

# THE Ukrainian Weekly

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

Vol. LX No. 11 THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY SUNDAY, MARCH 15, 1992 50 cents

## Independent Ukraine issues its first postage stamps

by Marta Kolomayets  
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — "The issuance of our own stamps is yet another attribute of statehood," said Vasyl Boyarchuk, deputy director of the Ukrainian State Committee on Communications, as he presented the first postage stamps of an independent Ukraine, on Thursday, February 27.

The two debut 15-kopek stamps which came into circulation on Sunday March 1 depict two historic eras in Ukraine's glorious and often turbulent past. The first celebrates 500 years of Kozak history (1490-1990), depicting three Zaporozhian Kozaks.

The second bears the image of two Carpathian villagers, and the Canadian maple leaf in one corner, marking 100 years of Ukrainian emigration to Canada (1891-1991).

Yet a third stamp, worth 20 kopeks and featuring the 19th century literary and political figure Mykola Kostomarov, was displayed at the press briefing, but will be a jubilee issue in May.

Kiev artist Oleksander Ivakhnenko, who designed these first stamps of Ukraine, labelled the event "a holiday for all of us," as he spoke at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center.

A contest had been held last year to choose designs for the stamps, according to Mr. Boyarchuk. An artists' council has been formed to work on additional series of postage stamps.

Larysa Khorolets, Ukraine's minister of culture, and democratic People's Deputies Roman Lubkivsky, Lubomyr Pyrih and Oleh Hudyma — all three of whom are philatelists at heart — suggested that Ukraine propagate its culture, its history and its achievements through postage stamps featuring political figures, literary leaders and cultural events.

Plans are already on the drawing board to honor Ukraine's Olympic champions, with Viktor Petrenko likely to be the first candidate for such a distinction.

According to Mr. Pyrih, there already is talk in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria to issue parallel stamps on mutual relations.

Although these first stamps were printed in Russia, Mr. Boyarchuk assured the press that future stamps will be printed in other countries until Ukraine has its own facilities.

This first issue delivered 2.5 million stamps, but half of these are intended

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## President suspends removal of Ukraine's tactical weapons

### Cites uncertainty of their destruction in Russia

by Marta Kolomayets  
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — President Leonid Kravchuk has ordered Ukraine's defense minister, Konstantyn Morozov, to suspend the removal of tactical weapons from the territory of Ukraine — unless it receives guarantees of their destruction.

Speaking at a press conference on the eve of his first 100 days as president, Mr. Kravchuk expressed doubt that the facilities in Russia are sufficient to destroy not only tactical weapons, but strategic ones as well. To date, 57 percent of Ukraine's tactical weapons have been removed to Russia.

"We have not changed our main concept: we want to remain non-aligned, nuclear-free and eventually a neutral state," said Mr. Kravchuk, who has promised that all nuclear weapons will be destroyed and removed from the territory of Ukraine by 1994.

But he also stated that, in the event of political instability, Ukraine cannot guarantee that these nuclear weapons will be destroyed. He, therefore, appealed that the weapons be placed under international control, mentioning Western Europe and the United States as guarantors of this process.

Ukraine has a sense of responsibility, a moral right — and not only a moral right — to ask that facilities be built on Ukrainian territory for the destruction of nuclear weapons, said the president.

He cited the Chernobyl nuclear explosion in April 1986 as yet another reason that Ukraine should be supplied with facilities that will also dispose of nuclear waste, a service that Russian factories have recently refused to provide to Ukraine.

Mr. Kravchuk also appealed to the world community for assistance in this project, which he envisions as being built in the Chernobyl area.

"We will pursue a solid, political policy that is not only in the interests of Ukraine, but in the interests of Europe, of the world, and in the interests of stability," he said.

The president said that he wanted

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## IOC says republics must compete as Unified Team

LAUSANNE, Switzerland — Twelve former Soviet republics will compete as one team for the last time during the Summer Olympic Games in Barcelona, the International Olympic Committee announced here on March 9.

The Associated Press reported that despite requests from Ukraine and Georgia that they be allowed to compete independently, the IOC persuaded 12 former republics to participate under the aegis of the Unified Team.

The IOC granted provisional recognition to each of the republics' national Olympic committees on the condition that they take part in the Summer Olympics as a joint team.

"I think all wanted to go independently, but they agreed with us that for the last time they have to take part as a united team," IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch said. "This agreement means the athletes will not be punished. The most important thing was to stick to the principle that the best athletes from all 12 republics should participate in Barcelona," the AP quoted him as saying.

Mr. Samaranch added that as of January 1, 1993, the republics will be free to compete as independent countries. "At the next Olympics [the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Nor-

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## Senate delegation praises Ukraine for disarmament

by Marta Kolomayets  
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — A delegation from the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee arrived in Kiev for a full day of meetings with Ukraine's leaders on Monday, March 9.

The senators — Sam Nunn, Richard Lugar, John Warner and Jeff Bingaman — called Ukraine a leader among the former Soviet republics in nuclear disarmament, military conversion and troop reduction on its territory.

Comparing Ukraine's military conversion plan to Russia's, Sen. Warner said he was impressed by "Ukraine's enthusiasm," and saw it was moving more rapidly toward defense conversion than the Russian Federation.

"Here, defense production has stopped completely, while Russia continues to produce weapons and sell them abroad for hard currency," he said.

"We all expressed our admiration for the position of Ukraine for being

(Continued on page 4)



Independent Ukraine's first postage stamps (beginning with top left) were issued to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the Zaporozhian Kozaks (1490-1990) and the Centennial of Ukrainian settlement in Canada (1891-1991), and to honor the 19th century writer and political thinker Mykola Kostomarov (1817-1885). All three bear the designation "Poshta Ukrainy" (Post of Ukraine).



## ANALYSIS: Ukrainian-Russian confrontation over Crimea

by Dr. Roman Solchanyk  
RFE/RL Research Report

Relations between Ukraine and Russia, which have steadily deteriorated in the aftermath of Ukraine's declaration of independence and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union, suffered another setback as the two sides appeared to be poised for a standoff over the question of the Crimea's status.

On January 23, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation voted overwhelmingly (166 to 13, with 8 abstentions) to adopt a resolution instructing two of its parliamentary committees to examine the constitutionality of the 1954 decision to transfer the Crimea from the RSFSR to Ukraine and recommending that the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet approach its counterpart in Kiev to do the same. The two committees in question, on Foreign Affairs and External Economic Ties and on Legislation, were to have reported their findings to the Supreme Soviet no later than February 6. That deadline has now been extended.

In the meantime, the Ukrainian Supreme Council has issued a statement saying that a review of the Crimea's status is in violation of various recent Ukrainian-Russian agreements and could destabilize the situation in both Ukraine and Russia. These developments come at a time when relations between Ukraine and Russia have been subjected to considerable strain because of disagreements over military issues, particularly the question of who will inherit the Black Sea Fleet.

The Crimean problem had already been raised in the Russian Parliament the previous week. At that time, the Committee on Foreign Affairs and External Economic Ties, which is headed by Vladimir Lukin, distributed to Russian lawmakers its resolution "On the Decisions of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of February 19, 1954, and the USSR Supreme Soviet of April 26, 1954, Regarding the Removal of the Crimea from the RSFSR," proposing that the Russian Supreme Soviet declare these decisions invalid and having no legal force. However, the deputies decided to postpone discussion of the issue in order not to exacerbate relations with Ukraine.

On January 23, the Crimean issue was placed on the agenda once again, this time on the initiative of a group of deputies from the "Fatherland" and "Russia" parliamentary factions led by Sergei Baburin. The Baburin group also prepared an appeal from the Russian Supreme Soviet to the Ukrainian Parliament calling for constructive negotiations on the fate of the Black Sea Fleet, which was also approved. The two issues were clearly meant to be joined, and Mr. Baburin made no secret of this in his address to Parliament.

However, the degree to which the so-called "patriotic-statist" group of Russian parliamentarians sees the Black Sea Fleet and Crimean questions as an interrelated problem only became fully apparent after the publication on January 22 of excerpts from a letter from Mr. Lukin to Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, recommending, among other things, that the Crimea be used as a bargaining chip in the dispute over the Black Sea Fleet. Specifically, Mr. Lukin argued that after declaring the 1954 decisions on the Crimea invalid, "the Ukrainian leadership will be confronted with a dilemma — either it agrees to the

transfer of the fleet and [its] bases to Russia, or the Crimea's [status] as part of Ukraine will come into question."

This approach, he argued, would also have side benefits in terms of Russian domestic politics. Concessions to the Ukrainians, wrote Mr. Lukin, would play into the hands of the Russian nationalist right wing, while a firm stand on the issue would evoke broad popular support for the Russian government, which, in turn, would provide added time and maneuverability to implement unpopular economic reforms.

### The Ukrainian-Russian dimension

Mr. Lukin's letter also points to the broader context within which the Ukrainian-Russian confrontation over the Black Sea Fleet and the Crimea should be viewed, namely, the inter-related questions of Russia's readiness to come to terms with the notion of an independent Ukrainian state and the Russian view of its role and status in the Commonwealth of Independent States. These are the fundamental questions — for Ukraine, Russia, and the future of the CIS — that are currently being "discussed" in terms of the Black Sea Fleet and the Crimea.

A recent analysis of the crisis in Ukrainian-Russian relations by associates of the Center for Ethnopolitical Studies in Moscow sums up the problem succinctly: it is not the substance of the positions taken by either side in the dispute that is essential, but rather the symbolism.

Mr. Lukin appears to have made his recommendations under the impact of the January 11 negotiations in Kiev between Russia and Ukraine on military and political issues, the results of which he was inclined to view rather pessimistically. He told Mr. Khasbulatov that the Ukrainian leadership has as its main goal "to completely sever [Ukraine's] special relations with Russia, including in the military-political area." By declaring Ukraine formally a neutral state, he argued, the Ukrainians intend to move towards the West "without us," repeating the path taken by Eastern Europe. In the process, Kiev intends to keep everything on the territory of Ukraine in its hands except for nuclear weapons.

To counter these moves, in addition to playing the Crimean card, Mr. Lukin proposed several other measures, including placing all armed forces of the former Soviet Union under the jurisdiction of Russia and placing the Black Sea Fleet under Russian jurisdiction together with its bases in Sevastopol, Balaklava and Mykolayiv, with future negotiations both on the status of these bases and the question of transferring a part of the fleet to Ukraine.

Moreover, in order to "neutralize" the predictable reaction in Ukraine, Mr. Lukin suggested that Kiev be threatened with the immediate transfer of military orders from plants in Ukraine to Russia or other CIS states, thereby halting production at a large number of Ukrainian military plants, damaging the budget, and provoking social unrest.

The references in Mr. Lukin's letters to Ukraine's intention to chart its course independently of Russia highlights the fundamental problem of Russia's attitude towards an independent Ukraine. In this context, the debate over the Black Sea Fleet and the controversial Crimean question can be seen largely as

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## Newsbriefs on Ukraine

• KIEV — President Leonid Kravchuk asked the Ukrainian Parliament to approve an economic state of emergency in Ukraine so that he could act decisively on economic reform, but the Parliament postponed the vote until more details on the implications of a state of emergency were provided by the president. Mr. Kravchuk had said that industrial production had fallen by 20 percent as compared with 1991 and that Ukraine has a budget deficit of 50 billion rubles. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• KIEV — Oleksander Savchenko, a well-known reformer closely associated with the introduction of the hryvnia (a Ukrainian currency), was fired from his post as deputy head of the Ukrainian National Bank and "transferred to academic work," said bank officials on March 5. Volodymyr Pylpynchuk said that his dismissal was "a blow against reform," while other reformers said that Mr. Savchenko was a victim of a power struggle between reformers and conservatives in the bank and government. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• MOSCOW — Major Gen. Mikhail Bashkirov, who pledged allegiance to Ukraine last month with some of his staff, was fired by CIS Commander-in-Chief Marshall Yevgeni Shaposhnikov. Major Gen. Bashkirov had been the commander of a Ukrainian-based strategic air division. He had been fired before for the same reason, but his removal was then "abrogated" by the Ukrainian minister of defense. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• MUNICH — Turkmenistan signed deals with Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan to exchange natural gas for electrical engineering and chemical industry equipment, consumer goods and food. Accounts on both sides will be settled at world prices in U.S. dollars on a clearing basis. Meanwhile, Ukraine has threatened to shut down a pipeline that carries Turkmen and Russian gas across its borders due to the dispute over gas prices after Turkmenistan announced a 50-fold price increase effective March 1. On March 5 Radio Rossia broadcast that Turkmen gas was not reaching Armenia, and gas supplies to industries and homes had stopped. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• ZAPORIZHZHIA — Zaporozhian Kozaks have appealed to President Leonid Kravchuk for inclusion of an article "On the Revival of Kozakdom" in Ukraine's new constitution. Izvestiya reported on March 9. The Association of Zaporozhian Kozaks has 100,000 members and is planning to open a boarding school. They have also formed a mounted guard to keep watch over the Sich, the historical base of the Kozaks. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• KIEV — The Ukrainian state sector stopped accepting the ruble for cash transactions on March 1.

As of that date, 75 percent of wages will be paid in Ukrainian coupons, while the rest will be deposited in ruble bank accounts. In the state shops, purchases of less than 4,000 rubles must be made in coupons, while larger transactions must be made by transferring ruble savings in bank accounts. The wholesale sector is to switch to coupons in the future. (Financial Times)

• KIEV — Russian and Ukrainian parliamentarians reached an accord on monetary problems on February 28. Under this accord, Ukraine will return ruble notes to Russia after they have been replaced by the hryvnia, Ukraine's soon-to-be-introduced currency. Mechanisms for trade and payments were also devised, but a dispute over the distribution of gold, diamond and foreign-currency reserves of the former Soviet Union arose. The accord must be formally approved by the two legislatures and accepted by the government. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• MOSCOW — Leonid Smolyskov has been appointed the Russian ambassador to Ukraine. TASS reported on March 4. Since November 1991 he was a plenipotentiary representative of Russia in Ukraine. He graduated from Kiev University in 1965, taught in the Higher Party School of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in 1971-1987 and was a professor of the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences in 1987-1991. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

### THE Ukrainian Weekly

FOUNDED 1933

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

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

Yearly subscription rate: \$20; for UNA members — \$10.

Also published by the UNA: Svoboda, a Ukrainian-language daily newspaper.

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

UNA:  
(201) 451-2200

Postmaster, send address changes to:

The Ukrainian Weekly  
P.O. Box 346  
Jersey City, N.J. 07303

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The Ukrainian Weekly, March 15, 1992, No. 11, Vol. LX  
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# Real "Ivan's" tracks revealed

JERUSALEM — The John Demjanjuk defense told the Israeli Supreme Court hearing the former Cleveland autoworker's final appeal of his 1988 conviction and death sentence that the real "Ivan the Terrible" of the Treblinka Nazi death camp fled the allied advance near the end of World War II and found cover with the Yugoslav partisans.

The Associated Press reported that defense lawyer Yoram Sheftel asked the Supreme Court on March 8 to release his client without bail based on the latest evidence. In the past, the Supreme Court has on several occasions denied Mr. Sheftel the defense's request for Mr. Demjanjuk's release.

According to the defense, the real "Ivan" was Ivan Marchenko. Mr. Sheftel has presented testimony by Treblinka guards who said Marchenko was the notorious camp guard known as "Ivan the Terrible" during war crimes trials in the USSR in the 1940s through 1960s.

Until now, the AP reported, the defense's attempts to trace the whereabouts of Marchenko ended with a report that he was last seen in Trieste, Italy toward the end of the war. On March 8, Mr. Sheftel reported that testimony by another Treblinka gas chamber operator, Nikolai Shelayev, indicated that he and Marchenko were transferred from Treblinka to Trieste in 1943 and that in 1944 when the allied forces were approaching Marchenko and a driver named Gregory "fled in an armored car to the partisans in Yugoslavia."

The Shelayev testimony is among statements by 31 camp guards brought from former Soviet archives to Israel.

In other developments in the Demjanjuk case, the Associated Press reported that the German magazine Stern published a story indicating that German federal police believe a document used to convict Mr. Demjanjuk is a forgery.

The German magazine cited experts at the Federal Criminal Police office in Wiesbaden who said that the Jerusalem court ignored doubts about an identification document, known as the Travniki ID card, the AP reported.

Stern said the card, which had been provided to the Israelis by the USSR, was given to the Federal Criminal Police in Germany in January 1987 to determine its authenticity. The police told the Israelis that at first glance "a number of conspicuous things about the document made its authenticity doubtful," Stern wrote.

Citing remarks entered in police files by expert Louis-Ferdinand Werner, Stern said the document had no issue date and that the photograph of Mr. Demjanjuk's head had been mounted to the neck with two different types of glue.

Stern also cited the testimonies of a former SS captain, Karl Streibel, and former accounting chief Rudolf Reiss, whose signatures appear on the Travniki ID. Both men said the signatures are forgeries and that they had never before seen such a document.

After Israeli officials were informed by German police that the document was suspicious, police officials were told that further examination of the document "was no longer desired," Stern reported.

"Despite all that, the Jerusalem District Court had not the shadow of a doubt when it sentenced Demjanjuk to death," Stern said.

# Ukraine's Parliament moves ahead on economic reform

## Lanovy is named economy minister

by Marta Kolomayets  
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — Although some political leaders here say that they witnessed the "funeral of socialism" with the passage last week of a package of laws on privatization, the parliamentarians of New Ukraine, an economic reform movement, have expressed concern about the actual implementation of such laws as Ukraine struggles to enter a free market economy.

It is precisely for this reason that the leadership of New Ukraine, including Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Volodymyr Hryniiov, met with President Leonid Kravchuk and proposed

that he form an economic bloc in the Cabinet of Ministers and name Volodymyr Lanovy, the former state minister on privatization, as deputy prime minister and minister of the economy.

Mr. Kravchuk, reported Deputy Yuriy Serbin, who was a member of this delegation, listened attentively and said he would discuss it. On Thursday, March 5, Mr. Lanovy was appointed minister of the economy and the following day, by presidential decree, he was named deputy prime minister.

Also on March 5, the deputies examined the requests of the agrarian group, especially its concerns prior to the spring planting season. President Kravchuk addressed the session, underscoring the importance of the village and its social development.

Although the parliamentarians ended their session early on Friday, March 6, they passed the remaining two laws on privatization, on small businesses and on certificates.

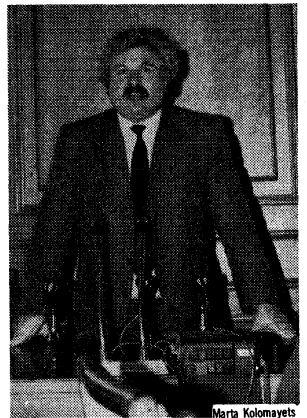
They also passed laws renaming Kiev's Lenin Raion the Staro-Kievsky Raion (Old Kiev District).

On Tuesday, March 10, the deputies resumed their discussion on land reform, adding appropriate clauses to the draft constitution; the discussion is continuing throughout this week.

Members of Parliament also discussed the foreign investment law, which passed swiftly and unanimously. The law guarantees foreigners the right to invest in land, property, housing, businesses, stocks and bonds, as well as intellectual property in Ukraine.

For the first time, it allows foreigners to hold 100 percent of the investment in a business or property. The law also defines joint ventures as those which have at least 20 percent foreign monies, or \$100,000 (U.S.)

All transactions must be handled in hard currency, but the law also guaran-



Marta Kolomayets

Volodymyr Hryniiov at a press conference of the New Ukraine economic movement.

tees that foreign investors, after paying taxes and filing a report on their venture, have the right to transfer their revenue, profits and other costs abroad in hard currency.

Under this law, which was scheduled to be enacted on Thursday, March 12, current joint ventures are exempt from paying taxes for five years after showing a profit; afterwards they still receive a 50 percent tax break. New joint ventures are exempt from paying taxes for three years after which they, too, will get a tax break.

Foreign investors are protected by law in the event of a return to state (Communist) rule and nationalization of property. A special provision states that for the 10 years following such an event, the investment is subject to the laws in power at the time it was registered.

## President...

(Continued from page 1)

Ukraine to serve as a stabilizing factor in Europe. "We want these weapons to be destroyed in a country with the proper facilities. We want guarantees that they can't be used anywhere. I don't want to make anybody else stronger," he added.

He mentioned that Ukraine was home to 344 military production plants, many of which will lay off workers as Ukraine moves toward disarmament. Ukraine has to restructure its military industrial complex, he said, and must find work for those who will be jobless, adding that he would not want to see these scientists and researchers leave Ukraine.

He said he proposed to a U.S. Senate delegation visiting Kiev earlier this week that an International Atomic Center be built in Kiev with Western assistance.

## Independent...

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for sale abroad as commemorative collectors' items.

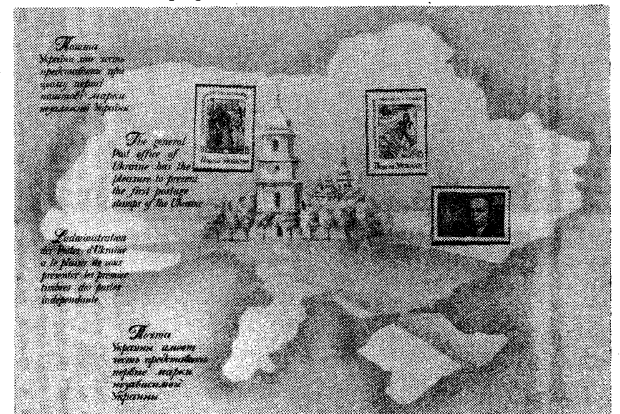
Mr. Boyarchuk added that Soviet stamps will be valid as long as Ukraine deals in rubles and does not have its own currency. Once Ukraine's currency is introduced, only Ukrainian stamps will be valid for all letters sent around the world.

Volodymyr Chorny, chairman of the Information Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, noted that Ukraine was trying to solve mail problems over the past few months, but Mr. Boyarchuk concluded by adding that direct postal communications with the United States are gradually being established, thereby reducing the need for all mail to go through Moscow.



Marta Kolomayets

Minister of Culture Larysa Khorolets, with Volodymyr Chorny of the Foreign Ministry's Information Center, addresses press conference at which Ukraine's new stamps were unveiled. Below are reproductions of the commemorative folder's cover (left) and its inside pages, which introduce the three new postage stamps in four languages: Ukrainian, English, French and Russian.



## Top U.S. doctors donate services to save little girl's life

by Khristina Lew

**JERSEY CITY, N.J.** — In September 1988, doctors at the Amosov hospital in Kiev told a young engineer that his 2-year-old daughter's heart condition required surgery unavailable in the Soviet Union; without it she would live no more than five years. At the Bakuleva hospital in Moscow, he was advised to seek out a hospital capable of performing the complicated procedure in the West.

Three and one-half years later, Ihor Diachenko has found that hospital — in upper Manhattan. On March 18, Alina Diachenko, who will be 6 years old on May 1, will undergo a Fontan procedure to correct an atrial septal defect and mitral atresia at Babies Hospital, Columbia Presbyterian Heart Institute.

In a series of coincidences and good fortune, Alina will be operated on at no cost by renowned pediatric cardiothoracic surgeon Jan Quaegebeur under the care of Cardiologist Welton Gersony, chief of pediatric cardiology at Babies Hospital. Both doctors were listed in New York magazine's survey of the 1,085 best doctors in New York (New York, November 11, 1991).

In the months that followed the September 1988 diagnosis, Mr. Diachenko unsuccessfully attempted to find the names of hospitals in the West. When a co-worker traveled to New York to visit an aunt, Mr. Diachenko passed along a letter explaining Alina's condition to be delivered to "a hospital in New York." His colleague's aunt delivered the letter to Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, and in February 1989, Mr. Diachenko received a letter from Dr. Gersony.

According to his assistant, Madeline Kelly R.N., Dr. Gersony went over Alina's diagnosis and, finding it contradictory, wrote Mr. Diachenko a letter explaining that possibly something could be done to help. "If

you are in the United States," the letter read, "I would be glad to consult at no cost to you as another symbol of the better relationship between our two countries."

Having turned to hospitals in England, France and Germany in a similar manner with no results, Mr. Diachenko, armed with Dr. Gersony's letter, traveled to Moscow to make arrangements for traveling to New York. For close to two years he traveled back and forth between Moscow and Kiev to obtain permission for his daughter to be operated on in New York.

On December 2, 1991, Ihor and Alina Diachenko, who speak no English, departed for New York with \$50 and a list of people to contact upon their arrival.

En route, Alina became ill. A Russian-speaking couple returning from Kiev on the same flight, upon learning that Mr. Diachenko and Alina had no place to stay, made arrangements for them to stay in Brighton Beach, N.Y. Sheepishly admitting that he knew the gentleman only as Sasha, Mr. Diachenko explained that Sasha's cousins, Misha and Ira Pevliny, housed and fed Alina and him for 12 days. After 12 days Mr. Diachenko was able to contact a mutual friend's friend in New York — renowned Kiev artist Mykhailo Turovsky and his wife, Sophia.

The Turovskys graciously invited Mr. Diachenko and Alina to stay with them, and Mr. Diachenko was then able to contact Dr. Gersony.

After running a new series of tests on Alina on January 21, Dr. Gersony determined that her complex congenital heart condition had been misdiagnosed and was operable. Drs. Gersony and Quaegebeur agreed to donate their services for care and the six-hour operation, and Dr. Gersony arranged for an endowed hospital bed for Alina.

Alina was scheduled for a pre-operative examination on March 11.

with Sen. Nunn co-authored the Nunn-Lugar Amendment, which designates \$400 million for the destruction and dismantling of nuclear weapons of the former USSR. It will also provide for a \$25 million program to keep researchers in this field employed, thus preventing a "brain drain" and proliferation of nuclear expertise to non-nuclear states.

Commenting on another issue which has added to tension between Russia and Ukraine, two of the co-founders of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Sen. Warner said: "It was reassuring to hear from Gen. Morozov that the Black Sea Fleet issue will be resolved peacefully. Ukraine made it very clear that it will restrict its claim to the number of ships in the Black Sea Fleet. It has no ambition to rule the waves, but it simply wants to protect its ports, territorial waters and the like," he said.

Sen. Nunn added that the delegation was pleased to learn of Ukraine's plans to reduce conventional forces in Ukraine. Currently, it has 750,000 troops on its territory, but this will be decreased to 200,000, said Sen. Lugar, citing a fact provided in the day's meetings.

The senators said that the United States would increase its presence both politically and economically in Ukraine. Sen. Lugar stressed Ukraine's independence saying that the United States cherishes a bilateral relationship with Ukraine.



Alina and Ihor Diachenko

According to Ms. Kelly, the Fontan procedure, which has been in existence for 15 years, will, if successful, prolong Alina's life for many years.

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Alina's condition will need close surveillance following her March 18 surgery as post-operative problems

sometimes occur. Alina and Mr. Diachenko's visas expire in July; until that time they will remain in New York. Friends of the Diachenkos have opened an account to help defray their living costs while in the U.S. To make a donation, contact: Self Reliance F.C.U. 108 Second Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003; Account No. 17458-00.

### Obituary

## Olha Sochan, 92, of Jersey City, mother of UNA supreme secretary

**JERSEY CITY, N.J.** — Olha Sochan, mother of Walter Sochan, supreme secretary of the Ukrainian National Association, died here on Wednesday, March 4. She was 92.

She was born into the Levytsky family on December 31, 1899, in the village of Hryhoriv, Rohatyn country, Ukraine. She was the widow of Antin Sochan, a veteran of Ukraine's liberation struggle (1918-1920), director of the plantation division and later chief treasurer of the sugar beet-processing facility and sugar refinery in Khodoriv.

Mrs. Sochan was an active member of the Ukrainian Women's Association (Soyuz Ukrainok) and served as delegate to several of its conventions in western Ukraine. She was one of the founders of the Ridna Shkola in Khodoriv and headed the Parents Committee in Support of Needy Children.

During the Sochan family's westward flight from Ukraine at the time of World War II, Mrs. Sochan was widowed when her husband was killed in Tulln, near Vienna, Austria, during American bombing. Thus, Mrs. Sochan was left with three sons, two of whom were students in Munich, Germany.

The family arrived in the United States in 1949. Mrs. Sochan worked two jobs in order to provide for her sons and to enable the oldest, Oleh, to complete his medical studies.

Surviving are her sons, Dr. Oleh, a physician from Yonkers, N.Y., Woldymyr (Walter), a UNA supreme officer from Jersey City, N.J., and Ihor, an engineer from Woodcliff Lake, N.J., with their wives, eight grandchildren



Olha Sochan

and four great-grandchildren, as well as relatives in Canada and Ukraine.

The funeral liturgy was offered on Saturday, March 7, at St. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church in Jersey City, N.J. Burial was at Holy Cross Cemetery in North Arlington, N.J., where Mrs. Sochan's brother, Mychajlo Lewycky, was laid to rest in 1976.

Memorial donations may be made to the Ukrainian National Association's Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine.

### Senate delegation...

(Continued from page 1)

determined to be a non-nuclear state. I think this move by Ukraine is enormously important not only in this region, but as an example to the world," said Sen. Nunn. "This move will be a great strengthening mechanism for the non-proliferation treaty and for the whole concept," he concluded.

The U.S. senators arrived in Ukraine on Sunday afternoon and began a hectic, yet productive, day of meetings with President Leonid Kravchuk, Defense Minister Konstantyn Morozov, Minister of the Military Complex and Conversion Viktor Antonov, as well as members of the Supreme Council.

Mr. Antonov told the Senate delegation that Ukraine had been responsible for 35 percent of all military production of the former Soviet Union, including nuclear weapons, missiles, airplanes, ships and tanks. Now this production has ceased.

On this issue, the senators said that they could only offer advice, not funding, adding that in four years, the United States will have 2 million unemployed workers from its own military complexes, and it has yet to come up with a plan to solve this problem.

Sen. Lugar observed that Ukraine shows a "very constructive attitude."

"It's the right way to go when a cold war is over," said the senator, who along

## Orphans from Ukraine to spend four months with foster families in Chicago area

by Tamara Tershakovec

CHICAGO — Over 120 orphans arrived at Chicago's O'Hare airport on January 28 to spend four months with foster families in the Chicago area.

Organized by Thoughts of Faith, an Evangelical Lutheran mission to Ukraine, the program was conceived as a way to remove the children from Ukraine for the winter, as the food and fuel supply at orphanages has dwindled as the economy has grown weaker.

"Basically, the children are just here to spend the winter — to be loved, to be fed, clothed, housed," said Pastor John Shep, executive director of Thoughts of Faith.

Eighty-four of the foster parents are of Ukrainian descent, but 27 of them are Lutheran families who heard about the children's need from their churches.

### Communicating, adjusting

Though the need for charades and translators does arise, there have been few problems with the language barrier, said Pastor Shep, especially when the orphans play with American children. "The kids are too busy playing and enjoying themselves, and children have a way of communicating with each other — it's just amazing. One will speak in English and the other in Ukrainian, and they understand each other very well."

One foster father, Steve Ennis, said he at first used "cheat sheets" with Ukrainian words, but then was advised to stop using Ukrainian if he wanted the child, Ruslana, to learn English. Ruslana's foster parents now try to get her to verbalize as much as possible: whereas before she would point to eggs when she wanted some, now she must say, "Eggs, please."

The children had to adjust to cultural differences. A few were rougher than the Americans they played with, possibly due to growing up in orphanages. One 5½-year-old girl, Natalia, was a bit aggressive and domineering in the playground until she realized that nobody would play with her. After that, she adjusted and played very well, said Ann Hougan, her foster parent. However, when Natalia's orphan friends came to visit her, they tended to pummel each other — and then "kiss and make up" and get along wonderfully, she added.

Mr. Ennis said he and his wife took temporary custody of a 7-year-old girl who was abandoned as a small child, Ruslana, because they wanted to "help her out" and "possibly bring some religion into her life."

Although her fingers are joined together, Ruslana is fiercely independent and refuses to let anyone do anything for her — when Mrs. Ennis was



Adrienne Haliw holds Anatoli Zapotochniy, her temporary foster son.

cutting her meat, she grabbed the knife and said "Ruslana do!" Mr. Ennis attributed this independence "partly to the handicap, partly to living in the orphanage."

Ruslana has told her foster parents through an interpreter that she "doesn't understand why she has to go back home," Mr. Ennis related.

### Moral dilemma

This was one dilemma facing Thoughts of Faith: was it really a good idea to take the orphans out of their surroundings, expose them to Western luxuries, and then return them to the orphanages four months later? This question had an emotional side as well: Is it fair to give the orphans' foster families only to take them away?

The group had long discussions as to "whether it's really cruel to take children, show them four months of affection, and then take them back," Pastor Shep said, "but we finally decided that it is far better to take these children here and it's something that they will never, ever forget. And I'm sure that even if they go back, that there will be contact with the foster parents that they had, photographs, letters, packages, visits and so forth."

Although some parents, such as the Ennises, have expressed interest in permanently adopting their guests, Ukraine is currently re-examining many of its laws and the legalities of adoption are, at best, fuzzy. There is a real fear of repeating the experience of Romania, when childless couples from the West flooded that country and bought babies from their parents. Pastor Shep noted that an official at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow had reported that there are thousands of Americans who have fanned out across the former Soviet Union looking for orphans.

However, Western adoption can be a positive thing, and it is not something the Ukrainian government has turned its back on simply because of Romania's bad experience. "One hundred twenty-four children were assigned to us with the understanding that they would return," said Pastor Shep. "Now, the question of adoption is an individual

affection and caring...when you walk into an orphanage they will run up to you immediately and they'll look at you and say "Tato?" (Daddy?) and it just grabs you by the heart."

Love and affection may not seem as important in "real" terms as adequate nutrition and housing, but various studies on children have pointed to the opposite. Leo Buscaglia, in his book "Love," cites the work of one psychologist and educator who conducted a long-term study on 24 orphans in which "the only variable was human love and nurturing." Children in the group that had "received love and attention" were more self-sufficient, happily married (except for one divorce) and most had graduated from high school.

### Red tape, delays

Getting the children to the United States included some red tape. Pastor Shep told The Weekly. A resolution had to be passed in Ternopil allowing them to leave. Officials had to be assured that the children would be returned — that a Romania-like scenario would not happen — and they had to be persuaded to issue 124 passports within three weeks.

Most of the expenses, including the children's tickets, were funded by two anonymous American Lutheran businessmen who donated \$125,000; LOT airlines of Poland donated the tickets for 13 escorts from Ukraine to accompany the orphans.

After all the paperwork was done and the children were ready to go, the connecting flight was held up by fog. "We had to charter a LOT flight from Lviv to Warsaw," said Pastor Shep. "We thought we had missed the flight from Warsaw to Chicago and here we find out that they delayed the flight to Chicago for five and a half hours so we could get there. When we got there, we thought that people would be angry and upset and so forth, but nobody was upset, they were just happy that we made it. The passengers played with these kids for eight hours, all the way to Chicago, so it was just a wonderful, wonderful thing."

At this point, the children had been awake for about 30 hours and the leaders of the group for twice that time. After some rest and a day to adjust a bit, the children went to live with their temporary foster parents.

The children are supposed to return to Ukraine on May 13.

Thoughts of Faith has already worked on many projects for Ukraine, such as sending over 1 million Bibles and 200 computers.

Pastor Shep, of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod in Mankato, Minn., is a Ukrainian American. His mother lived in Ternopil until World War II, when she and her husband fled to

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Pastor John Shep



Three orphans from Ternopil at Ss. Volodymyr and Olha's Ukrainian Cultural Center in Chicago.

## THE Ukrainian Weekly

### Sport is politics

Well over 100 countries have recognized the fact that Ukraine is independent (and more than 50 of them have already established diplomatic relations) — but not so the International Olympic Committee. That august body apparently continues to believe in some fictional union of former republics of the USSR, witness its most recent ruling on the Olympic participation of the newly independent states once a part of the Soviet Union.

The IOC has insisted that Ukraine and 11 other former Soviet republics must compete as one team at the Summer Olympic Games in Barcelona, just as they did at the Winter Olympics in Albertville, France. Indeed, the IOC not only insisted on the "Unified Team" scenario, it gave the 12 independent states no choice. As one news service put it, the choice was clear and simple: Join the Unified Team, or stay home. IOC President, Juan Antonio Samaranch offered these states provisional recognition by the International Olympic Committee only if they agreed to compete together for one last time in Barcelona.

Mr. Samaranch told the news media that it was too late for Ukraine or others (apparently, only Ukraine and Georgia had sought independent status with the IOC) to be accepted as independent entries for the Barcelona Games. He was supported by a person described as a key player: Vitaly Smirnov, an IOC vice-president who just happens to be former chief of the Soviet Olympic Committee and now heads the Russian Olympic Committee, who noted, "The danger is that if one country is allowed to send a separate team, it will immediately cause a chain reaction."

What's the danger? That the IOC would recognize reality? That the IOC would not prop up what is left of a strange creation called the Commonwealth of Independent States (though the IOC emphasizes that the United Team does not represent the CIS) — in which Russia considers itself "more equal than others"?

It had been expected that at its executive board meeting on March 9 in Lausanne, Switzerland, the International Olympic Committee would grant provisional recognition to Ukraine, that this would be followed in several months' time by full membership, and that Ukraine would be allowed to participate independently in the Barcelona Games. At worst it had been expected that Ukraine would field a team of athletes competing in individual events but that team events would still be played by a Unified Team. The president of Ukraine's National Olympic Committee, Valery Borzov, had traveled to Lausanne to restate the proposal.

Record-breaking pole vaulter Serhiy Bubka of Donetsk, Ukraine, had expressed his readiness to compete for an independent Ukrainian team: "Why not compete for Ukraine? I think it's the best solution... I don't understand why we must be one team of 11 countries," he had stated prior to the Winter Olympics.

Ukraine had asked the IOC in mid-December of last year to allow it to participate independently in the upcoming Olympic Games. On December 19, the Parliament of Ukraine sent an official request to the IOC. It was too late for the Winter Games, (though Croatia and Slovenia were very quickly granted permission to send independent teams), but surely it wasn't for the Summer Olympics. Or so it was thought...

But the International Olympic Committee has played its imperial card. It has denied Ukraine its sovereignty and it has ensured that a Unified Team — once again dominated by Russian athletes (in Albertville, 118 of the Unified Team's 141 athletes were from Russia) — will represent 12 former Soviet republics in Barcelona.

The International Olympic Committee has tarnished Olympic ideals and has proven by its own actions that there is no such thing as purity of sports. Let's face it, what this episode demonstrates all too well is that in the Olympics sport is politics.

March  
19  
1930

### Turning the pages back...

Lina Kostenko, one of Ukraine's most prominent contemporary poets, was born on March 19, 1930.

Ms. Kostenko was one of the first and most outstanding

members of the Shestydesiatnyky, the Soviet Ukrainian writers of the 1960s whose works appeared during the censorship relaxations of the post-Stalin thaw.

While speaking at the University of Michigan in 1990, Ms. Kostenko said that "the Ukrainian nation has the historical misfortune of being pulled into a whirlpool — an anomaly of the empire, a national 'Bermuda Triangle' — one in which whatever is created is dragged down and vanishes."

She took her credo from John Steinbeck, who, after listening to many famous authors speak about writing at an International Writer's Congress in St. Petersburg (then Leningrad), simply stood up and said "A writer must write." "I am grateful to Steinbeck," she said, "for teaching me something that at first appeared banal, but is in fact an essential principle for all writers, at all times."

Lina Kostenko studied at the Gorky Institute of Literature in Moscow in 1956, and her first poems were published in the 50s. In 1965 and 1968 she signed several open letters protesting the arrests and secret trials of Ukrainian intellectuals. After that, her poetry was not published until 1977.

The Encyclopedia of Ukraine writes that Lina Kostenko's "poetry consists primarily of intimate, lyric poems and 'social' poems on the role and responsibility of a poet, particularly in a totalitarian society."

## THE OLYMPICS

### Unified Team: brotherhood or tool of imperialism?

by Lev Kostenko

A political drama went unnoticed among the glory and glitter of the Winter Olympic Games in Albertville, a drama that echoes the disputes between Ukraine and Russia over the Black Sea Fleet, the Crimea, the future of the Soviet armed forces and the direction of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

The Winter Olympiad saw the debut of a Unified Team consisting of athletes from several of the independent states that emerged on the territory of the now-defunct Soviet Union. The International Olympic Committee attempted to portray this artificial creation — without precedent in Olympic history and quite likely a violation of the Olympic Charter — as the result of a noble last-minute effort, whose sole aim was to allow the athletes of the former Soviet Union the chance to compete in this year's Winter and Summer Games.

More likely it was a naked, cynical political play designed to deprive the new countries of an important attribute of their sovereignty — separate participation in the Olympic Games — and keep alive the hopes of those who see the Commonwealth of Independent States as a successor of the Soviet Union, still centralized and dominated, as was the Soviet empire, by Russia.

One of the prime players in this drama, Vitaly Smirnov, a vice-president of the IOC, admitted as much in an interview published January 29 in the newspaper Soviet Sport. "But there is the CIS, a fragile creation," he is quoted as saying. "It should be supported. That is why we understand that in Albertville and Barcelona we should compete as a unified team."

The fly in the ointment is that Ukraine and some of the other newly sovereign states joined in forming the CIS as a temporary coordinating mechanism to be used solely for the dismantling of the old Soviet structures and adamantly refuse to countenance the creation of any superstructure or permanent bodies (other than a joint command over strategic armed forces) or establishing any formal ties. The Unified Team's appearance in the Winter Games was thus a major victory for the proponents of the reintegration of the union.

Another such victory was handed them March 9 at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the IOC at Olympic headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland. The Executive Committee endorsed a plan promoted by IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch that reprises the appearance of the

Lev Kostenko is a journalist who submitted this article from Kiev.

Unified Team in Barcelona. To minimize opposition from the republics the plan allows their athletes to wear some small national symbols and foresees the playing of the national anthems and raising of the national flags of the victors in the individual competitions. The monolithic nature of the team, however, will still be reflected in the name that goes on the all-important medals count.

The perception that the IOC president favors the center over the republics was reinforced when Mr. Samaranch presented his plan January 25 at a Kremlin meeting with Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation. From Mr. Smirnov's interview with Soviet Sport it was clear that Mr. Yeltsin presumed to speak on behalf of all the member-states of the CIS, with nothing hinting at any prior consultation. Furthermore, both Mr. Samaranch and President Yeltsin were in agreement as to who would be the legal successor of the Olympic Committee of the USSR. That right, and all sports structures (designed — much like the Soviet economy — to bind the disparate elements of the empire together) would be inherited by Russia.

Ukraine has made it clear that it wants to go its separate way in sports (as in military affairs and the economy); that it likes its sovereignty and independence full and unconditional; that it will resist all attempts at luring or intimidating it back into a centralized, subservient relationship with Russia.

Thus, Ukraine's Parliament and its president, Leonid Kravchuk, have made it clear that they expect their republic — a founding member of the United Nations with 52 million people and recognized by most of the world's countries — to be represented by a separate team at the Barcelona games.

The National Olympic Committee of Ukraine, headed by Valery Borzov — the one-time holder of the unofficial title of "world's fastest human" by nature of his victories in the 100- and 200-meter sprints at the 1972 Munich Olympics — has applied for full membership in the IOC and petitioned for the right to field a separate team in Barcelona.

The IOC's answer has been to complain about "pressure" against Ukrainian athletes, presumably by the Ukrainian authorities. In fact, if Mr. Smirnov is to be believed, it has been the IOC that has resorted to intimidation. In his Soviet Sport interview Mr. Smirnov paraphrases Mr. Samaranch as saying that the recognition accorded the National Olympic Committee of the republics as "temporary members" of the IOC is contingent upon their agreeing to join the Unified Team at the

(Continued on page 18)

## UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine



The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association report that as of March 14, the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 10,953 checks from its members with donations totalling **\$288,338.06**. 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.

## Ukraine and Helsinki Accords: perspectives and opportunities

by Orest Deychakiwsky

History abounds with irony. In 1975, the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was harshly criticized, perhaps with good reason, by some observers, including Ukrainians in the diaspora, as acknowledging the then-political status quo of Soviet control over half of Europe. Instead, the Final Act and the process it engendered has turned out to be a key factor in the demise of that very status quo — a blessing in disguise. As the Baltimore Sun put it in a February 13 editorial: "As good a claim as any to a share of the credit for the explosion of freedom that shattered the Soviet empire and ended the Cold War belongs to an anomaly called the CSCE, standing for Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe."

### No stranger to CSCE

On January 30, at the CSCE Foreign Ministers Meeting in Prague, Ukraine, at long last, became a member of this important club of independent states — now totaling 48 members. But Ukraine is by no means a stranger to the CSCE.

Ukraine's recent history has been intertwined with the CSCE (or Helsinki) process. Ukrainians, who in the late 1970s and 1980s took the Helsinki Final Act seriously and formed the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, used the CSCE's human-rights standards to press the Soviet government on human rights. Similar groups were formed in other Soviet republics. Their efforts were met with various forms of repression, including stiff prison sentences which, in some instances, resulted in death (Vasyl Stus, Oleksiy Tykh, Yuriy Lytyvyn).

But the Helsinki ideals for which the Helsinki monitors fought, and the persistent Western pressure on their behalf, became a springboard for the democracy and independence movements in the captive nations. Leading members of Rukh and the Ukrainian Republican Party — the Chornovils, Lukianenko and Horyns — were veterans of the Helsinki movement. And there can be no question that the major force in forging an independent Ukraine committed to democracy was Rukh and the democratic opposition (as much as some might like to forget or downplay that fact). In short, there is a direct and clear link between the Helsinki movement and Ukraine's independence.

### Critical forum for newly independent states

The CSCE continues to be a critical forum, one which can serve the interests of Ukraine and the other newly independent states. That is because the goals of the Ukrainian state — democracy, respect for human rights, peaceful self-determination — go hand-in-hand with the principles of the Helsinki Accords. Ukraine will be able to utilize the CSCE in furthering its stated goals.

At the same time, the CSCE as a whole, and, most immediately, the upcoming CSCE Follow-Up Meeting in Helsinki, could act as a vehicle to keep inspiring and nudging Ukraine and the

*Orest Deychakiwsky, a staff member at the (Helsinki) Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, will be a member of the U.S. delegation to the CSCE Follow-up Meeting in Helsinki. The views expressed in this article do not necessarily represent those of the commission or the U.S. delegation.*

other new states, including Russia, in their efforts to become truly democratic, rule-of-law states with free-market economies.

What do I mean? First, among the most immediate issues facing Ukraine is the issue of maintaining and sustaining its independence. This is an issue which may very well surface at the next CSCE follow-up meeting which begins in Helsinki, Finland, on March 24. Ukraine can be expected to use CSCE standards — specifically, the Helsinki Final Act principles dealing with the inviolability of borders, territorial integrity and sovereign equality — to bolster its arguments to the world community and other CSCE states for the preservation of current borders and to reject foreign claims on its territory (e.g. Russian claims on Crimea).

Indeed, the Helsinki Follow-Up Meeting — which will culminate in a July summit meeting of the 48 CSCE heads of state — provides an important opportunity for newly independent states to make their cases in front of the international community.

Over the course of the last year, Ukraine has repeatedly stated and demonstrated that it intends to live up to CSCE and other international commitments on human rights. Its recent efforts to protect and promote the rights of national minorities clearly illustrate its intention to live up to the promises of Helsinki.

But Ukraine, along with, to varying degrees, the other newly independent states, still has a long way to go in overcoming the substantial rubble of the discredited Soviet system. And here, as well, the CSCE can be of assistance. The CSCE, and specifically, the Helsinki meeting can, for one, exert constructive political pressures on the Ukrainian government to keep moving in a democratic direction. This kind of pressure can perhaps help to counter anti-democratic forces and tendencies. For instance, constructive political pressure can help to reduce the dangerous gap between the Ukrainian Parliament's more democratic laws and government ministries (many of which still are dominated by old party apparatchiks), which are dragging their feet in implementing those laws, thus acting as a brake on economic and democratic reform.

### Practical benefit

The CSCE can also be helpful to the emerging states in other concrete ways (Continued on page 14)

## Ukraine and CSCE: for the record

At the January meeting in Prague of the foreign ministers of member-states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, during which Ukraine was admitted as a member of the CSCE, Ukraine was represented by Anatoliy Zlenko, minister for foreign affairs; and other officials of the Foreign Affairs Ministry: Viktor Battuk, Viktor Moroz, Volodymyr Lapytsky and Yuriy Kostenko.

The president of Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan signed the Helsinki Accords of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on February 26 in Helsinki.

## Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



## Negotiating an identity

As anyone even vaguely familiar with Ukrainian studies in North America knows, Canadian scholarship is superior to American scholarship.

This is especially true in the area of Ukrainian community studies where the U.S. isn't even in the running.

The latest entrant in the growing pool of studies devoted to the Ukrainian Canadian experience is one titled "Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity." Published by the University of Toronto Press (who else?), the book is a superb collection of essays masterfully edited by the prolific Lubomyr Luciuk, assistant professor of politics and economics at the Royal Military College of Canada, and Stella Hryniuk, a Canada Research Fellow and assistant professor of history at the University of Manitoba.

The book is divided into three parts. Part one is devoted to immigration and settlement; part two deals with community politics and religion; part three features essays about the relationship between Ukrainian Canadians and the state.

The authors are both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian, a refreshing revelation especially since some of America's non-Ukrainian historians have yet to find Ukraine on a world map let alone in the United States.

What was most revealing to me was the amount and depth of attention Canada's Ukrainians have received from Ottawa. As the editors point out: "The Canadian state has at all times been aware of, sometimes anxious about, and often active in, the internal affairs of Ukrainian-Canadian society. From its turn-of-the-century immigration and settlement policies to the internment operations of the first world war, from the covert surveillance activities of the inter-war period to the creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee during the second world war and, in more recent times, the establishment of the Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals, the state has had a formative role in shaping Canadian-Ukrainian society." All of this is covered in brilliant detail in the essays.

If any Canadian Ukrainians believe things have been tough for them up there, they should come live in a country where for many years some people believed Ukraine was an over-the-counter vitamin.

The essays all address the theme of divided political, religious, and social loyalties. Are Ukrainians in Canada Ukrainians first or Canadians first? Is it enough for the organized Catholic community to be good Catholics or is there a national element that makes it more important for them to be good Ukrainian Catholics?

In her essay "Sifton's Pets: Who Were They?", Dr. Hryniuk makes it clear that it was not the weak and the beaten peasants who undertook trans-oceanic journeys. It was usually the more successful peasants, those with means who took the risks. And it wasn't when living conditions were really bad in Galicia and Bukovyna but when things were beginning to improve. "Tens of thousands of them, the more adventurous and risk-taking segment of the peasantry, chose to leave their homeland and to realize in Canada the rising expectations of their own and their children's future betterment that their recent experiences had engendered."

Mark G. McGowan's essay on Ukrainian Catholics was of special interest to me because of the early problems we had with Irish bishops in the U.S. In Canada, it was the French hierarchy, in league with Cardinal Ledochowski, the Polish-born prefect of the Propaganda de Fide, who supported the Latinization of Ukrainians, not the Irish. Irish Canadians not only accepted Ukrainian (then Rusyn) Catholics but raised and distributed money to assist them, all to prevent Rusyns from falling into the clutches of the Russian Orthodox Mission, the very organization which their Irish counterparts in the U.S., Bishops Patrick Ryan and John Ireland, had helped spawn. What irony!

Francis Swiripa's essay, "Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women," points out that women's organizations were established "not because Ukrainian Canadian women had specific concerns, needs and duties as women, but because they had specific concerns, needs and duties as Ukrainian women." She suggests the need for changes in what is essentially a male-dominated Ukrainian society if women are to shed the subordinate role they have held in our community. "Rewriting the rule for women's participation in Ukrainian Canadian community life, taking into account their changing profile and needs," she writes, "has been identified as crucial to the future."

Another gem in this book is Dr. Luciuk's essay, "This Should Never Be Spoken Publicly: Canada's Ukrainians and Their Encounter with the DPs," a fascinating, no-holds-barred review of the differences between the old immigration and the new which made clashes inevitable. The old immigration was settled, belonged to established and sanctioned democratic Ukrainian Canadian organizations which had achieved a modicum of unity, and viewed the world from a western (Canadian) perspective. The new immigration believed its Canadian sojourn was temporary, belonged to authoritarian organizations with covert networks, and viewed everything from a purely Ukrainian perspective.

There are many gems in the marvelous collection of essays, each of which is informative, entertaining, and worthy of special and separate recognition. Since space does not permit such treatment, my advice to the reader is to buy the book and discover each of them on your own. You won't regret it. If you do, let me know and we'll talk.

## Canada's Ukrainians Negotiating an Identity

Edited by Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk



## Ukrainian-Russian...

(Continued from page 2)

part of the process of sorting out the longstanding problem of the historical relationship between Ukraine and Russia, a relationship that has been based on the premise not only of Ukraine forming an integral territorial part of Russia, but also a no less integral cultural, linguistic and spiritual part.

The analysts from the Center for Ethnopolitical Studies clearly understand this aspect of the problem as well. The premise, they write, that Ukraine and Russia share a "special fate" obviously implies that there is a "special relationship" between them as well. As the commentator on the television news program "Novosti" pointed out the day after the Russian Parliament raised the Crimean issue, "at the heart of the conflict is a prehistory of more than 200 years." That conflict, never far below the surface, may be said to have been kept under cover or perhaps regulated by the center, which perpetuated traditional Ukrainian-Russian stereotypes under Soviet labels, while at the same time preventing the development of a Russian national consciousness that went beyond the Soviet — some would say the imperial — context.

With the declaration of Ukrainian independence and the collapse of the center, the Ukrainian side rejected the concept of a "special fate" binding it to Russia and, concurrently, the notion of a "special relationship." Russia, for its part, has been left with an identity crisis marked by increasingly growing demands for the restoration of Russia's "rightful" place as a "great state" (*velikoye gosudarstvo*) by prominent Russian political leaders. A case in point is the recent article by Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoi in *Pravda*.

These problems are currently being played out along the Ukrainian-Russian axis within the framework of the CIS. They have been reflected in Ukraine's increasing insistence on parity within the CIS and complaints against Russia's interference in its internal affairs and the tendency within Russian government circles to view Russia as the new center functioning through the CIS.

In the last several weeks, the Ukrainian side, while continuing to debate the Black Sea Fleet and Crimean issues, has increasingly begun to address the broader problem more directly. Even before the formation of the CIS in early December, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk referred on several occasions to the problem of "imperial thinking" in Moscow. In an interview in *Izvestiya* last November, Mr. Kravchuk pointed the finger directly at Russian President Boris Yeltsin, saying that the Russian leader "in some degree identifies Russia with the [Soviet] Union."

Now there appears to be no hesitation on the part of Kiev to openly pose the problem of Russia's "imperial disease" and its possible consequences for the future of the CIS. A turning point may well have been the remarks by Russian Minister for the Press and Mass Information Mikhail Poltaranin in a January 14 interview in a Moscow newspaper, who responded to a question about centrifugal tendencies in Russia by accusing Mr. Kravchuk of "nationalism," that is, separatism.

The current Ukrainian position with regard to Ukrainian independence and Russia's status in the CIS was perhaps best presented by Mr. Kravchuk in a recent interview in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*:

"We have grown accustomed that there is a center and that in some degree



Battle of the presidents? Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk is seen above with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Kiev. Below, Russian President Boris Yeltsin speaks in Minsk.



Lada Lysnuk

the center is defined by Russia. And the Russians [rossiyany] are psychologically used to thinking that everything else is part of Russia. And now they cannot overcome this barrier and continue to act as if that center still exists. We must tell them sternly and concretely — and that is what we are doing — that there is an independent Ukraine, an equal, full-fledged state, which defines its policies by itself and can live with others in friendship only on [the basis of] these principles. Not on others... So gradually we will train even this great state that all are equal — the small as well as the big, and that there are no older ones and younger ones, no big ones and small ones. That all are equal. And when they understand all of this then we will begin to live in agreement."

If this is not understood, added President Kravchuk, the CIS will not be able to hold and Ukraine will "take another path." Thus, under current conditions, the problem of Ukrainian-Russian relations has gone beyond a "family squabble" between two neighboring Slavic peoples insofar as its outcome has ramifications not only for the CIS as a whole, but also has serious implications for Washington and other Western capitals.

### The Internal Crimean dimension

Although relations between Kiev and Moscow are of paramount importance,

it must not be forgotten that the Crimean question has another dimension that is purely internal. In 1954, the Crimea was offered to Ukraine to mark the 300th anniversary of the so-called "reunification" of Ukraine with Russia. At the time, the gesture was officially justified in terms of territorial proximity and the close economic and cultural ties to Ukraine.

Almost a decade earlier, in June 1945, the Crimea's status as an autonomous republic within the RSFSR was annulled by a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet; an analogous decree was issued by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in 1946. And in 1944 Stalin brutally deported the native Crimean Tatar population and other peoples from the peninsula. Against this background and the current tug of war between Kiev and Moscow, the Crimeans see themselves as having been deprived of a voice in their own affairs and are increasingly determined to rectify this situation.

Indeed, in a recent statement adopted by the Presidium of the Crimean Supreme Soviet the deputies underline their concern about rising tensions between Ukraine and Russia and the fact that the Black Sea Fleet is being linked to the Crimean issue, maintaining that once again attempts are being made to decide the Crimea's fate unilaterally.

The Crimea is the only oblast in Ukraine with a Russian ethnic majority.

According to the 1989 census, Russians account for 67.04 percent of the population; Ukrainians constitute only 25.75 percent. Moreover, 47.4 percent of the more than half million Ukrainians in the Crimea consider Russian to be their native language.

As support for sovereignty and independence grew in Ukraine in 1990 and 1991, autonomist and, in some cases, separatist sentiment in the Crimea grew correspondingly. This was reflected in the results of the January 1991 Crimean referendum, when 93.3 percent of voters supported the restoration of the Crimean ASSR "as a subject of the USSR and a party to the union treaty." The Ukrainian Supreme Council acknowledged this change in the Crimea's status in its February 1991 law "On the Renewal of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic," although neither a Ukrainian nor a Crimean referendum law was on the books at the time.

In another step towards self-determination, in September 1991 the Crimean Supreme Soviet declared the peninsula's state sovereignty as a constituent part of Ukraine and "the supremacy, unity, and indivisibility of the Crimean ASSR."

These moves may be said to represent a middle-of-the-road approach to the problem of satisfying the Crimea's genuine desire for some form of self-determination. However, there are also political groups and movements in the Crimea who are campaigning for its secession from Ukraine and either its full independence or its return to Russia. Clearly, such groups have little difficulty finding supporters in Russia, who, in turn, are able to play the Crimean card for their own purposes. It is perhaps not entirely fortuitous that on the eve of the Russian Parliament's decision to review the Crimea's status, Mr. Baburin was in Sevastopol at the head of a group of Russian deputies campaigning for Crimean independence.

In recent months, supporters of Crimean independence have directed their energies towards organizing a local referendum. At the end of November, the Crimean Supreme Soviet passed a referendum law almost unanimously. At the same time, however, the Crimean legislators voted down two other proposals that were placed on the agenda: an appeal to the now non-existent USSR Supreme Soviet and President Gorbachev on the annulment of the 1954 transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine and a measure that would have rendered ineffective on Crimean territory recent changes in the Ukrainian Criminal Code concerning criminal responsibility for advocating violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity.

These developments highlight the extreme complexity of the Crimean question, which, for that matter, was also reflected in the 54.2 percent Crimean vote in support of Ukrainian independence last December. The city of Sevastopol, home to the Black Sea Fleet, voted 57.1 percent in favor of independence. Several other cities and districts supported Ukrainian independence by a margin of between 65 and 73 percent. Most surprising perhaps is that 75 percent of the sailors and officers of the Black Sea Fleet also supported Ukrainian independence.

A January public opinion survey confirms the highly equivocal political situation. Those favoring Crimea remaining within Ukraine amounted to 42 percent. Another 15 percent favored a return to Russia, 22 percent wanted the Crimea to be a sovereign republic with membership in the CIS, while 8 percent favored state independence.

(Continued on page 16)



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Alarmed by support for Buchanan

Dear Editor:

I am disheartened and alarmed by the support of some members of the Ukrainian community for Patrick Buchanan and his bid for the presidency. It has been suggested that because of Mr. Buchanan's advocacy of John Demjanjuk's innocence, Ukrainians should endorse his presidential campaign. Although I agree that more attention should be given to the injustice of the Demjanjuk trial, I believe a more suitable and deserving spokesperson should be found. Patrick Buchanan does not represent the beliefs and principles of Ukrainian Americans. Mr. Buchanan represents only hate and division — qualities I have always believed to be abhorred and renounced by all Ukrainians.

I am particularly disconcerted by the full endorsement given to Mr. Buchanan by Dr. Myron Kuropas. This endorsement is particularly distressing since it has been made by a respected member of the Ukrainian community. Dr. Kuropas attempts in his column of February 2 to discredit the charges that have been made against Mr. Buchanan, however, Dr. Kuropas makes several erroneous statements which fail to support his thesis — that Patrick Buchanan is possibly the nation's last patriot.

First, Dr. Kuropas states that Mr. Buchanan has been labelled an anti-Semite because he supports John Demjanjuk. Mr. Buchanan has been accused of being anti-Semitic not because of this one issue but because of a host of beliefs he publicly holds and statements he has made, all well documented. Second, Dr. Kuropas writes, "America has always been both a beacon and haven of freedom for the oppressed, Zulus included." However, in listening to Mr. Buchanan, it becomes clear that he seeks to extinguish this beacon and to prevent "Zulus" from entering the United States.

I believe that most Ukrainian Americans would agree that these principles do not represent those of the Ukrainian community. Ukrainians who immigrated to the United States were drawn to this country because of its ideals of equality, tolerance, compassion and respect for the rights of all. It is not the message sent by Patrick Buchanan, and I hope to be a representative of the respect of Ukrainian Americans.

S. Slabyj  
Washington

## Cancel my subscription

Dear Editor:

As a child I saw the world in the most simple and direct way. In my little world there were mommies and there were daddies. Growing up on a farm I learned to identify roosters from hens. My uncle kept the bulls separated from the cows, and I never saw a cow with horns. It was the mare, and not the sire, that nursed her colt. In the most crystal terms, the creatures that inhabited the world were male and female. In order for me to be convinced that male/male and female/female is normal and natural, I would have to have my childhood recreated.

There is a difference, one which was designed by God and imposed by nature, between male and female. A very simple view — one which I hold to

this day and which I teach to my children. No amount of impassioned argument, no amount of revision of history and conveniently found errors in biblical translations as proposed by men of John Boswell's ilk, not the countless gay pride parades, or cruel antics of groups like Act Up which desecrated and defiled the Communion Host at St. Patrick's in New York City, nothing will sway me from what I believe and I believe homosexuality is an aberration.

As such, homosexuality in of itself is neither good nor bad, it simply is. However, what creates a homosexual is not the same as that which creates the gay activist. This is a political and social movement whose agenda is to turn the world upside down. It is a war for power and dominance. Anyone that thinks otherwise is deceiving himself.

I teach my children tolerance for differences and respect for all of God's creation. However, I also teach my children to be intolerant of those elements in our society that would destroy all trace of good and blur the edges so that which is rotten in the center can, at first glance, be viewed as desirable and healthy.

You have every right to print what you like in your paper. I have every right to accept or reject what you present to me as a reader. You chose to print two letters in your March 1 edition, one of which I could make absolutely no sense — a married, lesbian mother, with a grandmother to whom she reads the Kobzar, a Zionist daughter-in-law, a mother whom she is protecting by remaining anonymous, and a cat named Yanitchka. She states that she is "anonymous at my mother's request because her Ukrainian friends do not know who I really am." Very well. As a married, lesbian mother, does she know who she really is? The other letter-writer seeks to strike a chord of guilt in your readers — she the "honest, hard-working Ukrainian" who "devotes lifetimes to benefit other people, including hateful individuals, white, male, heterosexual privileged as you are." Not a trace of heterophobia in this one!

Enough! Print what you like, The Ukrainian Weekly, but count me out of your readership. One of the reasons I enjoyed your paper so much is because I could share it with my 10-year old son and teach him about his Ukrainian heritage. Now you have made the decision to print this sexual claptrap with which we are daily bombarded in the media, in the schools, on the city streets. Your choice was to introduce it into what I considered a decent, conservative, family newspaper. My choice is not to renew my subscription.

Ann Anderson  
Berlin, Md.

## Lesbian letters were heartrending

Dear Editor:

The two anonymous letters of March 1 in answer to the Kuropas article of February 2 were both sensitive and heartrending. Some of my best friends are homosexual and lesbian, Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian, so I know the hurt these human beings endure at the hands of "righteous" bigots.

Thousands of homosexuals were put to death by totalitarian governments — many were the intelligentsia. Also, every tenth child born is homosexual. So who are we to condemn nature?

Instead, let us concentrate on making sure Ukraine stays free.

Anne Nykula Shapiro  
Lawrenceville, N.J.

## Ukraine needs a modern media

Dear Editor:

To a degree, Ukrainians themselves must take some blame for the world's ignorance (sometimes intentional) of the "world's newest nation." Mr. Leonid Kravchuk was apparently surprised that "few in the West knew little about Ukraine..." ("Ukraine's president outlines top domestic foreign issues," February 9). In my opinion, what was truly surprising was Mr. Kravchuk's disturbingly incomplete prescription to solve this potentially dangerous media problem.

His simple solution is to "increase signal strength of broadcasts... and improve journalistic professionalism," is beyond belief, especially given the fact he was once an ideology minister and propagandist himself, and hence, should know what's effective and what's not.

It seems doubtful that the West learns very much about Ukraine from Radio Kiev or regional television stations that "might" reach to the borders of Poland. Ukraine's own survival, doesn't have the luxury of time to move from a dinosauric 1950s communications systems, to a Western technological level by the year 2010. To survive as an independent nation, Ukraine must modernize its media technology now!

Also, when extremist Russian accusations are generally met by Ukrainian silence, or tepid responses (further watered down upon reaching the West), then I would guess that any foreign-media observer would probably accept the distorted Russian version simply by default, due to an absence of any other decisively clear and quick Ukrainian response.

A full modernization of media technology and Western upgrading of media technologists should be at the top of Ukraine's urgent needs, equal to industrial modernization, food distribution and defense. An exchange program would be ideal.

First, Ukraine must control all regional and, especially, national television and radio stations as soon as possible, so as to emphasize Ukrainian cultural content. Mr. Kravchuk's generous allowance of sometimes anti-Ukrainian Moscow-based television can in time be a cultural and psychological threat to the sovereign self-identity of Ukraine. Only one independent radio station exists in Ukraine, in Lviv ("Voice of Free Ukraine"), working out of the basement of a rundown building. With old equipment and barely able to pay 15 employees, our assistance is needed.

Second, an internationally unified press service with an analogous official newspaper or weekly report is required.

Third, professional public relations firms are absolutely required to lobby Western and other strategic foreign capitals for Ukraine's needs and to espouse Ukraine's points of view.

Otherwise we will be caught up in the hellish cycle of constantly re-explaining and re-proving catastrophes such as the 1933 terror-famine, Chornobyl and other issues to minimal, quizzical and incomplete reaction from the West.

Robert Hanulak  
Toronto

## Gamsakhurdia a turncoat

Dear Editor:

With the overthrow of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the democratically elected

president of the former USSR republic of Georgia, comes to a close the chapter of a man who betrayed his friends — the Georgian dissidents.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia, 53, has been described by the media as a former human rights activist who turned dictator after coming to power. To set the record straight, the Moscow-based independent weekly Express Chronicle has published documents that reveal the true story about Mr. Gamsakhurdia.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia was the leader of the Georgian Helsinki Group and a member of the executive of the group for the Defense of Human Rights in Georgia as well as of Amnesty International. His training was in literature, and he taught at the University of Georgia. He was a member of the writers union and the son of the major Georgian writer Konstantine Gamsakhurdia.

He and others were accused by the Soviet court of preparing and distributing anti-Soviet literature like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago" and articles by the dissidents Gen. Petro Grigorenko and Yuri Orlov.

On cross examination during the May 1978 trial, Mr. Gamsakhurdia admitted his guilt and repented. In a two-hour speech, with his customary eloquence, Mr. Gamsakhurdia confessed to breaking Soviet law. He said that all the evidence cited by the prosecutor was correct. "Formerly I believed that all our problems arose from the Soviet system" he said "but now I understand that this is wrong. I was guided by international treaties but paid no attention to Soviet law."

He stated that no pressure was brought to bear on him to confess; he arrived at it through independent thinking and analysis. The confession was shown on Central Television. It was hailed by American correspondents in Moscow, human-rights activists and Mr. Gamsakhurdia's own wife, Manana, as a piece of KGB fabrication and forgery.

However, to the chagrin of the dissident community, Mr. Gamsakhurdia appeared as a prisoner of conscience when the case was heard on appeal before a higher authority in Moscow in July 1978 and his special prosecutor again on Central Television. That sealed his image as a turncoat.

Those tried were sentenced to three years in prison camps and two years in exile; but the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia changed Mr. Gamsakhurdia's sentence to just two years' exile as a form of pardon.

At a later date Mr. Gamsakhurdia tried to explain away his shameful behavior at the trial by stating that if he would have received the maximum sentence it would have led to popular disturbances which were deflected by his "repentance"; that many who associated with him would have suffered and that all the positive gains achieved by him and his friends would have been destroyed. These considerations led him to a compromise with the KGB.

The lame excuse was never accepted by his dissident friends who had spent the best years of their lives in prisons and concentration camps.

Genya Intrator  
Toronto

Genya Intrator of the *Inter-Religious Task Force*, writes a column for *The Toronto Sun*. The letter above is adapted from one of her "Lifeline" columns.

## ART SCENE: The early years of the Ukrainian avant-garde movement

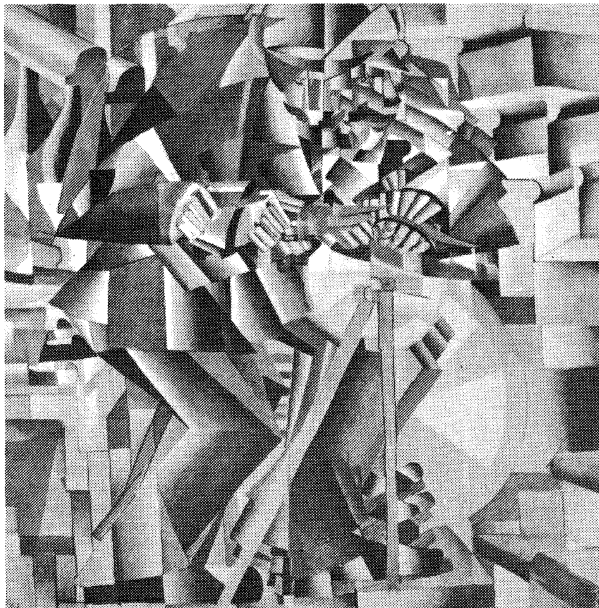
by Arcadia Olenska-Petryshyn

The new openness that pervades contemporary life in Ukraine is very much in evidence in the art scene. Creative art processes stifled during the long Communist years are suddenly flourishing. Yet the seemingly instantaneous appearance of creative art works is really the culmination of many years of experimentation which occurred all along, though hidden under the veneer of enforced Social Realism.

No less significant than the activity of contemporary Ukrainian artists is the sudden emergence of works by earlier Ukrainian avant-garde artists from the beginning of this century. The long-hidden art includes not only works which somehow escaped destruction and remained in museum vaults, but also works which were kept secretly in numerous private collections.

The newly discovered art and documentation about artists present information on the basis of which a complete rewriting of Ukrainian art history is imperative. What is more, the new information will enable scholars to determine the Ukrainian origins of artists, many of whom were until now considered to be Russian.

We now learn that a very important artist, Kasimir Malevich (born in 1878 in Kiev), although of Polish ancestry, considered himself a Ukrainian. From newly discovered sources we learn that he used to "declare himself a Ukrainian" and spoke Ukrainian while Russian "seemed exotic to him."<sup>1</sup> Although Volodymyr Tatlin (born in 1885 in Kharkiv) was referred to as "Ukrainian by nationality,"<sup>2</sup> in some Western



Kasimir Malevich, "The Knife Grinder," 1912; oil on canvas. (Reproduced from Camilla Grey, "The Great Experiment: Russian Art," New York, 1962.)

sources, his participation in the Ukrainian art scene was not established.

The new evidence of art works and documentary sources also means that a very different historical perspective about artistic activity in Eastern Europe will be formed, and contributions by Ukrainian artists to the development of

all of modern art will be established and re-evaluated. Up until now the Ukrainian art scene remained unnoticed because there was very little information about artistic activity there. Much of what had been known in the West as "Russian art" is already being presented as "Ukrainian avant-garde."<sup>3</sup>

One of the first comprehensive exhibits of Ukrainian avant-garde art of the beginning of this century was held in the Museum of Contemporary Sciences (Muzej suvremene umjetnosti) in Zagreb, Croatia (December 16, 1990 - February 24, 1991) and opened unofficially in the middle of May 1991 in the State Museum in Kiev. The catalogue of the exhibit, which was printed in Zagreb, lists 185 works, but the Kiev exhibit was still being enlarged when I was there in May 1991.

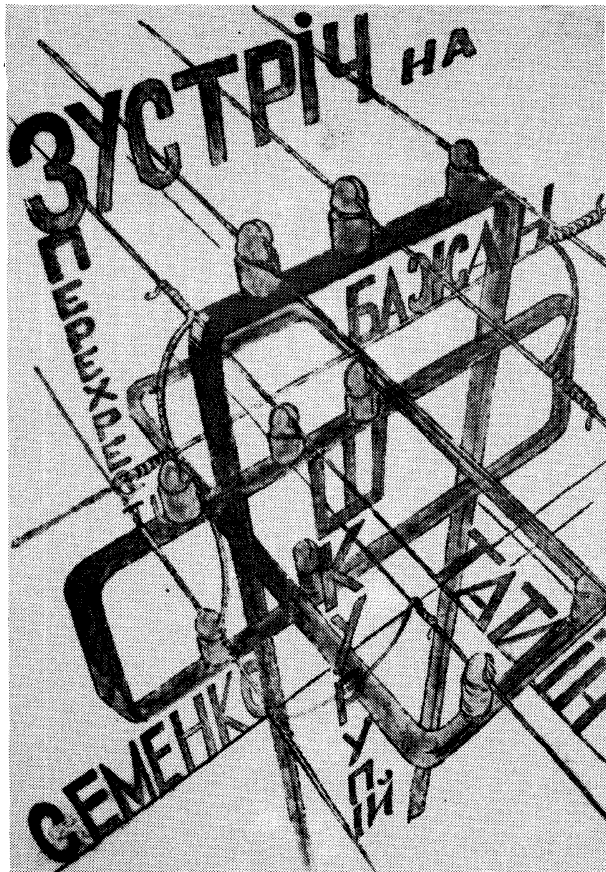
The huge Kiev exhibit provided a unique opportunity not only to view unknown works by known artists, but to discover hitherto unknown artists in the process. The show was a very clear reflection of a very active early 20th century art scene in Ukraine also because most of the exhibited works were assembled from local (mostly Kiev) museums and private collections.

Many of the posters in the exhibit contained slogans in Ukrainian and, clearly, originated in Ukraine. The book cover designs which were included in the show, such as the one designed by Tatlin, "Meeting at the Crossroads" 1927; (collection of poems by Bazhan, Semenko, Shkurupiy), also in Ukrainian, are further indications of a lively art scene.

The Kiev exhibit also contained designs for theatrical projects, such as

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1. "Ukrainska Avangarda 1910-1930," Muzej suvremene umjetnosti (Zagreb, 1991).
2. Camilla Grey, "The Great Experiment: Russian Art" (New York, 1962).
3. Op.cit., "Ukrainska Avangarda 1910-1930."



Book cover of "Meeting at the Crossroads," (collection of poems by Semenko, Shkurupiy, Bazhan), designed by Volodymyr Tatlin, Kiev, 1927. (Reproduced from "Ukrainska Avangarda, 1910-1930," Zagreb, 1991.)



Davyd Burliuk, "Kozak Mamay," 1912-1913; oil on canvas, 62.5 x 93 cm., Ufa; Museum of Folk Art of Ukraine, Kiev. (Reproduced from "Ukrainska Avangarda, 1910-1930," Zagreb, 1991.)



Davyd Burliuk, "Merry-Go-Round," 1921, oil on canvas, 33 x 45.5 cm.; Museum of Fine Arts of Ukraine, Kiev. (Reproduced from "Ukrainska Avangarda, 1910-1930" Zagreb, 1991.)

## FILM REVIEW: "Famine-33" accomplishes its mission

by Slavko Nowytski

Last December, Oles Yanchuk of Kiev, director of "Famine-33," grabbed his Soviet army duffle bag, stuffed it with 12 heavy rolls of his film and took off for the U.S. Fresh from a nationwide telecast just prior to the December 1 referendum on Ukraine's independence, it was hurriedly subtitled in English and Mr. Yanchuk began screening it here for prospective distributors and for film festival prescreening committees.

A few Ukrainian communities fortuitously organized sneak previews of this new release from Ukraine, among them Boston, Los Angeles, Chicago and Minneapolis, where the film was screened by the University Film Society on February 8 and 9.

Minnesota Ukrainians came out in full force, and were left with intense impressions. Director Yanchuk took questions after each screening. Unfinished conversations overflowed from the theatre to more intimate gatherings following the showings.

Long after Mr. Yanchuk left for Toronto, the film was still being discussed. Despite some flaws, there was general agreement that this film needs to be seen, especially by people unfamiliar with the Great Famine in Ukraine. These include people born after 1933 and our youth — and those in the West who could not imagine how, in a bountiful crop year, 7 million farmers could perish from famine.

This genocide (from the Greek word "genos" meaning "race" and the Latin word "caedere" — to kill) created on Stalin's order and executed in Ukraine by Lazar Kaganovich was intended to liquidate Ukrainians. But it was impossible to destroy almost 38 million people. Over 1 million of the so-called "kurkuls" — men, women and children — were shipped in the middle of winter to Siberia, and perished. An estimated 7 to 10 million died of famine in their homeland.

The film undoubtedly contributed to the overwhelming "yes" vote for independence in Ukraine on December 1, 1991. Mr. Yanchuk said that even though he is risking the film's commercial future with early television exposure before a general release in motion picture theatres, he felt he had assisted a higher cause: the move to make Ukraine independent. Ukrainian network TV carried this film only hours before the referendum, reaching 35 million viewers and decidedly bringing home the consequences of foreign domination.

"Famine-33" is the first film made in Ukraine on the subject of the artificially created Great Famine. This is also the director's first theatrical feature film. Prior to this Mr. Yanchuk was gaining experience as an assistant director. (Only one other film on the subject has been made, the award-winning documentary "Harvest of Despair" which director Slavko Nowytski showed to movie audiences in 1990 at the Earth-Fest Film Festival in Kiev and in other cities throughout Ukraine.)

The documentary is a factual examination of the famine, whereas the theatrical feature uses fictional characters based on real events, concentrating on the life of a single family, bringing into focus, as if through a prism, the tragedy of an entire nation, a technique employing pervasive symbolism.

Mr. Yanchuk's greatest compliment came from those who lived through the

famine, who felt the film truthfully reflected the time. There were also those who survived the famine, but could not bring themselves to see the film. "I still can't talk about those days without breaking down. Why should I relive those horrors all over again?" said an elderly woman who mustered the strength to see it after all. She was moved, and she was not alone. It was not without reason that many members of the audience, stupefied, choked, were unable to speak after the lights came on in the theatre.

Non-Ukrainians received the film variously. Some connected the tragedy of the one family with an entire nation, and they asked questions about the

## PERSONAL VIEW: Yanchuk's film hits painfully close to home

by Tamara Stadnychenko-Cornelison

When the question of sponsoring a screening of Oles Yanchuk's "Famine-33" was first broached during a meeting of Philadelphia's Ukrainian Human Rights Committee, the response was ambivalent.

Some felt that the famine was "old news," especially in light of the recent events in Ukraine. Some felt that the project was extremely important and worthwhile. Some revealed a personal skepticism about a fictionalized account of one of the most horrible periods in Ukraine's history. Some were of the opinion that too many people in the Ukrainian community would find

and in Los Angeles, approximately 150 people (in each city) came to see the film premiere. In Washington, the number dwindled to 100. And in Philadelphia, the audience numbered approximately 95, some of whom could not bear the scenes that were unfolding before them on the screen and fled to the safety of the lobby.

This reaction cannot be blamed on visual perceptions. There is a scene in which the film's protagonist is shown after a severe beating. We do not see the beating; there is no blood and the director does not focus on the physical torment. Later in the film, there is a discrete, almost invisible, depiction of cannibalism. Again the director has spared the audience from gruesome bloodletting and the attention of the viewer is drawn not to the act, but to the reaction of the guilty man and even more so to the reaction of the villagers who have discovered his heinous crime. As an audience that has been exposed to Hollywood's unsubtle and gory worst, we are responding not to what our eyes are seeing, but to a visceral identification with the fictional victims.

There are flaws in the film that even those uninitiated into the niceties of critiquing a cinematographic production can readily spot. The heavy downpours of rain are technically imperfect; on the screen, the work of an unpracticed cameraman allows the viewer to recognize that the showers are contrived, a momentary distraction. There are too many moments where the characters trudge through a bleak and bitter wilderness; one wishes that their destination were clearer, their purpose more defined. There are villains who are portrayed as almost too villainous — stereotypically shifty-eyed, uncompromisingly surly, almost too despicable to be believable.

And yet the director has succeeded in making us believe in the victims and much of this success comes from an uncanny ability to record facial expressions that are the most chilling and most horrifying aspect of this film. In these faces one sees the disbelief of the hungry who see sacks of grain lying just beyond reach, protected by armed guards. A.

(Continued on page 12)



Actress Halyna Sulyma is seen above in a scene from the newly released film "Famine-33."

current situation in Ukraine. Others were not clear about the reasons for the famine. They did feel that a great injustice was done, but did not understand who was to blame, and why farmers or simply Ukrainians were so hated that it led to the holocaust. Because the "why" was left unanswered for so many, Director Yanchuk himself was obliged to explain the story of the famine.

The film is well cast. For a culture so comfortable with the declamatory style, the cast, to its credit, does not employ theatricality in its performances, although make-up still needs to catch up to today's cinema. The older boy with his big eyes, almost a living Modigliani, was typical of the stylistic influence of painting pervasive in the film.

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the film too painful to view, particularly those who had themselves survived the famine or those whose loved ones had perished under the deranged cruelty of Stalin's genocidal schemes. There was even, albeit briefly, a descent into that black humor which is a common defense mechanism when one is confronted by such absolute horror. "Who's going to pay to see a movie where everyone dies at the end?"

And despite the reservations and the ambivalence, a decision was made to rent a theater, to invite the public, to advertise among Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike, to present the film and its director and hope for the best.

We knew that Mr. Yanchuk's film had played in other cities in North America. In Toronto, attendance had been high. "Famine-33" has not fared as well in the United States. In Chicago

## Oles Yanchuk speaks at NYU

by Tamar Tereshakovec

NEW YORK — As part of a program for film students to meet directors, New York University hosted a question-and-answer period with Oles Yanchuk after the screening of his film, "Famine-33."

Although the small theater was packed, there were only two or three film students. The Ukrainian community composed the rest of the audience.

Mr. Yanchuk stressed that he filmed "Famine-33" as an artist, not a famine expert, and that he would like to go on to different subjects in the future. A director can be typecast as much as an actor, and Mr. Yanchuk seemed to protest being defined as a director of Ukrainian tragedy films.

Mr. Yanchuk talked a lot about filming on a tight budget. He said that the crew filmed most scenes in abandoned buildings and only built one set — the interior of the peasant family's house. After surveying the

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## "Famine-33" ...

(Continued from page 11)

Even more effective were scenes that reminded us of icons. Symbolism connects events as with string: A young mother saves the chalice in church from the bolshevik raiders. The chalice (which during the Eucharist contains the Body and Blood of Christ) shines radiantly, for this is where The Light dwells. The young woman presses it close to her heart. Later, as the mother (Halyna Sulyma) sits dying, she clutches a huge loaf of bread, a holy food for Ukrainians and a symbol of life. As the camera slowly nears the now immobile woman, seated on a bench against a wall, we perceive a faint, sorrowful smile on her lips and the entire frame is like an icon of the Holy Mother of God. The chalice which the young woman had saved is now hidden high in a tree. In the low distant horizon we see in silhouette two people approaching a tree... the "tree of life" represented for eons in Ukrainian embroidery and on pysanky. The symmetrical branches stand out sharply against the vast winter sky.

And so we have double symbolism, perhaps unintentional: He who gives Life — symbolized by the chalice — is placed on the highest point in the "tree of life." We know that the chalice will be saved, because the one who hid it, little Andriyko (Maksym Koval) survives, as the Church will survive "and the powers of death shall not prevail against it."

Another kind of symbolism enters with the cart hauling bodies to a common grave. Its turning wheels create a weirdly melodic phrase which becomes the leitmotif of yet another tragic episode; it is a filmic punctuation closing a sequence. Only when Andriyko, searching for his mother in the woods, comes across the immobile cart do we see its two riders, two elderly men whom the boy recognizes. When one of them shares a huge loaf of bread with the boy it becomes clear to us, but not to Andriyko, where his mother is.

Composer Yevhen Stankovych's music is powerful but unobtrusive and blends masterfully with the sound effects for a background that reinforces the visuals.

Color is creatively used in this essentially black-and-white film. Having only a few scarce rolls of color film, Mr. Yanchuk uses his limitation to marvelous advantage. Color is used to denote the more idyllic conditions before the bolshevik takeover. The film opens in color in church and turns suddenly black-and-white when the church bell, thrown from its belfry by the raiding bolsheviks, cracks open on the ground below. The darkness begins. A pervasive grayness dominates life inside and outside the family's quarters.

The film would have been better served had the persistently oppressive tone been broken up with some contrasting material. One opportunity for this was to show a Ukrainian village as it really was. A common observation from the audience was that the film misrepresented the appearance of the village. Ukrainians, no matter what their circumstances, lovingly kept up their dwellings; they were not the dilapidated beggar-huts of this film.

The contrast of the beauty of the village with the tragedy of its inhabitants would have served the film on several levels. Imagine, if you will: It's spring 1933. We see the typical, clean, orderly, beautiful Ukrainian village, "like a pysanka," as Taras Shevchenko wrote. Trees are in bloom... we come closer and start to sense something isn't quite right: Bushy weeds reach to the window sill; some windows are boarded up. A lonely tumbleweed rolls along the empty village street. There is an unexplained silence. Blossoms on the trees, but not a single bird. The village is empty. No dogs barking, no cats, no rooster crowing. But wait, there, on the bench, someone is napping. Let's ask. Horror! It's a corpse... Unfortunately, this kind of dramatic possibility was felt to be missing in the film.

One glaring inaccuracy which the audience picked up was the sequence showing farmers walking openly in numbers across a field after harvest, collecting any stubbles and grain left behind. This kind of activity was specifically and strictly forbidden by the authorities. In fact, the law protecting state property in 1932 decreed that even a child would be shot if caught gathering grains in a field. More true to life would be people gathering grain furtively, glancing over their shoulders for signs of the "Activists."

Other things were not quite right. The Ukrainian word "pomaranacha" ("orange") was not used in eastern Ukraine at that time, and farmers did not even know what an orange was, yet there is a scene in which a child says, "I'd like an orange." "What's an orange?" would have been more appropriate. Apropos, one viewer recalled a couple talking about "salo" — porkfat, a common staple before the famine — and their 2-year-old asked, "what's salo?" We also wondered where the girl got the hard cookie she was gnawing on.

The treatment of cannibalism deserves kudos for the director's approach to a difficult subject. Mr. Yanchuk structures his scenes so skillfully that we do not need to see everything to understand everything. He leads us quietly by the hand, and then our imagination finishes the scene for us. Another scene, chilling in its cold-blooded routine of disposal is made unforgettable when bodies — some still alive — are dumped from a railroad platform into a burning pit, huge logs rolling after them to feed the inferno.

While restraint works well in such scenes, it's not so in others. When the father (Heorhiy Moroziuk) relates a famine tragedy he just witnessed, his delivery is dry and dispassionate. One does not feel his soul. An audience comment was, "They didn't talk that way in our village." Ask a survivor of the Great Famine even today, 60 years later, and there is difficulty in the

telling. Many are simply incapable of speaking about it. It is not as if the father is incapable of emotion. In a splendid early scene he leaves his family standing at a table bearing his dead mother, goes behind a door and releases his emotions, the scene framed to show us everything at once in a beautiful expression of the art of the director and the cinematographer.

Of the film's three authors, it would be interesting to learn how much came from Serhiy Diachenko and Les' Taniuk, how much from the director, Mr. Yanchuk, and how much was taken from other works, especially the novel "Yellow Prince" by Vasyl Barka, who allowed Mr. Yanchuk to use his book as the basis for this film.

"Famine-33" is about to go into mass distribution, and despite its difficult subject, it is an important film, necessary to be seen and discussed by both those whose heritage includes the famine and those who are little versed in man's inhumanity to man.

We must remember that this film was made primarily for Ukraine's internal consumption, and for that reason we should be patient with its approach, which differs from Hollywood standards. Were it targeted exclusively at the West, the film's pacing, clarity of the writing, and dynamics between scenes would surely be different. It would have fewer "pregnant pauses," the editing would be quicker; even the subtitles would be more refined. But then, Oles Yanchuk grabbed his print from the lab at the last possible minute where it hadn't yet undergone proper timing — which explains the uneven film tonality — and caught his plane to the West.

"Famine-33" accomplished its mission, and it will continue its work with each public screening. Everyone needs to see this film. Allowing for the fact that Mr. Yanchuk did a credible job of this, his first feature, and paid homage to his nation, he deserves our full support, and our hope to see more and ever better films in a long and bright future.

## Yanchuk's film...

(Continued from page 11)

bird is feasting on grain that has spilled from one of the sacks. The expressions change from disbelief to incomprehension. We are shown the face of a mother whose child has disappeared from her house; it is a study in terror and revulsion. She and the audience know that the child has been stolen by someone who has been driven by hunger to an unspeakable act. We see the grim determination on the faces of men driven by despair and hunger to grain silos guarded by soldiers with machine guns. The faces of the soldiers are chillingly cold, masks of unredeemable callousness. The faces of the dying men as they are mercilessly gunned down register shock.

And perhaps the most poignant of these faces are those of the children. There is no joy in these faces, no childishness. They are too solemn, too wise, too old. Their eyes are huge, a reflection of the magnitude of the horrors they witness.

In Ukraine, the events of 1932-1933 were a well-guarded secret. As recently as two years ago, many Ukrainians in Ukraine were only whispering about the famine, pining at the mention of Kaganovich, shaking their heads in silent disbelief that, for more than five decades, the story had lain buried with countless millions in unmarked mass graves.

"Famine-33," which received numerous accolades and awards in the first Ukrainian Film Festival in Kiev, was previewed on Ukrainian television

on November 30, 1991. On the following day, millions of Ukrainians voted to ratify Ukraine's declaration of independence. While the connection is tentative at best, one is inclined to believe that some of those voters may have been swayed by what they saw in the film: an example of how the Soviet empire raped Ukraine.

But for most of those who fled to America in the post-war years, the famine has always been too real, part of the system that brought them to America and deprived them of their homeland. And most of us who were raised in the diaspora were weaned on stories of those horrible times. Both generations have been exposed to the documentary film "Harvest of Despair," we have waded through the ponderous statistics and details of Robert Conquest's "The Harvest of Sorrow." We fought for and won official recognition of the famine in the United States government which established the Congressional Commission on Ukraine's Famine; we have heard and read the testimony of the survivors. In some ways, familiarity with the subject has hardened us; in other ways it has embedded in each of us an unanswerable and unanswerable pain that is part of our heritage.

And it is a combination of this hardness and this pain that will cause many of us to choose not to see the film, and will force some of us to escape the haunting images that we choose not to see. One can only hope that Mr. Yanchuk takes no offense at our squeamishness and that he understands that the fault lies not in "Famine-33," but in an audience that takes too personally the story that "Famine-33" presents.

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# Orphans...

(Continued from page 5)

Germany where Pastor Shep was born. The family name was changed from Szeplawec to Shep when they became naturalized U.S. citizens in 1962.

Because Pastor Shep is familiar with Ternopil through his mother, most of his projects are based there. The orphans, for example, are all from Ternopil.

Thoughts of Faith has many large-scale projects planned for the future. Its "Medical Clinic on Wheels" is to be launched in April in Ternopil. This will consist of one stationary clinic and two mobile units — one dental and one general — which will travel through Ukraine. The clinics will be staffed by volunteers, and though only two or three are needed at once, over 40 physicians have already volunteered.

The mission also is starting a farming program, in which a model farm will be built in Ukraine through the University of Wisconsin's Agricultural Department. The purpose is to encourage people to establish their own farms — individual or community — instead of working on the state-owned kolkhozes.

Pastor Shep said that the current generation in Ukraine is the second or third that has not had the experience of

having private farms, "and they basically don't know what to do. And the kolkhoznyk (chairman) isn't going to teach them because it's not in his interest to see family farms."

Another planned program is a police exchange, to train Ukrainian policemen better, stop the old system in which most policemen took bribes, and make them true professionals.

Thoughts of Faith has also pledged to donate matching funds of up to \$100,000 for a project to print textbooks for the primary grades in Ukraine. That project is being coordinated by Dr. Roman Voronka, acting on behalf of the U.S. Coordinating Committee to Aid Ukraine. The Ukrainian National Association is the major financial supporter of this project, having already donated \$50,000, and fund-raising is now being conducted among Ukrainian community organizations and parishes.

Pastor Shep added that he wants to resurrect the Ukrainian Lutheran Church that existed between the two world wars, and three missionaries will serve in Ukraine for that purpose. They will not be there to compete with other Churches in Ukraine, but to minister to those who have no Church, but who "need spiritual care," he said.

Although these may be tough times for Ukraine, Pastor Shep remains confi-

dent and enthusiastic about its future. "I'm very much an optimist," he said. "I think that it's not going to take as long as people think for Ukraine to get off her knees economically. She's standing now politically and [I'm] very proud of the fact that we're not involved in a civil war...Potentially, we've got everything that it takes to be a modern state — and a wealthy state.

"So it's just a case of empathizing with Ukraine, being with her during this time of crises, until she's able to take care of things. And she will."

\*\*\*

Pastor Shep credited the success of this project to help orphans to his dedicated staff and the individuals who helped in Ukraine. He worked closely with the local minister of education in Ternopil, Bohdan Havariivsky. Mary Duke, Pastor Shep's sister, who coordinated the project; Gail Wollenzien; the Rev. Marian Iwachiw from the St. Nicholas Cathedral in Chicago; the Rev. Marian Butrynsky from the St. Volodymyr and Olha Cathedral; and the Rev. Steven Zinchuk assisted, especially in finding foster parents for the children.

## Join the UNA

Larry Marquardt and Gordon Hempel, two American Lutherans, were helpful in, respectively, coordinating the selection of American Lutheran families and securing tickets. Roxolana Harasymiw, a lawyer, cleared the way through customs and immigration. In Ukraine, Anna Chabowska coordinated the selection of the children, and Mykola Korol, an "unsung hero," worked through "the maze of the Foreign Ministry" in Ukraine to get the children their passports, Pastor Shep noted.



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<b>PROMIN</b> June 17 - July 1 (15 Days)	Lufthansa	Budapest - transit Uzhorod *Lviv - Bkfst basis Kiev/Kaniv **Yalta Kiev	June 18 18-19 19-23 23-27 27-30 30 - July 1	\$2380 Sgl: \$200
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<b>PANORAMA</b> June 25 - July 12 (18 Days)	Swiss Air	Kiev *Lviv - Bkfst basis **Yalta Kiev Vienna	June 26-27 27 - July 1 1-4 4-9 9-12	\$2690 Sgl: \$350
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<b>RUTA II</b> June 30 - July 15 (16 Days)	Lufthansa	Budapest - transit Uzhorod Lviv - Bkfst basis *Ternopil or Ivano Frankivsk - Bkfst basis Kiev/ Kaniv	July 1 1-2 2-7 7-11 11-15	\$2160 Sgl: \$150
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<b>DROHOBYCHANKA</b> July 15 - July 28 (14 Days)	Lufthansa	Budapest - transit Uzhorod *Drohobych Lviv - Bkfst basis Budapest	July 16 16-17 17-23 23-27 27-28	\$1750 Sgl: \$150
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## Ukraine and...

(Continued from page 7)


— in helping to more firmly root market economies and rule of law. With the dramatic changes resulting from the demise of the external and internal Soviet empire, the CSCE has expanded its already considerable activities such as its military-security talks, experts meetings, seminars, etc. and taken new initiatives.

Since the November 1990 Paris summit meeting of the CSCE heads of state, there have been established regular consultative meetings of foreign ministers and senior officials as well as new institutions such as the Conflict Prevention Center (and other conflict mediation mechanisms), the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, a Parliamentary Assembly and even newer initiatives such as the Economic Forum. These CSCE initiatives, as their very titles imply, are of potential practical benefit to Ukraine and the other emerging democracies.

The Helsinki Follow-up Meeting, with the participation of the newly independent states, will be an important challenge for the CSCE in helping to further define and expand the scope of activity of these new institutions and initiatives.

During the difficult years of the Cold War, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe survived while other channels failed, and it helped to reverse much of the legacy of Yalta which it originally was thought to have confirmed. With the collapse of the Soviet empire, new kinds of challenges are emerging which the CSCE states hopefully will address in Helsinki.

Thus, the Helsinki CSCE meeting is a crucial forum for all of the 48 states, including Ukraine, as they do what needs to be done to further one of the most important transformations in the history of mankind — the transformation from totalitarianism and imperialism to democracy and national self-determination.



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## The early years...

(Continued from page 10)

stage and costume designs for theatrical productions of foreign and Ukrainian dramas which were staged in Kiev, Kharkiv and Odessa and, also serve as examples of cooperation between different areas of artistic activity. The documentation also supports the pictorial evidence of frequent participation of artists in theatrical productions as that of Anatol Petrycky (Kiev, 1895) with the renowned theatrical director, Les Kurbas.

The Kiev exhibit presents a clear indication that Ukrainian artists were much more actively engaged in developing the new ideas which came from the West, such as Cubism, than had been known. Indeed, the artists originated many new movements, e.g., Cubofuturism, which is identified most clearly with Malevich. (As the term suggests, Cubofuturism developed the ideas of Cubism and Futurism which were often used in conjunction with the subject matter of the Ukrainian milieu and resulted in many different pictorial resolutions).

The Cubofuturist works of Malevich, for example, contain local imagery, as of peasants working in the fields, presented with the angularity of Cubist forms and rhythmical repetitions of Futurism, as if the naturalistic subjects were viewed through a prism of mechanical rhythms. Unlike the Futurists in



Ganna Sobachko-Shostak, "Setting Color in Motion," 1919; paper, gouache, 63 x 63 cm.; Museum of Fine Arts of Ukraine, Kiev. (Reproduced from "Ukrainjnska Avangarda, 1910-1930," Zagreb, 1991.)

the West, who strove to stimulate a perception of movement without using movable parts, for the Cubofuturists in Ukraine (and Russia) it was an orientation toward the future, away from a "provincial" and toward an urban, industrial society.

Vitaly Smirnov, an IOC vice-president and former chief of the Soviet Olympic Committee, who was elected head of the Russian Olympic Committee just a little more than a week ago, said the IOC was ready to be flexible on the matter of flags and anthems.

"The danger is that if one country is allowed to send a separate team it will immediately cause a chain reaction," the Associated Press quoted him as saying.

Meanwhile, Mr. Samaranch said he hoped Ukraine would accept the IOC's concession to raise the national flags of individual republics and play their national anthems when athletes win individual events.

"It is a very good agreement for them. If an athlete from Ukraine is a winner, they will have the anthem and the flag," he noted.

that many artists of the avant-garde shared. One of the artists represented in the exhibit, Ganna Sobachko-Shostak (born in 1883 in Skoptsi, Poltava region), stays very much within the folklore tradition of ornamental composition, with only minor changes of forms which can be traced to Cubist sources, as is apparent in "Setting Color in Motion" (1919).

The exhibited works of Petrycky, such as "Composition" (early 1920s), as well as numerous costume designs, show a complete commitment to Cubist and Constructivist ideas, without any trace of folklore sources. (Constructivism, which was initiated by Tatlin, dealt with idealizations of machines and with mechanical rhythms. In the 1920s the movement turned increasingly to the building of utilitarian objects and to an interest in the social role of art).

It was Malevich who was the creator of a very important movement, Suprematism, which was especially influential in the West and resulted in one version of the non-objective idea in art, that the artist himself realized in 1915. Malevich's experimentation with Cubist ideas led to his novel isolation of simple geometric forms on a flat surface, which resulted in the canvas "White Square on White" in 1918, now in the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

There were no works in the exhibit of Alexander Archipenko (born in 1887 in Kiev), initiator of Cubism in sculpture, nor of Oleksa Hryshchenko (a.k.a. Alexis Gritchenko; born in 1883 in Krolovets, Chernihiv region), creator of unique water color renderings of Cubist forms.

This is a short introduction to the study of innovative ideas of Ukrainian artists, who were active mostly in the 1910s and 1920s and were completely disbanded by 1932. Each of the artists will be treated separately in future articles.

The reconciliation of folk art sources with novel pictorial ideas was an interest

4. Ibid., p. 69.

## IOC says republics...

(Continued from page 1)

way], they will have their separate teams," he added.

Borisov, a member of Ukraine's National Olympic Committee, said "We are happy that we are recognized and that the process is over." He added, "We are not 100 percent happy, but I think it is a good compromise."

Previously Mr. Borzov had said he was traveling to Lausanne to restate Ukraine's proposal that it compete separately in individual sports and take part with the Unified Team in team events. He said Ukraine could accept having the Unified Team as a whole march behind the Olympic flag in the opening ceremonies, but the athletes of each republic should march together as a unit with their own flags.

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## Ukrainian-Russian...

(Continued from page 8)

The situation is further complicated by the longstanding legitimate demands of the Crimean Tatars to be resettled in their traditional homeland. At the end of January, the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers authorized 400 million rubles (in 1991 prices) for the current year for the resettlement program. More recently, while on an official visit to Bonn,

President Kravchuk offered land in the Crimea (and elsewhere in Ukraine) to ethnic Germans deported from Ukraine by Stalin during the war, which is bound to increase already existing tensions between Kiev and the Crimean authorities over the problem of resettlement of deported nations.

In the meantime, the standoff between Kiev and Moscow over the Crimea persists. The Russian Parliament has decided to wait until February

19 to hear the report of its parliamentary committees, but has demanded that the Black Sea Fleet remain unified under a single command. On the same day, the Ukrainian Parliament approved a statement rejecting Russia's claim to Crimea, arguing that it violates several recent Ukrainian-Russian agreements that guarantee the inviolability of borders as well as Article 5 of the agreement concluded in Minsk on December 8, 1991, and that, in any case, the transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine in 1954 was done in accordance with existing legal norms.

At the same time, a group of deputies led by Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Volodymyr Hryniow was dispatched to the Crimea to hold talks with its Crimean counterparts. The negotiations resulted in a joint communique agreeing on the necessity of resolving the problem of apportioning power between the Crimean ASSR and Ukraine within a month's time; a speedy solution to the Black Sea problem and the status of Sevastopol; initiating a practical examination of problems related to the creation of a free economic zone on the

territory of the Crimea; and formation of a joint permanent state body for implementation of the program for the return of deported peoples.

As for the Russian demand that the fleet remain undivided, Mr. Kravchuk responded that the move was illegal and that Ukraine would not renounce its right to maintain a navy. While this war of words is being conducted, supporters of Crimean independence grouped in the People's Opposition parliamentary bloc led by Yuriy Meshkov, a Crimean deputy and head of the Republican Movement of the Crimea, have succeeded in getting their petition drive for a Crimean referendum approved. If they are able to gather 180,000 signatures within two months, Crimeans will be asked if they want "an independent Republic of the Crimea in union with other states."

In the meantime, the Crimean Supreme Council has adopted a draft constitution, the first article of which does not refer to the Crimea as being part of Ukraine. It also passed a law renaming the Crimean ASSR the Republic of Crimea. The Moscow television news program "Novosti" immediately announced that the Crimean deputies voted for secession from Ukraine, which evoked a protest from the Crimean lawmakers.

Nonetheless, the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Council on February 29 issued an appeal to the Crimeans and to their Supreme Council warning that "certain political forces" in the Crimea are pushing for a change in the Crimea's autonomous status, which constitutes an attempt "to review Ukraine's borders." The appeal went on to urge that a reasoned approach be taken with regard to all questions concerning the Crimea's constitution.

In Moscow, the February 19 "deadline" passed without the Crimean question being raised. Moreover, President Yeltsin, in a February 25 meeting with the chairman of Russian parliamentary committees and commissions, criticized rash moves in the Russian Parliament like the demand for the "almost immediate transfer of the Crimea to Russia" as serving only to inflame passions and complicate the situation.

Judging by past performance, it is unlikely that any of these problems will be easily resolved at CIS meetings. President Yeltsin's recent proposal to hold a summit with President Kravchuk on Ukrainian-Russian relations also does not hold out much prospect for a long-term solution. The problem here is not only the Russian president's not altogether glowing track record in the matter of political consistency, but also because both leaders face difficult constituencies in their respective parliaments.

A genuine solution to what has been termed a crisis in Ukrainian-Russian relations can only be expected by fundamental changes in attitudes as to what constitutes Ukraine and Russia.

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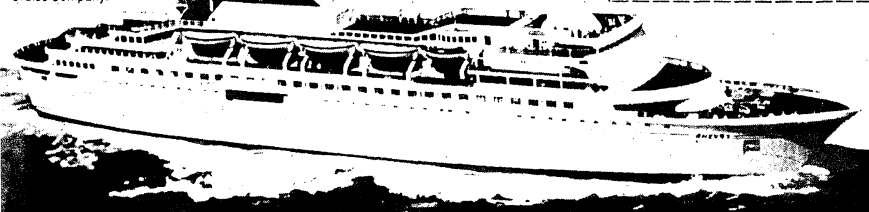
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# Hamilton exhibits "Spirit of Ukraine"

HAMILTON, Ontario — An international art exhibition of great historic and political significance, "Spirit of Ukraine: 500 Years of Painting," will be shown at the Art Gallery of Hamilton, April 9 through June 15.

The 120 paintings and icons have been selected from the State Museum of Ukrainian Art in Kiev, and a private collection in Kiev.

Organized by the Winnipeg Art Gallery, in honor of the 100th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, this landmark exhibition will have been seen in three Canadian cities with Ukrainian communities — Winnipeg, Edmonton and Hamilton — when it completes its 10-month tour.

The exhibition opens with the earliest flowering of Ukrainian art, 15th to 18th century religious icons such as "The Miracle of St. George" and a spectacular eight-foot-high altarpiece, "King of

Heaven," which is layered with gold leaf and polished lacquer.

Also featured in Spirit of Ukraine are the romanticized portraits of legendary Kozak folk heroes and 19th century genre paintings showing everyday life in Ukrainian villages and farms. Works by pioneers of the modern movement in the 20th century — Ekster, Bogomayov, Petritsky, Mellor, Burljuk, Rosanova and Lissitsky — will reveal the incredible fertility of this period in Ukraine.

Gallery Director Ted Pietrzak emphasizes, "This exhibition will reach out, not only to Ukrainians but to everyone who is interested in the history of art. It is a rare exhibition of international stature, which we are fortunate enough to see at a time when the eyes of the world are focused on Ukraine."

For more information, please contact the Art Gallery of Hamilton, (416) 527-6610.

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## Buffalo, N.Y. District Committee of the Ukrainian National Association

announces that the

### ANNUAL DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEETING

will be held

Sunday, March 22, 1992 at 1:30 p.m.  
at the Ukrainian American Civic Center, Inc.  
205 Military Rd., Buffalo, N.Y.

Obligated to attend the annual meeting as voting members are District Committee Officers, Convention Delegates and two delegates from the following Branches:

40, 87, 127, 149, 304, 360

All UNA members are welcome as guests at the meeting.

#### AGENDA:

1. Opening and acceptance of the Agenda
2. Verification of quorum
3. Election of presidium
4. Minutes of preceding annual meeting
5. Reports of District Committee Officers
6. Discussion on reports and their acceptance
7. Election of District Committee Officers
8. Address by UNA Supreme President ULANA M. DIACHUK
9. Adoption of District activities program for the current year
10. Discussion and Resolutions
11. Adjournment

Meeting will be attended by:

**Ulana M. Diachuk**, UNA Supreme President  
DISTRICT COMMITTEE

Roman Konotopskiy, Chairman

Wasyli Sywenky, Secretary

Maria Bodnarsky, Treasurer

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## Unified Team...

(Continued from page 6)

summer games. "Only from January 1, 1993, can they compete independently," Soviet Sport quotes Mr. Smirnov as saying. In other words, they are expected to go along with this affair or risk the loss of even the temporary membership.

What justification does the IOC give for the unprecedented act of forming one Olympic team from several countries recognized as sovereign and independent by much of the world community? (The united German team of the early post-World War II era did not a precedent set; it involved one people and East Germany was not a state generally recognized as independent.) Obviously, the desire to nurture the CIS, the last best hope of the centralizers, would not do.

The "good of the athletes" was the motive most often cited. However, Ukrainian athletes, who for 40 years had been forced to compete for the glory of the regime that enslaved their homeland, have overwhelmingly expressed their desire to compete for an independent Ukrainian team. The loudest voice has been that of pole vault Olympic champion and world record holder Serhiy Bubka. They will, no doubt, find understanding among the millions of television viewers who witnessed the joy of athletes from the Baltic states over at last being able to represent their countries, and the sadness of those from the United Team at having to compete under the Olympic flag rather than their own.

There is irony in the fact that of the athletes thus wronged in Albertville by the proponents of the reintegration of

the union, most (over 90 percent of the team) were from Russia. The "protectors" of the interests of the athletes would again this summer deprive them of what for most of them would be their once-in-a-lifetime chance to represent their countries in Olympic competition.

Other arguments put forth by the IOC leave it open to charges of inconsistency, at best.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had their full membership restored almost immediately after diplomatic recognition by the major powers (they had, in effect, lost it after their 1940 forcible incorporation into the Soviet Union), but Russia, a founding member of the IOC, did not. In the case of Ukraine's application for full membership, the IOC insisted on following "procedures" and insisted that, in any case, there was not enough time to include a Ukrainian team in the Winter Games program. Yet these considerations did not stand in the way of the IOC's approving (and, by some accounts, actively encouraging and even soliciting) full-member status for the former Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia and their inclusion in the Albertville Games.

Ukraine, no doubt, is wondering why it, a sovereign nation of 52 million people, recognized by many more

countries than the two newest Olympic participants, and, unlike Croatia, controlling its own territory, for some reason must wait for approval even after Barcelona.

Olympic officials lamely claim that if Ukraine is allowed to field a separate team this summer, the other member-states of the CIS will demand equal status, with resulting chaos for organizers and schedules. In the next breath, however, they admit that Ukraine is the only state of the CIS 11 that has insisted on independent participation.

Another problem, according to IOC officials, is that it is too late for Ukraine to be included in the Olympic team-sports competition: most of the qualifying tournaments have already taken place. But it was not too late on July 16, 1990, when Ukraine declared its state sovereignty; or on August 24, 1991, when its Parliament passed the republic's Declaration of Independence; or on December 1 of last year, when a shocking 90 percent of citizens taking part in a referendum voted for independence; or on December 25, when it was recognized as an independent country by the U.S.

It is still not too late. In those team sports where the former Soviet Union won the right to Olympic competition, a playoff tournament can be held among those of its former republics interested in claiming that place. As a last resort Ukraine might be persuaded to give up its ambitions in team sports and allow its better team athletes to compete for the United Team, so as not to deprive them unfairly of the Olympic experience.

There are other elements in this puzzle. One is that Mr. Samaranch, a former ambassador to the USSR, has, as president of the IOC, a record of zealously protecting the Moscow center and dismissing any suggestion that Ukraine, Belarus (another founding member of the U.N.) or any other republic might have as legitimate a claim to independent Olympic status as do Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and other dependent territories.

There is the hue and cry over the break-up of that paragon of Olympic ideals, the Soviet sports machine. A tool for exploiting athletes to prop up a decayed regime by increasing its international prestige, it equaled the infamous East German sports industry in its cynical abuse of drugs and sports medicine technologies. What was there to mourn for?

The International Olympic Committee likes to stress its proprietary rights to the Olympic Games. But it really is more of a custodian of the Olympic flame for the youth of the world, indeed, for all of mankind, and should have to answer the question: Why is it allowing the Olympic Games to be used to deny full sovereignty to the globe's newest countries?

Ukraine, whose athletes wrote some of the most glorious chapters in the history of the Games, will become a full-fledged, vibrant member of the Olympic family. It would be just and proper for the initiation rites to take place this summer in Barcelona. For if Ukraine's Olympic dream is deferred the IOC will have besmirched the Olympic movement, whose sanctity it purports to uphold, with the tar-brush of, at best, politicization and, at worst, imperialism.

### PROGRAM COORDINATORS:

The **SOROS FOUNDATION** — (former) **SOVIET UNION** is a non-profit philanthropic organization which makes and administers grants for organizations and individuals from and/or involved with activities in Russia, the Baltic States, and Ukraine for the promotion of open, democratic societies. The offices of the Soros Foundation — (former) Soviet Union are in New York, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Vilnius, Riga, and Tallinn.

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**THE UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN AMERICA**, which features many archival photos and illustrations, and has a full name index, is an excellent source of information for those interested in learning about the Ukrainian experience in the United States. It would be a valuable addition to any private or public library, particularly those of educational institutions.

First edition: 1,000 copies. Price: \$65 + \$5 for postage and handling. All orders must be pre-paid. Send your name, address, and payment to:

**Ukrainian Congress Committee of America**  
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## Violist to perform recital at UIA

NEW YORK — Violist Halyna Kolessa will perform a recital with pianist Robert Markham and cellist Volodymyr Panteleyev (of the Leontovych String Quartet) at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 E. 79th St. on March 21.

The recital, which will include works by Brahms, Enesco, Andriy Shtoharenko, Dmytro Klebaniv and Myroslav Skoryk, will be at 7 p.m. and will cost \$15, \$8 for seniors and students. All profits will be donated to the Fund for Blind Children in Lviv.

Ms. Kolessa graduated from the Moscow Conservatory, where she studied with the world-renowned violist Yuri Bashmet. She performed solo recitals and with chamber music ensembles throughout Ukraine and the former Soviet republics.

She made her U.S. solo debut at the Juilliard School of Music in New York, and has also performed in Philadelphia, Utica, Hunter and Kerhonkson, N.Y. Ms. Kolessa is currently studying at Juilliard with the famous Paul Neubauer.

## U.S.-Ukraine exchange planned

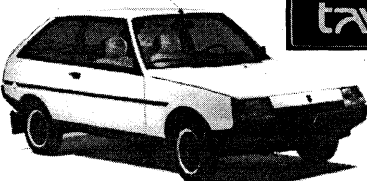
BROCKTON, Mass. — The Massachusetts-Ukraine Citizens Bridge Inc. is organizing a business and government officials exchange from April 30 to May 11.

The exchange will combine conferences, one-on-one meetings, and cultural and business tours to give an overview of government and business in Ukraine, with making contacts to help form the basis for business development and establish a network of effective

business contacts in Ukraine.

Meetings will be customized for individual interests to ensure that attendees meet appropriate counterparts in Ukraine. A reverse trip, in which Ukrainians will visit the U.S., is scheduled for November.

Massachusetts-Ukraine Citizens Bridge is a non-profit organization and has run successful exchanges for many years. For further information, call Coriette McCoy, (508) 587-6824; fax, (508) 588-7185.



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## Oles Yanchuk...

(Continued from page 11)

finished set, Mr. Yanchuk told the builders that there was a door missing. Yes, but there are no more boards, they replied. They had, however, mistakenly built an unnecessary coffin, so Mr. Yanchuk had them dismantle the coffin and make it into a door.

The village church in the movie was an actual abandoned church. It was completely dilapidated, so the later scenes, when the church has been stripped of valuables and taken over as the office and torture chamber of the local Communist Party officials, were filmed first. The church was then refurbished with icons, chandeliers and chalices from the local museum, as it appears in the first scene of the movie. This scene took three days of filming, and Mr. Yanchuk said that already on the first night, thieves had heard of the museum valuables being used as props and came to loot the church, so three crew members armed with a rifle (and a bottle of vodka) stood guard through the night.

"Famine-33" was partially funded by small donations from people across Ukraine, but Mr. Yanchuk also had to take out a large loan from a bank in Uzhhorod. By coincidence, representatives of this bank were in Kiev at the same time that the Ukrainian film festival (at which "Famine-33" won first prize) was being held, so Mr. Yanchuk invited them to a screening. After seeing the film, they cancelled the debt.

This meant that Mr. Yanchuk would not have to distribute the film at movie theaters to raise money for the loan repayment, and so he decided then to premiere the movie on television the night before the independence referendum. This apparently raised public awareness and influenced a significant number of voters to support independence.

Mr. Yanchuk said that he wanted to find some way to have Lazar Kaganovich, the Communist Party leader who implemented Stalin's policies that led to famine, see the film. On the last day of filming, the crew came back to its hotel to learn that Kaganovich had peacefully died that day.

### NOTICE TO ALL MEMBERS OF BRANCH 257 IN LOS ANGELES, CA.

#### A SPECIAL MEETING OF BRANCH 257

will be held on Sunday, March 29, 1992 at 2:00 p.m. in the church hall of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 5154 De Longpre Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90027

For information in regard to the hall only kindly call:  
Msgr. Peter Leskiw (213) 663-6307.

For information in regard to the meeting please call  
Nick Medvid (213) 661-7341

Because important matters are to be decided, all are asked to attend.  
UNA Supreme Executive Committee

### ADMINISTRATOR

#### "Ridna Shkola" Foundation, Newark, N.J.

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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

March 16

**TROY, N.Y.:** Petro M. Talanchuk, Ukraine's minister of education, will discuss "Challenges to University Education in Independent Ukraine" at 4 p.m. at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. The lecture will take place in Room 330 of the Darrin Communications Center, on campus near 15th Street. The lecture and reception afterwards are sponsored by the Pauline U. Bruggeman Fund for Entrepreneurship in Ukraine. For further information, call (518) 276-6531.

March 18

**PITTSBURGH:** The Ukrainian Student Organization at the University of Pittsburgh will hold a general meeting in room 1401 of the Cathedral of Learning at 5 p.m. For further information, call Yuriy Wowczuk, (412) 682-7934.

March 20

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society will host two speakers — Prof. Wolodymyr Zyla, who will speak on "The Ukrainian Central Rada: Facts and Analysis," and Tetiana Lohoyda, a lawyer from Uzhhorod, who will speak on "Problems in Ukrainian Transcarpathia." They will speak at 6:30 p.m. at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave.

**CHICAGO:** The Chicago branch of the Ukrainian Catholic University and local chapter of the Carpathian Alliance will sponsor an evening dedicated to Ukrainians of the Priashiv region, including introductory remarks by Dr. Vasyl Markus of the Priashiv region, a lecture on "Ukrainian Literature in Eastern Slovakia" by Lubov Babota from Priashiv University, and a video on Ukrainians in the Priashiv region. It will be held at 7 p.m. at the Ukrainian Cultural Center.

March 21

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society will host Prof. Vyacheslav Briukhovetsky, who will speak on the Rebirth of the Kiev-Mohyla Academy as a modern university. Prof. Briukhovetsky is the director of this academy, and will speak at 5 p.m. at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave.

March 22

**NEW YORK:** A 90-minute documentary by Ireney Yurchuk covering the December 1 referendum in Ukraine will be

shown at 12:30 p.m. in the auditorium of The Holy Ghost Ukrainian Catholic School, 152 N. 5th St., Brooklyn. Coffee and cake will be served, and donations will be accepted for Rukh.

March 23

**GROSSE POINT, Mich.:** Vera Andruskiw will speak on "The Break-up of the Soviet Union: U.S. Dilemmas" at the Grosse Pointe Unitarian Church, 17150 Maumee. The lecture will be held at 7:15-8:45 p.m. and costs \$5, \$2 for students and seniors.

March 27

**PITTSBURGH:** The Ukrainian Student Organization of the University of Pittsburgh will hold an Easter egg (pysanka) workshop in Room 1401A of the Cathedral of Learning at 11 a.m. For further information, call Yuriy Wowczuk, (412) 682-7934.

March 28

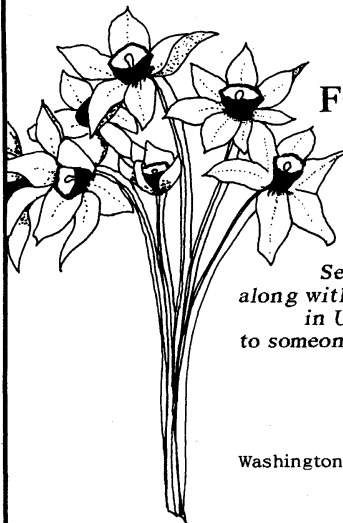
**ELLCOTT CITY, Md.:** The national executive board of the Ukrainian American Veterans will hold a national meeting at the Turf Valley Hotel and Country Club, 2700 Turf Valley Road, at 11 a.m. There will be a special dinner at this same hotel that evening featuring U.S. Gens. Jaskilka, Krawciw, Zajchuk and Admiral Boorda. Dinner will be at 7:30 p.m., cocktails at 6:30 p.m. All U.S. officers are welcome to attend in dress blue uniforms. For reservations please call Ihor Martiyan, (301) 465-5677.

March 29

**SASKATOON, Saskatchewan:** A paska (Easter bread) and pysanka demonstration will take place at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, 910 Spadina Crescent E., at 2-4 p.m. For further information, call the museum, (306) 244-3800.

March 30

**DETROIT, Mich.:** Oksana Zabuzhko, a faculty member of the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, will speak on "Cultural Revival in Ukraine in the Post-Totalitarian Era" at Wayne State University. It will be held in the Greek Room, 179 Manooogin Hall, at 11:45 a.m. - 1 p.m.



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