylak at his residence at St. Josaphat's parish on January 16. The interview was conducted by Andriy Wynnycky.

## CONCLUSION

You brought up the fact that some priests fear the consequences of your appointment. What reasons might they have to fear it?

That's right, [they fear me] because they know my views on certain issues. An issue that they fear me on is, for example, the celibate versus the married clergy.

Do you oppose the ordination of married priests?

No, I don't. OK, they all know me as a law and order priest. That I stick to the rules. Their misconception is that rules are made to be broken.

## Whose rules?

The rules of the Church. The rules of the Catholic Church. Metropolitan [Andrey] Sheptytsky, back in the 1940s, when he was questioned by some of his clergy whether they were to obey some laws and disregard others, he replied that the law is the law, and a priest must obey it.

The law in this case is the expression of the experience of the Church through the centuries, and also an expression of the will of God through the Church, so we have to obey the law.

Now, considering the issue of the married clergy. The decrees of the Second Vatican Council and now the Code of the Eastern Canon Law says, in my paraphrase of the original Latin, that the married clergy must be held in honor by all in the Catholic Church. I've never questioned that.

So all those who might be concerned that their ordination might be annulled, or those who were hoping to marry and remain in the clergy have nothing to fear?

Those who have already been ordained, no. Some of them fear that I'm going to boot them out.

## That's groundless?

They're here, I've accepted them. Secondly, the issue concerns the married clergy for the future. The law in Canada is still in discussion, and it is a very moot issue, but as it stands, bishops in Canada and the United States, that is, outside the territory of Ukraine, cannot ordain married men on their own.

Of course, this is the practice and tradition in Ukraine. But according to the law, the ordinations cannot take place here, because otherwise they're against the rules that are binding on us.

Bishop Isidor, recognizing this, would have priests ordained either by

Cardinal [Josyf] Slipyj or by Archbishop [Volodymyr] Sterniuk to get around this.

Maybe to get around the Canadian law, but within the realm of the Ukrainian Church, he was doing it in accordance with its laws.

Those men were able to ordain priests for their own dioceses, but they can't ordain them for Toronto.

I'm confused. Even if they remain within the realm of the Ukrainian Catholic Church?

That's right, that remains an abuse of the law. The Holy See, sympathetic to the needs of the Church, turned a blind

*Now, considering the issue of the married clergy. The decrees of the Second Vatican Council and now the Code of the Eastern Canon Law says, in my paraphrase of the original Latin, that the married clergy must be held in honor by all in the Catholic Church. I've never questioned that.*

eye to such practices.

But you would ensure that they be discontinued?

I haven't yet taken office.

Surely you have some predispositions. This is what we touched on. People need to know them, because your predispositions are what they fear.

What I'm going to do, I don't know. But when I will consider what will be done in the future, I will consider what the law is. And I am going to abide by the law, because this is the will of God.

The laws can be changed, but that's another issue. Our bishops have been trying to get that law changed, but all the other bishops have abided by the law that binds them, and continue to work. The law is the law and it binds the conscience.

*I'm all for the patriarchate ... One of the major obstacles is not, as our Ukrainian nationalists would contend, the attitude of Rome, but the attitude of the Orthodox Churches, not the Catholic. Not merely the Ukrainian ones, but including and mostly the Ukrainian ones.*

All right. Do you favor the concept of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate?

Again, the Second Vatican Council decrees state that each Eastern Church is entitled, according to their ancient traditions, to be governed by a patriarch. But it goes on to add another paragraph stating that the decision to elevate a given Church to a patriarchate, to be headed by a patriarch, is reserved to an ecumenical council of all the bishops, or a decision of the pope.

How can I be against brotherhood? How can I be against our Church? I would like to get together with you for several articles, not just one.

But to get to the nitty gritty of the matter at hand, I'm all for the patriarchate. We don't have it yet, and many things have to be done. One of the major obstacles is not, as our Ukrainian nationalists would contend, the attitude of Rome, but the attitude of the Orthodox Churches, not the Catholic. Not merely

the Ukrainian ones, but including and mostly the Ukrainian ones.

For us, the issue of the patriarchate is an issue of the reunification of the Ukrainian Churches. Following the Union of Berestia, or Brest, of 1596, our Churches became divided. Our bishops opted for union with Rome, but certain elements that were hostile to their action began fomenting rebellion and what not. It was not within their jurisdiction to do this. They were not under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but the Patriarch of Antioch. He ordained, or rather reordained two new clerics for the Church, the Orthodox Church, which was totally outside his competence. And then because of the support of the political factions and the military faction, the Orthodox Church

When we look at the attitude of the Orthodox now (we could get into the whole attitude of Metropolitan or Patriarch Mstyslav, but that's a whole other can of worms), we see that they are very opposed to the claims of the Catholics in Kyiv. They tell them: "You do not belong here. This is an Orthodox country."

Even at the time of the Ukrainian provisional government between 1918 and 1925, they wanted to establish a unified patriarchate. Vynnychenko was supposed to have turned to Metropolitan Sheptytsky about this. And Metropolitan Sheptytsky's response was that I'm all for this acceptance, but the patriarchate can only be in Kyiv, and I will willingly submit myself and my Church to that authority. But I will only accept a patriarch that will be recognized by the universal authority of the successors of St. Peter.

So what you're saying is that the only path to a Ukrainian patriarchy is to submit to the pope in Rome?

Acknowledge what was done in 1596.

But you are in favor of increasing ecumenism and a resolution of differences between the two Churches?

Ecumenical dialogue, yes. This is how the Church is always calling us. We are people of one nation. We believe in the one same Christ, and we should be working toward the fulfillment of Christ's prayer that all be one. And Jesus, when he speaks through the Church says that he has one flock, one sheep-fold, using the imagery of the shepherd. And yet I have other sheep that are not of this fold, and I must reach out of them. This is the mandate that Christ gave to us.

So you don't believe at all in setting up a separate national Church under a patriarch?

No. There is only one Church. As a Catholic priest it is a matter of gospel faith and fidelity to Christ. The whole tradition of the Church, from the beginning of its time, both East and West; the concept of the Church is that there is one Church established on the rock of Peter. The words of Scripture. They are quite clear in this particular regard. That's how the Catholic Church views its own reality.

Returning to the fears that people might have. Some have charged that you are a proponent of subsuming the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church within the universal Roman Church. That is, that you are in favor of Latinizing its rite and changing its practices to conform to Roman Catholic ones. Is this true?

This is the first time that you have met me, so you really don't know my ideas.

## I'm just asking you as a journalist.

All right, so I have to answer as to a journalist. On what grounds do they make these claims. What in all my actions in the 35 years of my priesthood, and the 20 some years that I've been here as a priest have they seen signs of this? Whenever I have stepped up publicly, not only before the Ukrainian Church, but also before the Roman Catholics, I have always insisted on our own rites and reality, and this is how I have been received among the Roman Catholic bishops of the Church. As a representative of the East.

There is no shade of truth in such accusations, no shade of truth. Not even specious truth. Absolutely none.

was re-ensconced...

Well, you're describing the Kozak movement and much of the eastern Ukrainian clergy. The argument here centers on the fact that the western wing of the Ukrainian clergy was more fully under Polish influence and agreed to the union, while those in the east...

That's the argument that's used, but it's not true. At the time of the Union of Berestia, there was a counter-synod, also in Berestia, organized by Konstantyn Ostrozky. And the bishops who acceded to the union were the bishops of the east. The bishops of the Kyivian metropolity and all the others. It was the two bishops of the west, of Lviv and Peremyshl, that refused. Even though they had been part of all the discussions and had agreed to everything prior, it was those two who refused.

That's the reality of it. The arguments

historians make and certain Churches use now are not supposed by the reality. But whatever that be, the issue is that Ukraine became sorely divided in the 1600s.

We had great men at the head of the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church, and they all realized the problem, and began working on a reunification. They realized that the enemies were really outside the Church, and the only way to resolve these problems was to establish a Kyivian Patriarchate. The idea came not from them, but it had been elicited by Rome itself, but that would be another article.

But what is the reality? The reality is that the patriarchate can only be one. It has to be a Kyivian patriarchy. When Cardinal Slipyj chose to use the title Kyivivo-Galician Patriarch, he chose it and used it not because he wanted to establish a Galician patriarchate, but because the authority in Halych came about only later, upon the division of the Church into East and West.

## Ukraine plunges into energy crisis

KYYIV — Ukraine has fallen into its worst energy crisis since its independence, reported the Associated Press in a Washington Times article of December 22. Today its people suffer from drastically reduced oil deliveries from Russia, a lack of hard currency to buy oil on the world market and corruption.

In Kyiv, the local militia is allotted the equivalent of 2.6 gallons of gas per every 12-hour shift, which Police Capt. Alexander Strokany said results in police dragging investigative equipment to the scene of a violent crime, and in the case of murder, later puzzling over how to transfer the body to the morgue.

The energy crunch affects most aspects of life. City dwellers are experiencing shortages of many agricultural goods because farmers can't get their products to market. Air Ukraine flights have been drastically curtailed to leave jet fuel for international flights, from which hard currency rolls in. And ambulance drivers can wait up to six hours to receive their meager daily

ration of 7.8 gallons. A canister of that gasoline (about 5.4 gallons) costs 8,000 Ukrainian coupons — about \$12 American.

Russia, where consumers pay close to \$3.50 a gallon, has cut its gasoline deliveries to Ukraine to 20 million barrels, approximately one-seventh of what was exported in the past, said The Washington Times. Since Ukraine announced it was scrapping the ruble, the Russians have demanded oil payments in hard currency.

This year could be worse. Ukraine still lacks hard currency, which puts it in an awkward position when negotiating with Russia. And a planned gas pipeline from Iran or a sea terminal at Odessa are years away, The Washington Times article went on to say.

Most disturbingly, some signals point to Ukraine having itself partially to blame. Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma has ordered an investigation to track what happened to 55.2 billion barrels of oil, part of which were sold overseas for hard currency via export licenses.

## Lanovoy analyzes Kuchma's first moves as P.M.

*The interview below with Volodymyr Lanovoy, former deputy prime minister and minister of the economy of Ukraine, was conducted by IntelNews on January 31. Mr. Lanovoy now is director of the Center for Economic Reform in Ukraine, a non-governmental research organization that studies and provides forecasts of the political and economic climate in the country.*

**As you know, the Center for Economic Reform in Ukraine prepared a program for Ukraine's emergence from the economic crisis which the Cabinet of Ministers used to develop its own program. Could you comment on the effectiveness of the government's most recent measures as they relate to Ukraine's current socio-economic climate?**

According to our center's findings, the Kuchma government correctly assessed the areas that need fixing. However, there are substantial shortcomings in the government's plan: rather than form a coordinated foundation for economic stabilization, they have created a system that is not fully inter-connected.

This is partly the result of insufficiently prepared government documents designed to regulate the implementation of reform measures. As far as I know, about 80 percent of government documents are ratified by the Cabinet of Ministers in their first reading. Only a few are returned for review. This is the reason for the poor quality of the program's final draft. I agree that our government does not have a well-defined formula for preparing these legal documents. They have not adequately determined which documents are capable of promoting social or economic processes and which need to be reworked.

**What do you think about the decree limiting entrepreneurial activity?**

There is no logic or effectiveness in the government's program on privatization and development of the non-government sector of the economy. A good illustration of this is the government's attempt to further centralize many of the administrative functions in the areas of management, distribution and trade. As in the past, taxes on intermediary activity are being raised.

In general, intermediaries have fallen into disfavor with Kuchma's Cabinet. If our goal is to abandon the centralized system of supply and distribution, we must form a new decentralized system of intermediaries. It is natural that enterprises with hundreds of suppliers and customers require assistance in handling transactions. But, for some reason, intermediary activity is considered less important than production, and therefore many obstacles are purposefully placed in their path.

As for decrees transferring control of state ownership to ministries, I consider them inappropriate. Let's assume that an enterprise owing someone money is unable to meet a payment deadline. Someone has to pay the money. If not the enterprise, then why not the state? The funds must come from the state budget or through National Bank credits. This will fuel inflation, devalue our currency and intensify the crisis.

Government enterprises must be able to enter into financial and trade arrangements with other economic structures, using their own assets as security. Enterprise managers must be allowed to finance these agreements through long-term bond or stock issues, which can be freely traded. Only then can we begin stabilizing the financial system. If we don't do this, we will once again be slapped with a 500 billion karbovantsi debt between banks and enterprises in Ukraine. We have spent too much time talking about external debt, but no one seems to care about eliminating our internal debt.

The same can be said for privatization, which has received no fresh impetus to stimulate its progress. Our government seems perfectly satisfied with the mechanism in effect last year: the creation of privatization accounts and bureaucratically centralized mechanisms formed to identify the objectives and conditions for privatization. In my opinion a different approach must be taken, new types of stimuli must be introduced. Unfortunately, this is not happening.

**How do you view the decree lowering the value-added tax from 28 to 20 percent? This decree also removes tax breaks for joint ventures with foreign capital, which previously were given a five-year reprieve from taxes, as specified in the law on foreign investments.**

This is a political question. I think the

## Rep. Traficant says real "Ivan" may be living in Eastern Europe

WASHINGTON — The real "Ivan the Terrible" may be alive and living in Eastern Europe. Rep. James Traficant Jr., who has maintained the innocence of John Demjanjuk and championed the Ukrainian American's cause for over a year, said on February 2 that an investigation by his staff has identified that the true "Ivan" is alive and now in his 80s.

He said his investigators also have fixed the concentration camp guard's location to within a "very small region" of Eastern Europe, The Washington Times said.

At a press conference, the Ohio Democrat said he hopes to bring Ivan Marchenko, whom he identified as the notorious camp guard, to justice soon.

"I hope we can bring him to justice within the next 60 to 90 days and put this matter to rest once and for all," Mr. Traficant said. "I just hope we succeed

before Mr. Demjanjuk dies in prison."

Mr. Traficant has challenged the Demjanjuk decision, accusing the Nazi-hunting Office of Special Investigations (OSI) of trashing two memos and statements by 21 former death camp guards who had said the real "Ivan" was Marchenko.

The Washington Times also reported that Mr. Traficant released two new documents on February 2: recently obtained statements by two Treblinka prisoners, Melania Yefimovna and Nina Dmitriyevna. The statements, obtained by Israeli investigators, are 1951 interviews with the two women in which they identify "Ivan the Terrible" as Marchenko.

The 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati currently is reviewing a 1986 extradition order that led to Mr. Demjanjuk's expulsion to Israel, where he was tried and convicted of being the infamous "Ivan the Terrible." The federal appeals court, in an unprecedented move, has subpoenaed the highest officers of the Justice Department's OSI to question the methods used and the handling of the Demjanjuk case.

Mr. Demjanjuk, now 73, was sentenced to death by Israel in 1988. His case is on appeal before the Israeli Supreme Court.

## Communist bloc...

(Continued from page 1)

was done in the worst days of the Communist regime. They attempt to discredit devoted citizens of Ukraine, to seize leading positions in the army and other structures of state power, and, ultimately, to rob Ukraine of its independent statehood, said the URP.

Meanwhile, the president of the Officers' Union of Ukraine, Hryhorii Omelchenko reported that in the western oblasts of Ukraine bogus leaflets have been distributed. These leaflets, which seem to be issued by the Officers' Union, tout the Ukrainians' supremacy over Russians and Jews. Col. Omelchenko categorically denied his union had issued such materials and called the leaflets a provocation aimed at fomenting inter-ethnic animosity.

The Officers' Union of Ukraine issued a statement condemning such political provocations, which it said are meant to destabilize Ukraine. The union also stated that it supports President Leonid Kravchuk, the government of Ukraine and Defense Minister Morozov, who are working for the defense of Ukraine and the creation of its national armed forces.

The attempt to dismiss Minister Morozov by discrediting him, had begun in the summer of 1992, reported IntelNews. This campaign was approved by certain political and military forces in Russia, in particular those in command of CIS joint military forces, said Col. Omelchenko, explaining that the reason was Gen. Morozov's firm and principled stand on the formation of Ukrainian military forces and their non-participation in CIS military structures.

The 15,000-member Officers' Union expressed its solidarity with the fledgling Anti-Imperial, Anti-Communist Front, whose organizing committee was announced on the initiative of the Ukrainian Republican Party. The front's founding conference is scheduled to take place February 21.

state must guarantee businessmen the right to legally operate on its territory. Of course, the state's integrity depends on stable conditions for business and the stability and competence of legislation. The impact of the recent change to this law, which originally favored foreigners, will be felt for a long time. I think this change to the law will increase the fears of foreign businessmen and discourage them from investing in the Ukrainian market.

**Do you feel Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma's government lacks political foresight? Many political and economic observers in Kyiv believe that raising prices before the New Year, just before the important Ukrainian-Russian meeting in Moscow, was a badly timed step?**

I think all these problems are due to the absence of a well-defined plan of action. I don't think there will be any benefits from the price increases. Small-scale privatization should have been implemented first and its success somehow guaranteed during the first two to three months. Then prices would have stabilized because of a balance between supply and demand. And then the next administrative freeing of prices would definitely become the last. But, because it has no program, the government has violated the order in which the reform process should have proceeded.

**Do you believe President Leonid Kravchuk will sacrifice Mr. Kuchma just as he dumped Vitold Fokin in the event of a battle in Parliament over the government's effectiveness?**

Given the current circumstances, Parliament will not dare recall the government. However, it is not inconceivable that attempts will be made to put the government "in its place" or to intimidate it. Parliament does not support Kuchma's dethronement because it is afraid of the responsibility that will fall on its shoulders. Our Parliament is totally useless: it does no work and won't allow others to do anything. And it refuses to shoulder any responsibility.

Which is why the prime minister's position is firmly entrenched. I think he will not bow to Parliamentary pressure, although ideally, everything should be different, since all reforms must proceed under the aegis of legislative power.

# ANALYSIS: Strategic nuclear weapons and Ukrainian national security

by Markian Bilynsky

## CONCLUSION

Despite — some analysts would argue because of — the rationality paradigm traditionally used to assess political behavior, it is impossible to establish the effect of a deterrent on a potential aggressor in a non-confrontational situation, if then. States do not exist in a condition of permanent tension. Peace generally reigns simply because a state has no intention of attacking its neighbor. A state perceives, either through choice or necessity, that its interests are best served by non-military means. Such is the norm of international relations.

And such is the current state of Russo-Ukrainian relations. The political and economic tensions straining their relationship as both try to establish their own post-Soviet credibility and identity are being resolved through negotiation without the backing of any credible military power. There is no military coercion. Indeed, given the woeful state of the former Soviet military establishment in both Russia and Ukraine, as well as the continuing decline of the industrial infrastructure needed to support a viable, modern military, this is likely to be the pattern of Russo-Ukrainian relations for the foreseeable future — rhetoric from either side notwithstanding.

It would make the concept of deterrence meaningless to argue that Russia and Ukraine are currently in anything like a deterrent posture, even a general one that characterized the superpower relationship for most of the Cold War. "Non-deterrent" posture would be the best description. Every effort should be made to consolidate this situation.

Clearly, Russia does not need deterring at present. But what about in the future? On the declaratory level at least, the future of Russo-Ukrainian relations is generally — usually implicitly — cast by many Ukrainians in terms of their historical experience. There is an understandable tendency for Ukrainians to look back to the future when searching the horizon for external security threats. A critical down-turn in Russo-Ukrainian relations has to be prudently planned for, even by those who do not believe that history inexorably repeats itself. But a Ukrainian ICBM arsenal cannot contribute anything in this respect.

Strategic nuclear weapons are not credible policy instruments. Their immense destructive power cannot be made to serve any rational war fighting purpose. They cannot, therefore, bring about victory in a meaningful sense of the word or actually defend a territorial unit from aggression. The absolute weapon is absolutely unusable, except as a deterrent to a potential opponent's use of his own strategic arsenal.

However, such a strategic equilibrium is only attainable if each side has what is referred to as an invulnerable second strike capability. This balance is a function of weapon type not quantity. Put simply, if a strategic force is sufficiently invulnerable an opponent will perceive that it would be impossible to destroy that force even with a surprise attack without inviting a devastating retaliation. Both sides are mutually held hostage in a deadly yet essentially stable embrace of "mutually assured destruction" (MAD). Russia has this invulnerable second strike capability in the form of its SLBMs. Ukraine does not. Ukraine has a strategic bomber fleet capable of delivering as yet non-operational nuclear gravity bombs and nuclear tipped cruise mis-

siles. But being land-based and relatively small, this force is itself highly vulnerable to a surprise attack.

A Russo-Ukrainian strategic balance would, therefore, be inherently unstable — something of no consequence in times of peace but potentially disastrous in times of crisis and confrontation. How Ukraine could restore such a balance short of building the necessary forces or negotiating away Russia's SLBMs is unclear.

However, even a stable strategic balance, while ensuring that Ukraine could effectively deter a Russian strategic threat, would do little to address the situation on the conventional force level. The two force levels would remain operationally detached and remote from each other. The location of those assets most critical to Ukrainian statehood is geo-strategically highly vulnerable. The capital, Kyiv, as well as the principal industrial regions of Kharkiv and the Donbas all lie uncomfortably close to the border with Russia.

Barring an act of nuclear madness by Moscow, the most probable initial Russian military threat to Ukraine would stem from its conventional, and

nuclear "trip-wire" organically linking the front line NATO infantry with the U.S. strategic forces.

Barring a conceptual breakthrough, Ukrainian policy makers would have to pursue a similar beefing-up policy to integrate their strategic and conventional forces. The possibility that Ukraine could now or in the near future realistically pursue such an option is remote.

Most dangerously for Ukraine however, the Russian political leadership might perceive in a time of crisis that Ukraine would actually execute an act of pre-emptive madness leading it to launch a pre-emptive strike of its own against the Ukrainian ICBMs and command structures. Such a strike is theoretically plausible and would be militarily decisive, because Ukraine would be left with no surviving retaliatory capability. Thus, because of its structural weaknesses, a Ukrainian strategic force in times of crisis could quite conceivably become the reason for Ukraine's devastation rather than the guarantor of its security as its advocates contend.

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***Ukraine has quite rightly demanded there should be reasonable guarantees that the ICBMs scheduled for destruction will actually be dismantled and the warheads destroyed; that it receive financial compensation for the nuclear components it correctly defines as a Ukrainian commercial asset ; and, finally, that it be provided with adequate security guarantees once it enters the ranks of the nuclear-free.***

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not, nuclear forces. In such a scenario, Ukraine's ICBM force would be largely irrelevant, despite its supposedly complimentary role to the conventional forces, because the Ukrainian leadership would be presented with an "all-or-nothing" nuclear response option should its conventional forces be facing defeat. (The question of exactly when during a conventional force conflict a strategic response should or could be ordered is itself a topic worthy of a lengthy examination.)

A Russian conventional threat to Ukraine's political and economic centers cannot be reciprocated in kind. Nor can punishment with strategic nuclear forces be credibly threatened as a deterrent. Any Ukrainian threat to strike Moscow would be incredible because Kyiv would itself then face obliteration from a retaliatory strike from Russia's SLBMs. Destroying Ukraine in order to "save" it might appeal to the advocates of "better-dead-than-Russian" position but it is a negation of anything resembling a national security policy. Thus, an "all-or-nothing" option for Ukraine in response to an impending conventional defeat is in fact no option at all because of the potentially disastrous consequences. The Ukrainian strategic arsenal would be deterred, a victim of its paradoxically immense, though militarily inapplicable, power.

Confronted with just such an all-or-nothing (non-) option of "massive retaliation" in the early 1960s, U.S. strategists sought to link the disparate force levels by deploying a whole arsenal of tactical, short- and medium-range nuclear weapons which provided them with an operationally viable — in theory at least — strategy of "flexible response." This integrated escalatory ladder created a conceptually credible

## Theory, not empirical evidence

Discussions on this topic must inevitably proceed in a somewhat rarified atmosphere devoid of empirical evidence. There is, fortunately, no record of how nuclear confrontations actually develop beyond the point where the weapons are merely threatened to be used. Theory predominates and speculation informs strategy. Therefore, the issue is one on which reasonable people can disagree.

Reviewing what has been written, proponents might choose to argue that there is always a chance a pre-emptive Ukrainian strike would be so psychologically devastating that the victim would be paralyzed into not responding. But since even one Russian submarine is capable of wreaking unimaginable destruction, to act on the less than favorable odds that there will be no response whatsoever would be the ultimate act of folly.

It might also be argued that the existence of an independent Ukrainian strategic arsenal appears to create so much uncertainty concerning who will do what to whom and under what circumstances, that this in itself will serve to enhance deterrence. In other words, Russia might refrain from intimidating Ukraine militarily even if there was only a relatively small chance that it might itself be devastated.

Studies of crises, however, suggest that states often find themselves in critical situations in spite of rather than because of rational choice. Confrontations spin out of control despite the protagonists' belief that force can be utilized in a carefully calibrated manner for the pursuit of achievable strategic goals. No Russian scheme for coercing Ukraine into submission can reasonably have as its goal the destruction of Ukraine through the use of nuclear

weapons.

However, a point during the confrontation could be reached where the destruction of, say, Kyiv would be far more palatable to the Russians than the leveling of Moscow by Ukrainian missiles. Since any Ukrainian nuclear force would be an integral part of Ukrainian defense policy, conceptual inadequacies could eventually translate into real and dangerous liabilities.

Given their lack of military application, and hence credibility, Ukraine should proceed to dismantle all of the remaining former Soviet ICBMs on its territory. This could be done regardless of whether or not Russia chooses to reciprocate — an unlikely prospect as long as the U.S. and China show no willingness to abandon their strategic arsenals — since Ukraine will be no more vulnerable to a Russian nuclear strike in times of crisis than before. Indeed, the danger of a Russian pre-emptive strike — the most credible and rational nuclear threat Russia can pose — will vanish along with the Ukrainian ICBMs. As for an irrational Russian use of these weapons, a Ukrainian ICBM force could neither credibly deter nor punish such an act, let alone defend against it, for the reasons cited above.

Unilateral abolition naturally raises the specter of "nuclear blackmail": since Ukraine would have no nuclear weapons would it not then become vulnerable to Russian nuclear intimidation? Intimidation, like deterrence, is largely a function of credibility stemming from psychological manipulation and perception. Russian nuclear intimidation would succeed only if Ukrainian policy makers believed that Russia would actually use its strategic weapons to achieve its goals, a highly unlikely occurrence, since its aftermath would certainly negate any benefits Russia could possibly hope to gain.

In addition, world opinion appears to be a significant factor here. Historically, there seems to be a genuine reluctance by states of all political persuasions to cross the nuclear threshold (as opposed to merely threatening to cross it). This attitude, in addition to the military inapplicability of even relatively "low" yield tactical nuclear weapons, is one reason why historically the use of nuclear weapons has never been considered a credible military option. Thus, nuclear weapons were of no assistance to the democratic United States in its bloody encounters in Korea and Vietnam, nor to the totalitarian Soviet regime in Afghanistan.

Furthermore, there is no evidence that the North Koreans, Chinese, Vietnamese, or Mujahedeen allowed the thought that their superpower adversaries might resort to nuclear weapons to seriously affect their strategies or will to resist. They appeared to have correctly concluded that such a threat was essentially irrelevant. Stalin was rarely right, but he was probably close to the mark when he observed that nuclear weapons tend to intimidate only the weak of nerve.

(Chemical and biological weapons, on the other hand, in correct usage have actually been used despite international conventions to ban them. Ukraine should therefore be much more concerned with Russian stockpiles of these categories of weapons, as well as Russian compliance with agreements signed by the Soviets for their elimination.)

## The crucial question

The crucial question is not whether

(Continued on page 14)

## THE Ukrainian Weekly

### Ukrainian studies

"The world has changed. Have you kept up?" asks an advertisement for New York University.

"If you're not current, you're history," states a promo for Current History, a monthly on world affairs.

Yes, there is a new world order — the signs are all around us. And, the Sovietologists in vogue yesterday are today scrambling to find their niche, with many authoring books on "post-Soviet" something or other. Some try to pretend they are experts on the CIS (which, for a while at least, some could portray as more or less a continuation of the USSR), and others claim to be knowledgeable about the nations that have now emerged as independent states on the great Eurasian land mass.

But the fact is the field of Sovietology was, to a large extent, so Russo-centric that most Sovietologists knew next to nothing about any republics other than Russia. Now they face a starkly different reality — one for which they are ill-prepared. Indeed, many would simply have preferred to see the USSR survive. (So much easier, you see, to deal with one entity, with one central authority.)

Among those who were ill-prepared were officials of the Bush administration. According to New York Times columnist William Safire (appearing recently on the "MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour"), the greatest foreign policy failure of that administration was its total misreading of the situation in the USSR. After all, Mr. Safire noted, this was the president who, days before the failed coup attempt in Moscow, traveled to Kyiv and told Ukrainians to forget about independence and remain part of the Soviet Union.

All the focus then was on Russia and Gorbachev, much as it now is on Russia and Yeltsin. And, thus far, the Clinton administration has taken no real stand on developments in "the former USSR." However, as best we can tell, the Clinton administration has indicated a continuation of the Bush administration policy toward Russia et al. (Yes, the reference always is to Russia and "the others.")

To be sure, it doesn't help when respected newspapers like The New York Times argue that the U.S. government should not grant security guarantees to Ukraine, lest Russia become offended.

And so, can we assume the same experts will be consulted, and the same advice will be needed? One hopes not, for surely now is the time for a complete reassessment of policy toward the independent states located on former Soviet territory. The place to start, of course, is at institutions of higher learning, for they produce foreign affairs experts, policy-makers and opinion leaders of tomorrow who will not be burdened by the political thinking of the past.

To its credit, Columbia University's Harriman Institute has seen the light and has decided to devote attention to successor states of the USSR instead of focusing on Russia alone as was done in the past. Furthermore, the institute has decided that creation of a Ukrainian studies program is a priority. Prof. Alexander Motyl recently told The Weekly that the institute will have to raise additional monies to make Ukrainian studies and nationalities programs a permanent offering.

At Harvard, where three chairs of Ukrainian studies exist, there are new programs geared toward helping journalists, businesspeople, government officials and others become acquainted with Ukraine past and present. Among these is an intensive program of study lasting one week. (More on that in upcoming issues of The Weekly.)

At the University of Illinois, the Foundation for Ukrainian Studies is looking toward the future. It has founded a post-doctoral fellowship in modern Ukrainian history as a first step toward establishing a second center of Ukrainian studies in the U.S. The foundation has already begun a fund-raising campaign.

All the foregoing are hopeful signs that Ukraine will indeed take its place as a focus of serious study and research that ultimately will be reflected in an enhanced position for Ukraine in the world arena.

Feb.  
11  
1900

### Turning the pages back...

In the late 1890s, young Ukrainians both in Galicia (under Austria Hungary) and in the rest of Ukraine (under the Russian empire) were inspired by the radical atmosphere of

the times. They rejected the previous generation's obsession with folklore, populism and heavy-handed efforts to revive Ukrainian consciousness, which they considered condescending and inadequate.

The new focus was on addressing the social and economic grievances of the peasantry, and on open demands for Ukrainian independence. The first group to formulate its ideas in the latter vein was the Brotherhood of Taras, formed in Kyiv in 1891.

On February 11, 1900, the leaders of the local Student Hromada, Petro Andrievsky, Dmytro Antonovych (son of the historian and leading populist, Volodymyr Antonovych), Yuriy Kollard, Oleksander Kovalenko, Lev Matsievych, Mykhailo Rusov and others, established the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, the first Ukrainian political party in Russian-ruled Ukraine.

(Continued on page 15)

## AN APPEAL FOR INVOLVEMENT

### Ukrainians in Bosnia suffering

by Oksana Kowalchuk  
Ukrainian Information Bureau

OTTAWA — A human disaster of genocidal proportions plagues the former Yugoslavia. The Ukrainian community in Bosnia is not immune to the atrocities that have taken place.

According to the Rev. Petro Ovad, a Ukrainian priest in Prnjavor, Bosnia, the situation is worsening. Many in the Ukrainian community are being psychologically tormented by the horrors of war. People fear for their lives, and the activities around them serve as a constant reminder that they may not live to see tomorrow.

Facing the winter months places an additional strain on those trapped in Bosnia. The Rev. Ovad is desperately seeking assistance in order that Ukrainian families have enough funds to survive the coming months.

The Ukrainian community in Ottawa set up a Bosnia Relief Fund approximately nine months ago, and has

successfully sent \$1,800 to Prnjavor. It is estimated that a minimum of \$50,000 is required to ensure that the minimum amount of food for the survival of the Ukrainian communities in Bosnia is obtained.

According to the Rev. Ovad, \$1,000 purchases approximately enough food for a group of 50 families for one week.

In Ottawa, the Ukrainians in Bosnia Relief Fund was initiated by Richard Kolacz, a Navy lieutenant who went to Bosnia as part of Canada's involvement with the European Community monitoring mission.

Through the leadership of Dr. Ivan Woychysyn, president of the Ukrainian Canadian Social Services, Ottawa Branch, the fund is continuing to actively raise funds. Nevertheless, greater assistance is necessary in order for a substantial relief effort to be undertaken.

The situation in Bosnia is critical and time is of the essence. Only with your generous assistance and cooperation

(Continued on page 11)

## Setting the record straight on Demjanjuk

*The case of John Demjanjuk, which became a cause celebre, created a flurry of reports, articles, books and pamphlets, which, depending on who was writing them, included a plethora of falsifications, selective reporting, disinformation and hyperbole. This specious reporting sensationalized the case and, with the passage of time, removed it from reality. Although the case is in its 13th year and new facts continue to emerge which have a direct bearing on the exoneration of Mr. Demjanjuk and put to rest current distortions, we are still finding a surprising number of basic errors in reporting on the Demjanjuk case in the United States, Israel and Ukraine.*

*Therefore, UNCHAIN (Ukrainian National Center: History and Information Network) and the John Demjanjuk Defense Fund found it necessary to prepare a statement of fact in order to dispel misinterpretations or downright errors.*

While scanning newspapers from Ukraine we find that some of the facts about the case of John Demjanjuk are not being reported correctly in Ukraine. Therefore, we want to set the record straight:

- John Demjanjuk was sentenced to death in April 1988 by an Israeli court for being "Ivan Grozny" ("Ivan the Terrible"), the gas chamber operator who committed crimes in the Nazi extermination camp of Treblinka, Poland, in 1942-1943.
- This guilty verdict and death sentence were appealed to the Israeli Supreme Court. Over 80 statements of eyewitnesses, three photographs and a dozen photo identifications were submitted to the Israeli Supreme Court in June 1992. This evidence points to another man — Ivan Ivanovych Marchenko — as the infamous "Ivan Grozny" of Treblinka. The Israeli Supreme Court still is deliberating this case.
- John Demjanjuk's death penalty has not been revoked, lifted or suspended and the death sentence in Israel still stands. Any statement to the contrary is false.
- John Demjanjuk, an innocent man, is on death row in Ramla prison in Israel while the real mass murderers go unpunished.
- It is incumbent upon the Security Service of Ukraine and Ukrainian authorities to release all files and documents concerning John Demjanjuk and Ivan Ivanovych Marchenko in order to help clarify this matter once and for all. Withholding information can have serious repercussions.

Any information or newspaper clippings relating to the case should be sent to: John Demjanjuk Defense Fund, P.O. Box 44449, Brooklyn, OH 44144-0449.

## UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine

The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that, as of January 28, the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 13,867 checks from its members with donations totalling, **\$360,261.56**. 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

## Luciuk sets record straight

Dear Editor:

Several serious factual errors in Chris Guly's account of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress's (UCC) attempt to disband the Civil Liberties Commission (CLC) may leave readers confused as to what happened and why.

John Gregorovich, a lawyer, the CLC's chairman, and now chair of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA), has stated how, under the Corporation Act of Canada, the UCC's national executive cannot disband the CLC. Dr. Hryniuk is not a lawyer. Her views on the law are incorrect, even if she is partially right in assuming the UCC decision to disband the CLC represents a "vendetta." Unfortunately, despite a recent CLC attempt to effect a reconciliation through a face to face meeting, the UCC's executive proved entirely disinterested in reconsidering its unconstitutional decision. Now what? The CLC will still exist but has been made moribund. Perhaps this is not surprising given how most bodies connected to the congress seem to go stiff, usually just after birth.

Fortunately, UCCLA has taken over much of the work formerly done by the CLC. This association does not attempt to represent itself as a national body, preferring not to make specious claims of the sort so often heard out of Winnipeg. UCCLA is a small group of dedicated, hardworking Ukrainian Canadian professionals committed to dealing with issues involving the human rights and civil liberties of our community. Our executive is now working to secure redress for the injustices done to Ukrainian Canadians during this country's first world war internment operations, monitoring the war crimes issue and lobbying and interacting with the federal government, other ethnocultural communities, the media and the public, as required. No other Ukrainian Canadian organization seems to be doing this necessary work.

In remarking on the general quality of the UCC executive, past and present, I explained how one might measure its relevance by comparing its executive director and other members to those of far more effective organizations, like B'Nai Brith Canada and the Canadian Jewish Congress. Any reading of the Canadian press over the past several years will reveal how often officers of those organizations have made comments deemed to be of national importance and so worthy of media coverage. In comparison, the UCC's record is meagre. With few exceptions, the Ukrainian Canadian community has found itself with a voice in the media only when the CLC spoke. Yet it seems hard for "the Winnipeg Mafia" to admit that the CLC was probably the most effective body working for Ukrainian Canadian interests over the past seven years, a record of achievement some now hope the community will forget. Incidentally, I don't fault the UCC's current president, Oleh Romaniv, for not remembering. After all, he was "nowhere to be seen" during the difficult years when the CLC worked to counter the miasma being generated around the Deschenes Commission.

It is, however, unfortunate that the memory of the UCC's past president, Dr. Dmytro Cipywskyk, has faded. I hope he liked the photographs I took of him at the World Ukrainian Forum in Kyiv last August. I sent copies out to him in Saskatoon. That was also when

he got his copy of the CLC booklet, "War Crimes: A Submission," which some in the UCC crowd seem exercised about.

Likewise, I am distressed over Ihor Bardyn's loss of memory. Appointed to head the CLC's Redress Committee in April 1990, by Mr. Gregorovich, and on my recommendation, he has apparently forgotten what I readily admit may now be rather inconvenient to remember. If he would just return Mr. Guly's calls and agree to go back over his own CLC records, however, I am sure he will be reminded how the UCC's executive told the Prime Minister's Office that Brian Mulroney need not speak about the redress question at the 17th UCC congress. I actually learned about the UCC's idiotic decision, apparently made on September 9, 1992, from Mr. Bardyn. The latter sent a Canada-wide message, dated September 16, 1992, asking supporters of the redress effort to protest the UCC executive's decision. I did so on September 22, 1992, and faxed a copy of my letter to Mr. Bardyn on the very same date.

Later, I sent another letter to the prime minister and letters to every Member of Parliament and many senators, strongly urging the prime minister to make a redress settlement announcement at the congress. Mr. Mulroney ended up making a passing reference to it, far from what many had hoped for. But don't blame the Prime Minister's Office for that. Blame our "leaders" in Winnipeg.

I have never argued for individual compensation for Ukrainian Canadian survivors. In my article, published in *The Ukrainian Weekly* (November 15, 1992), the point was made that Ottawa must deal with each individual community's case for redress, rather than trying to lump Ukrainian, Chinese, Italian and other Canadian communities together and then offering them some form of omnibus apology. Mr. Guly misread my article. Mr. Bardyn must know that, for he remains chairman of the National Redress Alliance, which brought together the Japanese, Italian, Chinese and Ukrainian Canadian communities to agree on just this point. It was then communicated to Ottawa. I should know. I wrote the draft NRA memorandum. That was in April 1990, during the same meeting where Mr. Bardyn was appointed chairman of the CLC's Redress Committee. Mr. Bardyn has, until recently, continued to use CLC Redress Committee letterhead rather than UCC stationery. Yet now I read about the UCC Redress Committee. That must be a new group. It certainly didn't exist back in the mid-1980s when the redress effort began in earnest. And it wasn't anywhere to be seen in the spring of 1990, when Mr. Bardyn joined the CLC's team. But don't believe me. Look at the paper trail.

Yes, our prime minister has promised to "apologize" to the Ukrainian Canadian community, oddly enough, given that we never asked him to do that, our position being that an acknowledgement of wrongdoing would suffice. But this point is academic just now, for Mr. Mulroney most certainly has not made any apology, despite what one of Ottawa's spin doctors might claim.

The official CLC-UCC memorandum requesting an acknowledgement that the internment measures were "unwarranted and unjust," asking for the erection of historical markers, amendments to the Emergencies Act and symbolic redress, was submitted on December 7, 1987, to a Toronto hearing of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism of the House of Com-

mons and not "only last spring" as Nancy White, press secretary to Minister of Multiculturalism Gerry Weiner, claims. She should check her sources. So should Mr. Guly.

As for who represents the Ukrainian Canadian community, I think we should all remember that actions speak louder than words. It was the CLC that articulated our community's position on the war crimes issue and saw that controversial issue through to an acceptable conclusion. The CLC booklet, "War Crimes: A Submission," which seems to have irritated people who despise years of claims about how they were working to liberate Ukraine now seem profoundly ignorant of contemporary Ukrainian realities, is nothing more or less than a continuation of the CLC's efforts to ensure that all war criminals are brought to justice, Soviets and Nazis alike. The UCC objects to that?

It should also be remembered how, for years, the UCC executive was indifferent or even hostile to any attempt being made to secure redress for our community, a campaign based on the moral and legal precedent set by our friends in the Japanese Canadian community. Only after Japanese Canadian survivors and their community received nearly \$750 million in redress did the UCC's national executive begin coming out in support of the CLC redress effort. They seem to have become ever more anxious about ensuring that the national executive controls any redress monies only once it became clear the CLC would probably successfully conclude the redress campaign, I wonder why.

Anyone who believes that the Ukrainian Canadian Congress executive deserves credit for the acknowledgement and redress campaign is ignoring the facts, deliberately or otherwise. Anyone who would let them manage any redress monies is, to put it mildly, not a chartered accountant. Even Mr. Bardyn doesn't want to see the UCC executive manage the money or disburse it. I wonder why.

Mr. Guly has quoted me accurately as saying, "I'm a Canadian, I can speak on any bloody issue I want." But why did I say that? Simply because, in a letter dated December 2, 1992, Mr. Romaniv informed me, on behalf of the Congress, that I would have legal action taken against me if I continued to speak out publicly on issues of importance to the Ukrainian Canadian community. Ask yourself why Mr. Romaniv and his congress-mates are trying to muzzle free speech in our community and in Canada. As for my response it was a simple one: "Sue."

Lubomyr Luciuk  
Kingston, Ontario

*The writer is director of research for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association.*

## Security guarantees are meaningless

Dear Editor:

In the January 17 edition of *The Ukrainian Weekly* there are five articles dealing with Ukraine's nuclear weapons and security guarantees that Ukraine expects from the United States in exchange for getting rid of them. Nowhere, however, did I find mentioned that such "guarantees" are not worth the air expended talking about them.

A formal treaty, ratified by Congress, might do. But if Ukraine wants a

modicum of security — without nuclear arms — then she must also insist on security treaties with Great Britain and France. Those countries are on record declaring war on Germany in fulfillment of their treaty obligations toward Poland. The United States, on the other hand, has broken nearly every treaty guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Indian nations — why should Ukraine be treated differently? (The Kurds also thought they had "guarantees"?)

United States did not recognize Ukraine in the 1918-1920 period (England and France did), did not recognize Ukraine's existence as a nation neither before nor after World War II (despite Ukraine's membership in the United Nations) and, if it were not for the over 5,000 nuclear warheads on Ukrainian territory it would not have recognized Ukraine now — as per the "Chicken Kiev" speech of President George Bush.

Besides, is it sensible for a country to depend on somebody else's "guarantees" for its territorial integrity and independence? Children depend on their parents for protection, and servants depend on the good will of their masters. But who has heard for a sovereign nation to give up its own effective defenses? Or do Ukrainians want to become Russia's breadbasket once again?

I do not know what a hydrogen bomb is worth on the open market, but with the price of a B-2 bomber approaching \$1 billion, 5 percent of that sum (or \$54 million each) seems a very fair price. The U.S. is offering \$175 million for the whole lot of over 1,600 warheads — they must think Ukrainians are awfully stupid. (They might be right. After all, Ukraine did give Russia over 4,000 nuclear warheads for absolutely nothing!)

George M.J. Slusarczuk  
Monroe, N.Y.

## A comment on concert review

Dear Editor:

This letter is in response to the review of *The Ukrainian Museum Benefit Concert* (December 13, 1992), which took place in New York (Merkin Concert Hall) on November 29, 1992.

The reviewer calls Ravel's "La Valse" a parody of the dance form. By a stretch of interpretation some may see it as such. However, what is hard to see is how one can call the piano duet's performance by Laryssa Krupa and Alexander Slobodyanik "confrontational" and with "unpredictable forays." Also, contrary to the reviewer's comments about Mr. Slobodyanik's supposedly "now famous wrenching of the metric structures" (sic!), I did not hear any violent nor painful twists of meter (i.e. "wrenching").

True, one could hear a certain "confrontation" of different concurrent meters, since that is what Ravel specified for the piano duet; but there was hardly any "confrontation" by the two pianists. On the contrary, I heard a splendidly harmonious and well-coordinated performance.

"La Valse" at the hands of Mr. Slobodyanik and Ms. Krupa was indeed a highly artistic rendition and was a delight for the audience. This listener was grateful that the duo, as well as the other distinguished artists, were kind enough to appear at the museum benefit. They all deserve our thanks and appreciation.

Larissa Onyshkevych  
Lawrenceville, N.J.

## REACTION: Letter writers respond to Times editorial

On January 11, *The New York Times* published an editorial titled "Ukraine: Barrier to Nuclear Peace," which condemned Ukraine's position on nuclear arms and its desire for security guarantees.

"Washington has offered Ukraine ample inducements [to ratify START I and to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty]. ... But Ukraine keeps asking for more. The Bush administration was right last week to say enough is enough," the *Times* wrote.

"President-elect Clinton will also need to tell Ukraine that it risks becoming a pariah if it delays carrying out its international obligations. ... The U.S. has offered an initial \$175

million to reimburse Kiev for its share of the cost of transporting, storing and dismantling its arms. But Ukraine now wants \$1.5 billion, an outlandish sum.

"Kiev is also seeking a U.S. security guarantee against Russia. But Washington would be foolish to offer one. That would needlessly affront Russian nationalists, already smoldering about Moscow's diminished stature. Offending them could jeopardize the nuclear arms cuts and make the U.S. and Ukraine less secure."

"...a nuclear armed Ukraine would alarm not just Russia but neighbors like Poland and Germany, feeding regional insecurities," the editorial

noted.

Promises of aid and investment, the *Times* continued, "now need to be accompanied by a warning: The U.S. and its allies are prepared to isolate Ukraine and deny it economic help. To deliver that message Mr. Clinton needs an ambassador in Kiev less sympathetic to Ukraine than the incumbent, Roman Popadiuk."

Reprinted below, as they appeared in *The New York Times*, are two responses to that editorial. The first is by Bohdan Pyskir, a research fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. The second is by Vyacheslav Chornovil, president of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine.

### Ukraine needs reassurance

To the Editor:

"Ukraine: Barrier to Nuclear Peace" (editorial, Jan. 11) suggests that the United States and its allies — "isolate Ukraine and deny it economic help" if it does not ratify the START I nuclear arms treaty. This would be like placing a man with a fever into a freezer; it might alleviate the symptom, but would not cure the patient.

The problem is not Ukraine's hesitation to ratify START I, but fear of its northern neighbor.

Is the Russian threat real or is it simply the figment of paranoid Ukrainian ultranationalism? Three of the most powerful political figures in Russia — Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoi; Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of the Parliament, and the industrialist Arkady Vol'sky — have issued repeated public declarations against Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Furthermore, the Russian Army is now forming new rapid deployment forces with a mission to "defend" the interests of all people living in or outside the Russian Federation's borders who identify themselves as Russian speakers, not even necessarily Russians. Is there any wonder that Ukraine is seeking security guarantees for ratifying START I?

It is in the best interest of Ukraine and Russia, not to mention the rest of the world, that these two neighbors are able to co-exist peacefully.

Rather than stroking the bruised egos of Russia's nationalists who refuse to accept Ukraine's independence, the West would be wise to send a clear message that Ukrainian sovereignty is an irreversible fact of the new world order.

Ignoring Kyiv's security concerns in its relations with Moscow may result in the breakdown of the START process. It could also allow for the reconstitution of the Soviet empire and trigger another dangerous and costly arms race.

**Bohdan Pyskir**

Research Fellow, Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University  
Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 11, 1993

### What worries Ukraine

To the Editor:

As runner-up for the presidency of Ukraine, leader of the democratic movement Rukh, a member of Parliament and a former dissident who has participated in the struggle for a democratic and free Ukraine more than 20 years, I would like to respond to misunderstandings on Ukraine's nuclear weapons position in "Ukraine: Barrier to Nuclear Peace" (editorial, Jan. 11).

Ukraine does not seek to hinder or prevent prospects for peace, which can result from dismantling nuclear weapons and reducing nuclear stockpiles. Having suffered, and still suffering, the horrors of Chernobyl, Ukrainians are acutely sensitive to

the destruction wrought by nuclear power and in no way aspire to maintain Ukraine's status as the world's third most powerful nuclear country.

Contrary to some Western opinion, Ukraine's hesitation on dismantling its nuclear arsenal does not mask a grand aspiration for power, but rather reflects concern over preserving its newly independent status. For centuries, Ukraine was dominated by Russia. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has made progress toward improving its relations with the West and its neighbors, and redefining its place in the world.

Ukraine's democrats warmly welcome this change. However, many strong chauvinist factions still exist in Russia, and stability there is far from guaranteed. The possibility still exists for an imperialist or extreme nationalist regime to take power and set its sights on recovering former Soviet territories, such as Ukraine.

Ukraine must seek concrete and precise security guarantees from other nuclear powers to protect the integrity of its internationally recognized territory before transferring all its nuclear weapons to its more powerful, still unstable neighbor, Russia. The sooner Russia comes to terms with its new status as a non-imperialistic nation, the sooner relations between Russia and Ukraine and Russia and other nations can be normalized.

**Vyacheslav Chornovil**  
Kiev, Ukraine, Jan. 15, 1993

## THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

### Warren Christopher speaks on Ukraine

by Eugene M. Iwanciw

The first indicators of the Clinton administration's policy toward Ukraine were provided during the Senate confirmation hearings on Warren Christopher's nomination to be secretary of state. In addition to the public hearing, Senate Foreign Relations Committee members submitted a series of written questions for Mr. Christopher. His written response to the questions suggest that the new administration will be following in the footsteps of the previous administration regarding Ukraine.

The two questions and answers addressing Ukraine follow.

#### What steps should the United States government take to assure Ukrainian fears regarding its national security?

When Ukraine keeps its promise to President Bush to join the NPT as a non-nuclear state, it will be eligible for security assistance that the U.S., UK, and Russia have given other non-nuclear signatories.

#### Do you agree with the Bush administration's plan to partially compensate Ukraine for the destruction of its nuclear weapons?

We welcome the Nunn-Lugar initiative to help pay for the safety, security and dismantlement of former Soviet nuclear weapons, including those in Ukraine.

## Ukraine upholds U.N. embargo

IntelNews

KYIV — The Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs released an official statement Friday, January 29, denying allegations that Ukraine was violating United Nations' sanctions against Yugoslavia by delivering oil products to Yugoslavia via the Danube River.

"Ukraine strictly abides by its obligations as a member of the United Nations and the international community," the statement said. "Despite the fact that Ukraine has incurred considerable economic losses by upholding the embargo, the Ukrainian government is nevertheless using all necessary measures to absolutely and unconditionally fulfill the sanctions against Yugoslavia ordered by the United Nations Security Council."

In a conversation today with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko said the allegations were groundless and reiterated that Ukraine is upholding the sanctions.

In reaction to the wave of allegations, Ukraine investigated the matter and discovered that during a three-month period (from November 1992 to January 1993) five tugboats carrying the Yugoslavian flag were pulling 30 barges loaded with oil along the portion of the Danube River situated on Ukrainian territory.

"From a legal standpoint [the absence of a Ukrainian flag] testifies to the fact that Ukraine is not violating any

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## CBC COMMENTARY: Western policy toward Ukraine

Below is the text of a commentary of "Western Policy Toward the New Ukraine" by Dr. David Marples, aired by CBC Commentary on January 26. Dr. Marples is associate professor of Russian history at the University of Alberta. He has authored four books, including "Ukraine Under Perestroika" (1991) and "Stalinism in Ukraine in the 1940s" (1992).

Canada was one of the first nations to recognize independent Ukraine. But since then it has berated Ukraine for dragging its feet on the removal of nuclear weapons to Russia for destruction. It has even threatened to withdraw humanitarian aid. But evidence would suggest that Ukrainian security concerns are real and urgent. What are they?

First, Russia has on several occasions laid claim to Ukrainian territory, especially the Crimean peninsula, ceded to Ukraine in 1954.

Second, Russia and Ukraine have clashed repeatedly over the future of the Black Sea Fleet, a decrepit relic of the Soviet navy, but a potential danger to Ukraine since it navigates the southern border of the country. Third, there is conflict over the price of oil imported into Ukraine from Russia, which has risen 300 times over the past year.

Disregarding such issues, Canada has declared that Ukraine is delaying the signing of the Strategic Nuclear Arms Reduction Treaty, called START I, with its irresponsible and intransigent attitude. On January 6, 1993, the Bush administration also rejected Ukraine's demand for a U.S. guarantee of its security once its 176 weapons are transferred. In doing so, it chose to ignore Ukraine's view that its potential enemy today is not the United States or NATO, but Russia.

If there is to be a future for democracy in this emergent country,

the West must recognize its legitimate security concerns. Today, according to its premier, Ukraine is on the verge of economic collapse. Ninety percent of the workforce lives below the poverty line, and they are also struggling with a 2000 percent year inflation rate. The breadbasket of Europe is, in reality, a basket case. Why has this happened?

It has occurred largely because the current government has placed political survival before economic reform. Ukraine is becoming a crisis center of eastern Europe, a source of new and dangerous conflicts in this unstable part of the world. The West's attitude may not be the decisive factor in the future of Ukraine, but by re-examining its current one-sided approach to the countries of the former USSR, and treating these states as individual entities, it can be both peacemaker and harbinger of democracy.



## Ukrainian pysanky artists part of Clinton inaugural festivities

by Christina Pereyma O'Neal

WASHINGTON — In little less than a month, the inaugural committee of William Jefferson Clinton organized what was billed as the most inclusive festivities yet staged for a presidential transfer of power.

"America's Reunion on the Mall" in Washington was an idea conceived by Hillary Clinton as a populist celebration of American cultural diversity. Tanya Osadca, a Ukrainian American from Troy, Ohio, received an invitation from the Smithsonian Institution's Folklife Center.

Ms. Osadca has been researching and practicing the art of Ukrainian pysanky for over 30 years. It is an art passed down to her by her mother which she,

in turn, has taught her daughter and granddaughter.

It is especially fitting that pysanky were included in America's Reunion as they are such vivid symbols of rebirth and goodwill. It was with tremendous pride in their heritage that she and her sister, Aka Pereyma, accepted the invitation to participate as "Inaugural Talent" in the Traditional Arts Workshop.

Less than 20 crafts were represented in the tent filled with artisans demonstrating but not selling the arts taught them by native and immigrant tradition. The Smithsonian Folklife Center included a broad spectrum of folk arts to achieve what Bill Clinton has called a "chorus of voices."

Ukrainian pysanky were the sole art

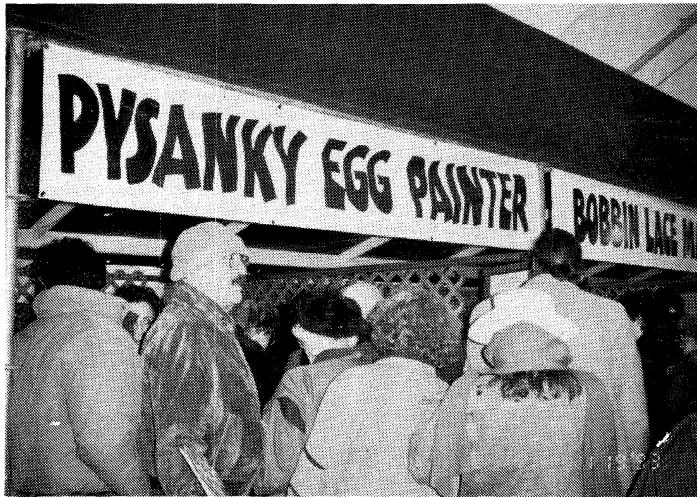
form originating in Eastern Europe. There were lei makers from Hawaii, embroidery as practiced by a Palestinian from Detroit, a Native Indian mask carver, a Texas horse hair braider, and a saddlemaker from Oregon. Besides a longstanding commitment to their crafts, there was little that bound these characters together. Ms. Osadca's years of persistent practice earned her a position in this elite group.

Ms. Osadca and Ms. Pereyma exhibit annually in the Easter season. Currently an exhibit of Ms. Osadca's pysanky and her sister's watercolors and paintings is touring the major cities of Ukraine. The show opened in Kyiv in September of 1991 and traveled to Lviv, Chernivtsi, Kolomyia, Ivano-Frankivske, Ternopil, Kaniv, Luhanske and

Kharkiv and can now be seen in Sumy, Ukraine.

In September of 1992, Ms. Osadca delivered a paper on the history of scholarship on Ukrainian pysanky to the International Meeting of Pysanky Artists sponsored by the Ukrainian Center of Folk Art in Kyiv. She is currently working on an informative illustrated book on Ukrainian pysanky.

Demonstrating pysanky in Washington to thousands of American tourists was a tremendous opportunity. Many left the pysanky booth with a deeper understanding that Ukrainian is not Russian. Small, but evocative of rebirth, Ms. Osadca's pysanky proved to be excellent ambassadors to America's Reunion on the Mall.



Ukrainian Easter eggs, or pysanky, were part of inaugural festivities dubbed "America's Reunion on the Mall." Photo on the left shows crowds gathered at the entrance to the pysanka booth. On the right, Tanya Osadca demonstrates the ancient Ukrainian art.

## National Forum Foundation greets fellows from Ukraine

WASHINGTON — The president of the National Forum Foundation (NFF), Jim Denton, welcomed invited guests and visiting fellows from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia and Ukraine on January 27 during an evening reception held at the foundation.

On the occasion of the visiting fellows' arrival and as part of NFF's Central Eastern Europe (CEE) Internship Program, guests were able to meet with government officials, diplomats, influential policymakers and leaders of ethnic organizations.

In January 1990, the NFF launched the CEE Internship Program to promote regional democratic transition. In its first year alone, nearly 50 of Central Europe's new leaders participated in this three-month program. In the summer of 1992, NFF expanded its Visiting Fellow Program to include Albania, Russia and Ukraine.

Today, through a highly competitive process, nearly 200 of Eastern Europe's most promising individuals have participated as NFF visiting fellows in the United States.

Two visiting fellows, Olga Herasymuk and Vladimir Machukha, from Ukraine, have been selected to learn the political and economic processes of America. Ms. Herasymuk is the deputy editor of a new Ukrainian daily,

Respublika, and holds a master's degree in journalism from Kyiv State University. She will be interning at U.S. News & World Report and Gannett News Service. Ms. Machukha is the director of business development at the Research Institute of Socio-Economic Problems in Kyiv. He earned a Ph.D. in economics from the Kyiv Institute of State Economy and a bachelor's degree in mathematics from Moscow State University. He will be interning at Kulas and Kulas in Chicago and Marvin Poer and Co., a consulting firm in Alexandria, Va.

In addition to the CFF Internship Program, the NFF conducts a "Democracy Corps"-style initiative project, titled the American Volunteers For International Development (AVID) Program. AVID began in November 1991 with Vaclav Havel as chairman. AVID places U.S. volunteers throughout Central East Europe to work side-by-side with their counterparts in government, business and journalism. This program aims to galvanize both sides to work together and facilitate the transfer of "how to" information and managerial expertise.

Ian Brzezinski, member of the Policy Planning Staff in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, is assigned to Ukraine. He will work for the International Institute on Global and Regional

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## Democratic party fetes ethnics at pre-inaugural luncheon

Ukrainian National Information Service

WASHINGTON — The National Ethnic Council (NEC) and the Public Liaison Office of the Presidential Inaugural Committee on January 18 held an American Reunion Luncheon at the National Press Club for over 200 ethnic Americans.

Among invited guests representing the Ukrainian American community were members of the Ukrainian American Democratic Association, the Ukrainian Fraternal Association, Ukrainian National Information Service and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America Washington Branch.

The NEC is dedicated to strengthening ties between the Democratic Party and ethnic Americans of all backgrounds. Setting the tone for the afternoon was the symbolic date of Martin Luther King's birthday.

Welcoming remarks were given by Charles Santangelo, assistant director of public liaison for the Presidential Inaugural Committee. Mr. Santangelo emphasized how the National Ethnic Committee is dedicated to strengthening ties between the Democratic Party and ethnic Americans of all backgrounds by raising appreciation and awareness of the rich heritage ethnic Americans bring to the United States. Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison Mike Lux continued by stating, "multiculturalism will continue

during this new administration."

Other guests of honor seated at the head table were: Rep. Norm Mineta (D-Calif.), Clara Apodaca, assistant director of public liaison, Presidential Inaugural Committee; Hollywood actors Esai Morales and Rodney Grant; Arthur Gajarsa, co-chair, Italian-American Leadership Council for Clinton-Gore; C. Dolores Tucker, National Political Congress of Black Women; Hyman Bookbinder, American Jewish Committee; John Pikarski, chair of United Polish for Clinton-Gore; Alan Parker, director, National Indian Policy Center; Stan Balzekas, Museum of Lithuanian Culture; Christine Warnke, Greek liaison, Democratic National Committee.

The council proposes to hold briefings and exchanges with government officials on domestic and foreign policy issues, and serve as a link between ethnic leaders and the Democratic Party. Many speakers remarked that the Clinton administration has chosen to bring an "ethnic Americana into the administration."

The NEC has prepared a 1993 Ethnic Calendar for its invited guests. On the following days, Ukraine is listed: January 22 — Ukrainian Independence Day (1918), March 9 — Taras Shevchenko Day (Ukrainian poet laureate), June 1 — Ukrainian Famine Memorial Day, and August 24 — Ukrainian Declaration of Independence (1991).

## Professors discuss marginalization of Ukrainians in North America

by Nestor Gula

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

TORONTO — The apparent marginalization of Ukrainians and their concerns in North America was the focus of presentations by a Canadian and an American speaker at a dinner meeting sponsored by the Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Toronto on Saturday, January 30.

Although the topic for the evening's panel discussion was billed as "Growing Up Ukrainian in North America — Canadian and American Perspectives," Dr. Myron Kuropas of Chicago and Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk of Kingston, Ontario, both

expounded on their deep concern about the marginalization of "the Ukrainian question" by American and Canadian governments and societies.

Their approaches to the subject matter differed, however, as Dr. Kuropas, attempted to deal with the effects of this marginalization, while Dr. Luciuk tried to get at the reason for Ukrainian marginalization in North American society.

The speech by Dr. Kuropas, an adjunct professor at Northern Illinois University and a columnist for The Ukrainian Weekly, centered on his boyhood memories of growing up Ukrainian in Chicago during the Depression. He said a great influence for

him was his father, who "was able to take the best of what is Ukrainian and the best of what is American and meld it so his son was able to understand that to be a Ukrainian did not necessarily mean you had to negate being an American, and vice-versa."

Dr. Kuropas also mentioned how he got beaten up while attending elementary school during World War II for calling Joseph Stalin, an ally of the United States at that time, "a bum." His father had told him about what "Uncle Joe" had done to Ukraine.

Since his father belonged to an American Ukrainian organization that supported the Melyk faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Dr. Kuropas said his experience was that being Ukrainian was not always pleasant — and not only when dealing with non-Ukrainians but also when dealing with fellow Ukrainians. This experience was supplied by the various warring factions of the Ukrainian nationalist movement which came over with the Ukrainian displaced persons who started arriving in America in the 1950s.

He also mentioned that he went through his first identity crisis at Soyuzivka when he met Ukrainian DPs. "We are newcomers and you were born 'here.' After a while I got the feeling that being born 'here' was not the thing to be. Some people were even insensitive enough to whisper behind my back 'to baniak' (an idiom meaning dimwit). I suddenly got the feeling that I was not a 100 percent Ukrainian."

What Dr. Kuropas said he remembers most about growing up Ukrainian in North America is that he had to always explain what he was. "Are you Ukrainian?" "Yes." "What's that, a breakfast cereal?" — There was a time when I had a little map."

With the Ukrainian question always being ignored by the Western powers, Dr. Kuropas saw that "being Ukrainian was always being politically incorrect. Always being on the margin. Always being, not in the mainstream, not really there." He mentioned that his son has had the same problems.

Dr. Kuropas summed up his experience of

(Continued on page 12)



Nestor Gula

Dr. Myron B. Kuropas (left) and Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk (right) offer their perspectives on being Ukrainian in North America.

## Flap over purchase of Ukraine's Embassy in Canada continues

by Christopher Guly

OTTAWA — "Someone is trying to intentionally smear my name," said Erast Huculak angrily over the telephone from his Toronto home.

His fury is based on persistent rumors that he was involved in a real estate deal with Oleksij Rodionov, former deputy head of the Ukrainian mission in Ottawa, in which they owned, sold and repurchased the three-story building now occupied by the Ukrainian Embassy in Ottawa.

Mr. Rodionov, dismissed by Ukrainian Ambassador Levko Lukianenko last fall over charges of undiplomatic behavior and misappropriation of embassy funds, was involved in the initial search for the embassy's office space.

Last September, Mr. Huculak and his wife, Lydia, who own a string of pharmacies in Ontario, bought the 331 Metcalfe St. property as a "one-time" gift to Ukraine, after the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) opted out of the deal. Although the Huculaks' company, Prestige Corp., still owns the building, the embassy pays only a nominal \$1 a year in rent.

The Toronto family also supervised interior renovations, the installation of air conditioning and the purchase of some office and reception area furniture, according to Tony Rhodes, part owner of the real estate firm of Rhodes & Co., who arranged the Metcalfe Street deal.

Originally, the UCC, which as of December 31, 1992, had raised \$1.5 million via its Ukrainian Embassy Fund, had agreed to find office and residential space for Ambassador

Lukianenko and his diplomatic staff. Before they found their present building, former embassy officials Mr. Rodionov and Eugene Kutcher, also fired by the ambassador, shared office space with the UCC's Ukrainian Information Bureau. Meanwhile, Mr. Lukianenko worked out of his apartment at the Minto Place Suite Hotel.

A search for office space began, and the intention was to either purchase a building or rent space. Mr. Rhodes said that he strongly recommended against a leasing arrangement. "I told them it would cost between \$55,000 and \$60,000 per year, making some landlord really rich."

Eventually, the Metcalfe Street property was discovered, and a group, including Winnipeg lawyer Oleh Romaniw, who later was elected UCC president, met to decide on what steps to follow.

Mr. Rhodes said the building was originally controlled by the Toronto Dominion Bank after its owner, R. Chevalli, a landlord in the city, had defaulted on the mortgages. On October 1, 1991, the holding company of Young, Henry and Wheatley purchased it for \$335,000.

After investing more than \$100,000 in renovations and legal expenses to rezone it for a diplomatic office, the company listed the price at \$650,000. "They had used (the banned) urea formaldehyde for insulation, which had to be removed," said Mr. Rhodes. "That cost about \$40,000."

He added that Mr. Huculak first offered \$500,000, but then negotiated the final sale price of \$615,000 — down from the original \$650,000 cost. As Mr. Huculak told The Weekly last Septem-

ber, an independent appraisal was done and "the price paid was what the house was estimated at."

Mr. Rhodes believes that some members of the Ukrainian community "nosed around" and discovered the \$315,000 jump in the listing. While Mr. Huculak was out of the country, UCC officials pulled the plug on the deal. At the time Mr. Romaniw was optimistic that last summer's bilateral agreement between Russia and Ukraine would give Ukraine a 16 percent share of all former Soviet property and assets. So far, however, none of the six buildings occupied by the former Soviet Embassy in Ottawa has left Russian control.

Since his name was on the promissory note and he ran the risk of being sued for default, Mr. Huculak signed the deal for the property on Metcalfe Street alone on September 10, 1992, said Mr. Rhodes. After spending two and a half months refurbishing the interior, the building officially opened on December 1, 1992.

"He went out on a limb...and is not making a cent on this," explained Mr. Rhodes, who said he met with Mr. Huculak on five separate occasions. "Romaniw tried to screw us," he added.

Mr. Huculak, president of the Canadian Friends of Rukh, insisted the Metcalfe property is a gift to Ukraine. "I am not in cahoots with Rodionov," he said. "I hardly know the guy."

When Mr. Huculak presented the keys to Ambassador Lukianenko last fall, Mr. Rodionov told The Weekly, "By not having permanent office space, we lost many opportunities to begin bilateral exchanges and arrangements in Canada."

Today he sings a different tune.

"I told (Mr. Huculak, Mr. Romaniw and the ambassador) that the building was not suitable from the beginning," he said recently. "It is too small and has no backyard to organize receptions."

Mr. Huculak said Mr. Rodionov referred to him in a letter of complaint that Messrs. Rodionov and Kutcher attempted to send to Kyiv last fall. That letter was intercepted by the ambassador. However, Mr. Rodionov — who Mr. Rhodes said tried "to take a knife to the whole deal" — denies targeting Mr. Huculak.

"In that letter I told the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry about the ambassador's constant quarrels with the UCC," he explained. "One day he decides to do one thing, the next day, another thing."

But the financial chaos surrounding the embassy extends beyond its office

(Continued on page 12)



Erast Huculak

## "Na zdorovia!" — Baba's prescription for winter

by Jeff Picknicki

Sometimes my Baba comes up with the funniest things. Once she told me the story of Old Lady Kovalyshyn who, according to Baba, was some-kind-of-good-for-nothing, (in Baba's vocabulary, this is one word) who fed her geese the berries from the home brew she was making. As you might have guessed, the geese ate the fermented fruit and passed out cold from the alcohol. When the old lady came outside and saw this, she presumed they were dead and quickly began to pluck them,.... but just as she had finished stripping the feathers off the last one, the poor geese woke up and began to run "naked" around the yard.

Having told you this, you can imagine the kind of bedtime stories I heard as a child. But actually, while Baba does have a story for almost every situation and circumstance, she also has some good advice to dispense, especially when it comes to traditional Ukrainian folk medicine, her self-proclaimed field of expertise.

And having been around my Baba long enough to have picked up a thing or two, I can tell you there's a lot more to this than you might think.

First of all, before I go any further, let me say that Baba's interest in Ukrainian folk medicine has nothing to do with magic or any other kind of hocus-pocus, and I can assure you that she doesn't wait for the first full moon to stand over a bubbling cauldron in her back yard, tossing in eye of newt or other assorted animal parts.

For Ukrainians, folk medicine, with its roots dating back to earliest times, has long been a part of the lives of the people. Motivated by the natural instinct for protection and self-preservation, it is the result of generations of practical experience, and although sometimes sounding more like folklore than fact, this age-old folk wisdom is often as timely today as it was in the past.

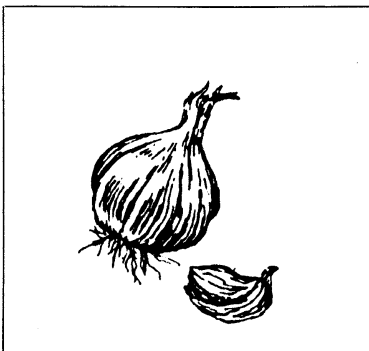
As a child in her village, my Baba learned all about the uses of different herbs and plants from her mother who, as the story goes, learned it from her mother, who had also learned it from her mother. Every spring the village women would go out into the forests and meadows to collect the different herbs, flowers and grasses they would save and use as needed throughout the year to treat a number of different illnesses and ailments.

According to folk belief, some of the plants, such as derevii (yarrow) and kupyina (anise), would be gathered on the day of Kupalo, (Feast of St. John) on July 7, when they were believed to have their

greatest healing and curative powers.

Baba tells me hundreds of different herbs and grasses were collected by the villagers and, depending on the specific plant or the method of treatment, they would be used in different ways. With some, like kalyna (guelder rose) or cheremkha (chokecherry), it was the buds or berries that would be gathered and used to make infusions or extracts. With others, such as shypshyna (wild rose) and teren (blackthorn), it was the roots and stems which were said to possess the sought-after healing properties.

She also tells me that most of the plants were gathered in the wild, "de ne chuty holosu pivnia," (where you can't hear the rooster) but certain ones,



Ukrainian cure-all: garlic (*Allium sativum*).

such as comfrey or caraway, would be cultivated at home.

According to Baba, one of the most popular herbs in Ukrainian folk medicine is polyn, or wormwood, which has been widely used from ancient times as a treatment for fever, kidney and liver ailments, easing the pain of a toothache, or soothing a cough. Some even believe it can improve memory.

Polyn was also said to have magical powers and according to superstition, it was used by the people as a protection from ghosts and evil spirits. On the eve of Kupalo, for example, the villagers would decorate their houses and farm buildings with wormwood leaves in order to keep away any evil spirits that might be present. Baba also tells me that a tonic made from the leaves will protect you from getting a cold (although) if you've ever tasted

wormwood, I say take your chances).

Another herb she uses is rumianok or romashka (camomile) and an extract of the flowers, together with a spoonful of honey, is said to help stomach-aches, soothe a sore throat, and according to folk belief, will even give you better eyesight. Among Ukrainians, rumianok has also been long praised for its effectiveness in treating cough and congestion, it would be given to women to increase fertility and was even used by midwives for a number of different treatments.

As well, it could be used in combination with valeriana (valerian) as a treatment for insomnia or other sleep disorders, but considering even the smallest dose of valerian was known to be a powerful aphrodisiac, this would make, no doubt, for an interesting recovery.

I would also be remiss if I did not mention garlic which, according to Baba, is an elixir for almost anything that ails you. She swears by its use, saying that four out of five Babas surveyed recommend garlic for just about anything that hurts, itches, aches, swells or twinges. She also says that if you eat two cloves of garlic every day, you'll never catch a cold. (This is probably true because if you eat that much garlic, no one will come close enough to give you the germs.)

Among some of her other remedies are blueberry leaves for colds and sore throats, blackthorn to ease an upset stomach, and an extract of wild raspberry leaves as a good general tonic and blood purifier.

Although Baba's shopping list for a healthy winter reads like a botany textbook, she's not alone in her beliefs in traditional folk medicine. Scientific research and studies from around the world are showing the curative and healing potential of a wide variety of plants and, in doing so, are gradually eliminating this blind spot in modern medicine.

But while Baba may know what she's talking about when it comes to the healing herbs of folk medicine, the road to health has not always been without its potholes. Over the years, while out collecting plants and flowers, she's been stung by bees, chased by a bear, gotten poison ivy, and I can't even remember how many times she ran out of gas.

In any case, having a scientist for a Baba has taught me many things — especially to first ask what's cooking before sneaking a taste from the pot. Not long ago, what I thought was borsch turned out to be a special extract she was making for the old lady next door, and as I ran to the sink for some water, Baba laughed so hard tears rolled down her cheeks. "Relax," she said as she assured me that I hadn't just poisoned myself, "...at least now you'll never get a hot flash!"

## These shoes weren't made for walking

IVANO-FRANKIVSKE — In Ivano-Frankivske high fashion trendsetters recently slipped their feet into some very dead styles. The Washington Times recently reported that a certain style of Syrian-made shoe had become popular among the more chic men of the city.

For several days the shoes were quickly snapped up. Soon after the soles began peeling away; the colors ran and the new shoes quickly fell apart, but not before the small private company selling them had turned a tidy profit.

A local investigation eventually determined that the very vague footwear was intended for corpses at Syrian funerals.

## Ukrainians in...

(Continued from page 6)

can we make a positive impact for those in desperate need.

All donations are tax-deductible and may be sent to: Ukrainians in Bosnia Relief Fund, Ukrainian Canadian Social Services-Ottawa, c/o St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Church, 952 Green Valley Crescent, Ottawa, Ontario K2C 3K7.

## Business Digest releases clever 1993 calendar

WESTPORT, Conn. — The Ukrainian Business Digest has released a limited edition 1993 calendar featuring the best of two years of the political cartoons of its art editor, Matt Davies.

The black and white, pen and ink sketches cover subjects ranging from the backward state of Soviet-developed technology to political commentary on the current state of Ukraine's economy.

One caricature shows three staid representatives of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development standing with bags of dollars in hand and watching from across a street as Kyivians queue for toilet paper. One of the international bankers is saying "So... where do we start?" while an apparatchik crouches behind him scooping up fistfuls of money from an open tear in one bag.

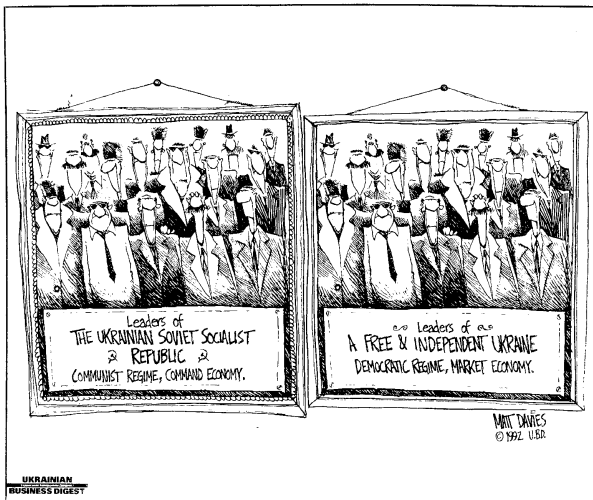
Other cartoons focus on relations between Ukraine and Russia, the politics of President Leonid Kravchuk, the Black Sea Fleet conflict, the economy and everyday life.

The Ukrainian Business Digest is a monthly report on the business climate in Ukraine published by International Information Systems in Westport, Conn.

The calendar costs \$10 but is available

free with a renewal or new subscription to the Ukrainian Business Digest at an annual price of \$495. Send check or credit card information to International

Information Systems, P.O. Box 3127, Westport, CT 06880-8127. To order via telephone: (203) 221-7450; via fax: (203) 221-7414.



A cartoon by Matt Davies from the Ukrainian Business Digest's 1993 calendar.

## Professors...

(Continued from page 10)

growing up Ukrainian in America as a series of ups and downs. The low moments, of being marginalized, ignored and even attacked by the society at large, are balanced by the "glorious moments and moments of achievement. And these are the moments that I cherish."

The presentation by Dr. Luciuk, professor of political geography at Royal Military College in Kingston and director of research at the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, was much more somber in tone. He went directly to what he perceives as the essence of being a Ukrainian in Canada.

Dr. Luciuk admitted that he joined the Ukrainian community late in life, when he was a university student and was confronted with questions like, "Who are you?" He found that, "in my context, my parents were not just strange beings called Ukrainians, but Ukrainian nationalists that were equivalent to Nazis."

Dr. Luciuk briefly summarized his work and said he was trying to come to grips with what it means to be a Ukrainian Canadian. He noted, "The cost of being involved (in the community) is really high."

The cost is the frustration of dealing with a community that he feels has "organizations, for the most part, with a few exceptions, that are very provincial, very marginal, very unrepresentative, very ineffective and very out of date."

Dr. Luciuk delved into a history of Ukrainian Canadian organizations and dealt mainly with the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau (CURB), the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC), and the Civil Liberties Committee (CLC). He said that he was an acquaintance of the late Bohdan Panchuk and Stanley Frolic who established CURB to help Ukrainian DPs settle in the West and avoid repatriation to the USSR. These important figures in Ukrainian Canadian organizational life, according to Dr. Luciuk, were first forced to resign, then were ignored and later maligned by what Dr. Luciuk called "the Winnipeg UCC Mafia." Dr. Luciuk was quick to point out that this is not an attack against any individual but "on the nature of that organization, on the nature of the beast."

He then went on to describe his trials and tribulations with the UCC, especially as an active member of the CLC, which worked on defending Ukrainians' name in Canada's war crimes inquiry, known as the Deschenes Commission, and the acknowledgment and redress campaign for Ukrainians who were interned in Canada during World War II.

According to Dr. Luciuk, the CLC's "work was undercut many times during the Deschenes Commission. ...Frequent attempts by the national executive to micro-manage the war crimes issue from Winnipeg constantly undercut, undermined and hurt our efforts." He drew a parallel between the UCC's actions toward the CURB and the CLC.

He said he does not foresee any change in the UCC, either organizationally or philosophically. He attributed this, again, to "the nature of the beast."

"Doing things the UCC's way seems to me, frankly, to be a prescription for doing nothing much at all, for a long time." He said he feels the UCC might have outlived its usefulness because it has not changed in any meaningful way since it was founded during World War II.

"We have grown up in Canada. We are Ukrainian Canadians. We have grown. But our committee structures have not. Mostly, our committee structures remain wedded to old-country methods of doing things: patronage, nepotism and anti-democratic tendencies. I think the time has come for us to seriously consider whether we do not need a new national organization, one that will be truly representative, democratic, effective and professional," he concluded.

## National Forum...

(Continued from page 9)

Security in Kyiv and will serve as an aide to U.S. Gen. Nicholas Krawicz. He holds a master's degree in public administration from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and is a graduate of the Fort Benning Airborne School and Officer Candidate School

AVID volunteers must have two years of work experience in media management, governance, or business management (with an emphasis on financial and strategic planning). NFF provides most of the volunteer's transportation and housing costs, as well as, a living expense stipend based on local standards.

Interested applicants may contact Orysia Pylyshenko, AVID program director, at (202) 543-3515.

## Flap over purchase...

(Continued from page 10)

location. Mr. Rhodes said that another deal, involving the purchase of a residence for the ambassador and his wife, also fell through.

The congress, which had signed a \$3,900-a-month lease to rent a residence in the city's exclusive Rockcliffe diplomatic district, cancelled that plan. After receiving support at last October's triennial congress, the UCC purchased a \$668,000 house for Mr. Lukianenko and his wife at 480 Island Park Drive.

Yet, Steven Kisil executor of the estate of George Tumachewsky of Oshawa, confirmed that the deceased man left \$450,000 from his estate to fund the purchase of the ambassador's residence. The UCC paid the balance and will use the rest of its embassy fund to cover ongoing maintenance expenses and salaries for future staff, said Bill Werbeniuk, executive director of the UCC's Winnipeg headquarters.

Meanwhile, Mr. Lukianenko awaits word from Mr. Huculak as to when the Toronto entrepreneur will officially transfer ownership of the Metcalfe Street property over to the embassy. "Last August, he formally gave it to the Ukrainian government on television. I know he means to finalize it soon," Mr. Lukianenko said, adding that he hopes this is done expeditiously.

Dr. Julia Woychyshyn, president of

the Ottawa branch of the Canadian Friends of Rukh and vice-president of the Ottawa UCC, said she thinks the Huculaks are awaiting some sign of stability on the part of the embassy. However, she denies that recent disagreements should be construed as a sign of an ongoing battle between the Friends of Rukh and the UCC.

"Part of the problem might be that the UCC doesn't know how to handle the embassy being here. They're in Winnipeg, and everything is happening here in Ottawa," she noted.

She added that the embassy's start-up has been largely due to a joint voluntary effort. Quoting her own figures, she tabulated a total of 1,346 hours of free labor, saving the embassy \$20,190, based on a \$10 per hour charge. "Everybody means well — we want the embassy to work."

Lydia Huculak fails to share that enthusiasm. "We have been working so hard, but there's always someone trying to dig up some dirt to discourage us. I don't know if it's jealousy or if it's a matter of whether they can (help) or not. But whether you give 10 cents or \$10,000, it makes no difference, as long as people take part in the effort."

As for Mr. Rhodes, he is still reeling from his embassy experience. "Maybe (Mr. Huculak) has done one or two bad deals in his time, but (the UCC) really stung him badly." Rhodes Real Estate (Limited) has been in business in Ottawa for 35 years, and this has been the worst deal he has ever had."

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

### SVOBODA

Established 1953  
# Oldest and foremost Ukrainian-language daily in the United States  
# Published daily, except Sundays, Mondays and holidays

### THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Established 1933  
# English-language weekly newspaper offering a Ukrainian perspective on the news  
# Published Sundays

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# Ukrainian National Association

## Monthly reports for August

### RECORDING DEPARTMENT MEMBERSHIP REPORT

	Juv.	Adults	ADD	Totals
<b>TOTAL AS OF JULY 31, 1992:</b>	17,423	42,863	5,521	65,807
<b>GAINS IN AUGUST 31, 1992</b>				
New members.....	41	46	8	95
Reinstated.....	30	60	1	91
Transferred in.....	—	8	—	8
Change of class in.....	4	1	—	5
Transferred from Juv. Dept.....	—	—	—	—
<b>TOTAL GAINS:</b>	75	115	9	199
<b>LOSSES IN AUGUST 31, 1992:</b>				
Suspended.....	10	19	7	36
Transferred out.....	—	9	1	10
Change of class out.....	4	1	—	5
Transferred to adults.....	—	—	—	—
Died.....	4	72	1	77
Cash surrender.....	30	43	—	73
Endowment matured.....	20	41	—	61
Fully paid-up.....	17	54	—	71
Reduced paid-up.....	—	—	—	—
Extended insurance.....	—	—	—	—
Certificate terminated.....	—	1	8	9
<b>TOTAL LOSSES:</b>	85	240	17	342
<b>INACTIVE MEMBERSHIP:</b>				
<b>GAINS IN AUGUST 31, 1992:</b>				
Paid-up.....	17	54	—	71
Extended insurance.....	5	14	—	19
<b>TOTAL GAINS:</b>	22	68	—	90
<b>LOSSES IN AUGUST 31, 1992:</b>				
Died.....	2	34	—	36
Cash surrender.....	19	16	—	35
Reinstated.....	1	3	—	4
Lapsed.....	3	6	—	9
<b>TOTAL LOSSES:</b>	25	59	—	84
<b>TOTAL UNA MEMBERSHIP AS OF AUGUST 31, 1992.....</b>	<b>17,410</b>	<b>42,747</b>	<b>5,513</b>	<b>65,670</b>

**WALTER SOCHAN**  
Supreme Secretary

### FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT INCOME FOR AUGUST, 1992

Dues and Annuity Premiums From Members	\$	460,620.48
Income From "Svoboda" Operation		75,322.96
Investment Income:		
Bonds	\$	532,444.13
Certificate Loans		2,129.94
Mortgage Loans		39,452.50
Banks		3,505.19
Stocks		3,147.73
Real Estate		237,931.37
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>1,354,554.30</b>
<b>Refunds:</b>		
Reward To Special Organizer		847.58
Taxes Federal, State & City On Employee Wages		16,010.78
Operating Expenses Washington Office		1,992.28
Taxes Held In Escrow		217.33
Employee Hospitalization Plan Premiums		589.27
Investment Expense		520.00
Bank Charge		40.00
Travel Expense-General		210.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>20,427.24</b>
<b>Miscellaneous:</b>		
Exchange Account-Payroll	\$	12,200.32
Donations To Fund For The Rebirth Of Ukraine		12,578.65
Profit On Bonds Sold Or Matured		61,212.20
Transfer Account		270,097.50
Transactions within UNA		5,430.20
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>361,518.87</b>
<b>Investments:</b>		
Bonds Matured Or Sold	\$	1,545,442.55
Mortgages Repaid		47,726.20
Certificate Loans Repaid		4,485.43
Loan to U.N.U.R.C.		200,000.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>1,797,654.18</b>
<b>Income For August, 1992.....</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>3,534,154.59</b>

### DISBURSEMENTS FOR AUGUST, 1992

<b>Paid To Or For Members:</b>			
Annuity Benefits	\$	2,775.26	
Cash Surrenders		34,232.42	
Endowments Matured		88,254.79	
Death Benefits		59,655.17	
Interest On Death Benefits		465.83	
Reinsurance Premium Paid		1,949.21	
Dividend To Members		784.54	
Dues And Annuity From Members Returned		13,011.74	
Indigent Benefits Disbursed		1,500.00	
Scholarships		19,000.00	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>221,628.96</b>	
<b>Operating Expenses:</b>			
Washington Office	\$	15,462.57	
Real Estate		241,432.53	
Svoboda Operation		81,940.33	
Official Publication-Svoboda		83,727.48	
<b>Organizing Expenses:</b>			
Advertising		1,231.93	
Medical Inspections		149.25	
Reward To Special Organizers		19,130.52	
Reward To Branch Secretaries		805.21	
Reward To Organizers		12,715.00	
Traveling Expenses-Special organizers		4,807.02	
Field conferences		5,493.50	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>466,895.34</b>	
<b>Payroll, Insurance And Taxes:</b>			
Salaries Of Executive Officers		18,182.86	
Salaries Of Office Employees		38,445.07	
Employee Benefit Plan		7,837.71	
Insurance-General		34.00	
Insurance-Workmens Compensation		843.00	
Taxes-Federal, State And City On Employee Wages		24,886.05	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>90,228.69</b>	
<b>General Expenses:</b>			
Actuarial And Statistical Expenses	\$	1,425.00	
Books and Periodicals		633.98	
Furniture & Fixtures		29.00	
General Office Maintenance		1,560.70	
Insurance Department Fees		170.00	
Operating Expenses Of Canadian Office		175.00	
Dues To Fraternal Congresses		3,456.58	
Postage		3,192.05	
Printing and Stationery		2,112.70	
Telephone, Telegraph		2,782.14	
Traveling Expenses-General		7,497.40	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>23,034.55</b>	
<b>Miscellaneous:</b>			
Ukrainian Publications		863.77	
Fraternal Activities		139.58	
Donations		2,200.00	
Exchange Account-Payroll		12,200.32	
Donation From Fund For The Rebirth Of Ukraine		5,702.82	
Loss on Canadian Exchange		2,078.01	
Professional Fees		3,600.00	
Rent		762.75	
Transfer Account		270,000.00	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>297,547.25</b>	
<b>Investments:</b>			
Mortgages	\$	100,000.00	
Certificate Loans		4,504.94	
Real Estate		31,421.37	
E.D.P. Equipment		21,000.00	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>156,926.31</b>	
<b>Disbursements For August, 1992.....</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>1,256,261.70</b>	
<b>BALANCE</b>			
<b>ASSETS</b>		<b>LIABILITIES</b>	
Cash	\$ 3,352,145.53	Life Insurance	\$ 67,718,622.10
Bonds	46,302,847.20		
Mortgage Loans	4,810,692.00		
Certificate Loan	620,545.19	Accidental D.D.	2,014,834.08
Real Estate	2,863,244.33		
Printing Plant & E.D.P.			
Equipment	353,440.13	Fraternal	(1,435,979.23)
Stocks	1,632,725.17	Orphans	427,056.25
Loan to D.H.-U.N.A.			
Housing Corp	104,551.04	Old Age Home	(2,024,785.10)
Loan To U.N.U.R.C.	6,711,911.00	Emergency	52,353.49
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$ 66,752,101.59</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>\$ 66,752,101.59</b>

**ALEXANDER BLAHITKA**  
Supreme Treasurer

## Strategic nuclear...

(Continued from page 5)

Ukrainian ICBMs should be eliminated but under what conditions. Ukraine has quite rightly demanded there should be reasonable guarantees that the ICBMs scheduled for destruction will actually be dismantled and the warheads destroyed, that it receive financial compensation for the nuclear components it correctly defines as a Ukrainian commercial asset; and, finally, that it be provided with adequate security guarantees once it enters the ranks of the nuclear-free.

The first two issues can be approached in a relatively straightforward manner. Since there are very real doubts concerning the ability (and commitment) of the Russians to dispose of the Ukrainian ICBM warheads to Kyiv's satisfaction in Russian facilities, and the U.S. is balking at paying the cost of doing so on Ukrainian territory, one possible solution would be to transport the warheads to the U.S. for reprocessing, with the downgraded uranium being shipped back for use in Ukraine's nuclear power plants. The highly toxic propellants would go to Russia for storage and reprocessing, while the missiles themselves would be destroyed in Ukraine. Such transactions could be carried out on a commercial basis.

This is not to say that the negotiations will not be awkward. The American side, for example, might raise political and environmental concerns. However, discussions over the fate of the all-

important fissile materials would be easier to conduct in a bilateral setting between Kyiv and Washington than in a trilateral one complicated by a residual suspicion between Moscow and Kyiv.

The issue of security guarantees, however, is much more problematic. While the value of a nuclear warhead and the process of its destruction can be calculated in concrete, economic terms, it is virtually impossible to define as accurately a state's security requirements.

Moreover, Ukraine's bargaining leverage in this respect has been weakened by Kyiv's a priori unilateral declaration to comply with START I within the stipulated time frame — something that has inadvertently made the Ukrainian government's credibility and trustworthiness an issue and rendered the ICBMs a steadily depreciating currency for Ukrainian negotiators. Strictly speaking, the U.S. government does not have to concede anything as the deadline approaches — regardless of any Ukrainian references to fairness and so forth.

Nevertheless, there are uni-, bi- and multilateral military and diplomatic steps that can and should be taken by Ukraine to counter the most probable contingencies arising in its dealings with Russia. These would help allay any reasonable concerns that ridding Ukraine of nuclear weapons would be to expose it to a Russian conventional threat.

Militarily, the most important point

in this regard is to address the problem of the size and mission of the Ukrainian armed forces and the development of the necessary technologies for their fulfillment of this role. Also important is the nurturing of a Ukrainian strategic culture. The Ukrainian armed forces must shed their debilitating Soviet heritage and develop a truly Ukrainian institutional identity on the organizational and operational levels.

On the bilateral level, the question of conventional force postures and balances between Russia and Ukraine must be addressed to the satisfaction of both parties. The fact that both militaries have adopted in principle a non-provocative strategy of "defensive defense" is encouraging. Limiting the numbers of traditionally offensive equipment, such as tanks, artillery and bridging-equipment, and revising training maneuvers so they emphasize defensive and not offensive tactics, blunts the ability of a force to conduct large scale offensive operations.

Troop concentrations and maneuvers can be monitored by the intrusive verification procedures established under multilateral conventions such as, for example, the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) regimes. These can be further modified to satisfy any doubts Ukraine and Russia might harbor over each others' commitment to putting theory into practice, by for example, allowing the inspection of weapons-producing facilities.

Such measures do not depend on trust. Rather, they are adhered to because there is a mutually perceived interest in preventing conflict of all kinds: modern conventional warfare, after all, can be an extremely destructive business. But since they are confidence-building such measures can eventually breed trust. Russia's policy towards Ukraine will be determined by the Russians themselves. Ultimately, this is a factor that lies beyond the powers of any other state to influence.

But while all contingencies cannot be planned for, commitments entered into and structures established today can shape and define the context, content, and hence the future course of Russo-Ukrainian relations. With this in mind, diplomacy — whose role it is to identify international problems and deal with their causes before they escalate to the level of military confrontation — on the bilateral, regional, and international levels will have a crucial role to play in Ukrainian national security policy towards Russia.

### U.S. interests

Much has been made of the American reluctance to militarily underwrite Ukraine's national security once the ICBMs are gone. However, specific demands for U.S. military guarantees are highly unrealistic. Ukraine is not perceived by U.S. policy makers to be critical to U.S. national security. A very persuasive case can and must be made that pursuing a Russocentric post-Cold War policy towards the former Soviet Union might eventually prove counter-productive to U.S. national security.

Barring a conceptual epiphany, however, it is extremely unlikely that U.S. armed forces will ever be committed to defend Ukraine. Nor is this perception of Ukraine's position in the geopolitical equation likely to be substantially challenged by the Clinton administration. A country that had been viewed almost as a geopolitical afterthought by the most conceptually arid administration in memory will almost certainly not be significantly upgraded by an incoming administration heavily committed to subordinating the conduct of

American foreign policy to domestic imperatives.

Nevertheless, the U.S. still has a potentially vital non-military role to perform both during this crucial period for Ukrainian national security and beyond as an impartial broker, consistent with its declared intention of treating Ukraine as a member of the international community of equal standing with legitimate security concerns vis-a-vis Russia. The U.S. is uniquely suited for such a role.

While international organizations such as the CSCE and United Nations are slowly growing in stature and respectability, Washington's voice is still the most singularly powerful and persuasive in the international arena. Yet for a whole complex of reasons, the U.S. has thus far been reluctant to elevate its declaratory policy onto the operational level. With U.S. policy towards Ukraine revealing signs of frustration and impatience — not to mention sterility — Ukrainian diplomacy has an increasingly crucial role to play in presenting the Ukrainian case before American public opinion.

There has been talk of admitting both Russia and Ukraine into NATO. Such a move could at least partially satisfy Ukraine's security requirements. There is, after all some evidence that membership has had a mollifying effect on Greek-Turkish relations. But with the U.S. unwilling to acquiesce to such a move, with Ukrainians policymakers themselves unsure of its desirability given Ukraine's commitment to remaining neutral, and NATO's own deep crisis of identity brought on by the collapse of its Warsaw Pact adversary, this is a prospect that will not likely be realized any time soon.

However, there are some immediate steps that Ukraine could request from the U.S. Ukraine could request special access to U.S. intelligence. The unrivalled American intelligence-gathering capabilities could provide Ukraine with vital reassurances or timely warnings regarding the Russian military. Such an agreement would not compromise U.S. interests because it would only involve Ukrainian access to appropriate intelligence products, and not the technical means for gathering the raw data.

Furthermore, during the Bush administration some commentators argued the need for the appointment of an official whose task it would be to coordinate all aspects of U.S. foreign policy toward the former Soviet Union. The Clinton administration should refine this proposal by appointing a high level official charged with monitoring security developments in the former Soviet Union. This official would report directly and regularly to the president himself. The counsel of a respected and influential individual such as, for example, Zbigniew Brzezinski, would help restore a balanced perspective to a region where U.S. foreign policy has become mired in misperception.

Ultimately, however, Ukraine's national security and relations with Russia will depend on Ukraine's ability to formulate a coherent national security concept that seeks to balance both the ends of policy with the diplomatic and military means for its execution. This is a task as significant as any of the other numerous aspects of state-building currently confronting Ukrainian policymakers — perhaps even more so since it touches upon the very essence of Ukraine's existence. It is also one that is complex and delicate enough without the additional burden of a militarily insignificant and perhaps even devastatingly counter-effective strategic nuclear arsenal.

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Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

Initially, the party advocated political terrorism and armed struggle against the tsarist regime, and espoused the nationalism typified by a speech delivered by Mykola Mikhnovsky, a former member of the Brotherhood of Taras, at public commemorations of Taras Shevchenko in Poltava and Kharkiv in March 1900. The young lawyer called for "a single, unitary, indivisible, free, independent Ukraine from the Carpathians to the Caucasus." The speech had been solicited by RUP's founders, and circulated as the party's first pamphlet, titled *Samostiyna Ukrayina* (Independent Ukraine).

By 1902, Mikhnovsky had been forced out of the party, which moved away from nationalist positions to concentrate on politicizing the peasantry, and organizing rural groups, strikes and boycotts in the regions of Kyiv, Chernihiv and Poltava. The party's official newspapers were *Haslo* (1902-1903), *Selianyn* (1903-1906), *Dobra Novyna* (1903) and *Pratsia* (1904-1906). Its members also disseminated socialist literature of such authors as Karl Kautsky, Paul Lafargue and Wilhelm Liebknecht in Ukrainian translation. RUP cooperated with many non-Ukrainian parties in Ukraine, including the Jewish Workers' Bund (with which it enjoyed particular good relations), the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party (the SR's), the Polish Socialist Party and the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party.

RUP held its first congress in December 1902, electing a central committee. Its influence and membership began to spread outward from centers such as Kharkiv, Kyiv and Poltava, into western and southern Ukraine. In 1904, the party sent a representative to the Socialist International congress in Amsterdam.

Ideological differences led to an open conflict at its second congress in December 1904, held in Lviv, at which members such as Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Symon Petliura caused a split, favoring a renewed emphasis on the national composition of the party, but a tempering of its nationalism with Marxism. The orthodox Marxist wing left the following month.

During the 1905 Revolution, RUP members were quite active, organizing workers' and peasants' strikes and boycotts. However, because of factional disputes they decided to boycott elections to the newly created Russian Duma, and many members fled westward as pressure from the imperial police intensified and drove many political organizations underground.

At RUP's last congress in December 1905, the remaining national autonomists renamed the party the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party (USDRP). The party enjoyed a broad appeal and spawned many other Ukrainian political parties. Its membership was quite colorful and varied, including men who would play significant roles in the ensuing years, such as Volodymyr Chekhivsky (Directory cabinet minister), Dmytro Dontsov (nationalist ideologue), Dmytro and Volodymyr Doroshenko (historians), Symon Petliura (organizer of the first modern Ukrainian army), Mykyta Shapoval (a Ukrainian SR), and Volodymyr Vynnychenko (first premier of Ukraine).

Sources: "Revolutionary Ukrainian Party," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*. Vol. 4, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press); O. Subtelny, "Ukraine, a History," (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).



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## New Jersey schoolchildren celebrate "Yalynka" Delegation promotes marine industry



St. Andrew's Ukrainian School in South Bound Brook, N.J., celebrated the traditional Ukrainian Christmas "Yalynka" on Sunday, January 17, with a program at the Ukrainian Cultural Center. Of the 100 students enrolled at the school, most of the children were on hand for pizza and refreshments served prior to the stage show. The program started with a choral rendition of "Boh Predvichnyi" sung by all the children. It was then followed by the opening address and welcoming remarks by Christine Syzonenko, director of the school. The remainder of the program consisted mainly of vocal performances of traditional Ukrainian Christmas carols. In addition, Christmas-related poems were recited by the students and several individual piano numbers and two Ukrainian dances were performed. At the close of the program the kids were pleasantly surprised as gifts were distributed to all students near the beautifully decorated Christmas tree.

## Delegation promotes marine industry

AYLMER, Quebec — U-CAN, a firm specializing in Canada-Ukraine relations, is introducing a six-member Ukrainian marine mission to the Canadian marine industry from February 12 to 26. "The visit will present an ideal occasion for both countries to explore mutual business interests," said Oksana Bashuk Hepburn, president of U-CAN.

The visit focuses on the two-day Canadian Shipbuilding and Offshore Exhibit at the Ottawa Congress Center, sponsored by the Canadian Maritimes Industries Association (CMIA). It will feature about 100 exhibitors.

Later, the Ukrainians will travel to Montreal, Quebec City and Vancouver for meetings with targeted Canadian marine companies.

The mission, comprising senior executives from the Kherson Shipbuilding Association as well as the Ukrainian Shipbuilding Association, represents a shipbuilding industry on the Black Sea that is as ancient as that of the Greeks. The Canadian Embassy in Kyiv has assessed Ukraine as a major shipbuilder of the world. "Ukraine provided the former USSR as well as its global clients with ships ranging from fishing trawlers to aircraft carriers," said Ms. Bashuk Hepburn.

The main purpose of the Canadian visit is to explore common needs and opportunities, to exchange technical know-how and to forge strategic alliances. The cataclysmic changes in that part of the world leave the Ukrainians eager for new suppliers and partners. "There is an international market for Canadian value-added equipment mounted on Ukrainian hulls," continued Ms. Bashuk Hepburn.

A panel presentation with Canadian and Ukrainian speakers "Canada-Ukraine Marine Industries: An Overview" will be held on Monday, February 15, at 2 p.m. at the Ottawa Congress Center.

For information call U-CAN, (819) 771-0723 or (613) 232-5024; or fax (613) 232-0315.

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## Pollution plagues..

(Continued from page 1)

attrition exceeds 100,000 hectares due to construction of housing and industrial plants. In addition, there are losses from erosion chiefly in the eastern provinces and from salination in the irrigated south.

### Air

Each year, over 10 million tons of pollutants are emitted into Ukraine's atmosphere. The majority of these are from the following industries; ferrous metallurgy, power, coal, chemical, oil and construction material. Emissions by the ferrous metallurgy sector are to blame for the high level of atmospheric pollution in cities such as Dniprodzerzhynske, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhia, Komunarske, Kryvyi Rih, Lysychanske, Makiyivka, Mariupil and Odesa.

The problem of automobile pollution has become very acute, accounting for one-third of all atmospheric pollution (though there are fewer cars per person in Ukraine than in the West, they lack the emission control systems required in cars abroad). In many large cities such as Kyiv, Lviv and Poltava, automobiles now produce approximately 70 percent of the pollution.

### Problem areas

- In Kyiv the average permissible concentrations of five of 13 major pollutants are exceeded each day. These include phenol, nitrogen dioxide, formaldehyde, carbon disulphide and hydrogen chloride. High concentrations of nitrogen dioxide are registered throughout most of the city.

The main reason for the pollution is the large number of plants without filtration or purification equipment, and the low efficiency of existing gas and particle filters (these are fitted in only 30 percent of plants). The filters process only 80.4 percent of toxic emissions; the rest are pumped directly into the air.

Automobile transport is the principal polluter in the city, contributing to over 75 percent of its total pollution. An environmental study conducted in 1990 in the suburb of Pecherske showed the annual losses to the city caused by automobile pollution to be 35.3 million rubles.

In 1990 the city consumed 1.13 billion cubic meters of water, 36 million less than the previous year. A total of 2.06 million cubic meters of polluted effluent was produced in 1990, 69,000 cubic meters less than 1989. Industrial use of fresh water dropped from 26 to 20 percent.

The city's industrial effluent contains a high concentration of biogenetic, chemical and especially microbial pollutants. The unsatisfactory maintenance of the majority of internal water storages, of which there are over 300 in Kyiv, contributes to the Dnipro river's pollution level.

- In Donetsk there are over 200 enterprises, mining concerns and, metallurgical and chemical companies. The city has a population of 1.15 million living in an area of 358 square kilometers. Approximately 320 kilograms of pollutants per person are dumped into the atmosphere each year. Within the city limits there are 108 mine dumps covering an area of 522 hectares. The levels of such substances as phenol, nitrogen dioxide and sulphur anhydride continually exceed permissible limits.

Of 56 lakes in Donetsk Oblast, only 30 are relatively safe for bathing. Twenty-six are used by companies as settlement ponds for effluent. Each day, forty industrial plants pump more

than 186,000 cubic meters of effluent into open waterways, of which 2,000 cubic meters do not conform to Ukrainian sanitation standards.

Each year, plants in Donetsk produce 20 million tons of waste, and yet there is no toxic waste disposal plant in the city.

The sewerage network in the city was built in the 1940s and 1950s and is not in satisfactory condition. Mining makes the land in the area subside and this has resulted in 3,000 to 4,000 breaks in sewer lines. As a result raw sewage flows to the surface or into waterways.

The Donetsk Metallurgical Plant is located in the center of the city, with eight working open-hearth furnaces, none of which have flue gas filters.

In 1989 the Donetsk mines brought 17 million tons of tailings to the surface, of which only nine percent was returned underground. The tailings take up large areas of arable land, pollute the atmosphere and increase background radiation. In the Donbas region there are 13,000 hectares of dump sites.

Forty-three percent of water quality tests in the province fall below minimum sanitary standards; they show increased levels of phenol, heavy metals and other noxious substances. Thus, 50 percent of the population of Donetsk Oblast consumes unfit water. In 90 villages throughout the region there is no water at all, and it must be transported by land.

Despite the shortage of water in the Donbas, it is used unproductively. To produce one ton of pig iron in the Kramatorske Metallurgical Plant, 66 cubic meters of water are used, as compared to the national standard of 7 cubic meters.

- One of the largest enterprises in the Dnipropetrovske Oblast, the Petrovsky Metallurgical Plant, produces almost 100 million karbovantsi of damage to the environment each year as a result of noxious fumes from its blast furnaces and smelting works. The cost to human health is impossible to calculate.

Forty-one percent of gas scrubbing systems in the plant are ineffective. Noxious emissions constitute 54 percent of all atmospheric pollution from enterprises in the western industrial region of the city. The level of harmful chemicals exceeds permissible limits by 1.5 to 4 times for sulfurous gas, hydrogen sulfide, carbon monoxide and nitric oxide, 14 times for phenol.

The incidence of bronchial asthma has risen in the city 12 percent compared to 1981, while bronchitis and emphysema rose 77 percent and child mortality 9.3 percent for the same period. In the last decade, deaths have exceeded births in Dnipropetrovske.

To satisfy their needs, Dnipropetrovske city plants draw from and return to the Dnipro River 230 million cubic meters of water annually, of which 167.9 million cubic meters are polluted and 5 million cubic meters are highly toxic.

Enterprises of the Metallurgy Ministry each year dump 60 million cubic meters of waste water into Ukrainian rivers, including millions of cubic meters of polluted effluent.

- In western Ukraine Lviv has the unenviable distinction of having the most polluted air. In 1989 the emission of noxious substances into the air reached 121,800 tons annually.

Out of total atmospheric pollution, automobile pollution constitutes 77.3 percent: 91.4 percent carbon monoxide, 61.6 percent nitric oxide and 87.8 percent hydrocarbons.

Industrial enterprises occupy one-third of the city's territory. The results of 10 tests showed that in six cases the levels of carbon monoxide exceeded permissible levels by 5 to 10 times.

Almost 80 percent of city residents breathe air with higher than permitted levels of noxious substances. Almost one-quarter of the water that reaches Lviv is used for industrial purposes, despite an intense shortage of water in the city.

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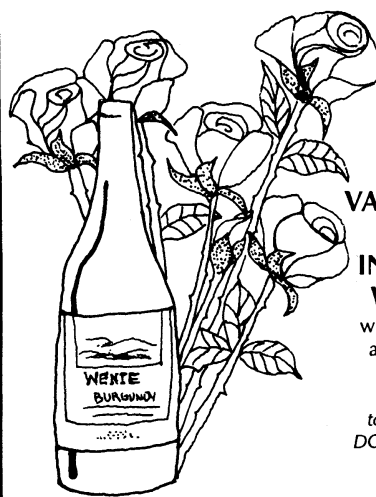
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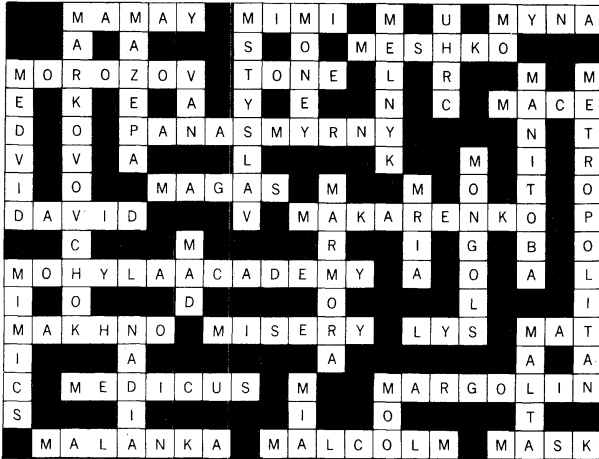


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# Ukrainian crossword

by Tamara Stadnychenko-Cornelison

## Answers to last week's puzzle



## Newsbriefs...

(Continued from page 2)

as Antyufev and Goncharenko as officers of the Riga OMON. They are among 13 fugitive OMON officers wanted for trial on criminal charges in Latvia in connection with their actions in the events of January and August 1991. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **KYYIV** — The Korean ambassador to Ukraine, An Ven Hon, on January 26 presented his credentials to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, reported IntelNews. Currently 39 embassies, one mission (Kyrgyzstan) and one honorary consulate (Australia) are operating in Ukraine. (IntelNews)

• **MOSCOW** — The Russian government has decided, effective January 1, to sell oil and gas at world prices to members of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Georgia and the Baltic nations, Interfax reported on January 13. The prices will be based on an exchange rate of 425 rubles to the U.S. dollar during the first quarter of 1993. This means the selling prices of petroleum, diesel oil and fuel oil will be 85,000 rubles, 68,000 rubles and 34,000 rubles per ton, respectively. World prices, however, will be paid only by those republics of the former Soviet Union with which Russia does not have intergovernmental agreements establishing special price levels. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **SEVASTOPOL** — Russian officers of the Black Sea Fleet demanded on January 21 that the "economic blockade" of the fleet be lifted and its material and technical problems be immediately solved. At a meeting held in Sevastopol, the officers condemned the actions of Rear Admiral Boris Kozhin, the commander of the Ukrainian Navy, which they claimed served to destabilize the fleet, Interfax said. Because of the "conduct of the General Staff of the Ukrainian Navy" they demanded that fleet headquarters be moved away from Sevastopol. On January 23, the commander of the Russian Navy expressed concern over the continuing uncertainty regarding the fleet in an interview in Nezavisimaya Gazeta. He suggested many problems could be resolved if the fleet's officers and NCOs were granted

dual citizenship. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **KYYIV** — The Ukrainian Republican Party has demanded the Communist Party of the Soviet Union be put on public trial. The demand, outlined in a statement issued by the URP on January 14, was made in response to an appeal published in Pravda which called for the former Communist parties of the republics of the former USSR to reorganize the CPSU and work toward re-establishment of the Soviet Union.

URP Chairman Mykhailo Horyn said a real threat to Ukraine is presented by the proposed Charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States, which foresees the creation of various CIS suprastructures. The president of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, Vyacheslav Chornovil, said signing the CIS Charter would be tantamount to a state revolution. (Respublika)

• **KYYIV** — The Ukrainian Labor Association is the name of a new political party established in Ukraine. The party sees itself as a defender of the Ukrainian people and as heir to social-democratic and social-liberal movements. It bases its activity on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and general Christian principles, and it will work closely with trade unions and other workers' organizations. Its leading goal: the establishment of social and economic reforms that will take Ukraine toward a free market system and will protect the interests of all of society. (Respublika)

• **KYYIV** — Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantyn Morozov criticized officers in the Ukrainian military who swore allegiance to Ukraine in order to retain their privileges and careers, reported Reuters on January 25. He reportedly said that anyone not fully committed to Ukrainian independence should resign. Gen. Morozov's comments were undoubtedly aimed at the large Russian majority in the Ukrainian officer corps, many of whom joined the Ukrainian military rather than face dismissal or transfer to Russia, where housing is a severe problem. Ukrainian parliamentarians have also been critical of Gen. Morozov for his handling of the reattestation of officers and management of the armed forces. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

**Wednesday, February 10**

**NEW YORK:** Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Branch 83 cordially invites the public to a talk by Virliana Tkacz on the subject of her work in the theater with Yara Arts Group in New York and Ukraine. The talk will be complimented with slides. Ms. Tkacz will speak at 7:45 p.m., at UNWLA Regional Council Headquarters, 108 Second Ave. Admission is free.

**Wednesday, February 10 - Sunday, February 14**

**PHILADELPHIA:** The Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, under the artistic direction of Andrei Pap, will appear along with the Pennsylvania Dance Theatre and the Leja Dance Theatre in the Dance Now program at The Movement Theatre International, 3700 Chestnut St., on Wednesday, February 10, at 7 p.m.; Thursday, February 11, and Friday, February 12, at 8 p.m.; Saturday, February 13, at 2 p.m. and again at 8 p.m.; Sunday, February 14, at 3 p.m. For further information and ticket orders, call (215) 382-0600.

**PHILADELPHIA:** Accommodations for those attending the Valentine Party at Ulan's, 205 Bainbridge St., Society Hill, beginning at 9 p.m., are available, with special discounts, at the Holiday Inn, Fourth and Arch streets, in the Independence area. Ask for the South Street Package. For further information, call the inn (215) 923-8660.

**Saturday, February 13**

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific

Society invites the public to an address by Prof. Viacheslav Briukhovetsky, rector of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine's first private university, who will speak on — "The Role of the University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in the Building of the Ukrainian State," to be held at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave., at 5 p.m. Following the address, refreshments will be served.

### ONGOING

**JENKINTOWN, Pa.:** Manor Junior College is sponsoring a traditional Hutsul Woodcarving class. Participants will learn the art of Hutsul deep-relief wood carving. Instructor is Michael Luciw. Classes will be held Thursday, February 4-April 1, 6:30-8:30 p.m. Course fee is \$50. Tools may be purchased through the instructor. Call Manor Junior College Continuing Education, (215) 884-2218, for further information.

**SASKATOON, Saskatchewan:** "Passage," an exhibit of art by Sylvia Les-

chshyn of St. Albert, Alberta, opened February 7 at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, 910 Spadina Crescent E. According to the artist, "Passage" reflects on broad aspects of living; "the earth from which we draw substance, the heritage from which we derive our identity, and the relationships from which we obtain inspiration." The exhibit consists of 22 paintings in acrylic, watercolor, airbrush and mixed media. The paintings will be for sale. The exhibit runs through March 21.

### FORTHCOMING

**JENKINTOWN, Pa.:** Manor Junior College is offering a Ukrainian bead weaving class in February. Instructor Anna Halamay will teach students the techniques used in beaded necklace (gerdany) from th Lemko, Boyko and Hutsul regions of Ukraine. Classes will be held Saturday, February 20 and 27, 1-4 p.m. Course fee is \$35. An additional materials fee of \$10 is payable the first class. Call Manor Junior College Continuing Education, (215) 884-2218.

**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.**

## Parliament OKs...

(Continued from page 1)

some observers. As New Ukraine's leader, Volodymyr Filenko, indicated in an interview, "Since it is under attack from the left and right, the government has no alternatives. There is no other team that is willing to deal with this mess." He added that even though the government's reform program is insufficiently market-oriented, his coalition would support it nevertheless.

Mr. Chornovil took a similar position, saying, "We criticize individual decrees, but we support the government because only the government is doing something to get the country out of the crisis."

The statistics on Ukraine's economic crisis are grim. National income decreased in 1992 from the previous year by 14 percent. According to a speech Prime Minister Kuchma delivered before an assembly of miners in Donetsk on February 1, the budget deficit was 1.325 trillion karbovatnsi and exceeded 17 percent of Ukraine's gross national product.

The crisis in the financial system has brought the country to the brink of total social collapse. In 1992 currency emissions totalled 491 billion karbovatnsi, as opposed to 10.4 billion in 1991.

The supply of food products decreased by 15.6 percent (meat by 21.6 percent, butter by 20, flour by 12.7, and grains by 18.4) In 1992, 11 million metric tons of grain and beans were shipped to processing plants — only 75 percent of the minimum required for that year.

This reporter has learned that the government is considering the purchase abroad of 2 million metric tons of wheat, 2.5 million tons of corn, 500,000 tons of soybeans, and about 30,000 tons of seed corn. It intends to buy \$353 million (U.S.) of pesticides; \$50 million of veterinary medicines and instruments; \$260 million of food packaging equipment; and expects to pay \$93 million for fishing rights in foreign economic zones.

Ukraine's Minister of the Economy Viktor Pynzenyk outlined the government's plan of action before the Parliament. He claimed the Kuchma government was not only willing to follow the path of reform, but also to cooperate with the Supreme Council. A member of the parliamentary Committee on the Economy commented, "It's a pity that we didn't have this government in January 1992."

## Ukraine upholds...

(Continued from page 8)

sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council," Ukrainian Foreign Ministry officials said.

The investigation also showed the oil products were being delivered by companies and organizations from Russia, Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus and Turkey. The aim of the delivery was to transfer the oil to Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the former Czechoslovakia.

According to MFA spokesmen, official documents show that the Russian firm Salavatneftegazsintez," has transported close to 3,000 tons of diesel fuel to Bosnia and Herzegovina in recent months.



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