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INDEPENDENCE

Over 90% vote yes in referendum; Kravchuk elected president of Ukraine

by **Chrystyna Lapychak**
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — "On the map of the world a new European state has emerged — its name — Ukraine."

A special session of the Supreme Council of Ukraine opened with these words by First Deputy Chairman Ivan Pliushch, as Leonid Kravchuk was sworn in as the first popularly elected president of a united new independent Ukrainian state, inaugurating a new era in the often tragic 1,000-year-old history of the Ukrainian nation.

Four days after an overwhelming majority of Ukrainian citizens — 90.32 percent — voted "yes" in a December 1 referendum on independence and elect-

ed him chief executive, President Kravchuk took his oath of office to the people of Ukraine with his hand placed on two documents: Ukraine's current Constitution and the Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine.

"I solemnly swear to the people of Ukraine to realize my authority as president, to strictly adhere to the Constitution and laws of Ukraine, to respect and protect the rights and liberties of people and citizens, to defend the sovereignty of Ukraine and to conscientiously fulfill my obligations," pledged the new president.

On a table next to him lay the over 500-year-old Peresopnytsky Gospel, the first Bible in Old Ukrainian, "as a symbol of the continuity of Ukrainian

history," according to Deputy Ivan Zayets.

In the space above the chairman's podium, where a giant statue of Lenin once stood, was a blue-and-yellow Ukrainian national flag.

During the solemn ceremonies, which featured a choir singing "Bozhe Velykyi Yedynyi" and "Sche Ne Vmerla Ukraina" and an address by the new president, the Ukrainian Parliament formally renounced Ukraine's participation in the 1924 act creating the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The legislature issued a statement to the parliaments and peoples of the world announcing its intentions and directions in foreign and domestic policy, particularly in questions of

international cooperation, human rights, nuclear disarmament, respect for borders and economic reform.

President Kravchuk also outlined his vision of Ukraine's political, economic and social direction as a fledgling European democracy, repeating the basic principles in his campaign platform and responding to the concerns of many foreign countries in an effort to win their recognition.

The results of the December 1 plebiscite also rendered invalid the results of the March 17 all-union referendum on a renewed union, said Deputy Vitaliy Boyko, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, during the special session. It also served as a vote of

(Continued on page 5)



• **HUNGARY** — Chief Consul Andras Paldi and Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko signed papers to establish diplomatic relations. As the Hungarian consulate in Kiev was upgraded to an embassy, Hungary became the first to establish full diplomatic relations with Ukraine. It also recognized the Russian Federation, which may mean the cancellation of Prime Minister Jozef Antall's scheduled trip to sign the Soviet-Hungarian Treaty in Moscow. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **POLAND** — Special envoy Jerzy Kozakiewicz formalized Poland's recognition of Ukraine on December 3. President Lech Walesa sent a telegram to President Leonid Kravchuk which said that "further cooperation between the two countries will benefit the whole of Europe." Poland's Foreign Minister said that Ukrainian disarmament is very important to Poland.

However, Mr. Walesa phoned Mikhail Gorbachev on December 14 to tell him that he "supported Gorbachev's ideas of reforming the union," according to the Polish President's press secretary. Mr. Walesa reportedly told Mr. Gorbachev it is "dangerous to break the Union's ties in a revolutionary way after having been together for 70 years...If this good idea of yours is rejected, it must end tragically." (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **ROMANIA** — Although the Foreign Ministry said that it is ready to establish diplomatic relations as soon as possible, the Romanian territories are still a "highly sensitive issue for public opinion in Romania." On December 3, the Romanian press reported that the Romanian government urged Ukraine to enter into negotiations on the question of northern Bukovina, Hertsa district, Hotin county and southern Bessarabia, in which the republic of Moldova would "unquestionably" participate. The government did acknowledge Ukraine's "inalienable right to self-determination" and said it greeted "Ukraine's independence with sympathy."

In reaction to Romania's claims, Anatoly Zlenko, Ukraine's Foreign Minister, who was on his way to Romania for an official visit, turned back. He was to have established diplomatic relations and concluded a treaty of friendship, good neighborliness and cooperation. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **MOSCOW** — In a telegram of congratulations that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent to Leonid Kravchuk, he included his hopes for



Newsbriefs from Ukraine

close cooperation and understanding in "the formation of a union of sovereign states."

As TASS reported on December 3, Mr. Gorbachev's press secretary, Andrei Grachev, had repeated Mr. Gorbachev's earlier statement that the outcome of the referendum should not be taken as tantamount to the desire for secession from the union. He said that if the referendum question had been differently formulated, there would have been a different result.

He said that a new political union is "totally realistic" and that the referendum vote "provides additional freedom of activity" for Ukraine's participation in the union.

Vitaliy Churkin, USSR Ministry of External Relations spokesman said at a press conference that the ministry agrees with Mr. Gorbachev that the referendum vote does not mean that Ukraine is "automatically" separated from the Soviet Union.

Mr. Gorbachev made another appeal to the remaining republics not to leave the union because this would bring the threat of war and be a catastrophe for the world. He made no direct reference to Ukraine, but did sound more urgent than in his previous appeals. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **KIEV** — There will be a summit in Minsk of leaders of Ukraine, Russia and Belarus on December 7, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko told journalists. The participants will discuss international problems and future foreign policy. Mr. Zlenko said that Ukraine's first priority is relations with Russia. He added that President George Bush had been the first to call President Leonid Kravchuk and congratulate him on his election and the referendum vote.

Mr. Kravchuk said that he will discuss an economic union, possibly with Russia, but based in Kiev or Minsk, not Moscow.

Mr. Yeltsin's trip was planned before the referendum, and takes on a further significance now that Mr. Kravchuk, president of a new country, will be there, said Belarusian parliamentary opposition leader Zyanon Paznyak, who lamented Belarusian leaders' recent tendency to "follow Russia's tail." He said he hoped that eventually there

would be a cooperative union of the Baltic States, Belarus and Ukraine. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **BRUSSELS** — NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner issued a statement on December 3 that Western allies expect Ukraine to sort out its relations with remaining republics peacefully; to commit itself to a non-nuclear policy; to adhere to the non-proliferation treaty; and to respect other international agreements such as human rights and European borders. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **ST. PETERSBURG** — Mayor Anatoly Sobchak decried "the threat of forced Ukrainianization" in Crimea, but later conceded that the Russian language was permitted there. He said that Russia would "immediately raise territorial claims" if Ukraine refused to join a new political union, and that a conflict between Russia and Ukraine is especially threatening because of the nuclear arms on their territories. He said that there would be no problems if Ukraine remained within the union, but if it seceded, Russia would reclaim "numerous Russian provinces" that were "given" to Ukraine. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **KIEV** — Ukraine will supply Bulgaria with electric power again, Western agencies reported on November 6. Ukraine insisted on direct trade with Bulgaria rather than going through existing agreements with Moscow, said Minister of Foreign Trade Atanas Paporizov on November 7 on Bulgarian Radio.

Bulgaria will deliver raw materials and industrial goods in exchange for the 450 million kilowatt hours that it will

receive through the end of the year. The Bulgarian Radio said that the rationing of power supplies, with cuts in one of every four hours, would be discontinued that day. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **KIEV** — A statement criticizing the central media of the former USSR was issued by the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Council on November 6. They charged the mass media with disseminating material discrediting the Ukrainian Parliament and government; instigating inter-ethnic hostility; employing scare tactics regarding political and economic chaos in connection with Ukrainian independence; and facilitating rumours about an exchange of nuclear strikes between Ukraine and Russia. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **BONN** — After disarmament experts from the German and French Foreign Ministries returned from a trip to Kiev, German officials reported on November 21 that Ukraine is refusing to join the Soviet ratification of the Conventional Forces in Europe agreement. Because Ukraine wants to dissociate itself from the USSR, authorities said that they will abide by the USSR's arms commitments, but will ratify the conventional forces agreement on their own, rather than voting on the issue in the Supreme Soviet's Council on Republics. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **ROMPRES** — The head of Romania's Orthodox Church, Patriarch Teoctist, called on the Romanian government to negotiate the return of northern Bukovina and southern Bessarabia from Ukraine. Romania's government has made no statements, but on November 19 Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesperson Traian Chebeleu said that the government "recognizes that these are stolen Romanian territories. The only question is how the reparations should be made," western agencies reported. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

Ukrainians lose in Polish elections

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — According to the November 10 issue of the Ukrainian weekly newspaper *Nashe Slovo*, which comes out in Warsaw, none of the Ukrainian candidates running in the October 27 parliamentary elections were able to obtain a seat in the Polish Sejm.

The majority of Ukrainian candidates ran on the minorities' electoral bloc

which was on the ballot in 15 electoral regions and received a total of 29,428 votes.

There were two Ukrainians on the orthodox electoral bloc. Volodymyr Mokry, who had been the only Ukrainian member of Parliament, and was a candidate on the Solidarity committee ticket in the Hozhiv district of Cracow, lost the election to S. Sobanski by 3,172 to 5,133 votes.

Freedom House urges recognition

NEW YORK — Freedom House, the New York-based human rights organization, urges the United States to recognize Ukraine as an independent nation and has adjusted the country's rating from "not free" to "partly free" in its annual Comparative Survey of Freedom to be issued later this month.

The Comparative Survey of Freedom, Freedom House's annual effort to monitor political rights and civil liberties, rates individual countries on a "free," "partly free" and "not free" basis. Due to the free and fair presidential elections and the increased freedom of the press, Ukraine has moved to a "partly free" rating. Ukraine was not considered "free" as a result of a number of uncertain variables, including the entrenched, powerful apparatchiks and the remaining Soviet troops.

In addition to the changed rating, Freedom House recognized Ukraine as an independent nation in its survey and urges the United States should as well.

"We urge that the Administration expeditiously recognize Ukrainian independence," said Freedom House Executive Director R. Bruce McColm. "A long-term delay of recognition could lead to a Yugoslav scenario where the West's failure to quickly acknowledge Croatia's and Slovenia's democratic secession simply encouraged Serbia and the federal army to use force."

George Zarycky, Freedom House's specialist on Eastern Europe, questioned the "ad ministrations' preconditions for formal recognition, including the resolution of the nuclear question. It may send the wrong signal."

"Leaders of the Ukraine, site of the Chernobyl catastrophe, have repeatedly said they want a nuclear-free zone. But they rightly fear unilaterally turning over nuclear weapons to the Russian federation or a crumbling communist center, both of which have oppressed Ukraine in the past," said Mr. Zarycky.

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Vote brings wave of recognition

by Yaroslav Trofimov

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

NEW YORK — A wave of international recognition of the newborn Ukrainian state is sweeping across the world.

Poland, Ukraine's crucial western neighbor, was the first country to grant diplomatic recognition. "Relations between Poland and Ukraine are very good and ambassadors will be exchanged soon," said Wladyslaw Klaczynski, spokesman for the Polish Foreign Ministry, on Monday, December 2.

Hours after the release of preliminary results of the independence referendum, the United States declared that it is "obviously moving towards full diplomatic recognition" of the republic, and Canada said that it "has decided to recognize Ukraine as an independent state."

Thomas Niles, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, was scheduled to arrive in Kiev on Thursday, December 5, to begin preliminary talks on recognition and issues of arms control and minority rights. Unless unpredicted problems arise, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is expected to fly to Kiev to establish formal relations later this month.

Canada will send a senior official to Kiev next week to take practical steps towards full-fledged diplomatic relations, though a visit by Secretary of External Affairs Barbara MacDougall is not being planned, said Guy Erchambault, spokesman for Canada's Department of External Affairs.

Although Canadian recognition was widely expected, as Canada harbors a large Ukrainian community and even the Canadian governor general Ray Hnatyshyn is an ethnic Ukrainian, the U.S. reaction signalled a complete reversal of the Bush administration's policy towards the seceding Soviet republics.

In August, President George Bush had warned Ukrainians against breaking away from Moscow in his famous "Chicken Kiev" speech. The speech was heavily criticized, and National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft even felt compelled to write a special op-ed piece in *The New York Times* to explain that the U.S. will not always be opposed to Ukrainian independence.

After the failed August putsch and a North American visit by Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk, American attitudes towards Ukrainian secession started to change, and American and Ukrainian authorities began preliminary discussions which involved the republic's representative at the United Nations, Gennady Udovenko.

Ukraine has had separate membership in the United Nations since 1945, and its U.N. envoys were the only internationally recognized Ukrainian diplomats.

"I have constant negotiations with the Bush administration. If a year ago they did not even want to speak with me in the State Department, now, as

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Yaroslav Trofimov is a New York correspondent for The European, a British news weekly. He was the founder of the first Rukh press service in Kiev in 1990, and has previously written for The Weekly.

Rukh greets diaspora with independence

To Our Fellow Countrymen in the Diaspora
Kiev, December 3, 1991

We extend our greetings to you — our brothers and sisters in the diaspora, on the occasion of the clearly manifested will of the Ukrainian nation to attain full, sovereign independence as confirmed by the decisive results of the referendum.

We embrace you in gratitude for the support, encouragement and cooperation that you have shown us.

We look forward to welcoming you in a free, independent Ukraine so that we may work together, in a concerted effort, at building a full-fledged democratic state, one which shows a genuine concern for its citizens and is worthy of the world's respect.

Throughout this time you have not failed your homeland and your loved ones, and we are certain that we will continue to work closely together for the well-being of Ukraine.

Citizens' Referendum Council
Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine

Ivan Drach

Mykhailo Horyn
Petro Talanchuk

Oles Lavrynovych
Viktor Burlakov

Canada recognizes Ukraine

OTTAWA — Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced on Monday, December 2 that Canada has decided to recognize Ukraine as an independent state.

The Prime Minister noted that reports from Canadian observers indicate that Ukraine has conducted a free and democratic referendum. He said that the massive and overwhelming vote testifies to the strong desire of the people of Ukraine for an independent country.

Canada will shortly open negotiations on establishing diplomatic relations with Ukraine.

As part of those negotiations, Ca-

nada will wish to be satisfied with respect to Ukraine's stated intentions that it will ensure that nuclear weapons remain under secure control until they are disposed of; comply with existing arms control, disarmament and other international agreements; and, adhere to the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris and other CSCE documents, with particular attention to full respect for human rights and the protection of minorities.

The Prime Minister confirmed that senior officials will be going to Kiev in the coming days to convey Canada's position and to begin the process of negotiations.

Canada second to recognize Ukraine; establishing ties should go smoothly

by Christopher Guly

OTTAWA — Canada has become the second country after Poland to officially recognize Ukraine's independence. In making the announcement the day following the historic December 1 referendum, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney stopped short of immediately establishing diplomatic ties with the breakaway Soviet republic.

Mark Entwistle, spokesperson for the prime minister's office, confirmed that Supreme Council Leonid Kravchuk had sent a letter to Mr. Mulroney prior to the election, outlining his commitment to democracy. "We expect the process to go quite smoothly," he said.

Canada sent three members of its Parliament and Alberta's chief electoral officer, as monitors to observe the Ukrainian vote.

However, Andrij Hluchoweky of the Ukrainian Information Bureau in Ottawa, said that President Kravchuk should be trusted. "When we visited Canada few months ago, he impressed the Ukrainian community here with his ideas about change. Unless he's lying through his teeth, that shouldn't change."

Dr. Dmytro Cipywsky, president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, explained that Mr. Kravchuk "has no other way out. The people voted overwhelmingly," he said. "He can't be an autocrat."

Dr. Cipywsky added that the "doubting Thomases" who lament

Ukraine's destruction of a reforming Soviet Union, do much to undermine its future as a sovereign state. In a recent editorial, the Ottawa Citizen, for one, "cheer(ed) for the Ukrainian people, but wonder(ed) what they have wrought."

Liberal External Affairs critic Lloyd Axworthy explained, "Recognition implies diplomatic recognition, and I think Mr. Mulroney should get on with it." "It took them a couple of years to get a consulate up and running in Kiev. It's all there, ready to become an embassy."

The opposition member of Parliament for Winnipeg-South Center also disputes Canada's concerns over potential instability between Ukraine and Russia.

"The eastern part of Ukraine and the Crimea voted as high as 50 percent in favor of independence. That should say something about ethnic minorities."

"Members of Parliament were recently given assurances by the Russian Foreign Ministry that they are not particularly worried about Ukrainian sovereignty," he added.

The Rev. Andrij Chirovsky, director of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute for Eastern Christian Studies at Ottawa's St. Paul University, isn't as concerned over Canada's apparent foot-dragging.

"Canada is not going to be bullied by George Bush on this. We

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White House reacts to referendum

On Monday, December 2, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater delivered the following official reaction to Ukraine's vote for independence:

Yesterday, in a free and fair vote, the people of Ukraine voted for independence. The United States welcomes this expression of democracy which is a tribute to the spirit of the Ukrainian people. The president would also like to congratulate Leonid Kravchuk on his apparent victory in Ukraine's first free presidential election. Yesterday's referendum and election were also a tribute to the defeat of the coup in which Boris Yeltsin played such a pivotal role and a positive development for the New Europe.

For its part, the United States looks forward to the kind of normal relationship with Ukraine that one would expect it to have with a democratizing country. Ukraine's aspiration to join the Euroatlantic community is striking testimony to the will for liberty in a nation which has persisted and survived despite the terrible calamities of the 20th century.

In developing this relationship, we also intend to continue our cooperation with President Mikhail Gorbachev and his government and to strengthen our expanding ties with President Yeltsin and the Russian government as well as the other republics.

We are aware that independence raises some complex issues to be resolved among Russia, Ukraine and the center. The establishment of a new cooperative relationship between Russia and Ukraine, based on openness and mutual respect, will be a test of whether they are capable of making the transition to democratic societies which respect the rights of individuals. We hope and believe that the leaders in Moscow and Kiev will establish such a relationship. The president has instructed the secretary of state to dispatch a special emissary, Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs Thomas Niles, to discuss with the newly-elected authorities in Kiev our future relationships with Ukraine. In particular, Secretary James Baker has asked the special emissary to consult closely with the Ukrainian leadership on three issues of fundamental importance.

First, the special emissary will discuss ways in which the United States and the international community can support Ukrainian adherence to democratic values and practices, especially respect for human rights, including equal treatment of minorities. The special emissary will also discuss ways in which Ukraine can record its commitment to such fundamental principles as: respect for international obligations; respect for borders, with changes to be made only peacefully and through negotiations; and respect for and adherence to all of the other norms of the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris, and other CSCE documents.

Second, the special emissary will discuss with Ukrainian leaders the steps we would like to see Ukraine take to implement their desire to achieve a non-nuclear status and to ensure responsible security policies. These include the steps Ukraine is taking with other republic and union authorities to ensure safe, responsible and reliable control of nuclear weapons; to prevent proliferation of dangerous military-related technology; and to support implemen-

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GREETINGS, CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES

WCFU issues appeal

It was to be our fate to witness those great historic events for which the Ukrainian nation has struggled for centuries. On December 1, 1991, the people of Ukraine, Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike, overwhelmingly approved in referendum the declaration of independence which had been proclaimed by the Ukrainian Parliament.

For the cause of long-sought independence, countless numbers of Ukrainian soldiers gave their lives; among the best of Ukrainian youth languished in prisons of the occupying powers or were sent to labor camps throughout the vast expanses of the Soviet Union.

The suppressed dream of generations of Ukrainians has become reality at last. The Ukrainian nation has manifested before the world its will to live free in a sovereign, independent Ukrainian state.

We commend the Ukrainian people for having attained statehood and we rejoice in their victory.

An arduous road, however, still lies ahead. The Ukrainian government and all its citizens are now faced with the difficult task of rebuilding an economy laid waste by a Communist regime which treated Ukraine as a colony.

Today, when there is finally a Ukrainian state, we, the Ukrainian diaspora should do our utmost to ensure that the process of revival proceed in all spheres — economic, cultural, religious and others.

Each one of us should come to the aid of Ukraine, according to one's abilities and resources — be it along lines of professional expertise, political influence or capital.

At this critical juncture, Ukraine counts on us; it needs a helping hand so that it can stand on its own.

A country rich in natural resources, with a hard-working people, Ukraine will become viably self-sufficient as it frees itself from the consequences of prolonged colonial exploitation.

For decades we sang our national anthem — "She Ne Vmerla Ukraina" (Ukraine Has Not Perished). And verily, Ukraine has not succumbed; it has been reborn.

We sang our readiness to give body and soul for our freedom ("dushu y tilo my polozhym za nashu svobodu"). Circumstances no longer demand the sacrifice of life. Today Ukraine requires filial compassion, moral and material support.

Let us therefore respond to the demands of the times and help meet the needs of the Ukrainian nation.

Herewith, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians calls upon the Ukrainian diaspora to join the effort of rebuilding the Ukrainian state.

May the people of Ukraine live and prosper in their new-found freedom! Long live the free, sovereign, independent Ukrainian state!

Yuri Shymko
President

Vasyl Veryha
General Secretary

Patriarch Mstyslav congratulates Kravchuk

Below are wishes sent on Monday, December 2, to newly-elected Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk from Patriarch Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

Dear Mr. President:

I find myself in a state of boundless joy: God's Providence, which heals the infirm and completes the deficient, has proclaimed through the determined voice of the people, Ukraine's complete national independence.

This act entitles Ukraine to take its proper place within the family of the world's free nations. It is my firm conviction that a fully independent Ukraine will become a contributive factor on the international forum.

You, Mr. President, have to a great extent contributed to the realization of this extraordinary act. I congratulate you on this occasion and wish you an abundance of strength in your endeavors. For my part, I am ready to assist you in any way I can, drawing on my extensive experience gathered over the many years of my service to God, man, and particularly the long-suffering Ukrainian people.

†Mstyslav
Patriarch of Kiev and all Ukraine

Congressman Bonior hails vote

WASHINGTON — Congressman David E. Bonior (D-Mich.), the highest-ranking U.S. representative of Ukrainian descent, on December 2, hailed the unprecedented vote supporting independence for Ukraine. However, the House majority whip assailed the Bush administration for failing to authorize U.S. diplomatic recognition of Ukraine.

"This historic victory for democracy and the Ukrainian people is tempered only by the incredible lack of support by the Bush administration," said Mr. Bonior. "The administration's failure to recognize Ukraine's independence shows that misguided White House decisions are not confined to domestic issues."

Congressman Bonior is co-sponsor of resolution (H.Con.Res. 212) urging

President George Bush to recognize Ukraine's independence and establish full diplomatic relations. Rep. Bonior was a leading force in pressing the State Department to open a Consulate in Kiev. Under Resolution 212, the consulate will be replaced with an embassy.

"The Ukrainian people have been undaunted in their quest to assume their rightful place among the free nations of the world," said Rep. Bonior. "The time to recognize Ukraine as an independent nation is now."

Congressman Bonior's maternal grandparents, John Hawryluk and Effie Malanek, were born in Ukraine. Today, Rep. Bonior's district of Macomb County is home to a vibrant community of Americans of Ukrainian descent.

Greetings from the UNA to Ukraine

Below are congratulatory greetings to the Ukrainian people from the Ukrainian National Association (broadcast via Voice of America on December 2, 1991).

We, the Ukrainian National Association and its 70,000 members would like to convey our joy to you, our brothers and sisters in Ukraine, on the occasion of the passage of the referendum for an independent Ukraine.

Preliminary results show that over 90 percent of the voters supported the declaration of Ukraine's independence.

We are certain that the people of Ukraine will now be able to live in freedom and attain economic well-being, as rightful masters on their own land.

Our publications, the Ukrainian-daily Svoboda and the English-language The Ukrainian Weekly have given broad coverage to the expressed willingness of President George Bush and the United States government to recognize an independent Ukrainian state.

As always the Ukrainians in the diaspora, with full commitment and with all the means at their disposal, are ready to help Ukraine become, in the full sense of the word, a free, independent and democratic state, ready to assume its place among the nations of the world.

Lithuanian Americans support independence

ARLINGTON, Va. — The Lithuanian American Community, Inc. called on President George Bush today to immediately recognize Ukraine as an independent country and to establish diplomatic relations with the government of Ukraine as soon as possible. "World peace and stability can only be strengthened by welcoming an independent and democratic Ukraine to the family of nations," said Mr. Vytautas Maciunas, president, National Executive Committee of LAC, Inc.

In its letter to President Bush, the National Executive Committee of the Lithuanian American Community, Inc. reminded the President that "the people of Ukraine have demonstrated their

commitment to change through peaceful, parliamentary means. In this century alone, they have experienced the horrors of totalitarian government, forced famine, war and nuclear catastrophe. They are a people who dearly value their land, the miracle of life and peace. They are not a people to squander these gifts or threaten the existence of other nations."

Stanley Geceys, chairman, Public Affairs Council of LAC, Inc., added that "International support from democracies like the United States is crucial for newborn countries like Ukraine; without it they fall victim to anti-democratic forces."

Statement from Cardinal Lubachivsky

Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky issued the following statement in Rome after the citizens of Ukraine voted overwhelmingly for independence on December 1.

"People of Ukraine! I join with you today in celebrating the joy of our newly independent Ukraine and in the realization of the dreams of our forefathers. The theme of this special synod of European bishops which I am attending here in Rome is most applicable to the Ukrainian people today: 'we are witnesses of Christ who has freed us!'"

After centuries of repression, the Ukrainian people have again become fully independent. This desire was demonstrated in a resounding yes to

the referendum on independence December 1.

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church thanks God for his benevolence towards our people in giving us, this bright moment. As Christians, we want to live in peace with our neighbors and with all the people of the world.

Ukraine is an inseparable part of the common European home and we call upon all Ukrainians to work towards the rebuilding of our nation and for a better tomorrow. We ask all countries of the world to recognize our new, independent homeland and we pledge to work toward its establishment as a respected member of the world community.

AFL-CIO calls for U.S. recognition

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, who visited Kiev last May, issued the following statement on Monday, December 2, on Ukraine's independence vote:

WASHINGTON — On behalf of the 14 million workers of the AFL-CIO, I salute the citizens of Ukraine, who have democratically declared their independence from the former Soviet Union. The AFL-CIO stands with the workers of Ukraine and the strike committees and free trade unions which unanimously supported a "yes" vote in the independence referendum.

In the light of yesterday's democratic expression of popular will, the AFL-CIO calls upon the Bush Administration immediately to recognize Ukraine's independence and to establish diplomatic relations with Europe's fifth largest state, U.S. and coordinated Western aid and assistance programs intended for the former USSR should now avoid the central Soviet state structures and be channeled through democratic governments at the republic and local level as well as through non-governmental organizations with a clear record of independence from the now-banned Communist Party.

In affirming, by overwhelming majority, their support for independence, Ukraine's citizens have signalled the birth of a new country. Ukraine's entry into the ranks of the world's democracies must now be completed with the timely election of a new Parliament.

The AFL-CIO looks forward to continued cooperation with the free trade unions and strike committees of Ukraine as they begin their difficult path toward the construction of a democratic state based on social justice and workers' rights. I salute the democratic coalition movement, Rukh, which has worked to promote inter-ethnic cooperation among the many peoples that reside on Ukrainian soil.

Independence...

(Continued from page 1)

confidence in the existing Ukrainian Supreme Council, said Mr. Pliushch.

Mr. Pliushch was elected chairman of the Ukrainian legislature by a vote of 261 to 100 following the ceremonial part of the session.

International reaction to the results of the referendum and presidential race dominated the days following December 1.

Poland and Canada were the first states to recognize Ukraine, on December 2. The next day, Hungary and Ukraine signed the first protocol establishing full diplomatic relations and transforming the Hungarian consulate in Kiev to the first foreign embassy here.

In a significant move, Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a statement on December 3 recognizing Ukraine's independence and expressing the need for forging new interstate relations between the Russian federation and Ukraine. Mr. Yeltsin had announced several times last week that if Ukraine did not join the new political Union of Sovereign States neither would be RSFSR.

President Kravchuk repeatedly stated over the last two weeks that Ukraine would pursue relations with Russia and the other former Soviet republics on a bilateral level as equal, independent states.

The leaders of Ukraine, Russia and Belarus were set to meet in Minsk on December 7 to coordinate economic reform measures in the three former Soviet republics.

During a press conference following his swearing-in ceremony, the silver-haired president said that he would have no right to sign a union treaty that some 31 million people had rejected in last Sunday's vote for Ukrainian independence.

The Bush administration issued a restrained response early last week welcoming the favorable referendum results and congratulating Mr. Kravchuk on his election. The statement stopped short of formal recognition and reiterated many of the previously stated U.S. requirements for recognition.

"The first Western leader to call Mr.

Kravchuk after the referendum was (U.S. President George) Bush," said Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko at a December 3 press conference.

In his telephone conversation with the American leader, as well as in all of his public statements, Mr. Kravchuk has tried to reassure Western leaders of Ukraine's willingness to address their concerns. These include repayment of foreign debts, nuclear disarmament, adherence to international agreements, respect of existing borders, harmonious relations with Russia and the center, and the rights guarantees for national minorities in Ukraine.

By directly responding to U.S. requirements, "Ukrainian leaders are only being realistic," said John Hewko, a Washington attorney and adviser to Ukraine's legislature.

"They want to make their message loud and clear that they're for these principles. They realize that Ukraine can't be a player in the world unless the U.S. recognizes it. It is the only superpower and its opinion is very important," he said.

"They feel that 'we've been waiting for hundreds of years, why blow it?' It's not only that. It really is their position," said Mr. Hewko.

Thomas Niles, an assistant to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, was scheduled to arrive in Kiev on December 6 for discussions with Ukrainian leaders. His trip will apparently serve as a preparation for an official visit by Secretary Baker in mid-December.

The overwhelming "yes" vote and high voter turnout — 84.16 percent of eligible voters — exceeded all expectations.

Opposition leaders last week reacted with pride and interpreted the results as a victory for their platform, despite the fact that their candidates, led by Lviv Oblast Council Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil, lost the presidential race.

"I will have won these elections no matter what happens, even if I don't become president. The pre-election campaign gave me the opportunity to travel all over Ukraine, to meet the people and to politicize the east," said a smiling Mr. Chornovil moments after he voted at a Lviv polling station last Sunday.

Mr. Chornovil received 23.27 percent of the vote; Levko Lukianenko, 4.49 percent; Volodymyr Hrynirov, 4.17 percent; Ihor Yukhnovsky, 1.74; and Leopold Taburiansky, 0.57 percent.

"Kravchuk may have won, but so did our program," said Rukh Chairman and Deputy Ivan Drach on Monday. "Kravchuk's program was taken from the programs of Rukh, the Democratic Party and the Ukrainian Republican Party," he said.

"Throughout the democratic world, despite intensive campaign battles, once a president is chosen the people rally around him," said another Rukh leader, Mykhailo Horyn.

"It is our task as an opposition to create an environment that allows the new president to lead in state-building," he said last week. "It is our task to diligently supervise so that the president indeed builds an independent Ukraine."

Even before the results started coming in, Ukrainians and the many visitors who observed the elections began celebrating Ukraine's independence with parties in restaurants and private homes on Sunday night.

Most of the 100 international observers who traveled throughout Ukraine to monitor the voting concluded that the process was democratic and that no deliberate violations occurred in their presence.

Among them were 23 Americans, including 12 official observers from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, the U.S. Consulate in Kiev, the State Department, the Helsinki Commission and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who monitored polling stations in Kiev, Kaniv, Odessa, the Crimea, Kharkiv, Lviv and Chernivtsi.

Also among the observers were five Canadian members of Parliament, seven MPs from the European Parliament and one deputy from Germany's Bundestag.

"We congratulate you on your excellent results," said Gert Weisskirchen, the German deputy, at a December 3 press conference. "With such results all national minority groups in Ukraine said 'yes.' We have seen the peaceful birth of a state, and this referendum is the basis for the peaceful future of your nation," he said.

The "the" is gone

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The "the" is gone. As of December 3, the Associated Press changed its style, alerting its editors, reporters and all who use the news service to the fact that the name of the Ukrainian republic would henceforth be written as simply "Ukraine."

The AP wrote: "As a result of the passage of the independence referendum in Ukraine and moves toward international recognition of Ukraine as an independent country, The Associated Press will henceforth use 'Ukraine' instead of 'USSR' in datelines from Ukraine.

"The AP will also drop the article 'the' that has preceded the word 'Ukraine.'" This is in line with the English-language usage preferred by Ukraine's government.

That same day, The New York Times for the first time carried a dateline of "Kiev, Ukraine," in its news stories and used the name "Ukraine" without the preceding definite article.

A brief, three-paragraph sidebar headlined "Terminology of Nationalism" noted the dropping of the article in references to Ukraine made in the official White House statement on Ukraine's referendum results read by spokesman Marlin Fitzwater to the press.

The item cited Adrian Karmazyn of the Ukrainian National Association's Washington Office who explained: "Ukrainian Americans prefer it (Ukraine) without the 'the.'"

"The article is used for regions like 'the Appalachians' or 'the Crimea,'" Mr. Karmazyn explained to the Times.

The change in The New York Times' style was foreshadowed by several articles. As early as November 18, columnist William Safire had written a commentary ("Ukraine Marches Out") datelined "Kiev, Ukraine," and had dispensed with the "the."

On November 29, Leon V. Sigal, in an "Editorial Notebook" item written from Kiev ("Plain Ukraine") observed that, "People here prefer to call it by its plain name, Ukraine, dropping the traditional article..."

The next day, a Times editorial ("Chicken Kiev, the Sequel") also dropped the definite article.

Curiously, however, in the December 2 edition of the newspaper, which reported the results of the December 1 referendum in Ukraine, The New York Times still used a dateline of "Kiev, USSR," and referred to "the Ukraine."

Meanwhile at The Christian Science Monitor, based in Boston, the dateline "Kiev, Ukraine," had appeared as early as November 8. However, reference was still made to "the Ukraine." The same was true in a front-page news story carried on December 3.

The Daily News (of New York) on Friday, November 29, published an editorial urging recognition of Ukraine — no "the."

And, at The Wall Street Journal a November 29 op-ed commentary referred to simply "Ukraine," while a news story in the same edition reported on "the Ukraine." The dateline of "Kiev, Ukraine," appeared in the Journal as early as November 20, in a

(Continued on page 13)

How citizens of Ukraine voted for their president

Autonomous republic, Oblast or City	Percentage of voter turn-out	Percentage of vote for presidential candidate					
		Volodymyr Hrynirov	Leonid Kravchuk	Levko Lukianenko	Leopold Taburiansky	Vyacheslav Chornovil	Ihor Yukhnovsky
Crimean ASSR	67.53	9.43	56.63	1.93	0.86	8.03	0.90
Vinnitsia	91.41	1.39	72.34	3.26	0.36	18.21	1.62
Volyn	93.19	0.83	51.65	8.90	0.34	31.39	3.25
Dnipropetrovske	81.82	3.24	69.74	2.47	1.85	18.15	1.21
Donetske	76.64	10.96	71.47	3.11	0.71	9.59	0.93
Zhytomyr	90.53	1.12	77.59	3.30	0.35	13.97	1.08
Zakarpattia	82.92	1.32	58.03	4.98	0.39	27.58	2.83
Zakporizhzhia	80.67	3.87	74.73	3.07	0.65	12.98	1.32
Ivano-Frankivske	95.72	0.56	13.70	11.81	0.14	67.10	3.32
Kiev	88.02	1.68	65.99	5.62	0.48	21.23	1.51
Kirovohrad	88.05	1.66	74.77	3.54	0.55	15.55	1.06
Luhanske	80.68	6.75	76.23	2.01	0.52	9.94	0.74
Lviv	96.28	0.83	11.50	4.70	0.18	75.86	4.43
Mykolaiv	84.11	5.63	72.33	2.26	0.39	15.06	0.69
Odessa	75.11	8.38	70.69	2.77	0.52	12.83	1.13
Poltava	91.86	2.46	75.05	4.21	0.61	13.63	1.26
Rivne	92.94	0.80	53.07	13.38	0.43	25.65	3.57
Sumy	88.44	2.53	72.35	3.88	0.52	14.73	1.81
Ternopil	97.07	0.43	16.79	19.60	0.18	57.45	3.19
Kharkiv	75.71	10.90	60.85	2.08	0.44	19.66	0.97
Kherson	83.40	3.27	70.23	2.23	0.54	18.13	0.97
Khmelnitsky	93.44	1.19	75.46	3.25	0.42	15.40	1.56
Cherkas-y	90.19	—	67.14	1.96	0.38	25.03	0.98
Chernivtsi	87.67	1.42	43.30	4.40	0.42	42.67	1.97
Chernihiv	90.77	1.46	74.15	6.69	0.40	12.34	0.90
Kiev City	80.29	3.54	56.13	6.36	0.54	26.71	3.53
Sevastopol City	63.74	8.38	54.68	1.80	0.84	10.93	0.89
Total	84.16	4.17	61.59	4.49	0.57	23.27	1.74

THE Ukrainian Weekly

Life after December 1

A state, to prosper, must be built on foundations of a moral character, and this character is the principal element of its strength and the only guarantee of its permanence and prosperity.

— J. Currie

After the celebrations of independence cease, after the euphoria subsides, the new, free democratic state of Ukraine will only begin the long and difficult road to true independence.

Only now can the 52 million citizens of Ukraine show that they are indeed committed to the development of their nation-state. After centuries of failed attempts to attain lasting self-government, a goal which has eluded them throughout their historical experience, the people of Ukraine are faced with a bright future of their own design.

The overwhelming 90 percent vote for independence on Sunday, December 1, testifies to the fact that after centuries of oppression, centuries of Russification and decades of communism, the people are slowly waking up from a deep slumber that kept them complacent, passive, and at times even indifferent to their fate, to their future.

Over the past few months, events in what is now the former Soviet Union, have transpired at a dizzying pace. Just last year, the Ukrainian Parliament declared Ukraine sovereign. Yet, in March of this year, the people voted to join a "new and improved union," under the guidance of Mikhail Gorbachev, while expressing overwhelming support for Ukraine's Declaration on State Sovereignty. But the events of August 19 changed all that.

Superficially, it may look like the road to independence was smooth; it may seem that Ukraine benefitted from circumstances beyond its control.

Indeed, the course of action taken by Mr. Gorbachev, his policies of "glasnost and perestroika" in the 1980s had allowed the citizens of Ukraine this historic opportunity to move toward statehood. And, the actions of Russian President Boris Yeltsin served as a catalyst for Ukraine's Act of the Declaration of Independence on August 24.

But, Ukraine's independence, its ongoing evolution into a full-fledged nation-state, is built on the bones of its ancestors. Over the centuries many great patriots worked toward the emergence of a free Ukraine. In this century alone, millions fell victim to Stalin's policies of collectivization and destruction of the intelligentsia and churches, millions died at the hands of both Nazi and Communist oppressors.

Within the last two decades, men of such moral fiber as Vasyl Stus, Oleksa Tykhy and Valeriy Marchenko perished in the Soviet gulags; others, such as Ukrainian Helsinki Group founders Gen. Petro Grigorenko and Oksana Meshko did not live to see the day they had always dreamed of. But their principles, their ideals are embodied in the thread of Ukraine; their sacrifices have borne fruit.

Soon after his release from the Soviet gulag, Ukrainian Republican Party leader Levko Lukianenko, a 27-year veteran of the Soviet prisons, said in an interview:

"I consider myself a fortunate man. At the summit of my youth, I truly fell in love with Ukraine. I fell in love with its song, its land; I fell in love with its past, its Kozak era. And I did not want all of this to perish..."

"And everywhere I traveled, I thought, what can I do for the good of Ukraine? Continuously, I studied history and contemplated the situation Ukraine found itself in. When I entered university, I wanted to gain the knowledge that would help me in the struggle for an independent Ukraine..."

The former political prisoner's words reflect the sacred hope and holy struggle for Ukraine's independence that have been passed on, unchanged, from generation to generation. Today, we are the generation fortunate to be blessed with the realization of the age-old dream of a free Ukraine.

Слава Україні!

Dec.
14
1893

Turning the pages back...

Mykola Khyvolyov was born on December 14, 1893. He was a writer and a communist who urged Ukrainians to create art without diluting it with Russian influences.

Mr. Khyvolyov sounded the "most direct and emotional call for rejecting the 'Russian road,'" according to Orest Subtelny's *Ukraine: A History*.

Mr. Subtelny goes on: "This remarkable individual, whose real name was Fitilov, grew up in eastern Ukraine as the son of a petty Russian nobleman. A committed internationalist, he joined the Bolsheviks during the Civil War in hopes of helping to create a truly universal and equitable communist society. After the Civil War, Mr. Khyvolyov became one of the most popular Soviet Ukrainian writers, an organizer of the avant-garde literary organization Vaplite, and a frequent commentator on Ukrainian/Russian relations, particularly in the area of culture.

An idealistic communist, Mr. Khyvolyov was bitterly disillusioned by the glaring discrepancies that existed between Bolshevik nationality theory and practice, and also by the Russian chauvinism of party bureaucrats, who, as he put it, masked their bias 'behind Marx's beard.'

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REPORTER'S DIARY

Reflections on an independent Ukraine

by Chrystyna Lapychak
Kiev Press Bureau

Sunday, December 1, was the turning point. On an immediate level, for myself and I believe for dozens of other journalists covering the referendum on Ukrainian independence, the previous week was tense in anticipation. Following a marathon of press conferences in overly heated rooms packed with hundreds of journalists, problems with phone lines, and deadlines, the nervous tension peaked on Sunday morning.

Once the journalists' nightmare was at least temporarily over, having survived a stampede of aggressive Western photojournalists at the Kiev polling station where Leonid Kravchuk voted, suddenly we began to notice something. As my colleague Susan Viets of The Independent and I drove around Kiev, we noticed that an unusual number of people were out on the streets for a Sunday morning — and they were smiling.

Kievans were out with their entire families, all over the place, and they were voting, early; some were hanging around the polling stations politicking. The atmosphere was calm, peaceful, friendly — and sometimes very emotional.

A woman representing the local council's executive committee in a village just south of Kiev burst into tears as she told us that 70 to 80 percent of Khotiv's eligible voters had voted by 10 a.m. Others told us they saw elderly women cross themselves as they left their polling stations, thanking God that they had lived long enough to vote for an independent Ukraine.

The tranquil satisfaction I felt that afternoon will stay with me for a long time. After the hysteria, there was peace. After decades — no — centuries of bloodshed and sacrifice, there was peaceful, civilized change.

Although some may call it a hallucination, I felt that day that millions more were out on the streets of Ukraine and at the polling stations than were visible to the naked eye. As I told an Associated Press correspondent, I felt that ghosts were present that day in all of those places — ghosts of people who were not fortunate enough to have lived to vote. All of our ancestors were there, everyone who had ever suffered, who had ever dreamed that their grand-

children would see freedom. We are those grandchildren.

I must admit I felt haunted, as I can say my brother, Victor, felt as well. As we walked the streets of Kiev last week we thought: our grandfather had walked here when Ukraine declared its short-lived independence in 1918. He had died in 1969 in the U.S. a great Ukrainian patriot, and today his grandchildren were in Kiev at this historic moment.

Besides being a historic event of geopolitical significance and the catalyst for the final break-up of the Soviet Union, which has shifted the whole world's balance of power, Ukraine's independence holds a very personal, even intimate, meaning for myself and countless others.

Professionally, it has offered me the opportunity to write articles on events of profound significance: the culmination of years of what I now view as a preparation for this very period. I chose a road that was a risk professionally — to concentrate on Ukraine and Ukrainians worldwide instead of working for a general interest publication. The risk has brought me very fruitful results, for which I am humbly grateful. I feel a great responsibility to recreate what I observe for the readers who cannot be here.

Perhaps this is sappy romanticism, but I think that's part of being Ukrainian. Some critics may say that Ukrainian romanticism is part of the reason it has taken this long for a state to finally emerge. However, this is precisely what defines the unique and original, charming and tragic nature of this place. It is what motivated the so-called Ukrainian dissidents who laid the groundwork for this peaceful movement toward democracy. Let's hope the best parts of this poetic side to the movement remain in the face of the Western pragmatism that will inevitably come as Ukraine looks Westward politically and economically.

As the Ukrainian Parliament's new chairman Ivan Plushch said during the special session on December 3, it is time now to get to work, to build a state from the ruins that remain after decades of communism. But last week was one for celebration, well-deserved, hard-earned through unspeakable past sacrifices by the people of Ukraine, by those visiting ghosts, for future generations.

Vote...

(Continued from page 3)

they saw that Ukraine is serious about independence, the situation is completely different," said Mr. Udovenko.

According to The U.S. News & World Report, the decisive shift in the American position can be attributed to the strongly pro-Ukrainian stand of Robert Gates, the newly-appointed director of the CIA. Mr. Gates and Mr. Udovenko had a discussion last month at New York Plaza Hotel, where White House spokesman Roman Popaduk was feted as "Ukrainian of the Year" by the Ukrainian Institute of America, a cultural foundation located in New York City.

Additional pressure on the White House was applied by the U.S. Senate, which passed a resolution calling for swift U.S. recognition of Ukraine, and by strongly Republican Ukrainian American lobby groups whose support of the Bush administration has become increasingly important as the president's popularity is falling victim to economic recession.

In last month's heavily publicized Pennsylvania Senate race, Ukrainian and Baltic groups, protesting the administration's attempts to prevent the break-up of the USSR, supported the Democratic candidate, Harris Wofford. This position contributed to the defeat of Dick Thornburgh, a former attorney general in the Bush administration.

Mr. Bush was the first foreign leader to congratulate President Kravchuk on his election. On the eve of the referendum, the American president also called Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, trying to coordinate recognition policy.

After the Canadian and American declarations were issued, a statement from Russian President Boris Yeltsin was read late on Monday on "Vesti," a Russian television news program. The Russian President declared his recognition of Ukrainian independence in accordance with the democratic will of the people. Mr. Yeltsin expressed his conviction that it is necessary and possible to quickly establish new inter-government relations, including diplo-

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A VIEW FROM WASHINGTON

A great job by the community

by Eugene M. Iwanciw
UNA Washington Office

WASHINGTON — Ukraine is independent and the United States has begun the process of establishing formal diplomatic relations with Ukraine. This change in U.S. administration policy resulted from both recognition that the Soviet Union no longer exists and the pressure exerted by the Ukrainian American community on the United States government.

For the first time in many years, the Ukrainian American community played a major role in the shaping of U.S. foreign policy. U.S. policy on any issue is the result of domestic and international pressure. In this case, the Ukrainian American community was heard.

The views of the community were expressed to President George Bush directly, by letters and calls to the White House, and indirectly through members of congress and the media. As a result of the work of the community, 27 senators and 55 representatives co-sponsored the congressional resolutions urging the President to recognize Ukraine and the Senate passed the resolution as part of an appropriations bill. Articles appeared in newspapers throughout the nation, largely as a result of interest by the community.

While members of congress heard, by letters and calls, from our central organizations including the Washington Office of the Ukrainian National Association, it was really individuals throughout the United States who had the major impact. This grassroots campaign involved Ukrainians from virtually every state. By receiving letters

and calls from around the nation, it was clear that this is a major issue. An added aspect was that the Ukrainian American community mobilized non-Ukrainians in this campaign.

While recognition is in the process, this is not a time to relax and celebrate. It is clearly in the interests of the United States and Ukraine for diplomatic relations as soon as possible. Ukrainian Americans should continue contacting the White House and their members of congress but with a different message. The message should be to congratulate the position that President Bush has taken and to urge diplomatic relations as soon as possible.

The community should also build on the success which it has achieved and retain the contacts individuals have made with members of congress. In the coming year there will be a range of issues from Ukraine's membership in international organizations to technical and humanitarian assistance for Ukraine on the agenda, not to mention the domestic issues which we, as Ukrainian Americans are concerned about. The network that was established during the past few months will be needed to convince policy-makers that Ukraine should be eligible for the same programs that any other nation is eligible for and that Ukrainian American organizations should be able to participate in government-funded programs.

The community must be commended on a job well done. In over 20 years of working within the political community of Washington, I have never before seen a grassroots effort as dedicated, motivated, and effective as the one conducted by our community.

There is also ample potential for conflict on economic issues.

On Wednesday, December 4, Russia said that it will accept 62 percent of the Soviet foreign debt, estimated at \$100 billion, in return for keeping all Soviet gold and diamond reserves. This clashes with the Ukrainian position, as Kiev wants to assume its 16 percent of the debt on the condition that gold and diamond reserves be divided among the republics.

After the Russian decision to recognize Ukraine, several other European countries declared that they will follow suit. Hungary has already recognized Ukrainian independence, and Sweden, Lithuania and Denmark have said that they are considering a similar move and are sending senior officials to Kiev.

The European Community is not likely to grant recognition until its summit in the Dutch city of Maastricht later this month, but a German envoy will visit Kiev next week on behalf of the EC to start preliminary negotiations, the German Foreign Ministry said.

On Wednesday, December 4, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said that Czech-Slovakia would recognize Ukraine soon, but that Ukraine must agree on its share of the Soviet Union's international obligations, especially in the areas of arms control and the debt.

It is likely that establishing diplomatic ties with Romania will be more difficult. "Greeting Ukraine's independence with sympathy" and expressing readiness to establish diplomatic ties with it, the government urged Ukraine to enter into negotiations with Romania under provisions of CSE documents on the peaceful change of borders.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Free at last! Free at last!

Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!

Those stirring words of an old Negro spiritual so eloquently echoed by the late Rev. Martin Luther King are a true reflection of the feelings shared by Ukrainians throughout the world on December 1, 1991.

By an overwhelming majority the people of Ukraine voted once again to become one, sovereign and independent.

Freedom! How sweet the word, so joyous to express, so difficult to believe after centuries of broken dreams and unparalleled suffering and struggle.

Recall the Muscovite sack of Kiev in 1169. The Tatar/Mongolian devastation of 1240. The fall of Galicia, Volynia in 1349. The Battle of Poltava in 1709. The destruction of the Sich in 1775. The collapse of Ukraine and its partition in the 1920's. The forced famine of 1932-1933. The Nazi terror of the 1940's. Has any nation endured more? Have any people been more death-like in their silence?

Remember also the grandeur and perspicacity of Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise. The heroic struggles of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Vyhovsky, and Ivan Mazepa. The literary excellence and patriotism of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, and Lesia Ukrainka. The sublime vision of Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Symon Petlura. The selfless determination of Taras Chuprynka and Otaman Borovets. The martyrdom of Vasyl Bilas, Dmytro Danylyshyn, Olha Bassarab, Metropolitan Lypkivsky, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn, Evhen Konovalets, Oleh Olzhych, Stepan Bandera, Lev Rebet, Volodymyr Ivasiuk and Vasyl Stus. The glorious courage of hundreds of dissidents like Vyacheslav Chornovil, Lev Lukianenko, and Mykhailo Horyn. Does any nation deserve freedom more? Can we ever forget those who gave so much so that we could be where we are today?

There are winners and losers in the December 1 referendum.

The first winners, of course, are the Ukrainian people who will no longer have Moscow breathing down their neck. For the first time in 70 years they have an opportunity to put into practice the ideas of Mykhailo Hrushevsky who envisioned a progressive, multicultural Ukrainian nation-state based on liberty, justice and economic opportunity for all.

Achieving that dream won't be easy on the heels of rule by terror, lies and corruption. But the Ukrainian people will survive their immediate past. They live in a land rich in natural and human resources. They have a centuries-long tradition of self-help and hard work. Most important of all, our people believe in God and prayer.

Ukrainian Americans are also winners in the referendum. No longer will we have to explain to our geographically illiterate American neighbors that we are not Russians, that Kiev is not in Russia, that Ukraine is a separate nation with a distinct history, culture and language, and that Ukrainians want to be free of foreign occupation. Just being on the map will take care of all of that!

The referendum produced some losers. The first is Mikhail Gorbachev. It is poetic justice that the day Ukraine was reborn was also the day the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (or whatever USSR stands for this week) ceased to exist. To Ukraine we say Mnohaya Lita. To the USSR we say good riddance.

Poor Mikhail. He thought our president would continue to pull his chestnuts out of the fire for him and instead old George pulled the rug out from under him. That's our George!

Another loser was George Bush. Oh, I know. He met with a Ukrainian American delegation and promised to recognize Ukraine in time, under certain circumstances, and with proper guarantees. Even Brent Scowcroft, sly devil that he is, saw the light. However dimly.

Why the sudden change of heart by the administration? A return to American principles? Give me a break. There were three reasons: polls, polls, polls...

Pre-referendum polls in Ukraine showed passage by a wide margin.

Political polls in the U.S. showed Mr. Bush's popularity fading fast.

And the telephone and letter polls taken by White House staffers demonstrated that perhaps for the first time in our history our community was really united in its anger and used its political muscle to send a message to the President.

There were other losers as well. Sovietologists, for example. With the collapse of the Soviet Union we'll soon have as much need for their "expertise" as we have for wheelwrights.

Once our champagne corks stop popping, however, we need to take a sober look at what lies ahead. There's much economic and political work that has to be tackled but we also need spiritual healing. Lots of it: As Daniel Little suggests in his book Ukraine: A Legacy of Intolerance, Ukrainian aspirations for a pluralistic society face serious consequences unless the age-old religious and ethnic divisions among Ukrainian Catholics, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Russian Orthodox are resolved. Soon. We know how painful some of our religious wounds are but they must be tended to if Ukrainians are not to become their own worst enemies.

We can set an example for such healing by calling on our Catholic and Orthodox hierarchs in North America to proclaim a weekend of religious reconciliation in every Ukrainian community. Let God and their imagination dictate how this weekend can best be observed.

If for some reason neither God nor their imagination comes into play, then perhaps it's time for the laity to take the initiative. Christ's message of love, compassion and forgiveness is too important to be left to bishops, clerics, and religious alone.

So my friends, let's celebrate and savor this long-awaited, incredible moment: and rejoice that we lived to see this day. But let's also heal our hurts. For ourselves. For our salvation. For Ukraine.

In the words of Abraham Lincoln: "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

Signs of the times: Ukrainians experience first democratic vote



Signs such as the one pictured above line the streets of Kiev prior to the referendum on Sunday, December 1. This one calls the people to rid themselves of colonial shackles.



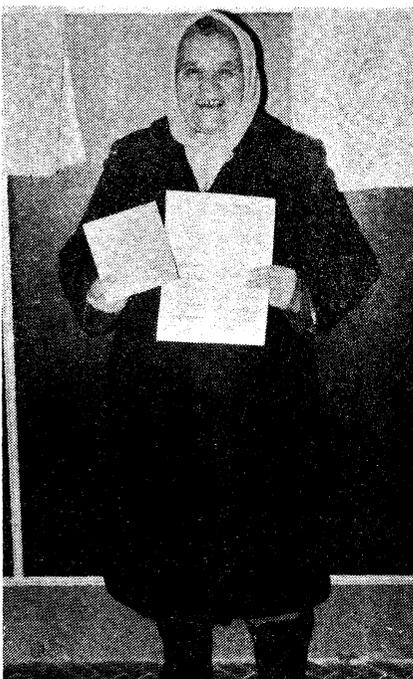
"Place the fate of Ukraine in able hands," states this Chornovil campaign billboard.



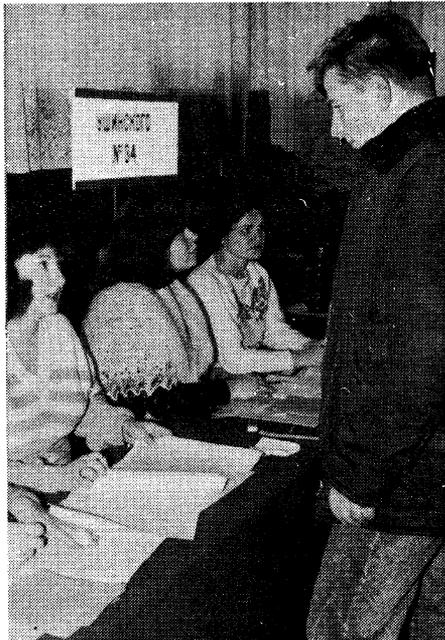
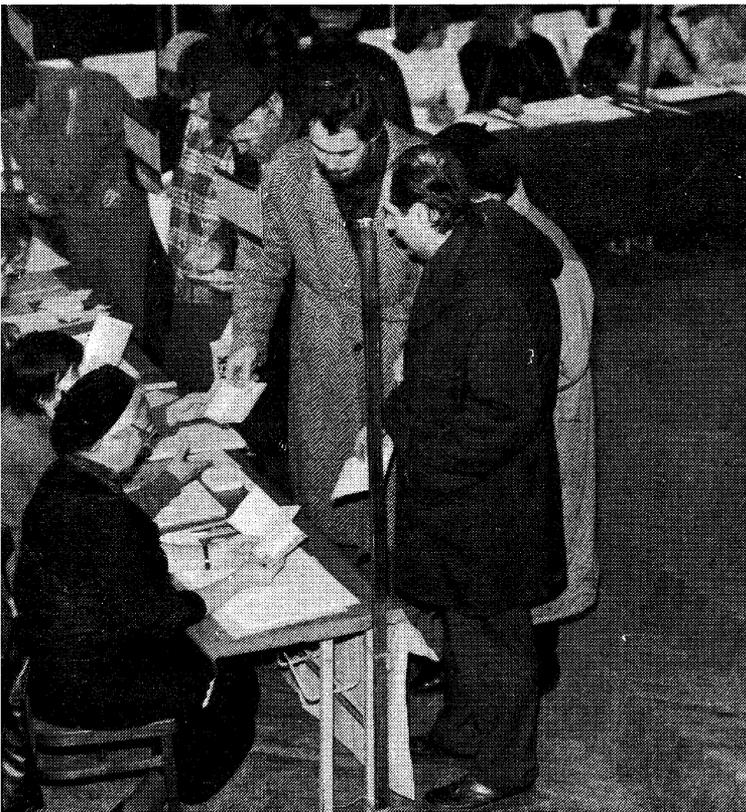
Presidential campaign posters cover the walls of Kiev's metro passageways. The one pictured above promotes Levko Lukianenko; while the sign below, in Russian, condemns the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and calls the people of Ukraine not to believe in Leonid Kravchuk.



Potential voters pause in the metro station in Kiev on the eve of the referendum. The woman on the left demonstratively displays a Chornovil flyer.



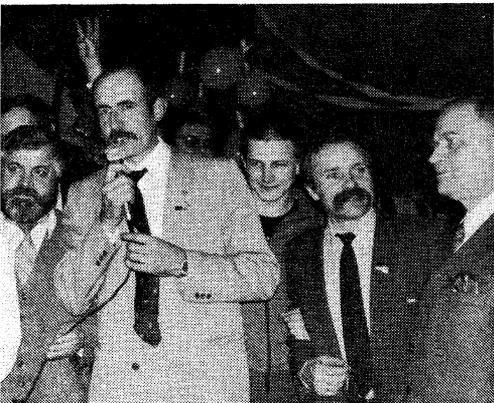
Voters of all ages participate in the December 1 referendum and presidential election: from left, an elderly woman is all smiles as she shows off the two ballots; a youngest casts her father's ballot; a couple votes on Ukraine's future. Signs of Soviet Ukraine are still visible in Kiev; the Ukrainian national and Soviet Ukrainian flags decors the ballot box in the middle picture. The hammer and sickle of Communist Party days still adorn ballot boxes in the photo on the right.



Citizens of Ukraine register in their electoral districts on Sunday morning, December 1 to vote on the national referendum and to elect their first president (left). A young voter (above) checks for his name to receive a ballot; voter turnout exceeded 84 percent on this historic occasion.

All photos on these pages by Chrystyna Lapychak and Lada Lysniak.

s, Canadians and Americans rejoice after the vote on the referendum



uk, Mykola Porovsky and Dmytro Pavlychko, leaders of the movement, celebrate at a post-referendum Rukh party, sponsored Ukrainian American Ulana Mazurkevich.



Erast Huculak, chairman of Canadian Friends of Rukh (left), and Canadian Deputy Minister of External Affairs Patrick Boyer listen as Canadian Consul General Nestor Gayowsky addresses the jubilant Ukrainians.



f Rukh, the Popular Movement of comes Ukraine's independence. Also Huculak and People's Deputy Pavlo Iovchan.



People's Deputy and former political prisoner Stepan Khmara speaks to the crowds at the Lybid Hotel.



Party organizer Ulana Mazurkevich, Helsinki Commission staffer Orest Deychakiwsky and an unidentified man flash the sign of the tryzub (trident).

Citizens of Ukraine cast their vote in New York City



Dina Udovenko, wife of Ukraine's Ambassador to the United Nations Gennadi Udovenko, casts her ballot at the Ukrainian Mission in New York City.



Citizens of Ukraine, currently visiting the United States, register to vote in the historic December 1 referendum at the Ukrainian Mission to the United Nations.

by Marta Kolomayets

NEW YORK — The building here on 67th Street, which houses the Belarusian, Ukrainian and Soviet missions to the United Nations, was bustling with activity on Sunday morning, December 1, as more than 175 eligible voters, thousands of miles away from their homeland, came to cast their ballots on Ukraine's future.

Ukrainian Ambassador to the United Nations, Gennadi Udovenko monitored the voting procedures, as the first floor of the mission was transformed into a polling place for residents of Ukraine who hold valid Soviet passports.

Volodymyr Yelchenko, the chairman of the electoral commission in New York, reported that of 176 registered voters — residents of Ukraine who are currently either visiting, working or studying in the United States — 162 voted "yes" on the referendum question.

Seven opposed leaving the union, while seven ballots were disqualified.

Also, 80 voters cast their ballots for Vyacheslav Chornovil, the former political prisoner, journalist and currently Lviv Oblast chairman, for president of Ukraine, while the Communist party ideologue-turned nationalist Leonid Kravchuk received 53 votes.

Although members of the electoral commission reported that many of the persons who voted in the Sunday, December 1 elections in New York were from oblasts in Galicia, the most voters came from Cherkasy, from the same street. "They were members of the Cherkasy Kozak Ensemble," explained a member of the commission.

All results from the referendum and presidential elections were faxed and telefaxed to the Central Electoral Commission in Kiev that evening.

The ballots were delivered to Kiev via Air Ukraine, on Wednesday, December 4.

Film on Ukrainian famine debuts on eve of referendum

KIEV — "This film is my personal contribution to the Ukrainian independence referendum," said Kiev filmmaker Oles Yanchuk, whose new film, titled "Holod '33," debuted on republic-wide television on Saturday evening, November 30, just hours prior to the opening of the polls for the December 1 historic referendum.

"I wanted people to see what life was like in a colony, the inhabitants of which were mercilessly exploited in the name of a utopian ideology," Mr. Yanchuk told The New York Times.

This, his first feature film, tells the story of Stalin's forced collectivization which led to the death of more than 7 million Ukrainian citizens in central and eastern Ukraine.

Only in the past two years has this tragic page in Ukraine's history been told to its citizens.

"Holod '33" was awarded first prize at the Kiev Film Festival held in mid-November; Mr. Yanchuk is scheduled to travel to North America in late December, where his film will make its North American debut.

During a recent telephone conversation, he reported that it was scheduled to premiere at movie theaters in Kiev on Wednesday, December 4.

"Working on the film was an emotionally wrenching experience for Mr. Yanchuk and his crew," The



The film crew of "Holod '33" poses for a photo after a long day's work. Pictured, seated at the table in the center, wearing a baseball cap, is the film's director, Oles Yanchuk.

New York Times reported. "The film was shot in regions that had expe-

rienced the famine in the 1930's. Harrowing scenes from the film

recreate the terror, fear and desperation of those years."

Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

To save the revolution from the pernicious impact of Russian nationalism, Mr. Khyvylovy resolved to expose it. Couching his message in literary terms, he claimed that 'passive-pessimistic Russian literature had reached its limits and stopped at the crossroads' and he advised Ukrainians to distance themselves from it: 'Insofar as our literature can at last follow its own path of development, the question before us is: toward which of the world's literatures must it chart its course? In no case toward the Russian. This is absolute and unconditional...The essence of the matter is that Russian literature has weighed us down for centuries. Being the master of the situation, it accustomed our psyche to slavish imitation. For our young art to nourish itself [on Russian literature] would mean stunting its growth. Our orientation is toward the art of Western Europe, toward its style, toward its reception. ...'

Mr. Khyvylovy's impassioned pleas for Ukrainians to strike out in their own gave rise to the famous slogan: 'Away from Moscow!'

While Mr. Khyvylovy directed his ideas primarily at young writers searching for literary models, his message clearly had political implications. It should be stressed, however, that his anti-Russianism was not so much a product of Ukrainian nationalism as of revolutionary internationalism. Mr. Khyvylovy was convinced that the global revolution would never succeed if one nation, in this case the Russians, attempted to monopolize it.

He led the formation of Vaplite (Free Academy of Proletarian Literature), an elitist literary organization. Worried that the pedagogic-enlightenment mentality (prosvitiantstvo) and 'massivism' of Pluh only encouraged Ukrainian provincialism, Mr. Khyvylovy and his colleagues raised the demand for literary and artistic excellence in Ukrainian literature. They called for its orientation toward Europe and the traditional sources of world literature, and for a declaration of Ukrainian cultural independence from Moscow. Mr. Khyvylovy's forceful statement of these views sparked an important and far-ranging debate that lasted from 1925 to 1927 and is usually referred to as the 'Literary Discussion. ...'

Members of the Communist leadership in Ukraine joined in the criticism of Vaplite's 'bourgeois-nationalist ideology.' Even Stalin pointed out the dangerousness of Khyvylovy's ideas. To combat the spread of nationalist ideas in literature, a pro-Soviet organization, VUSPP (the All-Ukrainian Association of Proletarian Writers), was formed in 1927 and the Communist party's surveillance of literary activity increased."

The Encyclopedia of Ukraine writes: "Thenceforth Mr. Khyvylovy was subjected to unrelenting persecution and was forced to move gradually from an offensive to a defensive tactic. To save Vaplite from forced dissolution, in December 1926 he was compelled to admit his 'errors,' and in January 1927 he agreed to expulsion from Vaplite. From December 1927 to March 1928 Mr. Khyvylovy lived in Berlin and Vienna, and according to some accounts in Paris. In January 1928, before returning to Ukraine, he sent an open letter from Vienna to the newspaper *Komunist* renouncing his slogan 'Away from Moscow' and recanting his views. ..."

By the early 1930s Mr. Khyvylovy's every opportunity to live, write, and fight for his ideas was blocked."

Disillusioned by the Communist Party practices and helpless to do anything about it, he committed suicide on May 13, 1933 in protest against the famine of 1933 and the Postyshev terror, which was done to "end Ukrainianization, purge the Ukrainian party, complete collectivization...and 'end the isolation of the Ukrainian workers from the positive influence of Russian culture.'"

"Immediately after his death, Mr. Khyvylovy's works and even his name were banned from the public domain. Even after the post-Stalin thaw, when many other writers were 'rehabilitated' and selected works of some were published, the ban on his works and ideas has been enforced."

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U.S. Institute to sponsor briefing

WASHINGTON — The United States Institute of Peace will sponsor a briefing and book launch on Thursday morning, December 12, at the University Club, 1135 16th St., NW in Washington.

The 9:15 a.m. current issues briefing, "Ukraine's Path to Independence: Nationalism, Relations with Russia and the New Union," will also include a presentation of a new book by David Little, titled "Ukraine: The Legacy of Intolerance."

The book, the first volume of a six-part study on religion, nationalism, and intolerance is the product of a working group on religion, ideology, and peace established by the United States Institute of Peace to consider how religions and similar beliefs sometimes contribute to conflict, as well as methods for managing such conflicts and encouraging peaceful pluralism.

Ukrainian aspirations for independence and a pluralistic society face serious complications stemming from age-old religious and ethnic divisions among adherents of the three dominant faiths in Ukraine — Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox, and Ukrainian Catholic. "[These hostilities] frustrate the process of redefining in more equitable and agreeable terms Ukraine's relation to the other republics in the Soviet Union and primarily to the Russian Republic," said Dr. Little in his new book, "Ukraine: The Legacy of Intolerance."

"Ukraine: The Legacy of Intolerance" argues that association with one faith is commonly perceived as a statement of political belief and loyalty to the state. Tensions among the Churches stemming from theological and ecclesiastical differences are interconnected with divergent historical interpretations of

national identity and aggravated by underlying political connotations.

Believing that views of national legitimacy are so connected with religious preference, Prof. Little urges that freedom of religion in Ukraine must be coupled with tolerance for varying viewpoints of Ukrainian nationalism.

Presenters at the briefing will include: Dr. Little, a senior scholar for religion, ethics, and human rights at the United States Institute of Peace, he is a former professor of religious studies at the University of Virginia and the author or co-author of four books, including, most recently, "Human Rights and the Conflict of Cultures; Western and Islamic Perspectives on Religious Liberty."

Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, professor of political science at Carleton University in Ottawa, and a specialist in Soviet and Ukrainian politics and religious policy and Church-State relations in Eastern Europe; and the Rev. Frank Estocin, dean of the Ukrainian Orthodox Center in Philadelphia, a prominent official of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and a member of the editorial staff of the magazine *Ukrainian Orthodox Word*.

For more information and to make reservations for the December 12 event please call the United States Institute of Peace, Public Affairs and Information Office, (202) 429-3839.

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The first two editions of this dramatic history of Ukrainian nationalists during World War II were based on interviews with leading nationalists, extensive files of contemporary newspapers, and numerous unpublished documents. Since 1963, however, a vast body of German archival material has become available, as well as many newly published memoirs, and this material is woven into the narrative. An epilogue summarizes the complex trends of Ukrainian nationalism since 1945.

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White House...

(Continued from page 3)

tation of relevant international agreements, including START, the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, the Non-proliferation Treaty, and the Biological Weapons Convention.

Third, the special emissary will also discuss with the Ukrainian leadership its commitment to economic policies aimed at facilitating free markets and free and fair trade both with other republics and with the international community more generally.

Finally, the special emissary will discuss Ukraine's obligation and role with regard to the debts of the Soviet Union.

asked that later this month, Secretary Baker travel to Kiev and Moscow to further consultations on these issues with the leadership of Russia, Ukraine and the center. We are also discussing these issues in NATO and with other allies.

The transformation of the Soviet Union as we have known it is of vital significance not only to us but to our European and other allies and we, therefore, will continue to coordinate our approach with them.

In closing, we commend Ukrainians for pursuing the democratic path, both in the referendum on independence and in its popular vote for president. As both the Ukrainian and American people will understand, genuine and effective independence requires a never-ending commitment to democratic values and practices.

As the people of Ukraine, Russia and the other republics continue peacefully and democratically to pursue the hard work of freedom, the president supports them in their work and wishes them peace and prosperity.

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Chamber Ensemble to perform at UIA

NEW YORK — The Nova Chamber Ensemble will present a concert at the Ukrainian Institute of America in New York on Saturday, December 14 at 8 p.m. Founded in 1984 by Laryssa Krupa and James Schlefer in order to present programs of chamber music with a special focus on works of Ukrainian composers, the Nova Chamber Ensemble in February of that year began a regular series of concerts at the Ukrainian Institute of America, which continued until 1989.

In the fall of 1987 the NCE began a parallel concert series in Morristown, N.J., held at the Church of the Assumption, which is in its fifth season today.

In the last two seasons the NCE has hosted the Lysenko String Quartet from Kiev in its series in Morristown, N.J., and New York. The artistic collaboration of the two ensembles brought about joint tours of Ukraine and northeastern United States last spring.

The Nova Chamber Ensemble program at the Ukrainian Institute of America on December 14, part of the "Music at the Institute" series will feature: Oleh Kyva's Sonata for Cello and Piano; Bohuslav Martinu's Trio for flute, cello and piano; Mozart's quartet for flute and strings, in D Major, Dmitri Shostakovich's Piano Trio in E minor and Carlos Rausch's Variations on the Song of Ukrainian Hero Sava Chalij."

Performing in the concert will be special guests members of the Lysenko String Quartet, guest soprano Olena Heimur and Nova members violinist Christopher Lee, flutist James Schlefer, cellist Maya Beiser, and pianist/director Laryssa Krupa.

Tickets are \$20, \$10 for senior citizens and \$5 for students. For more information please call Andriy Paschak at (212) 772-2884 or the UIA at (212) 288-8660.

The "the"

(Continued from page 5)

commentary by the deputy editorial page editor, David Brooks. Mr. Brooks, incidentally, chose to refer to Ukraine without the "the."

The Washington Post, until December 3 clung to "the Ukraine" and "Kiev, USSR," and then switched datelines with "Kiev, Ukraine," but still used "the Ukraine."

The Philadelphia Inquirer had made inquiries about use of the definitive article way back in September, calling The Ukrainian Weekly, among others, for input and advice. On November 20, The Weekly received a letter from editorial writer Russell Cooks who noted: "The Philadelphia Inquirer had joined the short (but growing) list of mainstream U.S. publications to take the "the" out of Ukraine. Your advice to me a couple of months ago helped make this possible."

Appended was a November 15 memo from the newspaper's Style Committee which instructed the following: "Ukraine: Do not use the definite article with the noun. The Ukraine becomes Ukraine."

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Odessa painter's works to be on exhibit at New York City gallery

NEW YORK — The brilliant colors of Odessa artist Oleh Nedoshytko will be exhibited here from December 15 through December 22 under the sponsorship of the Ukrainian Artists' Association of the U.S.

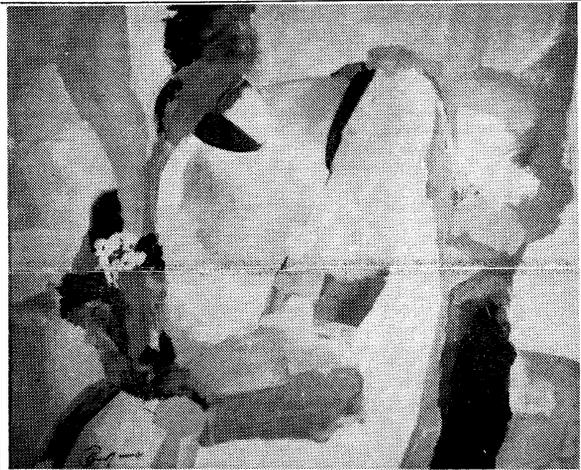
Some 30 oils and acrylics are included in the show to be held at the association's gallery at 136 Second Ave. The artist will be present for the opening reception on Sunday, December 15, beginning at 1 p.m. The exhibition continues on Monday through Friday, December 16 to 20, from 6-8 p.m. and on Saturday and Sunday, December 21 and 22, from 1-8 p.m.

Mr. Nedoshytko's paintings are full of the spectrum and splendor of the south of Ukraine. His work captivates the viewer with its bright coloring, dominated by shades of white, which differ markedly from works by artists from other regions of Ukraine. Mr. Nedoshytko's paintings do not depict concrete events or themes, rather hint at the seen, the felt and the subcon-

scious. He penetrates the essence of reality. He does not reproduce the visible, but renders it visible. He draws not only on the vivid colors of Ukraine's south, but on Ukrainian folklore and legends. Many of his works are deeply imbued with images and symbols from Holy Scripture.

Mr. Nedoshytko was born and raised in Odessa in the family of a seaman. In 1973, after completing compulsory military service, he entered Odessa's Ushynsky State Pedagogical Institute, Department of Graphic Arts and Painting. In 1977 he began teaching at this institute. Since 1985 he has been working independently.

Over the past seven years, he has had individual exhibitions in Odessa, Kiev, Genoa, Italy and earlier this year in Toronto and in Washington, D.C. He has participated in group shows in Ukraine, Bulgaria, Finland, and Romania. Plans are being finalized for his solo and group exhibitions in Philadelphia, Detroit and Chicago. For further information, call (718) 373-3373.



Oleh Nedoshytko's oil and acrylic work, "A Kozak's Love," 1991.

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With deep sadness we inform the Ukrainian community,
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LITURGY SERVICE will be held on December 7, 1991 at 11:00 a.m.
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Hans Bauer is survived by:

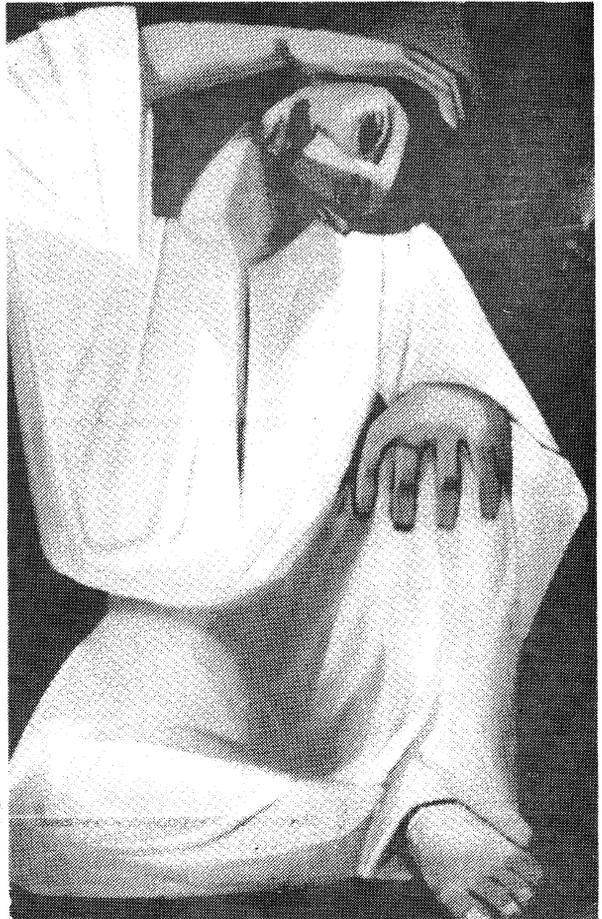
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MAY HE REST IN PEACE

Chicago artist holds 27th show



"Chumak," a 24" x 30" oil painting, by Anatole Kolomayets.

by Daria Markus

CHICAGO — Presently, our attention is so absorbed by the political situation in Ukraine, that hardly any other activity can compete with it, including works of artists.

Yet we tend to forget that it is the artist, with his or her intuitive emotional perception, that provides us with a special dimension of understanding both of ourselves and of our reality, a kind of understanding that neither scientific research nor systematic arguments in politics or philosophy can contribute. The art exhibit of Anatole Kolomayets held in Chicago on November 1-3, can testify to that.

Mr. Kolomayets is well known to the Ukrainian community, not only in the United States, but also in Argentina, Austria, Belgium, England, France and Canada, where over 400 of his works are located in private collections and galleries. The November 22 issue of the magazine "Ukraina," published in Kiev, dedicated its color pull-out section to Mr. Kolomayets' works, and featured an article on Mr. Kolomayets, his brother Yuriy, and their late father, Ivan.

In the spring of 1990, Mr. Kolomayets participated in an International Poster Exhibition "Ethnos" that was held on the site of Pecherska Lavra in Kiev. There, the artists who organized this impressive exhibit voted Mr. Kolomayets' work the first prize. The only other artist from the diaspora to participate in that exhibit was Edward Kozak-Eko. Mr. Kolomayets' work was included in the prestigious "Lviv 91

Renaissance" biennale. He held individual exhibits besides Chicago in Detroit, Cleveland, Washington, Philadelphia, Toronto, New York, Los Angeles and Denver. This was his 27th individual exhibit.

The most common underlying theme of the works of Mr. Kolomayets reaches to his national roots. It manifests itself in the primordial cultural traits in the cycle of his Scythian paintings. It leaves a mark of serfdom on the faces and figures in his paintings. Even his colors are not immune to the psychological impressions that symbolized oppression.

But today his paintings have become more radiant. Even when the forms or objects are not clearly and realistically defined, since life itself is not precisely defined and the perspectives are somewhat blurred, the feeling for the fundamental reality is a part of the artist's vision.

Each of the 38 large oil paintings on the exhibit deserves a detailed exploration, but, for practical reasons, one has to limit this exercise to a randomly selected few. Most of the paintings were done in the past two years. All of them show an indelible signature of the painter's brush strokes and composition of colors, no matter if they are edging towards abstraction, realism, or naive. His strong brushstrokes, decisive forms, resolve color blocks are as much a part of the "Apostle" that projects a visionary power, or the gypsy woman that can tell one's fortune, both good and bad, as the series devoted to the

(Continued on page 15)

Chicago...

(Continued from page 14)

Chornobyl tragedy, where "The Mothers of Chornobyl" stand as witnesses to that which was, which is, and which will be forever.

Yet, from the fire of Chornobyl comes "The Renaissance," "The Declaration," and "The Green Birds" which, regardless if it was or was not the artist's intention, remind the viewer of Lina Kostenko's "Green Wings" that in another time and place also heralded a spring and a rebirth.

Some paintings humorously depict current events. Shakespeare's "To be or not to be" refers to a communist dog meditating on his prospects, and similarly "Do Not Resuscitate" depicts a dying communist dog with an American ambulance in the background. These paintings are done in a naive-realistic style. Others, also with a sense of humor, like "Introvert-Extrovert," are abstractly interpreted and do not have a political focus. Similarly, in a stylistically sophisticated manner, but in a serious made, there is "Computerized

People." A number of other paintings, "Homeless," "The Mexican," "Halloween," "Guitarist" also attest to the artist's observations of his own human environment and the ability to interpret these observations artistically.

The well-lit and spacious rooms of the Ukrainian Cultural Center provided suitable ambience for this major exhibition of the artworks of the Ukrainian artist from Chicago.

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November 22-January 12

CHICAGO: An exhibition of the works of four artists, titled "4-tet in color" is up at the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 2320 West Chicago Ave. The paintings are by Kevin Coutts, Eduardo X. Gomez, Tom Hinz and Raissa Markewycz. Exhibit hours are: from Tuesday through Sunday, noon to 4 p.m. For further information, call (312) 227-5522.

December 8

NEW YORK: There will be an exhibition of Jacques Hnizdovsky's graphics at 2 p.m. at the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 206 West 100 St. (between Broadway and Amsterdam). Prof. George Shevelov will be speaking.

NEW YORK: Yuriy Mytropol'sky, the head of the Mathematics Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, will give a lecture on the development of Ukrainian mathematics at 5 p.m. at the Shevchenko Scientific Society building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between 9th and 10th Sts.)

December 13

EAST HANOVER, N.J.: The Ukrainian Community Cultural Foundation, Inc. Executive Committee will meet to approve final site selection for the new northern Jersey Ukrainian Community Center. The public is welcome to this landmark occasion, which will be at 8 p.m. at the Ramada Inn on Route 10. For further information, call Bohdan Forytko or Mike Koziupa at (201) 644-4860.

December 14

NEW YORK: There will be a lecture on Mykhailo Hrushevsky, historian and builder of a nation, by Prof. Roman Szporliuk of Harvard University. It will be held at 5 p.m. at the Shevchenko

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Scientific Society building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between 9th and 10th Sts.)

NEWARK, N.J.: The Friends of Rukh of northern New Jersey will host a talk by the Ukrainian ambassador to the U.N., Gennadi Udovenko, who will speak on "Ukraine after the referendum" at the St. John Ukrainian School gymnasium, Sanford Ave. and Ivy St. at 7 p.m.

NEWARK, N.J.: UNA Branch 214, "Chornomorska Sitch" will hold its annual St. Nicholas party for its junior members and friends at 1 p.m. at the Ukrainian Sitch Hall, 680 Sanford Ave.

PHILADELPHIA: Join your friends in Philadelphia's trendy South Street area for the second annual Ulana's Ukrainain Christmas party at 205 Bainbridge St. from 9 p.m. to 2 a.m. Celebrate the holidays and events occurring in Ukraine. No cover charge, cash bar, music, dancing, food and more. For further information, call (215) 922-4152.

December 14-15

PHILADELPHIA: The Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 700 Cedar Hill Road, will hold its annual Christmas bazaar. There will be crafts, holiday gifts and ornaments on sale. There will also be a choir recital, buffet, and a visit from St. Nicholas. To reserve craft tables, call M. Panczak, (609) 663-1346. For further information, call (609) 663-1166.

December 15

YONKERS, N.Y.: The School of Ukrainian Studies will present a program honoring St. Nicholas during which students will perform songs, poems and a short play. It will be held at St. Michael's Ukrainian, Catholic Church, 21 Shonard Place at 1 p.m.

NEW YORK: An exhibit of paintings by Oleh Nedoshytko from Odessa will open at 1 p.m. in the gallery of the Ukrainian Artists' Association, 136 Second Ave., fourth floor. The exhibit will be open Monday through Friday from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. and Saturday and Sunday from 1 p.m. to 8 p.m. through December 22.

NEWARK, N.J.: There will be an annual Christmas concert by the students of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic School at 1:15 p.m. at St. John's Church, Sanford Ave. and Ivy St.

SASKATOON: The Ukrainian Museum of Canada, 910 Spadina Crescent East, will hold its twelfth annual Christmas Sing. Ukrainian, German and Doukhor choir will perform. Refreshments will be served at 2:30 p.m. and the program will begin at 3 p.m. Admission is \$2, and the Symbols of a Season exhibit and the Pioneer Gallery will be open for viewing. For further information, call (306) 244-3800.

HARTFORD, Conn.: The Ukrainian American Youth Association, Hartford Branch, presents "Sing a song of Christmas," a concert of carols from Austria, England, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain and Ukraine. The Promin

Ensemble and the Echo of the Steppes Bandura Ensemble will perform at 2 p.m. at the Ukrainian National Home, 961 Wethersfield Ave. Admission is \$10 for adults, \$5 for students and children under 12 admitted free.

December 19

NEW YORK: Baritone Andrij Dobriansky will appear in the Metropolitan Opera's world premiere of "The Ghosts of Versailles," a new work by composer John Corigliano and librettist William M. Hoffman. Mr. Dobriansky will perform the role of The Other Man. This opera stars Teresa Stratas, Marilyn Horne, Graham Clark, Gino Quilico and Hakan Gagegard and will be performed through January. It will also be broadcast on the Texaco-Metropolitan Opera radio program on January 4.

December 21

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America NY-Metro Chapter and the Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America are hosting the "Yalynka" annual Christmas celebrations, with a holiday entertainment program, buffet and open bar at 6 p.m. at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 E. 79th St. Admission is \$17.50 per person, children under 16 free. For further information, call Andrew Kusznr, (201) 894-7960.

Canada second...

(Continued from page 3)

share some striking similarities with Ukraine. Both of us are next door to a large and aggressive neighbor... and we have to find ways to co-exist with that neighbor," noted the Ukrainian Catholic priest.

New Democratic Party External Affairs critic Svend Robinson wants Canada to move quickly on economic and technical assistance to Ukraine. The first priority, he says, is to deal with the after-effects of Chernobyl by sending Canadian scientists and researchers to determine the long-term aid required.

Canadian political scientists and economists are already predicting a tough road ahead for the newly created state of 52 million. Aurel

Braun, professor of international relations and political science at the University of Toronto, was recently quoted in the Ottawa Citizen, saying that without "political legitimacy first," Ukraine will not be able to effectively deal with its economy.

But before the Ukrainian Canadian population of nearly 1 million deals with new problems facing their homeland, they celebrate. Major rallies were held in Ottawa and across Canada, to mark December 1 as what many feel will become Ukraine's official independence day.

However, some do contemplate change. Dr. Cipywnyk expects the UCC to spend the next few months discussing its own future. He also looks forward to being briefed by Canadian External Affairs officials upon their return from Ukraine.

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