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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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

Vol. LXXII

No. 45

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 2004

\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Yanukovich and Yushchenko head for run-off amid accusations of falsifications

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Both Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich claimed victory in the October 31 presidential elections in an exceedingly close vote count that many here are saying was being falsified.

With 97.7 percent of the election ballots counted, Mr. Yanukovich maintained a hangnail lead of 39.88 percent to 39.22 percent over Mr. Yushchenko, the difference between the two closing steadily as further results slowly became known. Supporters of Mr. Yushchenko have stated that the numbers that follow the 98 percent of the vote counted put their candidate in the lead.

Voter turnout was 75 percent, up from 69 percent in 1999.

At 2:30 a.m. on November 1, Mr. Yushchenko — who continued to look weak after a mysterious poisoning that he has called an assassination attempt sidelined him for most of the month of September — claimed victory as he addressed weary campaign workers and supporters at his campaign press center.

“We have victory, which the Ukrainian voters accomplished with their effort,” exclaimed Mr. Yushchenko.

Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich

gave a different version of the outcome later that day when he stated that he was pleased with the results and ready to go to a run-off with his main rival.

“The Ukrainian people have expressed their support for their government,” said Mr. Yanukovich.

There were divergent points of view in most every aspect of the presidential vote. The previous evening differing exit polls had forecast outcomes favorable to both Mr. Yushchenko and to Mr. Yanukovich. There was also disagreement among international observers over whether the elections were fair and free. While most said the election was a step backward for democracy in Ukraine, some noted no major violations of democratic election standards (see sidebar below right).

There was no question, however, that Mr. Yushchenko had decisively won the battle for the number of Ukraine’s 25 regions (24 oblasts plus the Crimea Autonomous Republic) taken outright, receiving a majority of votes in 16 of the administrative regions, including all of western Ukraine and most of the central oblasts. Many of the areas still to be tallied were considered Yushchenko strongholds, leading to speculation that he was the winner.



Viktor Yushchenko (left), accompanied by his daughter Khrystina, and Viktor Yanukovich (right) cast their ballots on October 31.

Four days after the vote, the Central Election Committee had yet to publish the final tally, even though it had counted 95 percent of the returns within a 10 hour time period. CEC Chairman Serhii Kivalov had stopped the vote counting

process unexpectedly at midday on November 1, stating that the commission members would take a break. The commission has not held a public session since. The CEC has 10 days from elec-

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Ukrainian citizens vote in New York, and beyond, in Ukraine’s election

by Andrew Nynka

NEW YORK — Seven hours after the last Ukrainian citizen cast a ballot here to choose the country’s third president on October 31, 16 election workers sat huddled around two large wooden tables and listened carefully as the ballots were read aloud before announcing that Viktor Yushchenko had come away with a resounding victory in this election district.

The voting station at Ukraine’s Consulate General in New York City closed promptly at 8 p.m. and election committee members worked into the early morning on November 1 to finish the tally of 1,986 Ukrainian citizens who voted here.

By 3:12 a.m. the regional election committee — which covered 13 states in in Northeastern U.S. — certified its count and sent the results by fax to Central Election Committee headquarters in Kyiv, announcing that Mr. Yushchenko won in this district with 1,889 votes, or 95 percent of the total. The next closest challenger was Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, who took 70 votes, roughly 3.5 percent of the total.

Results from voting in North America were released by local election committees in Canada and the United States

shortly after the voting stations closed. However, there is still uncertainty regarding the overall tally as the Central Election Committee has stopped the count with several percentage points remaining.

The results from New York closely resembled those in the other three voting precincts in this country — at Ukrainian consulates in San Francisco and Chicago and the Embassy in Washington — where voters overwhelmingly chose the reform-minded candidate Mr. Yushchenko over Mr. Yanukovich.

The results from the voting stations in Canada — at the Consulate General in Toronto and the Embassy in Ottawa — also showed strong support for Mr. Yushchenko.

In the United States, the highest voter turnout came in Chicago, where 2,464 people (98.6 percent of the total) voted for Mr. Yushchenko, while 29 people voted for Mr. Yanukovich (1.2 percent). In San Francisco 449 people cast their ballots for Mr. Yushchenko (95 percent), while 12 people (2.5 percent) voted for Mr. Yanukovich. In Washington, 447 people (88 percent) voted for Mr. Yushchenko and 24 people (4.7 percent) voted for Mr. Yanukovich.

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Observers say presidential election did not meet international standards

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Most international and domestic observers offered severe criticism of Ukraine’s presidential elections a day after the October 31 vote, many assessing that the manner in which the process took place was a reversal for Ukraine’s democratic development.

“With a heavy heart, we have to conclude that this election did not meet a considerable number of OSCE, Council of Europe and other European standards for democratic elections. Consequently, this election process constitutes a step backward from the 2002 elections,” explained Bruce George, the head of the European election observer team organized by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The authoritative Committee of Voters of Ukraine, which has observed elections in Ukraine since 1994, noted that the most extensive problems with the Ukrainian presidential vote were the numerous inaccuracies in the voter lists and the illegal manner in which the elections commissions were stacked with individuals connected to the government or Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

The prime minister and National Deputy Viktor Yanukovich were the

leading contenders in the October 31 election. The two candidates will face-off in a runoff on November 21 after neither one achieved an absolute majority in the first round.

“The CVU has ascertained that up to 10 percent of citizens who came to vote were denied their right because of the low quality of the voters lists,” explained Ihor Popov, CVU president, at a press conference on November 1.

The CVU also stated that on election day itself it noted no major violations.

The Central Election Commission (CEC), the Ukrainian government body that oversees elections in Ukraine, downplayed the assessments by the election monitors. It responded by admitting that, while there were minor violations, nothing serious or extensive took place.

“Voting proceeded calmly at 99 percent of the polling stations,” explained CEC member Serhii Dubovyk on November 3.

Earlier, Yaroslav Davydovych, deputy chairman of the CEC, said that the CEC would withhold responding to the reports from the various international monitoring groups until after it had released their final reports, a process that would take several weeks at the very least.

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ANALYSIS

Yushchenko wins first round of Ukraine's presidential election

by **Taras Kuzio**
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Challenger Viktor Yushchenko won the first round of the Ukrainian presidential election on October 31 (ITAR-TASS, November 2). According to official Central Election Commission (CEC) figures, Mr. Yushchenko won 16 oblasts and the city of Kyiv. Besides sweeping western Ukraine, Mr. Yushchenko won the whole of central Ukraine, a key region where then-incumbent Leonid Kravchuk lost to Leonid Kuchma in the 1994 presidential elections. Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich won in only nine of Ukraine's 25 regions (including the Crimean Autonomous Republic) and in the city of Sevastopol.

With 97.67 percent of the results tallied by the end of Tuesday [November 2], the CEC reported that Mr. Yanukovich was leading by 39.88 percent to Mr. Yushchenko's 39.22 percent. However, many observers find it suspicious that the CEC has taken so long to collect results from key regions that are Yushchenko strongholds – western Ukraine, including Lviv (3.5 percent of the votes still not submitted), Ivano-Frankivsk (12 percent), Ternopil (5 percent), Volyn (5 percent), and central Ukraine, including the city of Kyiv, (8 percent), Khmelnytsky (6.4 percent), Kirovohrad and Vynnytsia (3 percent). These regions would give Mr. Yushchenko an additional 250,000 votes, eclipsing Mr. Yanukovich's lead of 182,000.

On election night five leading sociological organizations conducted Ukraine's largest exit poll. When plans for these surveys were revealed in August, the authorities organized their own exit poll, to be conducted by Gleb Pavlovskiy, the "political technologist" who has led the way in dirty tricks against Mr. Yushchenko on behalf of presidential administration head Viktor Medvedchuk. In the exit poll organized by the Razumkov Center and the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS), in which respondents could remain anonymous, Yushchenko obtained 44.4 percent to Yanukovich's 38 percent (exitpoll.org.ua).

As election day approached, the number of voters planning to vote for Mr. Yushchenko but who were afraid of stating their preferences to polling organizations increased. Upwards of 42 percent believed that who they voted for would be found out and that a secret ballot was a myth. This explains why the anonymous methodology used by the Razumkov Center and KIIS obtained a better result for Mr. Yushchenko.

The exit poll conducted by Socis and Social Monitoring gave Mr. Yanukovich a lead of 42.67 percent over Mr. Yushchenko's 38.28 percent. This poll also reflects the fear of some voters to openly admit for whom they voted. According to the head of the Canadian observation mission, "skinhead" organized crime enforcers in eastern Ukraine used violence against polling station heads on election night if they did not

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produce 80 percent for Yanukovich (The Independent, November 1).

Parallel vote counting at Ukraine's 33,000 polling stations by the Mr. Yushchenko camp gave a different picture. With two-thirds of these ballots counted, the Mr. Yushchenko camp claimed that their candidate was squarely in the lead with 45 percent to Mr. Yanukovich's 33 percent. The CEC appears afraid to show the results of parallel vote counting. The fact that Mr. Yushchenko won in the majority of oblasts has led the Mr. Yushchenko camp to claim the first round (razom.org.ua, November 2). According to an anonymous member of the Yanukovich camp, "There's shock among Yanukovich's team. The real results show Yushchenko probably got more than 54 percent" (The Independent, November 2).

Mr. Medvedchuk, President Kuchma and CEC Chairman Serhii Kivalov are directly involved in falsification efforts to prevent either an outright victory by Yushchenko in Round 1 or at least a large lead over Mr. Yanukovich (obkom.net.ua, November 2).

Mr. Medvedchuk ordered Mr. Kivalov to ensure that Mr. Yanukovich wins the first round by 0.5-0.9 percent. Alternatively, if this is impossible, he should "allow" Yushchenko to win by only 0.1-0.05 percent (obkom.net.ua, November 2). President Kuchma promised to ensure that Mr. Kivalov was given "legal protection" in the likelihood of demands for a vote re-count. This strategy explains why the updating of the CEC's election results was suddenly, without adequate explanation, halted on election night. The authorities were stunned by the failure of the Yanukovich campaign and the large showing for Mr. Yushchenko.

Planned violations were difficult to undertake on the scale intended because of the huge mobilization of over 100,000 opposition and youth activists and the large presence of international observers. Serhii Tyhypko, head of the Yanukovich campaign, admitted that they had not expected such large-scale activity by voters in western Ukraine, because large numbers had migrated abroad in search of work (Ukrainska Pravda, November 1).

The Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU) concluded that each oblast administration was ordered to produce a certain number of votes for Mr. Yanukovich (cvu.kiev.ua). Where they were unable to secure the desired result, violations were greater. The Yushchenko camp concluded, therefore, that in reality Mr. Yanukovich obtained only 26 percent, with the remainder of his votes secured through abuse of state-administrative resources.

The Yanukovich camp devised four fraud tactics.

First, protocols from election commissions in regions where Yushchenko leads were re-written after arriving at the CEC. These included 150,000 votes from Kyiv and Kirovohrad. On election night in Kirovohrad, skinhead enforcers stole protocols after threatening officials and shooting guns into the air. Similar violations were reported from Zakarpattia, a former Medvedchuk stronghold that has become a key battleground with Mr. Yushchenko.

Second, tens of thousands of absentee

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NEWSBRIEFS

Kuchma says Ukraine won't change tack

KYIV – Incumbent President Leonid Kuchma said after casting his vote on October 31 that Ukraine's strategic course will not change after the presidential election, irrespective of who becomes the country's next president, UNIAN reported. "Ukraine's European choices have been, and will remain, [the same] for the president and society," Mr. Kuchma said. "Today nobody doubts that – the path has been determined." The president rejected journalists' suggestions that he might become prime minister following the presidential elections. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Ukraine marks liberation day

KYIV – Ukraine marked the 60th anniversary of liberation from German occupation with a military parade on Kyiv's main street on October 28, Interfax reported. Over 8,000 soldiers and veterans attended the parade, which was watched by Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev. The parade stand also included Ukrainian presidential candidate and Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn, Kyiv Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko, war veterans, military officials, national deputies, ministers and diplomats. Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka, who was also expected to watch the parade, ended his visit to Ukraine the previous day. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Journalists protest against pressure ...

KYIV – Some 40 Ukrainian journalists signed a statement on October 28 protesting the pressure exerted on them during the presidential campaign, Interfax reported. "The authorities force TV channels and their owners to present events in a biased way or to hush socially important events," Serhii Shvets, a journalist from ICTV Channel, announced on behalf of his colleagues from ICTV, New Channel, Tonis, Inter, NTN, and 1+1, the major Ukrainian channels. Their statement demanded that "all information programs must report on all socially important events, all news programs must present all views on reported events, [and] all information broadcast by the mass media must be checked and contain sources of information." The statement stresses the importance of professional coverage of the final phase of the election campaign and urges journalists take such a stance. The same day the number of journalists who had signed the statement increased to 89. (RFE/RL Newsline)

...while others quit their jobs

KYIV – Seven journalists from the news studio 1+1 have abandoned the channel to protest against censorship, Interfax reported on October 28. "We refuse to take part in the information war. The authorities unleashed this war against its own people, trying to win the presidential race through intimidation and the use of force," the journalists said in a statement. "Our TV job has finally transformed into serving the interests of those to whom 1+1 was given for political use by its owners," they added. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Putin promotes dual citizenship

MOSCOW – President Vladimir Putin said during a Cabinet meeting on October 30 that it is necessary to speed up the adoption of legislation that will allow dual Russian-Ukrainian citizenship, ORT and RTR reported. Mr. Putin pledged to support the initiative during his recent visit to Ukraine, which was widely seen as showing the government's support for Viktor Yanukovich's presidential candidacy. The Russian president also spoke in the Kremlin with Duma Speaker Boris Gryzlov and Federation Council Chairman Sergei Mironov and asked them to begin "practical consultations with their Ukrainian colleagues on this issue." Mr. Gryzlov said that dual citizenship will mean that between 4 million and 6 million Ukrainian citizens who permanently or temporarily live in Russia will be eligible for Russian citizenship. Mr. Mironov said that dual citizenship raises issues regarding compulsory military service and voting rights, but added that he believes that a citizen's residence should dictate his or her eligibility for voting and military service. (RFE/RL Newsline)

... keeps pledge on visa-free travel

MOSCOW – President Vladimir Putin made good on another promise he made during his recent trip to Ukraine by asking Internal Affairs Minister Rashid Nurgaliev and Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov at a October 30 Security Council meeting to eliminate restrictions for Ukrainian citizens traveling to Russia, RTR and strana.ru reported. Mr. Nurgaliev said that, according to an agreement reached with Kyiv, Ukrainians will be able to stay in Russia for up to 90 days without registering as of November 1 and will be allowed entry into Russia using their own domestic documents beginning in January. The head of the National Strategy Institute, Stanislav Belkovskii, told Echo Moskvy on October 26 that the initiative constitutes no more

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

FOUNDED 1933

An English-language newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a non-profit association, at 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

Yearly subscription rate: \$55; for UNA members – \$45.

Periodicals postage paid at Parsippany, NJ 07054 and additional mailing offices.
(ISSN – 0273-9348)

The Weekly: UNA:
Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 644-9510 Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 292-0900

Postmaster, send address changes to: **Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz**
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The Ukrainian Weekly, November 7, 2004, No. 45, Vol. LXXII

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FOR THE RECORD: U.S. Mission to the OSCE on Ukrainian election

The U.S. Mission to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Vienna, expressing U.S. government concerns about the course of the Ukrainian presidential election to date, on October 28 made the following statement.

For several months, the United States has been closely following the ongoing Ukrainian election campaign. We seek to assist Ukraine in becoming a secure, independent, democratic and prosperous country that integrates with European and Euro-Atlantic institutions, respects human rights and the rule of law, maintains mutually beneficial relations with its neighbors, and helps strengthen international peace and security. Realization of this vision would be in the interests of Ukraine, the United States and all of Europe.

In line with numerous statements from other countries and groups of countries, the U.S. government on numerous occasions during this period both publicly and privately has expressed concerns about the conduct of the presidential campaign. There have been numerous, well-publicized instances of behavior violating internationally accepted democratic norms, including disruption of opposition rallies, muzzling of independent media, misuse of "administrative resources," ransacking of pro-democracy NGO offices and employees' homes based on spurious charges, detention of pro-democracy supporters and other seri-

ous violations that cast doubt on the Ukrainian government's will to uphold its democratic commitments.

Now, only days before the October 31 election, our concerns unfortunately are only increasing. The Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) on October 22 released its latest interim report, which outlines a serious deterioration of the situation in recent weeks, including:

- confirmed cases of involvement of the state administration in favor of one candidate and against another major candidate;
- instability and uncertainty at Precinct Election Commissions (PECs) due to a large number of PEC members resigning or refusing to fulfill their duties;
- continued failure by state-owned and allied media to provide impartial and fair coverage of or access to opposition candidates' campaigns; and
- officially backed impediments to the activities of opposition campaign activists and independent pro-democracy non-governmental organizations, such as police stopping of buses carrying opposition supporters to rallies and the recent detentions of civic activists on various politically motivated charges.

These observations of the OSCE/ODIHR mission are very much in line with our own. In addition, we are increasingly concerned by reports strongly indicating that govern-

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U.S. State Department on election

Following is the text of remarks on the Ukrainian presidential election delivered in Washington on November 1 by Adam Ereli, deputy spokesman, U.S. Department of State. The text was transmitted by the Embassy of the United States in Ukraine.

We would first note that this presidential election certainly represents one of the most important events in Ukraine since independence and it is our desire to see Ukraine develop as a free, independent, democratic and prosperous member of the European community of nations.

We note that the OSCE observer mission has said the presidential campaign and October 31 election did not meet a considerable number of international standards for democratic elections. We

are disappointed in this, and we share the OSCE's assessment that this election "constitutes a step backward" from Ukraine's 2002 elections.

In particular, we would note that the campaign was marked by serious violations and that there were significant irregularities on election day, although high participation levels of the electorate and civil society were encouraging.

Looking ahead, we see the second round of the election on November 21 as an opportunity for Ukraine to affirm its commitments to democratic principles, and we urge the Ukrainian authorities to allow the people of Ukraine to choose freely and to adhere – and for the government to adhere scrupulously to international accepted standards for tabulating and registering results.

ELECTION WATCH

Who won the presidential vote?

KYIV – The Central Election Commission has not yet finished counting votes in the October 31 presidential ballot, Ukrainian news agencies reported on November 3. With 97.67 percent of the ballots counted, the commission said on November 2 that Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich won 39.88 percent of the vote, while main rival Viktor Yushchenko obtained 39.22 percent, meaning that there will be a runoff between them on November 21.

It is not clear when the final results of the October 31 vote will be announced. The Central Election Commission is legally obliged to do this within 10 days following polling day. Meanwhile, some 5,000 students demonstrated in Kyiv on November 2, protesting what they allege were falsified results from the October 31 vote. "An all-out falsification of election returns is going on," Mr. Yushchenko's campaign manager, Oleksander Zinchenko, told the rally. According to Mr. Zinchenko, the Central Election Commission has stopped announcing election returns "since it has realized that no report will be in favor of the authorities." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Election chief notes voter list errors

KYIV – Central Election Commission head Serhii Kivalov said on Ukrainian Television on November 1 that there were widespread irregularities regarding electoral registers in the October 31 presidential poll. "There are citizens who have appealed to courts, territorial commissions, the Central Election Commission [and] district commissions," Mr. Kivalov said. "Some had their problems solved and were entered on the register, while others remained outside and were denied their constitutional right [to vote]." Opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko wrote in the Financial Times on November 3 that "millions of opposition supporters" were denied the opportunity to vote on October 31 or were too poor to defend their right in court. Supreme Court Deputy Chairman Anatolii Yarema said on November 1 that Ukrainian courts have examined some 42,500 complaints linked to the right of citizens to take part in voting in the October 31 vote. According to Mr. Yarema, this number of electoral complaints was unprecedented for Ukraine. (RFE/RL Newsline)

PM ready for 'constructive dialogue'

KYIV – Ukrainian Prime Minister and presidential candidate Viktor

Yanukovich announced on November 1 that he is prepared for constructive dialogue with his main rival, Viktor Yushchenko, UNIAN reported. Mr. Yanukovich told journalists that he is "sincerely surprised" by some attacks on him by Mr. Yushchenko's team, but he recognizes this as "a tool of political fighting" that will never be accepted by society. "Thus, I am ready for constructive dialogue [with Yushchenko] and I will consider this question," Mr. Yanukovich said. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Will candidates debate on TV?

KYIV – The International Renaissance Foundation has called on Viktor Yanukovich and Viktor Yushchenko to hold live television debates before the November 21 runoff, Interfax reported on November 1. The foundation announced in a statement its intent to support the holding of such debates. According to the foundation, other international donors are also ready to help in organizing and holding meetings between Messrs. Yanukovich and Yushchenko. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Russians keep close eye on election

KYIV – More than 600 election observers, several prominent politicians, and dozens of campaign specialists and spin doctors traveled from Russia to monitor Ukraine's October 31 presidential election, Russian media reported. First Deputy Speaker of the Duma Lyubov Sliska, Federation Council Deputy Speaker Aleksandr Torshin, and the head of the Duma's CIS Committee, Andrei Kokoshin, were among those who made the trip. The National Strategy Institute, headed by Stanislav Belkovskii, launched a website titled "Who Beat Whom In Ukraine" (<http://www.v2004ua.com/>). Several political groups and pollsters conducted exit polls in Ukraine. Speaking at a press center in Moscow early on November 1, Political Research Institute Director Sergei Markov said that initial official results gave no clear-cut victory either to the government's candidate, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, or to opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko, which he cited as "evidence of political instability" but also of "the presence of real democracy and pluralism in Ukraine," NTV reported. Institute of Globalization President Mikhail Delyagin said he is afraid that the impending runoff will fea-

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Ukrainians in Russia cast their ballots for Ukraine's president

by Maryna Makhnonos

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

MOSCOW – "Why can't I vote?" a woman inside a polling station in Moscow argued nervously while waving her Ukrainian passport. A minute before this scene I had fought my way to the station through a crowd of dozens of voters who jammed in front of the station's doors. They argued with police, who tried to maintain order. I passed the security check inside and saw the same chaos in the station's front room. The answer to this mass was unexpected: numerous voters didn't find themselves on registration lists and tried to prove their right to select Ukraine's president, but their unsuccessful arguments dragged on and created a long line outside one of four polling stations in Russia on the rainy and cold Sunday, October 31.

"I think hundreds of those who have been listed in consular files were not included on the voting lists," said Alexander Kovalevsky, an observer who represented presidential candidate Mykola Hrabar.

A total of 4,591 people were listed as voters, according to Moscow's polling station officials. A total of 1,336 people voted, including not only those on the lists, but also those who arrived from Ukraine with absentee ballots. Maria Domoslavskaya, an observer representing candidate Viktor Yushchenko, said most of the voters were from Ukraine with authorization to vote outside of their home districts.

Hundreds of Ukrainians in Moscow were deeply disappointed when they failed to vote due to their own negligence. A Russian TV channel had informed them a day before the elections that it was enough to present their pass-

port at a polling station to be able to vote. However, this information was incorrect as Ukrainians can vote in Russia in three cases only: if they are listed in consular files that should automatically put them on the voters' list; if they arrived with voter certificates issued by their home districts; or if they submitted a letter stating they wish to vote in Russia at least one week before elections.

Those who found their names on the lists proceeded to another room to receive their ballot, chose their favorite candidate and cast the ballot into one of four see-through boxes. About 10 observers who represented different presidential candidates and Ukrainian Embassy officials watched the voting procedure throughout the day. No serious violations were registered, except for the mysterious disappearance of voters from the lists, several observers said. The head of the local elec-

tion commission, Anatolii Bezgrebelny, told journalists that this needs to be investigated, but he couldn't say how many people didn't find their names on the lists on which they were supposed to be included.

Activists of Ukraine's diaspora conducted their own independent exit-poll outside Moscow's polling station. According to their data, 187 of the total of 470 interviewed voters said they supported Mr. Yushchenko. Another 180 voters said they supported Mr. Yanukovich; 76 people refused to answer. However, diaspora activist Vladyslav Kyrychenko said he knew most of the people who didn't answer. "I would say they were from pro-Yanukovich public groups. Thus, we may assume that Mr. Yanukovich won in Moscow," Mr. Kyrychenko added.

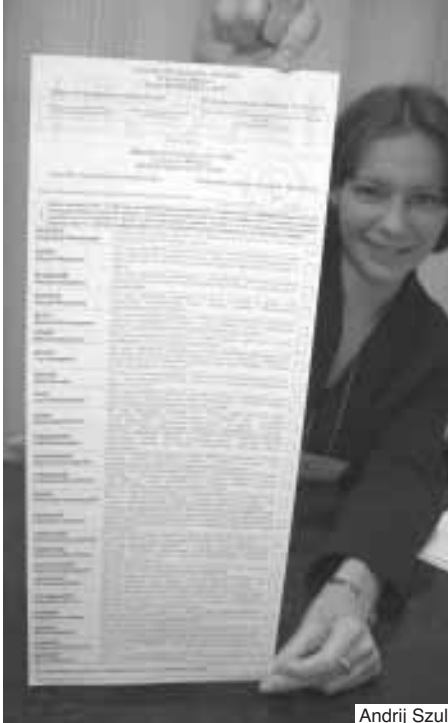
"I voted for the candidate who will

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Ukrainian citizens...

(Continued from page 1)

Markian Shwec, president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, reported that voter turnout in Canada was higher than he anticipated. The statistics from Canada also showed strong support for Mr. Yushchenko. At the consulate in Toronto, 1,662 Ukrainians (94 percent) voted for Mr. Yushchenko, while Mr. Yanukovych took 62 votes (3.5 percent), while in Ottawa 245 people (86 percent) voted for Mr. Yushchenko and 26 people



Andrij Szul

A member of the election committee, Ulana Ilnytska, holds up an unused ballot.

(9 percent) voted for Mr. Yanukovych.

A small minority of Ukrainian citizens in the United States and Canada, roughly several percentage points, voted for candidates other than Messrs. Yushchenko and Yanukovych – who are headed for a runoff election on November 21 to decide who will take over as president.

"I voted for Yushchenko. I want the world to know that I voted for Yushchenko and all of you should vote for him also," said Askold Lysyak in New York City after he left a voting booth on the Consulate's sixth floor. He

opened the gold-colored curtains of the booth, one of six here, and dropped his paper ballot into a three-foot-high clear plastic urn that held the ballots until they were ready to be counted. "For the good of Ukraine," he said as he dropped his ballot.

Though the minimum age to vote in the Ukrainian election is 18, whole families nonetheless came by school bus from Trenton and Clifton, N.J. They took photographs of each other dropping ballots into the urns and were overheard asking each other where Mr. Yushchenko's name could be found on the ballot.

A handful of people here, when asked, were not as willing to reveal their choice for president and said they feared disclosing for whom they voted. "My name is not as important as what's going on inside that building," Luba said as she pointed to the four-story consulate building. "It's a very important moment in Ukraine's history," the woman said, who gave only her first name.

"I came to vote because this is an important election," said 24-year-old Philip Bogachuk, a bartender in New York City who has lived here for nine years. Mr. Bogachuk said he was concerned about voting irregularities in Ukraine and feared that pro-government forces there could use the names of unregistered citizens to cast ballots in favor of Prime Minister Yanukovych.

World and Olympic champion figure skater Viktor Petrenko also said it was an important election, so much so that he came to the Consulate in New York City to cast his vote, his first ever. He would not say which candidate won his vote: "I'm sorry but that's private – I'd rather not say."

As people packed the second floor of the Consulate building here in spurts, many were reluctant to leave immediately after casting their ballot. It seemed they wanted to savor the moment. Rarely were ballots passively dropped into one of the four urns; rather, a number of voters pushed the long, green pieces of paper through a container's narrow slot and grunted, as if to exclaim proudly, "take that."

By mid-afternoon Volodymyr Denesyuk, the deputy of the regional election committee here, scrambled up the wooden stairs to urge the growing



Ronya Stojko-Lozynskyj

The margin of victory in the New York regional voting precinct can be seen here as the ballots cast for Viktor Yushchenko (right) tower over those cast for Viktor Yanukovych.

crowd along. "Ladies and gentlemen, if you've voted please move quickly outside. There are thousands of people waiting outside – thousands." Mr. Denesyuk spent much of the day scurrying throughout the Consulate building. He had learned only that morning that his boss, Oleksander Zinchenko, the head of the election committee, was out sick.

The crowd of voters started gathering outside the consulate building a half-hour before the voting station opened. By 8 a.m. the line outside stretched approximately 100 yards west on 49th Street and was five- to six-people wide at points.

A New York City Metropolitan Transportation Authority official said the number of people milling about the street had become a problem by 9:30 a.m. "This is not good. This is not good. Look at that. The buses can't even get through. Someone's gonna get hit," said Adriana Natale, the general superintendent of the city's Department of Buses.

An hour after the voting station opened, police closed 49th Street to cars, which allowed hundreds of people to linger on the street after voting. Some carried large Ukrainian flags on their shoulders while a group of seven men and women sang Ukrainian songs. Many

people talked with friends outside while waiting for others to finish voting.

While the mood outside the consulate was mostly cheerful and relaxed, there were several moments when the wait on line seemed endless. Some voters grew tense and shoved each other at the narrow entrance to the four-story stone building, fearing they would not get to vote.

By 12:30 p.m. a large crowd packed tightly around the entrance to the Consulate at 240 E. 49th St. before student volunteers organized a pathway into and out of the building using blue, wooden police barricades to organize the crowd.

Roksolana Stojko-Lozynskyj, an executive board member of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, was among roughly a dozen independent election monitors who watched over the vote.

Ms. Stojko-Lozynskyj said that weeks before the election it was not certain if independent monitors would be allowed to observe the vote, though in the end a handful took shifts monitoring the vote until the very last ballot was counted.

Additionally, she expressed concern that some members of the election committee sought intentionally to confuse people waiting on the line outside of the consulate.

"We feel there was an attempt to disallow legitimate Ukrainian voters from participating in the election, and we strongly condemn that," Mrs. Stojko-Lozynskyj said.

But members of the election committee said that was not the case.

"It was a long day, some people were unhappy and yelled a little, but everyone who wanted to vote was able to vote," Mr. Denesyuk said. "Some people gave us suggestions on how to speed the process along, but we have to go by the law," he said, referring to a 67-page rulebook that outlined in detail the process his committee was required to follow.


Once the voting station here closed, election committee workers began the long and careful process of hand counting each of the 1,986 votes and crossed-checked this count against voter rolls, ballot receipts and other paperwork to ensure an accurate tally of the vote.

That process is set down by Ukrainian law and is believed to have been mirrored throughout Ukraine as well as in Ukrainian consulates and embassies around the world, where tens of millions of ballots were also tediously hand counted.

"The committee members did a wonderful job and, along with the help of some volunteers, everything went forward," Mr. Denesyuk said.

The 16 members of Mr. Denesyuk's

(Continued on page 17)



UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ НАРОДНИЙ СОЮЗ

Highlights from the UNA's 110-year history

A special yearlong feature focusing on the history of the Ukrainian National Association.

At the 28th Convention of the Ukrainian National Association, Supreme President Joseph Lesawyer reported on the UNA's new headquarters building in Jersey City, N.J. "Our new 15-story office building owned by our subsidiary, the Ukrainian National Urban Renewal Corp., and located in Jersey City in the riverfront

(Continued on page 21)

Observers say...

(Continued from page 1)

The OSCE observer team was the largest of the international monitoring groups invited by Ukrainian authorities to observe the October 31 vote, the culmination of a process in which 24 candidates vied for the presidency during a brutal and at times violent pre-election campaign.

The European monitoring delegation consisted of 600 observers from the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and its Parliamentary Assembly, as well as the European Parliament, the Council of Europe and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. More than 4,000 international observers were in Ukraine for the election of Ukraine's third president since independence.

Other international observer teams that criticized the Ukrainian presidential elections included the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute, both from the U.S., the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress.

Meanwhile, observers from the

Commonwealth of Independent States gave a contrary view, reporting no major flaws or shortcomings in the election process. A group of ex-U.S. congressmen who monitored the vote found themselves agreeing with the CIS group to the extent that they also noted no major violations of democratic principles at the polling stations they had visited on Election Day.

However, the European delegation headed by Mr. George noted "widespread campaign irregularities in the Ukrainian presidential election," including "bias by the state media, interference by the state administration in favor of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, the disruption or obstruction of opposition campaign events by state authorities and inadequacies in the Central Election Commission's handling of complaints."

The OSCE's interim report assessed that voter registration lists were full of errors and omission; that some 40 percent of polling station commission chairpersons were selected subjectively; and that a "significant number of territorial election commissions lacked independence, collegiality and transparency."

The report affirmed the existence of "temnyky," directives from state and government authorities to the mass media

on how to present news events so that they were favorable to Mr. Yanukovich, which were used extensively in the pre-election time period. It also noted the illegal use of government finances, property and personnel to advance the candidacy of the Ukrainian prime minister.

The International Republican Institute observer team reported similar violations as those noted by the OSCE monitors, but was more critical in its assessment. The IRI, which fielded a team of 25 election observers for the actual voting process, as well as additional volunteers who assessed the situation in the run-up to the national election, noted that a "systematic and coordinated use of government resources on a national scale created an atmosphere of intimidation and fear designed to pressure people into supporting the government-backed candidate."

The IRI report pointed to "extensive intimidation of voters in all the oblasts of Ukraine," as well as massive problems with voters lists and large problems with illegally created local election commissions.

Michael Trend, a member of Parliament in the United Kingdom and co-chair of the IRI delegation, along with U.S. Federal Judge Bohdan Futey, explained that the IRI had documented

complaints of pressure applied by the government to workers in schools, hospitals, state-run business and the transportation sector, including reports from Sumy and Kirovohrad of alleged threats of dismissal against workers who did not support the candidacy of Prime Minister Yanukovich.

Mr. Trend said the IRI observers had found poorly prepared voter lists to be "widespread and systemic," and "not previously seen on this scale." He said that the lists included both omission and incorrect addition of names as well as errors in spellings, addresses and personal data.

"Everybody mentioned that it had not been like this before, and it was very difficult to get straight answers when we asked at the territorial commissions," Mr. Trend underscored.

Both Brussels, headquarters of the European Union, and Washington based statements of dissatisfaction with the manner in which the Ukrainian vote proceeded on the European election observers' report.

Adam Erel, deputy spokesman of the U.S. Department of State said during the November 1 daily briefing in Washington

(Continued on page 9)

UNA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

announces its

CLEVELAND DISTRICT

FALL ORGANIZING MEETING

to be held on

Saturday, November 13, 2004, at 3:00 p.m.
at the Ukrainian Women's League, St. Joseph Church
5720 State Road, Parma, OH

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

102, 112, 166, 180, 230, 233, 240, 291, 358, 364

Meeting will be attended by:

Dr. Zenon Holubec, UNA Auditor
Wasył Liscynsky, UNA Advisor

Taras Szmagala – Honorary Member of UNA General Assembly

District Committee

Evhen Bachynsky, District Chairman
Alice Olenchuk, District Secretary
Natalie Miahky, Treasurer

UNA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

announces its

CENTRAL NEW JERSEY DISTRICT

FALL ORGANIZING MEETING

to be held on

Saturday, November 20, 2004, at 1:00 p.m. at
St. Michael's Church Hall, 1700 Brooks Blvd., Manville, NJ

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

26, 155, 209, 269, 312, 349, 353, 372

Meeting will be attended by:

Yaroslav Zaviysky, UNA Auditor

District Committee

Michael Zacharko, Central New Jersey District Chairman
John Kushnir, Secretary
Stefan Zacharko, Treasurer

UNA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

announces its

PHILADELPHIA DISTRICT

FALL ORGANIZING MEETING

to be held on

Saturday, November 13, 2004, at 1:00 p.m.
at the UUARC, 1206 Cottman Ave., Philadelphia, PA

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

10, 45, 62, 83, 116, 128, 153, 154, 162, 163, 173, 216, 231, 239, 245, 247, 248, 261, 268, 321, 331, 339, 347, 362, 378, 397

Meeting will be attended by:

Stefan Hawrysz, UNA Advisor
Pawlo Prinko, UNA Advisor

District Committee

Stefan Hawrysz, District Chairman
Pawlo Prinko, District Secretary
Nicholas Prysylak, Treasurer
Ivan Skoczylas, Honorary District Chairman

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

announces its

MONTREAL DISTRICT

FALL ORGANIZING MEETING

to be held on Sunday, November 14, 2004, at 2:00 p.m.
at the Ukrainian Youth Association
3260 Beaubien E., Montreal, Quebec

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

434, 465, 473

Meeting will be attended by:

TEKLA MOROZ – Honorary member of the UNA General Assembly

District Committee

Tekla Moroz, District Chairman
Alexandra Dolnycky, Secretary
Serguei Djoula, Treasurer
Martha Bilyk, Referent

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

On to the run-off

There is little doubt that the October 31 election for Ukraine's next president was neither free nor fair. Domestic observers and international monitors alike have pretty much come to that conclusion.

There is also good reason to believe that the vote is now being rigged in favor of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, the chosen successor to outgoing President Leonid Kuchma. The shameless foot-dragging and manipulation of numbers, the abrupt halt to the counting process by election authorities, the refusal to include in the current tally the Kyiv count, which went overwhelmingly for Viktor Yushchenko, and the continued delay in publicizing the final count could lead only to such an assessment.

What happened on election day and continued in the days that followed was not a complete surprise to those who followed the pre-election campaign. Most people, however, had hoped against hope that the country would nonetheless have a democratic election. We, along with them, were wrong. This presidential election has been a sorry and sordid affair – one that no one would have believed would develop as it did, even as most would have agreed it would be dirty.

Mr. Kuchma was indeed right, it was a gruesome battle waged at all costs, including nearly the life of Mr. Yushchenko. What is not quite clear is how much of a hand the Kuchma administration had in developing or approving the violence, the smear tactics and the cold-blooded strategies that were used.

In the end, those who sought to steal this election have failed, at least for the moment. They did not foresee that the electorate would turn out to vote in larger than expected numbers. They didn't expect that 100,000 people would have the courage to come to a Yushchenko rally a week before election day and make hay of the effort to paint him as a marginal, extremist candidate. It was perhaps at that rally that Mr. Yushchenko became the "people's candidate," as his campaign manager has asserted.

They did not expect that the orange banner with the simple inscription "Tak" would become a national symbol.

Finally, and most importantly, they could not have expected that even after they had manipulated all they could, the results would show that their candidate was no better than tied with his main opponent and more likely than not trailing him.

Who would have predicted a week ago that Kyiv would go for Mr. Yushchenko by 63 percent, or that Sumy would end up in the Yushchenko camp? These oblasts had "belonged" to President Kuchma, inasmuch as they had supported him in both previous elections and it seemed should have stayed with his appointed successor.

The people power that Mr. Yushchenko has attempted to galvanize – thus far successfully – may be a most enlightening moment in this black chapter in Ukraine's current history, but only if Mr. Yushchenko pushes successfully to a final victory.

In order to do so, the candidate of the people must do two things. First, he must step back from the battle lines and the barricades, and begin to address his opponent in a different manner. He needs to stop utilizing tactics that continue to make him look embattled and vengeful. Determining who led the unprincipled and amoral campaign against Mr. Yushchenko for now is much less important than beginning to give the appearance that his Power of the People campaign is unstoppable, that it is moving relentlessly forward toward victory. He could begin by talking of reconciliation within Ukraine. He could address the pro-Yanukovich forces to advise them that he expects the transfer of power after the elections to proceed peacefully and in keeping with recognized norms of democratic succession.

Second, and most importantly, he needs to make a concerted effort to find common ground with Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz, who received nearly 6 percent of the electoral vote on election day. Mr. Moroz has said he would consider endorsing Mr. Yushchenko should the presidential candidate agree to three of his campaign platforms.

While it would be foolhardy to agree outright to Mr. Moroz's demand that political reform occur in Ukraine immediately to reduce the scope and power of the presidency, it would be in everyone's interest for Mr. Yushchenko to stipulate, perhaps even in writing, that the details of such reform need to be worked out carefully if they are to be applied after the 2006 Verkhovna Rada elections. The other two demands would not be problematic for Mr. Yushchenko, inasmuch as he had previously expressed support for a continued moratorium on the sale of land, as well as the withdrawal of Ukrainian troops from Iraq.

With Mr. Moroz's support, falsifying the next round would prove harder still – perhaps impossible – considering that most experts believe that Mr. Yanukovich needs to stay within 10 points of Mr. Yushchenko to show results that would make him president.

With Mr. Moroz on board, Ukraine would have a truly united opposition and Mr. Yushchenko would have a better than even chance of bringing the curtain down on a regime that long ago lost any semblance of legitimacy and democratic rule.

Nov.
7
1999

Turning the pages back...

Five years ago, on November 7, 1999, The Ukrainian Weekly reported on the results of Ukraine's third presidential election. Following are excerpts from the report filed by our Kyiv Press Bureau's Roman Woronowycz.

Although almost entirely locked out in the east, overwhelming electoral support in the western regions of Ukraine allowed President Leonid Kuchma to take more than a third of the popular vote in the October 31 presidential election, far ahead of the 12 other candidates. Because he failed to reach the threshold of 50 percent plus one vote, however, he will face second-place finisher Petro Symonenko of the Communist Party in a run-off slated for November 14.

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Who lost Ukraine? Western policy: confused misunderstood, uncoordinated

EDITOR'S NOTE: This analysis was written on the eve of Ukraine's presidential election.

by Taras Kuzio

Eurasia Daily Monitor

Throughout 2004 Western delegations to Ukraine and statements by governments and international organizations have repeatedly asked the Ukrainian authorities to conduct a free and fair election. During the summer both houses of the U.S. Congress voted for resolutions in support of a free and fair election, as did all sides in the Canadian

offering membership (which it never had).

In other words, the Faustian bargain of a free and fair election in return for integration applied only to NATO. But even then, NATO never offered Ukraine a Membership Action Plan. The Ukrainian authorities quickly understood that there was no "carrot" on offer and acted accordingly by replacing pro-NATO Defense Minister Yevhen Marchuk.

In reality, the offer of Euro-Atlantic integration to Ukrainian officials was completely misplaced. In 2003-2004 the only issue that concerned Mr. Kuchma and his close allies was their personal security during the presidential succes-

... the Ukrainian authorities would prefer that Yanukovich win through relatively moderate violations; ideally the vote in favor of Viktor Yanukovich on election day would be "massaged" in the region of 5 to 7 percent. One indication of this is that local state administrations have been ordered to ensure a Yanukovich victory in the first round on October 31 by 6 to 7 percent.

House of Commons on October 27.

The heads of European Union members' diplomatic missions in Kyiv issued the latest appeal, which asked the authorities to end their infringement of democratic and election norms (Ukrainska Pravda, October 27). The statement was released after the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) issued its fourth critical report on the impending October 31 presidential election (osce.org/odihr/elections/field_activities/?election=2004ukraine).

On the basis of these four reports, the U.S. Mission to the OSCE issued a statement late on October 28 that raised the temperature surrounding Western attitudes toward the election. As usual, the United States is leading the way in its criticism, with Canada and the EU following behind.

The U.S. Mission to the OSCE warned that if the election is not deemed to be free and fair, then the United States will ensure that those Ukrainian officials responsible for these violations will be held accountable. As with the mid-October State Department statement, the U.S. Mission to the OSCE also warned that U.S. relations with Ukraine would suffer. In the Financial Times (October 29) Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage warned that, "A bad election ... will force us to re-examine our relationship (with Ukraine), especially with individuals who engage in election fraud and manipulation."

Despite these numerous entreaties and diplomatic meetings, the Ukrainian authorities have ignored the message for four reasons.

First, the call for a free and fair election was accompanied by an offer to speed up Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration. This, of course, assumed that President Leonid Kuchma and his allies remain interested in NATO membership or that the EU was even

sion – not national or state interests.

Second, the United States sent confusing signals, the EU sent tepid ones, and the Canadians sent one signal only late in the day. Although the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada is often touted as very influential, its members are largely absent from Canada's contribution to the OSCE Election Observation Mission in Ukraine.

The most confusing signal was over Iraq. There is speculation that U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld reached a "deal" with President Kuchma that would guarantee Ukraine keeping its troops in Iraq in return for Washington only moderately criticizing election violations (as it did after the 2003 Azerbaijani elections). The Ukrainian authorities have acted as though a deal was in fact reached and thereby remain unconcerned about U.S. sanctions while the Bush administration is in power.

Another dimension to these confusing signals was the willingness of U.S. VIPs to travel to Ukraine in visits sponsored by Mr. Kuchma's son-in-law, Viktor Pinchuk. Since May, former President George H.W. Bush, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Richard Holbrooke, former NATO Commander Wesley Clark and, most recently, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger have all participated.

Mr. Pinchuk was rewarded for these invitations to Ukraine by successfully lobbying President George W. Bush to agree to finally meet Mr. Kuchma at NATO's Istanbul summit. The outcome of these badly timed visits to Ukraine and Mr. Bush's first meeting with Mr. Kuchma has been to reinforce the Ukrainian belief that a deal over Iraq is in place. Ukraine's support for the U.S. operation in Iraq and against international terrorism has been used, as seen in the recent arrests of youth activists, to crack down on "extremists" who are equated with "terrorists."

Third, the West misunderstood Mr. Kuchma's strategic game plan. Publicly, the West believed the pronouncements made by the Ukrainian president and Prime

(Continued on page 25)

Taras Kuzio is visiting professor at the Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University. The article above, which originally appeared in The Jamestown Foundation's Eurasia Daily Monitor, is reprinted here with permission from the foundation (www.jamestown.org).

The 1932-1933 Famine-Genocide against the people of Ukraine

by Dr. Eugene Fedorenko

Part I

This year is the 71st anniversary of the period when the center of the Communist government in Moscow, consciously and in great detail, planned the national political ethnocide of Ukrainians in the form of an artificially created Famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933.

The stormy national and political revival of the Ukrainian nation in 1917-1920 and the continued cultural and national revival in the 1920s in Soviet Ukraine as well as the unceasing growth of national consciousness among wide layers of Ukrainians made the Moscow Communist elite feel uneasy. The newspaper Proletarian Truth in its issue of January 22, 1930, warned of a dangerous growth of Ukrainian nationalism and wrote that "collectivization has as its aim to destroy the social basis of Ukrainian nationalism and individual village farms." Having strengthened the party and police organizations, the Kremlin lords reworked their plans and began a wide campaign against the Ukrainian village by organizing a massive Famine in Ukraine.

This unique and most horrible event in the history of mankind occurred during one incomplete year in 1932-1933. Over 7 million Ukrainian peasants died in the "harvest of death." Entire villages and whole counties were depopulated by this holocaust. Various sources indicate that

Dr. Eugene Fedorenko is chairman of the Educational Council of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

during the three-year period of 1930-1933, 10 million became victims of the genocide of forced collectivization and the so-called "liquidation of the kulaks as a class."

The genocide, as a repressive force, was worked out in detail in the Kremlin. Special brigades of so-called "twenty-five thousands" were sent into Ukraine. They, along with local Communists and special military units of the GPU, took food away from the peasants and would not allow peasants to come to work in the factories in the cities because workers received a bread portion at work and thus would be saved from the famine.

In the winter and early spring of 1933, the Famine reached unheard of proportions. Every day thousands of people died. Some sources in 1932-1933 indicated that Ukraine lost 25,000 people daily. Thousands of corpses lay in houses, on the streets and at railroad stations. "Special units" of worker-peasant militia would not allow peasants to enter the towns to look for food, and those who made it were captured and turned out of town. Hungry peasants ate anything. Diseases spread. Hundreds of villages died of hunger in Ukraine.

Witnesses recall those days. They survived this horrible ethnocide-genocide and their testimonies are collected in the two volumes, "The Black Deeds of Kremlin: A White Book" and in three volumes of testimony before the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine.

Following are several testimonies published by the newspaper Molod Cherkaschyn (Cherkasy Youth) on July 18-24, 1988.

• Polishchuk, Antonina Oleksandrivna

(born in 1925) inhabitant of the village Buzhanka, in Lysianka County: "In 1933 our mother sewed puppets for children and filled them with grain, so it would not be confiscated. But they found them and took the grain. They took out the heifer and killed it in Sotnyky gorge, near the village. They took the meat and ate it – those who took the animal.

"Then our father died from hunger, then our 14-year-old brother Vasia and two sisters, twins Katia and Dunia, born in 1927. We ate only water and weeds. The wagons filled with corpses went to the cemetery and dumped the bodies there, about 300 into each home..."

• Vdovychenko, Tetiana Yakivna (born 1911) from the same village: "Sometimes even people who were still alive were sent to the cemetery and buried in common graves. That happened to Khotyna Revenko. When they came for her, she was still alive. They began dragging her by the feet from the house to the wagon. 'Where are you dragging me? Give me some beets. I want to eat. I want to live!' said Khotyna. She was young, not even 30 years old. 'What do you want? For us to come again tomorrow!' they yelled at her and dragged her by her feet to the wagon. They came to the cemetery and dumped her into the grave. She didn't fall on her back but sort of sat and leaned against the wall. They kicked her in the head and then she fell on her back.

"Vdovychenko, Motria was still alive, also with two live children. But they were sent to the cemetery and buried. Such incidents occurred often."

• Lebid, Denys Mykytovych (born 1914) from Yablunivka, Lysianka region: "I was driven to the cemetery and dumped into a common grave but it was not covered with earth that day. So, my friend Yaremii Stanenko, who was walking by the cemetery, pulled me out."

• Nevmyvana, Stepanida Hrynorivna (born 1905) in Zhabianka village, same region: "In 1933 a neighbor called my daughter to her house, killed her and ate her. She was only 6 years old. When they led this heathen into the regional quarters, she pulled a piece of meat from her blouse, ate it and said, 'Wow, it's good. If I had known this I would have eaten it earlier.' So the militiamen did not hold back and shot her right there on the street."

It's enough to stop with these written accounts.

It is hard to find any family in Ukraine among the peasants, whose members did not perish from hunger in 1933.

* * *

It is worth citing, in English translation, the testimony about the Famine, this organized holocaust in Ukraine, in 1933 from a living witness, Vasilii Grossman, a Russian writer of Jewish descent whose works were forbidden in the Soviet Union. His work, "Vse Tchet." (Forever Flowing) appeared in the West in 1970. The main character of his novel is a Russian woman who was sent to Ukraine to organize collective farms. In the form of questions, she answers where and who planned the mass destruction of Ukrainian peasants:

"Who commanded and signed this massive murder? Was it Stalin? That command, not only did the tsar not sign it, but neither the Tatars nor the German occupiers signed it. And the decree stated – kill off by hunger the peasants of Ukraine, the Don and Kuban, destroy all with small

children. It was noted to take everything, even the sowing stock. They looked for grain, not as for bread, but as if it was bombs or machine guns. The ground was pierced by spears, canes, all floors were broken; gardens were searched also.

"In some places all grain that was in the house was taken, in pots, in wash basins. Even baked bread was taken from one woman, taken to the wagon and driven off to the regional center. Day and night the carts creaked, dust settled over the land, but there were no elevators so the grain was dumped on the ground with armed patrols around it. By winter the grain had been soaked by rains and began to ferment – the Soviet government didn't have canvas to cover the peasant bread." (Grossman, 122-123)

Robbing the Ukrainian peasants of grain, Moscow sent it off beyond the borders, thus bolstering its malicious propaganda about the happy and joyful life in the "Communist paradise." At the same time, workers in town were stepping over the corpses of collective farm peasants who died of hunger during the night. They avoided the guards, penetrated the city looking for bread there, but died there.

"In the morning," wrote Grossman, "the corpse collectors came and took those who died at night. I saw one wagon full of children. They had thin, long faces as in dead birds with sharp beaks. These birds arrived in Kyiv and so what? Some among them were alive, they squealed, their heads wiggled as if filled with lead. I told the corpse collector and he waved his hands: 'When I get to the city, they'll become quiet.'" (Grossman, p. 130)

As I mentioned before, hundreds of villages died of hunger in Ukraine. This is how V. Grossman describes the death of a village in his book, according to an activist woman:

"The village howled seeing its death. The whole village howled ... Sometimes I go into the fields to eat my portion of bread (which all activists received) and hear them howl. You go a little further, it seems it's quiet, I go a bit more and I hear it again – the neighboring village howls. The whole village is suddenly dying. At first the children, the old ones and then those of middle age. At first they were buried and then they stopped being buried. Thus the dead were laying on the streets, outside of houses and the last ones lay in the houses. It became quiet. The whole village died. Who died last I don't know. We, who were working in the administration, were taken to the city."

"I came at first to Kyiv," continued the eyewitness. "From everywhere the peasants came. The railroad stations were surrounded by detachments of guards, all the trains were searched. Everywhere there were checkpoints – military and the NKVD. But people continued to come to Kyiv – some crawled through fields, hayfields, bogs, forests, just to avoid the checkpoints on the roads. They couldn't even walk, so they crawled. And in the city, people are in a hurry, busy with their errands and the hungry crawl among them – kids, old folks, girls. It seems that they are no longer people, but some sort of animals that walk on all fours.

"But only the lucky ones crawled to town – one in 10,000. But they were not spared, the famished lay on the ground, whispered something and can't eat; a slice of bread lies nearby, but he can't see it, he is dropping off ..." (Grossman, pp. 128-130)

A survivor recalls the Famine years

by Andrew Demus

I vividly remember 1931, our house, barn and stable. We had two horses, cows, pigs, sheep, geese and chickens. By 1933 we were left with just one cow. The barn was taken away for a collective farm, and so were the horses and pigs. How my father managed to hang onto our cow, I don't know, but when the calf was born, the milk saved our lives. My father was indispensable, as he was a carpenter, wheelwright rite, barrel maker and wagon builder. They needed him.

Farmers living outside the village were arrested and shipped out to Siberia. Hordes of Russian morons and some Ukraine Communists were roaming through the village with shotguns and steel probes – sharpened metal rods to probe for buried food. Every day someone was arrested. I could hear my mother and father talking about it in whispers.

Food became almost non-existent. The hunger made people go 10 kilometers to town where a pile of rotten potatoes was left outside the vodka-making building. All along the road there were people carrying the smelly, rotten potatoes. Some died along the road, probably from eating the stuff. A man, maybe in his 60s, was standing outside his home begging to an empty street. He looked like a ghostly skeleton. The next day I was told that he had died.

Father started to bring corn and wheat from the collective store.

Andrew Demus is a Ukrainian American who resides in Cornelia, Ga. He often lectures about his experiences under the Soviets and during World War II.

At this time the Russian Communists began shooting all the dogs in the village. This was done because the dogs barked and alerted the farmers when the Russians came to rob them of their food. I had a wonderful friend and playmate named Bora, a beautiful German shepherd. We heard gunshots all day. When the wagon pulled up at our front gate full of dead dogs, I knew it was the end for Bora. When the barbarians came to kill Bora, I had my arm around his neck, crying, "No, no! Not Bora!"

When my mother came out to challenge them, they noticed a small cross hanging from a chain around her neck. They ripped it off and threatened to send her to Siberia. She took me by the arm, and then I heard a big bang. I knew my playmate was gone. That's when my hate for the Russian Communists was set in my heart.

In 1933 I was 7 and started school. In the school there was food for the kids, which was the reason we survived. The food at school was boiled corn flour – cup of the grey-looking, tasteless stuff, but it was food. Many adults, especially the elderly, did not make it.

The educated and the educators were arrested and sent to Siberia. Village teachers just disappeared overnight and were replaced with Russian teachers. We were being taught about Pushkin, a Lermontov and always Stalin and all the Soviet apparatchiks.

There was a beautiful church on the hill. The morons cut the top off and made a warehouse out of it by 1935. I don't want to mention the name of the village since, according to my brother, there are still hard-line communists there even to this day.

Moleben for the victims of the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, 2 p.m. on Sunday, November 13, at St. Patrick's Cathedral

Yanukovich and Yushchenko...

(Continued from page 1)

tion day to announce its official results.

During a highly charged session of Ukraine's Parliament on November 2, National Deputy Yurii Kliuchkovskiy alleged that the CEC had already counted up to 98.8 percent of the vote but was not publicizing the results inasmuch as they showed that Mr. Yushchenko had taken the lead by 37,000 votes.

Yushchenko supporters believed that state authorities did not want to announce the final results to leave an impression among the electorate of a Yanukovich victory in the first round, which could give the prime minister a psychological advantage going into the run-off poll.

In Kyiv, it took three days to count the vote. Members of at least one district commission left their offices and went home to sleep before returning to finish their tabulations. However, when the final numbers were in, Mr. Yushchenko had taken 63 percent of the vote to 14 percent for Mr. Yanukovich – a margin of difference few experts had expected. By the next day, however, the Kyiv numbers still had not been compiled into the general vote count.

CEC is questioned

Lawmakers who support Mr. Yushchenko went to the CEC on November 3 to inquire why the returns were not being updated and released to the public. National Deputy Ihor Ostash said he had information that the vote was almost fully counted, reported the Associated Press. Mr. Ostash, along with lawmakers Ivan Pliusch, Yevhen Chervonenko and Mr. Kliuchkovskiy, with election observers from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and two former presidential candidates in tow, also tried to determine whether the election results were first going to the presidential administration for tweaking before being routed to the CEC computer, as some sources were alleging.

National Deputy Stepan Havrysh, Mr. Yanukovich's representative to the CEC, disputed that account, stating that the lawmakers supporting Mr. Yushchenko

and computer hackers had forced their way into the CEC offices in the middle of the night and had demanded access to the CEC computer server. Mr. Havrysh said he and a group of lawmakers who support Mr. Yanukovich's candidacy would maintain watch at the CEC to fend off any more attacks.

Guards at the government building that houses the CEC told the Associated Press on November 4 that there were no reports in their incident book of problems occurring the previous evening. The CEC website was not working as The Weekly was going to press.

The Yushchenko team maintained that its own parallel vote count showed that its candidate had won by a decisive majority. National Deputy Oleksander Zinchenko, who heads the campaign team, told reporters on November 1 that the difference between the candidates was some 12 to 15 percent at that point, with Mr. Yushchenko just short of an absolute majority. The next day National Deputy Yulia Tymoshenko, the leader of the eponymous political bloc and co-leader of the Yushchenko election coalition called Power of the People, offered a final parallel vote count of 50.3 percent in support of Mr. Yushchenko and 27.8 percent in support of Prime Minister Yanukovich.

Speaking during the same Verkhovna Rada session, Mr. Zinchenko said the results of the national vote showed that the nation could do battle with the state authorities.

"Viktor Yushchenko is the winner in the first round. He is the victor even with the dubious vote count taken by the CEC," stated Mr. Zinchenko.

Mr. Yushchenko said in an interview with the Financial Times on November 3 that he would challenge the vote results. His press secretary, Irena Heraschenko, told The Weekly that Mr. Yushchenko's campaign team had copies of all the documents on which the vote results were officially tabulated from the district level on up.

"We have all the protocols, which were given to us by our observers and representatives, and we will demand from the CEC to see every vote registered at the territorial and district levels."

explained Ms. Heraschenko. "We believe they are using the time now to work out the details of the falsifications. We know that the manner in which the results should be released was planned earlier."

Falsifications, violations

Accusations of vote falsification added more vitriol to what already had been a violent, dirty and highly polarizing campaign season. Most international election observers criticized the extensive use of government administrative resources and the lack of access to the mass media for all the candidates except the one supported by state authorities.

The rumors of vote-rigging came after extensive problems with improper voter lists left up to 10 percent of the country's electorate unable to vote – a number cited by the Committee of Voters of Ukraine. Charges of fraud also came after busloads of miners were bused into other regions of Ukraine to vote with absentee ballot chits, apparently allowing them to vote more than once and denying ballots to people residing in the districts.

Other accusations of impropriety involved hundreds of election committee members on the local, district and territorial levels who were replaced in the two days before Election Day in what election officials said was an effort to resolve huge inadequacies in the preparation for the vote. Most of them were representatives of the candidates in opposition to the political establishment. The Committee of Voters of Ukraine had earlier criticized the lack of adequate preparation by electoral commissions throughout the country in the weeks before Election Day.

One glaring incident occurred in Kirovohrad on October 30, where Volodymyr Babyi, the head of a territorial election commission in the oblast, refused to sign a statement that would have replaced on short order 25 of its members with individuals loyal to Mr. Yanukovich. Mr. Babyi feigned illness and did not appear at the October 30 commission meeting. On Election Day he took the commission's official stamp and, along with the 25 original members, disappeared for the day. The CEC has refused to release the results of voting there until after a court has decided how to proceed. Many experts believe the results from that commission would be nullified.

More problems with vote counting came to light when it became apparent that the official result from seven regions showed more votes cast than ballots issued, while in eight others the opposite occurred: more ballots were issued than votes cast.

Odesa showed a variance of some 52,000 votes between the number of ballots issued and the number of votes counted. In Donetsk the difference was 26,000 more votes counted than ballots issued, while in the Crimea the figure was 18,000.

CEC press spokesperson Zoya Kazanzhi said the problem was simply a technical error that had been corrected. She explained that in the regions where votes outnumbered ballots the problems arose because in some cases election commissions began submitting their reports before the polls had closed, which was not followed up with the final numbers. She did not explain why there were also instances of more ballots issued than votes recorded.

The scene in Kyiv

While many problems remained with the actual vote, as many had predicted would be the case, other rumors and forecasts of impending violence and fears of a "Chestnut Revolution" following the vote proved unfounded, although state

authorities had prepared for the worst. Kyiv seemingly became a military encampment beginning the night before the national vote.

The day began in the capital city with an almost festive feeling and spontaneous displays of support for Mr. Yushchenko. The now familiar orange banners, bandanas and ribbons associated with the Yushchenko campaign were everywhere, on fences, bridges, street lamps and automobile antennas, which seemed to support an assertion made by the Yushchenko campaign chief, Mr. Zinchenko, a couple of days later that Mr. Yushchenko had become the candidate of the people.

That night the atmosphere changed dramatically as heavy military vehicles, including armored personnel carriers and water cannons, were positioned inside the territory of the government building that houses the Central Election Commission. Huge construction vehicles filled with sand appeared along streets near the building, while dozens of special forces troops arrived in columns of buses and troop carriers, and were situated in the surrounding neighborhood.

The building itself was cordoned off in a multi-tiered manner, first with a tall grated metal fence, followed by razor wire and finally a metal wall some four feet high.

The previous week Mr. Yushchenko and his campaign officials had battled law enforcement officers before the building after thugs had rampaged through a crowd of supporters of the opposition candidate, beating and bloodying 11 individuals. The events had occurred at the end of a day in which some 100,000 Yushchenko supporters had taken part in a mass rally before the building.

On to the run-off

For the two candidates left in the presidential election race there remained another obstacle on the road to victory. The candidate who could attract the most supporters of the other 22 candidates who hadn't made it to Round 2 could almost assure himself the presidential chair.

Two leftist party leaders, Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz and Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko, would now become the focus of that attention. Between them the two failed candidates had received about 11 percent of the vote, with Mr. Moroz earning nearly 1 percent more than Mr. Symonenko.

Mr. Symonenko has said that his party would not back either of the candidates – both of whom he has called "representatives of oligarchic, capitalist clans." Earlier on there was an expectation that Mr. Symonenko would throw his support behind the Ukrainian prime minister. Experts believe that changed after the Communist chairman received only about 3 percent support in his home oblast of Donetsk, long a Communist stronghold, which routinely gave a majority of its votes to that party's candidates. There is widespread belief that the Yanukovich team skimmed off a considerable number of Communist votes for its candidate in the vote count.

On the other hand, Mr. Moroz has openly called the October 31 vote rigged and has stated that he would not negotiate with Prime Minister Yanukovich on obtaining his endorsement. On November 3 he announced that the executive committee of the Socialist Party could throw its endorsement to Mr. Yushchenko if the presidential candidate would agree to include three key Socialist planks in his presidential program.

First, they demanded that Mr.

(Continued on page 9)

Election results by region

Region	Leader	% for	No. who voted	% vote counted
Crimea	Yanukovich	69.17	1,029,935	100.00
Vinnitsia	Yushchenko	59.53	1,015,332	96.99
Volyn	Yushchenko	76.97	609,284	94.48
Dnipropetrovsk	Yanukovich	49.79	1,966,856	100.00
Donetsk	Yanukovich	86.74	2,878,203	100.00
Zhytomyr	Yushchenko	43.49	815,683	98.75
Zakarpattia	Yushchenko	46.84	612,057	100.00
Zaporizhia	Yanukovich	55.65	1,062,476	100.00
Ivano-Frankivsk	Yushchenko	89.37	734,953	88.05
Kyiv	Yushchenko	59.66	1,018,156	92.12
Kirovohrad	Yushchenko	37.05	484,733	86.98
Luhansk	Yanukovich	79.99	1,469,998	99.93
Lviv	Yushchenko	87.31	1,573,305	96.20
Mykolaiv	Yanukovich	53.97	681,135	99.89
Odesa	Yanukovich	53.36	1,177,150	99.79
Poltava	Yushchenko	43.64	988,604	100.00
Rivne	Yushchenko	69.26	706,252	100.00
Sumy	Yushchenko	53.20	802,800	99.32
Ternopil	Yushchenko	87.93	672,479	95.03
Kharkiv	Yanukovich	57.37	1,653,005	100.00
Kherson	Yanukovich	37.49	621,492	100.00
Khmelnytskyi	Yushchenko	57.93	825,331	93.58
Cherkasy	Yushchenko	57.59	834,444	99.91
Chernivtsi	Yushchenko	66.63	502,610	100.00
Chernihiv	Yushchenko	43.32	758,285	100.00
Kyiv City	Yushchenko	62.41	1,576,518	98.95
Sevastopol City	Yanukovich	73.52	209,355	98.87

Results are as of November 2, 8:11 p.m. (Kyiv time), with 97.67 percent of the nationwide votes counted. Source: Central Election Commission.

Yanukovych and Yushchenko...

(Continued from page 8)

Yushchenko agree to political reform, which he has said he couldn't support at least until a new Parliament was elected in 2006. Then they wanted him to back a moratorium against the sale of land. Finally, they required that he agree to pull Ukrainian troops out of Iraq.

The matter of political reform would be the key to whether Mr. Yushchenko gains the support of the Socialist Party, inasmuch as he has expressed support for troop withdrawal in the past and has already stated that he would refrain for the time being on making land a commodity. The Socialist Party executive committee is expected to decide on its endorsement on November 13.

"All-Ukrainian Marathon"

Also on November 13 the Power of the People election coalition plans to hold a national rally, what it was calling an "All Ukrainian Marathon." It hoped to gather supporters of Mr. Yushchenko in the central squares of several major cities in Ukraine in an effort to inform voters how to prepare for the November 21 vote in order to lessen the chance for additional fraud and to make public their own vote tally for the first round of voting.

Meanwhile, the Committee of Voters of Ukraine announced that it had begun a public voter campaign it is calling "Find Yourself," an initiative to have voters go to their polling stations in the days before the run-off to make sure their names are included on the voter lists and properly spelled.

Observers say...

(Continued from page 5)

that the U.S. agreed with the OSCE assessment that the election "did not meet a considerable number of international standards for democratic elections" and thus constituted "a step backward."

"We are disappointed in this," added Mr. Erel.

The State Department spokesman called on Ukraine to "affirm its commitments to democratic principles" in the run-off scheduled for November 21 and to "allow the people of Ukraine to choose freely."

The presidency of the European Union in Brussels called on Ukraine to "address the noted deficiencies in time for the second round of elections" and to create conditions "to allow for free and fair elections."

Ukrainian diaspora organization, including the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress sent their own delegations of elections observers, both of which negatively assessed the October 31 vote as well.

The Ukrainian Canadian Congress, which represents 1.1 million Ukrainians in Canada, explained in a statement sent to Interfax-Ukraine that it had observed a large number of voting irregularities and noted that "the right to vote had been compromised."

Not every election observer group criticized the way the Ukrainian election

was organized and took place. Observers from the Commonwealth of Independent States expressed deep satisfaction with the manner in which Ukraine had held its presidential vote. It noted that the large numbers of international observers rather than intimidation by state authorities "caused nervousness at the polling stations."

Meanwhile a U.S delegation of ex-congressmen, headed by Robert Carr and including former Reps. Ronald Coleman, Mike Ward, Norm D'Amours, Peter Barca, Jay Johnson and Jim Moody, stated on November 1 that it was satisfied with the returns. Mr. Carr noted that on election day his group, whose members observed the election process in Donetsk, Kyiv and Odesa, saw no illegalities and observed transparency in the voting processes. He said there should be no doubt as to the results.

President Leonid Kuchma had noted the day before the vote that it was absurd to even consider that election fraud could take place in Ukraine because in addition to the 4,000 international observers, some 326,000 monitors and representatives of the candidates would scrutinize the elections, as would 1.2 million election workers.

Hanne Severinsen, rapporteur on Ukraine for the Council of Europe said the day after the vote that sanctions against Ukraine for undemocratic presidential elections might be considered by Europe, but only after the second round of voting.

Ukrainians in Russia...

(Continued from page 3)

support better relations between Russia and Ukraine," said Tamara Savchenko, 72, a pensioner who worked for 43 years as a teacher in eastern Ukraine's Luhansk region. As her daughter lives in Moscow, she said she expects the new Ukrainian president to ease border crossing rules and other formalities between the states.

"I ask only one question: why should we entrust Ukraine to a person who was imprisoned twice?" said voter Petro Zakharov, 47, a Moscow-based lawyer and former military officer who served in Afghanistan during the Soviet era. "I don't hide [the fact] that I voted for Yushchenko, of course. The only one reason I work in Moscow is the necessity to sponsor my daughter's education in Ukraine, but I want to work in Ukraine and believe it will be economically reasonable if Yushchenko wins."

"It's extremely important for Mr.

Yushchenko to carry a moral victory rather than an arithmetical one now," said a well-respected observer of the Russian Literaturnaya Gazeta Vitalii Tretyakov during a roundtable at the Alexander-House business center in Moscow hours after Ukraine's nationwide vote. Several other political experts supported this thesis at the meeting.

A total of 2,495 Ukrainians participated in the voting in Russia. Besides Moscow, three more polling stations were located in St. Petersburg, Rostov-on-Don and Tyumen. The first city to deliver vote results was Tyumen with a turnout of 179 people - 124 of whom were Yanukovych supporters. Of 3,806 voters listed in St. Petersburg's polling station, only 614 voted, and of 5,200 voters listed in Rostov-on-Don, only 349 people came, officials said. Embassy officials could not yet provide the voting results for candidates. More than 13,000 ballots were issued to the four polling stations in Russia.

Double Exposure

by Kristina Lew

Victory for democracy



Kristina Lew

Yanukovych and Yushchenko campaign booths in downtown Donetsk.

Drive down any street in my small Jersey town and you'll see campaign signs competing for your attention - roughly half for Kerry/Edwards, half for Bush/Cheney. This is in New Jersey, a state that hasn't elected a Republican president since I don't know when. Complete strangers stopped me at my small county fair to talk about the campaign. People who ordinarily don't get involved in politics are going door to door. The pundits are predicting that this election will see some of the highest voter turnout in the U.S. in decades. And the results will be very, very close.

Today is Election Day, and I have not been home a week from my second trip to Ukraine in three months. Ukraine held its presidential elections on Sunday, October 31, and the results are very, very close: 39.2 percent for Viktor Yushchenko, 39.8 percent for Viktor Yanukovych. Given the amount of unfair advantage the prime minister had over the visibly ailing Mr. Yushchenko, I expected the margin to be wider.

When I arrived in Donetsk, the most powerful city in eastern Ukraine (and some would argue in all of Ukraine), on October 14 to participate in the Town Hall meeting organized by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, our little NGO immediately ran into problems.

It appeared that the city's newspapers, radio and television stations had refused to run our paid advertisements announcing the town hall meetings. We were told, unofficially, that an agreement with the Yanukovych campaign prevented any advertisement that wouldn't benefit the prime minister exclusively. We are still awaiting an official response.

We had 38 people attend the Donetsk town hall meeting, and when the moderator announced that the proceedings would be conducted in the Ukrainian language, three people walked out. That left 35. Five representatives of candidates attended: from Mr. Yanukovych (who was born in Donetsk Oblast), Mr. Yushchenko, Oleksander Moroz, Petro Symonenko and Mykola Rohozhynskiy.

The discussion was lively and the meeting lasted three hours. When 1,000 people showed up at the town hall meeting in Poltava, the event ran even longer. Ukrainians don't have the institutional memory of democracy from which to work, but they are curious about the process and want to learn more - despite the obstacles.

And there were obstacles. From Donetsk we traveled by car to Luhansk, which borders Russia. This is coal-mining country, where the steppe spreads out for miles and then, suddenly, you come across a small village huddled beneath a coal shaft. Every single billboard along the 100 or so mile route

featured Mr. Yanukovych, as if the other 23 candidates for president didn't exist.

In Luhansk we were permitted to rent an auditorium only on the outskirts of town, and again our advertisements were not accepted by the local media. In Luhansk we had nine people attend the town hall meeting. In Sumy, we were denied any venue to hold the meeting, so we had to cancel it. In Kharkiv our volunteers hung flyers announcing the town hall meeting that were immediately torn down. But our volunteers were persistent, and we had close to 500 people attend.

Our experience with Ukraine's form of democracy is a tiny example of what went on there in the weeks prior to Election Day. On October 23 Yushchenko supporters held a march and rally in Kyiv. Over 100,000 people attended, but only Channel 5, the opposition television station, gave the event full coverage. The other television stations either noted it in brief at the bottom of the news or didn't mention it at all.

Channel 5 itself ran into trouble two weeks before the election, losing its license to broadcast in Kyiv and having its bank accounts frozen over an argument between the station's major shareholder, Petro Poroshenko, a national deputy, and another member of the Verkhovna Rada.

And, beginning on October 22 Kyiv began filling up with soldiers, who were brought in to practice for a military parade commemorating the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Ukraine from Nazi Germany. This anniversary is traditionally marked on November 6. This year it was commemorated on October 28, with Russian President Vladimir Putin, who has openly endorsed Prime Minister Yanukovych, in attendance. The night before I left Ukraine, on October 25, I drove past Ukraine's Central Election Commission on Lesia Ukrainka Boulevard. The building had a few barricades in front of it, but otherwise everything was quiet. The following morning, not 12 hours later, the CEC was completely enclosed by a tall, black, spear-topped fence. By election day the building was encircled by yet another fence and surrounded by armored personnel carriers.

None of these actions are election violations per se, but put them all together and a voter feels intimidated. Which is why I consider Mr. Yushchenko's de facto tie with Prime Minister Yanukovych a true victory for democracy. We in the United States may be more polarized than ever in recent history, but we can cast our vote at the local high school without encountering a tank or riot police. Ukraine does not have that luxury, and if Viktor Yushchenko does not win the run-off election on November 21, it may never have it.

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Hurricane fails to deter UMANA mini-conference in Florida

by George Hrycelak

MIAMI BEACH – With one eye on the weather forecast, and one ear anticipating evacuation orders, the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) succeeded in holding its mini-conference and board of directors meeting at the Loews Miami Beach Hotel in South Beach, Fla., on September 23-25. The conference was held concurrently with the Ukrainian American Bar Association (UABA) convention, but was shortened by one day due to the intrusion of Hurricane Jeanne.

The theme of the conference was "Legal Issues in Medicine – Medical Issues in Law," structured to appeal to both physicians and attorneys in the audience. Despite dire weather predictions the prior week, nearly 30 physicians from the U.S. and Canada braved the threatening storm to attend the meeting.

Interestingly, the three days before Saturday's evacuation order were sunny and warm, with no hint of impending turmoil. The attendees were able to meet and network informally on Wednesday and Thursday at the hotel and to enjoy the Art-Deco surroundings of Miami Beach.

Friday, September 24, was dedicated to lectures and formal discussions.

Bohdan Iwanetz, M.D., president of UMANA, warmly welcomed the gathered members Friday morning, providing an overview of not only the conference, but the latest Doppler radar reports of offshore weather. Andrew Iwach, M.D., opened the scientific sessions, speaking about "Glaucoma Management: Current Methods and Associated Legal Challenges." Renata Kesala, M.D., a resident in radiology in Miami, spoke about "Imaging of Substance Abuse." Boris Leheta, M.D., delivered an informative and current lecture on "Medical-Legal Issues in Dementia," sparking a lively discussion with the audience regarding their personal family experiences with this condition.

Andrew E. Steckiw, president of the UABA, opened the joint afternoon sessions to a combined audience of physicians and attorneys. The first panel presentation reviewed "International Adoptions: Particular Requirements of Adopting Children from Ukraine." Halyna Kovalyova, attorney and former consul general of Ukraine in Canada, presented the



UABA President Andrew E. Steckiw (left), greets UMANA President Bohdan Iwanetz at the opening of the UMANA mini-conference in Miami Beach.

current legal framework for such adoptions. Maria Hrycelak, M.D., explored the medical implications, risks and potential pitfalls in "International Adoptions: Getting the Bugs Out."

A panel of attorneys Andrew J. Haliw

III and Raymond L. Feul presented a seminar on "Succession Planning/Sale of Small Business Practices – Tax and Estate Planning Implications" that evoked great interest from individuals in both professional groups. The final speaker for the day was Taras Kochno, M.D., who presented his experience with the "Medical, Legal and Ethical Aspects of Injuries."

Throughout the day's sessions, and despite the still beckoningly beautiful weather, the lecture hall was filled to capacity with conference attendees, who engaged in active discussion at the end of each talk. One more formal session was scheduled for that evening.

By Friday afternoon, it was becoming apparent that the mayor of Miami was contemplating evacuation of Miami Beach on Saturday morning. At that point, the UMANA board of directors called an urgent meeting of the members at the outdoor poolside deck of the Loews Hotel. Bright sunshine and an increasingly brisk wind oversaw a brief, efficient and motivated meeting. Taking active part were: Dr. Iwanetz (president), Ihor Fedoriw, O.D. (vice-president), Dr. Iwach (president-elect), Dr. Leheta (treasurer), Ihor Voyevodka, M.D. (immediate past-president), Maria Hrycelak, M.D. (archivist), Roxolana Horbowyj, M.D. (WFUMA/SFULT Representative), Zirka Kalynych, M.D. (UMANA Foundation President), and New York Metro Chapter members Diana Nychka, O.D., and Viktor Gribenko, M.D. By executive decision, the remaining events scheduled for Saturday were cancelled, including a review of "Medical Records: Magic or Madness" by George Hrycelak, M.D., and attorney Orest Bezpalko.

On Friday evening all parties gathered at the KAPZArtmosphere Gallery to hear attorney Bohdan J. Zelechiwsky present "Review of the New Tougher Lower Limits (0.08) Driving While Intoxicated Laws – In a Nutshell." Fully informed now of their rights, the group next heard from wine broker Peter Taborr on "Entertaining Clients Without the Intimidation of a Wine List," followed by a tasting of a variety of interesting wines appropriate to any occasion and palate.

The steadily deteriorating weather situation was by now leading to an evacuation of the hotel on Saturday morning. Most UMANA members elected discretion as the better part of valor, and made arrangements to fly back to their cities of origin that morning. A sorry few were booked on late flights that never materialized. In a desperate move, just prior to the airport closing, they rented a mini-van and escaped ahead of the storm all the way to Chicago, non-stop.

To their credit, many UABA members chose to weather the hurricane, safely transferred to an inland hotel. There they completed the remainder of the program,

(Continued on page 25)

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KEYNOTE SPEECH: The turning point of Ukraine's presidential election

Following are excerpts of the keynote speech delivered in September 25 by Orest Deychakivsky, staff advisor of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, at the joint meeting of the Ukrainian American Bar Association (UABA) and Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) in Miami.

A number of analysts have stated that this is the most important year since Ukraine became independent 13 years ago – specifically referring to the presidential election. Now you often hear that every election is important, but this one truly is – the stakes are high.

This election will determine Ukraine's future for years to come, not only with respect to who emerges as leader, but also because the election process itself – how the election and election campaign is being conducted – sends powerful signals as to Ukraine's commitment to democracy.

This election represents the first time since independence that a democratic opposition candidate has a chance of winning and replacing the old order – provided, of course, that the elections are free and fair. Opinion polls in Ukraine have long signaled danger to President Leonid Kuchma and the oligarch clans supporting him. With Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko's popularity growing (he's currently the preference of around 40 percent of the electorate, which is very high by Ukrainian standards), next month's election looks like it could result in Kuchma supporters losing the reins over the presidency, and the power and assets that go with it.

The choice between the two candidates is clear. Yushchenko's vision is that of a Ukraine founded on democratic European values, which will enable all citizens to realize their socio-economic potential in a country governed by the rule of law. On the other hand, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich essentially wants to maintain the status-quo of preserving the current system of a regime ruling over competing financial-industrial groups (i.e., oligarchs) and corrupt government bureaucrats implementing unpopular policies with little respect for individual liberties and basic human rights. Given the status quo, it's no accident that 80 percent of Ukrainians believe that Ukraine is heading in the wrong direction and two-thirds think the election will be falsified. Trust in state institutions is at an all-time low. ...

Not all black and white

But Ukraine is a complex entity, and not all is black and white. The Ukrainian political system does have positive features. And everyone recognizes that countries don't overcome the stifling, brutal legacies of Soviet Communist domination overnight. What has been troubling about Ukraine is the backsliding – the movement in the wrong direction.

First, Ukraine has its independence. The fact of independence is an astounding historical achievement, and something many here, in one capacity or another, plus our parents, grandparents, relatives and friends actively struggled for and some paid the ultimate sacrifice for. Even with all its serious flaws, independent Ukraine is preferable to Soviet Ukraine, especially in terms of fundamental human rights and freedoms. The problem is in the quality of Ukraine's independence.

Still, there is a good news category, but even this good news has caveats. The economy (GDP) has been improving in the last few years – starting when Yushchenko was prime minister – following the dramatic decline of the 1990s. This is positive and encouraging. On the other hand, Yanukovich and the other powers that be, instead of taking advantage of this upturn to implement long-overdue reforms in various sectors or reduce state bureaucracy, have

been very active in the last few months in reaching back-room deals. During first six months of this year, for example, more tenders have been awarded to the lowest bidder than during the entire previous decade of state privatization.

There are some bright spots in Ukraine's democracy and human rights record. Two important ones since independence have been in the area of respect for national minorities and religious liberties. This is something that the international community has recognized and went a ways in giving Ukraine a positive initial reputation in the 1990s. Unfortunately, this positive record has been seriously tainted for reasons that anyone who follows Ukraine is at least broadly familiar with: pervasive, debilitating corruption, including at the highest levels; manipulation of elections; violence against the political opposition; and the murder of journalists, including the Gongadze case, which has become the poster child with what's wrong with Ukraine, and the now four-year, high-level cover-up – a cover-up that gives new meaning to the term contempt for the rule of law. Sadly, the scandals of the Kuchma administration make Watergate look like child's play.

Importantly, and thankfully, Ukraine has some countervailing influences to the ruling regime.

It does have an active, democratically oriented political opposition and a growing civil society – something missing in most of the other former Soviet states, including Russia, where the political opposition is being emasculated thanks to President Vladimir Putin's growing authoritarianism. Indeed, the fact of genuine political opposition in Ukraine is one reason why the current election campaign battle is so intense. The "vlada" fears that, even with all of its cheating and machinations, Yushchenko might still win.

Ukraine also has a real Parliament, with a real opposition that does not always do the president's or government's bidding. Indeed, just two weeks ago, the pro-government parliamentary majority fell apart, something which may seriously impair Yanukovich's election bid. And, to its credit, the Rada passed resolutions calling for monitoring of the elections and, most recently, creating an ad-hoc committee to investigate the poisoning of Yushchenko. This, too, contrasts sharply with Russia and Belarus, where their Parliaments and civil society are much more constrained. (Although I hasten to add that just because Russia, or Belarus, is worse, does not mean that what's going on in Ukraine is by any means acceptable, or excusable, especially given Ukraine's oft-repeated desire to join Europe.)

The Russia factor

... The Russian political leadership seems to believe that a Yushchenko victory would lead Ukraine to turn Westward and put an end to all of Russian efforts to integrate Ukraine. But part of it also has less to do with grand politics and a lot to do with cold, hard cash, specifically the shady energy sector. Russian energy-related capital has had a very close relationship with Kuchma and his assorted governments, and there have been a lot of schemes in which some people have made a lot of money, which under Yushchenko would likely disappear. Many Russian businesses would prefer operating in the murky environment of the status quo.

It's not accidental that you don't hear calls for free and fair elections in Ukraine from Putin or that the controlled Russian media is biased towards Yanukovich. This is not to say that the Russians would completely trust Yanukovich, just as they don't completely trust Kuchma, or that some, especially those who value more transparent business arrangements, don't even favor Yushchenko.

The U.S. and West

Another issue is U.S. and Western response and interest in the elections. There is serious and persistent interest – in Congress, where a resolution calling for democratic elections in Ukraine sponsored by Rep. Henry Hyde, and Rep. Chris Smith and Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, respectively, chairman and co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission has recently passed the Senate and is about to pass the House. [The house passed the resolution on October 4 – ed.] There have been numerous statements from just about everyone – the Helsinki Commission, the U.S. government, Canada, the European Union, the OSCE, the Council of Europe; and a whole host of prominent public figures from the United States visited to deliver the "free and fair elections message" – former president George Bush, Richard Armitage, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Madeleine Albright, George Soros, John McCain, Richard Lugar, Richard Holbrooke, Wesley Clark, as well as President George Bush at the NATO Istanbul summit. But is even all this enough? Are they listening? Unfortunately, there are serious doubts. Would the situation be even worse if the international community remained silent?

... A brief observation about our own elections here and U.S. policy towards

Ukraine, recognizing that one can give several speeches on this topic alone (and recognizing that I may be threading on thin ice among some given the charged atmosphere of own forthcoming elections here). As one who has worked with various administrations on Ukrainian issues, I've reached the conclusion that given the same set of negative developments – the Gongadze case, the Kolchuha, corruption, attacks on media freedoms, lying to the U.S. about arms sales to Macedonia, and, very importantly, the U.S.'s understandably changing priorities in the post 9/11 world and the war on terror, a Democratic (i.e., Gore) administration would have had generally the same approach towards Ukraine as the Bush administration.

The reality is that a significant determinant in U.S. policy towards Ukraine is the behavior of the Ukrainian authorities themselves. Nevertheless, there is fundamental consensus across party lines in this country when it comes to supporting an independent, democratic, rule-of-law Ukraine. Both prominent Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives – a steady stream of who have been traveling to Ukraine over the last few months – have all been delivering the free and fair elections message, because there is a strong understanding of the impor-

(Continued on page 21)

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FOCUS ON PHILATELY

by Inger Kuzych

Ukrainian provisional stamps, 1992-1995



Figure 1. Ukraine's first provisional stamps from Kyiv (Type 1).

PART I

One of the most fascinating and challenging collecting areas of Ukrainian philately emerged shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. On January 2, 1992, just one month after Ukraine ratified its independence from the USSR, Ukraine's postal service instituted a nine-fold (ten times) increase in postal rates. Suddenly, postage stamps denominated 35 kopyky (the Ukrainian equivalent of the Soviet Russian kopek) and higher were needed to facilitate this rate increase – but none were immediately available. An earlier (much smaller) rate hike announced by Soviet authorities in April of 1991 resulted in orders for the printing of one-, two- and 3-kopek stamps. However, the delivery of these low-value stamps to post offices was significantly delayed and, once they did arrive, they proved virtually useless to cover the

major new rate increase of January 1992.

During the Soviet era, all post offices – recognized as being communication facilities with an inherent capability of influencing the populace – were kept under the strictest control and centrally managed to the greatest extent possible from Moscow. After Ukraine broke away from the USSR in late 1991, Ukrainian postal officials were initially not even aware of the locations and the total number of post offices under their “control.” In effect, many smaller post offices became isolated and rudderless; this detachment occurred in nearly every postal region of the newly independent state. As a result, when the need for higher value postage became critical (i.e., when stocks of available old Soviet stamps became depleted), post offices all over the country were forced to take the initiative and to set about creating provisional stamps of various types.



Figure 2. Examples of other local provisional stamps produced in Kyiv during the first half of 1992 (Types 2, 4 and 5).

Initial efforts

The need for new higher-denominated stamps was first felt in Ukraine's largest postal facility in Kyiv, because as the national postal headquarters it acquired the responsibility for supplying stamps to the rest of the country's post offices. The Kyiv Main Post Office quickly set about producing its own local provisional stamps, since Ukraine did not yet have its own stamp-printing facilities. In January 1992 a set of seven un gummed stamps with a simple design and ranging in values from 1 to 50 karbovantsi was quickly printed (Figure 1). Over the next few months several added designs – with many additional values – were produced (Figure 2).

It was the major post offices of Kyiv, Lviv and Chernihiv that at the end of March 1992 first began to use trident-overprinted Soviet-era stamps. Three basic trident-in-shield designs were used, and 13 different values, each of a specified color, were printed at the Borysfen print shop in Kyiv (Figure 3). Twelve of the prepared values went to the Kyiv post office, seven went to Lviv, and four to Chernihiv. These overprinted stamps were the only ones officially ordered by the Ministry of Communications and they represented the modern-day continuation of a practice of philatelic Ukrainianization first begun in 1918. At that time, during Ukraine's earlier period of independence, many former stamps of the tsarist regime received trident overprints.

Grouping the provisionals

When quantities of former Soviet stamps began to run low, other post offices began to take matters into their own hands to keep the mails moving. Many procedures for indicating postal payment were contrived, and these can be grouped into several distinct categories:

1. Local provisionals, which consisted of stamp-like pieces of paper or cardboard hastily created by handstamp, meter machine, or other device to take the place of stamps. Figure 4 shows a registered letter with four local provisionals produced in Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskyi. It was sent from Tsybli to Kyiv on June 30, 1993. This category of provisionals proved to be the largest by far for items that were affixed to mail. Additionally, a few locales actually took the trouble to have provisional stamps printed at local print shops. The fauna stamps of Chernivtsi, several of which are pictured in Figure 5, are a good example of such locally printed stamps.

2. Overprints of new denominations, symbols and/or text printed onto obsolete Soviet postage stamps. The advantage of producing overprinted stamps is that they were already gummed, perforated and



Figure 3. Examples of Ukraine's first trident-overprinted provisional stamps, these are the values prepared for Kyiv. Although printed in the capital, many of these stamps were also sent out to Lviv and Chernihiv.

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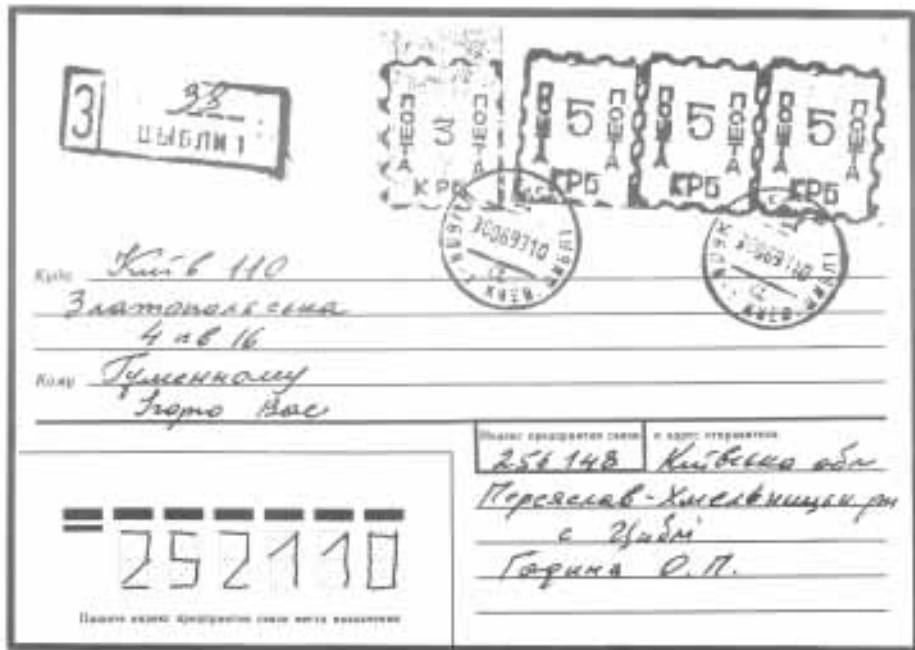


Figure 4. Four provisionals from Periaslav-Khmelnyskiy – a three-karbovantsi stamp and a strip of three five-karbovantsi stamps – appear on this 1993 cover sent from Tsybli to Kyiv.

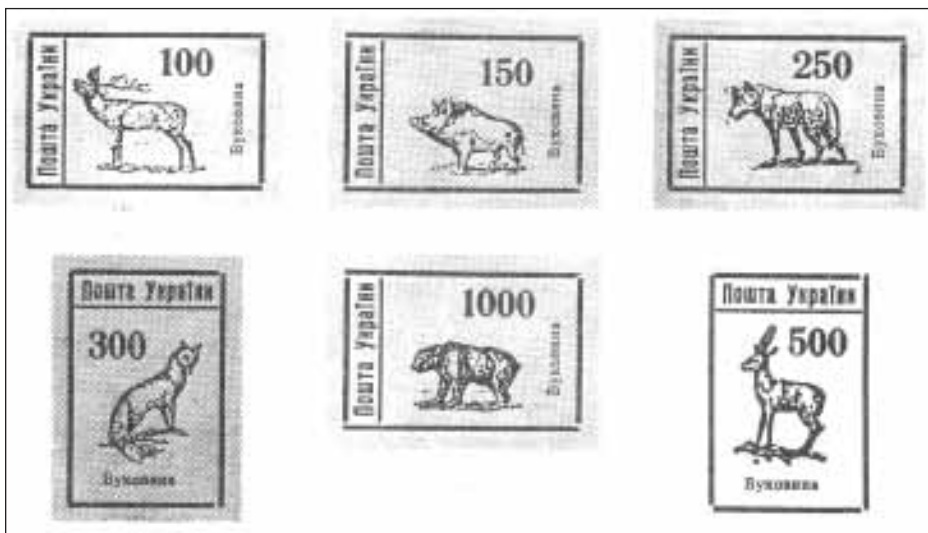


Figure 5. A complete set of the first printing of the “Fauna of Bukovyna” stamps from Chernivtsi.

available in relatively large quantities. Figure 6 depicts an airmail letter bearing three trident-overprinted Soviet stamps produced in Kyiv. This letter from Kyiv to Cicero, Ill., was posted in April 1992.

3. Cash register receipts and postal forms drafted into use to indicate payment of postage. The former were especially widely used and could be pro-

stamps – either old Soviet or newer Ukrainian issues – that simply acquired a new value, different from what was printed on them. This practice began in the second half of 1994 and consisted of stamps being assigned a new worth, usually 10, 100 or 1,000 times their original value. In a few instances, new values were inscribed by pen onto the stamp (Figure 9).



Figure 8. Post office receipt form No. 47 – from Buky in the Zhytomyr oblast – used to verify postage paid.

duced as needed to show any value necessary. They were printed by post office cash register machines and affixed to envelopes (Figure 7). This proved to be a very efficient way of quickly creating “stamps” that showed how much had been paid, that displayed the name of the post office and that also included an official emblem (the old Soviet seal). A further way of creating “stamps” was to use available old Soviet post office receipt forms and simply fill them out – perhaps trim them to size – and paste them onto mails (Figure 8).

4. Revalued stamps were regular



Figure 9. Examples of two different 5 karbovantsi Soviet stamps revalued to 50 karbovantsi (a 1,000 times increase) by the addition of a handwritten “0” after the numeral “5.”

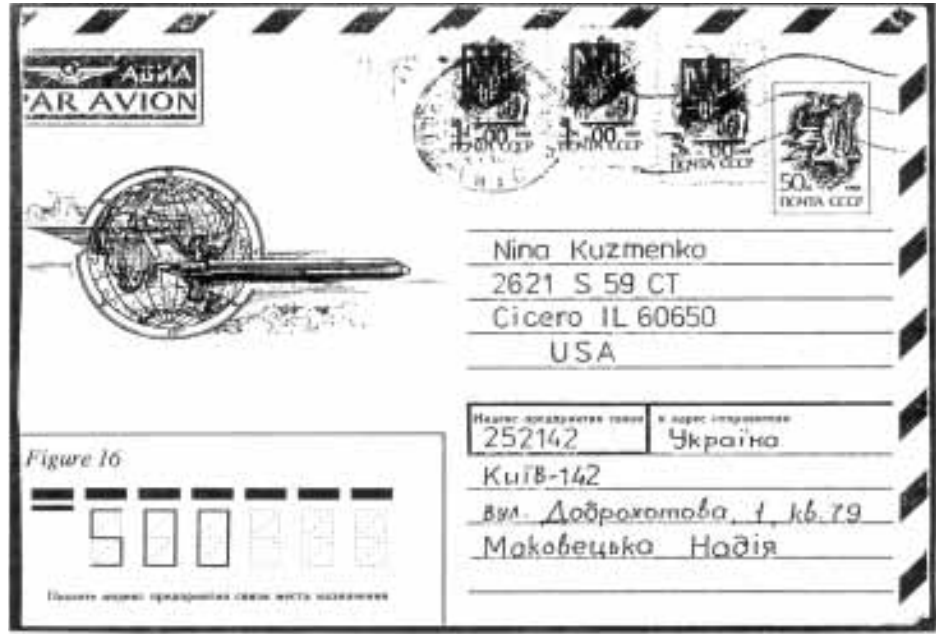


Figure 6. A 1992 airmail letter from Kyiv to Illinois bears three trident-overprinted stamps from Kyiv.

A fifth category – surcharges – differed from the stamp-like items described above. They consisted of markings applied directly onto Soviet postal stationery (envelopes and postal cards) to meet the new rates. These markings took on a tremendous variety of forms, ranging from simple handwritten values to

elaborate special marks, but the sheer volume produced puts their description beyond the scope of this article. Nonetheless, an illustration is warranted. Figure 10 shows a 1994 trident surcharge added to a registered cover from Druzhkivka. The 1993 Ukrainian com-

(Continued on page 19)



Figure 7. Cover sent in June of 1993 from Kyiv to Maryland carries a cash register receipt as an indication of postage paid. The 238-karbovantsi air mail rate was paid by the 143 karbovantsi on the receipt, the 94.50 karbovantsi surcharge marking on the cover, and the 50-karbovantsi imprinted old Soviet stamp.



Figure 10. In early 1994, when this registered cover was sent, the tariff was 200 karbovantsiv. It was paid with the 75-karbovantsi stamp and the balance collected (125 karbovantsi) was written into the rectangular surcharge box. Note the prominent trident, the stamp honors the 60th Anniversary of the Holodomor or Great Famine, in which over 7 million Ukrainians were deliberately starved to death.

A WORK IN PROGRESS: Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky's students prepare for testimonial performance



Kristine Izak and Boris Bohachevsky (foreground), both associate artistic directors of the Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Foundation, and Syzokryli dancers (in the background) take a break from their rehearsal.



Photos in this series by Andrew Nynka

Andrij Cybyk, artistic director of Syzokryli, works with a group of dancers from New York age 13-19 during their rehearsal on October 17 at St. George Ukrainian Catholic School in New York.



Young dancers rehearse a number they will perform at Lincoln Center's Alice Tully Hall on Saturday, November 13, to celebrate the work of their late teacher, Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky.



Orlando Pagan instructs members of the Iskra dance group from Whippany, N.J., during a rehearsal on October 17. The group, age 9-16, and all of the other performers who will take part in the "Reflections on Ukrainian Dance," were all once students of Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky.



Syzokryli dancer Orlando Pagan points out a technique to the youngest of three dance groups taking part in the "Reflections on Ukrainian Dance" commemoration in honor of Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky. In addition to dancing with Syzokryli for the past 14 years, Mr. Pagan is currently the artistic director of both the Zoloty Promin School of Ukrainian Dance in Hartford, Conn., and the Mriya School of Ukrainian Dance in Hempstead, Long Island.



Former students of Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky's (from the left) Lillianna Chudolij, Zenia Nakoneczny-Olesnycky and Marta Denysenko discuss a portion of the "Reflections of Ukrainian Dance" program with Andrij Cybyk. Mr. Cybyk is also the associate artistic director of the Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Foundation.

INTERVIEW: Composer Virko Baley on his most recent compositions



Virko Baley

In the interview below, Virko Baley discusses his recent compositions with WNYC radio host John Schaefer on the eve of their premiere in two concerts in New York.

As producer and host of music programming at WNYC, New York's premiere public radio station, Mr. Schaefer is the creator of the new-music radio program "New Sounds" (1982), and "New Sounds Live" (1986), an annual series of live broadcast concerts devoted to many types of new, unusual and overlooked forms of music. He is also host of "Soundcheck," a program that showcases composers and performers with ties to New York's vital and vibrant cultural scene, as well as executive producer and host of the nationally syndicated series "Chamber Music New York." Since 1991 he has produced and hosted WNYC's programs of classical performances, both in studio and in various concert halls.

Mr. Schaefer's writings include "New Sounds: A Listener's Guide to New Music" (Harper and Row, NY, 1987; Virgin Books, London, 1990); a biography of composer La Monte Young (in "Sound and Light," Bucknell University Press, 1996); and "Songlines: The Voice in World Music" (Cambridge Companion to Singing, Cambridge University Press, UK, 2000).

He was contributing editor for *Spin* and *Ear* magazines, and has written numerous articles and reviews. His liner notes appear on more than 100 recordings, ranging from "The Music of Cambodia" to recordings by Yo-Yo Ma, Bobby McFerrin and Terry Riley.

Mr. Schaefer was presented with the American Music Center's prestigious Letter of Distinction for his "substantial contributions to advancing the field of contemporary American music in the United States and abroad."

by John Schaefer

You know what they say about New York – if you can make it there, you can make it anywhere. That's why composers leap at the opportunity to have their music played in New York City. Not everyone gets that chance, but Virko Baley, who lives a couple of thousand miles away in Las Vegas, has become almost a regular presence on the New York music scene. The middle of November is a particularly busy time for the Ukrainian American composer. On November 19, the New Juilliard Ensemble, at Alice Tully Hall, will premiere Baley's Symphony No. 2, "Red Earth." And on November 21, the Ukrainian Institute of America will host a recital of his chamber music, including the New York premiere of a song cycle called "A Journey after Loves," based on poetry by Bohdan Boychuk, translated from the Ukrainian by David Ignatow;

the "Dreamtime Suite" No. 1; the world premiere of the complete Book I of Baley's "Emily Dickinson Songbook"; and other works.

Your Symphony No. 1, "Sacred Monuments," had a subtitle and a very definite "program" – each of the four movements commemorating the life and work of a Ukrainian composer of the past. The new Symphony No. 2 also has a subtitle. What does "Red Earth" refer to, and is this "program music"?

The idea of the symphony came to me after visiting Sedona, Arizona, for the first time about a year ago. The beauty of the many canyons, the lush starkness of the triad of the vivid colors of red, blue and green caused a kind of epiphany. The infinite varieties of crimson that cover the earth reminded me of spilled blood. The opening lines of the Ukrainian poet, [Taras] Shevchenko's, astonishing poem, "Kavkaz" [The Caucasus], came to mind: "Za horamy hory, khmaroyu povyti, zasyani horem, kroyu polyti." [Beyond mountains, other mountains, veiled by clouds, sowed with woe, and watered with blood].

The color red, surrounded by blue and pockmarked with asymmetrical patches of intense green, suggested a triad of notes, simply three-note pitches, both close and yet, harmonically, far away: D, E and F. Nothing could be simpler; but this simplicity is exactly what attracted me. As the idea of the piece grew and themes began to gather around these three notes, I then decided that this symphony, which had the title of "Red Earth" before a single note was put on paper, had to be connected to my still unfinished opera, "Hunger." The red of Sedona, beautiful, on the surface serene – Sedona, the land of many vortexes and new age humanism – and the blood soaked earth of Ukraine in 1932, the subject of the opera. The libretto, by Bohdan Boychuk, deals with an event during the 1932-1933 Famine in Ukraine, put into effect by that great engineer of human souls, Joseph Stalin. "Hunger" is a work I've been struggling with for two decades. All the thematic material in the opera is based on just such three notes, which is from a folk song that I heard for the first time in Sergei Paradjanov's film "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors." This theme, which in the opera is part of a flashback to a memory of a wedding a few years before the events happening on the stage, becomes, in the symphony, the ur-motive of the whole work. It is both triumphant and strangely doomed.

You equate the colors red, green and blue with the pitches D, E and F. Do you have synesthesia – like Messiaen, or Scriabin? In other words, do you "hear" colors?

No, I am not blessed with synesthesia, unfortunately. But when writing certain pieces, I seem to be drawn to certain pitches, which I begin to hear in a coloristic way. In this case, D, E, and F did become associated with the three colors, but slowly morphed into a mixture of colors (one leaking into another) and transpositions began to create hybrids (as in nature).

In the "Intrada" movement of the symphony, for example, the theme echoes the idea of the Sedona mountains – monoliths in the valley, richly embroidered walls in the canyons. "Intrada" is linked to the second movement, "Duma," where the three-note motive undergoes many transformations and expansions, creating a necklace of such patterns. I became interested in creating a "new age" type of a texture, but one with an opposing force, the force of nature. The vortex idea, is a human construct; nature in Sedona is not. What you will hear is the two flowing concurrently, but not in harmony.

The third movement, "Incantations," a

scherzo, is a wild dance where the interval of a third dominates the fabric. It is short, fast and brutal, as a sudden, dangerous encounter in a dark canyon at night might be.

The fourth movement, "In Memoriam: 'Heart of Glass,'" is an instrumental realization of the last scene in the opera "Hunger." A farewell to life, a lament, that is in some ways connected to the prophet Jeremiah's lamentation, "Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for those who were slain" (9:1). This orchestral version is dedicated to the memory of Valentin Bibik, who died from a brain tumor over a year ago; a composer I profoundly respected.

Symphony No. 2 is for me a link between Ukraine's history and the natural tapestry of Sedona. But to come back to your first question: Is it programmatic? Certainly not in terms of a plot; but in a more profound and mysterious way. As a human being, and composer, I'm under the spell of both.

"Duma" and "Heart of Glass" are titles that you've used before. Do you attach particular significance to them? Do they suggest specific types of musical gestures in your work?

"Duma" for me is like Minuet was for Mozart. It is now a form. Duma in Ukrainian is "thought"; it is also a folk form, a ballad, a historical tale done as a song, an improvisation, a rumination. Yes, I use it a lot – and will continue to do so. I suppose it is my "adagio."

"Heart of Glass" first appeared in "Dreamtime" (a large-scale chamber work for the California EAR Unit) and then in "Dreamtime Suite" No. 2 (for violin, cello and piano), and now in the second symphony. The other title which is becoming a form for me is "Hour of the Wolf" – there are now two such pieces, totally unrelated musically to each other (they share no common materials), but very closely related as to context: first time in "Dreamtime" and more recently in Symphony No. 1: "Sacred Monuments." It is the dark hour of the soul.

Moving on to the music on the upcoming chamber recital, the settings of Bohdan Boychuk's poetry in "A Journey After Loves" are not the first time you've used Eastern European, Slavic texts. While you haven't done many text settings until recently, "Treny" – largely a work for two cellos – did use some Polish texts. Is there a connection, something peculiarly "Slavic," between "Treny" and the Boychuk settings, even if they're in English translation?

Perhaps both deal with loss: "Treny" with ultimate loss, "A Journey After Loves" with loss of love. In that sense, "A Journey After Loves" has a link with Winterreise (Franz Schubert's towering song cycle). I was very much interested in setting Boychuk's English version of the poetic cycle (and it is really an English version rather than just a good translation) with a Slavic accent. It is as if you were to hear someone speak excellent English, but with an accent. That is what I tried to do in "A Journey After Loves." I think I succeeded. By the way, there is a "Duma" in that cycle as well, although not called that specifically – it is the song "Withered Flowers."

You've also set Emily Dickinson's poetry – a fair amount of it, it looks like. Are you familiar with the idea – first proposed, I'm told, by Dickinson herself – that all the dashes in her poem represent places where, in her mind's ear, music was to go?

Yes, I think I remember reading about it. But I didn't remember it when I was setting the first two books (there are 12 songs so



Steve J. Sherman

WNYC radio host John Schaefer.

far). Nor, frankly, would I want to do it in each and every case. I think the function of songs, as opposed to recitative or musical declamation, is to find a lyrical metaphor for the song as a whole; a kind of overriding ur-text, hidden within the words; a metaphor which binds all the words together. But now that you've mentioned it, I might try doing that in Book 3. My next Dickinson project is a setting for unaccompanied voice of one of her letters, actually a draft of a letter to an unknown recipient, written in early 1862, but no one knows for certain, that starts with "Oh, did I offend it." It will be a kind of tour de force, a real old-fashioned mad scene. But, solo voice. No accompaniment.

How do the settings of the Ukrainian and American texts differ? The rhythms of the languages are different. Does that affect the "sound world" of each piece?

First of all, all of the songs are in English – Dickinson, obviously, but Boychuk's is also in an English translation; an excellent translation. But, in setting Boychuk's poems I was interested in creating a Slavic sound. The work is written in memoriam to Leos Janacek, who wrote one of the great vocal cycles about lost love, "The Diary of One Who Vanished." Throughout the eight songs I make very conscious references to a few other Slavic composers, mostly contemporary.

The Dickinson cycle I began after hearing the Portuguese cross-over group Madredeus and their lead singer Teresa Salgueiro. I think she is one of the great singers of our time. I actually saw and heard the group for the first time in a film by Wim Wenders, "Lisbon Story." I wanted to write songs like that, but, of course, in my style. Songs where the melody rules! Another aspect was the use of a certain kind of ostinato accompaniment; by that I mean, giving each song a clear acoustical space in which the voice will float in and out of.

Back to the symphony – what was the genesis of the piece? Was it written specifically for this orchestra and this occasion?

Joel Sachs, that indefatigable and brilliant champion of new music, suggested that I write the piece for the New Juilliard Ensemble. I wanted very much to write my second symphony – but, this time of modest length and a more restricted numbers. Naturally, I probably failed in the numbers a bit, as I kept asking Joel if I could add this and that. I think he held out fairly well for a while and then let me have it between the ears, so to speak. Seriously, it is a symphony for a double

(Continued on page 27)

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Yushchenko wins...

(Continued from page 2)

ballots were used by skinheads and Donetsk Shakhtar soccer supporters who had specially arranged trains and coaches organized to transport them from eastern Ukraine to Kyiv and western Ukraine. These absentee votes aimed to secure a high vote for Mr. Yanukovich in areas where Mr. Yushchenko traditionally dominates.

The three regions where these absentee voters were from are Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk and Crimea. In all three, 50,500 more people voted than obtained bulletins (obozrevatel.com.ua, November 2). These were used to swing votes in key areas for Mr. Yanukovich. Another 30,000 absentee votes were used in Cherkasy and Chernihiv, plus many more in Zhytomyr, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Poltava and Kyiv; all are Yushchenko strongholds (Ukrainska Pravda, November 2).

The total number of absentee ballots in favor of Mr. Yanukovich is between 85,000 and 130,000, according to election monitoring groups. These groups suspect that absentee voters most likely voted twice, someone on their behalf in their home precinct and themselves at their current location. In Donetsk this was undertaken through the use of foreign passports (with the absentee voters taking their internal passports with them).

Third, an anonymous source from the Medvedchuk camp in the CEC also alleged that the Communist Party candidate Petro Symonenko "donated" over of 670,000 votes to Yanukovich in the Donbas oblasts of Donetsk and Luhansk. Whether these votes were voluntarily "donated" or not, others were clearly stolen. These came from Kyiv Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko, Progressive Socialist Natalia Vitrenko, former Prime Minister Anatolii Kinakh and, the highest number from Socialist leader Oleksander Moroz (razom.org.ua, November 2).

Fourth, faulty voting lists were a major problem. Prior to election day "dead souls" were uncovered on numerous voting lists, including 17,000 in Kharkiv alone. The Yushchenko camp believes that these "dead souls" could total as much as 2 million throughout Ukraine (razom.org.ua, October 17).

Three weeks separate the first and second rounds of voting, and the Yanukovich camp is desperately courting left-wing votes. This may be difficult, as more than three-quarters of traditional Communist voters already supported Mr. Yanukovich in Round 1. Mr. Symonenko has declined to support "representatives of big business," which he claims dominate both leading candidates, meaning the 5-6 percent he obtained in the first round may not go to Mr. Yanukovich (UNIAN, November 1).

The Yanukovich camp is desperately courting these left-wing votes by seeking to railroad through the Verkhovna Rada before Round 2 legislation making Russian a second state language, allowing dual citizenship and supporting constitutional reform. These measures, though, are unlikely to be adopted, as even some within the presidential camp opposed such policies.

The Socialists will be the kingmakers as for the first time, they beat the Communists in an election. They, like Yushchenko's camp, believe that the first round was falsified and have stated their intention to not back a candidate representing the authorities (Interfax-Ukraine, November 1).

Mr. Yushchenko, therefore, is set to gain the Socialist vote in Round 2, as well as negative votes against the authorities. Mr. Yanukovich meanwhile, has exhausted his election support in Round 1 and has nothing to draw upon in the next round.

Organist Koshuba on U.S. tour

WASHINGTON – Ukraine's foremost organist, Volodymyr Koshuba, will be concluding his 2004 U.S. concert tour this coming weekend with two performances on the East Coast in Westfield, N.J., and in Marblehead, Mass.

The concert organist of the Kyiv State Organ Concert Hall will perform at the First United Methodist Church, at 1 E. Broad St. in Westfield, on Friday, November 12, at 7:30 p.m.; and on Sunday, November 14, at 5 p.m., he will give a recital at St. Michael's

Church, at 26 Pleasant St. in Marblehead, northeast of Boston.

In addition to the standard organ repertoire, Mr. Koshuba's recital programs feature arrangement of works by Bortniansky and other Ukrainian composers. The admission donation to the Westfield concert is \$5 (information: 908-233-4211); in Marblehead it's \$10, which includes a wine-and-cheese reception (781-631-0657).

Mr. Koshuba began his tour in La Crosse, Wisc., and in Pittsburgh.

Ukrainian citizens...

(Continued from page 4)

election committee were all Ukrainian citizens who applied to the Central Election Commission in Ukraine to be members of the regional committee, said Pavel Kostyuk, the committee's secretary.

But there were small problems. "I voted for the wrong person," Vasyl Zimbitskiy told his wife after he left one of the booths set up to provide privacy for voters. "I marked the wrong spot." His wife reprimanded him, but Mr. Zimbitskiy said, "I don't have my glasses." Election committee workers allowed him to cast a new ballot, while the old one was put aside and eventually joined the unused pile that was carefully wrapped, sealed and sent back to the Central Election Committee offices in Kyiv.

Consul General Serhiy Pohoreltzev said there were Ukrainian citizens who came to the New York Consulate eager to

vote but were turned away because they were not registered. Anyone who is interested in registering to vote in the November 21 runoff can still do so, and people were urged to contact the nearest Ukrainian consular office or Embassy to register, said Mr. Pohoreltzev, who voted an hour before the voting station closed, but did not say for whom he voted.

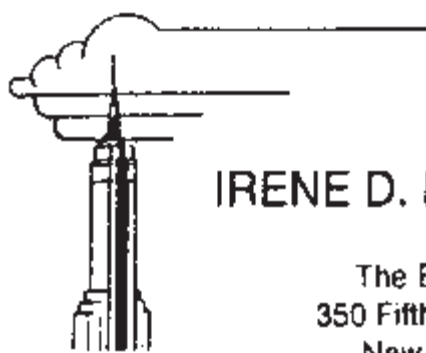
Messrs. Yanukovych and Yushchenko were not the only candidates to receive votes in North America. A small percentage of voters also chose from among the other 22 candidates on the 16-inch-long ballot. Others who got votes in North America included: Andrii Chornovil, Oleksander Omelchenko, Oleksander Yakovenko, Natalia Vitrenko, Oleksander Moroz, Dmytro Korchynskyi, Mykhailo Brodskyi, Petro Symonenko, Leonid Chernovetskyi, Serhii Komisarenko and Anatolii Kinakh. None of these candidates, however, took more than 5 percent of the vote in any precinct in North America.

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

than an "electoral trick" on the part of Mr. Putin to support Mr. Yanukovych's candidacy in the Ukrainian presidential election.

Mr. Belkovskii predicted that President Putin will retreat from the initiative as soon as the election is over, as the trafficking of humans and drugs across the Russian-Ukrainian border is already too difficult to control. (RFE/RL Newsline)



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Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

On November 1, with 99.9 percent of the vote counted, Ukraine's Central Election Commission announced that Mr. Kuchma had gathered 36.48 percent of the vote, followed by Mr. Symonenko with 22.24 percent. The results show that the president took 17 of the 25 regions of Ukraine, while Mr. Symonenko won five oblasts and Crimea. Socialist Party candidate Oleksander Moroz received a majority in two oblasts, and Progressive Socialist Natalia Vitrenko took one. Mr. Moroz and Ms. Vitrenko each received just over 11 percent of the electoral vote.

On a clear and warm autumn day, voters turned out in large numbers, but the local election precincts were prepared for them and the voters were able to cast their ballots in minutes. There were few problems, and the thousands of foreign and domestic election observers located throughout all of the oblasts of Ukraine recorded no major voting irregularities, although minor violations abounded.

With 69.82 percent of the electorate voting, the turnout was higher than the 68 percent recorded in the 1994 presidential

elections and the 64 percent that cast ballots in parliamentary elections in 1998.

The CEC said that 3.95 percent of the ballots were invalidated because they were improperly filled out, and that 1.8 percent of voters who claimed ballots at polling stations decided to vote for nobody.

In a reversal of his fortunes in the 1994 elections, the president showed the most strength in the western regions. In 1994 the west voted heavily against him, favoring Leonid Kravchuk, then the incumbent. Mr. Kuchma had spent much time in the Ternopil, Zakarpattia and Lviv oblasts in the months before election day, and it seems his efforts paid off.

In both Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk some 70 percent of voters supported the incumbent, while in Lviv that number was only slightly less, 64 percent.

Also unlike in 1994, President Kuchma did very poorly in the heavily populated eastern and southern regions. He took a single oblast, barely managing a majority in his home region of Dnipropetrovsk. The other eight oblasts and Crimea were divided among the three leftist candidates who followed Mr. Kuchma in the final tally.

Two days after the results were tallied, the president dismissed his regional heads in

two eastern oblasts, Kirovohrad and Poltava, as well as the Vinnytsia Oblast leader. Vinnytsia was one of only two central regions (Mykolaiv Oblast was the other) where the president couldn't claim a victory.

Oleksander Martynenko, the president's press spokesman, confirmed that the firings were directly related to the president's poor showing in those oblasts.

"The support the president received in these regions in the election reflects the performance of the local administration heads," explained Mr. Martynenko. ...

In the first round Mr. Symonenko was rarely the target of political attacks by the president's election team, and had run a quiet campaign in return. Most experts have agreed that the Kuchma team wanted a showdown with the Communists, in the belief that a majority of Ukrainians would opt for the incumbent with all his shortcomings in a run-off with a Communist who proposes radical and uncertain changes.

The Kuchma campaign had directed its sharpest volleys at the Kaniv Four, a group ideologically much closer to the president.

During a press conference after the results were announced Mr. Kuchma said the first round had ended as he had expect-

ed. "Yet, I cannot relax. On the contrary I must concentrate on the remaining days [to the run-off]," said the president. ...

The strongest finishers on the right – Yevhen Marchuk, who was aligned with the predominantly leftist Kaniv Four group and took 8.13 percent of the vote, and Yurii Kostenko of the splinter Rukh organization, who managed only 2.17 percent – were unabashedly anti-Kuchma in their pre-election rhetoric, to such an extent that experts believe it will be difficult for them to endorse Mr. Kuchma in the November 14 run-off. Both candidates also have said they would not support the Communists in any case.

On the left, Mr. Moroz said on November 2 that he is negotiating with Mr. Symonenko on an endorsement. ... Ms. Vitrenko, the other major leftist candidate, said she would support the Communist candidate only if she were assured the post of prime minister. She gave Mr. Symonenko until November 7 to put it in writing.

Source: "Kuchma and Symonenko to face off on November 14," by Roman Woronowycz, Kyiv Press Bureau, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, November 7, 1999, Vol. LXVII, No. 45.

Ukrainian provisional...

(Continued from page 13)


memorative on the envelope marks the 60th anniversary of the Great Famine.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Communications gave permission for all of the above-described categories of provisionals to be produced. Over time, however, the different varieties of overprints, surcharges and the like became so prolific that when the Ukrainian Postal Administration finally got a handle on its postal system, it denied that most of these provisional stamps – which had actually been used to transmit mail were in fact legitimate postal issues. The majority of post offices that produced local provisionals subsequently became reluctant to shed any light on what had happened. Many inquiries went unanswered or received the typical response of "nothing happened." This holdover Soviet mentality stymied many philatelists who thus had additional hurdles thrown in their way when trying to obtain creditable information about these issues.

Time and persistence ultimately saw some of these obstacles overcome. A number of local postal directors did eventually release certificates of authenticity detailing what postal issues were placed into circulation. Various determined researchers also searched through archives at different institutions and dug through private collections to uncover interesting materials and piece together what had actually been produced. By 1996 the first major reference work on the subject of provisionals had been published.

We now know that well over 200 post offices throughout the country took the initiative to produce provisional stamps of one sort or another up to the middle of 1995. After this time regular (national) stamps supplanted any remaining provisionals. By far the greatest number of provisional stamps were manufactured during 1992 and 1993, far less in 1994, and only a few in 1995. It was during the first two years that the country suffered most from inflation and the postal administration was forced to raise rates six times. The only way post offices could keep up with the ever-changing tariffs was to continue to produce provisional stamps.

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



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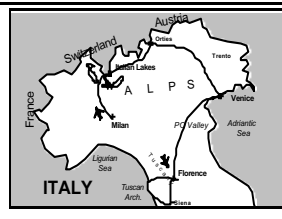
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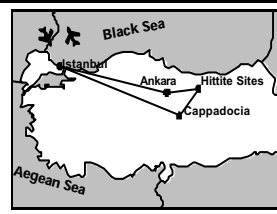
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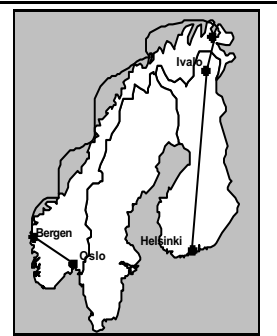
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The turning point...

(Continued from page 11)

tance of these elections to Ukraine's future. Can more be done? Certainly. At the same time, our leverage is, frankly, not unlimited. Engagement with Ukraine will continue no matter who wins the elections – ours and theirs, although the quality of that engagement will depend a lot on what happens in Ukraine and on external factors.

Role of the diaspora

The painful dilemma for the Ukrainian diaspora is that we are witnessing a leadership of an independent Ukraine that is largely indifferent to the fate of the Ukrainian people – although there are good people in all branches of government trying to do the right thing under difficult circumstances – but all too many among those who run the country are what I call patriots of their “ridna kyshenia” (patriots of their native pockets). Unfortunately, Russia at times has exploited this weakness, and most assuredly will continue to do so if the status quo continues after the elections.

Sometimes you hear that the opposition is not much better than the current regime. I say nonsense! Yes, the democratic opposition isn't perfect, and even if Yushchenko wins it will take time to turn things around. However, the opposition leaders do have something profoundly lacking among many in the current ruling regime – and that is, a moral and ethical core and patriotism – and that means a hell of a lot.

As for diaspora efforts, I'm a big believer that almost everything helps – the valuable efforts of the UABA and UMANA and others, efforts large, small, individual, in the legal, health, cultural, educational, youth, women's, charitable and other fields. There are people in the diaspora, including many of you, contributing knowledge, time, energy and, very importantly, financial resources – because you are not indifferent.

... I'm a believer that every expression of concern matters – whether by the U.S. government, the Helsinki Commission, the OSCE or, for that matter, the diaspora. The alternative is to remain silent, which only gives the regime the green light to act with

impunity. The West continues to support democracy and human rights in Ukraine, which not surprisingly, the vladar resents. But it's important to stress that Ukraine freely joined the OSCE and other European institutions, and thereby is obligated to adhere to its commitments. Nobody put a gun to their head and said do it. The regime wants respect from the international community, they want to be part of Europe, but they aren't always willing to make the choices to achieve that noble goal.

... the best way to ensure Ukraine's independence and freedom for its people, which so many sacrificed for, is for Ukraine to become integrated into the Euro-Atlantic community. This does not necessarily mean joining all of the institutions right away, but becoming a European country in terms of shared values – and that means respect for human rights, democracy, rule of law.

I am firmly convinced that when Ukraine genuinely subscribes to these values and becomes a true member of the Euro-Atlantic community of nations, she will never again have to worry about domination from any “evil empire.” We can't forget that the struggle for Ukraine's independence is also the struggle to restore the human dignity of the Ukrainian people. The promotion of human rights, civil society, democratic development – including free elections – in Ukraine is the best way to not only encourage the material and spiritual well-being of the people. It is ultimately the most genuine assurance of Ukraine's independence.

Will Ukraine achieve these goals? Obviously, an important indicator will be these elections. And it's hard to predict what will happen with confidence, because the situation is still quite fluid and various scenarios abound. But even if they don't come out the right way, I'm an optimist and I believe Ukraine is destined to succeed – if not in the short-term, then in the long-term.

My optimism is based on seeing the courage of those in Ukraine struggling for democratic change and on centuries of Ukrainian history, during which the Ukrainian people have shown their indomitable spirit and have demonstrated that they will always struggle for freedom and human dignity until it is, at last, truly achieved.

Highlights...

(Continued from page 4)

Exchange Place area at Montgomery and Greene streets and Railroad Avenue, was substantially completed in December 1973. The full air-conditioned structure serviced by six high-speed elevators is considered to be one of the best built and most attractive office buildings in northern New Jersey,” reported Mr. Lesawyer.

The building contained a total of 362,000 square feet of space. The UNA occupied the building's third floor as of December 29, 1973. Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, along with their administration and print shop were to move in during the summer of 1974, occupying the second floor and parts of the mezzanine and first floor.


The UNA president reported that “the critical problem that faces us is the unrented space, which represents well over a million dollars annually in lost gross income.” He noted that the UNA was advertising in major newspapers, including The New York Times, as well as working with real estate brokers, adding that tentative deals for renting space were in the works. He expressed optimism “that progress in renting will be made this year and that we should be in reasonably good shape by the end of 1975.”

Source: Report of Supreme President Joseph Lesawyer, “Minutes of the 28th Regular Convention of the Ukrainian National Association” (1974). The border used for this special feature is reproduced from a UNA membership certificate dated 1942.


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Historically, a variety of disc decompression techniques have been utilized on over 500,000 patients during the past 30 years. While medical science agrees that disc decompression to relieve pain is a valid concept, the best method to relieve pressure in the disc has been widely discussed.

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disc decompression procedures of the lower back and neck. This technology has been safely used in over 2 million procedures, primarily arthroscopic surgery, since its first introduction in 1995. Since its first lower back disc application in July 2000, COBLATION NUCLEOPLASTY has been used to treat over 20,000 patients. During this time a variety of published studies have demonstrated both the safety and effectiveness of the procedure. It is now considered THE STATE OF THE ART in the treatment of symptomatic patients with contained herniated discs. Accordingly, it has been a leading method for performing minimally invasive, non-surgical disc decompression in the lower spine.

The ACCUCARE MEDICAL GROUP had already been performing COBLATION NUCLEOPLASTY on the lower back with high success rates. Very recently the technology has further developed to allow the procedure to be performed on the smaller discs of the cervical spine (neck). The medical staff at AccuCare was eager to transfer this success to their patients with chronic neck and high back pain. They were the first interventional pain medicine practice in the tri-state area to perform this new procedure on the cervical spine. Their success ratio to date is in excess of 93% based upon the standard analog pain scale.

OUR PATIENTS SPEAK:

Patient testimonial:
June 22, 2004

Jim Santiago and his wife, Diane

I am a 58 year old retired physical education teacher (34 years) who has always been very active. My interests are almost all physical and include working out and playing golf.

Since retiring, my passion is to become a scratch golfer.

In May of 2003, I injured my back quite badly during a golf match and had to stop all physical activity because of severe pain. In the 1970's during a weightlifting workout, I recall injuring my lower back doing squats and dead lifts with heavy weights. At that time with rest and inactivity, the pain subsided in a short period of time. This new injury was different. No matter what I did, the pain would not go away. I went to a chiropractor and endured six weeks of the D.R.S. System (traction treatments) which did not work. My family doctor then suggested trying a pain management physician because my M.R.I. suggested possible disc herniations in the lower back. After a series of four epidural steroid injections, my wife and I decided to go to Florida for three weeks for a much needed vacation. After all of these treatments, my back pain was still present, but this was our vacation and I was determined to at least try a round of golf. This proved to be a serious mistake because after nine holes, my back pain was so severe that I had to stop playing. That was the last golf game that I was able to play and my activities for the rest of our vacation were limited because of the intense pain in my lower back.

When I returned to New Jersey, I happened to see an ad in the paper explaining a new, non-invasive procedure called COBLATION NUCLEOPLASTY that was up to 93% effective for the treatment of bulging, protruding or herniated discs. This procedure was performed at ACCUCARE INTERVENTIONAL PAIN MEDICINE by GABRIELE JASPER, M.D. on an out-patient basis with little or no recovery time. I had heard many horror stories about people having unsuccessful orthopedic surgery on their backs and I was determined to go the minimally-invasive route. I knew I did not want to be opened up surgically, but I still wanted to do some additional research on COBLATION NUCLEOPLASTY and ACCUCARE in order to insure my confidence in both the procedure and Dr. Jasper. The Internet proved to be a great source of information and my wife and I were able to determine that the procedure was indeed extremely effective with almost no risk factors. We decided to set up a consultation with ACCUCARE to meet the staff.

My evaluation at ACCUCARE was painless. The staff and DR. JASPER made us feel so comfortable about COBLATION technology that we decided to move forward and schedule the procedure. After meeting them, our confidence level in their expertise was at such a high level, my wife and I couldn't wait to have the procedure done. The actual procedure took about twenty five minutes and because of not having general anesthesia, I was able to experience immediate pain relief. As I climbed off the table I noticed that the pain

in my left lower side was completely gone. After months of debilitating pain I did not expect results this quickly. DR. JASPER explained that this is very common with COBLATION NUCLEOPLASTY. The herniation actually moves away from the neural structure that it is rubbing against and the pain oftentimes stops immediately. Within seven days I can honestly say that all my pain was completely gone. At this point all I can think about is golf and there are still seven more days until my two week follow-up visit. When I finally got in for the follow-up, the first thing that I asked was, how much can I do and how quickly can I do it?

DR. JASPER and DR. FISHER both laughed and assured me that I would be back to my golf game before I knew it. I would just like to say that I am so glad that I saw the ad for ACCUCARE. Neither I nor my family physician would have ever found out about the availability of this technology. My own internet research and the comfort level that I felt after meeting with the staff at ACCUCARE allowed me to develop the confidence that I needed to have this procedure done. Now my energies are properly directed toward the pursuit of scratch golf instead of relief from back pain. "Not only is COBLATION NUCLEOPLASTY successful," says Gabriele Jasper M.D., "It is also minimally invasive and safe. No incision, no sutures, no general anesthesia and essentially minimal recovery time. The procedure usually takes about 30 minutes and the patient walks out of the office an hour later with a Band-Aid on their back. They are

requested to temporarily restrain from strenuous physical activity, but many resume to full activity levels within one week."

Gabriele Jasper M.D., Interventional Pain Physician and board certified Anesthesiologist says, "There are studies that show patients are at least 80% better after

the procedure. I have seen patients get off the procedure table with an immediate and significant reduction of pain. Some of these patients had been experiencing chronic back pain for a long period of time."

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One of the primary strengths of ACCUCARE is our focus upon patient education. Anyone may contact our educational department for information regarding diagnostics and/or treatment options. Audiovisuals as well as professional reprints are available to further expand our patient's knowledge regarding their particular pain problem or treatment thereof.

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Tryzub hosts fall tennis tournament



At Tryzub's Fall Tennis Tournament (from left) are: Ihor Buhaj, finalist Steve Sosiak, George Sawchak, champion Ivan Durbak and George Hrabec.

HORSHAM, Pa. – The fifth Ukrainian tennis tournament of the 2004 season was held here during the beautiful fall weekend of September 25-26. Tryzub's 17th Annual Fall Tennis Tournament attracted Ukrainian tennis players from many parts of the north-eastern United States. The play was in the men's group only, in a single-elimination format with a complete feed-in tournament.

Ivan Durbak of Ramsey, N.J., became the tournament winner when in the final round he defeated Steven Sosiak of Colonia, N.J., by the score of 6-4, 6-1. Both finalists were past Tryzub champions with Durbak being the current USCAK men's 45 winner.

In the semifinals Sosiak, in a very closely contested match, eliminated George Petrykevych of West Hartford, Conn., 6-3, 7-6 (4). Durbak had an easier match with

George Hrabec of Danvers, Mass., winning 6-1, 6-0. In the quarterfinals Durbak eliminated Boris Tatunchak, Hrabec in a close match beat Ihor Buhaj, Petrykevych defeated Bohdan Krawtchuk and Sosiak eliminated Walter Dziwak.

The winner of the feed-in tournament, thus placing third in the tournament, was Hrabec. In the finals of this group and for the second time in the tournament, he overcame Buhaj by the score of 6-2, 6-3. In the semifinals of the feed-in, Hrabec eliminated Dziwak 6-1, 6-4 and Buhaj, in a closely contested match, beat Petrykevych 6-4, 3-6, 6-3.

During the closing ceremonies trophies were presented to the winners and finalists of both groups by tournament director George Sawchak and Mr. Hrabec.

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Who lost...

(Continued from page 6)

Minister Viktor Yanukovich that they promised to "guarantee" to hold free and fair elections.

In reality, they had never intended to hold free and fair elections and had begun planning accordingly since April, when the parliamentary vote for constitutional changes failed and Mr. Yanukovich was first advanced as President Kuchma's successor. In the spring the pro-Kuchma camp removed the right of Ukrainians to be candidates observers believed from the election law and began to prepare large numbers of "technical" (i.e., fake) candidates whose election officials would support a vote count in Mr. Yanukovich's favor.

Fourth, Western threats have been weak and confusing. On October 4 U.S. Congressmen Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.) and Howard Berman (D-Calif.) proposed a Ukraine Elections Bill that would introduce sanctions against certain high-level Ukrainian officials (house.gov/rohrabacher/Ukraine.htm). But, the Ukrainian authorities have dismissed the bill as unlikely to be adopted (Ukrainska Pravda, October 8).

Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, now chairman of the National Democratic Institute, which is sending observers for the second round of Ukrainian voting on November 21, threatened Ukrainian officials with denial of visas and access to their offshore bank accounts if they failed to hold free and fair elections (The New York Times, March 8). This message shocked many within the Ukrainian authorities, because it came six months prior to the elections. But her message was forgotten until half a year later when the Republican administration began to finally follow Dr. Albright's line. As Democratic nominee John F. Kerry stated, "Already a few months ago we should have agreed with the European Union on how to support democracy in Ukraine" (Ukrainska Pravda, October 26).

On October 14 the State Department issued a relatively critical statement saying that if the elections failed to "meet democratic standards," then U.S.-Ukrainian relations would not improve. The statement added, "We would also need to re-examine our relationship with those who engaged in election fraud and manipulation" (Financial Times, October 16-17).

Not coincidentally, five days later Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), chairman of the International Republican Institute, which is sending observers for the first round of the election, argued for visa bans and limiting the ability of Ukrainian officials to do business if the elections were deemed to be not free and not fair (Washington Post, October 19).

One week after the State Department

announcement, the United States undermined its policies on Ukraine by publicizing the denial of a U.S. visa to Ukraine oligarch Hryhorii Surkis, a corrupt and close ally of Viktor Medvedchuk, the head of the presidential administration. A State Department official commented that this step showed that sanctions would be targeted against "individuals" and "not against Ukraine" (Reuters, October 21).

But this step was poorly crafted, as it was not a new policy. Mr. Surkis had, in fact, been denied U.S. visas for the last year – and not as a response to on-going election violations (Ukrainska Pravda, October 22). The Ukrainian authorities again refused to take the U.S. threat seriously, as seen in comments made by Serhii Tyhytko, head of the Yanukovich campaign (Ukrainska Pravda, October 25).

Western governments and international organizations need to understand three aspects of the Byzantine nature of Ukrainian politics.

First, the Ukrainian authorities never intended to hold a free and fair election, because challenger Viktor Yushchenko would have won in the first round. Hence, Mr. Kuchma understands the West's call for free and fair elections as tantamount to Western support for a Yushchenko victory.

Second, the Ukrainian authorities would prefer that Mr. Yanukovich win through relatively moderate violations; ideally the vote in favor of Mr. Yanukovich on election day would be "massaged" in the region of 5 to 7 percent. One indication of this is that local state administrations have been ordered to ensure a Yanukovich victory in the first round on October 31 by 6 to 7 percent (Ukrainska Pravda, October 27).

Most within the pro-presidential camp prefer this scenario, as they believe that the U.S. reaction will be muted, partly because they remain confident a "deal" over Iraq is in place. Mr. Kuchma and most oligarchs do not wish to see Ukraine isolated. On the eve of election day, the Washington-based DBC public relations firm (dbcpr.com) began a public relations campaign to portray Mr. Yanukovich as a budding liberal.

Third, if moderate "massaging" fails to secure a Yanukovich victory, then some within the pro-presidential camp, such as Mr. Medvedchuk, who cares little if Ukraine is internationally isolated, would repeat the April scenario of the Mukachiv mayoral election where the authorities' candidate was declared winner despite evidence to the contrary. In this event, the West would be forced to adopt a harsher tone. Of Ukraine's oligarchs, Mr. Medvedchuk is promoting Russian President Vladimir Putin's interests to the greatest extent in Ukraine. Mr. Putin, not surprisingly, is most interested in such an outcome.

Hurricane fails...

(Continued from page 10)

hearing from the keynote speaker, Orest Deychakiwsky, on "The Turning Point: Ukrainian Elections-Ukraine, Russia, the U.S., the West, and the Diaspora." Finally, they even managed to hold a gala banquet of sorts in a Cuban restaurant to

top off the eventful conference.

Upon reflection, the meeting of two groups of experts yielded much information valuable to each specialty. The interaction of the legal and medical professions on common ground led to renewed respect and understanding of the complexities of human relations. UMANA and UABA leaders pledged to consider similar conventions in the future.

Attention, Students!

Throughout the year Ukrainian student clubs plan and hold activities. The Ukrainian Weekly urges students to let us and the Ukrainian community know about upcoming events.

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ELECTION WATCH

(Continued from page 3)

ture a "clash of civilizations, East and West, over Ukraine," strana.ru reported on November 1. Meanwhile, Ms. Sliska told ORT from Kyiv that Russian observers had witnessed some violations of electoral procedures by Yushchenko supporters in Western Ukraine, but said they were "within the norm." (RFE/RL Newline)

Website skeptical about election results

MOSCOW – Results of the first round of the presidential election in Ukraine might be disappointing for the pro-Moscow candidate and Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, pravda.ru wrote on November 1. Despite having administrative resources at his disposal, Mr. Yanukovich not only failed to defeat opposition challenger Viktor Yushchenko in one round, but even failed to beat him

convincingly, pravda.ru reported. According to a pravda.ru correspondent in Kyiv, this failure is explained by the sluggish work of the Yanukovich election staff and Mr. Yushchenko's ingenious and aggressive campaigning. Meanwhile, journalist Sergei Dorenko told Ekho Moskvy on November 1 that Moscow sent to Kyiv a large group of television journalists to help cover the Yanukovich campaign. The television team was charged with finessing Mr. Yanukovich's media campaign, in case Ukrainian journalists were "disloyal," Mr. Dorenko added. (RFE/RL Newline)

Emergency Rada session is sought

KYIV – Yulia Tymoshenko, head of the eponymous bloc and political partner of Viktor Yushchenko, demanded on November 1 that the Verkhovna Rada hold an immediate emergency session to discuss what she said were "mass falsifications" in the October 31 presidential ballot, UNIAN

reported. According to an exit poll by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology and the Razumkov Center, a total of 44.4 percent of respondents voted for Mr. Yushchenko and 38 percent for Viktor Yanukovich. On the other hand, an exit poll by Socis and the Social Monitoring Center found that Mr. Yanukovich obtained 42.67 percent of the vote, while Mr. Yushchenko got 38.28 percent. According to the Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU), the results of the October 31 ballot could have been influenced by "numerous irregularities" in voter lists. CVU Chairman Ihor Popov said up to 10 percent of voters could have been unable to exercise their election right because of those irregularities. According to the Central Election Commission, 37.6 million voters were listed for the October 31 presidential election. (RFE/RL Newline)

Our Ukraine points to Putin campaign

KYIV – Oleksander Zinchenko, chief of opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko's election staff, said on October 27 that the Russian government and President Vladimir Putin were engaged in a campaign to influence Ukrainian voters on the eve of the election, Interfax reported. Mr. Zinchenko said that nothing in Mr. Putin's October 26 live speech was worth broadcasting by the three main Ukrainian television channels. According to Mr. Zinchenko, the media was forced to replace news about Ukraine with news about President Putin's visit to Ukraine, he added. (RFE/RL Newline)

Putin's interest in Yanukovich explained

MOSCOW – Argumenty i Fakty (No. 44) commented that the Russian president's support for Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's presidential candidacy is driven by Vladimir Putin's plans to resuscitate the Commonwealth of Independent States. If all goes according to plan, the weekly wrote, Mr. Yanukovich will become the first post-Soviet leader who came to power with Moscow's help. According to the weekly, Mr. Putin's vision also includes the creation of a Single Economic Space, the introduction of a common currency, a joint labor market and other ambitious goals. (RFE/RL Newline)

Yanukovich mum about criminal record

KYIV – Viktor Yanukovich, the Ukrainian prime minister and presidential candidate, has said that he views allegations about his criminal record as political speculation. "I have answered all the questions in all the mass media many times, and here today, outside a church, I will say that I am clean before the law. I have lived all my life like this. This is in all official documents. All that my opponents say about me, all the dirt – let them answer before God and their own conscience," Mr. Yanukovich said on October 29 during a visit to St. Elijah's Church in Kyiv. After a prayer at the church, Mr. Yanukovich said that he had prayed "for the health of the Ukrainian people." He added, "[I prayed] that we

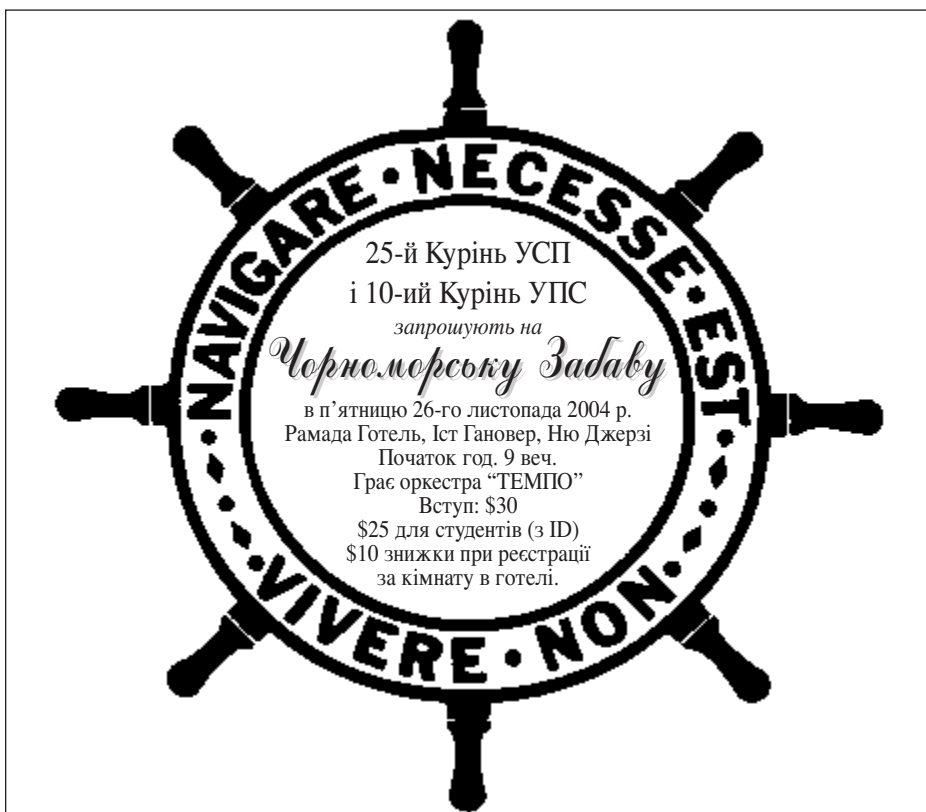
would have a peaceful life, that we would unite on that path and walk together into our common future." Asked whether the election will be fair, he said: "With God's help, everything is going to be all right." [Mr. Yanukovich served two prison terms in his youth, but has said that the convictions were quashed and the records erased.] (Interfax-Ukraine, BBC Monitoring)

Voters conceal pro-opposition sentiment


KYIV – A substantial part of the Ukrainian public is afraid to say for whom they are going to vote, according to an opinion poll by the Razumkov Center held on October 20-23. People who took part in the poll were asked, "Do you believe that some of your colleagues or acquaintances are going to vote for a certain candidate in the election but are afraid to admit it to people they don't know very well?" Some 22 percent of those polled said yes, 49 percent said there were no such people among their colleagues or acquaintances, and 29 percent could not give an answer. The poll also asked for whom people who conceal their voting intentions are actually going to vote. The most frequent answer was Viktor Yushchenko. Some 10 percent of those polled (and 43 percent of those who said their acquaintances were afraid to say who they supported) said they knew people who would vote for Mr. Yushchenko but were unwilling to admit to that. The share of people who said some of their acquaintances were going to vote for Mr. Yushchenko but were afraid to admit to it was 23 percent in western Ukraine, 11 percent in central Ukraine, 3 percent in the south and 4 percent in the east. According to pollsters, such figures suggest that undisguised government pressure and intimidation of Yushchenko supporters is stronger in the parts of Ukraine where he is more popular. Pressure is most often exerted on the residents of rural areas and small towns. Among rural residents, 15 percent of those polled said they knew people who would vote for Mr. Yushchenko but were afraid to admit to it. (UNIAN)

Court nixes more polling stations

KYIV – The Supreme Court of Ukraine canceled the decision of the Central Election Commission to set up 41 additional polling stations in Russia for the Ukrainian presidential election on October 31, the head of the Supreme Court's press service, Liana Shlyaposhnykova, told Interfax-Ukraine. The Central Election Commission approved the decision in the early hours of October 24 after a large opposition rally outside the commission's building. The law says that new polling stations can be set up no later than seven days prior to the election day. The opposition was against setting up additional polling stations in Russia, fearing vote rigging there, and appealed against the commission's decision. (Interfax-Ukraine, BBC Monitoring)



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Friday, Nov. 19
10:00 AM – Registration
12:00 – 6:00 PM – Lunch & Workshops
7:00 PM – Wine & Cheese Welcome
Saturday, Nov. 20
8:00 AM – Registration & Breakfast
9:00 AM – Opening Session
12:30 PM – Lunch with Guest Speaker
1:30 – 5:30 PM – Workshops
6:30 PM – Cocktails & Awards Banquet
Sunday, Nov. 21
8:00 AM – Breakfast
9:00 AM – Workshops
12:00 PM – Lunch & Discussion
2:00 – 4:00 PM – Workshops

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

(Continued from page 28)

the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., at 1:30 p.m. Donation: \$20 per person. For seating reservations, call (773) 775-4547 or (773) 202-1265 by November 15. Proceeds from the event to benefit survivors of the tragedy in Kingir.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Saturday, January 15, 2005

SOMERSET, N.J.: The Committee for Aid to Ukraine, Central New Jersey Branch, invites the public to a "Malanka" (New

Year's Eve) dinner/dance to be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 135 Davidson Ave., starting at 6:30 p.m. Music will be by the Vidlunnia orchestra. As part of the evening, there will be cocktails (cash bar), a buffet dinner (Ukrainian cuisine) and a raffle. Tickets in advance: \$40 per person; \$20 for students. Tickets at the door: \$45 per person; \$25, students. Proceeds to benefit students in Ukraine. For advance tickets and reservations call: D. Gecha, (908) 755-8156; the Rev. Ivan Lyszyk, (212) 873-8550, or (908) 253-0401; J. Starozhytnyk, (732) 249-1593; or M. Shulha, (908) 534-6683.

Composer Virko Baley...

(Continued from page 15)

string quartet plus bass, a woodwind quintet, a brass quintet, three percussionists (playing lots of different instruments) and piano. Twenty-three soloists in all.

Is "Hunger," the opera that you've referenced a couple of times, actually being completed? Or is it simply spawning all these instrumental works while you wrestle with it?

Absolutely – it will be completed. And soon. I have worked on the opera "Hunger" (libretto by Boychuk) for almost two decades now – it's still uncompleted and in need of major revisions. It is kind of strange

for one whose first love in music was voice, to have stayed away from writing for the voice for so long. The Dickinson cycle will probably continue throughout my life; Dickinson has become, by far, one of my favorite poets. I read her, at least, once a week. But I'm also planning on setting some texts by Yuriy Tarnawsky – and there are shorter, very personal poems by Taras Shevchenko, which will probably be the first all-Ukrainian songs I'll write. But, the first order of business in spring of 2005 is to return and finally wrestle to the finish with "Hunger." I think I've avoided completing it fully because I felt I wasn't ready to tackle such a difficult and emotionally costly subject. But now, I think I have the necessary musical muscle to do it justice. Ask me again in a year from now.

U.S. Mission...

(Continued from page 3)

ment forces are behind numerous provocative and violent acts, such as the beating of peaceful protesters by Ministry of Interior [Internal Affairs – ed.] employees the week-end of October 23-24.


At this juncture, we call upon the government of Ukraine – even at this late stage in the campaign – to throw all its weight into ending violations of democratic norms. One of the most solemn responsibilities of any government is to allow its citizens to express their political will freely and in a fair manner. These principles are at the core of U.N. and OSCE commitments. In particular, we urge that observers, both domestic and international, be granted full access to the campaign and election-day processes.

Most importantly, we urge the government of Ukraine to ensure that election-day voting, vote tabulation and final registering of the results are conducted according to OSCE standards in a transparent and peaceful manner. The people of Ukraine deserve to have their voices heard, and we call on the Government to remove any impediment to that end.

We sincerely hope that the government of Ukraine will hold democratic elections, so that relations between the United States and Ukraine can deepen and the pace of Ukraine's integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions can accelerate. If the election fails to meet international standards, a variety of measures to hold officials responsible for electoral misconduct accountable will be considered, and bilateral relations and integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions will suffer.

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Soyuzivka's Datebook

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| November 5-7, 2004
Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization,
Orlykiada Weekend | December 4, 2004
Accord Fire Company Banquet |
| November 12, 2004
Kripplebush Fire Company Banquet | December 11, 2004
Ulster Correctional Facility
Christmas Party |
| November 18-20, 2004
UNA General Assembly Meeting | December 23, 2004
Jeremiah Flaherty Law Office
Christmas Party |
| November 20, 2004
New Paltz Semi-Formal Dinner
Banquet | December 24, 2004
Traditional Christmas Eve Dinner |
| November 21, 2004
Ellenville Co-op Nursery School
Auction | December 31, 2004
New Year's Eve Celebration and
Zabava with Fata Morgana |
| November 25-28, 2004
Thanksgiving Weekend Packages
Available | January 6, 2005
Traditional Christmas Eve Dinner |
| December 3, 2004
UNWLA Branch 95 Christmas Party | |



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Meet Ukrainian Catholic University Rector Fr. Borys Gudziak, Ph.D.



**November 14, at 1:00PM
in Chicago**

Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Richard Seminack of the Chicago Eparchy invites the public to a Rector's Luncheon for Fr. Borys Gudziak. The luncheon is to benefit the university and will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Chicago, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., on Sunday November 14 at 1 p.m. Tickets are available for \$25.00 per person, though additional gifts are encouraged. To order tickets or for further information, contact the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, (773) 235-8462

Credit Card Ticket Orders Accepted On Line

Designate Ukr. Cultural Center 11/14/04 In Comments Section
www.chi-cash-advance.com/sforms/appeal228/contribute.asp

Can't attend?

Those who are unable to attend but would like to make a contribution can send checks to the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., Chicago, IL, 60622 or donate online at: www.chi-cash-advance.com/sforms/appeal228/contribute.asp

www.ucu.edu.ua

www.ucef.org

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, November 7

CHICAGO: The Chicago Business and Professional Group invites the Chicago community to a presentation titled "Presidential Elections in Ukraine: A Critical Choice," featuring political scientist and commentator Dr. Taras Kuzio. Dr. Kuzio will discuss the significance of Ukraine's presidential elections for a country caught between an expanding European Union and an increasingly autocratic Russia. Dr. Kuzio is a visiting professor at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, and a regular contributor to The Ukrainian Weekly and the Eurasia Daily Monitor. The program, which is sponsored by Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union, will be held at the Selfreliance facility, 2332 W. Chicago Ave., at 7 p.m. Refreshments, discussion and socializing will follow the presentation. Admission: Chicago Group members, \$10; non-members and guests, \$15. For additional information call (847)359-3676.

Friday, November 12

TORONTO: The Petro Jacyk Program for the Study of Ukraine and the Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Toronto presents the annual Ukrainian Famine Lecture, to be delivered by Mark von Hagen, professor of history, Columbia University, and president of the International Association for Ukrainian Studies. Prof. von Hagen's lecture is titled "The Holodomor and the State of Ukrainian Studies." It will be held in Room 108N (North Building), Munk Center for International Studies, 1 Devonshire Place, University of Toronto, at 5-7 p.m. Registration, which is required, may be e-mailed to larysa.iarovenko@utoronto.ca. The event is co-sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Toronto Branch, and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Saturday-Sunday, November 13-14

WASHINGTON: Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 78 invites the public to a two-day exhibition and sale of paintings and prints by Orest Poliszczuk. Vividly flowing figures and vibrant colors are the signature style of the artist, whose work has been exhibited throughout the U.S. and Canada. An opening reception with the artist will be held on Saturday, November 13, at 7 p.m. Admission: \$10 (includes refreshments). The exhibit/sale will be held at the Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family, 4250 Harewood Road NE. For more information contact Tania Terleckyj, (703) 271-9672.

Sunday, November 14

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. (UVAN) invites the public to a lecture by Dr. Yaroslav Hrytsak, director, Institute for Historical Research, Lviv National University, and visiting professor, Columbia University, who will speak on the topic "Two Ukraines? Presidential Elections from a Historian's Perspective." The lecture will be held on the premises of UVAN, 206 W. 100th St., at 2 p.m. For more information call (212) 222-1866.

CHICAGO: Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Richard Seminack, Chicago Eparchy, invites the public to a Rector's Luncheon for Father Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. The luncheon is to benefit the university and will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Chicago, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., at 1 p.m. For further information, contact the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, (773) 235-8462.

YONKERS, N.Y.: Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 30 is sponsoring the screening of the movie "Mamay," to be held at St. Michael's Church Hall, 21 Shonnard Place, at 2 p.m.

All are invited to come and view this 2003 full-length feature film by director Oles Sanin, and the first-ever Oscar contender offered by Ukraine in the category of best foreign language film. A short introduction to the film will be given by Yuri Shevchuk, professor, Ukrainian Studies Program, Columbia University. Admission: \$5; all proceeds to be donated to the "Milk and Buns" UNWLA fundraising program for young children in Ukraine. Baked goods and refreshments will also be available. For further information contact Olga Rudyk, (914) 762-6514.

Monday, November 15

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.: The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute will host a lecture by Amelia Glaser, post-doctoral fellow, HURI, titled "To Market: Jewish-Slavic Exchange in Literatures in Ukraine." The lecture will be held in the HURI Seminar Room, 583 Massachusetts Ave., at 4-6 p.m. For additional information contact the institute at (617) 495-4053 or huri@fas.harvard.edu.

Saturday, November 20

PARMA, Ohio: The Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus and the Ukrainian Museum-Archives invite you to enjoy the afternoon with friends watching one of college football's best rivalries on the big screen – the University of Michigan Wolverines vs. the Ohio State University Buckeyes. Join us at noon-5 p.m. at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Catholic Church, Upper Back Hall, 7700 Hoertz Road. A \$40 donation includes open bar, hor d'oeuvres, etc. Proceeds from the event go to assist the programs of the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus and the Ukrainian Museum-Archives. For ticket reservations contact Nick Schidowka, (216) 534-4777 or nschidowka@bigfoot.com. Visit www.bandura.org for more details.

Sunday, November 21

HILLSIDE, N.J.: You, your family and friends are invited to a special day of prayer and reflection at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church in celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Church's promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Following the 10:45 a.m. divine liturgy, a moleben in honor of Mary will be celebrated. All children will then be invited to partake in a special procession to place flowers in front of the icon of Mary. Following a light lunch, two short presentations will be made reflecting the Eastern (i.e., Byzantine) as well as the Western (i.e. Roman Catholic) views on the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Florence Hughes, a 3rd Order Carmelite lay community member, will present the Roman Catholic perspective. The Rev. George Worschak, currently the pastor of St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church in Philadelphia and editor of the archdiocesan newspaper The Way, will present the Eastern Church perspective. To attend please contact Mike Szpyhulsky, (908) 289-0127, Patricia Shatynski, (908) 322-7350, or Joe Shatynski, (973) 599-9381; or e-mail the parish at ICUkrainianCatholic@yahoo.com by November 16 and indicate how many individuals will be attending. A light lunch and refreshments are complimentary. Additional information and directions may be found on the parish website, <http://www.byzantines.net/immaculateconception>. The church is located at the intersection of Liberty Avenue and Bloy Street.

CHICAGO: Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 29 and the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Alla Horska Branch, invite the Ukrainian community of the metropolitan Chicago area to honor the 500 Heroines of Kingir on the 50th anniversary of their tragic death. A "soborna panakhyda" (requiem service) will be held at St. Volodymyr and Olha Ukrainian Catholic Church at 1 p.m., followed by a commemorative program and luncheon at

(Continued on page 26)