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Hundreds of thousands in Ukraine demand fair election



AP/Efrem Lukatsky

Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators gather to protest fraud in the presidential election on Independence Square in Kyiv on November 23.

“Orange Revolution” grows **CEC declares Yanukovich winner**

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV (November 24) – In what is quickly becoming known as the Orange Revolution, millions of Ukrainians demonstrated in towns and cities across the central and western regions on November 24 – more than a half million in Kyiv alone for a third day running – calling for state authorities to recognize that presidential elections had been rigged.

Ukrainians undertook the mass actions as expressions of disagreement with the flagrant and extensive violations that took place in the presidential election. Protesters were demanding that state authorities recognize their candidate, National Deputy Viktor Yushchenko, as the winner of the presidential elections.

The peaceful mass demonstrations began after it became apparent that Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich had taken a dubious victory in the election of November 21, achieved only through extensive and systemic fraud and vote manipulation by state and government authorities. The Central Election Committee announced on November 22 that preliminary results showed Mr. Yanukovich had beaten Mr. Yushchenko by 2.7 percent.

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CEC declares Yanukovich winner

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV (November 24) – The Central Election Commission announced on November 24 that Viktor Yanukovich had won the November 21 presidential election run-off, even after international observers noted extensive vote fraud, which had directly affected the results.

The official tally as the CEC presented it was 49.46 percent of voters supporting Mr. Yanukovich and 46.61 percent going for Mr. Yushchenko. Mr. Yanukovich took 10 of Ukraine’s 24 oblasts plus Crimea, while Mr. Yushchenko had the margin of victory in 14. Four of the 15 election commissioners did not support the official tallies as an accurate reflection of how the nation voted and refused to place their signatures on the corresponding documents.

National deputies, official representatives of the two candidates who were present at the CEC for the reading of the final results, engaged in heated exchanges afterwards. Lawmakers Petro Poroshenko of Mr. Yushchenko’s Our Ukraine faction and Heorhii Surkis, the owner of Kyiv Dynamo who supported Mr. Yanukovich, engaged in fisticuffs before they were separated.

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Supreme Court to hear appeal

Following are the latest developments related to Ukraine’s presidential election, reported here as *The Ukrainian Weekly* goes to press on early Monday morning, November 29. (Due to the Thanksgiving holiday, the print shop where our newspaper is printed was closed Thursday through Sunday.)

- On Thursday, November 25, the Supreme Court halted the official printing of the voting results that had been announced on November 24 and blocked the inauguration of Viktor Yanukovich. The court is to hear an appeal by the campaign of Viktor Yushchenko on Monday, November 29. Regional courts also are considering some 11,000 complaints about voting fraud.

- Lech Walesa, founder of Solidarity and former president of Poland, arrived in Kyiv on Thursday, November 25, on a fact-finding mission in hopes of a peaceful resolution to the crisis in Ukraine over the falsified election. He addressed the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators gathered on Independence Square: “Do not give up your struggle until victory is achieved.”
- Talks between the two presidential candidates began on Friday night, November 26. Present were:

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ANALYSIS

Ukraine reported in turmoil after presidential election

by Jan Maksymiuk
RFE/RL Newsline

A crowd estimated to number at least 100,000 took part in a rally on Independence Square in Kyiv on the evening of November 22 to protest what they perceive to be government fraud during the previous day's presidential runoff between Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko.

With 99.38 percent of the vote tallied, the Central Election Commission (CEC) had announced earlier in the day that Mr. Yanukovich won 49.42 percent of the vote to Mr. Yushchenko's 46.7 percent. Meanwhile, Mr. Yushchenko told the crowd on Independence Square that by resorting to massive fraud, primarily in Ukraine's eastern regions, the authorities stole 3.1 million votes from him and, consequently, his election victory.

Speaking to some 60,000 people at the same rally earlier in the day, Mr. Yushchenko called on Ukrainians to organize popular resistance against the alleged vote fraud and defend what he described as his election victory. In addition, Mr. Yushchenko's political ally Yulia Tymoshenko has called on Ukrainians to launch a nationwide strike.

Mr. Yushchenko backers have pitched some 300 tents along Khreshchatyk,

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

Kyiv's main thoroughfare, and have reportedly vowed to stay in them until Mr. Yushchenko is declared the country's elected president. There have been also reports that Mr. Yushchenko's supporters are coming to Kyiv from the provinces despite police blockades of the roads around the capital and elsewhere in the country, while the authorities are bringing Mr. Yanukovich's adherents to Kyiv in buses.

In the meantime, local councils in several cities in western Ukraine, including Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk, have adopted resolutions claiming that they will recognize only Mr. Yushchenko as the legitimate president and supporting the opposition call for a general strike. The Kyiv City Council passed a resolution expressing distrust in the Central Election Commission.

The opposition had also managed to collect 150 signatures among parliamentary deputies calling for an emergency session on November 23 to discuss the situation in the country and move a vote of no confidence in the commission. It is unclear how such a vote, if passed, could influence the official results of the November 21 ballot. Verkhovna Rada Chairman Lytvyn told journalists on November 22 that any resolution of the Parliament concerning the Central Election Commission would be merely a "political gesture." Both Western and domestic independent election monitors

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Kremlin recognizes Yanukovich

by Igor Torbakov
Eurasia Daily Monitor

As the tens of thousands of Ukrainians continue to protest the outcome of Sunday's presidential run-off, Moscow has embraced Ukraine's Prime Minister, Viktor Yanukovich, as the new president-elect.

Russia's President Vladimir Putin, who openly backed Mr. Yanukovich throughout the campaign, sent him his congratulations late Monday – even though the Central Election Commission had yet to declare a winner. "The battle was hard-fought, but open and honest, and his victory was convincing," Interfax reported from Brazil, where Mr. Putin was on an official visit. President Putin also spoke with outgoing President Leonid Kuchma by telephone and they agreed to meet soon in St. Petersburg, according to Putin spokesman Alexei Gromov (Interfax, November 22).

The election monitors from the CIS countries did not report any irregularities at the Ukrainian polls, calling the ballot "transparent, legitimate, and free." The delegation Russia sent to monitor the election included politicians and public figures, and was headed by the State Duma Speaker Boris Gryzlov, who congratulated Mr. Yanukovich on his victory yesterday in Kyiv. Russia also provided transportation for 200,000 Ukrainian citizens living in Russia to travel to Ukraine to vote; most Ukrainian citizens living in Russia are believed to support Prime Minister Yanukovich (RFE/RL, November 22; Kommersant, November 23).

By contrast, no Western foreign leader

The article above is reprinted from the Eurasia Daily Monitor, which is published by the Jamestown Foundation (www.jamestown.org).

has congratulated Mr. Yanukovich. Furthermore, most international organizations that were monitoring the polls pronounced the ballot un-free and its outcome unfair. Observers for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) said Sunday's run-off vote fell far short of European democratic norms. The U.S. State Department said it was "deeply concerned" about the election and threatened to review its relations with Ukraine if the government failed to investigate the allegations of election fraud. The U.S. official observer, Sen. Richard Lugar, alleged "concerted and forceful" fraud, and the European Union called on Ukraine to review the election. It was expected that Ukrainian ambassadors in all the EU states will be summoned on November 23 to the foreign ministries in the countries where they are accredited and officially told about the bloc's refusal to recognize the election result (BBC, Gazeta.ru, November 23).

Thus, the geopolitical "battle for Ukraine" between Russia and the West, which was being waged throughout the election campaign, is going on now over the ballot's outcome, some Russian analysts contend. As one witty commentary put it, the fact that the Kremlin favorite became Ukraine's new president is recognized only by Mr. Yanukovich himself, the Central Election Commission, and the Russian president, while the United States, the EU and millions of Ukrainians are convinced that democratic challenger Viktor Yushchenko has won.

According to the noted Russian journalist and publisher Vitaly Tretyakov, the West and Russia are waging "a political war" for influence over Ukraine and the "geopolitical orientation it will take after the election"

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ELECTION WATCH

Protests held in Kyiv over election

KYIV – A crowd estimated to be at least 100,000 strong took part in a rally on Kyiv's Independence Square in the evening of November 22, protesting what they see as the government's falsification of the previous day's presidential run-off between Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko, Channel 5 reported. With 99.38 percent of the vote tallied, the Central Election Commission announced on November 22 that Mr. Yanukovich won 49.42 percent of the vote to Mr. Yushchenko's 46.7 percent. Mr. Yushchenko told the Kyiv rally that the authorities stole the victory from him by adding 3.1 million votes to his opponent's total. Yushchenko backers have pitched some 300 tents along Khreshchatyk, Kyiv's main thoroughfare, and are reportedly determined to stay in them until Mr. Yushchenko is declared the country's elected president. The government has said they must be removed. Tens of thousands of Kyiv residents and Yushchenko backers from the provinces gathered on the square on November 23 for the second consecutive day of anti-government protests. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kyiv Council refuses to recognize result

KYIV – The Kyiv City Council on November 22 refused to recognize the results of Ukraine's presidential run-off and urged the Verkhovna Rada to follow suit. The move came after city councils in Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk refused to recognize the disputed results. Both cities proclaimed opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko the winner of the November 21 vote, even though official results appeared to indicate that Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich was the victor. (Agence France-Press)

Anti-government protests reported

KYIV – Anti-government protests in support of Viktor Yushchenko took place on November 22 in the cities of Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Lutsk, Ternopil, Vinnytsia and Khmelnytskyi, Ukrainian news agencies reported. The city councils of deputies in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Vinnytsia adopted resolutions declaring Mr. Yushchenko the legal president. According to Channel 5, people from various regions of Ukraine are coming to Kyiv to reinforce the pro-Yushchenko rally on Independence Square despite police blockades on the Ukrainian roads. (RFE/RL Newsline)

PM Yanukovich calls for calm

KYIV – In a prerecorded appeal broadcast by the 1+1 television channel on

November 22, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich thanked his voters for supporting him in the November 21 presidential run-off, the Ukrainska Pravda website (www-all.pravda.com.ua) reported. "You have voted for peace, stability, and democracy," Mr. Yanukovich added. He assured those who voted for Viktor Yushchenko that their "view of the Ukrainian perspective" will be taken into account by "Ukraine's new leadership." "I do not want you [Yushchenko backers] to think that you are losers," Mr. Yanukovich noted. "All of us have won, and we will win even more if we preserve tranquillity and peace in Ukraine and unity of the entire society." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Putin congratulates Yanukovich

MOSCOW – Presidential press spokesman Aleksei Gromov announced on November 22 that President Vladimir Putin called Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich from Brazil that day to congratulate him on his victory in the second round of Ukraine's presidential election, RIA-Novosti reported. "The race was fierce – but open and fair – and the victory is convincing," Mr. Gromov quoted Mr. Putin as saying. The Russian president thus became the first foreign leader to acknowledge Mr. Yanukovich as the victor in the highly contentious election. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Russian legislator on U.S. reaction

MOSCOW – Federation Council Deputy Chairman Aleksandr Torshin has expressed bewilderment at criticism of Ukraine's November 21 run-off election by U.S. President George W. Bush's representative at the Ukrainian presidential election, U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), RTR reported on November 22. That day Sen. Lugar accused Ukrainian authorities of encouraging fraud in the election. "It is now apparent that a concerted and forceful program of election-day fraud and abuse was enacted with either the leadership or cooperation of governmental authorities," Mr. Lugar said, AFP reported. Mr. Torshin responded to the senator's remarks by saying in Moscow on November 22, "Ukraine is not part of Russia, but Kyiv is also not a suburb of Washington. The history of Ukraine is older than yours and ours – let Ukrainians make their choice by themselves." (RFE/RL Newsline)

CIS observer satisfied with vote

KYIV – The head of the CIS observers' mission at the Ukrainian pres-

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FOR THE RECORD

White House statement

Following, for the historical record, is the text of a White House statement on Ukraine's election issued on November 18.

On November 21, the people of Ukraine will vote to elect their next president. They have the right and deserve the opportunity to make their choice freely, without intimidation or fear, from outside or within.

The presidential campaign and first round of voting did not meet that basic test. We share the deep concern of the OSCE and other observers that the election process has fallen short of international standards. We urge the Ukrainian authorities to allow their citizens to choose their next president freely.

President George W. Bush has said that the United States has no greater responsibility than to support the spread of freedom throughout the world. That includes continuing to support those

countries in Eastern Europe which began down the path of democracy nearly 15 years ago. To convey our support for Ukraine's democratic prospects, the president has asked Sen. Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to travel to Ukraine. We also have funded efforts to promote a fair campaign and election.

The United States supports Ukraine's aspirations to join the Euro-Atlantic community, a community which requires a commitment to shared values. If the election fails to meet democratic standards, Ukraine's aspirations would suffer. On the other hand, an election result that reflects the true will of the people would open new opportunities for stronger U.S.-Ukrainian cooperation and offer the people of Ukraine a brighter, promising future as a sovereign, democratic and prosperous nation.

Sen. Lugar's statement in Kyiv

Below is the text of a statement by U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar issued in Kyiv on November 22.

I have been honored to serve as President George Bush's representative during the November 21 run-off election in Ukraine.

As I approached that responsibility, I noted that the campaign had already been marked by widespread political intimidation and failure to give equal coverage to candidates in the media. Physical intimidation of voters and illegal use of governmental administrative and legal authorities had been evident and pervasive.

I have come not as an advocate of either candidate in the November 21 election but to stress free and fair election procedures that would strengthen worldwide respect for the legitimacy of the winning candidate.

OSCE/ODIHR and other observers mention an extensive list of serious procedural violations including:

- illegal expulsions of opposition members of election commissions;
- inaccurate voter lists;
- evidence of students, government employees and private sector workers being forced by their deans and supervisors to vote for one candidate over another;
- busloads of people voting more than once with absentee ballots;
- representatives of the media being beaten and their equipment stolen or destroyed; and
- suspiciously large use of mobile voting.

Even in the face of these attempts to end any hope of a free and fair election, I was inspired by the willingness and courage of so many citizens of Ukraine to demonstrate their passion for free

expression and the building of a truly democratic Ukraine. As corrupt authorities tried to disrupt, frighten and intimidate citizens, brave people pushed back by continuing to do their best to keep the election on track and to prevent chaos.

President Leonid Kuchma in his Saturday night address to the people said: "There will be no revolutions. We shall have elections. Elections worthy of a 21st century European country."

President Bush wrote in a letter which I carried to President Kuchma: "You play a central role in ensuring that Ukraine's election is democratic and free of fraud and manipulation. A tarnished election, however, will lead us to review our relations with Ukraine."

In thoughtful and careful representation of President Bush's words, I visited with President Kuchma, Prime Minister Yanukovich and Speaker Lytvyn with explicit requests for them to terminate any further campaign violations. Despite the already recorded long list of egregious assaults on democracy in Ukraine, I said both publicly and privately that I had come to celebrate the building of strong democratic institutions in Ukraine.

It is now apparent that a concerted and forceful program of election day fraud and abuse was enacted with either the leadership or cooperation of governmental authorities.

I believe that President Kuchma has the responsibility and the opportunity for producing even at this point an outcome which is fair and responsible. He will enhance his legacy by prompt and decisive action which maximizes worldwide confidence in the Presidency of Ukraine and the extraordinary potential future which lies ahead of this country.

Diaspora leaders' statement

Following is the text of a statement by Ukrainian diaspora leaders on the presidential election in Ukraine. The statement was released on November 22.

The Ukrainian World Congress and its member-organizations in 30 countries, actively monitored the electoral process in Ukraine on November 21. Our conclusions are based upon the observations of some 250 international monitors, accredited by the Central Elections Commission from the UWC and our member-organization, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), which included a delegation from

the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC).

Irrespective of the final result to be announced by the CEC, at this time it is clear, even assuming the current numbers of the CEC, that the tally for each candidate is similar. For this reason we feel that the violations which took place to benefit candidate Viktor Yanukovich influenced the result submitted by the CEC. Should the CEC declare Viktor Yanukovich president, he cannot be deemed to have been elected by the voters. Should the CEC declare Viktor Yushchenko president, he will have over-

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OSCE says second round of election did not meet European standards

KYIV – The second round of the presidential election in Ukraine on November 21 did not meet a considerable number of OSCE commitments, Council of Europe and other European standards for democratic elections. As in the first round, state executive authorities and the Central Election Commission displayed a lack of will to conduct a genuine democratic election process, concluded the International Election Observation Mission in a preliminary statement released on November 22.

Between the two rounds, the mission reported cases of public sector employees and students being pressured to support the current prime minister, Viktor Yanukovich. Nevertheless, a vibrant civil society demonstrated once again a high level of interest and engagement. Despite serious shortcomings in the process, the second round of the election offered voters a choice, although campaign conditions were not equal.

"With an even heavier heart than three weeks ago, I have to repeat the message from the first round; this election did not meet a considerable number of international standards for democratic elections," said Bruce George, president emeritus of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in (OSCE) and the special coordinator for the short-term observers. "The deficiencies have not been addressed. The abuse of state resources in favor of the prime minister continued, as well as an overwhelming media bias in his favor."

The head of the delegation from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Doros Christodoulides, said: "There were some encouraging aspects which we did not see in the first round, such as a televised debate of the main candidates on state TV and redress, even if only partial, to the imbalanced media coverage. But we are greatly disappointed by the inflammatory campaign language, which increased prior to the second round."

Marek Maciej Siwiec, head of the European Parliament delegation added: "The opportunity to improve the electoral process between the two rounds was not used. However, some improvement on media coverage was noticed. It is encouraging that the people of this country did once again express great interest in the election, manifesting a strong democratic spirit. Our delegation will now report back to the Parliament with suggested

recommendations."

"The figures and reports about the unjustified increase in the use of absentee voter certificates and the even higher increase of mobile voting, cast a shadow over the genuineness of the results," said Lucio Malan, head of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly delegation. "Moreover the turnout in some territorial election commissions in Donetsk, exceeding 98.5 percent, and increasing by 21 percent after the first round, are unrealistic and highly suspicious."

Ambassador Geert-Hinrich Ahrens, head of the OSCE/ODIHR's long-term observation mission, stressed that the electoral process was not concluded and urged transparency, especially in the tabulation of the votes. "While this was certainly a competitive election, it was not conducted on a level playing field. However, there is still time for the authorities to take every measure to reassure voters that the results were accurately processed."

On election day, voting was conducted in a generally calm manner. However observers assessed election day less favorably than in the first round, particularly in the central and eastern regions.

Observers noted more serious violations, including some isolated incidents of violence, and a pattern of intimidation, including directed towards observers, polling commission members and individual voters. In a significant number of polling stations, commission members had been dismissed. In some instances, unauthorized persons were interfering in or directing the process, or otherwise attempting to influence voters.

The observers' assessment of the ballot counting process was worse than on October 31, including poorer overall organization, and more questions were raised about the accuracy of results reported. Problems included lack of sufficient attention to ballot security and counting procedures. In almost 40 percent of polling stations, unauthorized persons were present, including police and local government officials.

The IEOM included 563 observers from the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. A final report will be released approximately six weeks after the completion of the electoral process.

Election monitors recruited in U.S. by Yanukovich rep paid \$500 per day

WASHINGTON – A group of former Democratic congressmen from the United States who traveled to Ukraine to observe the October 31 vote and returned to say the election was basically free and fair, were recruited to the task and paid \$500 a day by a Washington-based lobbyist who is a registered representative of Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, The Washington Post reported.

The group of seven former congressmen and four Washington political consultants traveled to Ukraine to observe the first round vote and returned to the U.S. to declare it was "geared toward the finest methods of ensuring fairness and accuracy," The Washington newspaper reported in an article on November 20.

Aleksei Kiselev, a registered foreign agent who works in the United States representing Mr. Yanukovich, confirmed to The Washington Post that he had paid for expenses and a stipend of \$500 a day for each member of the group. A report

created by the delegation was issued in the name of the Alliance for Democracy and Transparency, a Washington-based group created by Mr. Kiselev.

Robert M. Carr, an 18-year Democratic House veteran from Michigan led the delegation of former lawmakers, which included former Wisconsin Congressmen Peter Barca, Jay Johnson and Jim Moody, as well as Norman D'Amours of New Hampshire, Ronald Coleman of Texas and Mike Ward of Kentucky. Mr. Carr was expected to have returned to Ukraine for the second round of voting on November 21.

Also part of the delegation were Washington political consultants Michael Arno, Bernie Campbell, Richard Pollack and Bernard Whitman, whose company, Whitman Insight Strategies, conducted pre-election polls for a Ukrainian think-tank, Mr. Carr told The Washington Post.

As volunteers, election monitors usually

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Yushchenko takes symbolic oath of office in Verkhovna Rada

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – In an unexpected move, Viktor Yushchenko symbolically took the oath of office of the president of Ukraine on November 24 during an emergency session of the Verkhovna Rada.

Mr. Yushchenko and the other leaders of the Power of the People election coalition, which was created as the vehicle for the election of the former prime minister and central bank chairman, expressed no reservations afterwards that the oath was nothing more than a symbolic swearing-in. They said it was needed, however, as a strategic move against state authorities, who they claimed are trying to steal the presidential election of November 21 and deny their candidate his victory.

The 191 lawmakers who witnessed the swearing-in included members from the parliamentary factions of Our Ukraine, the Tymoshenko bloc, Socialist Party, Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, along with the Center group. The other 259 lawmakers who make up the Ukrainian legislature failed to turn up for what was an emergency session of the Parliament, originally called to review the validity of the presidential elections and to vote on a resolution drawn up by the Power of the People coalition members.

Mr. Yushchenko, his face still disfigured and discolored, initially hesitated when called to take the oath of office, but then slowly made his way forward to the speaker's dais. As he did so, Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn and First Vice-Chairman Adam Martyniuk scurried into an anteroom after the lawmakers present failed to heed the chairman's call not to turn the session into a

political show.

At the dais, Mr. Yushchenko read the short oath of office with his left hand placed on an open page of the Ostroh Bible, which was held by National Deputy Ihor Yukhnovsky, the oldest member of Parliament and the person who had called Mr. Yushchenko to the front.

The Power of the People coalition initially expected that the Verkhovna Rada would consider a resolution it had prepared, in which it accused the Ukrainian government and state authorities of state treason in organizing a coup d'état and "attempting to illegally grab power."

The resolution called on the Verkhovna Rada to recognize Mr. Yushchenko as the duly elected president of Ukraine; to form an ad hoc parliamentary committee to investigate and document the violations that occurred on election day; to express a vote of no confidence in the Central Election Commission because of the manner in which it aided in a fraudulent vote; and to dismiss the CEC and appoint a new one.

National Deputy Roman Zvarych, who announced the resolution, also called on law enforcement and military officials not to take part in criminal actions, to uphold the oath they swore – which calls on them to defend the nation and not state authorities; and to join in recognizing Mr. Yushchenko as the fairly elected president. He turned to the international community also, to recognize Mr. Yushchenko as Ukraine's new legitimately elected state leader.

When it became apparent that the Communist Party faction, which the

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AP/Efrem Lukatsky

Viktor Yushchenko takes a symbolic oath of office during the Verkhovna Rada session on November 23.

U.S. "stands with the Ukrainian people"

The following statement was issued on November 23 in Crawford, Texas, by the White House Office of the Press Secretary. It was transmitted to *The Ukrainian Weekly* by the Embassy of the United States in Ukraine.

The United States is deeply disturbed by extensive and credible indications of fraud committed in the Ukrainian presidential election. We strongly support efforts to review the conduct of the election and urge Ukrainian authorities not to

certify results until investigations of organized fraud are resolved. We call on the government of Ukraine to respect the will of the Ukrainian people, and we urge all Ukrainians to resolve the situation through peaceful means. The government bears a special responsibility not to use or incite violence, and to allow free media to report accurately on the situation without intimidation or coercion. The United States stands with the Ukrainian people in this difficult time.

Secretary of state: U.S. cannot accept results of Ukraine's election as legitimate

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON – U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell said the United States cannot accept the results of the presidential election in Ukraine as announced November 24 by the Central Election Commission. Soon after the commission officially named Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich the winner of the controversial November 21 presidential run-off in Ukraine, Secretary Powell held a special briefing at the State Department, which began with his statement on Ukraine.

"We cannot accept this result as legitimate because it does not meet international standards and because there has not been an investigation of the numerous and credible reports of fraud and abuse," he stressed. "We have been following developments very closely and are deeply disturbed by the extensive and credible reports of fraud in the election. We call for a full review of the conduct of the election and the tallying of election results."

Secretary Powell said that during the election campaign Ukrainian authorities repeatedly spoke about the importance of holding free and fair elections. "We deeply regret that they did not take the opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to democracy and to be a model for the region and the world," he said. "It is still not too late for Ukrainian authorities to find a solution that respects the will of the Ukrainian people."

"If the Ukrainian government does not act immediately and responsibly, there

will be consequences for our relationship, for Ukraine's hopes for Euro-Atlantic integration and for individuals responsible for perpetrating fraud," he added.

Earlier in the day, Secretary Powell spoke with President Leonid Kuchma "to press him to take advantage of these kinds of openings and also to caution him against the use of any kind of force against the demonstrators, and also encouraged him to use the legitimate means available to him to examine these election results and these allegations of fraud and abuse."

He also spoke with the leaders of the European Union, the government of Poland and the foreign minister of Russia.

"We call on all sides to work to achieve a fair and just outcome without the use of force. We remind the Ukrainian authorities that they bear a special responsibility not to use or incite violence," he said.

Earlier in the week, on the day after the election, the White House issued a one-paragraph statement in Crawford, Texas, which said the United States was "deeply disturbed by extensive and credible indications of fraud" in the conduct of the run-off.

The statement called on Ukrainian authorities to "review the conduct of the election" and not to certify its result until the issues of fraud are resolved. It also called on the government "to respect the will of its people" and "not to use or incite violence," among other things. It

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Australian foreign affairs minister expresses concern

Below is the text of a statement on Ukraine's presidential election issued by the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Downer on November 24.

Australia has followed with deep concern the second round of Ukraine's presidential elections, held on November 21, 2004. International observers, including the International Election Monitoring Mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), have reported that the election has clearly fall-

en short of international standards.

In light of the irregularities detailed in the report by the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights on the election, Australia has serious reservations about whether the official results will fully reflect the will of the Ukrainian electorate.

I urge Ukrainian authorities to fully investigate the irregularities reported in the electoral process and to review the results together with international observers, including the OSCE.

Ukrainian Caucus urges fair count

The Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, led by Rep. Curt Weldon (R-Pa.) and Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio) issued the following statement on Wednesday morning, November 24, about the political crisis in Ukraine.

The Congressional Ukrainian Caucus (CUC) joins the European Union in urging a full and fair counting of the results of Ukraine's presidential election. The number of abuses reported during the pre-election campaign and on election day indicates that the officially declared results may not be accurate.

As members of the U.S. Congress, we call on our colleagues in Ukraine and urge them to keep the interests of their people in mind. The government is created for the people and their will is the law to civil servants. We urge you to

investigate fully all claims of election fraud. We stand with the people of Ukraine and will provide all the support in our power to help them defend their civic rights.

As representatives of the American people we send our greetings to the people of Ukraine and remain humbled by their strength and unity in these difficult and critical times. On behalf of our nation, we would like to express extreme pleasure in seeing that the civic community of Ukraine is very active and that the people of Ukraine conduct their protest in a calm and civilized manner and do not resort to violence. The American people side with the people of Ukraine and support their demands for protection of the basic right to elect leadership in a free and fair manner. You have shown the world that you are a truly democratic nation.

Over 100,000 in Lviv rally to protest massive vote fraud

by Matthew Matuszak

LVIV – Over 100,000 residents of Lviv attended rallies in front of the city's Opera House on November 22 and 23 to protest massive vote fraud in the second round of Ukraine's presidential election, held on November 21. In solidarity with the rally, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church organized a moleben (prayer service) at the statue of the Mother of God in downtown Lviv on Monday afternoon, November 22. Also that day, Lviv's city council, leading the way as in 1991 with Ukrainian independence, was the first municipality in Ukraine to recognize Viktor Yushchenko as president.

Pop singer Ruslana, winner of the Eurovision-2004 international song contest, spoke to those gathered at Monday's rally. "We were able to make our choice! We have to defend it and we can do that! We believe in justice," Ruslana added, "Yes! We'll win!"

"Students are at the vanguard of the movement and are the engine of the revolution that is not only rising from the people but is also the creation of a new Ukrainian nation," said the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU) and one of the priests who celebrated the moleben led by Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Bishop Hlib Lonchyna. "What we are seeing today is the result of long suffering and perseverance and spiritual resistance that could no longer be repressed," said the Rev. Gudziak.

Because the government stopped ticket sales, thousands of students took over the Lviv train station and were demanding an extra train to travel to Kyiv to join in massive demonstrations there.

Students and staff of the Ukrainian Catholic University joined their peers in the trip to Kyiv by other means. With the blessing of the Rev. Gudziak, several groups of students left for Kyiv in UCU's vans. A group of UCU staff, including Volodymyr Turchynovskiy, director of the university's Department of Planning and Development, went to Odesa as election observers and then continued on by car to Kyiv across several police checks. Suspecting road blockades, Andrii Borovets, director of UCU's Institute of Non-Profit Management, took a plane to Kyiv, with Mr. Yushchenko's Lviv campaign manager on board as well.

"The Ukrainian Catholic University has been in opposition for the last 10 years to a government that



Jeffrey Wills

In addition to flags and banners, students carried icons at the demonstration in front of the Lviv Opera House.

refused to recognize the dignity and legitimacy of theological studies," said the Rev. Gudziak. "The entire rectorate, faculty and student body of UCU rejects the falsified results of the elections and recognizes as president of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko."

Under the leadership of their rectorates, seminarians from all the Greek-Catholic seminaries in Ukraine – Lviv, Drohobych, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk and Uzhhorod – have gone to Kyiv.

The National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy has created a strike committee headed personally by Rector Viacheslav Briukhovetsky and is preparing a statement to other colleges and universities. "The sense

of solidarity and unity of the academic world is profoundly moving and motivating," said the Rev. Gudziak. "It will lead to a new Ukraine."

Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk were among other cities that joined Lviv in recognizing Mr. Yushchenko as president on November 22. In a joint meeting attended by prominent businesspeople and other civic leaders, both the Lviv Oblast and Lviv city councils recognized Mr. Yushchenko on November 23.

Materials from "Maidan, An Internet Hub for Civil Resistance to Authoritarianism in Ukraine" (<http://eng.maidanua.org>) were used for this story.

Yushchenko and supporters issue appeal to the world

The following "Appeal to the Parliaments and Nations of the World," signed by Viktor Yushchenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleksander Moroz and Anatolii Kinakh, was transmitted on November 23 by the Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation.

Today, the attention of the international community is riveted on the decisive event in Europe of 2004 and perhaps of this decade: the presidential election in Ukraine. It is only fair, because this election is vital for the Ukrainian people and for the future configuration of a united Europe.

This election is a chance for the Ukrainian nation to return to democracy, the rule of law and a leadership responsible to its nation and the world, not to clans.

This time the Ukrainians have not wasted their chance, giving their preference to the nationwide candidate from the democratic forces – to Viktor Yushchenko, who gained a convincing victory. Ukraine has definitely stood up from her knees to embrace democracy.

According to the national exit poll conducted through anonymous questioning, opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko won 54 percent of all votes cast and the incumbent Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich – 43 percent.

This victory was hard to achieve. On the day of the election, November 21, we witnessed flagrant falsifications of voter turnout in the eastern regions (up to 98 percent turnout in some polling districts of the Donetsk region), massive expul-

sion from polling stations of members of electoral commissions and observers from the opposition, as well as independent media representatives, premeditated multiple voting by absentee voter certificates numerous instances of brutal violence.

On the night of November 22 the Central Election Commission joined the forgery process, escorting Viktor Yanukovich to first place by carefully timed manipulations and piecemeal information.

We ascertain flagrant falsification of the election results, which seriously affected the declaration of the winner. The Central Election Commission, acting as an instrument of "administrative resource," has snatched away the victory of the nationwide candidate Viktor Yushchenko.

It is a shame that your appeals and warnings to the outgoing authorities in Ukraine to ensure a free and democratic election were not heeded.

In the 21st century, in the center of Europe, we face a threat to the free expression of the will of one of the largest European nations.

Under these circumstances, the democratic opposition, guided by the constitutional right of the citizens of Ukraine, has announced a campaign of civil disobedience and launched a non-violent struggle for the recognition of the true results of the election of the president of Ukraine.

We appeal to the parliaments and

Four of Ukraine's diplomats in Washington take a stand

Below is the text of "An Open Declaration By a Group from the Diplomatic Corps of Ukraine." The statement, signed by four diplomats from the Embassy of Ukraine in the United States, was released in Washington in the Ukrainian language. (The text that follows is an unofficial translation prepared by Mykola Hryckowian, vice-president of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, and Marko Suprun, executive director of the Ukrainian American Civil Liberties Association.)

We, Ukrainian diplomats, declare our resolute protest against what has become the transformation of the presidential elections of 2004 into a disgraceful war against the people of Ukraine. Today when our families, our loved ones and our friends find themselves on Independence Square in Kyiv, we cannot remain silent.

Guided by our conscience, our professional pride and our oath to loyally serve the Ukrainian state, we express our solidarity with the voice of the Ukrainian people. That voice is an expression of protest against the violation of our citizens' right to elect a president by democratic means.

In spite of incessant threats, terror and massive fraud, the Ukrainian people have expressed their will. Their choice, however, has proven inconvenient for those representatives of the political elite in Ukraine who have for years ostensibly expressed Ukraine's European and democratic orientation. At this crucial moment, the actions of that same elite have proven that the expressions of European integration and democra-

cy were merely empty slogans. The people of Ukraine, represented by a small portion freezing in Kyiv's Independence Square, deserve a different government than the one currently asserting itself.

We are convinced that our silence today, in the long-term, would continue to undermine and erode the authority of our state.

This would effectively change the diplomatic corps into an instrument of service to a government whose legitimacy is already questioned by the world community. Once and for all, this would annul the international reputation of our country. Democratic nations of the world will turn away from Ukraine. We cannot quietly look away as Ukraine's future is buried along with the future of our children. We call upon all members of the Ukrainian diplomatic corps to raise its voice in defense of what we believe and hold dear: an independent, democratic and honorable Ukraine.

We, Ukrainian citizens, demand that the results of the elections reflect the true will of the people as the only source of power in Ukraine. We believe that other members of the diplomatic service will come to support this declaration.

O.V. Shcherba
Counselor of the Embassy

Y. B. Parkhomenko
Second Secretary of the Embassy

O.V. Potiekhin
Counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine

V. M. Chuma
Counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine

(Continued on page 22)



AP/POOL, Anatoly Medzyk

Yushchenko ally Yulia Tymoshenko places flowers into the shields of riot police guarding the Presidential Administration Building on November 23.

“Orange Revolution” ...

(Continued from page 1)

Students of all Kyiv universities and many more across the country were on strike. Many shops and cities remained closed. Tent cities mushroomed along the entire stretch of the Kyiv's main thoroughfare, the Khreschatyk, and on the perimeter of the territory of the Presidential Administration Building.

Demonstrations of angry citizens in dozens of Ukrainian towns and cities – from 10,000 in Odesa to 110,000 in Lviv and 100,000 in Kharkiv – were quickly spreading eastward in the country. Law enforcement officials remained restrained in responding to the mass protests.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Yanukovich said on November 24 that the government and the state were working in normal fashion.

“There is nothing unusual occurring. Nothing,” said Mr. Yanukovich at the opening of the weekly session of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Even so, dozens of buses filled with Internal Affairs Ministry forces encircled the tent city on the Khreschatyk the night of November 24. Channel 5, the television station that had become the prime source of information for most of Ukraine on the developments in Kyiv once the mass disturbances began, aired videotape taken the evening of November 23, which showed tanks and cannons being loaded onto railcars in Zaporizhia, ostensibly headed for Kyiv. There were also reports, one by National Deputy Yulia Tymoshenko who was among the organizers of the peaceful mass demonstrations, that Russian Special Forces were stationed in Kyiv outfitted in Ukrainian military uniforms.

Outgoing President Leonid Kuchma said on November 23 that he was ready to act as an intermediary in negotiations between Mr. Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yanukovich. Ms. Tymoshenko, a leader of the Power of the People electoral coalition formed months ago in support of Mr. Yushchenko's candidacy, said in response that the Yushchenko forces would only negotiate the manner in which the transfer of power would take place giving Mr. Yushchenko presidential authority.

Mr. Yushchenko, speaking the evening of November 23 during one of several addresses over the last days to the mass of humanity that has kept vigil on Independence Square, said that Ukrainian voters had been denied some 3.2 million votes, which he maintained were falsified or manipulated in favor of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. A day later he blamed President Kuchma and his opponent the prime minister for the crisis in the country.

“Ukraine today stands on the brink. In millions of homes people are wondering

who is responsible,” stated Mr. Yushchenko during a special session of Parliament.

He then added: “Leonid Kuchma is the first person who is responsible because he did not execute his responsibilities as the guarantor of the rights of the people. He alone had the unique ability to defend the rights of the voter.”

Mr. Yushchenko also blamed his opponent, Mr. Yanukovich, who as the head of government had the responsibility, along with the Central Election Commission, for ensuring that the elections were properly organized.

Mr. Yushchenko noted that some 35 percent of the vote in Mykolaiv Oblast was registered from at-home voting, usually limited to the indigent and shut-ins. He said that another 15 percent of the vote in Mykolaiv came from absentee certificates.

“Sixty percent of the voters in Mykolaiv voted outside their polling stations?” queried Mr. Yushchenko. “We call these fair elections, that there was a fair playing field? This was a crime and Viktor Yanukovich organized it.”

Mr. Yushchenko also wondered aloud how it could be that at 8 p.m. the CEC had announced one turnout figure for Donetsk and several hours later it had ballooned. He noted instances in many precincts of Donetsk and Luhansk where the vote results exceeded the number of registered voters. He said the vote in those oblasts should be voided because of the extent of fraud.

Preliminary election results announced by the Central Election Commission showed that Mr. Yushchenko had received 46.7 percent of the national vote while his opponent, Prime Minister Yanukovich, had received 49.4 percent, with 99.4 percent of the vote tallied.

Exit polling done by the think-tank Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Research together with the Kyiv International Institute for Sociology under the direction of the civic organization Democratic Initiatives showed Mr. Yushchenko with a 54 percent to 43.3 percent advantage. The polling firm Socis showed Mr. Yushchenko ahead 49.4 percent to 45.9 percent. Mr. Yushchenko's own parallel vote count had him far ahead of the Ukrainian prime minister. However, Mr. Yanukovich's parallel count and several done by Russian polling organizations showed him ahead by about 3 percent.

International observer teams from the West were in agreement that extensive falsifications had occurred during the November 21 presidential vote. Their observations only added to the dubiousness of the run-off election results after their earlier reports – on the pre-election campaigns and the first round of voting – had indicated a one-sided race with

extensive bias in the mass media and illegal use of government resources.

During a special session of the Ukrainian Parliament held on November 23, Mr. Yushchenko symbolically took the oath of office of the president of Ukraine as 191 lawmakers who support his Power of the People election coalition watched. The other 259 lawmakers who make up the Ukrainian legislature failed to turn up for the emergency session of the Parliament, originally called to review the validity of the presidential vote. (See story on page 4).

The organizers have earnestly and repeatedly asked supporters of Mr. Yushchenko to retain discipline within their ranks and avoid emotional responses to incitement. Reports by adherents of Mr. Yushchenko who work within the law enforcement agencies have warned that the government was looking for ways to incite Yushchenko supporters by planting individuals among the masses who would call for illegal and violent actions.

The arrival of dozens of buses from Donetsk, filled with individuals organized by supporters of Mr. Yanukovich, also has caused concern. The Yanukovich supporters, several thousand at most, who loitered for more than a day around the buses, which were parked at the outer edge of the city center, moved to the Cabinet of Ministers Building the morning of November 24. Later that day they had occupied the territory around the Central Election Commission.

A tent city of close to 400 structures inhabited by more than 1,000 supporters of Mr. Yushchenko continued to function on Independence Square. Another 2,000 to 3,000 people guarded the territory after dark to prevent a nighttime assault by law enforcement. Park benches were lined up as a defense perimeter on one side of Independence Square. Demonstration organizers had assured an adequate supply of water and basic foods, even though many protesters jammed cafeterias and fast food eateries nearby for some variety in their diet.

What some predictions had referred to as the looming “Chestnut Revolution” if elections on November 21 were not free and fair had turned into an Orange Revolution, with millions of Ukrainians throughout the country holding mass rallies in most regional centers. And the operative color was orange. Nary a car could be seen in the capital city without an orange ribbon tied to its antenna. Tent city inhabitants wore oversized plastic vests. Other demonstrators wore ribbons around their heads, arms and legs, many all at once. Less active residents simply attached orange ribbons to their lapels or twisted them around their purses.

The mass demonstrations began after Power of the People officials determined early on November 22, as their own parallel vote was taking place and with thousands of complaints of blatant instances of vote fraud and voter intimidation, that the political establishment was going to do whatever it took to retain power. They had earlier called on the people to gather on Independence Square the night of the elections for an all night vigil and public rally to witness parallel vote count.

By morning the rally had become a mass demonstration. At 10:30 a.m. on November 22 that day some 60,000 people had already gathered before the stage on Independence Square when the Power of the People leadership, including Mr. Yushchenko, Ms. Tymoshenko and Oleksander Zinchenko, vice-chairman of the Verkhovna Rada and Mr. Yushchenko's campaign manager, spoke to the masses, decrying the shameless vote fraud taking place. Mr. Zinchenko introduced Mr. Yushchenko as “the newly elected president of Ukraine.”

That evening, with more than a quarter

million Ukrainians on the square and the CEC already indicating that Mr. Yanukovich was the winner in the unofficial tally, the threesome again took to the stage on Independence Square, again with other Ukrainian leaders in tow, including two former presidential candidates, Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz and Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs leader Anatolii Kinakh. As they came onto the stage directly from the cars that brought them their, the three leaders broke into smiles and tears as they took their first glimpse of the vast mass of humanity supporting them. Mr. Zinchenko's voice broke as he introduced Mr. Yushchenko.

Mr. Yushchenko noted in his presentation that 10,110 violations had been registered with the Supreme Court of Ukraine. He said that 3.2 million votes had been falsified – 1.2 million in Donetsk, 500,000 in Luhansk, 200,000 in Kyiv and another million in the other regions. He said that 30 percent of the vote in Donetsk was fraudulent. He said that while the CEC had refused to issue a count of the number of absentee voter certificates issued, the Power of the People organization believed that up to 700,000 were improperly and illegally utilized.

Mr. Yushchenko said that only 19 of the 2,000 election observers from his organization were allowed to work in Donetsk. After 8 p.m. even they were thrown out of the polling precincts, as were observers in Luhansk. One who refused to leave was handcuffed and placed in a corner.

“It's called elections Yanukovich-style,” explained Mr. Yushchenko.

The evening of November 24, after Mr. Yushchenko had taken the oath of office in the Verkhovna Rada and a half-million people had heard him speak on Independence Square, hundreds of thousands marched to the Presidential Administration Building demanding that President Kuchma hold talks with Mr. Yushchenko to arrange for a smooth transfer of power. They were met by lines of dozens of Internal Affairs Ministry Special Forces in riot helmets, wielding shields and billy clubs at the main entrance to the building's territory. While demonstrators adorned the shields held by the young men manning the police line with orange flowers, Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Zinchenko negotiated with law enforcement authorities to get into the building.

Eventually the two were allowed to enter the premises and, after further negotiations, the riot police retreated from the barricades. Ms. Tymoshenko told journalists present afterward that officers inside had informed her that special forces of the Russia military were present within the inner court of the building with orders to shoot if the presidential administration compound was invaded.

What had begun in the capital quickly had spun out into the oblasts. By November 24 most oblast centers and many raion centers in western and central Ukraine were the scenes of mass rallies calling for recognition of Mr. Yushchenko as the duly elected president of Ukraine and calling for Mr. Kuchma and Mr. Yanukovich to concede the results. Most of the city councils in oblast and raion capitals had supported resolutions recognizing Mr. Yushchenko as president. Three oblast councils – Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Volyn – passed similar resolutions.

Some 150 diplomats in Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including the head of the press office, Markian Lubkivskyi, issued a statement in which they said they would refuse to carry out directives by the state not in line with the wishes of the people.

The international community and several of its leaders have condemned the

(Continued on page 20)

OBITUARY

Wolodymyr Zyla, literary scholar, former minister of Ukrainian government in exile

LUBBOCK, Texas – Wolodymyr Zyla, Ukrainian literary scholar, editor, political activist and minister in the Ukrainian National Republic in exile, passed away on November 16 at the age of 85.

A professor of languages and comparative literature at Texas Tech University in Lubbock (1963-1986), Prof. Zyla founded the university's annual symposia on comparative literature and chaired the program for its first 10 years. An editor of numerous Ukrainian publications as a post-war refugee, upon emigrating to North America he became a frequent contributor to the Ukrainian émigré press, most notably, Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly.

Wolodymyr Zyla was born in Zbarazh, in the Ternopil region of Ukraine on June 25, 1919, into a nationally conscious family that was part of the intelligentsia, at a time of Polish occupation of western Ukraine. His father, Ivan Zyla, a teacher by profession, was a soldier in the Ukrainian Galician Army. Mr. Zyla's studies at the university in Lviv were interrupted in 1939 with the occupation of Lviv by the Soviet Army. He was drafted into the army in May 1941; soon after World War II broke out he was captured by the German army.

As a post-war refugee he worked for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the International Refugee Organization. He was among the organizers of the first Ukrainian displaced persons' camp in the



Prof. Wolodymyr Zyla

British zone of Austria near Villach and founded and edited the short-lived paper *Ukrainski Visti*.

In 1948, upon marrying fellow Ternopil native Iryna Bagan, Mr. Zyla and his family emigrated to Brazil. In São Paulo, he worked at the General Motors plant and was co-editor of the weekly *Nasha Dumka* and founder of the *Sobornist* Ukrainian Society.

In 1952 the Zyla family emigrated to

Canada, settling in Winnipeg, where Mr. Zyla continued his community and political activity. Upon resumption of his university studies, Mr. Zyla earned bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Manitoba (1962) and a Ph.D. in Slavic philology from the Ukrainian Free University in Munich (1967).

In 1963 the Zyla family moved to Texas, where Mr. Zyla became assistant professor of foreign languages at Texas Tech University and in 1968 chairman of the interdepartmental committee on comparative literature.

A prolific author, literary critic, translator and teacher, Prof. Zyla was member of numerous scholarly societies, including the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Ukrainian Historical Association, as well as American scholarly societies.

Prof. Zyla was a minister in the Ukrainian National Republic in exile, serving as minister of culture and education (1986-1990) and as minister of foreign affairs (1990-1992).

In 1992 Prof. Zyla was named Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great in recognition of his book titled "The Apostolic Exarchate in Germany and Scandinavia" (in Ukrainian). He was presented with Ukraine's Order of Merit for his selfless work for the good of Ukraine, for the high level of his political activity and his numerous scholarly studies in the fields of philology and literature at an

awards ceremony held at the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington in 2000.

In his acceptance speech at the Embassy Prof. Zyla stated: "During my political life I did everything possible to see to it that the Ukrainian nation was visible on the spiritual map of the world. I used every possible opportunity, every seemingly insignificant incident to tell that world that Ukraine lives; it continues to fight for its independence and does not accept its enslavement."

The monograph "Wolodymyr T. Zyla: Life and Works," by Petro Soroka appeared in 1999 as a publication of the Lileia publishing house in Ternopil.

Prof. Zyla is survived by his wife, Irena; daughters, Sviatoslava with husband Stefan, Romanna with husband Michael; son, Lubomyr with wife Dwana; grandchildren, Adriana with husband Harold, Natalia, Laryssa, Talia, Ivan and Taras; great-granddaughter Aleksandra; and extended family in the United States, Canada and Ukraine.

A parastas service was held on November 22 at the Bradley-Braviak Funeral Home in Whippany, N.J., with funeral services on November 23 at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church in Whippany, N.J., followed by interment at St. Andrew the First-Called Apostle Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J.

In accordance with the family's wishes, donations in memory of Prof. Zyla may be made to the press funds of Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly.

FOR THE RECORD: Statement of Ukrainian Statehood Organizations re Ukraine's election

The following "Statement on the Elections of the President of Ukraine" was issued on November 22 by the New York-based Conference of Ukrainian Statehood Organizations in America (formerly known as the Ukrainian Liberation Front).

The people of Ukraine voted on Sunday, November 21, 2004, to elect the president of their country. On Monday morning it became clear that the government of Ukraine intends to deny them their choice.

The official tally of the election, 99 percent complete, is self-evidently untenable. Exit polls by reputable organizations supported by Western governments, including the United States, concluded that the opposition had won the election. When added to the long string of government abuses in the campaign leading up to the election, the results made public by the Central Election Commission (CEC) of Ukraine make a mockery of the election process.

The government of Ukraine is mistakenly counting on the assumption that the citizens of Ukraine will eventually accept these results. It is clear from the mass protests throughout the country that the people of Ukraine will not accept the results determined by the CEC. In Kyiv alone over 300,000 protesters gathered at Independence Square to condemn election manipulation.

A major factor in the fraud perpetrated against the Ukrainian nation was the role played by Russia during the run-up to the elections. The Ukrainian authorities would not have been able to achieve their nefarious ends if not for their confidence that Russia will back them in their plot to steal the election.

We call on the government of the United States to act quickly to condemn election manipulation in Ukraine. The citizens of Ukraine who are trying to rectify this injustice need to know that they are

not alone in their demands for a fair and honest accounting of the vote. The government of the United States must act to condemn the crude manner in which the authorities in Ukraine ignore the peaceful, democratic wishes of its citizens.

We urge President George W. Bush and the U.S. Congress to demand that the will of the Ukrainian people be respected. We call upon the US government to support the

national democratic forces in Ukraine in the same manner as our government did with regard to Solidarity in Poland during the 1980s. We further urge the U.S. government to make clear to the government of Russia that further attempts to undermine democratic norms in Ukraine will not be tolerated.

Dr. Alex Striltschuk
Chairman

Havel sends message to Ukraine

RFE/RL

PRAGUE – Former Czech President Vaclav Havel sent the people of Ukraine a message of solidarity on November 23 as the streets of Kyiv, filled with protesters angry with the alleged manipulation of election results that currently have Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich winning the Ukrainian presidency over his opposition rival, Viktor Yushchenko.

The message, received by RFE/RL at its Prague broadcast center at 17:00 Central European time for broadcast to Ukraine by RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service and by the Czech Embassy in Kyiv to be read to pro-Yushchenko demonstrators, was also sent to the Czech news agency CTK.

The following is an English translation (originally in Czech) of the message, sent from Taiwan, where Mr. Havel is currently on a visit to Asia [translation: Magda Sebestova, RFE/RL].

Dear Citizens:

Allow me to greet you in these dramatic days when the destiny of your country is being decided for decades ahead. You have its future in your hands. All trustworthy organizations, both local and international, agree that your demands are just. That is why I wish you strength, perseverance, courage and good fortune with your decisions.

Yours truly,
Vaclav Havel

Canadian MP notes increase in electoral fraud

KYIV – Liberal MP Borys Wrzesnewskyj, a Canadian parliamentary election observer in Ukraine, expressed profound disappointment with the concerted and systematic fraud perpetrated against the will of the Ukrainian people in the second round of the Ukrainian presidential election.

"I had considerable optimism that Ukrainian authorities would have fixed the flaws and put right the many problems identified in the first round of the presidential election," he said. "I am extremely disappointed that Ukrainian authorities ignored warnings from the democratic circle of countries, including a motion passed by Canada's House of Commons, and simply steamrolled over the democratic will of the Ukrainian people and severely damaged Ukraine's democratic development and its international reputation."

Reports from election monitors show that the level of intimidation and electoral fraud was far worse in the second round of voting than the first round.

Commenting on the second round, Mr. Wrzesnewskyj stated that:

"The intimidation of electoral and international observers, as well as the systematic fraud at the riding, territorial and national

level, has shocked and dismayed both Ukrainian and international observers and is an outrage committed against the democratic will of the people of Ukraine. Notwithstanding the systematic and multi-layered fraud, and the results of the Central Electoral Commission, the exit polls showed that the winner of the election was Viktor Yushchenko. Consequently as a Member of Parliament of Canada who directly participated in monitoring the election, I have an obligation to speak out."

Speaking at the initial rally in Independence Square in central Kyiv attended by 100,000-plus Ukrainians, Mr. Wrzesnewskyj echoed the sentiments of the people:

"For the past 10 years the people of Ukraine have felt that this corrupt regime has been stealing from them and robbing the country of its future; this time the people feel that their democratic will is being stolen away. It is my belief that the people of Ukraine will not allow this to happen. Having observed the process and having noted the exit poll results, in solidarity with the will of the people of Ukraine, I would urge the international community to not accept the fraudulent results, as Viktor Yushchenko is the candidate who should be declared president."

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Ukraine demands a fair count

"There will be no revolution." – President Leonid Kuchma, November 20.

"The people's will cannot be broken. People's votes cannot be stolen." – Viktor Yushchenko, November 21.

"It is now apparent that a concerted and forceful program of election day fraud and abuse was enacted with either the leadership or cooperation of governmental authorities." – Sen. Richard Lugar, November 22.

"The United States stands with the Ukrainian people in this difficult time." – The White House Office of the Press Secretary, November 23.

"We cannot accept this result as legitimate because it does not meet international standards ... We call for a full review of the conduct of the election and the tallying of election results." – Secretary of State Colin Powell, November 24.

As we write this editorial on the day before Thanksgiving, the results of the Ukrainian presidential election have been announced by the Central Election Committee: Viktor Yanukovich has 49.61 percent of the vote to Viktor Yushchenko's 46.61 percent. The election, it is clear, has been "won" by fraud. The people of Ukraine, and their supporters beyond the country's borders – among them diaspora Ukrainians – are expressing their outrage. Opposition forces in Ukraine have called for a nationwide strike in protest.

Leaders around the globe have gone on record as stating that they will not recognize the illegitimate vote results and have called on Ukrainian authorities to conduct a full review of the contested election results. And, there are calls for restraint from all quarters as half a million people have taken to the cold and snowy streets of Kyiv in protest, as have tens of thousands in other cities in Ukraine.

Ukrainian Americans can be proud of the quick and resolute response of the U.S. government to the dramatic developments in Ukraine, but we must not let up in our efforts to demand a fair count of the ballots in Ukraine – to secure a reversal of the fraud perpetrated by the authorities in Ukraine. We must continue to press the Bush administration and our members of Congress to demand a just resolution to this crisis – a resolution that reflects the will of the majority of the people of Ukraine. Ukrainians in other countries must engage their leaders to do likewise.

We cannot allow this election to be stolen from the people of Ukraine, for it is more than an election that is at stake – it is the Ukrainian nation's future.

As U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell said, "This is the time for all alternatives to be examined, to be examined carefully, to be examined in light of the law, and hopefully, the parties acting reasonably and doing everything to avoid any use of force can find a way forward." Therefore, we are hopeful that the mediation of world leaders and the concern of international entities such as the European Union, OSCE and NATO, will succeed in influencing the Ukrainian government to act responsibly for the benefit of the Ukrainian people and for the sake of Ukraine's place in the international arena.

Democracy in Ukraine, we believe, can yet be saved. For, as events of the past week have shown, freedom is on the march in Ukraine thanks to millions of citizens of all ages and backgrounds who have not only voted but have been fighting to have their voices be heard and their votes counted – properly.

And, the Orange Revolution grows stronger every day.

Nov.
30
2003

Turning the pages back...

Already a year ago it was clear that Ukraine's presidential campaign would be a dirty one. On November 30, 2003, The Ukrainian Weekly published an analytical article written by Askold Krushelnycky for the RFE/RL Poland, Belarus and

Ukraine Report which described complaints by Ukraine's largest opposition bloc, Our Ukraine, that the Ukrainian government was disrupting a series of meetings across the country organized to explain the party's platform to potential voters.

"Viktor Yushchenko is the leader of Our Ukraine, a candidate in next year's presidential election, and – according to polls – the country's most popular politician. Mr. Yushchenko and Our Ukraine accuse regional officials of disrupting a rally two weeks ago in the eastern city of Donetsk by packing a previously booked hall with hundreds of anti-Yushchenko demonstrators," Mr. Krushelnycky wrote.

He further noted that Our Ukraine said many of the demonstrators were drunk and voiced allegations that they had been paid to take part. Our Ukraine also reported that police and local officials tried to block the Yushchenko entourage from disembarking from their plane and leaving Donetsk airport. Donetsk Mayor Oleksander Lukianchenko commented only that Our Ukraine had not "coordinated" with Donetsk police to hold the rally.

Mr. Yushchenko told RFE/RL he had a copy of a confidential document, allegedly originating from the office of the presidential administration, that instructed local authorities how to oppose Our Ukraine rallies. The document was similar to instructions alleged to have been distributed by the presidential administration to Ukrainian newspapers, TV and radio. Called "temnyky," the alleged documents instructed the media on how to present the news in order to portray the government in the best light and to besmirch the opposition.

Mr. Yushchenko said one year ago that the government's actions show why Ukrainians need to elect a president who will oversee a government committed to the democratic rights enshrined in the Ukrainian Constitution. "The Constitution does not work in Ukraine and these fundamental rights for [free] assembly and the conduct of meetings, as has been shown in Donetsk, don't work," he said.

Source: *Our Ukraine bloc complains of series of campaign disruptions by government*, by Askold Krushelnycky, RFE/RL Poland, Belarus and Ukraine Report, The Ukrainian Weekly, November 30, 2003, Vol. LXXI, No. 48.

IN THE PRESS

Ukraine's presidential election

Excerpted below are several editorials and commentaries pertaining to Ukraine's presidential election that were recently published by major newspapers in the United States and beyond.

"Coup in Kiev" [sic], editorial, The Washington Post, November 23.

"... yesterday the [Ukrainian] government revealed its intent to steal the election, announcing that Mr. [Viktor] Yanukovich had a decisive lead in the vote count. Tens of thousands of outraged citizens filled the center of Kiev last night to oppose this authoritarian coup. The United States and other Western governments must do everything possible to support them.

"... The United States should do everything possible to help those who seek to reverse the fraud. If that proves impossible in the short term, the United States at least can demonstrate to Ukrainians that it supports their desire for genuine democracy – and it can oppose any use of force by the government to suppress popular demonstrations. It can take action against senior Ukrainian officials and businessmen who are organizing and supporting the fraud, denying them visas or placing sanctions on their companies. It can also work toward a joint Western response to the new government, which should include a freeze on all cooperation with Mr. Yanukovich, and vigorous and material support for the Ukrainian political parties and civil society groups that fight for democracy.

"President Bush must also end his administration's passivity in the face of massive and malign Russian intervention in Ukraine. President Vladimir Putin, who has been consolidating an authoritarian regime in Moscow, now seeks to install a client government in Kiev; he channeled hundreds of millions of dollars into Mr. Yanukovich's campaign and personally traveled to Ukraine before each of the election's two rounds. Yesterday Mr. Putin brazenly issued a statement congratulating Mr. Yanukovich, even though Ukraine's election commission had not finished counting the vote or declared an official result. To its credit, the administration summoned the Russian ambassador in Washington to a meeting with a State Department official, Assistant Secretary A. Elizabeth Jones, who expressed concern about Mr. Putin's action. The next step is for Mr. Bush to clearly and publicly challenge the Russian president on his neo-imperialism – and to design a U.S. policy to check it."

"Election Fraud in Ukraine," Editorial, Wall Street Journal Europe, November 23.

"'Ukraine is not yet dead, nor is its glory and freedom,' begins this Slavic country's national anthem. Well, after Sunday's fraudulent presidential run-off, Ukrainian democracy also isn't dead – yet. But its fate, along with the outcome of this election, from here on won't be decided at the ballot box.

"... In any tainted election, where no one knows who really won, it is public perception, not votes, that counts. People ask, how bad was the fraud? How legitimate is the man who claims a victory? Here, the fraud was obvious, making Mr. Yanukovich's claim to the presidency outlandish.

"The election was always going to be close, but the numbers reported by the government just don't square up. Last night, the country's Central Election Commission gave Mr. Yanukovich 49.42 percent to his opponent's 46.7 percent, with 99.38 percent of precincts counted. Yet Mr. Yushchenko

came into the election with an 8 percentage point lead in the opinion polls, which were accurate in the first round October 31. Two separate, independent exit polls – which passed the test three weeks ago as well – on Sunday gave the opposition leader between a 4 to 11 point lead.

"... More suspicious are the turnout figures. Mr. Yanukovich's home region of Donetsk reported that almost all its registered voters, statistically speaking, cast ballots Sunday. That's the highest in Ukraine, 18 percentage points more than the average and 20 points more than Donetsk managed in the first round on October 31. 'The difference between a turnout in Donetsk close to the national average and the 96.6 percent turnout reported is approximately 600,000 extra votes for Yanukovich,' calculates Dominique Arel of the University of Ottawa. That's nearly the claimed margin of victory. ...

"Other districts in eastern Ukraine were so good at mobilizing people that over 100 percent turned out. In those areas, international observers were barred from many polling stations. In the first round, voter lists were manipulated. This time, the favored trick was multiple-voting. Dozens of buses and trains transported people from district to district, letting them cast an absentee ballot several times, according to outside election observers. Most if not all fraud was, by definition, official. ..."

"Ukraine: Looking for a Fair Vote Count," editorial, The New York Times, November 23.

"The choice facing Ukrainian voters on Sunday, in the second round of their presidential election, was about as clear as choices get: East or West. In the shorthand of the race, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich [sic] was pro-Russian, and his opponent, Viktor Yushchenko, the head of the opposition and a former prime minister, was pro-Western. President Vladimir Putin of Russia openly threw his support to Mr. Yanukovich, and the West not quite so openly threw its weight behind Mr. Yushchenko. But the outcome of the election seemed less important than how fairly it was conducted. If a nation as sharply divided and as strategically important as Ukraine showed it could handle a hard choice, wouldn't democracy throughout the former Soviet empire benefit?

"It was not to be. Ukraine last night was in a state of upheaval, after preliminary vote counts indicated that Mr. Yanukovich won the race narrowly. But international observers described widespread voting abuses, and Mr. Yushchenko refused to accept official results. Mr. Yushchenko's supporters turned out by the thousands in Independence Square in Kiev claiming that the election was rigged and vowing to demonstrate until results were released reflecting the will of the people. ...

"... Sen. Richard Lugar, visiting Ukraine to observe the elections, called the polling a "concerted and forceful program of election day fraud and abuse."

"... Mr. Putin would do well to prod his Ukrainian friends to heed Sen. Lugar's call for a review of the poll results. It is a pity that the Bush administration has apparently decided it won't push Mr. Putin any further. This election should not lead to an even greater divide within Ukraine. What Ukrainians need now is to shape their institutions and democratic habits to get to civil reform peacefully."

"Ukraine's Solidarity," by Oksana

(Continued on page 16)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Diaspora needs strategic approach

Dear Editor:

Russophiles and Russified Ukrainians in the West are likely to be indifferent or somewhat satisfied by the official report that Putin-backed candidate Viktor Yanukovich defied all odds and "won" Sunday's presidential election. Independent exit polls, however, pointed to a comfortable win by patriot Viktor Yushchenko who campaigned, in part, on reawakening Ukrainian national consciousness. Although most Ukrainians in the diaspora wanted a Yushchenko victory, no one seems surprised that Russia has asserted an imperialistic influence on the outcome, giving new meaning to campaign shenanigans.

In the last four years, United States foreign policy has been lacking in Ukraine. There's little doubt that isolating outgoing President Leonid Kuchma merely pushed the ethically challenged bully further into the orbit of Moscow. So far Washington has not made a credible response to the widespread voter fraud that tilted the election in Mr. Yanukovich's favor. Keep in mind that President George W. Bush has just met with his "friend" (his word, not mine) Russian President Vladimir Putin at a summit in Chile. It's not likely that President Bush expressed concern about Russia's involvement in the election of a sovereign nation.

What's next? Ukrainians, especially in the greater Washington area, many of whom work in law, politics and government, need to take a leading role in pressing the State Department and the national security adviser on this issue. Not working with Moscow-friend Yanukovich, should he become president through fraudulent means, only pushes the country further into Moscow's shadow. That's already happened in the last four years with a very harmful impact on liberty, free press and freedom of speech.

Fulfilling a threat to deny officials from Kyiv visas, as the Bush administration has done to promote a fair election, is comical. Imagine if officials in Saddam Hussein's Iraq were denied visas? The Bush administration has yet to outline a coherent, comprehensive policy to further freedom in Europe's second largest country.

National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice has been nominated to be the next secretary of state. She must be pressed during U.S. Senate confirmation hearings as to why the United States did not actively work with Ukraine to help it become an integrated part of the European family. More important, she needs to be aggressively questioned about Ukraine's future if Mr. Yushchenko is denied his presidential win. More specific to the current situation and before the confirmation hearing even takes place, she must be asked how the United States will intervene, if at all, to see that Mr. Yushchenko be inaugurated president, having garnered a majority of votes. If the U.S. can play such a key role in a free election in Iraq, why not Europe's second largest and potentially wealthiest country?

I fear that Washington will do painfully little to assist Mr. Yushchenko in taking office other than to increase the political rhetoric. Dr. Rice is a student of Russian history and Soviet politics. Hopefully, she does not subscribe to the notion that Ukraine is nothing more than the "Little Russia" of the empire better suited to be under Moscow's fraternal arm.

One thing is clear. There must be a more strategic approach by diaspora Ukrainians in getting the Bush administration to be more responsive to what is left of Ukraine's democracy both in the midst of street protests now occurring and for whatever the future holds. President Putin may be President Bush's friend, but

he has never been one to Ukraine or Ukrainian national consciousness.

Bishop Paul Peter Jesep
Gardiner, Maine

The Rt. Rev. Paul Peter Jesep is an auxiliary bishop in the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church-Sobornopravna. He is a lawyer and political scientist by training and once served on the staff of U.S. Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine). The views expressed here are strictly personal.

St. John's Festival deserves support

Dear Editor:

I must start this commentary with: Shame on you, Ukrainian hromada! What was so important on September 25 that it kept you away from attending St. John's Ukrainian Festival and supporting this beautiful event?

My wife, Halyna, and I attended the last three of the four festivals that were held on the St. John's Church grounds in Newark, N.J. The first festival we missed because it was poorly advertised. This one was much better advertised, at least in St. Stephen's Parish in Toms River.

As in the past, we enjoyed this festival very much. However, we were very surprised and disappointed at the rather poor attendance – 500 attendees for such a large parish is a disappointment, to say the least. Where were you, my dear fellow Ukrainians, on this day? The weather was perfect, the program was great, and the varenyky were just scrumptious. I must repeat: Shame on you!

As in the past years, the outdoor concert was very well presented, with few exceptions: the concert should have had at least one, and perhaps two, intermissions. These intermissions would permit the attendees to partake of some of the delicious hot food, coffee and cake, and one must not forget the Ukrainian beer. Time would also be spent meeting new friends and re-kindling old relationships during the intermissions. Instead, most of the people sat through the entire program, packed up and went home.

Because one of the purposes for holding this festival is to raise funds for St. John's Church, I strongly feel that the program's MC should not only announce the events, the "MC" must also act as a salesperson for the festival's participating vendors, including the 50/50 raffle. Last year the raffle amounted to around \$400 in round numbers from an attendance of approximately 600 people. In contrast, last year our choir from St. Stephen Ukrainian Catholic Church in Toms River collected around \$300 from 100 participants. The answer: the MC must be just like a used car salesperson.

Finally, those hard-working folks who put this beautiful festival together should be given recognition in the festival program book as well as on the stage.

Please do not take my observations as criticism. My intent is to help the organizers make future festivals even more successful. The festival was beautiful. My congratulations go to Father Leonid Malkov, the performers, and to all the people behind the scenes who made this festival a success.

Most importantly, my condolences go to all those Ukrainian-Americans in the neighboring communities, who chose to ignore this beautiful event. For only 5 bucks, you missed a great deal. Perhaps next year we will fill the entire St. John's grounds.

For the record, this commentary is my personal observation of the entire event.

Stan Jakubowycz
Linden, N.J.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



The sleeping giant has awakened!

Win or lose, the recent election in Ukraine underscores the power of the good people of Ukraine and the capability of the Ukrainian American community to respond to a crisis.

While Leonid Kuchma and his thugs were stealing the election from Viktor Yushchenko, our community demonstrated its outrage. While the Ukrainian people were camping out in Kyiv's Independence Square and shouting and marching for Yushchenko in every major city, we alerted our representatives and senators and boarded buses for Washington.

As always, there were those who only whined on the Internet. "What did you expect from Ukraine?" asked one pessimist. "The whole country is corrupt." "President Bush has turned his back on Ukraine," complained another. "Why doesn't the U.S. do something?" asked one hand-wringer.

I offer my 2 cents. First of all, we can be very proud of the people of Ukraine, especially the youth. At great risk to themselves they demonstrated, agitated, and worked to get the vote out for Mr. Yushchenko. In a dictatorial state where the government, the schools, the universities, local government, the mass media, NGOs and practically every independent business enterprise is either under the direct control of the mafia-like government, or severely constrained by that same government, this is an incredible accomplishment. Ukraine, the sleeping giant, has awakened. Our people were not bamboozled. Think of it. Today's 18-year-old was 5 years old when the Soviet Union fell apart. It is difficult to intimidate this kind of person or to fool him/her with false promises. Today, Ukraine's youth thinks for itself.

Secondly, President George W. Bush is not ignoring Ukraine. In a letter to outgoing President Kuchma, the president thanked the Ukrainian president for sending troops to Iraq, for participating in the coalition of the willing. But President Bush also warned that if the presidential election was unfair, the United States "will be obliged to review our relations with Ukraine and the individuals who participated in fraud and manipulation." This includes, presumably, Viktor Yanukovich. President Bush sent Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, as his personal representative during the election. Observing the election, the senator declared that "a concerted program of election-day fraud and abuse was enacted with either the leadership or cooperation of government authorities." Responding to the chicanery, the Bush administration urged the Ukrainian government not to certify the results.

Finally, calling one's congressman now is a wonderful idea, but like the old Ukrainian adage says, "it's mustard after lunch." How many Ukrainian Americans even know who their congressman is? A more important question: how many congressmen know us? How many of us contributed to his/her campaign? How many of us sent congratulatory letters to our recently elected/re-elected congressmen? House Speaker Tip O'Neill (D-Mass.) once said: "All politics is local."

There was a time when our community understood those wise words. The Taras Shevchenko statue in Washington

would not have been possible without the long-time personal relationship former UNA Presidents Dmytro Halychyn and Joseph Lesawyer had with Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.). It was Sen. Javits who greased the skids in the U.S. Senate to pass a bill authorizing the statue.

The U.S. on the Ukraine Famine Commission would never have happened without the 14-year personal friendship Lesia and I had with Sen. Chuck Percy (R-Ill.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and the support of Rep. Millicent Fenwick (R-N.J.) and Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), both of whom were cultivated by Ihor and Bozhena Olshaniwsky. That was the only way we were able to get Senate and House hearings on the legislation.

People on the Hill will respond if approached personally by their constituents. Many years ago Julian Kulas and I brought signed Ukrainian petitions to Democratic and Republican congressional leaders in Washington. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), then the powerful head of the Ways and Means Committee, met with the two of us and, after literally sitting down and checking the addresses of all those who signed the petitions to see how many actually lived in his congressional district, he listened to what we had to say.

On another occasion Father Peter Galadza and I traveled to Washington to meet with legislative assistants to members of the Senate Judiciary Committee. We were asking for Senate oversight hearings of the Office of Special Investigations. After outlining the outrages perpetrated by OSI, we were told that we were the first Ukrainian Americans to raise this issue in person. The assistants then told us how many Jewish Americans visit them on a weekly basis. What does that tell you about our visibility?

I have one word for those who want to gain political influence. Cultivate. Cultivate your senator. Cultivate your House member. Develop an ongoing relationship with the legislative assistants who handle foreign relations. They have the ear of their bosses. They want to demonstrate their usefulness as people who know how to work with constituents. Ask how you can help.

In May of 1977 the Ukrainian National Association co-sponsored a "UNA Day on Hill" with then Sen. Bob Dole. Sen. Dole was able to get us a reception room in the Capitol building itself. The UNA provided food and refreshments. According to The Ukrainian Weekly, some 150 Ukrainians came from all over the United States during the day to meet with elected officials and to invite them to the reception that evening. A total of 31 senators attended the reception. The UCCA sponsored a similar event recently. How about a joint UNA/UCCA event in D.C. in 2005, soon after the president's state of the union speech?

As I write this, the will of the people in Ukraine is clear. Regardless of how the election ultimately shakes out, we here in America need to become more pro-active, more visible and more politically effective in Washington. Win or lose, the good people of Ukraine still need our help.

Myron Kuropas's e-mail address is: kuropas@comcast.net.

600 gather outside Ukraine's Consulate in New York to protest vote manipulation

by Andrew Nynka

NEW YORK – Clad in orange and holding up flags, signs and banners, roughly 600 people gathered outside of Ukraine's Consulate General in New York City on November 23 to rally in support of the candidate they said should have won the Ukrainian presidential election, reformer and former Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko.

"I came today to show my support for Viktor Yushchenko," said 31-year-old Halyna Malynovskyy. "The election was fraudulent and it was important for me to come today."



Andrew Nynka

Several hundred of Viktor Yushchenko's supporters in front of the Ukrainian Consulate in New York City during the afternoon on November 23.

Protesters came by the busload. Some came from Connecticut, while others were from Philadelphia and New Jersey. Nearly everyone wore something orange, the trademark color of Mr. Yushchenko's campaign. They carried Ukrainian and American flags, pictures of the candidate and signs that read "Viktor Yushchenko is our president."

Many of the people who came to the rally, which began at 10 a.m. and quickly grew to a mass of people who clogged the street in front of the Consulate, said

they were inspired to come.

"The president clearly should be Yushchenko," said Mykhailo Zacharko, 79. "My father died and I didn't cry. When I heard that Yushchenko took the oath in the Verkhovna Rada I cried," said Mr. Zacharko, who was born in the Ukrainian town of Uhar near Lviv but now lives in New Jersey and is the head of the Ukrainian National Association's Central New Jersey District Committee.

Also present at the demonstration was UNA Treasurer Roma Lisovich, along with a group of employees of the UNA Home Office who took personal days off from work in order to participate.

Standing on top of two milk crates and speaking into a microphone, a number of people addressed the crowd, stirring strong applause or chants of "Yushchenko, Yushchenko."

By midday, as the crowd heard the last of the speeches in front of the Ukrainian Consulate, the rally moved north before stopping at the Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the United Nations

(Continued on page 23)

Houston Ukrainians gather at senator's office

by Ivanka Bilych and Mykhajlo Balahutrak

HOUSTON – Forty petitioners wearing orange and carrying signs bearing the messages "Free elections for Ukraine" arrived on Tuesday, November 23, at the office of Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas).

The group, a large turnout for Houston's Ukrainian American community, also came with a large Ukrainian flag and U.S. flags in order to demonstrate solidarity with the hundreds of

thousands demonstrating in Ukraine.

Jason Roth Fuller, regional director for Sen. Hutchison, welcomed the petitioners and showed his understanding and noted that democracy in Ukraine and free elections are of great concern to the current administration and to Sen. Hutchison.

After presenting a letter addressed to Sen. Hutchison, the group also went to the office of Rep. Tom Delay (R-Texas), where they met with the District Director Barkley Peschel and presented a similar letter regarding the election in Ukraine addressed to the congressman.

Chicago-area community rallies in support of Viktor Yushchenko

by Pavlo T. Bandriwsky

CHICAGO – On the heels of Sunday's Ukrainian presidential run-off election where 3,807 people voted at Chicago's Ukrainian Consulate – casting over 99 percent of their votes for Viktor Yushchenko – a call went out to the community that a rally would be held on Tuesday, November 23, at noon in response to the announced election results.

The midwest is Mr. Yushchenko country, as evidenced both by the paltry voting for Viktor Yanukovich, who received a mere 29 votes in the first round and 28 in the second out of a total of over 6,300 cast, and the highly visible sea of orange hats, coats, scarves and flags at every public gathering.

The three objectives of the Chicago rally were: to demonstrate support for our brothers and sisters in Ukraine who voted in the majority for Mr. Yushchenko; to call on the administration of President George W. Bush and the U.S. government not to recognize the illegitimate results announced by the CEC; and to send a message to President Vladimir Putin that the Ukrainian diaspora wants Russia to stop interfering with Ukraine's internal affairs.

The rally was held on the plaza adjacent to the Dirksen Federal Center. Chicago police estimated the orderly, yet highly energized crowd at nearly 1,200 participants. New immigrants comprised about 70 percent of the marchers.

Orest Baranyk, president of the Illinois Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, began with a speech declaring outrage with the CEC and the falsified election results. He stated "The situation in Ukraine has gone beyond the point of return and the people of Ukraine know that we in the diaspora stand with them in support of a democratically elected president, Viktor Yushchenko."

Yuri Melnyk, chairman of the Chicago

committee "Presidential Elections 2004" said, "We are united and there is no need to fear because we are together and we will prevail." Julian Kulas drew on the point that the rally was taking place in front of the U.S. federal government building which houses hundreds of employees of the U.S. Federal Court, the FBI and other agencies, whose employees were watching with interest and became aware of Ukrainian Americans' concerns about a fair and democratic presidential election in their homeland. Mr. Kulas also reported that Sen. Dick Durbin's office had received 70 telephone calls that morning from constituents asking for the senator's assistance in ensuring that the U.S. not recognize the illegitimately elected Mr. Yanukovich.

Eight Catholic and Orthodox priests led the crowd in prayer and song. A march to the offices of the Chicago Tribune was led by a color guard carrying the Ukrainian and American flags, followed by hundreds of marchers carrying vibrant signs, including: "America: Recognize President Yushchenko" and "President Bush: It is time to stand up for democracy, not just in Iraq."

As the crowd stretching, over five city blocks, marched through downtown, people chanting "U.S.A. support Ukraine" often were joined in the chant by onlookers. Finally the march led over the Chicago River to the plaza in front of the Chicago Tribune Building. There the group gathered to express its solidarity with Yushchenko supporters in Ukraine.

In light of the Tribune's front-page coverage of the protests in Ukraine that morning, a delegation met with a Tribune reporter who expressed keen interest in writing about the Chicago community's rally. The event was also covered by three television stations, several radio stations and the full local Ukrainian media complement.

Singing of the Ukrainian national anthem marked the end of the rally.

Winnipeg organizes symbolic polling station

WINNIPEG – On Sunday, November 21, Ukrainian citizens currently residing in Manitoba and hundreds of their supporters gathered near the Taras Shevchenko monument by the Legislative Building to express their protest against the violation of the voting rights in Ukraine and symbolically cast their own votes.

The symbolic polling station was created as a sign of support for Ukrainian democracy and protest against the most fraudulent and unfair elections in Ukrainian history.

The Ukrainian government opened a limited number of additional polling stations for more than 7 million Ukrainian citizens living abroad. Only two stations were opened in Canada – one in Ottawa and another in Toronto. All Ukrainians currently residing in central and western Canada were denied their constitutional

right to vote at the additionally opened polling stations close to their places of residence and had to travel to Ottawa or Toronto to execute their right to vote.

On Sunday hundreds of people joined the protest to express their concerns against the unequal treatment of Ukrainian voters and to support the remaining chance of democracy in Ukraine.

Results of the symbolic vote showed that 113 eligible voters participated in symbolic elections. One ballot was spoiled, one voted "against all" and 111 voted for Viktor Yushchenko, the candidate of the opposition.

Representatives of the federal and provincial governments were present and spoke about the violation of human rights in Ukraine and importance of free democratic elections.

The Ukrainian National Association supports the appeal of Viktor Yushchenko and calls on all of our readers, members and the community at large to immediately contact President George W. Bush and their senators and representatives in Congress. Ask them to protest the fraudulent presidential election results in Ukraine. You may contact the White House hotline at (202) 456-1111.

Those who are fighting for the democratic process in Ukraine need the support of the entire international community! They need the support of the United States! They need our support!

The future of Ukraine is at stake.

Service at St. Patrick's Cathedral recalls Famine-Genocide

by Tamara Gallo-Olexy

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

NEW YORK – The annual commemorative observance of the Ukrainian Famine Genocide of 1932-1933 took place in New York's St. Patrick's Cathedral on Saturday, November 13, with a moving service and program.

Prior to the traditional Ukrainian requiem service, Archbishop Antony, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church opened the proceedings by commenting on the need to remember the Ukrainian Genocide as an act of political means to annihilate the Ukrainian people. A moleben service followed, concelebrated by Archbishop Antony of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Archbishop Metropolitan Stefan Soroka of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Responses to the moving service were sung by the Dumka Chorus of New York.

Following the religious ceremony, Michael Sawkiw Jr., president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), welcomed the participants of the program and spoke of the reasons for annually commemorating the Ukrainian Genocide of 1932-1933: "We gather in this sacred cathedral to say 'WE REMEMBER.' And most of all, we remember that there was an active campaign to hide this Genocide from the world."

Mr. Sawkiw proceeded to introduce several speakers, including Valeriy Kuchinsky, permanent representative of Ukraine to the United Nations. Ambassador Kuchinsky acknowledged efforts in the United Nations last year to recognize the "Holodomor" as a genocide of the Ukrainian people.



Hierarchs and clergy officiate at the service at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

"We [Ukrainians] have started our work," stated Ambassador Kuchinsky, "I am sure that all the people of our planet will know the history of the Holodomor... Unfortunately, it will not change the past nor will it help the victims. However, this act will restore the historic justice."

A featured speaker of the commemorative obser-

vance was Rabbi David Lincoln, senior rabbi of the Park Avenue Synagogue. Rabbi Lincoln spoke of the devastating effect the Ukrainian Genocide had on the developing Ukrainian nation in the early part of the 20th century.

In his address to the assembled, Rabbi Lincoln mentioned the active work of his father in Great Britain who spoke up in the 1930s about Ukraine's right for independence and the suffering of the Ukrainian people. "When I was very young, I asked why he supported what seemed to be forlorn hope of Ukrainian independence," said Rabbi Lincoln. "His answer was a threefold: Firstly, a great and noble people deserved their own country. Secondly, he saw in that struggle similarities with the hopes of the Jewish people for a state in the Holy Land. Finally, he and other Jewish leaders around the world appreciated the support afforded to the Jewish population of Poland by Ukrainian deputies in the Sejm, the Polish Parliament in the pre-war period."

Following Rabbi Lincoln's remarks, a statement was read from President Bush and Ukraine's consul general in New York, Serhiy Pohoreltzev was introduced to read remarks from President Leonid Kuchma.

Much like last year, the highlight of the observance was remarks delivered by Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.). In describing the need to commemorate the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, he spoke of the "cruel despotic act of genocide to wipe out a people." Sen. Schumer accentuated four critical aspects to remember about the Ukrainian Genocide: 1) we must always remember the past to prevent such an act from reoccurring in the future; 2) we, as a world community, have an obligation to speak out about the truth of the Genocide of 1932-1933; 3) we must deplore totalitarianism, since it leads to events such as the Ukrainian Genocide and Jewish Holocaust; and, 4) we must preserve and maintain the freedoms that we have and exercise those rights around the world. The senator's remarks were met with a long period of applause as he again equated the Ukrainian Genocide with the Jewish Holocaust.

To conclude the one-hour program, the final guest speaker was Nigel Linsan Colley, great nephew of Welsh correspondent Gareth Jones who wrote about the devastating Famine in Ukraine in the early 1930s. Basing his remarks on upon the diaries of his great uncle, Mr. Colley emphasized the lack of urgency among Western correspondents to report about the genocide transpiring in Ukraine.

"Gareth set off on an unescorted trip to Ukraine," Mr. Colley explained. "Let me be brief as I quote from his diary, 'before the war [explains a peasant] we had horses and cows and pigs and chickens. Now we are ruined. We are doomed. We were the richest country in the world for grain. We fed the world. Now they have taken all away from us.'"

Mr. Colley told of Jones' experiences while in Ukraine and concluded his remarks by expressing hope for the future: "If Gareth had bequeathed a legacy to the world, which eventually allows him to have the final words – those words are 'the truth matters.' It always did and still does today, and this should be a warning from history for every future dictator and journalist to heed."



Rabbi David Lincoln addresses the gathering.

President Kuchma's message to compatriots

Dear Compatriots!

Today's gathering is yet another important occasion to pay respect to the memory of millions of Ukrainians who put their lives on the cruel altar of the totalitarian Soviet regime.

In the history of Ukraine there are wounds that have not healed and victims who will never be forgotten.

This pain does not subside but grows stronger with every passing year as we uncover for ourselves the truth about how cruel was Ukraine's fate under the horrible Stalinist regime.

The establishment of our own Ukrainian state, the focus of aspirations of many generations of our ancestors, which based on the tenets of justice, freedom and democracy, is a firm guarantee that those tragic events will never return to our land.

Freedom from the bondage of the totalitarian Soviet system has unleashed the limitless potential of our people, which has become the main source of today's undeniable success of our state and the strengthening of its grandeur and independence.

The Ukrainian people will continue to feel for many more years the irreversible consequences of the Holodomor of 1932-1933.

At the same time, we also should not forget the tragic dates of other Holodomors – 1921-1923 and 1946-1947.

The act of honoring our own history should be a cause not only of scholars and historians, but also of the entire Ukrainian nation, without which the nation's spiritual development will not be possible.

The tolling bells of past tragedies are still resounding in the hearts of Ukraine. They must peal in all corners of the modern world in tribute to those who have perished and as a reminder to those who live.

Let us keep in everlasting memory those who have perished. Let Holodomors never return, and let them never be forgotten.

Let them remain in our hearts as a contribution to the memory of those who have perished, as a reminder of the pain endured by a people and of their undaunted strength.

With sincere respect,
Leonid Kuchma

President Bush sends greetings

I send greetings to those commemorating the 71st anniversary of the Ukrainian Famine.

This occasion reminds us of the inhumanity and brutality that befell Ukraine in 1932 and 1933. It also illustrates the transformational power of liberty. The lessons learned from the struggle of the Ukrainian people are clear: We must never lose the courage to oppose hatred, aggression and murderous ambitions wherever we find them.

By honoring the memory of the millions who were lost, we preserve their stories for future generations and teach people around the world about the dangers of totalitarianism. Together we can help strengthen the foundations of democracy and build a world where all people can live in freedom and peace.

Laura joins me in sending our best wishes. May God bless you.

George W. Bush

Smoloskyp publishing house dedicates new headquarters in Kyiv

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Once the bane of Soviet Ukrainian authorities, Smoloskyp has established itself as a leading center for nurturing creative writing and young talent in Ukraine – 50 years after it was established in Paris by a group of Ukrainian expatriate students who wanted to know more about what was going on back in their homeland.

The publishing house that became renowned for publishing smuggled “samvydav” – the works of Soviet Ukrainian underground authors and dissidents – to the West now works openly in Ukraine to foster Ukrainian literature, as well as to honor the legacy of those who fought for human rights and democracy in the country.

The degree to which Smoloskyp has become a fixture on Ukrainian soil was apparent when it held an open house on November 9 to bless its new premises, located in the historic Podil district of Kyiv.

“If we wanted to continue to work in Ukraine and to work with the creative youth, we needed a proper building. From the time we moved to Ukraine we have had problems with keeping a premises,” explained founder and director Olyp Zinkewych.

Smoloskyp owns this new building, a structure purchased with Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian donations, mostly from longtime supporters of the organization, and it has all the required licenses and permits to prove it.

Mr. Zinkewych said he was satisfied that he would finally be rid of Kyiv city officials and representatives of a private contractor who had long waited impatiently for Smoloskyp to leave the old structure (which it also had owned, by the way) so that they could begin construction of an apartment complex.

Acquisition of the new building, a historic structure built in 1866 and a fine example of mid-19th century Viennese-influenced architecture, did not come without other sorts of headaches. Mr. Zinkewych explained that it took more time to obtain the 38 permits required to remodel the site than it took to carry out the actual work.

No doubt the man who is the heart and soul of Smoloskyp was pleased with his new premises as he greeted guests on November 9 and led priests from the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church through the building as they blessed its rooms.

Among the guests in attendance were such ex-Soviet political dissidents and current Ukrainian political and literary luminaries as Ivan Dzyuba, Yevhen Sverstiuk and Mykhailo Horyn, all of whose works Smoloskyp helped to surreptitiously move from the Soviet Union via underground channels to the West for publication by its print house.

Among the published works that achieved most renowned were Mr. Dzyuba’s “Internationalism or Russification” and the late Vyacheslav Chornovil’s “The Chornovil Papers.”

Mr. Chornovil’s widow, Atena Pashko, a poet who also was published by Smoloskyp, was present at the blessing as well.

The new building, a two-story structure with a courtyard in the rear, will house a museum containing Smoloskyp’s historic documents, including the archives of the Ukrainian samvydav, considered the largest such collection in the world.

The building will also contain activity and conference halls for workshops and

conferences, including those organized to stimulate creative writing among contemporary Ukrainian youth. Finally it will house the organization’s administrative offices and, not least of all, a Ukrainian book store, continuing the Smoloskyp legacy of publicizing the works of Ukrainian writers.

“Many exclusively Ukrainian book stores in Kyiv have disappeared and been replaced with predominantly Russian-language book stores that may perhaps carry a few token Ukrainian-language books,” explained Mr. Zinkewych during an interview in the offices of Smoloskyp’s old building, which stands on a rutted, dirt road near the outer reaches of Kyiv.

The Smoloskyp director noted that the organization’s archives contain more samvydav than the renowned Vernadsky Library in Kyiv or anything one might find in Moscow. The library and museum – which was being developed and organized by Oles Obertas, godson to Nadia Svitlychna, another dissident whose writings were secretly published in the West by Smoloskyp – will contain newspapers from the informal press in Ukraine as well, many of which were published in the Baltic states and received by Smoloskyp from the Suchasnist archives.

Mr. Zinkewych also noted that it would include perhaps the most extensive library of periodicals from the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada and the U.S., which Smoloskyp had carried to Ukraine. Additionally, the Smoloskyp archives contain materials about the dissident movements of other republics of the Soviet Union as they appeared in the West through other routes. Those materials include publications by Radio Liberty, as well as some in the Japanese language.

Mr. Zinkewych explained that the organization’s central tenet shifted as the need to smuggle information and the dissident movement itself dissipated after “perebudova” took root in the late 1980s. Since its move to Kyiv from the Washington area in 1991, Smoloskyp had worked to nurture the creativity of Ukraine’s young writers. Today it can claim credit for a new generation of poets and writers, including Serhii Zhadan, Ivan Andrusiak, Maksym Rozumnyi, Rostyslav Melnykiv and Andrii Bondar.

These “youngsters” now in their 30s were part of a “Group of 500,” as they had decided to call themselves without any apparent reason, which Mr. Zinkewych began to nurture after he decided that older writers were too set in their ways. One of the first initiatives organized by Smoloskyp was a competition for young writers, which has become an outstanding success.

“The prize was a book you authored, published courtesy of diaspora money,” explained Mr. Zinkewych.

The project became an outstanding success. In the last 10 years, 150 young Ukrainian authors have seen their works published.

A second, even more ambitious project began in 1995 when Smoloskyp began to award scholarships to talented student writers who retained a sense of Ukrainian national consciousness or spirit in their works. Since then some 600 students annually had divvied up an annual scholarship budget of between \$80,000 and \$100,000.

Smoloskyp also now sponsors a unique annual conference for students, in which some 300 young writers are drawn on a competitive basis from a field that annually reaches about 1,000 applicants. The winners are given a four-day, all-expenses paid stay at a sanitarium outside Kyiv, where they spend the time discussing in a formal manner topics of



Smoloskyp’s newly refurbished headquarters in the Podil section of Kyiv.

interest to them. Mr. Zinkewych noted that the conference is unique in that the students themselves decide on the agenda, the speakers and the topics, while he and his associates simply monitor the proceedings.

Not surprisingly, given his devotion to them, Mr. Zinkewych’s 50 years of social and political activism began as a student, soon after he had come to Paris on a scholarship to study chemistry. There he and a group of fellow Ukrainian student expatriates became engrossed by an upheaval taking place within the Communist Youth League and other events occurring in the aftermath of the death of longtime Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.

To get to know more, they would visit a local Communist bookstore against the fervent wishes and outright condemnation of their parents and friends within the close-knit Paris community.

They decided to begin a column in the local Ukrainian-language newspaper, *Ukrainske Slovo*, under the title “Smoloskyp,” dealing with student émigré issues, including a heavy dose on what they thought about affairs in Ukraine.

In 1956 that project expanded and Smoloskyp became a journal for new Ukrainian writings. The slightly more open and tolerant attitude toward literature practiced by the Khrushchev regime allowed for the development of a new generation of Ukrainian writers and intellectuals, known as the “Shestydesiatnyky.” Smoloskyp began to obtain and publish their works.

In 1967, now located near Washington D.C., Smoloskyp began a publishing house for the printing of its own publications. First came “From the Generation of Innovation,” written by Mr. Zinkewych. The project also continued to publish Ukrainian writers, with the works of poet Lina Kostenko being issued by Smoloskyp Publishing the following year.

It was at this time as well that Smoloskyp entered the Ukrainian underground, looking to publish samvydav materials. Mr. Zinkewych explained that most of the materials he obtained surreptitiously over the years came from contacts with Soviet athletes and merchant marines.

“We had problems with the political parties in the diaspora after we decided to form an Olympic Committee in Exile,” explained Mr. Zinkewych.

He noted that there was concern that

the Soviet Union would manipulate such a group for its own benefit. But Mr. Zinkewych outfoxed Soviet officials and calmed the fears of those in the Ukrainian diaspora when he turned his organization into a tool for developing contacts with Soviet Ukrainian athletes and journalists to act as couriers when they attended international events.

Eventually Mr. Zinkewych became a member of the International Association of Sports Press, headquartered in Milan, Italy, which gave him personal access to Ukrainian athletes when they traveled abroad for competition.

The Smoloskyp director said that, for the most part, the couriers were successful. However, he recalled one incident during an international athletic event in Munich in the early 1980s, during which he was to make contact with an intermediary who was initially to compete in a running event and then hand over microfilm of a samvydav work immediately afterwards.

Mr. Zinkewych recounted how he watched from the stands in agony as the Ukrainian runner prepared for his event only to have a problem with the microfilm containing the images of the samvydav, which was supposed to be taped inside his shorts. The runner, who was always good for a finish among the leaders, ended up towards the end of the race. He never made it to the press conference after the event.

“We never heard anything of him again,” noted Mr. Zinkewych.

A few years later Smoloskyp became more brazen in its methods and began to use people who had easy access to Soviet Ukraine and traveled there frequently.

Many times these were Progressive Communists who had special privileges and were never checked at Soviet borders. Although the couriers included members who willingly took the microfilm, just as often the couriers became unwitting participants in Smoloskyp’s work. One of them was Progressive Communist Party Chairman Petro Kravchuk, a Canadian resident who was notorious within the Ukrainian community of Toronto.

Smoloskyp people in Ukraine began a practice of attaching microfilm to his baggage and then retrieving it once the Progressive Communist leader was back in Canada.

“He was one of our best,” explained Mr. Zinkewych. “He never knew. When I told him about it in Kyiv after independence he was very angry.”

DANCE REVIEW: Virsky dancers dazzle Berkeley audience

by Nestor Wolansky

BERKELEY, Calif. – In a town better known for its often liberal and radical views, and a lack of support of Ukrainians, the Virsky Dance Ensemble, founded in 1937, proved that if you're good, you can soar above any unfounded and untrue perceptions. From the moment the curtain rose at the Zellerbach Auditorium on Sproul Plaza, the birthplace of the student Free Speech Movement in the 1960s, on a sunny September 29 at 3 p.m., and the spectacularly dressed Virsky dancers appeared on stage with the traditional Ukrainian bread adorned with a "rushnyk" (ritual cloth), it was obvious that the audience would be swept off its feet.

And it was.

The number of Ukrainians in attendance was not large, but the many folk dance aficionados of the Bay Area who came to see one of the greatest folk dance groups in the world, more than made up in the enthusiastic approval of the performance. What the Bolshoi and Kirov are to the Russians, the Ballet Folklorico de Mexico is to the Mexicans and the Vienna Boys Choir to the Austrians, the Virsky Dance Ensemble is surely to the Ukrainians.

Little girls sat wide-eyed, gasping at the unbelievable dance routines, while their parents swooned in their chairs in near disbelief, asking, "Did you see that?", "That's incredible!", "How do they do that?"

Frequent applause interrupted the performance, while in several instances wild cheers erupted from individuals wearing Ukrainian blouses or shirts.

During the intermission the crowds mingled casually in the lobby, sipping wine or mineral water. A spattering of Ukrainian, Russian and Polish was heard. A woman from Palo Alto with her elderly mother brought bouquets of flowers, while a Ukrainian professor at Berkeley, originally from Dnipropetrovsk, speaking no Ukrainian, kept repeating in Russian, "Kak khorosho! Molodtsy!", (Well done, young ones) while his statuesque wife agreed, saying, "Da, da, da, milyi moi" (Yes, yes, yes, my dear), as tears glistened in their eyes.

Even though the promotion poster correctly said "Kyiv," and not "Kiev," Cal Performances, the organization responsible for booking cultural events at U.C. Berkeley, had made several inexcusable and unforgivable errors in its program brochure, referring to some of

the dance numbers as Russian, and spelled "Ukrainian" as "Ukranian" on the entrance tickets. The dance number "Vyshyvantsi" (the Embroiders), was erroneously referred to as "A women's dance, drawing from the Russian [sic] tradition of needlework, portraying the deep and rich beauty of Russian [sic] women," and the Carpathian Dance, depicting the various regions of the Carpathians – Hutsulschyna, Bukovyna and Zakarpattia – as reflecting three different kinds of Russian [sic] folk songs. The Cal Performances people, it seems, have been grossly misinformed about

Ukrainians. The audience especially loved the Moriaki (Sailors), and the humorous "Oi, Pid Vishneiu (Oh, Under the Cherry Tree) numbers. And finally, the Hopak, the quintessential Ukrainian dance, featuring numerous solo performances, breathtaking tricks and splendid choreographic combinations, brought the house down with a standing ovation.

This writer's calls to Cal Performances on campus went unanswered, so I was unable to learn why after 13 years of Ukrainian independence, an office on one of America's greatest universities is so blatantly irresponsible, listing historically

inaccurate and inappropriate information about Ukrainians in its program brochure.

At the conclusion of the concert, crowds mobbed the table in the lobby, where videos and books about the Virsky Dance Ensemble were being sold. A young girl, wearing a flowery, Poltava-style embroidered blouse purchased both. And the Virsky Dancers, after giving an educational class the following day at U.C. Berkeley, were moving on to southern California, and after that on its extensive 70-cities itinerary. Well done, Virsky Dancers! Diakuyemo!

Reviewers praise Virsky ensemble's performances

Following are excerpts of reviews of performances of the Virsky Ukrainian National Dance Company that appeared in various publications in the United States.

"It May Be a Folk Troupe, But That's Just Its Roots," by Anna Kisselgoff, The New York Times, November 9.

"... Here is bravura dancing at its greatest, as this first-class professional folk troupe from Kiev [sic] showed again at Lehman Center for the Performing Arts on Sunday afternoon. Unfortunately such companies come and go quickly nowadays in New York, but there is still a chance to see the mix of lyrical dances and virtuosic fireworks from the group's men and women on Monday at the McCarter Theater in Princeton.

"... Any dance lover will appreciate the eye-opening level of technique that remains undiminished since the company first came here in the 1970s. Vigor and power go with amazing lightness.

"Like Igor Moiseyev in Moscow, [Pavlo] Virsky knew how to capture the essence of folk dances and to recreate them as choreography for viewers, not participants. It is easy to criticize such companies with roots in the Soviet era as heedless of strict authenticity. Yet these were theatrical dance companies, not ethnographic research institutes. Artistically the Virsky troupe was one of the best.

"Virsky died in 1975, and Myroslav Vantukh, the group's director since 1980, has made the company a showcase for national pride. There is a new chest-out swagger in Virsky's martial

dance for cossacks [Kozaks – ed.], galloping with their spears. Mr. Vantukh has also extended the repertory's range with dances from different regions of Ukraine. His suite from the Carpathian Mountains in the west is especially fine with its dances for couples, shepherds' competitions and the use of small steps that contrast with the squatting dances of the cossack areas to the east or the thrilling high jumps of the 'Hopak,' which is considered Ukraine's national dance."

"Crowd-Pleasing By Leaps And Bounds," by Lisa Traiger, The Washington Post, November 8.

"The Virsky Ukrainian National Dance Company paraded into town Saturday afternoon, overtaking the Kennedy Center Concert Hall with the trademark precision of an army regiment. It took just three dances for the audience to erupt in rhythmic clapping; by the end they called back the company – 60 dancers and 15 musicians – for a double encore. ...

"From the lavishly costumed opening, 'Ukraino, My Ukraino!', [the dance's title is actually 'Ukraino, Moya Ukraino,' which translates as 'Ukraine, My Ukraine,' but the writer here is citing the mistake-filled program prepared by the tour producer, Columbia Artists Management LLC – ed.] when quick-footed women skimmed the stage, to the stirring finale, 'Hopak,' with its breathtaking solos for the men, who spin on a dime, jump into straddle splits and barrel-leap parallel to the floor, the program swelled in momentum. ..."

"Dancers who make time fly," by

Robert Johnson, The Star-Ledger (New Jersey), November 15.

"Time passes quickly in the presence of the Virsky Ukrainian National Dance Company. The touring folk-dance group, which appeared Saturday at the Community Theater, in Morristown, has a sure-fire prescription to relieve boredom, combining equal parts of speed, energy and cheerfulness.

"In the first of several local appearances, the troupe omitted the usual intermission in the program. The young dancers rushed through their colorful repertoire without pausing to take breath. The spectacle was so stimulating, however, that after ninety minutes of hard dancing it seemed as though hardly any time had elapsed.

"Who needs an intermission? This is not the kind of show where viewers require a shot of Espresso to stay awake during the second act – or defibrillator paddles just to stay alive. Virsky supplies its own jolt and is an all-natural mood enhancer. ...

"Highlights, as always, are the Cossack [Kozak – ed.] dances, by turns comic and astoundingly virtuosic. In 'Povzunets,' 10 humorous fellows waddle on stage in a bobbing procession that brings to mind Snow White's vertically challenged companions. From this low-slung position, they are able to perform amazing feats, rebounding from an elastic plié to execute spins, leaps and hand-stands. In 'Ukrainian Dance with Tambourines' and the 'Hopak,' the preternaturally buoyant soloists perform marvels, like touching their toes in a split while turning in the air. As suddenly as it seems to end, an evening with Virsky will long be remembered."

Zenon Kohut's "Roots of Identity" launched in Ukraine

EDMONTON – The concepts of Ukrainian nationhood and identity are issues that are sure to spark passionate discussion among scholars and students of Ukrainian history. Zenon E. Kohut's recently released book "Korinnia Identychnosti: Studii z Ranniomodernoyi ta Modernoyi Istorii Ukrainy: (Roots of Identity: Studies on Early Modern and Modern Ukraine), will no doubt add new insight into the debate and will be of interest to all concerned with the question of identity both in past and present-day Ukraine.

This collection of 15 articles, originally written in English between 1977 and 2002, is the fourth book in the series of Ukrainian-language historical monographs of the Peter Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. It was published in Kyiv by Krytyka Press.

Although these essays were not originally written for a single volume, they



have a common thread that unites them. Whether dealing with fundamental problems of political history, historiography or questions of historical memory, these articles touch upon the formation and reformulation of early modern and modern Ukrainian identity, hence the title of the collection, "Roots of Identity."

The first part of the book primarily deals with the development of identity in the 17th and 18th century. Unlike rigid modernists who believe that Ukrainian nationhood is simply a late 19th or 20th century "invention," Dr. Kohut sees the conceptualization of a "Little Russian Ukrainian Cossack Nation (narod)" in the Cossack [Kozak] chronicles as a precursor to the idea of modern Ukrainian nationhood. At the same time, the Little Russian component of this identity had contradictory consequences, at times stimulating and at other times delaying the development of modern Ukrainian consciousness.

In the second part, the essays mainly discuss the emergence and development of Ukrainian national historiography in the 19th and 20th centuries, particularly in challenging the All-Russian imperial and Polish narratives that denied Ukrainian nationhood. Other topics include Ukrainian historical discourse on identity formation in independent Ukraine as well as Ukraine's relations with Russia.

"Roots of Identity" was introduced in Ukraine through a series of launches – which took place in September in Lviv, Ostrih and Kyiv – where it was met with critical acclaim by Ukraine's scholarly community. The noted Lviv historian, Iaroslav Dashkevych, whose views represent a more traditional school of Ukrainian history, and the foremost historian of the early-modern period, Natalia Iakovenko, who has a decidedly more modernistic and post-modernistic approach, both agreed

(Continued on page 22)

Art of Singing Master Class brings choir directors and choristers to Toronto

by Olena Wawryshyn

TORONTO – Wherever there is a group of Ukrainians, there is often a choir. This backbone of Ukrainian community life was bolstered through the Art of Singing Master Class that took place on September 11-12 at St. Vladimir Institute. At this event, presented by the Ukrainian Canadian Choral Federation and the Canadian Ukrainian Opera Association, members of various choirs had a chance to improve their vocal techniques by learning from the international opera singer Pavlo Hunka.

Close to 90 singers of all ages from Toronto and several other communities in Ontario, as well as from British Columbia and Alberta took part. Each participant received sheet music and a CD in advance to help them prepare for the sessions. Registration packages had to be reprinted several times due to the strong response.

"I am pleased that so many people were keen to receive some of the knowledge and experience I have gained from the music world over the last 20 years," said Mr. Hunka.

Mr. Hunka, who was born in England as the son of a Ukrainian father and an English mother, qualified as a linguist and practiced as a lawyer in the United Kingdom before embarking on a singing career. The bass-baritone began his vocal studies at the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester and completed them in Switzerland with Maria Sandulescu.

Mr. Hunka has performed in many of the world's leading opera houses, including those in Paris, Vienna, Munich, Florence, Amsterdam, London and Salzburg, under the baton of eminent conductors such as Claudio Abbado and Zubin Mehta. This year, he sang the title role in the Canadian Opera Company's production of "Falstaff" and the role of Hunding in the COC's "Die Walküre."

Mr. Hunka coached the Art of Singing Master Class participants in small group sessions on evenings leading up to the master class weekend. Participants were originally divided into three groups, which were led by Mr. Hunka and three chorus masters, giving them exposure to different conducting styles. Subsequently, they all joined forces and further put the lessons learned into practice during a joint session. They also had a chance to get additional



Art of Singing Master Class artistic team (from left): Myron Maksymiw, Pavlo Hunka, Halyna Kvitka Kondracki, William Woloschuk and Roman Hurko.

tips from Mr. Hunka during a question-and-answer period.

"People were hanging on to every word that he [Hunka] was saying," said Mykola Maskulka, who was one of a large group of members of the Canadian Bandurist Capella who took part. A longtime community-choir singer, Mr. Maskulka is also a member of the St. Demetrius Orthodox Church Choir in Toronto.

"I've taken singing lessons before," said Mr. Maskulka, "but I was impressed with how quickly Paul Hunka could zero in on some of the specific problems that people would have."

Ms. Yaschyshyn, a longtime member of the Vesnivka Choir was also impressed by Mr. Hunka's teaching style. "He's able to be so personable. When he says: 'these are the three most important things I've learned,' I totally believe him and want to do exactly what he says. He's very positive and it's so easy to take in what he says you're capable of doing."

"I learned an awful lot. The master class was very beneficial to conductors, not only singers," said Halyna Kvitka Kondracki, the founding music director and conductor of the award-winning Vesnivka Choir and the Toronto Ukrainian Male Chamber Chorus.

Under Ms. Kondracki's leadership, the Vesnivka Choir has been awarded many

honors, including first prize in the folk competition at the International Eisteddfod in North Wales, first-place honors in the cultural category of the CBC National Choral Competition and a silver medal at the 2002 Choir Olympics in Linz, Austria.

Ms. Kondracki was one of three Toronto-based conductors who served as chorus masters and who led sessions at the master class. She and William Woloschuk, the founder and music director for the Counterpoint Chorale and the music director for St. Vladimir Orthodox Cathedral in Toronto worked as a team with Mr. Hunka during sessions. They led the participants through music, while Mr. Hunka interjected where appropriate, coaching on aspects of vocal technique.

The third choral master, Myron Maksymiw, conductor of the Musicus Bortnianskii, the Boyan Choir and St. Demetrius Choir, also offered his expertise.

Despite a long day on Saturday, which included a full day of singing followed by a reception, "the participants were enthusiastic, attentive and receptive – three elements essential to the enjoyment of the learning process," said Mr. Hunka. "By the end of the weekend, each singer was embracing the spirit of the songs, was singing with considerably more gusto and in short time, expressing many of the

emotions in the music."

Expressing emotions and connecting with audiences is one of Mr. Hunka's key strengths as a professional singer, for which he is often praised by critics. "Hunka is one of the great singing actors of our time ... he can really command the stage," said Richard Bradshaw, general director of the Canadian Opera Company.

Mr. Hunka's method of learning and interpreting music offered many master class singers a novel approach. Said Mr. Maskulka: "In my previous experience, when I was learning a score, I would begin with the music and then the words come in, whether it's German, Italian or French. With Pavlo, it was the reverse. He would say, 'begin with the words and then go onto the rhythm, then finally at the end you would come to the music.' It was something new to me."

Ms. Kondracki concurred: "In a lot of instances we always attacked the music first. And, once you understand the words and the meaning behind the words, the music becomes easier to learn."

In addition to the lessons on interpretation, many participants developed useful vocal techniques. Ms. Yaschyshyn found the instruction on breathing before a phrase and forming vowels particularly helpful. "I'm much more conscious of trying to make sure that singers around me, including me, are forming our vowels the same way so that we produce a preferred sound," he said.

The practical benefits of lessons such as these were evident during the first rehearsal, after the master class, of the Ukrainian Chamber Men's Choir. "I have noticed a very big difference," said Ms. Kondracki. We have applied his [Pavlo's] warm up exercises. ... and making sure that vowels are placed exactly the same all the time consistently has made a big difference ... The sound is fuller, it's rounder. I have only 11 or 12 men. It sounded like 25 guys, so that's great."

As a result, Ms. Kondracki said she would like to see similar master classes held again regularly in the future. "It's not to promote one or another person, it's for the betterment of every single choir in the community and to raise the level of our choral singing.

"In the 50s and 60s we were a much stronger choral group but right now we've kind of left it. It's not all that important to the Ukrainian community here. We need to raise the level of our choral singing and not be pleased with mediocrity, on any level, so I think master classes such as this are a must," she said.

"It brings back all of the things that maybe we have learned but have forgotten because of time. It refreshes, brings back the important aspects of choral singing that we forget. Everybody needs a little shake-up once in a while," Ms. Kondracki explained.

Like Ms. Kondracki, Mr. Maskulka said he would like to see master classes taking place in the future. "I hope it was financially successful, as people walked away asking when will we have another one," he said.

The organization of the event was widely praised. "Everything went like clockwork" said Mr. Hunka, who was flown in by the committee especially for the event. "It went so smoothly," said Mr. Maskulka, "people walked away very impressed. Everything was timely and the people were catered to or should we say pampered."

In response to the overwhelming support and thanks to the sponsors, a second master class is being planned for 2005 in Toronto. It is hoped that it will also be led by Mr. Hunka, who will be in Toronto at that time to perform the role of Alberich in the Canadian Opera Company's production of Richard Wagner's "Siegfried." The COC production in which Mr. Hunka will appear takes place January 27 and 30 and February 2, 5, 8 and 11, 2005.



Pavlo Hunka and William Woloschuk coach a session during the Art of Singing Master Class.

MUSIC REVIEW: Baley symphony premiered at Lincoln Center

by Oles Kuzyszyn

New York – On Friday evening, November 19, at Lincoln Center's Alice Tully Hall, the New Juilliard Ensemble under the direction of Joel Sachs presented a program of music by five contemporary composers. Four of these works were either U.S. or world premieres, among them, Symphony No. 2 by the prominent Ukrainian composer, conductor and educator, Virko Baley, written this year especially for the New Juilliard Ensemble.

Joel Sachs' reputation as a proponent and champion of new music is nearly legendary in music circles, particularly through the work of the Continuum Chamber Ensemble co-directed by Mr. Sachs and Cheryl Seltzer. Together they have scoured the globe for interesting new music, premiering and often commissioning works of composers rarely heard in the United States.

Mr. Sachs is hardly a stranger to contemporary Ukrainian music. In fact, with the notable exception of Virko Baley himself, Mr. Sachs has probably introduced more new Ukrainian works to American audiences than any other music director,

including those of such leading Ukrainian composers as Valentin Bibik, Leonid Hrabovsky and Valentin Silvestrov.

Tonight the focus was on Mr. Baley, and the vehicle was a superb ensemble of some of the world's most gifted music students, whose technical proficiency is surpassed only by their enthusiasm and eagerness to experiment.

The program began with "Steps" by Georgian composer Josef Bardanashvili, an ethereal, and utterly beautiful tableaux of elemental sounds and textures, carefully structured into a gradual arch of waxing and waning intensity. The effect was cinematically subliminal; the individual episodes delicately controlled and balanced, as if by some sort of "natural order."

Italian composer Stefano Gervasoni's "Antiterra" followed, but alas, the result was quite the opposite. Composed primarily of idiomatic phrases and gestures passed along among the 13 instrumentalists, the composer's persistent quest for contrast, ironically, thoroughly desensitized the listener to any semblance of it. The point having been made halfway through the piece, any momentum that may have been generated in the opening section, fizzled

out long before the final bars.

Much more successful was "Sinfonia Burocratica ed Amazzonica" by Venezuelan composer Paul Desenne. This engaging five-movement work for chamber orchestra, quite programmatic in its conception, is propelled by Latin American rhythms (in the "La Lecon" and "Bananera" movements particularly), infused with moments of true passion ("Guasarana"), and peppered with humor, as in the final movement ("Death of the Automobile"), which had the audience literally chuckling in reaction to the musical mimicry of a sputtering and, finally, expiring automobile engine, represented by a downward glissando and decelerando. Although somewhat predictable, these devices were effectively scored by Mr. Desenne, and skillfully rendered by the young Juilliard musicians and Maestro Sachs.

The second half of the evening opened with the world premiere of "Dialogues" by Taiwanese composer Wei-Chieh Lin. The work is a "socratically" structured interplay among individual instruments, with the rest of the ensemble providing harmonic and textural support. The melodic material is dramatic and expansive, often intense, and

requires a good deal of expressive muscle from the players. The French hornist and bassoonist acquitted themselves particularly well in their solos. The work can be likened to a "polemic discussion" more so than a "conversation" and, as such, provided more than its share of compelling moments.

Fittingly, the program concluded with the world premiere of Mr. Baley's Symphony No. 2 subtitled "Red Earth." Both in scope and in its emotional depth, this was the most grand offering of the evening and indeed, one of Mr. Baley's finest works to date. In his notes, the composer explains that the impetus for the work was the crimson hue of the many canyons of Sedona, Arizona, which at the same time evoked images of "mountains soaked with blood," as referenced in Taras Shevchenko's poem "Kavkaz" (Caucasus). This sensory link between two, seemingly unrelated regions, triggered by one man's reaction to a particular color, evokes the whirlwind of emotions so aptly portrayed in Mr. Baley's powerful music.

In the first movement, "Intrada," we hear the underlying theme derived from a

(Continued on page 22)

Ukraine represented at 26th Biennial of contemporary art in São Paulo

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – Yuri Onuch, director of the Center for Contemporary Art in Kyiv and the curator of the Ukrainian presentation at the 26th Biennial in São Paulo, Brazil, was in Toronto after attending the opening of the exhibit on September 25.

The artist chosen to represent Ukraine at the São Paulo exhibit, which runs until December 19, was photographer Viktor Marushchenko.

The São Paulo Biennial is considered – with the Venice Biennale and Documenta in Kassel – one of the most important festivals of contemporary art in



Viktor Marushchenko in front of the "Dreamland-Donbas" installation in São Paulo.



"Dreamland-Donbas" – posing for photographer.



"Dreamland-Donbas" – two women miners.

the world. The theme of this year's biennial is "Image Smugglers in a Free Territory" and the show, as in 2002, is curated by Alfons Hug. Over 135 artists and artistic collectives from 55 countries are taking part.

The Ukrainian presentation, which is featured among the national representations, is called "Dreamland-Donbas" and echoes Mr. Hugs's ideas as outlined in his curatorial essay "Image Smugglers":

"In the context of the Biennial, we are interested in seeing how the destruction of the real world and interpersonal relations are reflected in art. Because works of art are more than bare facts, the artistic reinforcement of reality is never synonymous with and always more complex than a straight report ... Being immersed in conflicts, artists don't copy the world but create free territories in the midst of reality. With the help of metaphors and symbols, they transform raw everyday material into new states that one can experience emotionally. Works of art are allegories."

In his project, Mr. Marushchenko presents a series of photographs, taken in the winter of 2003-2004 in towns of the Donbas. The photographs feature lives of ordinary people who work and dream in their strange, almost surreal world. The photographs portray "bare facts," transforming them into metaphors of life.

The photographs are mounted on three panels of landscape photo-wallpaper, popular in Ukrainian homes. Each panel of wallpaper – 100 centimeters wide and 70 centimeters high – is brightly colored, the photographs are in black and white. The photographs are grouped under three themes: women miners who dig for leftover bits of coal in abandoned, thus "illegal" mines, the women in settings of their homes; and the women "dressed up" to be photographed.

At both ends of the specially erected wall on which the presentation is displayed, is a large-size photograph of the "outside" – heaps of snow-covered coal hills, with tiny figures in the foreground, evoking the works of Breugel. Thus, the photographer becomes a "smuggler of images" from the history of art into today's everyday life. Like Breugel, Mr. Marushchenko transfers pictures of "grey existence" into a world of art, a world that idealizes reality.

Mr. Marushchenko, born in Novosibirsk in 1946, lives and works in Kyiv. He has shown his works widely, in Ukraine, Europe and Canada, in both solo and group exhibits (he was invited to the 49th Venice Biennale in 2001). The artist attended the opening of the São Paulo Biennial and supervised the installation of the presentation.

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Kremlin recognizes...

(Continued from page 2)

(Ekho Moskvy, November 21). Many other Russian commentators agree. Oleg Panteleyev, a member of the Federation Council Committee for the CIS Affairs, says that he, "as a Russian citizen," is happy about a Yanukovich win. Now, he argues, "Our geopolitical interests will likely be secured; by contrast, Yushchenko's victory would have boosted the Americanization of Ukraine." In the current situation of utter polarization in Ukraine, Russia, the lawmaker believes, has to use its economic and political clout to protect its vital national interests. "In general, we have to influence the policies of the neighboring states," contends Mr. Panteleyev (Vremya Novostei, November 23).

But some Russian analysts warn against viewing the political process in Ukraine exclusively through the prism of the Russian-American geopolitical rivalry. In the opinion of Sergei Karaganov, head of the influential Council of Foreign and Defense Policy, "Russia is not interested in Ukraine's turning into a battleground for Russia-U.S. confrontation or for any other sort of battles." Moscow wants to see this country's leading political forces to ultimately unite to build a "strong and quickly developing Ukraine," Mr. Karaganov says (Strana.ru, November 23).

Indeed, some Russian political scientists expect that Mr. Yanukovich and Mr. Yushchenko will try to reach an agreement. According to Stanislav Belkovsky, president of the National Strategy Institute, both sides are now busy looking for a reliable mediator to start the negotiations. But Alexei Makarkin, an analyst at the Center of Political Technologies, believes the likelihood of the "violent scenario" in politically divided Ukraine is rather high (Politcom.ru, November 22; Vedomosti, November 23).

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Ukraine's presidential...

(Continued from page 8)

Zabuzhko, novelist, Wall Street Journal Europe, November 22.

"... Never before – even 13 years ago, on the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union – has Ukraine witnessed such a massive upsurge of national solidarity. People who've always remained politically indifferent and had missed voting in all previous elections, were disseminating self-printed leaflets from the Internet (samizdat is back – any piece of information was voraciously devoured on the spot!) in public places, and volunteering to monitor the elections on behalf of opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko. At a peasant food market a merchant first asked who you're voting for – the right answer (with which you could count on a generous discount) was 'Yushchenko,' while incumbent Prime Minister's Viktor Yanukovich's supporters were more than likely simply refused service. ... The slogan chanted by protesting students at demonstrations reads in English as 'We're together! We're many! We won't fall!' And just how many of 'us' there are, one can easily see in the streets. These days Kiev [sic], as well as other major Ukrainian cities, is defiantly demonstrating its political sympathies by wearing orange, the campaign color of opposition candidate Yushchenko.

"A special term has come into use – 'The Orange Revolution.' It looks like people have dragged all shades of orange, from yellow to vermilion, out of their wardrobes and adorned themselves with them simultaneously – vests and sweaters, scarves and purses, coats and umbrellas. Orange ribbons flutter everywhere – on trees, fences, lanterns, and cabs. ..."

Ukraine reported...

(Continued from page 2)

have concurred that the November 21 vote in Ukraine was far from democratic. The Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU), a non-governmental electoral watchdog, reported on November 21 that illegal voting by absentee voter certificate was the biggest problem in the run-off, UNIAN reported. "Our observers have registered more than 100 buses carrying these people [voting illegally], and one can gather that tens of thousands [of people] have voted in this way," CVU Chairman Ihor Popov told journalists.

The CVU also reported numerous incidents of assault on observers and journalists, and even kidnappings. "Up to a dozen people have been kidnapped today by criminal-looking individuals," Mr. Popov claimed. Other alleged irregularities included preventing observers, both domestic and international, and journalists from entering polling stations, the use of counterfeit ballots, and the failure to sign or stamp ballot papers by some commission members.

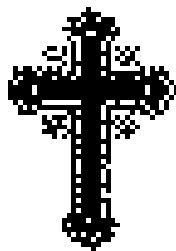
The OSCE International Election Observation Mission for the Ukrainian presidential run-off said in its preliminary conclusions on November 22 that the vote failed to meet a considerable number of democratic standards. According to the OSCE mission, Ukrainian executive authorities and the Central Election Commission "displayed a lack of will to conduct a genuine democratic election process." U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), President George W. Bush's special envoy for the Ukrainian election, charged that the Ukrainian government was involved in a "concerted and forceful program of election-day fraud and abuse."

However, the West's remonstrations against the Ukrainian ballot seem to carry little weight with Ukrainian authorities. For them, much more important was the position of the Kremlin, which did not hide its sympathies for Mr. Yanukovich during the election campaign. On November 22, Russian President Vladimir Putin reportedly congratulated Mr. Yanukovich on his election victory, saying that "the battle has been hard-fought, but open and honest."

It appears highly improbable that Ukrainian authorities will yield to the current surge of anti-Yanukovich protests and declare Mr. Yushchenko the winner. Two other options appear more likely: either the authorities will wait with Mr. Yanukovich's inauguration until the anti-government rebellion peters out; if the protests prove to be persistent and well-attended, the presidential ballot might be declared invalid and incumbent President Leonid Kuchma could continue to rule for another half year in order to prepare for a new election.

Yet, irrespective of the final outcome of the current standoff in Ukraine, it will be problematic, if not impossible, for President Kuchma to assure political continuity for his regime, something he repeatedly urged during the election campaign. Ukraine seems to have awakened to a new political life in which millions of people are no longer prepared to mutely endure electoral manipulation, official lies, and autocratic governance.

Seen from this perspective, Ukraine's presidential election of 2004 appears to offer an opportunity unprecedented in Ukraine's 13 years of independence for politicians, from both the pro-Yanukovich and the pro-Yushchenko camps, to practice the difficult art of political compromise in order to ensure the unity of their bitterly divided country.



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With deep sorrow we announce that on Friday, November 19, 2004

MICHAEL JAWORSKY

a beloved husband of 52 years, passed away at the age of 99 in Alhambra, CA.

He was born on April 9, 1905 in Jawora, Ukraine.
He was a great Ukrainian patriot.

Funeral services were held on Saturday, November 27, 2004 at the Little Church of the Flowers in Glendale, CA.

He is survived by:
Wife – Edith
Nieces and nephews in America and Ukraine.

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MICHAEL HRYNENKO

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beloved husband, father, son, brother, uncle and friend passed away from respiratory failure at the age of 50 at his home in Palidades, N.Y.

In February 2004, he was diagnosed with Lou Gehrig's disease, also known as ALS, a devastating neuromuscular disease that paralyzed his entire body.

By mid-July 2004, he lost the ability to walk and lost movement in his arms and hands. For the past two months an oxygen tank facilitated his breathing.

A wake service took place on Friday night in the Lower East Side, the area in which Michael's buildings and former restaurants, including the popular Ukrainian coffeehouse "Kiev," were located. He was also the previous owner of the Mountain House in Sparkill when it served Eastern European food.

The burial took place on Saturday at Rockland Cemetery.

Michael is survived by:
Wife – Maria
Son – Mischou
Daughters – Sherry and Natasha

The entire Hrynenko family thanks the members of the community for their condolences at this painful time.

For those who would like to express their sympathy and support, the family is asking for donations for ALS research.

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Yushchenko takes...

(Continued from page 4)

Power of the People coalition believed would join in condemning the CEC, would not take part in the emergency session and thus would make it impossible to gather the 226 votes needed to pass the resolution, the pro-Yushchenko lawmakers went to the other option, the swearing-in ceremony.

After the Verkhovna Rada session, Mr. Yushchenko explained to a cheering, chanting throng of more than half a million Ukrainians on Independence Square, who had gathered in a driving snow, that he and the Power of the People coalition had no recourse but to go the route of a symbolic oath.

"We had two choices forced upon us by the actions of the state authorities: either the Parliament would consider the manner in which democracy had taken place or the people would," explained Mr. Yushchenko. "Today was a huge step for Ukrainian democracy."

National Deputy Mykola Tomenko, who has acted as coordinator between the masses on Independence Square and the camp of Mr. Yushchenko's closest advisors from a huge stage set up at one end of the square – an emcee of sorts – said Power of the People officials had been concerned that the CEC would announce official results even before some of the 10,000 complaints filed with the Supreme Court of Ukraine were resolved. That would have cleared the way for the immediate succession by Mr. Yanukovich to the presidency, even in a private ceremony.

President Leonid Kuchma had stated days before the election that he was ready to transfer power immediately after the official results were announced. After the oath-taking event in the Verkhovna

Rada, Mr. Kuchma called the ceremony "a political farce."

Verkhovna Rada Chairman Lytvyn opened the special session after a spirited meeting of the Rada leadership, including the pro-Yanukovich faction, had agreed to it. In a special statement read before a more than halfempty hall – after the six factions that compose the majority as well as the Communist faction failed to show – he said that Ukraine was on the brink of a major disaster.

"The situation in the country is quickly deteriorating into a civil conflict. It only depends on who will cause the first spark. The circumstances are such that this will not simply melt away. Here the Verkhovna Rada must act because tomorrow the people might," explained Mr. Lytvyn.

Outside the building, tens of thousands of supporters who had encircled the building broke into a thundering chant of "Yushchenko" after they were told their presidential favorite had taken the oath of office. Some broke down a barrier and rushed across the plaza before the Verkhovna Rada building to its main entrance. As they pressed against the structure, they turned back to face the masses on the streets and began chanting other, now familiar refrains, including "We shall not be defeated," "You can't stop freedom," as well as the staple "Kuchma Out."

The only obvious instance of outright civil disobedience in the last three days occurred when one of the demonstrators, emotionally charged by the events, who had broken through the police cordon and raced across the small square to the Parliament building with others, took the flag he was waving and shattered a windowpane with the back end of the flagpole. He was quickly subdued by other demonstrators and then whisked off the square as other Yushchenko supporters tried to get at him with their fists amid cries of "provocateur."

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Election monitors...

(Continued from page 3)

only get their expenses paid, but Mr. Carr said members of his delegation were told once they arrived in Kyiv that a Ukrainian American was financing the trip, which cost \$125,000, The Post's reporter, David B. Ottaway, wrote in an article titled "Funding of Election Monitors A Concern; Issue Raised After Ukrainian Voting."

Mr. Carr said that, aside from Mr. Whitman, no member of the group had a business interest in Ukraine or went intending "to develop an interest." Unlike other U.S. election monitors, Mr. Carr said, "we didn't go there with our minds made up, and we didn't expect to see it [the first round] run as well as it was."

Mr. Moody said that none of the funds came from the prime minister or the Ukrainian government and he did not

care who funded his trip. "The funding did not affect anything I saw," he said. "It seemed to be fair."

Ukrainian news reports have said that Mr. Kiselev has spent about \$1 million in contracts for five Washington media consultants and public relations firms on behalf of Mr. Yanukovich or the Ukrainian government, which Mr. Kiselev confirmed, according to the Post. He said that money also came from himself and the two other Ukrainian Americans, who were not identified.

The contracts went to Venable, Jefferson Waterman International (JWI), DB Communications, White and Case, and Potomac Communications Strategies. Mr. Carr said JWI, which is being paid \$120,000, handled the delegation's expenses on Mr. Kiselev's behalf and chose the political consultants.

Mr. Kiselev, who is filed under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, said

that he has "an oral contract" to represent the current prime minister and he told the Post that he himself is not being paid for his services.

Mr. Kiselev, 34, said he became a citizen seven years ago and came to the United States in 1991. He told The Washington Post he is a graduate of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and worked for five years in Maine for then-Sen. William S. Cohen (R).

Additionally, the Post reported that Mr. Kiselev's business card identifies him as managing principal of North Atlantic Securities, based in

Scarborough, Maine. He said 90 percent of his clients are U.S. citizens. He said he also has a technology company, Eurosoft, with an office in Odesa.

The Washington Post also reported that, in an e-mail sent last week to former congressmen, Mr. Carr solicited members for a new delegation to monitor the November 21 run-off election. He said in the note that all expenses would be paid for a five-day trip, including business-class airfare and "the best possible hotel accommodations."

"In addition, a \$500 per day stipend will be earned," he wrote. He did not mention the source of the funds, the Post reported.

Diaspora leaders...

(Continued from page 3)

come substantial obstacles and violations.

Among the violations we include such primitive ones as proxy voting, procurement of more than one ballot by some voters, attempts to stuff the ballot box by representatives of the local elections commissions or their friends, the so-called carousel, flagrant bribing, etc. More significant were events such as suggesting a vote for candidate Yanukovich by the local elections commissions, remitting invites to vote with a pamphlet about candidate Yanukovich, personal advice on how to vote given by local election commission members, directors of establishments of employment and others in positions of influence. The most severe results were due to an egregious abuse by candidate Yanukovich of administrative state resources, not only from the govern-

ment of Ukraine but also from non-democratic foreign governments, i.e., Russia and the not-recognized Transdnier. Additionally, we mention detentions and attempts to frighten Yushchenko's monitors.

The Ukrainian diaspora, whose activities are coordinated by the UWC, sends greetings to Viktor Yushchenko as the winner of the election and offers him its support for the benefit of the Ukrainian people and an independent democratic Ukrainian state.

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Michael Sawkiw
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10 років тяжких знущань
у тюрмах Риги та Ленінграду

“Orange Revolution” ...

(Continued from page 6)

Ukrainian presidential vote and in some case voiced support for Mr. Yushchenko. Vaclav Havel, the first president of the Czech Republic and the leader of its Velvet Revolution, sent a letter to Kyiv, read by Mr. Yushchenko on Independence Square the morning of November 23, in which the Czech leader simply stated: “The fate of Ukraine is in your hands. All international organizations agree that your demands are legitimate.”

Later that day Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili wished the participants in Ukraine's Orange Revolution well. Mr. Saakashvili came to power exactly a year ago to date, at the culmination of the Rose Revolution, which deposed President Eduard Shevardnadze after he had claimed re-election victory in a fraudulent election.

“I wish you peace, calmness and victory on this holy day of St. George,” stated Mr. Saakashvili in a video address to the Ukrainian people.

Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski said during a special press conference on November 23 that he had warned the Ukrainian authorities beforehand that the elections would be a test for them. He said they had now failed that test.

Mikhail Gorbachev, the last Soviet leader also chimed in with support for the Orange Revolution. He said that what was occurring in Ukraine had historic significance on a global scale. “What is happening in Ukraine is evidence that a second wall has fallen,” said Mr. Gorbachev in a letter to Mr. Yushchenko.

The foreign affairs ministers of Norway, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands and the State Department of

the United States issued statements on November 23 calling on Ukrainian authorities to review the process by which the official tally in the November 21 vote was achieved.

Currently only Russia's President Vladimir Putin and Belarus President Alyaksandr Lukashenka have recognized Mr. Yanukovich as Ukraine's new president. Mr. Putin was first, sending his personal congratulations to Mr. Yanukovich on November 22 via phone call from Brazil, where he was on a state visit. He stepped back from the declaration a day later, after he was criticized for not waiting for an official tally, to note that he had in fact merely been congratulating Mr. Yanukovich on his apparent victory based on exit polling.

Meanwhile, President Kuchma condemned the European Union for its condemnation of the Ukrainian vote even before the official results were announced.

**Fund for Democracy
to help protesters**

PHILADELPHIA – A Fund for Democracy has been established to help the democratic movement in Ukraine with everyday needs. The fund is being coordinated through the Philadelphia-based United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (checks should be payable to UUARTC FFD).

Accounts exist at the Philadelphia Ukrainian Selfreliance Federal Credit Union, New York Selfreliance Credit Union and SUMA Yonkers Credit Union. The Chicago community's efforts are being coordinated by Marijka Iwanets at (773) 489-9225.

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Supreme Court...

(Continued from page 1)

Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus, Russian Duma Speaker Boris Gryzlov, Javier Solana of the European Union and Jan Kubic of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Mr. Yushchenko is seeking a repeat election on December 12 under the supervision of the OSCE.

• Speaking for the European Union, Dutch Foreign Minister Ben Bot said on Saturday, November 27, that the "ideal outcome" would be to hold new elections before the end of the year.

• The Verkhovna Rada on November 27, declared the disputed presidential election invalid by a vote of 255 votes for (out of 429 deputies present). The vote was not legally binding but was seen as an indication of the growing discontent in Ukraine. By 307 votes in favor, the Rada said the election result was "at odds with the will of the people." The Rada also passed a vote of no confidence in the Central Election Commission, with 270 national deputies voting for the measure.

• Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, meeting with local officials in Siverodonetsk, Donetsk Oblast, on Sunday, November 28, said Ukraine was in danger of splitting in two. Local officials in eastern Ukraine called for a referendum on autonomy if Mr. Yanukovich is not declared the winner of the presidential election.

• Speaking on November 28, Mr. Yushchenko called on his supporters to continue their peaceful demonstrations. He called for the 15 members of the Central Election Commission to be replaced. He also called for voting via absentee voter certificates to be prohibited, for candidates to be given equal access to the media and for the participation of international observers. His ally Yulia Tymoshenko demanded that

President Leonid Kuchma sack Prime Minister Yanukovich and that oblast chairmen threatening to seek autonomy be fired.

• Demonstrations continued in Kyiv for the seventh straight day. Rallies in support of Mr. Yushchenko were reported in Lviv and many other cities, as well as in the eastern regions in Kharkiv, Luhansk, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhia.

In developments elsewhere:

• Speaking from Crawford, Texas, where he celebrated Thanksgiving, President George W. Bush on Friday, November 26, said: "There's just a lot of allegations of vote fraud that placed their election – the validity of their elections in doubt. They international community is watching very carefully. People are paying very close attention to this, and hopefully it will be resolved in a way that brings credit and confidence to the Ukrainian government." Rallying nearby was a group of some 100 Ukrainian Americans from various parts of Texas.

• In Ottawa, Canada's House of Commons on November 26 sent a warning to Ukrainian authorities via a motion that noted "a concerted, systemic and massive fraud ... committed by the current regime and the Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine against the will of the people of Ukraine" and threatened that unless the will of the Ukrainian people is respected, "Canada shall consider the introduction of appropriate and effective measures."

• Around the world, Ukrainians demonstrated against falsification of the vote. In the U.S., in addition to New York, Chicago and Houston, whose protests are noted in this issue, protests were held in Washington, Sacramento and San Francisco. In Canada, there were protests in Toronto, Winnipeg, Montreal, Edmonton, Saskatoon and Regina. In Australia there were rolling rallies in Sydney, Canberra, Adelaide and Melbourne. In addition, there were demonstrations in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Sweden, Italy and England.

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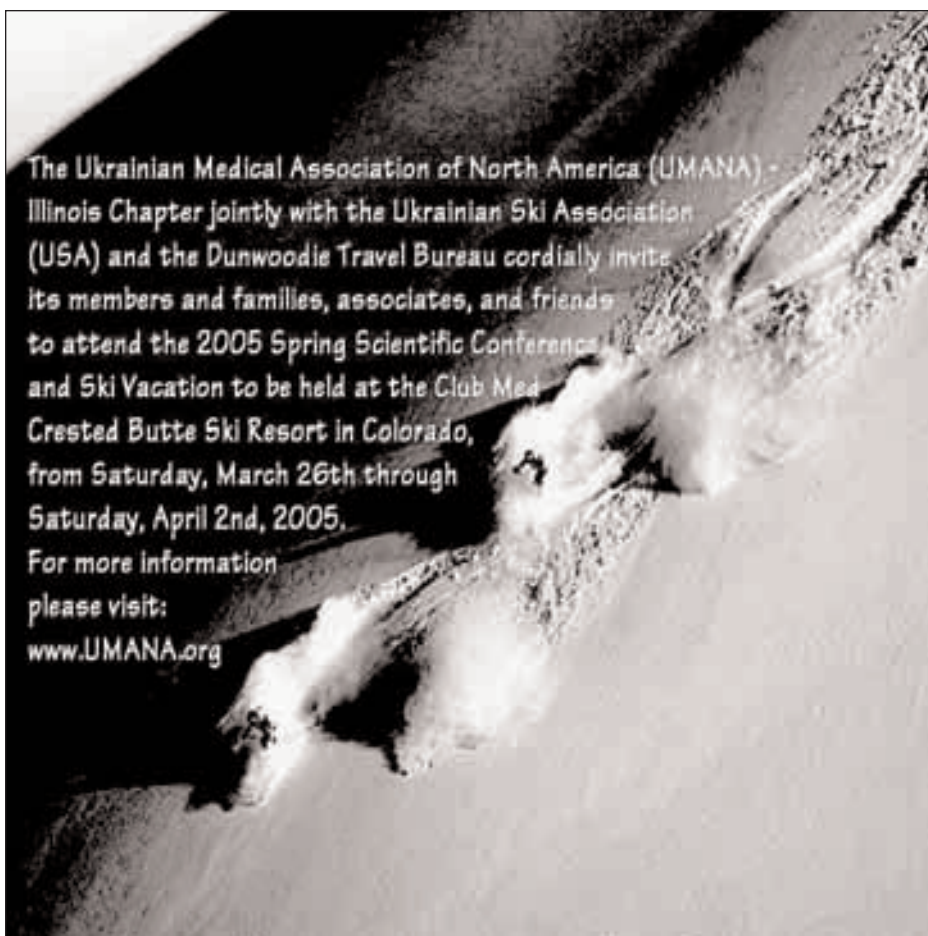
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Baley symphony...

(Continued from page 15)

Ukrainian folk song, which in the second movement, "Duma," morphs into new melodic material of the composer's own design. At first, the folk motif is somewhat disguised, as if peering out from behind a sheer curtain. Later, it is stated quite boldly and forcefully, reinforced by the brass. In fact, what is striking is the unabashed melodicism of the work as a whole, as well as the depth and sincerity of emotion, conveyed via a broad dynamic spectrum and skillful orchestration. The third movement, "Incantation," employs more angular, driving rhythms, conjuring up images of pagan dance rituals, for example.

The final movement, "In Memoriam: Heart of Glass," is breathtaking in its sublime, yet intense restraint. Dedicated to the memory of the recently deceased, outstanding Ukrainian composer Valentin Bibik, a personal friend of both Mr. Baley and Mr. Sachs, this music is a lament, but not the typical kind. One imagines an internalized grief that numbs the heart and deadens the nerves. The string writing, devoid of vibrato, seems to portray a lingering pain with little hope of relief. From time to time, the folk motif returns, but here in a much dif-

ferent context, as if burdened by the feeling of absence and loss. The audience was visibly moved, treating the composer and performers to a long and enthusiastic ovation at the work's conclusion.

One hopes that Mr. Baley's Symphony No. 2 will be heard again and again, eventually finding its way into the repertoire of many more orchestras both in the U.S. and abroad. Maestro Sachs and the talented Juilliard musicians did yeoman's work in preparing this demanding work, rendering it with true conviction and a great deal of skill, but one can only imagine how splendidly it would sound in the hands of a world-class, professional orchestra.

Zenon Kohut's...

(Continued from page 13)

that the book was an important contribution to the question of identity and nationhood and gave it high praise.

The first launch took place at the Lviv Book Forum. A panel, chaired by the manager of Krytyka Press, Andrii Mokrousov, included three noted historians, Dr. Iakovenko, Volodymyr Kravchenko and Dr. Dashkevych, placed Dr. Kohut's contribution within the field of Ukrainian and East European history.

The second launch was held at the National University of "Ostroh Academy." Here the book was discussed by Alla Atamanenko, director of the Institute for the Study of the Diaspora, and Lubomyr Wynar, president of the Ukrainian Historical Association.

The final launch, in Kyiv, attracted much of its academic community. Speakers included historians Dr. Iakovenko, Volodymyr Kravchenko, Volodymyr Rychka and Viktor Horobets, Martha Bohachevska-Chomiak (Fulbright Program), literary scholar George Grabowicz, (Harvard University) and Sofia Hrachova, the translator of the work. The event was taped by STB Television and was covered in local newspapers.

At each of the gatherings, Dr. Kohut spoke about the underlying motivations in pursuing his research, which he outlines in more detail in the introduction to his book, responded to questions, autographed books and presented copies to university students in the three mentioned cities.

Dr. Kohut's ("Roots of Identity") can be purchased from CIUS Press for \$39.95 (cloth) and \$29.95 (paperback). Outside Canada, prices are in U.S. dollars. Orders can be placed online by credit card via a secure Internet connection www.utoronyo.ca/cius by e-mail, cius@ualberta.ca; by telephone, (780-492-2973); fax, (780-492-4967); or by mail, CIUS Press, 450 Athabasca Hall, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, Canada T6G 2E8.

Yushchenko and supporters...

(Continued from page 5)

nations of the world to bolster the will of the Ukrainian people, to support their aspiration to return to democracy.

As leaders of the nationwide coalition of political forces that enjoys the support of the Ukrainian people, we assume responsibility and – upholding the will of the nation – we recognize the victory of Viktor Yushchenko in the presidential election of 2004.

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Secretary of state...

(Continued from page 4)

also urged all Ukrainians "to resolve the situation through peaceful means."

On the following day, the State Department spokesman informed the press that Assistant Secretary of State Beth Jones had passed the U.S. view on the election to Ukraine's ambassador to the United States, Mykhailo Reznik, and had also met with Russia's ambassador to Washington, Yuriy Ushakov.

"While we do not comment on the details of these meetings, we can confirm that Ukraine was discussed," the state-

ment said.

Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), who had visited Ukraine and had spoken out about developments there, noted that a Senate resolution passed a week earlier called for free and fair elections in Ukraine, and "threatened targeted sanctions against those responsible for thwarting the will of the Ukrainian people." He expressed the view that "we will have no choice but to move ahead with such actions soon, as we reassess our relations with the political leadership in Ukraine."

U.S. Rep. Sander M. Levin (D-Mich.), who addressed the November 24 mass demonstration in front of the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, said that the

United States should not recognize the Ukrainian Central Election Commission's action. "It should essentially refute it. The certification is totally out of bounds, and the U.S. should make that clear and not equivocate."

The commission can either recognize Viktor Yushchenko as the new president, the co-chairman of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus said, or hold a new election "under carefully supervised conditions – these are the only peaceful alternatives." He added, "The U.S. must not equivocate. Democracy is at stake here."

Former Ambassador to Ukraine William Green Miller, who has been monitoring the Ukrainian election, said in

a telephone interview that the election was "totally fraudulent."

"It's irrecoverable as a reflection, or even approximate reflection, of the people's true will," he said in a telephone interview from Kyiv. He said the talks between opposing sides was, in his view, a "serious effort to come to some understanding."

"But the crux of the matter is that the election is so flawed that it's hard to believe that any of the Ukrainian people will have confidence in any result." All the observers – Ukrainian and international – are "in the same pew" in their assessment of the presidential elections in Ukraine, he noted.

600 gather...

(Continued from page 10)

on 67th Street. Once there, police in riot gear corralled the demonstrators, who chanted "Russia stay out of Ukraine."

Sgt. Tracy Teofilo of the New York Police Department said the police were out to protect the people's safety. Police gave the protesters until 1 p.m. to voice their concern to Russian diplomats inside the building. The crowd denounced Russian officials, overtly at points, shouting to Russian diplomats who came outside to witness the rally.

Police warned that because the protesters did not have a permit to assemble in front of the Russian building, they had to move. In a procession nearly three city blocks long, the rally next made its way to a park on the southwest corner of First Avenue and 47th Street, two blocks north of the United Nations building.

As temperatures continued to drop throughout the day, the size of the crowd also dwindled. By 4 p.m. roughly 50 people remained, while police officers dismantled a metal barricade that had previously corralled them.

At the end of the rally in front of the Consulate Ukraine's Consul General in New York, Serhiy Pohoreltzev met with a delegation of Ukrainian Americans to hear their concerns and discuss the situation unfolding in Ukraine.

Iryna Kurowyckyj, the president of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, told Mr. Pohoreltzev, "We have not come here to condemn you. We have come here to protest what has happened in Ukraine."

The Ukrainian consul responded that he felt certain that democracy would prevail in Ukraine. "If Ukraine was not a democratic country, if democracy was not in Ukraine, then, instead of protesters standing in Independence Square, there would be tanks," Mr. Pohoreltzev said.

The consul stressed how crucial this

period is for Ukraine and said it was important that progress made in the economic, social and political spheres not be brought to a halt. "We cannot lose the tempo that we currently have – the tempo of economic growth in Ukraine – because from this grows all of society," said Mr. Pohoreltzev. He also stressed that, as a Ukrainian diplomat, he remained neutral with regard to the outcome of the presidential race.

But other Ukrainian diplomats in the United States have broken with that neutrality. A letter condemning the election was released late on November 22 by four Ukrainian diplomats based in Ukraine's Embassy in Washington. The letter was signed by Embassy Counselor Oleksander V. Shcherba, Second Secretary Yuriy B. Parkhomenko, Counselor Oleksander V. Potiekhin and Counselor Volodymyr M. Chumak. (See full text on page 5.)

A portion of an unofficial translation of that letter read: "We, Ukrainian diplomats, declare our resolute protest against what has become the transformation of the presidential elections of 2004 into a disgraceful war against the people of Ukraine. ... We call upon all members of the Ukrainian diplomatic corps to raise its voice in defense of what we believe and hold dear: an independent, democratic and honorable Ukraine. We, Ukrainian citizens, demand that the results of the elections reflect the true will of the people as the only source of power in Ukraine. We believe that other members of the diplomatic service will come to support this declaration."

Additionally, some 150 diplomats in Ukraine – led by the chief spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Markian Lubkivskyi – also released a personal letter sharing their concern over the election.

As international concern over the political situation in Ukraine grew, more rallies were set to take place in the United States. At 6:30 a.m. on Wednesday, November 24, three chartered buses left New York City to rally in Washington.



Andrew Nynka

Yurko Pylyp (right), one of a number of people who helped organize the rally in New York, cheers as speeches are given in support of Viktor Yushchenko.

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ELECTION WATCH

(Continued from page 2)

idential elections, CIS Executive Secretary Vladimir Rushailo commented on the better organization of the election's second round in comparison to the first. At a press conference on November 21 in the Central Election Commission's office Mr. Rushailo noted that drawbacks in the work of regional election commissions that were present in the first round of the elections, were eliminated in the second round. (Interfax)

Yushchenko calls for resistance

KYIV - Opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko appealed to Ukrainians at a rally in central Kyiv on November 22 to organize popular resistance against what he believes to have been blatant fraud by the Central Election Commission (CEC) in the counting of votes in the previous day's presidential runoff, Ukrainian and international news agencies reported. With 99.14 percent of the vote counted, the CEC reported that Mr. Yanukovich won 49.42 percent of the vote to Mr. Yushchenko's 46.69 percent. Exit polls organized by two separate groups of Ukrainians pollsters had suggested that Yushchenko beat Yanukovich by 54 percent to 43 percent and by 49.7 percent to 46.7 percent, respectively. Yushchenko called on Ukrainians to pitch tent camps in Ukrainian cities to protest the alleged electoral fraud peacefully and defend what he described as his election victory. Reuters estimated that 60,000 people attended the opposition demonstration on Independence Square in Kyiv. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Tymoshenko urges nationwide strike

KYIV - Yulia Tymoshenko, head of an eponymous opposition bloc that has supported Viktor Yushchenko's presidential bid, urged Kyiv residents at the November 22 rally to begin a nationwide strike to protest the alleged falsification of the November 21 presidential vote, the Ukrainska Pravda website (www2.pravda.com.ua) reported. "Now is not the time to work," Ms. Tymoshenko said, "it is time to defend the country. I do not believe [President Leonid] Kuchma, who says that no Ukrainian nation has been born during the past 13 years of independence. We are [a nation]! And we will win!" she added. (RFE/RL Newsline)

CVU alleges massive irregularities

KYIV - The Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU), a non-governmental electoral watchdog, reported on November 21 that illegal voting by absentee ballot was the biggest problem in the second round of the presidential election, UNIAN reported. "Our observers have registered more than 100 buses carrying these people, and one can gather that tens of thousands [of people] have voted in this way," CVU Chairman Ihor Popov told journalists. The CVU also reported numerous incidents of assaults on observers and journalists, and even kidnappings. "Up to a dozen people have been kidnapped today by criminal-looking individuals," Mr. Popov claimed. "Several observers and members of election commissions have disappeared. They were shoved into cars and taken away from the polling stations." Other alleged irregularities included preventing observers, both domestic and international, and journalists from entering polling stations, the use of counterfeit ballots, and the failure to sign or stamp ballot papers by some commission members. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kuchma rules out 'revolution'

KYIV - President Leonid Kuchma told Ukrainians on national television on

November 20 that there will be no "revolution" in Ukraine following the November 21 presidential run-off between Viktor Yanukovich and Viktor Yushchenko. "The authorities will never allow an aggressive minority to dictate political logic," Mr. Kuchma said. "We all know that revolutions are planned by dreamers and carried out by fanatics. And it is scoundrels who reap the benefits. There will be no revolutions," President Kuchma said. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Rada nixes absentee voter certificates...

KYIV - The Verkhovna Rada on November 18 passed amendments to the presidential election law forbidding the use of absentee voter certificates during the presidential elections, Ukrainian news agencies reported. The bill obliges polling-station election commissions to bring sick people to polling stations for voting. It also permits the issue of ballots to voters with signatures of three members of a polling station commission instead of one, as stipulated by the presidential election law. According to the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, illegal multiple voting with absentee voter certificates was among the major violations during the October 31 presidential vote.

...but Kuchma declines to sign bill

KYIV - To become law, the Verkhovna Rada's bill disallowing absentee voter certificates needed to be signed by President Leonid Kuchma, but he did not sign the bill. Mr. Kuchma said on November 19 that the Central Election Commission had already issued 1 million absentee voter certificates. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Opposition accuses UOC-MP of slander

KYIV - Activists of the Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi district staff of presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko have found about 10,000 leaflets of slanderous content against the opposition leader in the Cathedral of the Holy Assumption of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate. UNIAN reported on November 15 that the propaganda leaflets, which bear no sign of who published them, call Mr. Yushchenko a "partisan of the schismatics and an enemy of Orthodoxy" and his wife Kateryna Chumachenko [who is a U.S. citizen] a "CIA agent". They also include a call to vote for the "Orthodox President [current Prime Minister] Viktor Yanukovich." The head of the Yushchenko district staff, Anatolii Zadorozhnyi, said the slanderous leaflets were posted outside the cathedral and at nearby churches of the Moscow Patriarchate. Together with an appeal to the flock by Bishop Agafangel of the Russian Orthodox Church to support Mr. Yanukovich at the polls, they were mass-distributed in Odesa and in all Orthodox churches of the bishopric by both monks and campaigners from the electoral staff of the pro-government candidate [Yanukovich]. National Deputy Yuriy Karamzin, a Yushchenko supporter, said, "this sort of propaganda and slanderous material is also being actively distributed in Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia and other regions as well. We must therefore state that the Church is openly campaigning against Yushchenko, who is an Orthodox Christian. One is struck in particular by the lie that Orthodox churches will be closed after his electoral victory." (UNIAN, BBC Monitoring)

UGCC primate votes in election

LVIV - Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC), voted in a Ukrainian presidential election for the first time in

(Continued on page 25)



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ELECTION WATCH

(Continued from page 24)

his life. The cardinal gave up his American citizenship three years ago and received his Ukrainian passport in August 2002. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Orthodox union supports Yanukovych

KYIV – A statement of the Union of Orthodox Citizens of Ukraine was published on November 11 under the title “The results of the first round still show [presidential candidate Viktor] Yanukovych’s victory.” The statement openly campaigns for the pro-government candidate, giving advice on how to achieve his victory and denying the victory of rival candidate Viktor Yushchenko in the first round. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Orthodox urge pro-Yanukovych vote

KYIV – Close to 2,000 faithful took part in a way of the cross on November 11. They called all Russians living in Ukraine, all Orthodox faithful and all supporters of the Eastern Slavic civilization to vote for Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych in the second round of the presidential election on November 21. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Church leaders address citizens

KYIV – An address of the leaders of the Christian churches of Ukraine was released on November 12 during a press conference at UNIAN. The churches call all citizens of Ukraine not to be part of falsifications and pressure on voters and to resist attempts at preventing the citizens’ will from being carried out during the second round of presidential elections in Ukraine on 21 November. The address

was signed by leaders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church–Kyivan Patriarchate, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine, the Christians of Evangelical Faith–Pentecostals, and the Ukrainian Christian Evangelical Church. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Church leaders against interference

KYIV – A statement released on November 17 stresses that Churches must obey the law of Ukraine and not interfere in political campaigning. Attempts by certain politicians and Church figures to draw the Church into politics are classified as “harmful and illegal.” Representatives of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate, Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, Roman Catholic Church, Church of Evangelical Christians of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Evangelical Christian Church asked their fellow citizens not to identify campaign statements and actions by certain religious figures with the position of all the Christian Churches of Ukraine. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Catholic youth pray for fair election

LVIV – Obnova (Renewal), the federation of Ukrainian students and academic Catholic communities, called for common prayer for the second round of Ukraine’s presidential election, to be held on November 21. An appeal to youth says, among other things: “One of the manifestations of human freedom is the right to declare one’s will while electing the head of state ... The first round of the election showed that the government uses manipulative approaches not only in organizing the process of election, but in counting the votes as well.” The appeal was posted on the official site of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church on November 18. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

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Helsinki Commission leaders express support of demonstrators in Ukraine

WASHINGTON – United States Helsinki Commission leaders on November 24 issued statements in support of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian citizens of all ages amassing in a nationwide protest in the face of outright fraud and falsification in Ukraine's presidential election held Sunday.

"I offer my heartfelt support for Ukrainians seeking truth during this critical period for democracy," said Helsinki Commission Chairman Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-N.J.). "I admire the bravery and determination of those demonstrating their desire for an honest count of election votes and encourage Ukrainians to continue their resolve in their pursuit of democratic freedoms. As we prepare to give thanks for our cherished freedoms this Thanksgiving Day, let us not forget those struggling peacefully for their rights and freedoms in cities throughout Ukraine. I urge a constructive resolution of the current impasse that would fully respect the will of the Ukrainian people and the rule of law."

Commission Co-Chairman Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.) stated:

"The numerous findings of domestic and international observers, including Helsinki Commission staff, make clear that the Ukrainian authorities are determined to thwart the will of the Ukrainian people through intimidation, manipulation and outright falsification. These elections have profound implications not only for Ukraine, but for pro-democracy forces in Russia, Belarus and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union."

"What we've seen in Kyiv's Independence Square over the last three days is reminiscent of Georgia's Revolution of Roses one year ago," said Helsinki Commission Ranking Member Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin (D-Md.). "The level of fraud witnessed by Ukrainian and international observers is shocking. I share in the hope that Ukrainians will be allowed to continue their peaceful protests in their quest for honest election results."

Up to 500,000 citizens have filed into Kyiv's Independence Square since Sunday night, November 21, in a growing protest of the government's official tally of presidential election votes.

NATO calls for review of Ukrainian vote

BRUSSELS – NATO chief Jaap de Hoop Scheffer on November 24 called for a review of the contested election results in Ukraine, as the military alliance voiced deep concern at the crisis and urged restraint on all sides, reported Agence France-Press.

"A review of the election result is absolutely necessary," Mr. de Hoop

Scheffer told reporters, voicing "very grave concerns about ... fraud" in the weekend run-off ballots.

"Any solution for the present crisis should be absolutely a non-violent solution," he added, speaking at the Brussels headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

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CEC declares...

(Continued from page 1)

The final results were announced as some three-quarters of a million people massed on Independence Square in Kyiv in a third day of demonstration, and millions more protested the fraudulent election returns in most all the oblast centers of western and central Ukraine.

The final tallies were made official as many countries of the European Union, along with the United States, said they would not recognize the validity of the vote, based on a highly critical assessment by the highly regarded observer team of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell said Washington cannot accept the announced election results and said there will be consequences for Ukraine if efforts are not made immediately to correct the situation.

Bruce George, chairman of the OSCE mission, said during a press conference in Kyiv on November 22 that the election run-off did not meet a number of minimum standards for democratic elections of the OSCE and the Council of Europe.

"With an even heavier heart than three weeks ago, I have to repeat the message from the first round," said Mr. George, referring to the first round of elections, which the OSCE monitoring team judged to be biased in favor of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

Lucian Malan, head of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly delegation, which observed the election under the umbrella of the OSCE, said the biggest problem in the second round was mobile voting and absentee voter certificates.

"The figures and reports about the unjustified increase in the use of absentee voter certificates and the even higher increase of mobile voting cast a shadow over the genuineness of the results," noted Mr. Malan.

Mr. Malan noted that some territorial election commissions in Donetsk had reported voter turnouts exceeding 98.5 percent, an increase of 21 percent in at least on case after the first round, which he called "unrealistic and highly suspicious."

Meanwhile, in a report issued the same day, the observer team from the Commonwealth of Independent States, led by CIS Executive Director Volodymyr Rushailo, noted no fixed violations of absentee certificates. Mr. Rushailo called the elections in Ukraine "free and fair."

Mr. George, the OSCE observer mission head, responded to the assertion on BBC World news later that day. He noted that the CIS observers saw democracy differently than the West. "They haven't ever seen a good election and wouldn't know it if it hit them in the face," said Mr. George.

Other observers from the CIS and Eastern Europe were less optimistic than Mr. Rushailo in their assessment of the way in which the vote took place. The European Network of Election Monitoring Organization's (ENEMO) international observer team, which consists of representatives of election monitoring civic organizations from 16 countries of the former Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries, had the largest number of observers in the country on November 21. ENEMO said the elections in Ukraine had among the most blatant violations of election law the group had witnessed in the 110 elections its member-organizations had collectively monitored.

"We found the elections of November 21 were a well-organized and all-encompassing attempt to steal the vote," explained Edil Baysalov, leader of the ENEMO mission. He said the results as announced by the CEC were not "an

expression of the will of the people."

Mr. Baysalov called the situation the worst in the eastern oblasts of Donetsk and Luhansk, with slightly lesser numbers of violations in Cherkasy, Dnipropetrovsk and Sumy. He noted the most egregious violation was that registered observers and official representatives of Mr. Yushchenko were not allowed to enter polling precincts and district commission headquarters for the vote counts, especially in the heavily populated eastern oblasts.

Another ENEMO observer mission leader, Peter Novotny, stated that absentee voter certificates were used extensively and illegally with people bussed and trained to all parts of Ukraine from the eastern oblasts to cast votes for Mr. Yanukovich, several times in most instances. Mr. Novotny noted that ballots were often dropped into ballot urns in folded bundles.

Mr. Baysalov noted that a law enforcement officer was shot to death in Cherkasy when he would not allow thugs to enter an election precinct, a direct result of the illegal actions of the organizers of the vote.

He noted that in Cherkasy, Chernihiv and Chernivtsi roaming gangs calling themselves the Kozak Brotherhood had

openly intimidated voters while moving from polling station to polling station.

Mr. Baysalov explained that in five different regions petroleum bombs were set at polling stations, which only failed to ignite because of poorly made firing pins.

At many polling stations ballots were destroyed when individuals dropped either acid or paint into urns. Election officials then nullified whole batches of voters' ballots found within those urns even though only a few dozen were actually destroyed.

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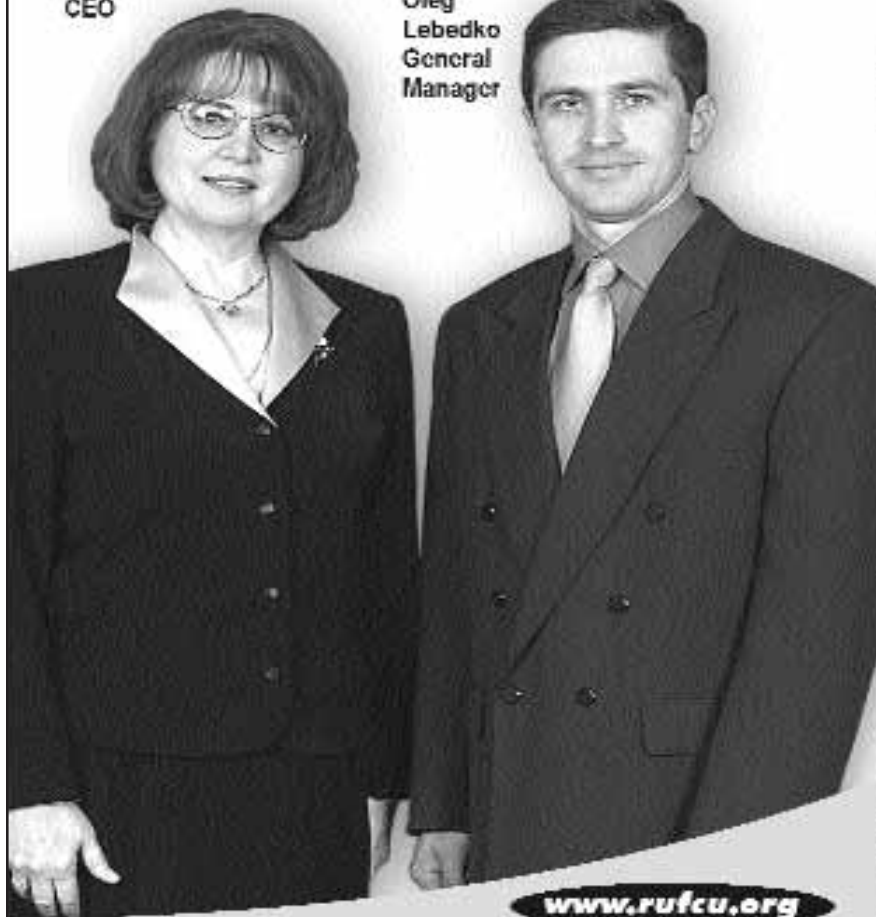
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Soyuzivka's Datebook

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| <p>December 3, 2004
UNWLA Branch 95 Christmas Party</p> <p>December 4, 2004
Accord Fire Company Banquet</p> <p>December 11, 2004
Ulster Correctional Facility Christmas Party</p> <p>December 23, 2004
Jeremiah Flaherty Law Office Christmas Party</p> <p>December 24, 2004
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve Dinner, 6 p.m., \$25 per person, Overnight Packages Available</p> <p>December 31, 2004
New Year's Eve Celebration and Zabava with Fata Morgana</p> <p>January 1, 2005
New Year's Day Brunch, 10 a.m.-1 p.m., \$14 per person</p> | <p>January 6, 2005
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve Dinner, 6 p.m., \$25 per person Overnight Packages Available</p> <p>January 8, 2005
UNA Employee Christmas Party</p> <p>February 4-6, 2005
Church of Annunciation Family Weekend, Flushing N.Y.</p> <p>February 11-13, 2005
Valentine's Day Weekend</p> <p>February 19-20, 2005
Family Winter Weekend and Ski Trip</p> <p>March 5-6, 2005
Plast Kurin "Khmelnychenky" Annual Winter Rada</p> |
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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Thursday, December 2

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Film Club at Columbia University will host a program titled, "The New in Ukrainian Documentary Film-Making," showcasing Hanna Yarovenko's award-winning "Kinomania." The film will be shown in the original Ukrainian at 7 p.m. in Room 702, Hamilton Hall. A question and answer period led by Prof. Yuri Shevchuk, lecturer of Ukrainian language and culture at Columbia, will follow the screening. RSVP to Diana Howansky, (212) 854-4697 or ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu.

Saturday, December 4

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites the public to a presentation by Dr. Volodymyr Mezentsev, University of Toronto, on "New Archeological Discoveries in Baturyn in 2003-2004." The presentation, which will be illustrated with slides, will be held at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call (212) 254-5130.

Sunday, December 12

PHILADELPHIA: The Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM), Philadelphia Branch, invites the Ukrainian American community in the metro area to a fun-filled "Christmas Bazaar and Meeting with St. Nicholas" to be held in the church hall of Annunciation Ukrainian Catholic Church, Old York Road and Cheltenham Avenue, Melrose Park, Pa., starting at 9:30 a.m. Throughout the day, there will be plenty of delicious food, hot and cold drinks, games and entertainment for children, a "Wheel of Fortune" and a "Basket of Cheer" for adults. Among the many holiday items for sale will be Christmas cards and books, as well as traditional Christmas

"kutia" and poppy-seeds. St. Nicholas shall pay a visit at 2 p.m. The Heavenly Office will be open from 1 p.m. For more information call Helen Midzak, (215) 745-9838.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Friday, December 31

PALOS PARK, Ill.: Come ring in the New Year at Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church Hall, 131st Street (one mile west of Harlem Avenue). The evening celebration begins at 7 p.m., with the serving of hors d'oeuvres, followed by a buffet dinner at 8 p.m., and dancing at 9 p.m.-12:30 a.m.; open bar. Tickets: \$40 per person; \$75 per couple; \$20, seniors; \$10, youth to age 20; age 9 and under, free. Admission charges will be discounted with paid reservations by Wednesday, December 15. For reservations and further information contact Hania Kikcio, (708) 361.8876.

Saturday, January 22, 2005

CARTERET, N.J.: St. Demetrius Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church are co-sponsoring a New Year's Eve dance, or Malanka, which will be held at the St. Demetrius Community Center, 681 Roosevelt Ave. Music will be by Fata Morgana. Tickets, at \$40, include admission, choice of sirloin beef or stuffed capon dinner, beer, wine, soda, midnight hors d'oeuvres and a champagne toast. There will also be a cash bar. St. Demetrius Center is located just blocks off of Exit 12, NJ Turnpike. There is a Holiday Inn right off the exit for accommodations. Doors will open at 6 p.m., dinner will be served at 7 p.m., music starts at 8 p.m. For table and ticket reservations, call Peter Prociuk, (732) 541-5452. Tickets will not be sold at the door. Deadline for purchasing tickets is January 15, 2005.

PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:

Preview of Events is a listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public. It is a service provided at minimal cost (\$20 per submission) by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community. To have an event listed in Preview of Events please send information, in English, written in Preview format, i.e., in a brief paragraph that includes the date, place, type of event, sponsor, admission, full names of persons and/or organizations involved, and a phone number to be published for readers who may require additional information. Items should be no more than 100 words long; all submissions are subject to editing. Items not written in Preview format or submitted without all required information will not be published.

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

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