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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Kyiv's consultants now recommend original use of Odesa-Brody pipeline

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – The direction in which oil will flow through the Odesa-Brody pipeline became clearer on January 28 when Ukraine's fuel and energy minister told journalists that the consulting firm charged with looking into the most profitable way of running the oil through the transport corridor had done a turnabout and now recommended that the crude should flow westward as was planned before Russian oil companies began to push their own interests.

Fuel and Energy Minister Serhii Yermilov said representatives of the the energy consulting firm Energy Solutions had told him during a January 28 meeting that the best option for Ukraine – of nine that the firm had developed – would be to move oil from the Caspian Basin to Europe.

"This is the most effective and attractive variant," Mr. Yermilov said.

The energy minister said that an option to reverse the oil flow, as requested by Russian oil giant TNK-BP, also had received consideration, but "it does not rank first," reported Interfax-Ukraine.

The statement contradicted a preliminary announcement made via a press release on January 15 by Energy Solutions, a little-known firm registered in Ukraine that claims to be U.S.-based. At that time the firm stated that its initial recommendation would be to support a reverse flow of oil from Brody to Odesa. The decision would allow TNK-BP to move some 9 million tons of Ural heavy crude through the Odesa oil terminal into the Black Sea and on toward southern Europe.

When the initial Energy Solutions press release was issued on January 15, Mr. Yermilov denied that he had received a copy as some news media had indicated.

The press release issued by Energy Solutions stated that a copy of the report had already been given to Mr. Yermilov, however, he immediately denied that he had received anything from the firm.

Energy Solutions had also asked for an extension of its deadline to allow for further analyses. The extension, which was given, now has resulted in what looks on the surface to be a 180-degree change in its position.

The matter of reversing the direction of oil flowing through the Odesa-Brody tube had become a viable option for some Ukrainian leaders because a year after its completion no major oil company working in the Caspian Basin had signed on to utilize it. Many politicians believed that the TNK-BP proposal to temporarily use Odesa-Brody in reverse for a three-year period while the Caspian Basin oil producers were brought aboard

was a good idea.

Those opposing the idea said that by allowing TNK-BP use of the line for three years, Ukraine would take itself out of consideration during a time when the transportation routes of Caspian oil would be decided.

Mr. Yermilov said the new Energy Solutions recommendations included both short-term and long-term variants, and that the optimum plan for the quickest utilization of the Odesa-Brody pipeline called for transporting high-quality Caspian light sweet crude to Brody at the Polish border, where it would be loaded onto rail until the Brody-Plock-Gdansk pipeline recently agreed upon between Kyiv and Warsaw was completed in several years.

He said that the Energy Solution report stated that it would be cheaper for TNK-BP if the Russian company utilized the recently modernized Prydniprovia pipeline to move its Ural crude.

Oksana Baliun, press secretary to UkrTransNafta President Oleksander Todiichuk, explained that the Energy Solutions decision was the only reasonable alternative, inasmuch as what most press reports had failed to mention until recently was that TNK had never intended to increase the amount of oil it was sending via Ukraine, but merely to transfer about 9 million tons of what it moved through Ukrainian rail to the Brody-Odesa route.

For TNK-BP the point was a cost savings for it of some \$55 million annually, money which it pays Ukraine. By utilizing the Prydniprovia pipeline and foregoing transportation of its oil by rail, TNK-BP would see a substantial savings.

Energy experts and many Ukrainian politicians had long held that reversing the Odesa-Brody route would bring Ukraine no economic benefit. Some had gone as far as to suggest that the attempt at a reverse was a political strategy by Russian and Ukrainian energy oligarchs to keep access to the lucrative Odesa-Brody pipeline away from U.S. petroleum corporations, who today dominate the extraction of crude from the Caspian Basin, while they developed their own strategies for obtaining economic benefit from it.

Mr. Yermilov said that Energy Solutions suggested in its analysis that in the long-term Odesa-Brody should generate \$1.5 billion in revenue during its first 10 years. The Ministry of Fuel and Energy is to study the document for two days before presenting its recommendation on the future of the Odesa-Brody pipeline to Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers.

President Leonid Kuchma had said last year he would make a final decision by February 1.

Putin visits Kyiv to conclude "Year of Russia in Ukraine"

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – With Russian President Vladimir Putin in attendance at a jubilee concert dedicated to Ukraine-Russia relations, Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma hailed the current warmth of bilateral relations and called for still closer ties, particularly in the economic sphere.

The Ukrainian state leader also touched on controversy when he noted that the Pereiaslav Treaty signed between the two countries 350 years ago – the subject of much academic deliberation and political conflict since then – was the only option at the disposal of the leader of the Ukrainian Hetman State at that time.

"Today we view many historical events differently than our forebears did," stated Mr. Kuchma. "However, I want to stress that 350 years ago the documents signed in Pereiaslav were the only possibility available to prevent the inevitable defeat of Ukraine [in a war against Poland]."

Mr. Putin, who spoke after his Ukrainian counterpart, did not waver from the Russian historical line that Russia, as Ukraine's big brother, did what was asked of it as the protector of the Ukrainian Hetman State.

"If any other decision had been made, today we would not have such a powerful European country as Ukraine," said Mr. Putin.

The Russian president added that he was "proud" of Ukraine's recent achievements as an independent country.

The comments by the two state leaders came as Mr. Putin spent two largely ceremonial days in Kyiv on January 23-24 to commemorate the end of the "Year of Russia in Ukraine" and the 350th anniversary of the Pereiaslav Treaty.

Presidents Putin and Kuchma co-hosted the jubilee concert at the Ukraina Palace of Culture, formally intended to mark the end of the Year of Russia in Ukraine, a series

of cultural exchange and development events celebrating the Russia-Ukraine friendship, which had been preceded by a similar yearlong series of events in Russia in 2002 held under the banner of the "Year of Ukraine in Russia."

Originally the concert was also to have put a spotlight on the 350th anniversary since Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1654 signed a treaty of military alliance with Tsar Aleksei of Muscovy. For centuries afterwards Russian leaders used the treaty to legitimize their control over Ukrainian lands. The Pereiaslav anniversary was moved off center stage and downplayed here after Ukrainian national democratic political leaders criticized the commemoration by a Ukrainian president of an event that began a process of centuries of imperial domination of Ukrainian lands by Moscow.

The two state leaders, who have developed a close personal relationship since President Putin took office when his predecessor, Boris Yeltsin, resigned at the end of 1999, highlighted the several ways that relations between the two countries have grown closer in recent years.

"I think the main achievement of this past year is the full and mutual understanding of our closeness and our differences," explained Mr. Kuchma at the beginning of the concert.

The Ukrainian president said he was pleased that trade turnover in the last year had risen by 30 percent to \$12 billion after dropping for several years. He said that still closer economic cooperation was needed and that the Single Economic Space and its hallmark as envisioned by Mr. Kuchma – a free trade zone among Russia, Ukraine, Kazakstan, Belarus and perhaps other countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States – would further spur economic growth and

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AP/Valeriy Soloviov

Presidents Vladimir Putin (left) and Leonid Kuchma at the Ukraina Palace of Culture in Kyiv at a ceremony marking the end of the "Year of Russia in Ukraine."

ANALYSIS

Has Russia won in Kerch Strait dispute?

by Askold Krushelnycky

RFE/RL Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine Report

A Russian attempt last year to build a dam from its Krasnodar shore to the Ukrainian island of Tuzla provoked a bitter dispute, with Ukraine claiming its former imperial master was threatening its territorial integrity.

Ukraine dispatched troops to defend Tuzla as it repeatedly asked Russia to halt construction of a dam in the Kerch Strait, a narrow waterway with the Russian shore on its east and the Ukrainian Crimean Peninsula on the west. The strait allows passage from the Black Sea into the Sea of Azov.

Russian authorities insisted the dam was needed for ecological reasons – to prevent erosion of the Russian shoreline. But Ukraine suspected the dispute was engineered to force acceptance of an agreement over control over the Sea of Azov and access to it.

Russia has had to pay fees for its ships to navigate a channel through the Kerch Straits. In addition, geologists believe the Azov seabed is rich in oil and gas reserves.

The tension lasted from September 2003 until November 2003 as Russia ignored Ukraine's demands to halt the dam construction. The drama poisoned Ukrainian-Russian relations and threatened to smash plans for Ukraine to join a four-nation economic union with Russia, Kazakstan, and Belarus called the Single

Economic Space. Only after Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma cut short a visit to Brazil to talk with his Russian counterpart, Vladimir Putin, did the Russians stop extending the dam.

The director of the Kyiv Institute of Political and Conflict Studies, Mykhailo Pohrebynskyi, a close adviser to the Ukrainian presidential administration, said that following talks between the two presidents, high-level working groups were set up. These have led to provisional agreements for division of the Sea of Azov and control over the navigable channels in the Kerch Straits.

Mr. Pohrebynskyi said he believes that the Russian ecological concerns were a pretext for action and that Moscow encouraged the drama to prevent Ukrainian legislators from adopting a law to treat the Azov Sea similarly to the Black Sea with respect to borders. There, Ukrainian waters are separated from Russian waters by a neutral zone or international waters.

Mr. Pohrebynskyi explained that Russia was dismayed at the prospect of such an international zone, where for instance NATO ships could sail freely. Russia was keen to keep the Azov Sea's status as that of an internal sea under the control of itself and Ukraine with no rights for anyone else.

Mr. Pohrebynskyi said the two presidents agreed not to take any unilateral steps that would cause tension over the waterways. Mr. Pohrebynskyi said he believes that detailed agreements will be signed soon classifying the Sea of Azov as an internal sea. "It's going to be a

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Kuchma and the media looking to 2004 "with fear"

by Jan Maksymiuk

RFE/RL Media Matters

In her annual report to the Verkhovna Rada in April 2003, Ombudswoman Nina Karpachova told lawmakers that journalism remains among the most dangerous professions in Ukraine, with 36 media employees having been killed over the past decade.

Sadly, 2003 added three more names to this grim statistic: Volodymyr Yefremov, Volodymyr Kucheryav, and Volodymyr Karachetsev. Mr. Yefremov died in a suspicious car crash; Mr. Kucheryav was reportedly shot to death by a close acquaintance and business partner; and Mr. Karachetsev was found hanged in his home. All three deaths have left many unanswered questions.

Another Ukrainian-born journalist – Reuters camera operator Taras Protsyuk – was killed in Baghdad in April 2003 when the hotel where he was staying was shelled by a U.S. tank.

The Mass Information Institute (known by its Ukrainian acronym, as IMI), a Kyiv-based NGO studying Ukraine's media, reported recently some statistical data relating to violations of freedom of speech in the country during the year 2003 (<http://www.imi.org.ua>).

According to the IMI, 42 Ukrainian journalists were attacked or otherwise intimidated in 2003 (the relevant figure in 2002 was 23). Moreover, 38 Ukrainian media outlets told the IMI that they or their employees

were subject to political, economic, or "indirect" pressure by authorities last year (30 media outlets complained about this in 2002). "Indirect pressure – something that is very difficult to prove unambiguously [in court] – remains the primary method for putting into the yoke those very few [media outlets] that have not yet stood under the banner of the party of power," the IMI concluded. "Numerous reports from the provinces testify to the fact that it is problematic [for the media] not only to support the opposition ... but also to avoid working for the official authorities."

As before, defamation suits against media outlets and journalists, with demands of high financial compensations "for libel, inflicting moral and material harm or damage to business reputation" of claimants, were a fairly common occurrence in Ukraine (46 suits in 2003, compared to 38 in 2002). "The only positive fact was that none of the defamation suits [in 2003] has led, as it happened earlier, to the closure of a media outlet," the IMI commented.

The use of "temnyky" (the word refers to so-called "themes of the week" suggested by officials) is one of the most alarming methods of state interference in the media sphere in Ukraine. Temnyky are unsigned secret instructions that are regularly sent by the presidential administration to major state-controlled and private media outlets (primarily television and radio channels) to tell journalists on what issues they are to report during a particular week and in what manner.

The temnyky issue became public in the

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Jan Maksymiuk is the Belarus, Ukraine and Poland specialist on the staff of RFE/RL Newsline.

NEWSBRIEFS**Reform being pushed via election bill?**

KYIV – Our Ukraine lawmaker Volodymyr Fylenko said on January 26 that a new draft law prescribing a fully proportional, party-list system for the national Parliament that was prepared by four legislators from the pro-presidential majority is primarily intended to muster the 300 Verkhovna Rada deputies needed to adopt the constitutional-reform bill that was preliminarily approved in December 2003, UNIAN reported. The draft bill reportedly sets the voting threshold for parliamentary representation at just 1 percent. "The pro-presidential majority wants to introduce a 1 percent voting threshold in order to make the Communist Party vote for the constitutional amendments and to fool 174 majority deputies [elected in single-mandate constituencies] who also do not support the constitutional reform out of fear that they will not be re-elected to parliament under a fully proportional election law," Mr. Fylenko said. The Communist Party has made its support for the constitutional reform conditional on adopting a fully proportional system of parliamentary elections. The current election law reserves 225 seats for deputies elected under a proportional system and the other 225 seats for single-mandate constituencies; it also sets the parliamentary threshold at 4 percent. (RFE/RL Newsline)

"Year of Russia in Ukraine" concludes

KYIV – Russian President Vladimir Putin visited Kyiv on January 23-24 for the official close of the "Year of Russia in Ukraine" – a series of cultural events promoting Russia in Ukraine – with his Ukrainian counterpart Leonid Kuchma, Ukrainian and international media reported. "Russia needs a strong Ukraine, while Ukraine, I am confident, needs a strong Russia," Mr. Putin said at a gala ceremony in Kyiv on January 23. "We reaffirmed the Ukrainian-Russian partnership and good-neighborliness," Mr. Kuchma commented on his meeting with Mr. Putin. The same day, the two sides signed agreements on cooperation between steelmakers and nuclear-energy companies. The following day, Presidents Kuchma and Putin visited the Kyiv-Pecherska Lavra (Monastery of the Caves) in Kyiv, which remains under the administration of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate. "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is now totally independent, including from the Russian Orthodox Church. The only link that remains between the Churches is the canonical and spiritual link," Mr. Putin said at the monastery. "In my view, this is a very

important factor in the unity of our peoples." (RFE/RL Newsline)

AFP excluded from news conference

KYIV – The French news agency AFP on January 24 disseminated a statement protesting the refusal by the Ukrainian presidential administration to accredit AFP journalist Anna Tsukanova for a Kuchma-Putin news conference the previous day, Interfax reported. The statement charged that Ms. Tsukanova was deprived of media accreditation for asking President Vladimir Putin upon his arrival at Boryspil Airport near Kyiv an "unsanctioned" question concerning a possible third presidential term for Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma. "This is Ukraine's internal matter. We have come here for a different reason," Mr. Putin replied. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Azarov defuses fears of bread price hike

KYIV – First Vice Prime Minister and Finance Minister Mykola Azarov said on January 22 that recent restrictions imposed by Russia and Kazakstan on wheat exports will not influence the grain market in Ukraine, Interfax reported. "I don't think that the tense situation with grain reserves in Russia and Kazakstan will lead to some serious increase in bread prices in Ukraine," Mr. Azarov said on Ukrainian Television. Russia imposed a tax on its wheat and rye exports amounting to 25 euros per ton on January 15. Interfax, quoting unspecified sources in Astana, reported that Kazakstan has introduced an unofficial ban on wheat exports to Russia and Ukraine. Ukraine's State Statistics Committee reported earlier this month that the country harvested 20 tons of grain in 2003, or roughly half the harvest of the previous year. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yushchenko, Kuchma discuss reform

KYIV – Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma met with Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko on January 21 to discuss the ongoing constitutional reform in the country, Interfax reported. According to the presidential press service, the meeting took place at the initiatives of the opposition leader. "The meeting proceeded in a constructive spirit," the Our Ukraine press service quoted Mr. Yushchenko as saying. "The next presidential election will be held in October 2004. It will be direct and nationwide. The president said this during our meeting." Mr. Yushchenko also said he thinks that President Kuchma will not run for a third term in 2004. (RFE/RL Newsline)

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INTERVIEW: Ambassador John Herbst on developments in Ukraine

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – John Herbst arrived in Ukraine on September 13, 2003, replacing Carlos Pascual and becoming the fifth United States ambassador to Ukraine in the country's short, 12-year history. Previously Mr. Herbst served as ambassador to Uzbekistan at a time when the country took on significance in the Central Asia region as one of the jumping off points for international peacekeepers and humanitarian aid workers entering beleaguered and war-torn Afghanistan.

The following is an exclusive interview with Mr. Herbst, which took place in the ambassador's office on January 21.

Is there reason to believe that the United States and European foreign investment could increase this year, as the government of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich is suggesting? Has Ukraine done enough to make the conditions right for an influx of foreign investment?

I would love to see more U.S. investment in Ukraine. Fostering greater economic contact, mutually profitable economic contact, is a very important part of any American diplomat's job.

As to whether there will be more investment this year, it is hard to say. On the one hand, the macroeconomic policies of the government have been excellent for the past several years and we have seen exceptional economic growth – some years approaching 10 percent. Ukraine is a big country with a population approaching 50 million, significant natural resources, the best agricultural land in the world. All of these facts are known to American business, and they all are attractions. They are all reasons for American business to look here for investment.

On the other hand, there are serious problems with the microeconomic area – the specific conditions facing firms when they come into a country. These have to do with the far too large a role of government in economic activity, which, in turn, gives individual officials high and low the opportunity to meddle, to put it politely, in profitable businesses; and a legal system, which is subject to various influences.

All of these factors in the microeconomic sphere place profitable investments at risk. Our firms are well aware of this too. Now some American firms are doing wonderful business here – Cargill, Coca-Cola, to name two. We have an active American Chamber of Commerce. But I believe if some of these questions in the microeconomic area were addressed and fixed there would be substantial, absolutely major investment.

So it is not just a lack of public relations on Ukraine's part, as some would have it?

I think that American firms are pretty sophisticated at spotting local opportunities, and it's not just American firms. I'm saying that the same holds true for Western firms in general and Japanese firms, but I am not responsible for those companies.

If the conditions here are favorable, the money will come, and this would be absolutely wonderful for economic development in Ukraine. There would be lots of jobs and faster economic growth. But, again, we already give the government high marks for its macroeconomic policy and the strong growth rates that policy has achieved.

Has the U.S. considered – and how would it view – that President Kuchma and his supporters may organize a campaign to draft the sitting president

for a third term, which might include a scenario in which Mr. Kuchma would agree to run again, albeit "reluctantly," at the urging of the nation?

This seems to be a hypothetical question to me. President Kuchma has said publicly many times and he told my predecessor – and he told me when we met last fall – he was not planning on running again. I would think that this would be in keeping with all kinds of procedures and traditions and constitutional provisions.

There are those who would say that when you take a look at the constitutional changes per se, as they are written today, they are not really undemocratic. Would you agree that it is the process that is suspect and not the wording of the political reform legislation?

There are many forms of democracy. The United States has a presidential system, but also a very strong Congress. Constitutional scholars – one of our most famous constitutional scholars – described how the [U.S.] Constitution created war between the President and the Congress of the United States over the conduct of foreign policy.

There are parliamentary systems that are just as democratic as ours; and there are systems where there is a strong president and systems where there is a weak president. So if you look at the provisions of the proposed changes, I wouldn't say that any one in the United States is claiming that they are per se anti-democratic.

I think that there is some concern about the fact that these changes might be in the process of being put into effect so soon before the elections. There is concern that there seems to be far from a consensus in favor of these changes.

When you are talking about changing the Constitution it is important that the overwhelming majority of the people and many if not all the significant segments of the political spectrum support it. That does not seem to be the case here.

Different polls conducted by think-tanks suggest that over 80 percent – I think its 86 percent – of the Ukrainian people would like to continue to elect their own president. Of course, it's clear that the proposed changes are strongly supported by some parties and strongly opposed by others, so that's why questions are raised.

It would be much more reassuring if there was agreement – again, with most if not all political groupings – that these changes make sense for the long-term good of the country, as opposed to the short-term interests of specific groups.

Generally, regarding the transformation of the country, do you believe that democratic evolution in the country is continuing at the earlier pace or has it slowed or been halted? Have changes occurred in that process recently?

I think that if you look at Ukraine as a newly independent country and a country that emerged from a truly horrific totalitarian system, then there are a lot of good things that we see. It started from truly difficult circumstances, and substantial progress has been achieved.

The hallmark of all democracies – or a democracy – is a strong opposition. That's something that Ukraine clearly has. If you look at most of the other states that emerged from the chaos of the Soviet Union this is not true, so this is a major, major achievement. I would not say that the opposition has become weaker in Ukraine in recent years.

But it is true that, perhaps, the greatest achievement in the area of democratization of Ukraine since independence was

the peaceful transition of presidential power in 1994. It is true that since then, when it comes to elections – the presidential election in 1999 and the parliamentary elections in 2002 – there have been some serious problems. And, of course, in connection with this year's presidential election, there have been some serious problems.

The opposition parties, Nasha Ukraina [Our Ukraine] in particular, have tried to organize events in Donetsk and Sumy, and they faced administrative obstacles from local officials. That should not happen in a truly democratic campaign. These are issues that we hope will be resolved. We have raised these questions with them. And we have raised them because Ukraine says it would like to be a part of NATO, would like to become part of the EU [European Union], and of course we would be delighted to see Ukraine in NATO, but NATO's a club for democracies. So we need to see the honoring of the democratic processes.

Is there any substance to information floating about the Internet and within the Ukrainian American community that preliminary plans are being laid for a visit by Secretary of Energy Spencer Abraham to Ukraine, to lead an international meeting of oil firms on the transport of Caspian oil to Western Europe to give impetus to utilization of the Odesa-Brody oil pipeline in its originally planned direction rather than in reverse?

I am not aware of such a conference, but I know that Secretary Abraham is very interested in the Odesa-Brody issue and had a very good conversation with Prime Minister Yanukovich in October. He was in touch with a variety of people after that conversation. I know that he follows this closely.

I think that this is an extremely important issue for the future of Ukraine and also for our relationship with Ukraine if Ukraine hopes for energy independence and integration into the West, into the Euro-Atlantic community.

How does the U.S. look at the current effort to promote a reverse flow? Does it see the economic viability as presented by those who support use of Odesa-Brody in this way?

I think that there is no economic advantage for Ukraine, none whatsoever, in the reversal of Odesa-Brody, and extensive economic harm.

The facts are very simple. I've spoken with many, many senior officials and oil people, and these are the facts.

One, no one is talking about shipping more oil through Ukraine as a result of the possible reversal of Odesa-Brody. So any oil that comes through Ukraine via the reversal of Odesa-Brody would mean less oil coming through Ukraine via other means. I have heard this from many, many sources, including the officials of the companies who would like to



Ambassador John Herbst

see reversal of Odesa-Brody.

My understanding is that, if Russia would like to send more oil through Ukraine by pipeline rather than by railway, they could do it by the Prydniprovsk line, and it would even be cheaper for them (than by rail). It is also true that the Prydniprovsk line has a capacity of 4 million tons a year and only 2 million tons are being utilized at present. So there it is, you get 2 million right there.

My understanding is that if in fact more oil is going to be sent through Ukraine then Turkey will not permit it to go through the Bosphorus.

Finally, Western oil companies – most of the world's oil companies – when they make a deal to use a pipeline use what's called a ship or pay agreement, which means that when they say that they will be able to ship – as TNK says it would like to ship from Brody to Odesa 9 million tons a year – they agree to pay for 9 million tons even if they don't ship it.

The point is that they agree to pay for the capacity without reference to how much of that capacity they actually use. But this is not the way TNK signs agreements.

Given all of these factors, any potential revenue that Ukraine will receive from the reversal of Odesa-Brody, it will lose whether in use of the Prydniprovsk pipeline or in use of the railway lines. So there is zero economic gain. The argument that this is a concrete contract and Ukraine gets some money in the short run is simply false.

If a decision is taken for the use of Odesa-Brody in reverse it is not going to be for these false economic reasons, it will be a decision of geopolitical consequences, suggesting that the orientation towards Europe and integration is not serious. Ukraine needs energy independence, and it needs to get oil from the Caspian Basin. Odesa-Brody in its western flow as originally conceived would provide a new source of oil and a new source of oil rev-

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Quotable notes

"The election of the president by Parliament, in my opinion, means limiting the rights of voters, that's true. But a similar limitation is present in the shift to a proportional parliamentary-election system, since a man loses the possibility of being elected to Parliament if he does not adhere to any ideology. And as regards our Constitution, it firmly declares that there is no mandatory ideology for our citizens. Therefore, if we speak about a referendum on how to elect the president, then the question of a law on parliamentary elections under a proportional system needs to be submitted to a referendum as well."

—Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn in an interview in the January 17-23 issue of *Zerkalo Nedeli*.

Shevchenko Society hosts Hunczak's presentation on Pereiaslav Council of 1654

by Dr. Orest Popovych

NEW YORK. – The Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) on January 24 hosted a program in which Dr. Taras Hunczak reported on the recent international scholarly conference in Kyiv dedicated to the 350th anniversary of the Pereiaslav Council and Treaty of 1654. Held at the Kyiv Museum on January 14-16, the conference was co-sponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society of the U.S.A. and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS). It featured about 20 presentations by historians from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Poland and North America. The latter was represented by Dr. Hunczak, a professor of history and political science at Rutgers University, as well as director of the History and Philosophy Section at NTSh, and by Dr. Zenon Kohut, the director of CIUS.

The Pereiaslav Treaty, signed by the Ukrainian Kozak Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in January 1654, accepted the overlordship of the tsar of Muscovy (the name "Russia" was introduced only in 1721). From the Ukrainian standpoint, that treaty resulted in disastrous consequences for Ukraine's future, leading to the demise of its statehood, its political and spiritual development, culture and language. According to Russian and Soviet interpretations, however, Pereiaslav was an event worthy of celebration, being hailed as the happy "reunification" of Ukraine with Russia, and continuously providing the historical justification for Russia's imperial designs on Ukraine, which have not abated to this day.

The program at NTSh was opened by the society's president Dr. Larissa Onyshkevych. She reminded the audience that back in 2001, in anticipation of the upcoming anniversary of Pereiaslav, NTSh had launched a contest for the best monograph on the subject of the consequences of the Pereiaslav Council for Ukraine. Out of the 15 scholarly manuscripts received by NTSh in response to this invitation, grants were awarded to five individuals and one group of 11 historians.

This group has already produced an anthology titled "Pereiaslav Council of 1654," which was published in Kyiv by Smoloskyp in 2003 (in Ukrainian). The publication was sponsored jointly by NTSh and the CIUS. By now it has been presented in 25 cities throughout Ukraine.

In addition, NTSh co-sponsored with CIUS the Kyivan conference – Dr. Hunczak's talk, said Dr. Onyshkevych, turning the proceedings over to Prof. Vasyl Makhno.

In his presentation, Dr. Hunczak blended historical background with the analysis from his lecture in Kyiv, later showing selected video footage of himself and other speakers from the Kyivan conference.

In Dr. Hunczak's opinion, Pereiaslav was not a treaty in the usual sense of an agreement between two heads of state, but rather a bizarre circus. The Ukrainian leader and the Kozak elite, indeed the entire population of Ukraine, were required to take an oath of allegiance to the tsar of Muscovy, whereas the Moscow representative offered only promises in return. In other words, the oath was not bilateral. There was tremendous opposition to the treaty in Ukraine; several Kozak regiments refused to take the oath and, most significantly, so did the entire Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The original text of the Pereiaslav Treaty was never found, and the copies

that exist are of dubious authenticity.

Ivan Vyhovsky, who became the Kozak hetman after Khmelnytsky's death in 1657, repudiated the Pereiaslav Treaty altogether, trying instead to form a Ukrainian principality that would become an equal partner in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Moscow's response was to send an army of 150,000 into Ukraine, but Hetman Vyhovsky with his Polish and Tatar allies dealt the Muscovites a crushing defeat at Konotop in 1659. Dr. Hunczak stated: We, Ukrainians, remember only our own defeats, but why don't we celebrate the glorious victory over Moscow at Konotop?"

Unfortunately, the effect of the victory at Konotop was short-lived, as internal dissension and fratricidal strife tore Ukraine apart. In the end, the Muscovites prevailed when in 1667 they signed with the Poles the Treaty of Andrusovo, which divided Ukraine between Russia and Poland along the Dnipro River. With this treaty, the tsar of Muscovy violated his side of the Pereiaslav Treaty, in which he had agreed to protect the Ukrainian Kozaks from the Poles.

In the opinion of Dr. Hunczak, the Treaty of Andrusovo was the crowning victory of Moscow's diplomatic efforts, which took full advantage of the vague terms of the Pereiaslav Treaty (later falsified further in favor of Moscow) in order to establish for Moscow a foothold in Europe. For centuries prior to that, Muscovy had been expanding eastwards, while a westward expansion was impossible due to the existence of a powerful Polish state. However, once Poland had been defeated by Khmelnytsky, a power vacuum arose in which Moscow saw and seized its opportunities.

Dr. Hunczak's talk was followed by a deluge of questions and comments from the full-house audience, including one about the issuance by the National Bank of Ukraine of a commemorative silver coin honoring Pereiaslav. In response, Dr. Hunczak expressed his utter contempt for those in Ukraine who celebrate Pereiaslav as a positive event in the country's history. He said that



Vasyl Lopukh

Dr. Taras Hunczak speaks at the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York.

only those Ukrainians who lack a sense of national dignity and identity could feel that way. "Can you imagine India celebrating the anniversary of its conquest by the British?" asked Dr. Hunczak.

Symposium to focus on "Rethinking Malevich"

NEW YORK – The Malevich Society has announced a two-day conference devoted to the theme of "Rethinking Malevich" in celebration of the 125th anniversary of Kazimir Malevich's birth (1878-1935). The conference will be held Friday and Saturday, February 6-7, in the Elebash Recital Hall of The Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, located at 365 Fifth Ave. at 34th Street.

Art historians, students, artists, art collectors as well as the general public are invited to attend. The conference will feature presentations by an international group of scholars and researchers from Russia, the United States, the Netherlands, and New Zealand. The speakers will present original research and discuss Malevich's writings and works of art, and interpret them in relation to other artists and to subsequent artistic movements.

The two-day conference program will feature the following speakers on February 6: John Bowl, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, "Kazimir Malevich and Fedor Rerberg"; Irina Vakar, State

Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow, "Kazimir Malevich and Ortega y Gasset on the New Art"; Elena Basner, independent scholar, St. Petersburg, "The Early Work of Malevich and Kandinsky: A Comparative Analysis"; Natalia Avtonomova, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, "Malevich and Kandinsky: The Choices after Non-Objectivity"; Tatiana Goriacheva, State Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow, "Suprematism and Constructivism: The Intersection of Parallels"; Linda Boersma, University of Utrecht, the Netherlands, "Malevich and 'The Style' (De Stijl)."

Appearing on February 7 will be: Pamela Kachurin, Davis Center, Harvard University, "Malevich as Soviet Bureaucrat: GINKhUK and the Survival of the Avant-Garde, 1923-1926"; Konstantin Akinsha, independent scholar, Washington, "The Funeral of the Revolution"; Eva Forgacs, Art Center College of Design, Pasadena, Calif., "Malevich and Western Modernism"; James Lawrence, University of Texas at Austin, "False Positives: Malevich, MoMa and Minimalism"; Irina Karasik, art historian, St. Petersburg, "Extending Malevich: Malevich as a Subject in Russian Art after World War II"; and, Aleksandra Shatskikh, independent scholar, Moscow, "Features of Kazimir Malevich's Literary Legacy: A Summary."

Malevich will be considered in a Ukrainian context by two presenters on February 6: Prof. Myroslava M. Mudrak of Ohio State University in Columbus, and Prof. Adrian Barr of Massey University in Wellington, New Zealand.

Prof. Mudrak's presentation, titled "Malevich and His Ukrainian Contemporaries," will offer an analysis of the Ukrainian context that may have informed three separate formative periods of Malevich's art. As noted in the presentation abstract, consideration is given to Malevich's first teacher, Mykola Pymonenko, who "explored Impressionism in the refracted light of Ukrainian village settings"; the work of Kyiv Cubo-Futurist, Oleksander Bohomazov, "whose pedagogic theories filtered into Malevich's teaching at the Kyiv Institute of Art, [acting as a parallel] to Malevich's search for essentialized form"; and, Mykhailo Boichuk, Malevich's fellow teacher at the Kyiv Institute of Art, whose revival of "statuesque Byzantine figuration in the depiction of peasants during the years of collectiviza-

(Continued on page 5)

The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: December 2003

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TOTAL: \$1,690.00

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UACC executive discusses urgent community issues

by Oksana Bakum

NEW YORK – The executive of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council met here on December 13, 2003, to discuss several urgent matters.

UACC President Ihor Gawdiak reported, among other matters, on his participation in the meeting of the executive of the Ukrainian World Congress. Under discussion and consideration were matters relating to the UWC's Eighth Congress, held in August in Kyiv, as well as the proposal of the UWC to erect a monument to the victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 within a government-planned memorial complex. The upcoming presidential elections in Ukraine also were discussed.

Mr. Gawdiak affirmed the need to continue gathering signatures on a petition to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. Richard Lugar, urging passage of Senate Resolution 202, which recognizes the Ukrainian Famine as a genocide. While 27 U.S. senators are its co-sponsors, the Bush administration is

not in favor of this resolution.

Mr. Gawdiak also reported on his conversation with the president of the Ukrainian National Association, Stefan Kaczaraj, regarding the recent decision of the UNA to become a member-organization of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Mr. Gawdiak emphasized that the fundamental need is unity of the entire Ukrainian community in the United States and that such an umbrella organization must have a structure acceptable to all, which should be different from the present-day structure of the UCCA.

He also noted that there is another large association, the Ukrainian Fraternal Association, which supports the concept of unity on commonly accepted organizational principles.

Regarding the UACC convention that had been planned for November 15-16, 2003, the conclave was canceled in view of the large-scale commemorations of the 70th anniversary of the Famine-Genocide. A future date for the convention will be announced.

Symposium...

(Continued from page 4)

tion ... resonated in the last period of Malevich's art."

In his presentation, titled "From 'Vozbuzhdenie' to 'Oshchushchenie': Theoretical Shifts, 'Nova Generatsiia' and the Late Paintings," Prof. Barr will address the series of articles Malevich wrote for the Kharkiv journal "Nova Generatsiia" (New Generation) between 1928 and 1930, proposing that they represent a substantial shift from Malevich's theorizing of 1915 on non-objective art, as further corroborated by the artist's late paintings. ["Nova Generatsiia" was the official journal of the eponymous literary organization founded in 1927 by former members of the Association of Panfuturists, devoted to current literary polemics and literary and art currents. It was published in Kharkiv under the editorship of Mykhailo Semenko.]

Conference presenters were selected by the president of the Malevich Society, Charlotte Douglas, and the vice-presidents, Vivian Barnett and Christina Lodder, from a large number of applicants.

The Malevich Society, a private

American not-for-profit organization, is based in New York and was founded in 2001 by the heirs of the artist. As noted in its press release, the society is dedicated to advancing knowledge "about the Russian artist Malevich" and his work. In the belief that Malevich was a pioneer of modern art and should be better recognized for his key contributions to the history of Modernism, the society awards grants to encourage research, writing, and other activities relating to the history and memory of Kazimir Malevich. To this end, the society has awarded grants in 2002 and 2003 to scholars and students who have submitted proposals for research and publications.

The preliminary conference program and abstracts of the presentations are available on the Malevich Society's website at www.malevichsociety.org. Advance conference registration may be made by mail to the Malevich Society in care of Herrick Feinstein LLP, 2 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10016. The fee for the two-day conference is \$20; \$10 for students. Tickets will also be available at the door of the conference on February 6 and 7.

For further information, call (718) 980-1805 or consult the society's website, www.malevichsociety.org.

Putin visits...

(Continued from page 1)

development.

He said the last year had seen a wide range of challenges addressed and resolved by Kyiv and Moscow, in which he included the development of the free trade zone and the Single Economic Space, as well as regulation of state borders in the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait.

President Kuchma even managed to put a positive spin on the events surrounding the Ukrainian island of Tuzla in the Kerch Strait, which Russia attempted to encroach upon with its attempt last autumn to connect the island to its mainland by means of a dike.

"Last year, the name Tuzla Island, previously known to few people, became a part of everyday life," Mr. Kuchma said. "Today we can state that the leaders of both countries were able to handle this complicated problem and solve it in a civilized manner, as befits good neighbors. Finally, after a decade of fruitless talks, we managed to compromise on the issue of the legal status and the usage of the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait."

In a little noted agreement signed between the two presidents on December

24, 2003, Ukraine and Russia agreed – while negotiations continued on a final resolution of border issues – to keep the Azov Sea as an undelimited body of water held in common and agreed to joint use of the Kerch Strait, which in effect gave Russia the right to control sea lanes that are currently considered part of Ukrainian territory. Another round of diplomatic talks aimed at agreeing on a sea border was scheduled for January 29-30 in Moscow.

On the second day of his visit the Russian president visited the historic Pecherska Lavra (Monastery of the Caves), long considered the center of Slavic Orthodoxy and controlled today by the Kyiv Metropolitan See of the Russian Orthodox Church. The ROC has refused to relinquish control over what is considered the holiest religious site of Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

The two presidents attended a specially called Holy Synod of the ROC in Kyiv, which goes by the name Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate here and is headed by Metropolitan Volodymyr Sabodan. Interfax-Ukraine reported that during the meeting Mr. Kuchma expressed support for a single Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

THE UNA FORUM

Young UNA'ers



Brandon Christopher Aponte, son of Donna Czabala-Aponte and Dario Aponte of Ansonia, Conn., is a new member of UNA Branch 414 in New Haven, Conn. He was enrolled by his grandparents Maria and Teodor Czabala.



Darien Petro Kulchytsky is a new member of UNA Branch 358 in Cleveland. Now 9 months old, he is the son of Lev and Aretka Kulchytsky of Parma, Ohio. Darien was enrolled by a friend of the family who resides in Cleveland.



Anya Sofia Gulawsky, daughter of Gregory and Stefanie Gulawsky, is a new member of UNA Branch 175 in Detroit. She was enrolled by her grandparents Roman and Victoria Maksimowich.



Andrij Bohdan Stelmach, son of Bohdanna Pochoday-Stelmach and Roman Stelmach of Morris Township, N.J., is a new member of UNA Branch 269 in Jersey City, N.J. He was enrolled by his aunt Ulana L. Stelmach-Stec.

Mission Statement

The Ukrainian National Association exists:

- to promote the principles of fraternalism;
- to preserve the Ukrainian, Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian heritage and culture; and
- to provide quality financial services and products to its members.

As a fraternal insurance society, the Ukrainian National Association reinvests its earnings for the benefit of its members and the Ukrainian community.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

“The Year of Russia”

The way the presidents of Ukraine and Russia commemorated the conclusion of the “Year of Russia in Ukraine,” the controversial series of events designed to foster awareness of Russian culture and traditions – which had followed on the heels of a similar “Year of Ukraine in Russia” in 2002 – raises questions regarding the depth of brotherly love required by “neighborly” countries. Organizers decided that the year should close in conjunction with the 350th anniversary of the Pereiaslav Treaty, one of the definitive events in the calamitous history shared by the two countries. The accord, by which Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky obtained military support from Muscovy for his war with Poland, is the foundation upon which Russia legitimized its right to Ukraine for the next 338 years.

It is unclear why a Year of Russia in Ukraine, was needed at all after nearly three and a half centuries of Russian hegemony over the nation, including intense periods of Russification by tsars and Communist apparatchiks alike. After all these years Ukrainians well know the Russian culture, history, language – whether they desire to or not. Those who have not been consumed by Russia’s startlingly effective absorption of its neighbors understand well that country’s dangerous penchant for empire-building.

Still, it was rather unsettling that in the capital of Ukraine during a government-organized event – only a dozen years after Ukraine shook off the heavy hand of big brother – one could see the Russian flag against the backdrop of the large stage at the Ukraina Palace of Culture superimposed upon the Ukrainian flag, allowing only a bit of the blue and yellow to be seen at the edges. It was a striking if unplanned symbol for what some in Ukrainian national democratic circles believe Russia has in store for Ukraine. Similarly disturbing was the sound of the Ukrainian president speaking in Russian during a state event in the nation’s capital. Not that Leonid Kuchma can be said to speak Russian rarely – that would be more true of his use of Ukrainian. It’s just that it was troubling to see it happen during an event organized by the state leadership.

Russia’s President Vladimir Putin must have taken note of what he observed because he seemed to play on it during his remarks when he offered how “proud” Russia was of Ukraine’s recent achievements, as any big brother would want to do.

The issue of Russia’s overbearing influence on Ukraine and the reluctance, or refusal, of Ukraine’s current leaders to acknowledge that Russia still harbors imperialistic ambitions are not novel issues. What makes them worth contemplating again, along with the details of the Putin visit to Ukraine, are the recent reports in the Western press describing the expected re-emergence of a strong, imperially ambitious Russia.

An intelligence briefing from January 9 by Stratfor Group, a Washington based think tank, noted that after President Putin is re-elected in March he will turn his attention to reasserting Moscow’s influence over its “near abroad.”

Similarly, syndicated columnist Jim Hoagland wrote on January 16 in The Chicago Tribune that in the former Warsaw Pact countries of Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia, “distrust of Russia in general, and Putin in particular, runs deep.” Mr. Hoagland said, “They believe that, through design or incompetence, Russia is destabilizing its ‘near abroad.’” He added: “Failing governments or chaotic conditions in Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova or Georgia could trigger Russian intervention or even occupation and reabsorption.”

That same day The Wall Street Journal Online printed a story by Ilan Berman and Artem Agoulnik of the American Foreign Policy Council in which the two analysts described a geopolitical struggle developing between Russia and the U.S. over influence in the former Soviet republics, particularly Kazakhstan, Georgia and Armenia.

We agree that there exists a dangerous, renewed Russian desire to reclaim empire. We are concerned that at the moment it may pose a more immediate threat to Ukraine than elsewhere. We share the belief that the U.S. must remain a balance to Russian ambitions in the region that encompasses the former Soviet space. We also are convinced that the presidential elections in Ukraine, which are scheduled for November, may be the deciding moment in this young country’s future.

In the end, however, nothing the U.S. – or Poland or the European Union for that matter – might do to help Ukraine will work if the Ukrainian nation does not assert its democracy and sovereignty to make sure that this year’s “Year of Russia in Ukraine” does not become next year’s the “Year of Russia Into Ukraine.”

Feb.
5
2003

Turning the pages back...

Last year at about this time, Viktor Yushchenko, the former prime minister of Ukraine who heads the Our Ukraine bloc in the Verkhovna Rada, came to Washington to discuss developments in Ukraine and their effect on U.S.-Ukraine relations

with senior members of the Bush administration, congressional leaders and other influential members of the Washington foreign policy establishment.

Our Washington correspondent, Yaro Bihun, reported that what he found after his first day of meetings, on February 5 – with Vice President Dick Cheney, Sen. John McCain, members of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus and former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright – was that the lack of trust between the two countries was lower than it had been at any time over the past 10 years.

On the other hand, he said in an interview with The Ukrainian Weekly, while the officials he met characterized Ukraine as a country that has wasted its potential since independence, they also indicated that the U.S. government “is not indifferent” to the fate of Ukraine as a partner. He said he found a “deep-seated, great interest in Ukraine and a desire to see Ukraine join the ‘club of democracies.’” Mr. Yushchenko said he came to Washington because he wanted to hear what American political leaders think about what is happening in Ukraine. He wanted to see how Ukraine’s “serious loss of image and low reputation” resulted in its isolation internationally.

Source: “Yushchenko in Washington for discussions with top U.S. officials, foreign policy leaders,” by Yaro Bihun, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, February 9, 2003, Vol. LXXI, No. 6.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Coulter’s book deserves a read

Dear Editor:

In her recent book, “Treason,” Ann Coulter paints quite a different picture of America in the 1930s and refers to The New York Times as the “unofficial newspaper of the former Soviet government.”

Indeed, the present and past owners of The New York Times were Soviet apologists before, during and after the Ukrainian Holodomor of 1933. Moreover, these same gentlemen used their newspaper’s influence and prestige to shelter and protect known Soviet agents at the highest offices of the United States government.

Why, then, would the Ukrainian diaspora ask such Soviet apologists to revoke Duranty’s Soviet propaganda prize?

FDR ignored all of J. Edgar Hoover’s warnings and placed Harry Hopkins, Alger Hiss, Dexter White and other known Soviet agents into prominent government positions to guide him in selling out Eastern Europe to “Uncle Joe.”

FDR similarly ignored Stalin’s Nazi-Soviet pact during which Hitler attacked Poland from the West, while Stalin attacked it from the East – passing all Jews under Bolshevism into waiting Nazi hands under this Pact. Curiously, however, not one peep from any American Jews seeing Nazi collaborators today.

For our younger misled generation, Ms. Coulter’s book is mandatory reading (or at least the first 200 pages of it).

Andrew M. Senkowsky, D.D.S.
Van Etten, N.Y.

Emily’s List has specific agenda

Dear Editor:

As a 15-year reader of The Ukrainian Weekly, I have been consistently impressed with the high journalistic standard to which The Weekly adheres. This week, however, I was very disappointed as I read the article “Ukrainian civic activists say U.S. program focusing on women was highly valuable” (January 4).

Such civil-society-building activities as those described in the article are of interest to me, as I am employed by an NGO working to improve the lives of those in the former Soviet Union, including Ukraine, especially through health care, much of which is directed towards the needs of women. I am also acquainted with the varied interest groups that are involved in such activities and how in the name of helping women they are advocating a much more dubious, and in my opinion, harmful, means of achieving what in general is a most worthy goal.

About the visit of the Ukrainian delegation of women activists, the article states, “The majority of their program ... included such activities as ... meetings with experts on ... political action, such as Emily’s List, which helps women attain elective office.” To describe the goals of Emily’s List in this way is either a serious act of obfuscation, or an incredibly naive way of describing what it is the Emily’s List PAC is really about.

The Emily’s List website (www.emilyslist.org) states: “Emily’s List is the nation’s largest grassroots political network, raising campaign contributions for pro-choice Democratic women candidates.” Note that the group does not support women candidates in general, but only so-called “pro-choice,”

Democratic, women candidates. This essential point was omitted.

If this fact had been disclosed in the article, it might leave a different impression: that the price of women’s empowerment in Ukraine is evidently, if they are to follow the U.S. model promoted by Emily’s List – the wholehearted support and promotion of abortion on demand. It is an ongoing tragedy that abortion on demand is still a way of life in post-Soviet nations like Ukraine, but to exalt it as the guarantor of women’s equality is an insult to women, most of all Ukrainian women.

I realize that today’s Ukrainian American community is politically, and religiously, diverse, but since a majority of Ukrainian Americans claim at least a nominal affiliation with the Catholic or Orthodox Churches, the teaching of which is unambiguously opposed to abortion in all circumstances, the primary goal of such an organization as Emily’s List should be disclosed in the name of honest journalism.

I would challenge a Catholic or Orthodox Christian Ukrainian American to justify his or her support of, or participation in, an exchange program that presents Ukrainian women with the type of advocacy model conducted by groups such as Emily’s List.

Richard D. Custer
Washington

More on anniversary of Pereiaslav Treaty

Dear Editor:

We appreciate your editorial dealing with the 350th anniversary of the ill-fated Treaty of Pereiaslav and a partial account of how some scholars in the diaspora reacted to it.

We would like to supplement this information with the following. Since during the Soviet period no objective study on the subject was allowed, it was imperative that scholars in Ukraine undertake such research now. With detailed planning done earlier, it was in April 2002 that the Shevchenko Scientific Society of America announced a competition for scholarly monographs on “The Consequences of the Treaty of Pereiaslav.” We received 14 proposals from historians. A jury of scholars awarded six grants to the authors of one joint and five individual proposals. The completed monographs were submitted by the end of 2002. (The grants for this project were from the Ivan and Elisabeth Chlopetsky Fund).

The authors of the group project then proceeded to publish their work (in Ukrainian) under the title “The 1654 Treaty of Pereiaslav: Historiography and Analyses.” The publication was sponsored jointly by several institutions (and was published by Smoloskyp), with funds provided by the Shevchenko Scientific Society (U.S.A.) and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. The international conference which recently took place in Kyiv (January 14-16) and dealt with the treaty was funded by Shevchenko Scientific Society (U.S.A.). Our representative, Prof. Taras Hunczak, attended the conference and gave a public report on January 24 at the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Larissa Onyshkevych, Ph.D.
New York

The letter-writer is president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (U.S.A.).

FOR THE RECORD: Sen. Campbell on pre-election developments in Ukraine

Following is the January 20 Congressional Record Statement of Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D-Colo.), co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission concerning "Troubling Pre-Election Developments in Ukraine."

Mr. President, as co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission and the sponsor of the 2002 Senate-passed resolution urging the Ukrainian government to ensure a democratic, transparent and fair election process in advance of their parliamentary elections, I find recent developments relating to upcoming presidential elections in Ukraine deeply troubling.

Ten months before these critical elections, a constitutional amendment is making its way through the Ukrainian Parliament designed to ensure that the current, corruption-riddled powers-that-be retain their grip on power, neutralizing the leader of the biggest democratic fraction in Parliament and Ukraine's most popular politician, Victor Yushchenko. The amendment calls for abbreviating the presidential term for the October 2004 elections to two years, with the election of a president by the parliament in 2006, notwithstanding opinion polls indicating that the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians support preserving direct presidential elections.

This amendment had been approved by Ukraine's Constitutional Court in a decision which has led many observers both within and outside of Ukraine to question the independence of the court. The court's decision a few weeks ago to allow President [Leonid] Kuchma to run for a third term – despite the 1996 Constitution's two-term limit, has only raised more questions.

Media repression continues, including the issuance of directives sent to media by the presidential administration on what and how issues and events should be covered, especially in the electronic media. A recent Freedom House report

concludes that "the current state of affairs of Ukraine's media raises serious questions as to whether a fair and balanced electoral contest can be held." Newspapers critical of the authorities are subjected to various methods of repression, including attacks against journalists, arrests of publishers, "special attention" via tax inspections, administrative controls over distribution and pressure on advertisers.

Mr. President, at the same time, administrative measures are being taken to prevent lawful political activity, the most stark example of which was the disruption – instigated by the authorities – of a national congress of the Yushchenko-led Our Ukraine bloc in Donetsk last November. Most recently, a presidential decree dismissed the elected Our Ukraine mayor of Mukachevo [Mukachiv] – despite a ruling by the Supreme Court which confirmed that he had been elected in a legitimate way. In a telling twist, an acting mayor from the political party led by the head of the presidential administration, Victor Medvedchuk, has been installed.

As co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission, I share the concern of colleagues on both sides of the aisle that the presidential elections in Ukraine scheduled for October be free, fair, open and transparent and conducted in a manner consistent with Ukraine's freely undertaken commitments as a member of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The Helsinki Commission, consistent with our mandate to monitor and encourage compliance with OSCE agreements by all participating States, will continue to follow the situation in Ukraine closely.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of a recent Washington Post editorial on troubling pre-election developments in Ukraine be included in the Record. Thank you, Mr. President.

UACC asks: Will we lose the Cold War victory?

by Ihor Gawdiak

The Bush administration is sending the message that it has no strong objection to Russian President Vladimir Putin's imperial designs on Ukraine. The administration's message may or may not be intentional. But, if the U.S. approach does not change dramatically – and very soon – it will not be long before people outside the Ukrainian American community will realize that George W. Bush's inaction in the former Soviet republics during 2003 could have the result once sought by the elder George Bush's 1991 "Chicken Kiev" speech – locking these countries under Kremlin control.

You may have seen yesterday's [January 12] Washington Post editorial, "A Resolution for Ukraine." [A copy was appended.] The Post expressed the hope that the Bush Administration's professed intention "to expand" and support the "consolidation of freedom in many new but often fragile democracies" includes Ukraine and the other former Soviet republics. Unfortunately, the evidence strongly suggests that the administration

Ihor Gawdiak is president of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council. This article was e-mailed by the UACC to all the members of the U.S. Congress as part of an effort to persuade the U.S. government to focus more attention on Ukraine.

has no intention of making a responsible investment in Ukraine's fragile democracy and the potential for Ukraine's integration into the West.

As the Post accurately says, this is a critical year for Ukraine in that a presidential election is scheduled for next October. However, with polls showing a likelihood that the highly popular reformer Viktor Yushchenko would win any fair election, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and a complex network of corrupt oligarchs are aggressively moving to see that either there is no election or that they can control the outcome. Mr. Putin and his allies are deeply involved and Russia's interests are not for reform, Western integration, or the "consolidation of freedom" mouthed by the U.S. administration.

In Ukraine's last parliamentary elections the citizenry showed that it wants reforms and a legitimate democracy. Given the opportunity, the voters of Ukraine manifested a major shift in previous voting patterns, in spite of corrupt manipulations by the government. However, thus warned, the government and its oligarch beneficiaries have been moving to choke off opposition. The critical factor is that they maintain control of essentially all of Ukraine's media outlets. Thus, much of Ukraine's population is unaware of the illegal steps being taken to

(Continued on page 15)

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



"It is as it was"

When Pope John Paul II viewed Mel Gibson's much-maligned film "The Passion of the Christ" last December, he was, reportedly, moved to exclaim, "It is as it was."

The New York Times art critic Frank Rich chose to believe that the holy father's statement was a bogus claim by the film's producers. "Pope John Paul II, frail with Parkinson's at 83, is rarely able to celebrate mass," wrote Mr. Rich. "But why should his suffering deter a Hollywood producer from roping him into a publicity campaign to sell a movie?" Mel Gibson is engaging in "spiritual McCarthyism" and "hard-knuckled religious politics" to smear critics of the film, fumed Mr. Rich.

And just who might the critics of a film depicting the last 12 tormented hours of Jesus Christ be?

Last summer certain scholars associated with the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops obtained an apparently stolen copy of an early draft of the script and immediately denounced the film as scripturally incorrect and potentially injurious to Christian-Jewish relations.

Also critical of the film was Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan Stephen Soroka who, after viewing a rough cut of the upcoming film, offered a detailed analysis in an article posted on the web in September 2003: "I would not recommend the movie to my friends nor to the faithful (and particularly the young) because the film, while interesting in the way some things are portrayed (particularly evil) lacks contact to really engage my interest ... The film offers very few flashback scenes of Jesus in his lifetime, and ends sharply with just an indication of his Resurrection. There is very little offered to help the viewer to come to know and appreciate Jesus in his humanity and in his divinity ... there is nothing to suggest or to offer hope in Jesus Christ, in light of his Crucifixion and Resurrection."

By contrast, Vatican Cardinal Dario Castrillon Hoyos, who also viewed the film, declared that he was "confident that it will change for the better everyone who sees it ... it will bring people closer to God, and closer to one another." As for charges that the film will contribute to anti-Semitism, the cardinal was adamant. "This film does nothing of the sort. It draws out from the historical objectivity of the Gospel narratives sentiments of forgiveness, mercy and reconciliation. It captures the subtleties and horror of sin, as well as the gentle power of love and forgiveness, without making or insinuating blanket condemnations against one group."

Joining Cardinal Hoyos in praising the film were such notable Christian leaders as Billy Graham, James Dobson and Michael Novak.

After an Anti-Defamation League representative viewed a rough cut of the film, ADL Director Abraham Foxman slammed Mr. Gibson for being "infected, seriously infected, with some very, very serious anti-Semitic views." In a June 24, 2003, press release, the ADL articulated its concern that the film would "portray Jews as bloodthirsty, sadistic, and money-hungry enemies of Jesus." When Mr. Foxman finally viewed the film, the ADL issued a blistering press release condemning Mr. Gibson for ignoring

"the warning of Jewish and Catholic interfaith scholars about the explosive nature of the traditional Passion Play narrative."

Also fearing an anti-Semitic backlash was Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. He urged Mr. Gibson to make certain changes so "that the Jewish people are not yet again falsely singled out as being responsible for the death of Jesus." Rabbi Hier claimed to have received hate mail as a result of the film. In light of the fact that the film is not in theaters as yet, this is an amazing claim.

Not all Jews agree with Mr. Foxman and Rabbi Hier. Movie critic Michael Medved invited Mr. Foxman to discuss the controversy on his nationally syndicated radio show but the ADL director refused. In a recent column, Mr. Medved emphasized his belief that Mr. Gibson had been "unfairly targeted with widely premature attacks on his movie ... When I watched the rough cut at the offices of Gibson's Icon Entertainment International," wrote Mr. Medved, "I felt overwhelmed by its lyrical intensity and devastating immediacy: the suffering of Christ (superbly portrayed by the haunted and haunting Jim Caviezel) become unendurable. The much-derided decision to force the international cast to deliver the lines in Aramaic also works brilliantly, emphasizing the almost unbridgeable distance between the world of first-century Judea and our own, and avoiding the banal, anachronistic chatter typical of less authentic Biblical movies ..."

Rabbi Daniel Lapin argues that those Jews who publicly protest Mr. Gibson and his film "lack moral legitimacy." They were silent when Arnold Lehman, the Jewish director of the Brooklyn Museum, decided to showcase the art of Jewish artist Christ Ofil's dung-bedecked Madonna. When Catholics protested the defilement, it was defended by Norman Siegel and Arthur Eisenberg of the New York Civil Liberties Union as well as Stephen Shapor of the American Civil Liberties Union. When the Weinstein brothers distributed "Priest" (a film depicting a practicing homosexual priest and another priest who bedded his housekeeper), the response was that "artistic freedom" is sacrosanct. Ditto for the abominable film "The Last Temptation of Christ."

"The Passion of the Christ" is due to hit American theaters on February 25, Ash Wednesday. Dr. Donna Dobrowolsky, a fellow parishioner, informs me that pre-release vouchers are available for purchase (Visa and Master-card) by calling 888-227-1152.

The controversy regarding what the holy father said, or did not say, about the film continues. As yet, no one has claimed that Pope John Paul II condemned the film as anti-Semitic. Given the pontiff's historically long record of calling for dialogue, reconciliation and respect for Jews, that fact is good enough for me. I look forward to seeing the film and providing The Weekly's readers with a personal assessment as well commentary regarding Jewish concerns with sacred Christian scripture.

Myron Kuropas' e-mail address is: mbkuropas@compuserve.com.

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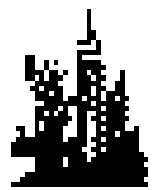
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ANALYSIS: 2004 – a year of crucial changes for Ukraine

The following commentary by Dr. Yuri Scherbak, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Ukraine, was published by *Ukraine Report – 2004, No. 9, Art Ukraine Information Service (ARTUIS), Kyiv (www.ArtUkraine.com)*. (The version published here has been edited for clarity.)

by Dr. Yuri Scherbak

At the end of 2003 France was commemorating the 500th anniversary of Michelle Nostradamus, an astrologer and prophet. Thanks to the skillfulness of contemporary interpreters, the mysterious verses of Nostradamus are put into the specific political language of today. Thus, mentioning the defeat of an unknown southern king can always be interpreted as the prophesy of Saddam Hussein's fate.

Regarding Ukraine, one does not have to be a Nostradamus to foresee that the year 2004 will become one of the crucial years in the modern history of the young state, which will influence the development of Ukraine in the first quarter of the 21st century.

In 2004 in Ukraine the following will simultaneously be taking place:

- political reform with a switching to the parliamentary-presidential model;
- presidential elections in conditions of heavy confrontation from competitors;
- a further increase of pressure by Russia with the ultimate purpose of "tying" Ukraine to the Eurasian common space, and to the fuel and energy transportation empire created by Moscow, in which Ukraine will be the role of a subdued province ruled from the center.

The seriousness of Ukraine's problems

in 2004 will be characterized by twisted and difficult to forecast situations with each of the above points.

The proposed political reform – due to its incomplete nature and the fact that it is aimed at serving the interests of a small group of people who want to remain in power – contains several dangerous points that are not yet fully comprehended by Ukrainian political circles. This reform plan was put together in haste, without a thorough, long-term forecast of what its consequences might be, including possible destabilization of the system of power. It might be appropriate to compare such reform with a change in the genetic code: changing a single part of it might create new, never before seen biological forms, including mutants not capable of living.

It is not hard to foresee an aggravation of the political reform battles in the Verkhovna Rada. In 2004 the Parliament will remain, in effect, the only working branch of Ukrainian democracy, whose historical significance and responsibility to the people will increase drastically. One would like to believe that the pro-governmental majority will show responsibility for Ukraine's fate and abstain from passing decisions aimed to please a group of people capable of doing anything and everything to preserve their administrative and financial power.

Let's hope that the opposition, which suffered a series of defeats in 2003, will find more effective arguments to the current regime than the wailing of sirens and blocking of the podium in the Verkhovna Rada. Only well-thoughtout and intellectually brave initiatives, clearly understood by the whole society, will give the opposi-

tion a chance to be heard by the people.

But the main thing is that the Verkhovna Rada should not fall prey to political provocations and remain a normally functioning branch of legislative power with significant controlling functions. Year 2004 gives the Verkhovna Rada the chance to become once again, as was the case in 1990-1991, the center of political life in the country, where the most important decisions are passed in an open and transparent manner.

The course and nature of the presidential elections will largely depend upon whether or not President Leonid Kuchma takes part. The Constitutional Court's unprecedented decision, which lacked any legal logic and common sense, that allowed Mr. Kuchma to run for president for a third term, may significantly worsen the situation in Ukraine, not to mention elicit a highly negative reaction among the international community. We can only hope that the president himself will demonstrate political wisdom and keep his word not to seek re-election.

The presidential campaign in Ukraine will lead to an increase in Russia's pressure on Ukraine. Most of the candidates will flirt with Moscow, assuring brotherly friendship and creating the illusion of a pro-Russian stance by Kyiv with the purpose of getting support during the elections from Ukraine's northern neighbor. The extent to which these assurances will be followed up after the elections is another matter.

Yet, one cannot doubt that the harsh strategy of Moscow towards Ukraine, which was continuously demonstrated in 2003 via the "carrot and stick" method (the "carrot" is the promise of a free-trade zone between the

two countries, while the stick is the conflict over Tuzla Island in the Kerch Strait, will only become tougher in 2004 when the agreement on the Common Economic Space will need to be ratified, or when it is time to make a decision on the gas transportation consortium on Ukraine's territory. Analyzing the tough and coherent Russian policy towards Ukraine, one should keep in mind the ambitious geopolitical plan of Moscow to build – with Western, mainly U.S., support – a world fuel and energy transportation empire via which Russia becomes the supplier of oil and natural gas to the U.S. Japan, China, Turkey and Western Europe. In such an empire, Ukraine would be a very important adjunct on its southwestern borders. Ratification of the Common Economic Space agreement would be a serious sign of Ukraine's entering a new geopolitical formation that might ruin all its plans for Euro-Atlantic integration.

And what about the West? What is its response to the challenges of year 2004 regarding Ukraine? There is very limited maneuvering space considering the cold calmness, if not indifference, of European Union leaders to Ukraine. The EU's interest in Ukraine may culminate in appeals for transparent elections in Ukraine – nothing more than that.

The gradual warming of U.S.-Ukraine relations since Ukrainian peacekeepers have taken part in the Iraq campaign gives us a little more hope. U.S. support for Ukraine's attempts to join the NATO could become an important aspect of restoring balance in the Central and Eastern European region.

Strategically, however, the United States

(Continued on page 10)

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2004 – a year...

(Continued from page 9)

has yet to determine more clearly its geopolitical vision of the future of Ukraine and of the Central and Eastern European region as a whole. And even though the U.S. presidential elections in 2004 hardly make this a suitable period for geopolitical projects, there is no time for hesitation.

The loss of Ukraine as a strategic partner of the United States may have long-term negative consequences, the significance of which may not be fully realized until as far down the road as 2025-2030.

But all is not yet lost. One needs only to reflect upon the situation that we have at the beginning of 2004, and make responsible decisions regarding the future of Europe so that it does not become divided into empires and enemy blocs.

ARTUIS editor's note: Dr. Yuri Scherbak was born in Kyiv on October 12, 1934. He graduated from Kyiv Medical University in 1958, and has both Ph.D. and D.Sc. degrees in epidemiology. He is a member of the National Academy on Environmental Sciences of Ukraine

and honorary member of Scientific Studies Institute of Harvard University.

Dr. Scherbak began his active political career in 1989 when he won a seat in the USSR Supreme Soviet, where he was a close associate of Dr. Andrei Sakharov. As an opposition leader and chairman of the Subcommittee on Energy and Nuclear Safety, Dr. Scherbak initiated and led the first parliamentary investigation of the Chernobyl accident and the nuclear catastrophes in Semipalatinsk and in the Urals.

Never having been affiliated with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he founded and became the leader of the Ukrainian Green Movement (an organization that united more than 500 Ukrainian NGOs) in 1988 (it became the Green Party in 1990).

In 1991 he was appointed minister of environmental protection of Ukraine and a member of the National Security Council. He was Ukraine's first Ambassador to Israel in 1992 and remained in that post until November 1994, when he was appointed Ukraine's ambassador to the United States.

In 1997 he was appointed Ukraine's first ambassador to Mexico (concurrent with his service as ambassador to the United States). In November 1998 Dr.

Scherbak completed his tour of duty as Ambassador to the United States and was appointed adviser to the president of Ukraine on international issues.

From March 2000 to May 2003 Dr. Scherbak acted as ambassador of Ukraine to Canada. Since 1993 he has held the diplomatic rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Ukraine.

An eyewitness to the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster, Dr. Scherbak wrote the sensational exposé documentary story "Chernobyl," which has been printed in most of the former Soviet republics and also in the West. The book was published in English in 1989. Dr. Scherbak also has written extensively on the Stalinist man-

made Famine in Ukraine of 1932-1933. In 1998 Harvard University Press published Dr. Scherbak's book "The Strategic Role of Ukraine."

As a writer, Dr. Scherbak is a well-known novelist who has authored 20 books of prose, plays, poetry and essays and more than 200 publications and interviews on medical, ecological, political and historical issues. He is a member of Ukraine's Writers' Union and Cinematographers' Union, and was on the executive board of the Writers' Union from 1987 to 1989. He was been awarded medals and prizes in literature, medicine and diplomacy. Ambassador Scherbak and his wife, Maria, have two children.

Ambassador Herbst...

(Continued from page 3)

eneue. It would cement its relations with Western European economies.

The Czechs are just waiting for Caspian oil. What would be very useful would be for a senior Ukrainian official to be given authority to negotiate the many elements of a deal for use of Odesa-Brody. That means to be in contact with suppliers in the Caspian Basin and with consumers in the Czech Republic and Slovakia and elsewhere.

By the way, this could all very much become a positive situation for Ukraine and Russia and Caspian users, because there are factories in the Czech Republic that are looking to get Caspian oil. If they can get Caspian oil via Odesa-Brody, they would agree to the shipping of more Russian oil, which is not the light, high-quality crude you get from the Caspian region, through the Druzhba pipeline.

Currently Russia ships some through the Druzhba pipeline, but additional amounts have to go through the Bosphorus Straits and then through a pipeline from southern Europe up into the Czech Republic. So, if everyone were interested in profits for all countries for multiple sources of energy coming by multiple means from both Russia and Central Asia to Europe, then western flow of Odesa-Brody would be in everyone's interest.

It begs the question then, is this exclusively a political problem? I want to bring Russia's attitude into the question.

I don't want to get into this because, as far as I know, most of the conversations relating to reversal concern oil companies. The only point that I made is that given the clear economic justification for western flow, there seems to be something other than economics in the decisions taken for reversal.

Let's move on then to two final questions on rather less weighty subjects. Thus far, how does your posting in Ukraine, where you have been for some four months now, compare to your earlier assignment in Uzbekistan?

I love Ukraine. It's a fascinating and a wonderful country.

I think that the United States has very important interests here. I consider myself fortunate to work in a place where I believe the interests of the United States and the

interests of the country and the people where I am working are very similar.

It's clear that this country, after decades of being subjected to Soviet totalitarianism, wants to be free. And it's clear that the people here want freedom not just in the political sphere, but in the economic sphere, too. There is a tremendous amount of talent in this country.

The United States wants to see the Ukrainian people truly free, truly independent in all ways. Our policies are designed to facilitate achievement of those goals, our mutual goals.

Living in Ukraine is a lot of fun. The cultural life is wonderful, world-class. Ticket prices are fairly reasonable. Kyiv is a jewel of a city. I think that when you are standing in the long square between St. Sophia's [Sobor] and St. Michael's [Golden-Domed Sobor], you are at one of the most beautiful places in the whole world. It amazes me to think that the Soviets destroyed [the original] St. Michael's, one of the world's greatest architectural treasures. You stand there, and especially on a sunny day and with the snow, it is just spectacular.

Finally, what can the Ukrainian American individual or organizations do to promote change and democracy in Ukraine?

It seems to me that having an active American community interested in a country overseas, having a Ukrainian American interest in Ukraine, is a big plus for both the United States and Ukraine. Nothing beats good people-to-people contacts and clearly Ukrainian Americans have a particular interest in Ukraine.

I think that perhaps the most positive part of American life is the concept of volunteerism. We are a nation of joiners and doers. One of the reasons why America has done so well is that we haven't waited for the government to do stuff for us – or worse, do stuff to us. We have done things for ourselves.

I think that Ukrainian Americans coming here and volunteering, whether it's to build a water project or a health clinic, or to help out with an orphanage, or to help out with a hospital, shows that Americans truly care what goes on in Ukraine.

It also teaches at a personal level what individuals can do, how they can make their own lives better. So the more Ukrainian Americans I see over here, the happier I am.

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COMMENTARY: Our Ukraine – a view from the diaspora

**Eugene Melnitchenko
and Helena Lysyj Melnitchenko**

Isabel Allende's memoir "My Invented Country," published in 2003, sparked some lively discussion. What appealed to us about her book was not her nostalgic journey through Chile and the capably done description of the idiosyncrasies of Chilean people and her colorful family, but the process through which all immigrants pass in relating to their native and adopted countries.

Allende spent half of her life outside Chile, first as an exile in Venezuela and then as an immigrant in United States. In her memoir, she points out that the difference between exiles and immigrants is that exiles live in the past, hoping to return to their native lands, while immigrants are future-oriented, looking forward to building new lives in their adopted countries.

Her analysis of the Chilean psyche led us to the question: Who are we – we Ukrainians?

Our generation of immigrants was born a few years before Hitler invaded Ukraine or during the second world war. Some of us remember our parents' cherry orchards, swimming in the mighty Dnipro or Dnister rivers, the majestic Carpathian mountains, our colorful villages or cities, and going to church on Sundays or to visit the Shevchenko monument in Kaniv with our sadochky or schools. Colored by the persecutions and fear of our parents and relatives under Communism or Polish rule, and the uncertainty of childhood memory, our recollections are hazy.

Eugene Melnitchenko and Helena Lysyj Melnitchenko are freelance writers and community activists from Owings, Md.

Our lives were shattered by Hitler's invasion of Ukraine and the horrors that followed; the massive executions and hangings of our neighbors and friends who were said to be partisans or communist sympathizers. We were herded on trucks or freight trains and taken to forced-labor camps in Germany, where even slightest provocation resulted in retribution. Many of us survived because of our inherent determination and perseverance, instilled in us through generations. Many perished.

It is ironic that we first tasted freedom in the displaced persons camps after the war. There we lived in a democracy and were taught the idealized version of Ukraine. We studied Hrushevsky's history, Ukrainian literature and geography. We recited the poetry of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko and Lesia Ukrainka on makeshift stages, prayed in Ukrainian churches, belonged to SUM and Plast, sang in Ukrainian choirs, danced in Ukrainian dance groups. We were fortunate to receive an excellent education because most of our teachers were former university professors reduced to teaching elementary or secondary school classes. We bonded with other Ukrainians, and some of our fondest memories are of those times.

Our world shifted again when our parents were able to immigrate to our new adopted countries.

Those of us who came to the United States gravitated to our own people in Ukrainian neighborhoods. We continued to pray in Ukrainian churches, sang in Ukrainian choirs, danced with Avramenko's or other Ukrainian groups, and played for Ukrainian sports clubs. We found the old Ukrainian immigrants unsophisticated and amusing with their "half-na-piv" language and American mannerism. Although they prayed in our churches and came to our concerts, some-

times in Ukrainian costumes, we found their frames of reference and inferences different from ours – though we knew who they were and accepted them as Ukrainians.

Most of us went to American high schools, many finished American universities during daytime or at night schools with great financial sacrifices. Some served in the military forces, many dying in the Korean and Vietnam wars. Most married other Ukrainians, competed for jobs with Americans, had children.

As we competed for success in our new professions, educating our children in Ukrainian became problematic, particularly for those of us who intermarried or moved away from Ukrainian neighborhoods. Our children went to American schools, played sports for their schools or local recreational clubs, and socialized with their American friends. The distances to our churches were such that it was difficult to attend services regularly.

Our parents helped us teach them the Ukrainian heritage and language, but our children's view of Ukraine is different from ours, colored by their American experience. Although some of them understand Ukrainian, among themselves and with their friends they speak English. While they enjoy Ukrainian art, music and food, Ukraine has become a secondary country for them.

Obviously, our generation of Ukrainians who remained in Germany or immigrated to other parts of the world, such as Australia or Latin America, and their children's views of Ukraine are different from ours, colored by their adopted countries' societies and customs. Recently we met a Ukrainian family from Brazil, who spoke Portuguese among themselves and rooted for the Brazilian

team at the women's world cup game at RFK Stadium in Washington.

After independence, many of us visited Ukraine, sometimes with our children. We were shocked to find that most people there, particularly in Kyiv, spoke Russian, not Ukrainian, and considered us to be American, not Ukrainian. On the train from Lviv to Kyiv, an emotional experience for the authors was the epiphany that we have been deprived of this beautiful country. We had spent our lives as exiles and then immigrants, and there was no way of turning back history.

Some of Europe's oldest churches and monasteries are in Kyiv and Lviv. The museums, universities, the operas, Lviv's historic pharmacy – the oldest in Europe, celebrations of Ukrainian Independence on the streets, parades and the concerts made us proud of our roots. However, when we tried to take pictures in front of some government buildings, we were almost arrested because apparently one of them was a former KGB headquarters. At times we felt like strangers in our own land.

Here in the United States, most of us continue to be active in Ukrainian groups, pray in Ukrainian churches and attend concerts and other Ukrainian functions. Recently, some of us celebrated the 12th Ukrainian Independence Day at Soyuzivka, enjoying Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky's talented and colorful dancers. Their spontaneous performance of the Kolomyika at the zabava (dance) was particularly breathtaking and reminded us of our youth, with each dancer or group of dancers trying to outdo the others. What vibrant energy!

In the Washington metropolitan area we meet new immigrants from Ukraine and

(Continued on page 23)



*Олена Стефанія Борковська
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FOCUS ON PHILATELY

by Inger Kuzych

The late bloomer and the magician

There are over 1 million Canadians of Ukrainian descent, so it is not surprising that Canada Post continues to produce stamps with Ukrainian connections virtually every year. At least three such stamps are slated for release in 2004, but this article will only focus on one of them, as well as on one from last year.

A career prolonged

Although Ukrainians have contributed to the growth of the Dominion in every field of endeavor, one area in which they have achieved great prominence is in sports – particularly hockey. This year once again, as it has for the past four years, Canada Post released a souvenir sheet of six National Hockey League (NHL) All-Stars. Depicted as one of the honored athletes is goalkeeper Johnny Bower, among the unlikeliest of All-Stars one would ever encounter (Figure 1).

Despite a last name that sounds more German than anything else, Bower was definitely of Ukrainian extraction. Born in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in 1924, he started playing goalie because his family couldn't afford to get him skates. He stuck with the position even after he did acquire skates and played well for many years in the minor leagues (1945-1946 to 1957-1958): with the Cleveland Barons (nine seasons) and the Providence Reds (two seasons) of the American Hockey League (AHL) and with the Vancouver Canucks of the Western Hockey League (one season). He set the AHL record of 45 shutouts, as well as an AHL record shutout streak of 249 minutes, 51 seconds, but for a very long time was not considered quite good enough to play regularly in the big league – the NHL.

He played parts of three seasons with

the NHL's New York Rangers, but was always demoted again to the minors. In 1957-1958, Bower enjoyed a very successful season with the AHL's Cleveland Barons, racking up eight shutouts (the most he would ever have in a season). The Toronto Maple Leafs decided to take a chance on him and they acquired him for the following season despite the fact that by that time he was 34 years old. It was one of the savviest moves the organization ever made. When Bower arrived at the border on his way to Toronto, the U.S. immigration official scoffed at his claim to be a goalie, saying he was "too old." More inappropriate words were never uttered.

For the next 12 years the "old man" would star in the net for the Leafs, paying superb dividends for their confidence in him. His nickname of "The China Wall," first acquired in the minors, carried over to the NHL and aptly described how his teammates – and opponents – thought of him. It was darned difficult to get a puck past the guy!

Bower backstopped his team to four Stanley Cup championships: between 1962 and 1964 and once again in 1967 (Figure 2). The 1960-1961 season was his finest as far as personal accomplishments: he led the NHL in victories (33) and goals against average (2.50), won his first Vezina Trophy as best goalie of the year and was named to the league's All-Star team. In 1964-1965 Bower shared a second Vezina Trophy with fellow Ukrainian Terry Sawchuk.¹ He also won the J.P. Bickell Award three times as the Leafs most valuable player.

Bower was particularly admired for his formidable work ethic, even during practice sessions, which particularly inspired his teammates. By the time he retired in

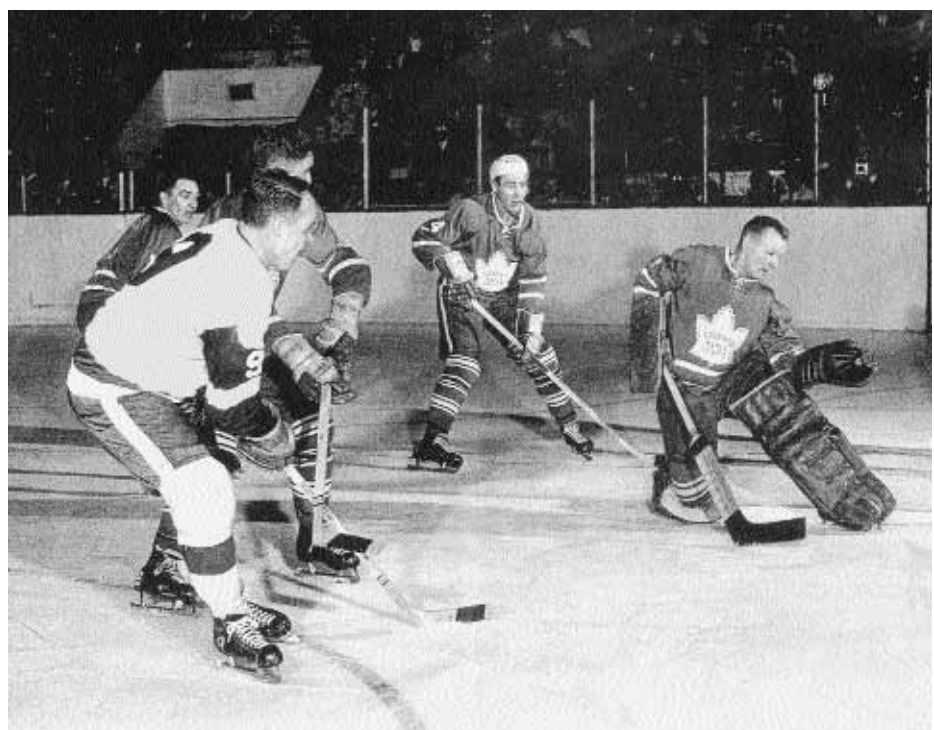


Figure 2. Johnny Bower snags a puck off a Gordie Howe shot in the 1964 Stanley Cup finals.

1970, with a 2.52 career goals against average, he had won 251 games in 15 NHL seasons. During that time he compiled 37 shutouts during the regular season and added another five in the playoffs. After hanging up his goalie pads and skates, Bower went to work as a scout for the Maple Leafs organization. He was inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame in 1976.

A career cut short

Depicted on the 2003 NHL All-Stars souvenir sheet was a player whose career was marked by intense concentration, great willpower and extraordinary grace – superstar right-winger Mike Bossy (the surname means "barefoot" in Ukrainian). Born in 1957, Mike grew up in a family of 12 in Montreal. Ear on he displayed an affinity and aptitude for hockey and quickly made his way up through the kids' leagues and into the junior leagues, where he played for four seasons with the Laval Nationals of the Quebec Junior Hockey League.

During those years he never scored less than 70 goals, ending up with 308 in just 260 games. Such consistency naturally caught the attention of pro scouts. Nonetheless, it remains a mystery why Mike wasn't one of the first picks in the 1977 amateur draft. The New York Islanders ended up selecting him as No. 15 – they would be amply repaid for their faith in him.

Bossy's list of hockey accomplishments is staggering. He was the first rookie ever to score 50 goals in a season and he followed this up by hitting the 60

mark five times. His nine consecutive 50-goal seasons is an NHL record that remains unbroken – something that even fellow Ukrainian Wayne Gretzky² couldn't accomplish.

An intelligent and thoughtful man, he was able to capitalize on human nature and to outwit his opponents. Time after time he would allow other players to believe they had him tied up, or that time was running out, to capitalize on opportunities. Then, like magic, he would pounce (Figure 3). Bill Torrey, the Islanders long-time general manager, summed it all up as follows: "A lot of times players look up at the clock and say to themselves 'Well, it's too late to score.' It was never, ever too late for Mike Bossy to score."

The most famous example of his never-say-die attitude and his seemingly magical scoring ability was exhibited in a game against the Quebec Nordiques on January 24, 1981. Bossy was trying to tie the all-time record of 50 goals in 50 games held by Maurice Richard. With five minutes to go in game 50, his tally was only 48. Nonetheless, he scored with 4:10 left in the game and then again with 89 seconds to get his 50.

With Bossy leading the charge, the Islanders put together one of the greatest teams in NHL history, winning four Stanley Cup championships in a row from 1980 to 1983. Numerous league honors were bestowed on him. He won the Calder Trophy in 1978 as the league's top rookie. He was selected to eight league All-Star teams (five times to the first team, three times to the second team). In 1982 Bossy won the Smythe Trophy as the outstanding player in the post season playoffs, and three times he was awarded the Lady Byng Trophy as the best player exhibiting "sportsmanship and gentlemanly conduct combined with a high standard of playing ability."

Mike often decried the unnecessary violence of the game he loved and vowed not to be goaded into retaliation for hits and checks that he received while patrolling the opposition's goal area. He would draw penalties for his team and ultimately get his revenge when he or one of his teammates scored on a power-play goal. Even so, all the physical abuse that he absorbed over the years took its toll. After nine sterling seasons, his back began to give him problems. Although he played one more season through increasing pain – and still scored 38 goals – he was finally forced to quit the game for health reasons at age 30. We will never know just how much greater Bossy could have become had he been able to prolong his career. Chances are that had he played another decade – as did Wayne

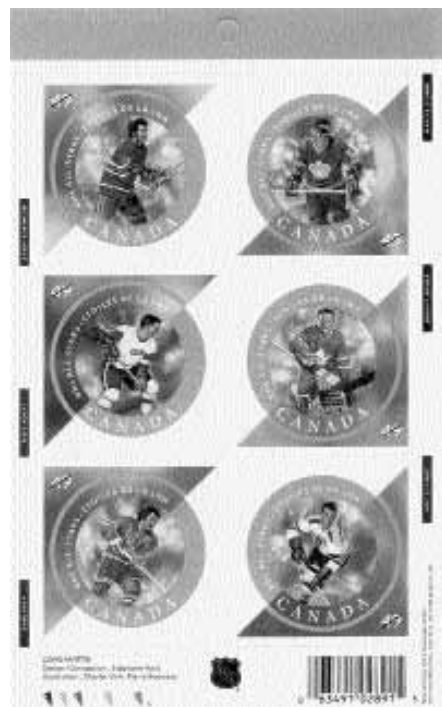


Figure 1. The 2004 NHL All-Stars issue features Johnny Bower in the center right of both the souvenir sheet (left) and the booklet panel (above).

(Continued on page 13)

The late bloomer...

(Continued from page 12)

Gretzky – Bossy would have compiled numbers that even Gretzky would not have been able to surpass.

Bossy finished his career with 573 goals and 1,126 points in 752 games.³ His number “22” was retired by the New York Islanders organization and he was inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame in 1991. After a stint as a radio personality, he went on to become a stock broker.

In 1997 when The Hockey News (the sport’s weekly “Bible”) asked 50 hockey experts to compile the top 50 NHLers of all time to help celebrate its 50th and the NHL’s 80th anniversaries, Bossy, the scoring wizard, was ranked as number 20 – a wonderful tribute to a man who in some respects was only able to play half a sporting career.

Philatelic descriptions

NHL All-Stars issues are produced in two different formats: as a souvenir sheet of six stamps (perforated and gummed) and in a six-stamp booklet panel (self-adhesive). This second, alternate configuration was begun in 2003 and proved very popular, so it was used once again this



Figure 3. Mike Bossy in action.

year. The souvenir sheets feature portraits of the six players in the center, with three stamps along either side (Figure 4). For the booklet panels, the portraits appear on one side and the stamps on the other.

Stamp specifications are very similar for the issues of both years. Six million stamps were created each year (roughly 60 percent self-adhesive) and first-day ceremonies took place in Montreal, the headquarters of the NHL. Stephane Huot was the stamps’ designer and the printing process was seven-color lithography. The Mike Bossy stamps carried a 48-cent value and were released on January 18, 2003 (Figure 5); the Johnny Bower commemorative is 49 cents and its issue date was January 24. Printers were Canadian Bank Note Co. and Lowe-Martin, respectively.

More information on how to order these stamps may be found on the Canada Post website: www.canadapost.ca.

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Inger Kuzych may be contacted at P.O. Box 3, Springfield, VA 22150 or at his e-mail address: ingert@starpower.net.

1 Terry Sawchuk has been honored twice on Canada Post stamps: in 1992 on one of three stamps honoring the NHL’s 75th anniversary and in 2001 on a Canada Post NHL All-Stars souvenir sheet. He was the subject of a previous Weekly article on June 10, 2001.

2 Wayne Gretzky appeared on a Canada Post NHL souvenir sheet in 2000. His accomplishments were described in a Weekly article that ran on April 9, 2000.

3 His .762 career goals per game average is the second highest in league history, just slightly behind Mario Lemieux’s .776. Gretzky isn’t even close with an average of .601.

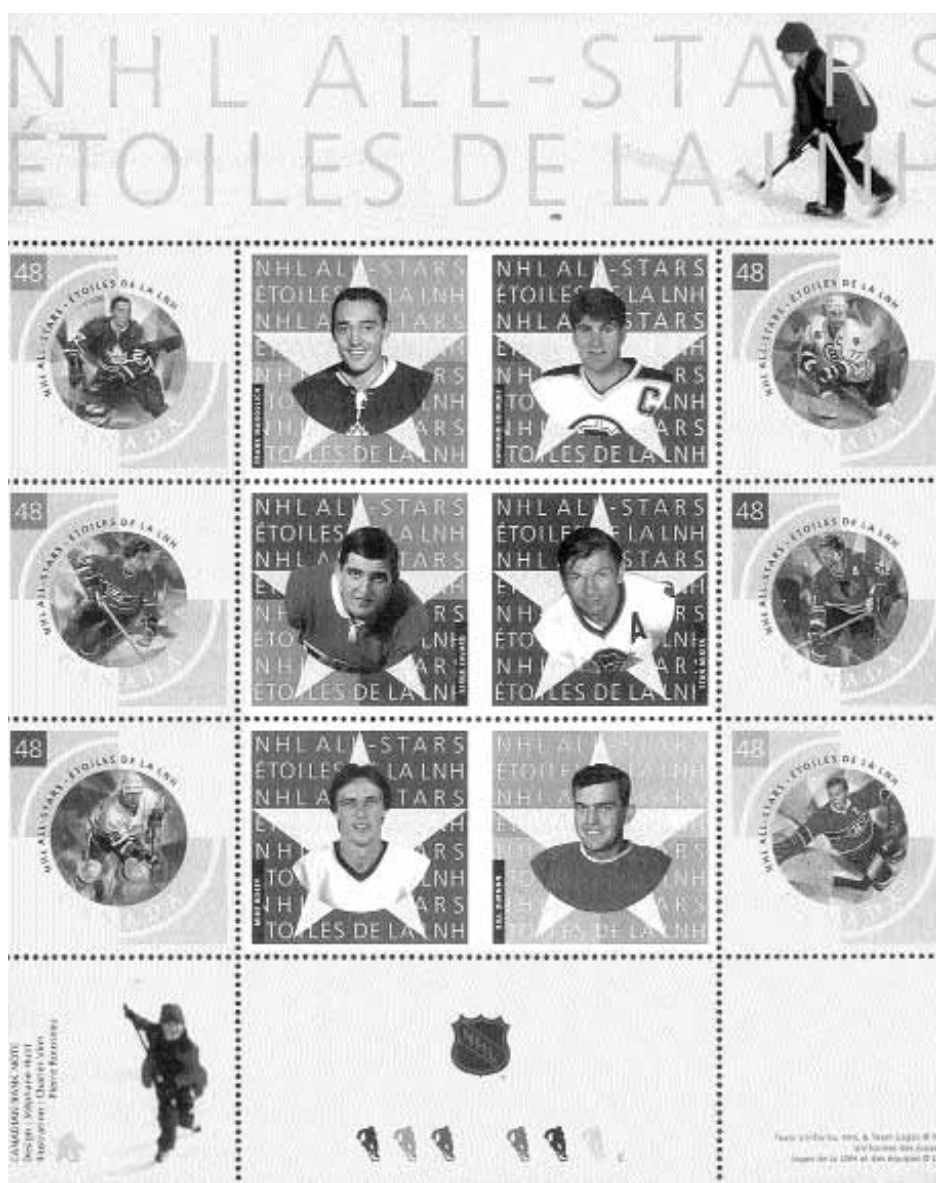


Figure 4. The 2003 NHL All-Stars souvenir sheet depicted Mike Bossy in the lower left.

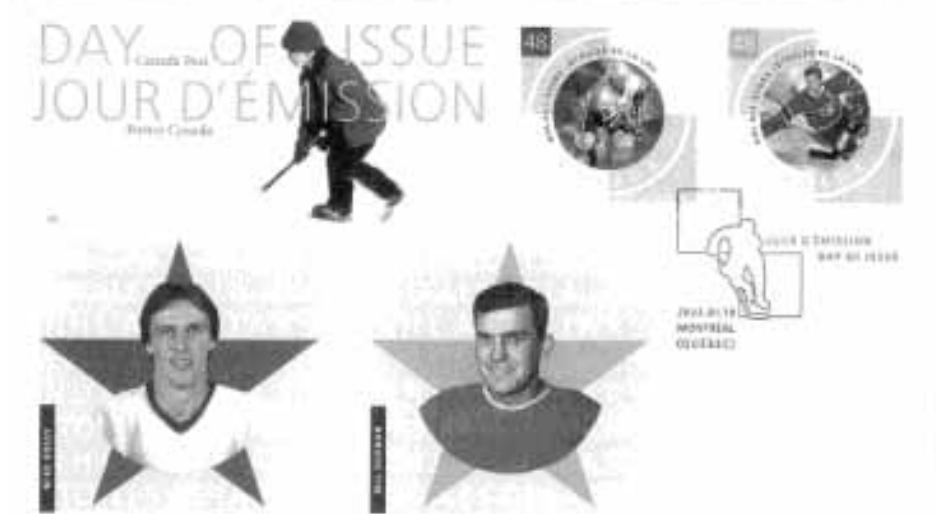


Figure 5. Mike Bossy shared a first-day cover with Bill Durnan, who played in an earlier NHL era.

Pennsylvania’s Kazka Folk Ensemble performs at Disney World

ORLANDO, Fla. – The Kazka Ukrainian Folk Ensemble of Pottsville, Pa., recently performed here at Walt Disney World on Saturday, January 10. The ensemble, based in the anthracite coal regions of Northeastern Pennsylvania, was chosen through a competitive audition process to participate in the Disney Magic Music Days program.

After many months of preparation and fund-raising, the group arrived in sunny Florida, leaving behind the sub-zero temperatures of Eastern Pennsylvania. Although Saturday proved to be a bit chilly by Florida standards, the ensemble performed dances from the Poltava region of Ukraine to an enthusiastic crowd visiting Disney’s Magic Kingdom, opening the program with the traditional Ukrainian welcome dance and concluding with a rousing Hopak. In all, 29 dancers filled the Disney stage.

Kazka has been singing, dancing and working to preserve Ukrainian culture in Northeastern Pennsylvania since 1987.

The group currently studies voice with Cora Gamelin-Osenbach of Pottsville and works with several choreographers, including David Woznak of Parma, Ohio, and Andriy Dobriansky of New York City.

The ensemble has received numerous performance and cultural preservation grants from the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts, the Schuylkill County Council for the Arts and the Pennsylvania

Humanities Council. For information on the Kazka Ukrainian Folk Ensemble readers may contact Dr. Paula Holoviak at (570) 708-1992 or holoviak@kutztown.edu.



The Kazka Ukrainian Folk Ensemble performs the ever-popular Hopak in Disney World.

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Has Russia won...

(Continued from page 2)

unique status, unlike that of the Black Sea, and the Ukrainian civil servants who drew up proposals gave the Russians a fright and thus the Russians used the dam as an argument that could prevent Ukraine from adopting certain decisions," he said. Moreover, he noted that Ukraine wants to join NATO - "and this could cause Russia problems."

He said Ukraine had to compromise on important points. "Russia gets - and this may seem as if Ukraine has made a concession - the right to joint use of the channel. That was Russia's fundamental aim - to secure joint control with Ukraine," Mr. Pohrebyskyi noted.

Foreign, specifically NATO, warships cannot pass through the channel without Moscow's permission under the agreements. Pohrebyskyi said Russia, in return, dropped its objections to delineating boundaries in the Sea of Azov. "The political agreement between the two presidents calls for Russia's agreement to drawing up a frontier and not only on the seabed but along its surface and above it, that is to say, the aim that Ukraine had pursued," he said. "To finally fix a frontier between Ukraine and Russia - because this remained the last fragment of the border which had not been finally agreed upon."

At their meeting last month, Presidents Putin and Kuchma agreed to create a joint consortium to manage the Kerch Strait. Mr. Pohrebyskyi noted that it is unclear whether Russia will have to continue paying fees for its ships to pass through the channel, but Moscow will, in any case, contribute financially to the consortium.

Although this appears to have been a compromise agreement, some in Ukraine inevitably feel that Kyiv lost out on the deal. Director Ivan Lozovyi of the Institute for Statehood and Democracy, an independent Kyiv-based think-tank, is one of them. "Undoubtedly, there was a winner and a loser," he said. "The loser was Ukraine and I believe the defeat was complete. Not only was Tuzla Island given away - and at some point it will probably become a peninsula joined to the Russian Federation by a dam - but even the division of the Azov Sea that Mr. Putin agreed to runs completely contrary to any benefit for Ukraine."

Mr. Lozovyi said he believes that Russian officials engineered the Tuzla crisis because they were confident they would get their way. "There is only one thing that triggered the Tuzla crisis and that is Ukraine's weakness and [the] weakness of Ukraine's government. In other words, Mr. Putin and his team knew in advance that Mr. Kuchma would agree to all their demands," he said.

Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn said it is difficult to know when the Azov and Kerch agreements will be finalized because the documents are still being prepared. Mr. Pohrebyskyi said he believes it will be done soon. He says it's unclear what will become of the dam. Technical and ecological commissions have been set up to decide its fate.

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Kuchma and the media...

(Continued from page 2)

second half of 2002, when Verkhovna Rada Freedom of Speech and Information Committee Chairman Mykola Tomenko revealed their existence and they became a subject of parliamentary debate. "In fact, television news coverage in Ukraine is made by remote control," journalist Andriy Shevchenko told the Verkhovna Rada in December 2002. "Someone else, not journalists, edits news programs, shoots and disseminates videos, writes texts and selects comments by governors, which are subsequently sent to all channels. Let us admit honestly: instead of news coverage, Ukraine gets lies. Because every half-truth is a lie, and there should be no illusions about that."

According to a report released by the U.S.-based NGO Freedom House in October 2003 on the media situation in Ukraine in the run-up to the 2004 presidential election, the practice of issuing *temnyky* has not abated since it was exposed. An indirect confirmation of this practice was a weeklong study of news programs on Ukraine's five major television channels – UT-1, 1+1, Inter, STB, and Novyi Kanal – conducted in November by the Ukrainian NGO Academy of Ukrainian Press (AUP). The AUP confirmed "a tendency among leading television channels to present a single agenda for daily news broadcasts and a highly similar interpretation of political events," Interfax reported on December 5, 2003.

The case of slain Internet journalist Heorhii Gongadze is an important litmus test for the Ukrainian authorities' intention to deal fairly with grave allegations implicating former and present top-ranking Ukrainian officials, including President Leonid Kuchma. The Gongadze case certainly appears to have been a political murder carried out to stifle one of the government's fiercest critics in the media. Mr. Gongadze's headless corpse was found near Kyiv in November 2000.

The same month, Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz made public a tape allegedly made by former presidential security officer Mykola Melnychenko in Mr. Kuchma's office, on which the Ukrainian president appears to urge some state officials to get rid of Mr. Gongadze. No apparent progress has been made in unraveling the mystery of this murder.

In September, former Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun announced that his colleagues had concluded their investigations of several high-profile criminal cases, including the Mr. Gongadze murder. Mr. Piskun said prosecutors had placed three suspects in the Gongadze case on a search list, but declined to reveal their names. Within months,

President Kuchma fired Mr. Piskun, charging him with misusing budgetary funds and taking advantage of his position for personal gain. The new top prosecutor, Hennadiu Vasiliev, said Mr. Piskun's announcement was unfounded. Investigators, Mr. Vasiliev said, have not solved the Gongadze case and have no suspects.

The state-controlled media in Ukraine – primarily Ukrainian Television and Ukrainian Radio – play a dominant role in terms of propagandistic influence on the public. Thus, the situation closely resembles the one in Belarus. However, in contrast to Belarus, Ukraine also has a significant private-media market, which includes not only newspapers, but also influential television and radio channels. As a result, it is possible to say that there is some pluralism in the media sphere in Ukraine.

This pluralism, however, does not mean that the Ukrainian public is well-served in terms of the objectivity and impartiality of reporting. Many studies of the Ukrainian media have found that media outlets are extremely partisan in their reporting, particularly during election campaigns, and routinely provide positive coverage of the political allies of media owners while simultaneously smearing their opponents.

There have been no essential changes in the ownership of major media outlets in Ukraine last year. Most influential private radio, television channels, and newspapers are owned or controlled by oligarchs and oligarchic clans supporting the government and/or President Kuchma.

Such a situation certainly handicaps the Ukrainian opposition – Our Ukraine, the Socialist Party, and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc – in this year's presidential campaign, as none of these three forces is known to wield influence with any significant television or radio station.

On the other hand, a presidential candidate or candidates from the party of power will likely enjoy massive support not only from the state-controlled Ukrainian Television and Ukrainian Radio, but also from the oligarchic television channels: STB, Novyi Kanal, ICTV (controlled by Mr. Kuchma's son-in-law, Viktor Pinchuk); Inter, TET, Enter (Viktor Medvedchuk, Hryhoriy Surkis); 1+1 (Oleksander Volkov).

No one should expect that there will be equal conditions for all presidential candidates to transmit their electoral message to voters. "I'm looking to next year with fear. Everybody agrees that the [2004] election will be the scariest and dirtiest ever," Mr. Kuchma told journalists in December 2003.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Ukrainian media will make an enormous contribution to substantiating President Kuchma's apprehension.

UACC asks...

(Continued from page 7)

keep Mr. Yushchenko from winning. We in this country have much greater access to news of the extra-legal maneuverings of Mr. Kuchma and his so-called Constitutional Court than do the citizens and voters of Ukraine.

What is the United States doing for freedom and its own long-term best interest in the region? Very, very little. Though in the words of one administration official "we have put together the largest election aid package ever," the suggestion is laughable. First, the "package" is the product of a familiar game of bundling any and all current programs and giving them one title so that they look as if they have something to do with this year's election. Second, even accepting all of these unrelated projects as "election-related," the combined investment is less than many congressional candidates have in the bank at the beginning of our election year. And, Ukraine is a country of some

50 million people!

This year's election in Ukraine is critical to Ukraine's future and to United States interests in the region. Mr. Yushchenko is standing for election and against the corrupt and autocratic power structure desperate to protect its interests. It is not too much to say that Mr. Yushchenko is risking his life in the hope of being able to change his country and to secure freedom for the people of Ukraine. What he and the opposition have asked for from the West is assistance to see to it that the elections are fair. You wouldn't think that was too much to ask from an administration whose "first foreign policy resolution for 2004 is 'to expand freedom.'"

But so far the Bush administration's investment in support of fair and informed elections is an embarrassment. There is no time to lose. If Cold War concerns about the "Captive Nations" ever meant anything, the United States needs to step up and help secure the freedom so long sought and so often promised.

We urge you to press the administration for immediate action.

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

Kuchma blasts PACE for 'interference'

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma told Interfax that he rejects Viktor Yushchenko's initiative to create a special commission in Ukraine to assist the Monitoring Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) in studying the country's hotly debated constitutional reform, the agency reported on January 22. Two PACE monitors recently visited Ukraine, warning Kyiv against pushing constitutional reform at any cost and calling for a compromise between the pro-presidential forces and the opposition. "We don't need sermons on the benefits of democracy," President Kuchma said. "We are grateful for advice from more experienced democracies; however, we also know very well the difference between advice and interference in our internal affairs. I am not so sure that those who visit us with mandates from the Council of Europe know the difference between the two." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Former local officials seek U.S. asylum?

KYIV – Two former deputy mayors of the town of Mukachiv in Ukraine's Zakarpattia Oblast are reportedly complaining of political persecution and asking U.S. authorities to give them political asylum, Interfax reported on January 21. According to the Our Ukraine press service, Zoltan Lendel and Oleksander Halay handed their requests for asylum, addressed to U.S. President George W. Bush, to a U.S. Embassy officer in Mukachiv on January 21. The town is currently witnessing a standoff between supporters of Our Ukraine and the Social Democratic Party-United (SDPU) over a local election held in June 2003. Our Ukraine candidate Vasyl Petiovka won a disputed mayoral election in Mukachiv in June. His closest rival, Ernest Nuser, who was supported by the SDPU, demanded that the ballot be annulled. President Leonid Kuchma appointed Myroslav Opachko acting mayor in Mukachiv in December 2003. The town's electoral commission has scheduled a new vote for April 18. (RFE/RL Newsline)



With great sorrow we announce that on Thursday, January 8, 2004, at the age of 82



Stella Karpyk

passed away in Warren, Ohio.

Born on May 28, 1921, in Wolosiwka, Ukraine, she was a member of Ss. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, and the Altar and Rosary Society of the Church.

A service funeral mas was held on Monday, January 12, at Ss. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, followed by interment at Pineview Cemetery.

In deep sorrow,
Son Pete Karpyk with wife Nancy of Weirton, W. Va.
Daughter Joann Jenkins with husband Matthew of Williamstown, Vt.

In memory of Stella Karpyk donations may be made to Ss. Peter and Paul School Fund, 180 Belvedere NE, Warren, OH 44483.

It is with great sadness that we announce the passing, on December 12, 2003, of our beloved husband, father, grandfather and great-grandfather

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born May 29, 1921, in Stryi, Ukraine.

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grandchildren	– Chrystia Hladky and husband Alexander
	– Danylo Savyckyj
great-grandchildren	– Olenka and Romana Hladky
brother	– Roman

Divine liturgies marking the 40th day of his passing were celebrated in:

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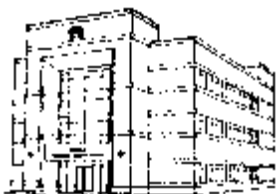


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Brooklyn Ukrainian Group presents “Koliada Kaos”

by Maya Lew

NEW YORK – Manhattan’s Union Square will never be the same. On December 19, 2003, members of the Brooklyn Ukrainian Group took Manhattan by storm when they dressed in traditional Ukrainian carolers’ costumes and sang Christmas carols throughout the streets. Ranging in age from 1 1/2 to 41, the “koliadnyky” were dressed as Kozaks, a Baba Yaga, an angel, a devil, and of course, a goat.

“Koliada Kaos” is just one of the events of the Brooklyn Ukrainian Group, which this year was organized by Roxy Toporowych. The modern-day Ukrainian Christmas carolers performed traditional carols in order to raise funds to support Ukrainian causes.

This year the Brooklyn Ukrainian Group split the proceeds from its endeavor evenly between Holy Ghost Ukrainian Catholic Church in Brooklyn and a feature-length documentary film about Ukrainian folk dancing in North America

by Ms. Toporowych, who is a filmmaker.

The Brooklyn Ukrainian Group was founded in 2003 to support young Ukrainian American filmmakers, artists, musicians and artisans in projects that incorporate Ukrainian customs and traditions in a modern-day setting.

“Koliada Kaos” was the first project undertaken by the group, which plans to hold fund-raising events for various causes in the spring that will also include groups of singing Ukrainians.

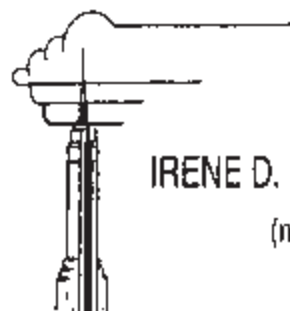
Readers interested in joining the Brooklyn organization may log on to <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/BrooklynUkrainianGroup/>.

For further information on the Ukrainian folk dance documentary, readers may contact Ms. Toporowych at roxysparkles@hotmail.com. To make a donation, send checks payable to Ukrainian Chorus Dumka Inc. (write “Syzo Documentary” in the memo section) to 73 N. Eighth St., No. 5, Brooklyn, NY 11211. All donations are tax-deductible.



A group of carolers who presented “Koliada Kaos” under the aegis of the Brooklyn Ukrainian Group.

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NEW RELEASE: Kazka folk ensemble's recording of traditional Ukrainian carols

KUTZTOWN, Pa. – The Kazka Ukrainian Folk Ensemble of Northeastern Pennsylvania has released its latest recording "God Sees All," a collection of traditional Ukrainian Christmas and New Year's carols, performed in the ensemble's unique style.

Recorded at WVIA studios and produced by Holoviak Church Supply, the recording features the voices of Paula Holoviak (soprano), Sandra Duda (alto), Joseph Zucofski (tenor) and Michael Duda (baritone). Original arrangements by Joseph Zucofski and Michael Duda add to the blend of complex four-part vocal harmonies, accompanied by acoustic guitar, bass, mandolin, and percussion.

Selections include "Carol of the Bells," "Silent Night" and many other well-known carols, as well as some seldom heard New Year's songs and regional Ukrainian carols. This recording takes listeners on a musical journey from the joyful melodies of Christmas to the peaceful hope of the New Year.

Kazka is also known for its expansive folk dance repertoire. Dancing will be the highlight of their January performance at Walt Disney World in Orlando, Fla. The group traveled with 29 dancers to perform at this prestigious Florida venue on January 10. The ensemble views the Disney performance as an opportunity to represent both the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania and the larger Ukrainian American community. To this end, group members have been diligently rehearsing and fundraising for the past six months.

Kazka has been singing, dancing and working to preserve Ukrainian culture in



Northeastern Pennsylvania since 1987. The group currently studies voice with Cora Gamelin-Osenbach of Pottsville, Pa., and works with several choreographers, including David Woznak of Parma, Ohio, and Andrij Dobriansky of New York City. The ensemble has received numerous performance and cultural preservation grants from the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts, the Schuylkill County Council for the Arts and the Pennsylvania Humanities Council.

For booking information on Kazka, e-mail holoviak@kutztown.edu or contact Dr. Paula Holoviak, (570) 708-1992.

Kazka recordings may be ordered at Holoviak Church Supply at Holoviak.com or (570) 759-1860, or from Kazka directly at (570) 708-1992. The CD is \$16 and the cassette is \$12.

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СОКОЛИ

COMMUNITY CHRONICLE: Clifton vets celebrate homecoming of reservist from Iraq

by Zenko Halkowycz

CLIFTON, N.J. – Ukrainian American Veterans Post 17 had a double reason to celebrate in December, when one of its members returned from Iraq. The annual Christmas party was held December 21, 2003, at the Mountain Side Inn in Clifton, N.J. The event became very special when Staff Sgt. Leonid Bulia walked into the hall to join his Post 17 buddies.

Sgt. Bulia, is a member of Post 17, was activated with his reserve unit sent to Kuwait and subsequently served in Iraq for six months with the unit working to locate Iraqi chemical arms. He told post members about the life of a soldier in Iraq and the constant danger from the remnants of Saddam Hussein's army.

Commander Walter Kupecky and his staff prepared a fun afternoon. The veterans ate and drank and told stories of the various wars in which they served. The ladies' auxiliary was active as always, selling raffle tickets to collect money for

the UAV scholarship fund. The chairwoman of the Christmas party, Mary Yurcheniuk, was recognized for her organizational skills in preparing this event.

Commander Kupecky reminded all of veterans' sacrifices for liberty and freedom. He said, "look at Sgt. Bulia: he left a good job to be in harm's way because he is a soldier and his country needed him."

Commander Kupecky reminded every one present that the bill to grant a federal charter to the UAV is stuck in congress because it doesn't have enough co-sponsors. This UAV bill is important; it will give the Ukrainian American veterans the same privileges enjoyed by Jewish, Polish, Italian, Indian American and other veterans. "We all served together, we fought and died together, yet now we need to find congressmen to sponsor a bill so that we can be recognized," Commander Kupecky said. He asked all Ukrainian Americans to contact their representatives in Congress to co-sponsor this bill.



Staff Sgt. Leonid Bulia is flanked by Post 17 Commander Walter Kupecky (right) and UAV Past National Commander Eugene Sagasz.

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Ukrainian credit union hosts Western Union sweepstakes

DENVER – Andrey Dugaev, winner of the Western Union “Unlock the Vault” Sweepstakes took home a total of \$17,490 after collecting as much cash as he could in the bank vault run event held by Western Union at the Ukrainian National Federal Credit Union on Manhattan’s Lower East Side.

As part of the Unlock the Vault Sweepstakes, Western Union customers who made a qualifying transaction during the promotional period had a chance to win cash prizes, including the grand prize: the chance to run through a bank vault to collect up to \$25,000. The sweepstakes winner was placed in a vaulted area of a credit union with bills of various denominations and had 60 seconds to gather as many bills as possible. All bills collected in the allotted time were awarded to the winner. The maximum the winner could collect is \$25,000 with a guarantee of receiving a minimum of \$15,000.

“When I got the call from Western Union that I had won the sweepstakes, it was a nice surprise,” said Mr. Dugaev. “I am very thankful to Western Union for not only giving me this wonderful opportunity, but for providing me with great service and helping me stay connected with my family in Obninsk [Russia]. The money I send with Western Union allows me to care for my family although they are so far away,” he added.

“As a Western Union agent, it is our-

pleasure here at the Ukrainian National Federal Credit Union to host this event for Western Union’s winners of the ‘Unlock the Vault Sweepstakes,’ said Mr. Alenko, president.

Mr. Dugaev came to the United States from Russia six years ago and said he began using Western Union right away. “I never thought to send money in any other way,” explained Mr. Dugaev. “Western Union always provides me with service that is both reliable and fast. Whenever I call to check with my loved ones, the money is already there.” Mr. Dugaev works in the construction business here in the United States but said his dream is to open his own business. His winnings from Western Union’s “Unlock the Vault” Sweepstakes will help make that dream come true.

“It is extremely gratifying for us to see Mr. Dugaev’s excitement and hear about his plans for the money,” said Alexander Gomellya, assistant marketing manager, Western Union. “Providing value for our customers is a priority for us at Western Union and through these promotions, we have the chance to give something back as a thank you for using our services.”

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Andrey Dugaev (center) shows off his winnings in Western Union’s “unlock the Vault” Sweepstakes, which took place at the Ukrainian National Federal Credit Union in New York City.

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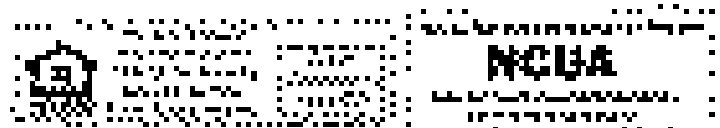
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Our Ukraine...

(Continued from page 11)

Ukrainians working at the Embassy of Ukraine. Occasionally, they pray in our churches and attend our concerts, but rarely socialize with us. Their frame of references and view of Ukraine are different from ours. Some of them speak Russian among themselves. We are the "half-na-piv" for them.

Dr. Myron Kuropas of The Ukrainian Weekly wrote a splendid little book on "Ukrainians in America" in which he listed many Ukrainians who succeeded in American society in entertainment, fine arts, the military, music, politics and sports. Such names as Gen. Samuel Jaskilka (USMC), Jack Palance and Igor Sikorsky are well known, to name just a few. To these can be added many Ukrainians of our generation who also became successful in American society, including Andrij Dobriansky of the Metropolitan opera, Maj. Gen. Nicholas Krawciw of the U.S. Army, soccer player Zenon Snylyk, again to name just a few.

Our children teach at universities, are rising musicians or artists, write poetry and books, manage money on Wall Street or work in visible positions in the industry or for the government. The list of prominent Ukrainians in America should expand substantially in the future.

Why do we think that? Because Ukrainians are talented, competent, hard-working and determined. We are driven toward success by centuries of oppression and treatment as second-class citizens. We rarely saw Ukrainian names among the visiting sports teams or performing artists from the former Soviet Union. One of the reasons why Ukraine has to remain independent is to give its citizens the opportunity to develop their potentialities, to become what they can be.

While we Ukrainians in the diaspora and Ukrainians in Ukraine are somewhat different, we think there are also some common features that bind us. In her book Ms. Allende claims that she can spot Chileans anywhere by their particular walk, behavior and talk. We think the same can be said of Ukrainians. Most of us can spot other Ukrainians by their facial expressions, mannerisms and body language. Perhaps the high cheekbones and the deep set eyes, whether they are blue or brown, are give-aways, too.

Ours is a much older and larger country than Chile. Over the centuries, it was invaded by groups and nations, which assimilated and incorporated a broad range of idiosyncrasies into our people. Its roots can be traced all the way back to the Trypillian culture (3,000-6,000 B.C.) which, together with our rich soil, made us love nature and gardening. One can spot a Ukrainian home anywhere, full of colorful flowers and gardens. Our pysanky, embroidery and art have a basis in that culture. We are religious. It goes back to Prince Volodymyr and Kyivan Rus'. Despite their destruction by the Communists, there are still more churches in Ukraine than in most other countries.

Our character is a function of our heredity and environment. Because Ukraine has very desirable land, but no natural borders it was invaded by diverse people and for a long time was ruled by others, such as the Poles and the Russians. All of them left their imprints on our soul and gene pool. Good warriors that we are, we are clever and cautious. During the Kozak era, only the strong survived. While by nature we are kind people, we are also capable of cruelty when cornered.

During all those turbulent centuries, it was the mother who kept the family together. Like the Chileans, we have strong family ties and, despite our mothers' key roles in our families, our society is patriarchal. We are opinionated, competitive and

envious of the success of others, but when our neighbors and friends need help, we are generous. Though cautious, we are also hospitable and friendly. No one leaves our homes hungry, we love to entertain, drink and eat, sometimes too much.

Perhaps because of our open steppes and the long rule by others, we hate bureaucracy and regulations. We are a freedom-loving people. This goes back to the Kozaks and the Zaporozhian Sich.

Most Ukrainians are pragmatic. We know how to handle and get around things, despite the long Russian attempt to make us feel like helpless "little brothers." We have a strong sense of humor, love to make jokes about others and our own conditions. Our open steppes, the majestic mountains, and our unpredictable and hard life have made us into music-loving people. Our songs are sentimental and melodic, while the dances are vibrant and energetic. The ability to relate dancing with music is in our souls.

Yes, most of us in the diaspora have a romanticized view of Ukraine, as do most immigrants no matter from which country they trace their roots, but that view, the one in our heads and hearts, shaped us and makes it possible for us to continue and persevere in our new country.

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Soyuzivka's Datebook

- | | |
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| January 30 - February 1, 2004
Church of Annunciation Weekend,
Flushing, NY | April 10, 2004
Easter Celebration and Easter Brunch |
| February 14, 2004
Valentine's Day Weekend,
5-Course Dinner and Dance
featuring Askold Buk Trio,
6 p.m., \$19.95++ | April 17, 2004
Wedding – Nancy Medwid
and Jonathan McFall |
| February 21, 2004
Napanoch Fire Department Banquet | April 24, 2004
Dziubina-Mandicz-Zinycz
Family Reunion |
| February 28, 2004
SUNY New Paltz Sorority
Semi-Formal Banquet | May 7-9, 2004
Cinco De Mayo Weekend Celebration |
| March 6-7, 2004
Plast Kurin "Khmelnychenky"
Annual Winter Rada | May 14, 2004
Ellenville Junior Prom |
| March 20, 2004
Grace Church Men's Retreat | May 15, 2004
Wedding – Stephan Kowalczuk
and Alex Raut |
| | May 28-31, 2004
Memorial Day Weekend
BBQ & Dance |



To book a room or event call: (845) 626-5641, ext. 141
216 Foordmore Road • P. O. Box 529
Kerhonkson, NY 12446
E-mail: Soyuzivka@aol.com
Website: www.Soyuzivka.com

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Friday, February 6

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA) presents an exhibit by Ukrainian Canadian architect Radoslav Zuk, professor of architecture at McGill University, titled "Tradition and the Present: Ukrainian Churches in North America and Museum Projects in Ukraine." As part of the exhibition opening on February 6, Prof. Zuk will deliver a lecture titled "Cultural Content and Context in Architecture." The exhibit will be on view at the institute, 2 E. 79th St., through February 26. Gallery hours: Tuesday-Sunday, noon-6 p.m. Admission: \$10. For additional information call the UIA at (212) 288-8660, access the UIA website: www.ukrainianinstitute.org or e-mail: programs@ukrainianinstitute.org.

Saturday, February 28

WINDHAM, N.Y.: The KLK Annual Ski Races – this year marking the Carpathian Ski Club's (KLK) 50th year of ski racing – will be held at Windham Mountain. Registration is 8-9:30 a.m. at the ski lodge. Cost for lift ticket and races: adults, \$50; juniors (under 18), \$45. Race tickets only are \$10 for adults, \$5 for juniors; lift tickets only are \$45 for adults, \$40 for juniors. KLK champions of the past are invited to attend and to participate in the 50th jubilee races. A special "old timers" race is planned with awards to be presented at the post-race banquet, which will be held at Hunter Mountain Ski Lodge at 6:30 p.m. Tickets to the banquet are \$40 for adults, \$20 for children under 12. For additional information please contact: Severin Palydowycz, (518) 263-4866; or Orest Fedash, (973) 386-5622.

PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:

Preview of Events is a listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public. It is a service provided at minimal cost (**\$20 per submission**) by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community. Payment must be received prior to publication.

To have an event listed in Preview of Events please send information, in English, written in Preview format, i.e., in a brief paragraph that includes the date, place, type of event, sponsor, admission, full names of persons and/or organizations involved, and a phone number to be published for readers who may require additional information. Items should be no more than 100 words long; all submissions are subject to editing. Items not written in Preview format or submitted without all required information will not be published.

Preview items must be received no later than one week before the desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Items will be published only once, unless otherwise indicated. Please include payment of \$20 for each time the item is to appear and indicate date(s) of issue(s) in which the item is to be published. Also, please include the phone number of a person who may be contacted by The Weekly during daytime hours. Information and payment should be sent to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054. Items may be e-mailed to preview@ukrweekly.com.

SAVE THIS DATE!

September 22-26, 2004

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(details forthcoming - www.uaba.org)

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