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# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine visits U.S.

### Meets with President Bush at White House



Andrew Nynka

Presidents Viktor Yushchenko and George W. Bush with First Ladies Kateryna Yushchenko and Laura Bush at the White House.

by Andrew Nynka

WASHINGTON — President George W. Bush of the United States welcomed Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko to the White House on Monday, April 4, stating that the visit marked “a new era of strategic partnership” between the two states.

Mr. Yushchenko’s visit to the United States — a four-day trip that included stops in Washington, Chicago and Boston — marked a dramatic shift in the relationship between the two countries. That relationship had steadily deteriorated over the last five years but took a new turn with Mr. Yushchenko’s invitation to the White House. The two leaders issued a joint statement following their meeting in which they stressed that the relationship had indeed turned a sharp corner.

“Today, the United States and Ukraine affirm a new era of strategic partnership between our nations and friendship between our peoples,” a portion of that statement read.

In addition to affirming a new partnership, the two leaders met in the Oval Office prior to briefing reporters in the White House East Room. The two said they discussed Ukraine’s future in the World Trade Organization, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other Euro-Atlantic institutions.

Standing at a podium to Mr. Yushchenko’s left, Mr. Bush said he supports Ukraine’s aspiration to join the WTO and to lift trade restrictions that he said “were created in a different era.”

Mr. Yushchenko, whose face and ears still appear deeply scarred following his dioxin poisoning last year, appeared earnest and focused, though relaxed and at ease, and smiled only when Mr. Bush welcomed Mr. Yushchenko’s American-born wife, Kateryna.

White House Press Spokesman Scott McClellan told journalists after Messrs. Bush and Yushchenko briefed the press that the discussion between the two pres-

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### Addresses joint meeting of Congress

by Andrew Nynka

WASHINGTON — Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko addressed a joint session of the U.S. Congress on April 6, offering eight specific points on which the Congress could take action to help his country, including help with integrating Ukraine into European and Euro-Atlantic bodies.

Mr. Yushchenko, who read from a prepared text but also added sections extemporaneously, asked that Congress lower trade and travel barriers to Ukraine and support Ukraine’s effort to replace a deteriorating concrete sarcophagus that covers the destroyed nuclear power plant at Chernobyl.

Mr. Yushchenko said Ukraine had done much to open its markets and that, “in return, we expect the United States to cancel the restrictions that apply to Ukrainian goods in the U.S. market.”

Members of Congress, several of whom could be seen wearing orange lapel pins, warmly greeted the Ukrainian president as he entered the hall at 11 a.m. They all stood and clapped as chants of “Yushchenko, Yushchenko” began to fill

the hall.

Mr. Yushchenko thanked the United States for its support during the Orange Revolution. “We highly appreciate the message sent by your country’s leadership before the elections and during the revolution,” he said. “It was clear and unambiguous. The U.S. condemned fraud and upheld Ukrainian’s right to freely elect their government.”

As he entered the congressional hall, President Yushchenko, placing his right hand over his heart in a show of appreciation of the resounding applause that welcomed him, looked visibly touched by the display of support. He proceeded to shake hands as he approached the podium before delivering a 40-minute address to a packed house that was interrupted by applause 26 times — five times with standing ovations.

The first standing ovation came after he introduced his wife, saying that the two met through a program run by the United States. “It was through one of your programs that I met my wife, Kateryna, whose love and commitment

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## Ukraine mourns Pope John Paul II, recalls 2001 visit

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Gripping pink roses, an elderly Orthodox Christian, Halyna Dobrovolska, gently climbed steep church steps on a sunny morning.

She placed the bouquet at a memorial for Pope John Paul II, crossed herself, whispered a short prayer and went inside St. Alexander’s Roman Catholic Church to pray further.

“He showed us love and spirituality,” she said.

Ukrainians of all faiths lit candles, worshipped and prayed this week as they mourned the passing of Pope John Paul, the Roman Catholic Church leader whose historic visit to Ukraine in 2001 made a deep impression on the largely Orthodox Christian nation.

Ukraine’s leaders, representing the nation’s diverse spectrum of confessions and faiths, expressed their sympathies and condolences to the Vatican.

Before embarking on his trip to the United States, Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko sent a letter of condolence to Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, dean of the College of Cardinals that selects the pope’s successor.

“In the memories of Ukrainian citizens — Orthodox and Catholic, believers of other confessions, all who hold Christian values — there will always dwell a bright image of the Holy Father,”

Mr. Yushchenko wrote.

“Ukrainians, who are proud of their close blood relation with this great person, have always been deeply grateful for the sympathy and sincere love of His Holiness, for my people, his respect for our European history and culture. [He was] a symbol of good, peace, justice, and love of neighbor,” he added.

Pope John Paul II earned a special reverence among Ukrainians after his 2001 trip to Kyiv and Lviv, the first visit



Pope John Paul II during his 2001 visit to Ukraine.

ever by a pope to Ukraine.

At the time, Kyiv residents didn’t quite know how to react to the pontiff’s visit. Some protested in contempt; others were welcoming and many were indifferent.

Orthodox Christians such as Ms. Dobrovolska were among those moved.

“I became familiar with him then,” she said. I attended the liturgy, and I felt that God brought me there. I really liked his sermons.”

Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, flew to Vatican City on Sunday. At the end of March, Cardinal Husar had two successful operations on his eyes. The patriarch was supposed to remain in the hospital for several more weeks under doctor’s care. Instead, he decided to fly to Rome.

In a letter to clergy and faithful of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, Cardinal Husar wrote:

“The holy memory of Pope John Paul II during his many years of service as successor to St. Peter is of a man of Providence. Today, as we emotionally live through the pain of loss, we lack the perspective of time to properly value his historic stature and his multi-faceted activity. We will do this over the course of many following months and years. Today we can only say that during the years of his pontificate he greatly helped our Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in

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## ANALYSIS

## Yushchenko's visit to U.S. heralds return to "golden era"

by **Taras Kuzio**  
Eurasia Daily Monitor  
April 4

Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko's official visit to the United States on April 4-6 is set to radically transform U.S.-Ukraine relations and return them to the "golden era" that existed under President Bill Clinton. U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Herbst predicted, "We expect not only the revival of the friendly ties that existed between our states seven to nine years ago, but the establishment of a qualitatively new level of relations" (Kievskiy Telegraf, March 25-31).

Orest Deychakiwsky, staff advisor at the U.S. governmental Helsinki Commission said: "Despite the typical past rhetoric about visits leading to a qualitatively new relationship between the United States and Ukraine, this one really does." This is, "because for the first time you have a Ukrainian leadership truly devoted to democracy and the rule of law and determined to integrate with the Euro-Atlantic community. In short, it's the first time you have a relationship based on shared values."

Mr. Deychakiwsky continued, "This will become clear throughout the visit and cannot help but to influence U.S.-Ukraine relations in a positive way, including building meaningful, substantive relationships in the security, democracy, and trade and economic spheres."

Trust in President Yushchenko's integrity and sympathy for the poisoning he endured last year is very high in Washington. Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.), who visited Kyiv last month as part of a

U.S. congressional delegation, declared that Mr. Yushchenko is "an international hero" (Ukrainska Pravda, March 26).

Mr. Yushchenko's visit is not likely to see any major policy issues resolved, but it will serve to break the ice after four frosty years of U.S.-Ukrainian relations.

The latest State Department report on human rights outlines how the United States assisted Ukraine in its election year (state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41715.htm). U.S. support included assistance for the rule of law, independent media, civil society and human rights organizations. The report also highlights numerous congressional visits to Ukraine during the presidential campaign, including one by President Bush's special representative, Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), during the second round. These visits repeatedly underscored Washington's insistence that Mr. Kuchma hold free and fair elections.

A Senate Republican policy committee paper titled "Promoting a Robust U.S.-Ukraine Agenda: Securing the Orange Revolution in Ukraine" was released on the eve of President Yushchenko's visit and distributed to the legislative assistants, legislative directors, policy advisors and counsels in all Republican Senate offices (rpc.senate.gov).

The policy paper argues that it is in the interest of the United States for the Bush administration and Congress to strongly back President Yushchenko. Among the recommendations are repeal of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, support Ukraine's membership in the WTO,

(Continued on page 17)

## Under Kuchma, Ukraine sent missiles to Iran and China

by **Taras Kuzio**  
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Since President Viktor Yushchenko was inaugurated on January 23, Ukraine's Internal Affairs Ministry (MVS), Security Service (SBU) and Procurator General's office have made daily revelations about massive, high-level corruption under former president Leonid Kuchma. One new scandal is that Kyiv sent 12 long-range surface-to-air missiles to Iran and six to China in 1999 and 2000 (Financial Times, March 17). These revelations come on top of previous accusations that Mr. Kuchma had authorized the sale of Kolchuha radars to Iraq in July 2000.

The concurrent transfers to Iran, China, and Iraq confirm a three-fold suspicion long held by Western governments.

First, the weapons transfers took place while Leonid Derkach was chairman of the SBU (1997-2001). Mr. Derkach has been implicated in numerous illegal arms transfers while head of the SBU. The secretary of the National Defense Council from 1999-2003, Yevhen Marchuk, publicly accused Mr. Derkach of being involved with arms traffickers on trial in Italy.

Second, the highest levels of the

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Kuchma regime were involved in the deception. While President Kuchma was authorizing and undoubtedly taking a cut from the \$113 million proceeds, he was re-elected on a pro-Euro-Atlantic integration platform in 1999 and sought to prove this orientation by making Mr. Yushchenko prime minister.

Third, illegal arms transfers were part of the high-level involvement in numerous corrupt activities. Mr. Kuchma's abuse of office was the factor that prompted security guard Mykola Melnychenko to secretly tape 700 hours of conversations in the president's office.

Ukraine faced a political crisis after a portion of the tapes was first publicly revealed in November 2000. But, despite the political crisis, abuse of high office continued. An attempt to sell 14 additional missiles as late as 2004 was blocked only because the SBU had a different chairman, Ihor Smeshko.

Hryhorii Omelchenko, vice-chairman of the Verkhovna Rada's Committee on Organized Crime and Corruption, first made public the Iran and China allegations last month. A former SBU officer, V.V. Yevdokimov, has been charged with involvement in the missile sales. Mr. Yevdokimov headed the state-owned UkrAviaZakaz airfreight company.

The Procurator General's Office has now confirmed that a criminal investigation is under way (Financial Times, March 17). Consequently, Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun has character-

(Continued on page 17)

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Officials confess to killing Gongadze

KYIV – In an interview published on April 4 on the Ukrainska Pravda website (<http://www2.pravda.com.ua>), President Viktor Yushchenko said that two former Internal Affairs Ministry officers have "confessed, and the first stage of the probe in the case [of the murder of journalist Heorhii Gongadze] is over." The two suspects have helped investigators to reconstruct the September 2000 killing and "led them to locations where it all happened." One additional suspect, Internal Affairs Ministry Gen. Oleksii Pukach, is still wanted and an international arrest warrant has been issued for him. President Yushchenko went on to say those who ordered Gongadze's murder are now the subject of the investigation. The Internal Affairs Ministry has questioned former President Leonid Kuchma, former Security Service of Ukraine chief Leonid Derkach, and Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn in connection with the case and the taping of Kuchma's office by a member of his security detail, Mykola Melnychenko. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Court to consider Gongadze vs. Ukraine

KYIV – The European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg has declared admissible an application lodged in the Gongadze vs. Ukraine case in September 2002 by Myroslava Gongadze, the wife of slain journalist Heorhii Gongadze, the court announced in a press release on March 31. Gongadze was kidnapped and executed in September 2000. Ms. Gongadze argues that under Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights (right to life) that the death of her husband was the result of a forced disappearance and that state authorities failed to protect his life. She also complains that the state failed to investigate the case in a coherent and effective manner. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Tarasjuk draws attention to Famine

KYIV – Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk, while attending the 61st session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, once again drew the attention of the international community to the crimes of the totalitarian Communist regime against the Ukrainian people. In his address at the session, Mr. Tarasyuk said that the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 period took the lives of over 7 million people. He stressed the man-made nature of the Famine and stated Ukraine's intention to secure recognition of the Famine as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people. Mr. Tarasyuk also said that the non-violent Orange Revolution in Ukraine opened a new chapter in the histo-

ry of the country and had a significant effect on the geo-political situation in the world. He stressed that the new democratic Ukraine is an integral part of the European community of democratic nations and that it cannot close its eyes to human rights violations in any country. In this context, he said that Ukraine is calling for improved mechanisms for cooperation in the area of human rights protection within the framework of the United Nations. Among other things, he called on the Security Council to pay greater attention to protection of human rights and give the United Nations' high commissioner for refugees a greater role in its affairs. (Ukrinform)

### Sikorsky to receive state medal

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko signed a decree to award Sergei Sikorsky with the Order of Yaroslav the Wise, 5th Grade for Mr. Sikorsky's personal contribution to promoting relations between the United States and Ukraine in aviation-related matters and promotion of the Ukrainian aviation industry's achievements. Mr. Sikorsky is the elder son of the legendary helicopter designer Igor Sikorsky, who was born in Kyiv and who emigrated to the United States in 1919. Though his helicopter was not the world's first, his was the first truly successful design incorporating all the components that have become standard on helicopters today. His principal contribution to helicopter design was the use of a tail rotor to counteract the torque produced by the main rotor. It was this innovation that finally solved the last major hurdle in helicopter control and made the craft a truly practical flying machine. The VS-300 made its first flights in 1939 while tethered to the ground for safety, but the first free flight occurred on May 13, 1940. (Ukrinform)

### Visas for EU scrapped for four months

KYIV – Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko has signed a decree abolishing visa requirements for citizens of the European Union and Switzerland from May 1 to September 1, 2005. Mr. Yushchenko's personal website (<http://ww2.yuschenko.com.ua>) reported on March 31. The decree says the measure is intended "to ensure the truly open nature of Ukrainian society, implement Ukraine's strategic course of integration into European community, and create proper conditions for attracting investment," as well as to contribute to the "proper preparation and organization" of the 2005 Eurovision song contest that Ukraine will host on May 21. (RFE/RL Newsline)

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## FOR THE RECORD: Joint statement by Presidents Bush and Yushchenko

*Below is the text of the joint statement by President George W. Bush and President Viktor Yushchenko issued on April 4.*

Today, the United States and Ukraine affirm a new era of strategic partnership between our nations and friendship between our peoples. We commit our nations to working together to advance freedom and security grounded in democratic principles and institutions, which form the foundation of our relationship.

We salute the people of Ukraine who claimed their right to elect freely their leadership. Their brave stand was a victory for democracy inspiring those throughout the world who yearn for freedom and dignity in the face of tyranny, isolation and oppression. The territorial integrity, security, and political and economic transformation of Ukraine are essential to building a Europe whole, free and at peace. We will work together to strengthen democratic institutions in Ukraine and to advance freedom in Europe, its neighborhood and beyond.

We will work to defeat terrorism wherever it occurs and to advance economic development, democratic reforms and peaceful settlement of regional disputes. We are grateful to the men and women of those nations who have served and sacrificed for Iraqi freedom. Today, we pledge ourselves anew to assist the Iraqi people to secure liberty, peace and prosperity, and we join our efforts to assist Iraq in its economic reconstruction. Fear and resentment, the breeding ground of terrorism, must be replaced with freedom and hope.

We also commit to work together to back reform, democracy, tolerance and respect for all communities, and peaceful resolution of conflicts in Georgia and Moldova, and to support the advance of freedom in countries such as Belarus and Cuba. Citizens in our open societies value the freedom to practice their faiths, and we are committed to promoting religious tolerance globally.

As Ukraine undertakes far-reaching reform at home, it can count on the United States for support. We applaud Ukraine's commitment to curb corruption, promote the rule of law and improve the business climate. Progress

on reforms will allow Ukraine to realize its aspirations to move closer to, and ultimately join, European, Euro-Atlantic and international institutions.

We will further integrate Ukraine into the world economy and promote investment and trade between our two countries. As a first step, the Ukrainian government seeks expeditious U.S. recognition as a market economy. We agree to continue our close cooperation to ensure a process that recognizes the evolution of Ukraine's economy.

We are committed to working together to achieve Ukraine's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO). For its part, the Ukrainian government will seek to secure, on an urgent basis, approval of legislation and enact regulations that will facilitate accession and contribute to lasting economic reform, including in agriculture, manufacturing, services, and the protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights. The United States and Ukraine are committed to working together to complete our bilateral negotiations for Ukraine's accession to the WTO in 2005. We will also cooperate on the outstanding multilateral work that must be concluded for Ukraine's WTO accession. We also support immediately ending application of Jackson-Vanik to Ukraine.

The United States supports Ukraine's NATO aspirations and is prepared to help Ukraine achieve its goals by providing assistance with challenging reforms. The United States supports an offer of an intensified dialogue on membership issues with Ukraine at the meeting of alliance foreign ministers in Vilnius, Lithuania later this month. Our cooperation will also deepen through the U.S.-led, largest-ever NATO trust fund to destroy obsolete and excess weaponry.

We are initiating an energy dialogue to cooperate in the restructuring and reform of Ukraine's energy sector to encourage investment, diversify Ukraine's energy supplies, reduce its energy dependence, bolster commercial competition in Eurasian energy sectors and promote nuclear safety. To advance this dialogue, we are establishing an energy consultative mechanism between our Energy Ministries. United States Secretary of



Andrew Nynka

**President George Bush answers a reporter's question, as President Viktor Yushchenko looks on during a press conference at the White House.**

Energy [sam] Bodman will travel to Ukraine in the near future to initiate the consultative mechanism and to promote our energy and non-proliferation cooperation.

Building on our cooperation through the G-8 Global Partnership, the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program and the Proliferation Security Initiative, we pledge to begin a new chapter in the fight against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. We will deepen our cooperation on nonproliferation, export controls, border security and law enforcement to deter, detect, interdict, investigate and prosecute illicit trafficking of these weapons and related materials; enhance the security of nuclear and radiological sources; and dispose of spent nuclear fuel. We also agree on the importance of addressing the growing threat posed by the proliferation of ballistic missiles. In this regard, we will explore how we can work together on missile defense, including beginning negotiations on a framework to facilitate such cooperation and closer industry-to-industry collaboration.

The security and stability of nations increasingly depends on the health, well-being and prosperity of their citizens. We, therefore, commit to cooperate on a

broad agenda of social and humanitarian issues, including halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and TB; fighting the scourge of organized crime, trafficking in persons and child pornography; and completing the Chernobyl Shelter Implementation Plan. To help complete the Chernobyl Shelter, the United States will provide an additional \$45 million to the Shelter Fund. Ukraine will also provide an additional financial contribution and facilitate prompt completion of the shelter. U.S. assistance to Ukraine will particularly focus on solidifying democratic advances through anti-corruption and rule of law programs, media and NGO development, nonpartisan party and election monitor training and other steps to improve electoral institutions and practices.

We also support a bold expansion of contact between our societies. To this end, Ukraine will eliminate visa requirements for Americans, and the United States will reduce visa fees for Ukrainians. We aim to enhance citizen exchanges, training opportunities and cooperation between business communities of both countries.

We commit our two nations to stand together as global partners for freedom, security and prosperity in the 21st century.

## FOR THE RECORD: Transcript of press conference by two presidents

*Following are the texts of remarks by President George W. Bush and President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine (in translation) at a press conference in the East Room of the White House on Monday, April 4.*

### PRESIDENT BUSH

Thank you. It's an honor to stand with a courageous leader of a free Ukraine. Mr. President, you are a friend to our country and you are an inspiration to all who love liberty. Welcome to America, and we're pleased to welcome your wife, as well. We're looking forward to having lunch with you.

President Yushchenko was the first head of state I called after my inaugural address. I told him that the Orange Revolution was a powerful example – an example of democracy for people around the world. I was impressed, I know millions of my fellow citizens were impressed by the brave citizens who gathered in Kyiv's Independence Square and rightly demanded that their voices be heard. It's an impressive moment, Mr. President, and an important moment. I've oftentimes told our fellow citizens that the world is changing, freedom is spread-

ing – and I use Ukraine as an example, along with Afghanistan and Iraq, about a changing world. A world, by the way, changing for the better, because we believe free societies will be peaceful societies.

Mr. President, I appreciate your vision. I want to thank you for our discussion we just had. We discussed a lot of matters. We talked about the neighborhood, of course. We talked about your commitment to fighting corruption; your deep desire to introduce principles of the marketplace in Ukraine. I told the president that our nation will stand by Ukraine as it strengthens law enforcement, as it fights corruption, as it promotes a free media and civil society organizations. To this end, I've asked Congress to provide \$60 million for new funding to help you in your efforts, Mr. President.

We also agree with your desire to join the WTO, and we'll work with your government to join the WTO, as well as to lift the Jackson-Vanik trade restrictions that were created in a different era. Secretary Sam Bodman, who is with us here, will be going to Ukraine to talk about cooperation on energy. We look forward to working with you, Mr. President, as you build progress at home

to become a part of Europe – a Europe that is whole, free and at peace. And at the same time, we'll continue to work with you to help your ties to the North Atlantic Alliance.

Mr. President, I want to thank you for being an active partner in the war on terror. Our statement reflects our common desire to cooperate on law enforcement matters, our desire to have export controls to prevent the spread of dangerous weapons technology, including nuclear materials, MANPADs and ballistic missiles.

I appreciate Ukraine's strong commitment to a free Iraq. Ukrainian troops helped to protect the Iraqi people during the elections this January. I look forward to cooperating with your nation to help the Iraqis build a peaceful society.

We share a goal to spread freedom to other nations. I mean, after all, the Orange Revolution may have looked like it was only a part of the Ukrainian – the history of Ukraine, but the Orange Revolution represented revolutions elsewhere, as well. And I look forward to working with you, Mr. President, in places like Lebanon and Kyrgyzstan. I want to thank you for your conversation on Moldova. I appreciate the discussion

we had on – about Belarus.

All in all, Mr. President, we're really thrilled you're here. I know our Congress is looking forward to having you address them next Wednesday. In the meantime, I want to thank you for our frank and open discussion. We wish you all the best, and in America, you've got a strong friend. Welcome.

### PRESIDENT YUSHCHENKO

Mr. President, dear American friends, for me, for my wife, it is a great honor and privilege to be received here in the White House and to hear the words that are addressed to my country, my nation, my homeland.

Our ideals are simple and eternal: We want democracy and freedom – our apparent European aspirations, which we were discussing from the first days, many days before the maidan events when I and my team went into the politics. This is my vision; this is the vision shared by my team. This is something that my father taught me.

The legacy that we inherited is a very difficult country; Ukraine, where the rule of law did not exist and human rights

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## INTERVIEW: Taras Kuzio on his work and growing interest in Ukraine

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The name of Dr. Taras Kuzio, who currently is a visiting professor at the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies at George Washington University, is familiar to readers of *The Ukrainian Weekly* – but not only to our readers.

His name is familiar also to readers of scholarly publications, to viewers of news programs providing analyses of current events in the post-Soviet space, and, indeed, to anyone interested in political developments in Ukraine and beyond.

He was particularly ubiquitous during the Orange Revolution as various news media sought him out as an analyst and commentator on the historic events unfolding in Ukraine.

A political scientist, Dr. Kuzio received a B.A. from the University of Sussex, an M.A. from the University of London and a Ph.D. from the University of Birmingham, England.

Dr. Kuzio teaches at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University. Previously he was a resident fellow at the Center for Russian and East European Studies (CREES), University of Toronto. He is also a former senior research fellow affiliated with CREES at the University of Birmingham and was a post doctoral-fellow at Yale University.

Dr. Kuzio headed the NATO Information Office in Kyiv, and served as a long-term observer for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe during the 1998 and 2002 parliamentary elections in Ukraine.

He is the author of *“Ukrainian Security Policy”* (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1995), *“Ukraine under Kuchma”* (Macmillan, 1997), *“Ukraine: State and Nation*

*Building”* (Routledge, 1998) and *“Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence”* (Macmillan, 1994 and 2000), and is co-author with Paul D’Anieri, and Robert S. Kravchuk of *“Politics and Society in Ukraine”* (Westview, 1999).

Dr. Kuzio also is the editor of *“Contemporary Ukraine: Dynamics of Post-Soviet Transformation”* (M.E. Sharpe, 1998) and a co-editor of *“State and Institution Building in Ukraine”* (St. Martin’s Press, 1999), *“Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives”* (Praeger, 2002) and *“Dilemmas of State-Led Nation Building in Ukraine”* (Praeger, 2002).

He has published in a wide range of academic journals on post-Soviet and Ukrainian politics, international relations and nationalism. He writes regularly for *Jamestown Foundation’s Eurasia Daily Monitor*, *Oxford Analytica* and *Jane’s Information Group*.

Dr. Kuzio agreed to be interviewed via e-mail by *The Weekly’s* Roma Hadzewycz. Following is the text of the interview, conducted in late March.

**You teach courses on political science that cover such topics as democratization in post-Soviet Ukraine, the European Union and Ukraine, and NATO and Ukraine. What has changed that a major university like George Washington University now offers such courses?**

I began teaching political science courses at the University of Toronto in 2002 and since 2004 at George Washington University (GWU). I saw that in North America the diaspora has focused far too much on culture and history to the detriment of largely ignoring political science (i.e., contemporary Ukraine). This



Dr. Taras Kuzio

bias was confirmed to me when I applied for funds to the Canadian Institute Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) to teach courses on contemporary Ukraine but they rejected my application in favor of another application to teach Ukrainian art. Nevertheless, I found the funds in the end from the George Danyliw Foundation and taught courses on contemporary Ukraine for two years at the University of Toronto. In the spring 2004 semester, my last at Toronto, I had 20 graduate and undergraduates in my class on a course dealing with nationalism and identity in Ukraine.

At GWU I have a two-year visiting professorship funded by the William and Helen Petrach Endowment for Ukrainian Exchanges and Programs at GWU’s Institute for European, Russian and

Eurasian Studies (IERES). IERES is now seeking to convert this into a long-term lectureship by raising further funds.

I teach two courses per semester, one for graduates and another for undergraduates. The two courses per semester are drawn from three subjects: “Democratization and Transition in Ukraine,” “Nationalism and Identity in Ukraine” and “NATO and EU Enlargement: Ukraine.” In the fall 2004 class at GWU I had 16 undergraduates in one class on democratization and 12 graduates in my other class on EU and NATO enlargement and Ukraine. This semester I have 20 graduates in the class on nationalism and identity and 27 undergraduates on the EU, NATO and Ukraine.

Teaching these courses is important for two reasons. First, many undergraduates go on to do graduate studies and some graduates go on to do Ph.D.s. Second, because of GWU’s location and reputation, many graduates go on to work in the U.S. government; indeed, some are already interns in U.S. government departments or at think-tanks.

Teaching, therefore, creates a pool of students, some of whom will then go on to continue to have an interest in Ukraine.

**What other universities offer courses like these on current developments in Ukraine?**

Courses on contemporary Ukraine are very few in North America. The U.S.A. has a large pool of political scientists who research, write and give talks on contemporary Ukraine. But, their teaching of Ukraine is usually integrated into other broader subjects. Harvard’s Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI) could have

(Continued on page 18)

## Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty adopts new symbol to reflect new times

PRAGUE – WASHINGTON – Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) entered a new era with a new symbol on March 30, when a “Torch Aflame” takes over from the “Freedom Bell” as RFE/RL’s company trademark.

RFE/RL President Thomas A. Dine said the silver torch with its burnt-orange flame is universal. “Our torch is neither Christian nor Muslim, right-wing or left-wing. It is universal, forward-looking, modern and, above all, the RFE/RL torch is light and illumination, it has youth and energy,” he said.

The new company slogan or signature line is “Illuminate Your World” – conveying the fact that the news and information RFE/RL brings daily to millions of people around the world helps them understand their environment and gives them the information tools for the political and economic engagement needed to shape their societies.

The torch replaces the Freedom Bell, which was RFE/RL’s logo for more than half a century. It now enters the history books along with the radios of the Cold War days that it symbolized. That history – in truckloads of tapes and documents – was donated to the Hoover Institution archives

at Stanford University in California, and is being processed as a record of the ideological fight against Communism in the second half of the 20th century.

It starts with an account of how Radio Free Europe (RFE) came to take the bell as its symbol. It was not, as some people mistakenly believe, America’s famously cracked Liberty Bell. The origins of RFE’s logo are a 10-ton bell especially made in the British foundry Gillett and Johnston and decorated with a frieze of five figures representing the five races of mankind passing the torch of freedom.

It arrived in New York in 1949 and traveled to 21 cities in the United States as part of the “Crusade for Freedom” drive to raise money to found and promote Radio Free Europe. More than 16 million Americans responded with contributions, and RFE and its bell logo were born.

Instead of the five figures, the RFE bell logo had a vertical divide into a darker and lighter side, generally interpreted as the divide between the democratic West and the communist East.

But for many years now, Europe has been whole and almost free and both the

dividing line and the bell have lost their meaning. The original Freedom Bell was permanently installed in West Berlin in 1950. Few people today know where it is, why it is there and what it represents.

RFE/RL itself bears little resemblance to the radios headquartered in Munich that beamed truth and hope across the Iron Curtain to the Soviet Union and its five European satellite states. Since the move to Prague in 1995, RFE/RL has been going through a dynamic process of transformation and modernization that is creating an entirely new organization. The company has broadened every aspect of its operations: it no longer fights communism, it fights tyranny; its broadcasts are no longer confined to the former Soviet bloc, but stretch across continents to Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan; broadcasting is no longer restricted to short-wave frequencies but is heard on a multitude of other, more popular frequencies in rebroadcasts by local AM and FM stations.

And RFE/RL itself is no longer limited to radio broadcasting. It is venturing into television partnerships and has a vibrant, thriving, multilingual Internet site accessed by millions of users all over the

world. The latest chapter in RFE/RL’s development is “Convergence,” a process of internal restructuring and training to integrate a multiple media approach, attracting new audiences and viewers with tailored information.

RFE/RL noted that the easiest way to communicate these profound changes is to change the company symbol; but it is not a simple task to illustrate the new aspects of RFE/RL while showing its essence has remained the same. The essence of RFE/RL today is freedom, as it was 55 years ago, only the technology and geography have changed. RFE/RL’s supervisory Broadcasting Board of Governors chose Chermayeff and Geismar, a leading New York-based design firm, to design the new logo. Their creation, launched first on RFE/RL’s Internet sites, meets all expectations. The silver torch is a modern representation of the torch of freedom etched on the old bell and a link to RFE/RL’s tradition. And the orange flame, in the words of RFE/RL President Dine, “denotes warmth and energy,” illuminating understanding to promote the values of democracy.



RFE/RL’s new (left) and old logos.



# THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

## Young UNA'ers



Laryssa Christina Evans, daughter of Ksenia M. and Gregory Evans of Mississauga, Ontario, is a new member of UNA Branch 461. She was enrolled by her grandparents Ihor S. and Christina Diakunchak.



Markian Nychka, son of Dr. Andrew and Renata Nychka of Armonk, N.Y., is a new member of UNA Branch 269. He was enrolled by his parents.



Roma Oksana Lonkevych and her older brother, Alexander Volodymyr Lonkevych, children of Ania and Mark Lonkevych of North Wales, Pa., are new members of UNA Branch 234. The siblings were enrolled by their parents.

### TO ALL MEMBERS OF UNA BRANCHES 146

Please be advised that Branch 146 has merged with Branch 174 as of April 1, 2005. All inquiries and requests for changes should be sent to Mrs. Vira Krywyj.

Mrs. Vira Krywyj  
3825 Sunflower Lane  
Warren, MI 48091-1927  
(586) 759-2724

### THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Visit our archive on the Internet at: <http://www.ukrweekly.com/>



## Insurance Matters

by Joseph Hawryluk

### Will vs. life insurance beneficiary?

Dear Osyp:

One of our parishioners put our church in his will. His burial was a few months ago, and yesterday I happened to talk to his children and asked about their father's bequest. They said that after paying all the bills there was no money left. How can this be?

— Father Danylo

Dear Father Danylo:

This happens all the time! The estate runs out of money paying bills and taxes. Wills are contested by heirs, etc.

As I stated in an earlier column, the best way to guarantee your wish is to buy life insurance policies and name beneficiaries. Upon receipt of the death certificate, the insurance company by law must write the check out to the stated beneficiary. If there are bills to be paid, or maybe "suddenly found" relatives seeking money, etc., oh well! The check is mailed to the beneficiary's address in the beneficiary's name. End of story!

For example, say the parishioner was 62 years of age when he put your church in his will. Depending on the structure of the will, the church may receive the bequeathed amount. On the other hand, if he were to purchase a life insurance policy, for a one-time payment of \$4,915, the beneficiary would receive a check for \$10,000 upon his death! In most cases this is tax-free to the beneficiary – your church would receive the entire \$10,000.

Or, put another way, he would give more than twice as much using a life insurance policy! And his wishes would be followed – unlike taking a chance leaving the money in his will in the estate. After all – it was his money to be given to whom he wanted!

Until next time,  
Osyp

Joseph (Osyp in Ukrainian) Hawryluk is an advisor on the UNA General Assembly, chairman of the Buffalo UNA District Committee and secretary of UNA Branch 360. He is also a New York State licensed agent. Readers may reach him at [osyp@unamember.com](mailto:osyp@unamember.com).



### Do you know why we are so happy?

Our parents and grandparents invested in our future by purchasing an endowment and life insurance policy for each of us from the Ukrainian National Association, Inc. They purchased prepaid policies on account of the low premium rate for our age group. If you would like to be smiling like us please have your parents or grandparents call the UNA at 1-800-253-9862 they will be happy to assist you!

## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### Pope John Paul II, 1920-2005

"Do not be afraid," Pope John Paul II told his compatriots during a visit to Poland in 1979. His words emboldened the people of Poland to speak out and to make a stand against the loathsome Communist regime. In fact, many observers credit the first Slavic pontiff with being the catalyst behind the founding one year later of Solidarity. Others say it was the pope's words and actions, in combination with those of other strong leaders of the time, such as Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, that ultimately led to the fall of communism.

Twenty-two years later, Pope John Paul II visited another suffering nation: Ukraine. Millions came out to greet him on this, the 94th visit of his papacy – and that was in a country where about an eighth of the population of nearly 50 million was Catholic, and where clergy and faithful of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate had turned out to protest in advance of the visit. Patriarch Aleksei II of the Russian Orthodox Church argued that the papal visit would succeed only in worsening relations between his Church and the Vatican. Meanwhile Ukraine's two indigenous Ukrainian Orthodox Churches welcomed the visit.

Pope John Paul II's visit to Ukraine in 2001 – which he described as the fulfillment of "a wish that I have carried in my heart for a long time" – had a profound effect on all of Ukraine. Catholics and non-Catholics alike heard and took to heart the message delivered by the pope, who called himself a "pilgrim of peace." It was a message of unity, of ecumenism, of reconciliation and, perhaps most important of all, of recognition of the suffering and sacrifices of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, which had been banned and persecuted under the Soviet regime. At the conclusion of his historic visit, the pontiff beatified 28 men and women who died for their religious beliefs.

The pope spoke also of the future, hoping to influence Ukraine's youths and the country's leaders. For youths he reintroduced the concept of the Ten Commandments as "a compass in a stormy sea that enables us to keep on course." To the leaders he quoted Prince Volodymyr Monomakh's simple yet substantial instructions: "Do not allow the powerful to destroy mankind." As well, he quoted the words of the immortal bard, Taras Shevchenko: "Only in your own house will you find truth, strength and freedom."

In short, Pope John Paul II delivered a message of hope and empowerment whose resonance would be felt far and wide, and for many years to come. [For readers interested in revisiting The Weekly's reports on the papal visit, in addition to a look at this week's centerfold we suggest a visit to our website, [www.ukrweekly.com](http://www.ukrweekly.com) – especially the issues dated July 1 and July 8, 2001.]

The Ukrainian people were and are truly thankful for this pope's extraordinary visit and his loving attention (though many Ukrainian Catholics note their unfulfilled hope that the Ukrainian Patriarchate would be recognized). Their gratitude was reflected in myriad ways, among them the granting of honorary Lviv citizenship and the erection in that city of a monument in the pope's honor. That Ukraine will long remember Pope John Paul II and his message to his fellow Slavs is reflected in the fact that Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko, immediately after his official visit to the United States, has traveled to Rome to offer the Ukrainian nation's last respects to this apostle of hope.

April  
14  
1996

### Turning the pages back...

Back in 1996, on April 14, The Ukrainian Weekly carried an interview conducted by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute with Dr. Borys Gudziak, then director of the Institute of Church History (which he founded) at the Lviv

Theological Academy and vice-rector of the academy. Dr. Gudziak was to conduct a course on modern Ukrainian history at the 1996 Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute and was awaiting release of his book on the Union of Brest ("Crisis and Reform," to be published by HURI and Harvard University Press). The topic of the interview was the revival of religion in Ukraine. Today, the Rev. Dr. Gudziak is rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv.

Nine years ago Dr. Gudziak, told The Weekly's readers that, following the euphoria that came after Ukraine's independence proclamation of 1991, the people were "enduring a time of trial, a time when many of the expectations of a few years ago are proving to have been overly high and unrealistic." He added, however, that "the depression after the euphoria is also coming to an end, and there is a steep stabilization occurring that involves a basic and increasing readiness to confront the problems in every sphere of life."

Asked about the state of culture and religion, he replied: "In the contemporary West there is a great spiritual hunger, and this now is found throughout Ukraine, with people looking for nourishment from new sources. The challenge for the traditional Ukrainian Church is to address the spiritual aspirations of the post-modern, post-Soviet society. It is a tremendous challenge. This is a time when many of the presuppositions of 2,000 years of Christianity are being challenged throughout Christendom – and no less so in Ukraine."

"I'm convinced that a very interesting synthesis will come out of the present challenge in Ukraine, because there are a variety of Eastern and Western meeting points. There has been a basis for strong religious movements and strong formulations. Many young people are very serious about religion on a personal level rather than an intellectual level, examining the issue of spirituality, religious life and culture. What does it mean? The religious society and new state, and how does one express that? I think that there will be a truly fruitful rearticulation of Ukraine; this is just beginning," he said.

(Continued on page 16)

## CONDOLENCES ON THE PASSING OF POPE JOHN PAUL II

### From Archbishop Stefan Soroka of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

*Following is the text of a statement from Archbishop Stefan Soroka, metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States of America, on the occasion of the death of Pope John Paul II. The statement was released on April 4.*

The hierarchy, clergy, religious and faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States of America together mourn the death of our beloved holy father, Pope John Paul II, and offer prayers for the repose of his soul. Memorial liturgies and services will be offered in parishes on the third, ninth and 40th day after death, and on the day of the funeral.

Pope John Paul II enjoyed a special bond of affection and admiration among Ukrainian Catholics in the United States of America and throughout the world. Thousands of faithful, together with their hierarchy, clergy and religious, greeted Pope John Paul II when he visited, in 1979, the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Philadelphia. The holy father reaffirmed at that time, the strong bond of unity existing between the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Latin Church. The richness of the traditions of the East and West, expressed by Pope John Paul II as a Church breathing with two lungs, was strongly evident during his visit to Ukraine in 2001. Millions of faithful, together with their hierarchy, clergy and religious, of both the Ukrainian Catholic and Latin Churches in Ukraine enthusiastically greeted the pope in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, and in Lviv in western Ukraine. This visit strengthened the

bonds of unity between both Churches, and gave testimony to the tremendous history of martyrdom of the hierarchy, clergy and faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church for their Catholic faith.

Pope John Paul II's sensitivity and expressed personal support for the recognition of the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church will be especially remembered by Ukrainian Catholics worldwide. He endeared himself to Ukrainian Catholics by his esteem for the martyrdom of the Ukrainian Catholic Church while underground during Soviet oppression and in his steadfast support of its rebirth after the fall of communism. The holy father played a critical leadership role in the fall of communism.

During his pontificate, numerous encyclicals and pastoral letters were published on various themes of relevance to today, among them human rights, respect for life, ecumenism and interfaith dialogue, and evangelization. Over 100 apostolic visits were made to countries all over the world. Pope John Paul II gave heroic witness to speaking against injustices in the world and could not be silenced in this ministry, as evidenced by the unsuccessful attempted assassination on his life. The holy father's love for his neighbor was richly expressed in his unconditional forgiveness given to the man who had attempted to take his life.

Pope John Paul II offered us significant teachings and example to emulate in our own personal lives, in our journey to follow in the footsteps of the Risen Christ. We pray that his soul may find eternal rest and happiness in the Risen Christ!

### From Archbishop Antony of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church

*Archbishop Antony, the president of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., sent letters of condolence to Archbishop Gabriel Montalvo, the Vatican nuncio to the United States, and Bishop William S. Skylstad, president of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, upon learning of the death of Pope John Paul II. Following is the text of the message.*

The spiritual children – the venerable clergy, monastics and devout Christ-loving faithful of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., join with His Beatitude Metropolitan Constantine, His Eminence Archbishop Vsevolod and myself, in assuring Your Eminence and through you, the people of God of the Ancient Church of Rome of our prayers for the repose of the soul of His faithful servant John Paul II, bishop and servant of the servants of God.

John Paul II's unswerving fidelity to

the risen Christ and his unambiguous proclamation of the Gospel of life have imprinted upon the world the seal of his unique apostolate. As bishops exercising various ranks and responsibilities in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., we were blessed on several occasions to share a moment in time with one who sincerely viewed us as brothers united by Word and Sacrament.

We are confident that Almighty God, Who honored him with the dignity of priest, bishop and shepherd in this life, will accept the spiritual fruits of his labors on His Heavenly and Noetic altar and reward him with eternal life.

May Christ our true God, Who rules over the living and the dead, rest the soul of His faithful servant John Paul II in the region of the living. May He open for him the gates of paradise and make him a citizen of His heavenly kingdom, for he loved Him greatly.

May his memory be eternal!

### An open invitation to local community activists

Would you like fellow Ukrainians know about events in your community?  
Would you like to become one of The Ukrainian Weekly's correspondents?  
Then what are you waiting for?

The Ukrainian Weekly welcomes submissions from local community activists. You may reach The Weekly by phone, (973) 292-9800; fax, (973) 644-9510; e-mail, [staff@ukrweekly.com](mailto:staff@ukrweekly.com); or mail, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Re: the workings of Soviet KGB

Dear Editor:

One Sunday morning many moons ago, I was walking with my aunt, Jaroslava Krawczuk, to attend liturgy at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Philadelphia. It was just a few days after news arrived that Volodymyr Ivasiuk, the composer of "Chervona Ruta" and many other contemporary Ukrainian songs, was found hanged in the military zone somewhere about Lviv. Since Mr. Ivasiuk was a thorn in the side of the local Soviet authorities, my first thought was that the KGB did it. But then I thought that if the KGB did it, then why would they make it so obvious that they did it, by hanging him in a military zone, to which the average person had no access? As I conveyed my logic to my aunt she said to me: "You just don't understand Bohdan, the KGB does not care who knows, they don't care if the entire world knows that they did it." Perhaps, I thought.

Then Vyacheslav Chornovil died in an automobile accident. My wife, Roxolana, immediately stated point blank: They (the KGB) killed him. Again, I suspected the KGB. However, when I read that Mr. Chornovil's car was traveling at a high rate of speed, I again thought, well, it could have been an accident. My suspicions of KGB involvement were somewhat enhanced, however, when I read that one of the KGB's favorite elimination techniques was to create a fatal car accident.

On December 13, 2004, Fox News with Hannity and Colmes, elaborated on the "Who poisoned Viktor Yushchenko" issue. They interviewed an American with the Yushchenko campaign Dick Morris. When Mr. Hannity asked who did it, Mr. Morris replied without one second of hesitation: Mr. Putin and the KGB. Mr. Morris also stated that previously the "create a fatal car accident" approach was tried, but that it failed when the car was totaled and Mr. Yushchenko walked away. Does Mr. Putin or the KGB care if the rest of the world knows that they tried to kill Mr. Yushchenko? Obviously not.

Thank you, Teta Slavtsia. Bohdan now finally thoroughly understands the workings of the Soviet/ex-Soviet apparatus.

I hope that President George W. Bush also understands the workings of the anti-democracy ex-Soviet forces and sets up an appropriate U.S. foreign policy.

**Bohdan Siryj**  
Cinnaminson, N.J.

### Road to building a nation is long

Dear Editor:

Roman Solchanyk in his commentary on March 6, "What the Orange Revolution did not revolutionize," took "a sober look at what Ukraine's Orange Revolution has changed and, no less importantly, what it has not changed."

The author, in his two initial paragraphs, credits the Orange Revolution with two changes: first, Ukrainians said "no" to "the Soviet way of life," and secondly, "the orange revolutionaries convincingly demonstrated that they no longer wished to collaborate." He then proceeds to discuss "the nation-building project in Ukraine (and Russia?)" citing a public opinion poll that showed "that

nearly half of Ukraine's voters cast their ballots for Viktor Yanukovich" and still yearned for the good old "Soviet way of life," while slightly more than half of people would rather prefer Vladimir Putin's "managed democracy."

All of the above data are probably true, but public polls are not always reliable and can be manipulated (even reportedly in the U.S.). Dr. Solchanyk then rightfully writes about Russia's persistent negative attitude toward Independent Ukraine. He is also right that "nations are not born, but made through hard effort."

The main focus and the goal of Orange Revolution, however, was not to "revolutionize" or solve all the problems, such as to change the Russian mind-set, that fixed mental attitude that was caused and formed by the centuries-old Russian imperial virus regarding Ukraine and other neighboring nations. Although, in all fairness, the Orange Revolution, by blocking and disregarding Mr. Putin blatant efforts to influence the Ukrainian presidential election, might be perceived as a start in the direction to change Russia's attitude.

Also, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov's statement that the Russian government views Ukraine as "absolutely sovereign," though perhaps not sincere, was reported in many major newspapers in the U.S. and elsewhere. The Orange Revolution was not intended to impress or to change the prejudicial attitude of Old Europe's Jacques Chirac of France or Gerhard Schroeder of Germany toward Ukraine.

Thomas (Tip) O'Neill, the late speaker of the House, is known for his memorable aphorism: "All politics is local." The main and primary goal of the Orange Revolution was to establish a fair, transparent and democratic presidential election through the rule or law, and to elect a pro-Ukrainian, accountable president. Indeed this was done, and that was the main change that the people of Ukraine achieved. This was not an easy feat.

The road to nation-building is long, difficult and fraught with mistakes and dangers to be sure, but Ukrainians took the first step in the right direction. In Ukraine's favor also is the fact that world opinion of President Putin and his Russian type of "managed democracy," is changing dramatically. The Wall Street Journal, for example, is publishing critical articles such as "Vova the Dread - Stalin lives on - in the guise of Putin." (The above title is in reference to the book written by British writer Martin Amis "Koba the Dread" by Nina L. Khrushcheva, great-granddaughter of Nikita Khrushchev.)

In addition, Ukraine has friends such as Poland, the Baltics and the U.S. - the only super-power. President George W. Bush in his inaugural address stated: "the policy of the United States is to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture..." Only the president of United States can allow himself to make such a bold statement.

Dr. Solchanyk ends his commentary: "the Orange Revolution is quickly receding into history - but what a glorious and inspiring event on par with fall of the Berlin Wall will be recorded in modern history. It seems as if Ukraine's own history turned the corner." But it ain't over until the fat lady sings - it looks as though the fat lady is just about to start singing her aria.

**Dr. Myroslaw Burbelo**  
Westerly, R.I.

## Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



### Orange justice: Pora!

Of all the enduring truths penned by George Orwell, the one that resonates for me today is: "who controls the past controls the future; who controls the present controls the past."

The Soviets were masters of controlling the past by controlling the present. Historical revisionism became an art form with Soviet writers depicting the past in terms of current political orthodoxy as defined by Joseph Stalin. Trotsky was a hero. Trotsky was a traitor. Bukharin was good. Bukharin was evil. Hitler was a socialist ally. Hitler was the fascist enemy.

Confronted by truth from the United States, the Soviets responded in one of two, or both, basic ways: blatant denial or spin projection. The latter ploy involved blaming the accuser of worse sins. The rule was, if you can't refute, attack. Whenever the U.S. brought up human rights violations, for example, the Soviets pointed to our inner cities, to slavery, to detention camps for Japanese Americans, to unemployment, to McCarthyism. Unfortunately, the American Left often bought in to this ruse, preaching moral equivalence.

Following the euphoria of glasnost, when truth-telling was fashionable, Russia today appears to be returning to its time-honored ways. Stalin is making a come-back in Russia, and the past is once again being revised by present needs. There is denial. Neither the mass murder of Poles in the Katyn Forest nor the Holodomor in Ukraine were genocides, argue Russian historians. And there is spin projection. When President George W. Bush asked President Vladimir Putin about his muzzling of the press, the Russian president accused Mr. Bush of forcing the resignation of Dan Rather.

"Ten years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia - the country that inherited the Soviet Union's diplomatic and foreign policies, its embassies, its debts, and its seat at the United Nations -

Myron Kuropas's e-mail address is: [kuropas@comcast.net](mailto:kuropas@comcast.net).

continues to act as if it has not inherited the Soviet Union's history," writes Anne Applebaum in a recent issue of Hoover Digest.

Now that Ukraine has experienced its Orange Revolution, it's time (pora) for orange justice. It's time to revisit the Soviet past and to ferret out those criminals who condoned, encouraged or perpetrated crimes against the Ukrainian people. It's time to indict these degenerates and to put them on trial so that the Ukrainian people are reminded of the horror that existed when Marxist-Leninists were in charge. Are some of these war criminals still alive? No doubt. Are they fearful that they will be forced to answer for their crimes? Not yet.

Some Ukrainians are reticent to bring up the Soviet past. Too many people were involved, they argue. Once you arrest one person, he/she will implicate others who, in turn, will implicate many more others. Pulling one criminal thread out of a largely innocent fabric will unravel the entire garment. You can't put all of Ukraine on trial, we're told.

No one wants to put all of Ukraine on trial. But just because all Ukrainians are not guilty, doesn't mean none are. Some Soviet Ukrainians were especially vicious, egregiously barbaric in their treatment of fellow citizens. Some living Ukrainians are guilty of genocide against Ukrainians, and unless they are brought to justice, Ukraine's past will never be exorcised. The cancer is still there, and ignoring it puts the entire polity at risk.

It is with all of this in mind that the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association has initiated a postcard campaign requesting President Viktor Yushchenko to establish an official Commission of Inquiry into Soviet War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity in Ukraine to investigate not only the Holodomor but Vinnytsia, Bykivnia and other Soviet atrocities between 1917 and 1991.

Joining the UCCLA initiative are the Ukrainian National Association, the Ukrainian American Justice Committee,

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Victims of an NKVD massacre in Lviv in late June 1941 depicted on a postcard released by the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association. The text on the reverse is addressed to President Viktor Yushchenko and reads: "Your Excellency: Many millions of Ukrainians were victims of Soviet oppression between 1917 and 1991. Please establish an official Commission of Inquiry into Soviet War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity in Ukraine to document the nature and extent of these crimes and bring those responsible to justice."

# LITERATURE NOTES: Mykola Hohol (Nikolai Gogol), 1809-1852

by Eugene Melnitchenko  
and Helena Lysyj Melnitchenko

The great bard, Taras Shevchenko, respected his genius and wrote a poem to him in 1842, calling Mykola Hohol (Nikolai Gogol) "my great friend." They were contemporaries – two Ukrainians living in St. Petersburg, though they did not know each other personally. A controversial figure, some Ukrainians have branded Hohol a renegade and a "katsap" (a derogatory term for a Russian). The Russian literati did not accept him fully, either. Alexander Pushkin, called him a tricky khakhol (derogatory term for a Ukrainian). "He does not have a Russian heart," Count Tolstoy stated categorically.

Shevchenko, with his modest beginnings chose to write in Ukrainian, while Hohol coming from a family of landowners and trained in Russian at the Nizhen secondary school wrote in Russian, or a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian.

He was born on March 31, 1809, in Velyki Sorochyntsi, Poltava province, to Vasyi Hohol, a writer of Ukrainian comedies in the style of Ivan Kotliarevsky, and Maria Kosarovsky, whose roots stemmed from Hetmans Doroshenko and Skoropadsky.

Hohol believed that his great mission in life was to right the injustices in the world and to deliver man from his own moral degradation. He went to St. Petersburg to find a job in the Department of Justice, where he believed he would become a great public servant and could accomplish that mission. Having soon found out that that was unrealistic, he turned to writing.

He published his first poem in 1829, "Hans Kuchelgarten," on a German theme under the pseudonym of B. Alov, in Russian, which was reviewed unfavorably. He collected all copies of the work and destroyed it.

After some introspection, he realized that he needed to return to his roots and write about things he knew. He asked his mother to send him his father's comedies

*Eugene Melnitchenko and Helena Lysyj Melnitchenko are freelance writers from Owings, Md. After years of studying Western literature and philosophy they are revisiting Ukrainian literature.*

and his own material on Ukrainian customs: dress, village life, beliefs, superstitions, legends, anecdotes, songs, history – everything that would be "extraordinarily interesting to him." These materials were handwritten in his personal notebook – his "Handy Encyclopedia," which he started at the gymnasium in Nizhen.

Hohol's works can be classified into three cycles: the Ukrainian cycle, consisting of "Evenings on a Farm near Dykanka" (1831) and "Mirgorod" (Myrhorod) (1835); St Petersburg stories, which include "The Diary of a Madman," "The Overcoat" and "The Inspector General"; and the third period consisting of the single work, "Dead Souls" (1842). In the first group, he made heavy use of his Ukrainian material and frequently used the Ukrainian language.

This mixture of the two languages is perhaps most visible in his masterpiece "Taras Bulba" (1835-1842), where he used not only individual Ukrainian words but also phrases and expressions. Although fictional, based on Ukrainian songs and ballads, "Taras Bulba" depicts the Ukrainian historical effort to rid itself of its occupiers. Hohol's use of "Ukrainianisms" is documented in Ostap Stromecky's book on Hohol, published by Svit (Lviv) in 1994.

Although criticized by his Russian contemporaries for butchering the Russian language, his genius and talented use of the two languages created Hohol's unique style, which is heavily based on Ukrainian historical folklore and wisdom.

While to his Russian contemporaries, including Pushkin, Ryleev and Tolstoy, Hohol was always a "khakhol," everything Ukrainian to him was beautiful, vibrant and colorful, while things Russian were not. In "Taras Bulba" his characters are virile, their costumes and speech are full of color, they are recklessly brave, violent and generous, primitive, but poetic.

"Taras Bulba" was made into a movie in the 1960s, starring Yul Brynner as Taras and Tony Curtis as Andriy, who did a commendable job in portraying their characters. However, as with most of Hohol's translations, many of his Ukrainian nuances were lost, and Hollywood changed the original story's ending. In Hohol's story, while escaping from the Poles, Taras goes back to retrieve his pipe, is caught and tied to a

burning tree. But, even as he is dying, he sees the rest of his Kozaks escaping on the Dnister River, and his eyes sparkle with joy. "Farewell, comrades," he shouts to them. "Remember me sometimes, and, when spring comes, come back here and have a damn good time!"

In the second group of his stories, titled "Arabesques," Hohol wrote about life in St. Petersburg. Although it is about all levels of the city's society, his major heroes were "little men." He saw the world through their eyes, but used hyperbole to transform ordinary and trivial things into the grandiose and the magnificent. Even before Kafka, he had a keen eye for the bizarre.

While in these stories, he used "Ukrainianisms" less, he painted St. Petersburg through his Ukrainian eyes. In contrast to Ukraine's, St. Petersburg's society is presented as non-caring, indifferent, gray and without conscience. His characters are lonely figures, without families, who live alone in their furnished rooms and have no social ties. The hero of "The Overcoat," perhaps the best known of his stories, is a low-level government clerk Akakii Akakievich Bashmachkin, a copier of government documents. Though the life of this aging man is lonely, he performs his functions well and even finds delight in copying some of the more interesting documents.

Twice a day Akakii has to walk a few blocks during the cold winter months to work and home, exposing himself to the fierce cold wind and blizzards of the northern city. He has an old threadbare overcoat that needs mending. When he is told that the coat cannot be mended, he is forced to skimp and save for a new one. The new overcoat not only keeps him warm, but also improves his image among his co-workers and friends, and he is invited to a party by one of his superiors. It gives him higher stature in society. On the way home, Akakii is robbed of his beloved coat and when he complains to the police and to an "important personage," no one is willing to help him. He dies from a cold.

After his death, street robberies occur nightly in St. Petersburg and the rumors are that it is Akakii's ghost that's behind them. The robberies end when the "important personage's" overcoat is robbed, and Akakii posthumously finds redress for his injustice. But when a policeman tries to stop the ghost, a tall and mustached bandit, the same one who robbed Akakii's overcoat, hits him with his huge fist in the face, thus bringing the story back to reality. Hohol was a master of magic-realism, purposely mixing realism with romanticism, naturalism and surrealism to reflect his themes effectively.

Hohol's "The Inspector General" created a storm during its time. Although probably the best drama ever written in Russian, and still performed on stage, it was thought to be an attack on Imperial Russia. Fearing for his life, in 1936 Hohol departed and for 12 years lived abroad, mostly in Italy, where he finished "Dead Souls," the third part of his stories. He worked on it, with some interruptions, for almost 17 years. While here he used the Russian language, it is saturated with the vocabulary of the "common people." Its main character, Chichikov, is a swindler, a traveling merchant who moves in his carriage through vast areas buying dead souls. He is Hohol's typical man of no distinction, "not handsome, but also not bad in appearance; not fat, but also not thin; not young, but also not old." His travels through vast areas gave the author the opportunity to examine various types of characters and their motivations at all levels of Russian society.

The author portrays Russian society as being banal, pretentious, arrogant, pompous, vulgar and trite with a veg-

etable-like existence, which he called "poshlost." His characters are mere puppets, going through their vegetable-like existence in pursuit of their illusions. Some pursue wealth for the sake of wealth; others, human souls for a few pieces of silver – going through life with self-satisfaction to the point where all change and progress within and around them becomes impossible. They start their early stages of life with some control, but then events take over and assume a life of their own, leading them to their ultimate destruction. Chichikov's sins are unforgivable; they are beyond the level of repentance, and lead him to nothingness. His world dissolves and disintegrates into nothing. Hohol portrays this disintegration and metamorphoses so vividly and graphically, and in such bright colors that the reader can visualize the process.

Hohol contrasts this man-made Russian society with the natural state of events, which he described in his Ukrainian cycle of stories. After the destruction of Zaporozhian Sich by Catherine II in 1775, the country became defenseless and Catherine introduced serfdom into Ukraine. Soon afterwards colonizers from all parts of the Russian empire began arriving in Ukraine, enslaving its population and bringing their society's "poshlost" with them, destroying what to Hohol was natural and beautiful.

Because of the outrage that "Dead Souls" created in Russia, Hohol was encouraged to write its second sequel, in which he made Chichikov repent. But then, to the dismay of his admirers and friends, he burned it 10 days before dying, believing that Chichikov's sins were beyond redemption. Hohol died in February 1852 from self-starvation, initially from rigorous fasting and then by refusing all nourishment.

After he became an established writer, Hohol's interest turned to history. He planned to write the history of Ukraine, which he hoped would be most comprehensive and on a world level. He taught history for three years at a girl's school, The Patriotic Institute, and was appointed adjunct professor of history at the University of St. Petersburg. He published several articles on history during that time, some of which were on Ukrainian songs, showing their importance to historians. He thought they were particularly relevant because they reflected real life. Unfortunately, his plan to write history did not materialize.

Hohol saw the comic and tragic sense of human existence and transformed it into his writing. He thought that the soul and not the mind was the core of a person. Although controversial, he was one of the most original, creative and brilliantly innovative writers of the 19th century. He had a profound effect on Russian and Western literature. His works greatly influenced Dostoyevsky's writing and are still amazingly modern. He was the father of the short story and literary critics praised him as the father of Russian realism.

Whatever the reasons behind his decision to write in Russian, through his writing and correspondence with his friends, it is clear that Hohol was proud to be Ukrainian. He raised Ukrainian consciousness among his contemporaries and in the world. In that sense, his contribution to the rebirth of Ukrainian consciousness is on a similar level to that of Kotliarevsky, Shevchenko, Lesia Ukrainka and Ivan Franko. Though he wrote in Russian, he communicated to the world his concept of Ukraine, its people and their history.

Now that Ukraine has reclaimed its country, it is time to reclaim one of its most original and talented writers, a player on the world stage, a giant in world literature – Mykola Hohol.

## To The Weekly Contributors:

We greatly appreciate the materials – feature articles, news stories, press clippings, letters to the editor, etc. – we receive from our readers. In order to facilitate preparation of The Ukrainian Weekly, we ask that the guidelines listed below be followed.

- ✦ News stories should be sent in not later than 10 days after the occurrence of a given event.
- ✦ All materials must be typed and double-spaced.
- ✦ Photographs (originals only, no photocopies or computer printouts) submitted for publication must be accompanied by captions. Photos will be returned only when so requested and accompanied by a stamped, addressed envelope.
- ✦ Full names (i.e., no initials) and their correct English spellings must be provided.
- ✦ Newspaper and magazine clippings must be accompanied by the name of the publication and the date of the edition.
- ✦ Information about upcoming events must be received one week before the date the information is to be published.
- ✦ Persons who submit any materials must provide a daytime phone number where they may be reached if any additional information is required.
- ✦ Unsolicited materials submitted for publication will be returned only when so requested and accompanied by a stamped, addressed envelope.

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Please call or send query via e-mail before electronically sending anything other than Word documents. This applies especially to photos, as they must be scanned according to our specifications in order to be properly reproduced in our newspaper.

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## Ukraine mourns...

(Continued from page 1)

her passage from a state of captivity to a normal way of life.

"Perhaps many of us feel regret that Pope John Paul II didn't complete all too well the beginning process of the rebirth of our Church, but the late Father himself stated that this is an act that in God's time will have its due fulfillment. He had hoped that he would be the one who accomplishes this, but it wasn't his fate. And this circumstance does not dare lessen our gratitude for what he did for our Church."

Most Catholics in Ukraine first learned of the pope's death when they had arrived for mass Sunday morning. Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches held panakhydy (requiem services) that day, while Roman Catholics prayed their rosaries, which the pope had so vehemently urged his followers to do throughout his life.

Parishioners at St. Nicholas Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church at Kyiv's Askold Tomb felt a particular loss. Pope John Paul II visited their church to initiate his 2001 apostolic trip to Ukraine.

On June 23 of that year he knelt before the icon of the Zarvanytsia Mother of God and surrendered himself to Holy Mary's protection during his visit.

The icon was brought to Kyiv from the western Ukrainian village of Zarvanytsia at the pope's request.

To commemorate the pope's visit to their small church, the parish placed two plaques on the church's outside wall: one of the pope kneeling in prayer and the other of the icon itself.

Carnations, candles and framed pictures of the pope placed on makeshift benches adorned the plaques this week. Spilled wax smears the ground underneath.

"The pope's influence was sanctifying for the whole nation," said Father Ihor Onyshkevych, who founded St. Nicholas Church along with parishioners in 1990.

"It's as if, just by his apostolic journey alone, he brought God's blessing and the forgiveness of all the sins of our people," he said. "And that's how the possible changes happened in society. It was replenishing that resulted in the current day."

St. Nicholas scheduled panakhydy for nine consecutive days, and a parastas was to be offered on the morning of April 8, the day of the pope's funeral in Vatican City. Father Onyshkevych invited Orthodox priests to join his parish in worship.

St. Alexander's held a mass in honor of Pope John Paul II on April 7, the feast of the Annunciation, to which leaders of all of Ukraine's Christian, Jewish and other faiths were invited, said Father Oleksander Hurskyi.

St. George Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Cathedral in Lviv and all Ukrainian Catholic churches will hold panakhydy on April 8, the day of the pope's funeral; on April 10, the ninth day after the pope's death; and on May 11, the 40th day after death, in accordance with Church tradition.

Meanwhile, Ukrainian television reporters visited the Kachurovska sisters, two Ukrainian women who firmly believe that their Polish-born aunt, Emilia Kachurovska, was Pope John Paul II's mother, whose family lived for a period in the city of Kremenets in the Ternopil Oblast.

From their village of Vyshnivets in the Ternopil Oblast, Maria Kachurovska, 69, and Olena Obyziuk, 64, said they sent four letters to the pope, but were never able to confirm from him whether their "Titka Milia" (Aunt Milia) was indeed his mother.

The sisters believe that Emilia Kachurovska lost contact with the family because she had married a Pole, Karol Wojtyla, a decision her parents fiercely opposed.

The pope had stated publicly that his mother was Rusyn, according to several historians of the papacy.

Ukraine's Orthodox Church leaders

issued statements expressing their sympathy and condolences, and honoring Pope John Paul II and his legacy. They also opened books in their churches for parishioners to sign and express their condolences.

"Of course, the pope's memory won't only be in the hearts of believing Catholics," said Metropolitan Filaret, the patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP). "Orthodox Christians will also remember him."

Metropolitan Volodymyr, leader of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP), sent a letter of condolence to the Vatican. He wrote: "The Pontificate of His Holiness John Paul II became one of the most important periods in the life of the Roman Catholic Church. The pope was a person who was not indifferent to the problems of the current world and openly called for peace, brotherhood, mutual respect and love. Even in the last days of his life, under severe physical pain, His Holiness was with his faithful."

The UOC-MP is under the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, whose leader would not issue an invitation to Pope John Paul II to visit Russia, something the pontiff had longed to do.

Outside St. Alexander's in central Kyiv, which the pope also visited in 2001, a billboard with a photograph of Pope John Paul II was placed on a ledge, leaned against the church wall.

Printed along the billboard's bottom was the phrase in Ukrainian, "John Paul II, you were a gift to the Church and to peace."

The effect of Pope John Paul's visit was apparent more than three years later in the city he referred to as "the cradle of eastern Christianity."

Many of those taking time out of their day to visit St. Alexander's happened to be Orthodox Christians, who came to pay tribute to a Christian leader whose quest for peace struck a chord that reverberated among people of all faiths, confessions and denominations.

Natalia Fedorenko, 25, an Orthodox Christian who said she attends Catholic mass, said the pope's courage in 2001 impressed her.

At the time, the Moscow Patriarchate did not welcome the pope, and did not send a leader to greet him upon his arrival.

"But the pope was not discouraged, and 2 million people came out to welcome him," Ms. Fedorenko said. "That was extraordinary."

Goran Sablic, 25, a Dynamo Kyiv soccer player from the mostly Catholic nation of Croatia, prayed with his wife, Monica, 25, in St. Alexander's after learning of the pope's death. Croatians revered the pope, particularly for his three visits to the country plagued by ethnic wars and strife, they said.

"He wanted peace and love," Ms. Sablic said.

Despite the religious tensions his 2001 visit sparked, Ukrainians said this week that Pope John Paul II united faithful Ukrainians rather than dividing them.

"For any decent, honest person who lives in peace with himself, this pope will be an example of how to live life," Ms. Fedorenko said.

## Meets with President...

(Continued from page 1)

idents was "very good," adding that "it lasted more than an hour."

"They spent a good bit of time talking about the importance of reform, the importance of Ukraine continuing on a path of democratic reform and economic reform," Mr. McClellan said. "They talked about the importance of fighting corruption and rule of law. And the president made it clear that as Ukraine moves forward on democratic and economic reforms, the United States will be there to support them in those efforts."

But their discussion also touched on the neighborhood around Ukraine. "They spent some time talking about relations between Ukraine and Russia," said the White House spokesman. "And they touched on Iraq, as well, and spent some time talking about the importance of cooperating on stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction."

Additionally, Mr. McClellan said the sale of cruise missiles to Iran by Mr. Yushchenko's predecessor did not come up. "First of all, on the sale of the missiles, President Yushchenko has spoken out on that matter and the government of Ukraine has been investigating the matter. This occurred before he was in the presidency. And they are acting in a responsible manner to address those issues."

The two presidents also spoke briefly about Mr. Yushchenko's health and discussed who might have poisoned him, Mr. McClellan said, but did not elaborate further on the matter.

"I mean, the president wanted to know

how he was doing. And beyond that, I'd leave it to Ukraine, the government of Ukraine to discuss," the White House spokesman said.

Following their briefing in the East Room, the two presidents and their wives ate lunch together.

In addition to his wife, Kateryna, Mr. Yushchenko was accompanied on the trip by State Secretary Oleksander Zinchenko, National Security and Defense Council Secretary Petro Poroshenko, Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk, Defense Minister Anatolii Hrytsenko, Economy Minister Serhii Teriokhin and Transport Minister Yevhen Chervonenko.

During his trip to Washington, Mr. Yushchenko also met with Vice-President Dick Cheney of the United States. That meeting was attended by Messrs. Zinchenko, Poroshenko, Tarasyuk, Teriokhin, Hrytsenko and Chervonenko.

The two sides discussed Iraq-related issues. Mr. Cheney thanked Mr. Yushchenko for Ukraine's contribution to stabilization and peacekeeping operations in Iraq and expressed his understanding with regard to withdrawal of the Ukrainian contingent. They also spoke about ways to settle the crisis in Transdniester region and discussed a series of energy projects and cooperation in hi-tech areas. Messrs. Yushchenko and Cheney then held a private meeting.

President Yushchenko also met with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on Monday, April 4, discussing the process of democratization in Ukraine. The Ukrainian president stressed that his country is ready to play a more active role in maintaining stability in the region.

## Rally for Yushchenko held at Shevchenko monument



WASHINGTON – Ukrainians rallied on April 6 at the monument to Taras Shevchenko to welcome President Viktor Yushchenko and First Lady Kateryna Yushchenko of Ukraine. (See our story in next week's issue.)

# Yushchenko speaks to students, faculty and VIPs at Georgetown University

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON – Official visits by foreign heads of state to the United States have programs that include more than just meetings with government leaders and officials. They also include economic talks with business leaders, press conferences, interviews and other meetings and appearances that serve to explain the policies of their governments.

President Viktor Yushchenko's visit here was not an exception, and he got into the public diplomacy aspect of his trip towards the end of his first day here, at Georgetown University, where he gave a speech explaining what has become known worldwide as the Orange Revolution, and the reformed domestic and foreign policies his new government was now pursuing.

President Yushchenko was greeted with a standing ovation by more than 700 students, faculty and VIPs who filled Georgetown's Gaston Hall and had waited for close to an hour for his belated arrival.

Following brief welcoming remarks by University President John J. DeGioia, the guest was introduced by two Georgetown students from Ukraine – Mykola Stetsenko, a 2004 Law School graduate who now works in Kyiv and participated in the Orange Revolution, and Tetyana Gaponenko, a third-year student in Georgetown's School of Foreign Service who participated in supporting events in Washington.

(Continued on page 21)



Yaro Bihun

Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko addresses students, faculty and VIPs at Georgetown University in Washington.

## Transcript...

(Continued from page 3)

were not observed; where half of the national economy is a shadow. The humiliated profession of journalism, the journalists wanted to speak the truth and stood against the official power, they could pay dearly. Dearly – I mean it – they could pay their lives for it. We're talking about the country where the No. 1 problem remains to be corruption. We're talking about a country where the huge problem remains the problem of poverty. We realize all those challenges. We realize that it's only – the work that has to be done by the Ukrainian power will help cope with the problems that a country inherited.

However, it is very important, Mr. President, to feel that we have partners standing by, that we are not left in solitude in coping with these troubles. Our conversation began with my saying that, for Ukraine, it was a very long road to the Oval Office. I do appreciate the attention that you display and the words that you have said. And I would like to, once again, reiterate that the ideals of Ukraine are democracy, which we perceive as the priority of people's interests in political, economic and other areas of development. These are freedom of speech that is the oxygen for democracy, this is a market economy which grants equal rights to people, this is the reliable system of social guarantees that secures protection for the weak.

Shortly speaking, the ideals for the new Ukraine are the ideals shared by Western civilization. I fully concur with my American colleague in his saying that the freedom is not the gift from America, this is a God-given Godly gift.

Today, Mr. President, we had a very frank and productive discussion on a very broad spectrum of issues. We were talking about the approaches to deepening our bilateral relations – and this conversation is far from finalization; about the role that democratic Ukraine can play in the regional and global stability; the problem of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and other subjects.

Essentially, on all questions that we raised, we found mutual understanding. I am convinced that relations between our nations are based not only on mutual sympathy, but also on the unity of inter-

ests and ideals, like the rule of law, protection of fundamental human rights and respect for people. The majority of my fellow Ukrainians want to see America as their strategic partner, and I am pleased to see that the U.S. president shares this perception, and he has highlighted this support today.

In our joint statement, which we agreed on, based on our negotiations, we have made it clear that Ukraine and the U.S. confirm the new era in the strategic partnership between our nations and the friendship between our peoples. We are looking forward to the effective support from the U.S. administration to the new government of Ukraine in addressing important issues faced by ourselves, including our accession to WTO at the end of 2005, the lifting of the trade sanctions on Ukrainian-exported goods, Ukraine's accession to European and Euro-Atlantic security alliances.

We have a unique opportunity to write new and historic pages in the chronicle of our relations to create the new agenda of real and contentful U.S.-American strategic partnership. Democratic Ukraine will enhance stability in Europe and worldwide. And strategic partnership with the U.S. will augment the democratic Ukraine. I'm convinced that our two nations will stand by as global partners in order to achieve freedom, security and prosperity in the 21st century.

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*Following are questions and answers pertaining to Ukraine.*

**Mr. President, did you hear a clear position of Ukraine concerning its participation in NATO? And is America ready to support Ukraine in joining the Membership Action Plan this year? Thank you.**

**PRESIDENT BUSH:** Thank you very much. Well, you know, the first time I met the president was at NATO, during my latest trip to Europe. And my conversation with him there was the same as I had here, and that is there is a way forward in order to become a partner of the United States and other nations in NATO. It is a path and we want to help Ukraine get on that path as quickly as possible. It is not a given. In other words, there are things that the Ukrainian government must do in order to satisfy the require-

ments to be considered for NATO.

And we want to help – the whole purpose of this meeting and the purpose of the previous meeting was to help the Ukrainian government to understand that which is necessary to do in order to become more likely accepted into NATO, and that's what we want to do. We want to help in this process. And I think it's – I'm a supporter of the idea of Ukraine becoming a member of NATO. I think it's important.

I also know that Ukraine wants to join the EU, and there's things that have to do with the EU. But I do want to assure the Ukrainian people that you don't have to choose between the EU and friendship with the United States. That's not a choice the United States government will make our friends make. You can be both a member of the EU and a friend of the United States. And so we want to help your government make the difficult decisions and difficult choices necessary to become available for membership in NATO.

**I have a question for both presidents, but primarily for Mr. Yushchenko. What will be the American-Ukrainian cooperation in Iraq after the withdrawal of Ukrainian troops? And could you please give some details?**

**PRESIDENT YUSHCHENKO:** First of all, I would like to indicate that Iraq is a zone of Ukrainian interest, and, therefore, when this question was debated in the Ukrainian Parliament, the majority of the Parliament members spoke in favor of this type of Ukrainian presence in the country.

Another point, which I'm most pleased to indicate is, in my opinion, the Ukrainian contingent has demonstrated its peace-making mission in a very effective manner. Over the short period of time that our military contingent has been deployed there, we have retrained three battalions of the national armed forces of Iraq, two companies. We have examined in our hospital about 5,000 local citizens. Due to the securing of stability in this region, we returned about 1,500 people to their jobs because it has become much safer to travel to their workplaces.

Beginning from the 9th of January, in our region, there is not a single incident in our area, and we, therefore, believe that it is precisely in this region where

the works aimed at restoration of the infrastructure of the province where we had deployed, because there is no water nor other amenities, elementary amenities. And there now these restoration works could be commenced. This will be a very vivid example of how success can be ensured by pursuing peacemaking policy.

We stand for – we remain arguing that Ukraine is committed to pursuing training – retraining programs for the national guard of Iraq to the armed forces of Iraq. We are prepared to share the experience and the material on a mutually beneficial basis to make sure that this order remains. It is my deep conviction that momentum has been created when Ukraine and diplomats, businesspeople and politicians must do what Ukrainian peacemakers started. Thank you.

**PRESIDENT BUSH:** As to what happens over time, that's going to depend on the Iraqi government. We're dealing with an elected government. And they will make the decision as to the security relationship, they'll make the decision as to how the country rewards contracts for reconstruction. This is a free country, and in free countries, governments get to decide – sovereign governments decide their future. And so we look forward to working with the new government. As you know, it's a process. The Transitional Assembly will be writing a constitution, and when the constitution is written, it'll be ratified. And upon ratification, there will be another election.

And so we look forward to working with the interim government, and we look forward to working with the government that gets elected in December, all aimed at helping Iraq develop into a free-standing, peaceful country – which is in the interests of our children and grandchildren, by the way.

I also want to say something about Lebanon. Syria – I appreciate the fact that Syria has expressed its intent to fully leave that country, that only – that not only means troops, but it means security forces, as far as I'm concerned. When they say, we're going to leave the country, we expect troops and security forces to leave. And, secondly, it's important for this election to take place on time. And we look forward to continuing to work with our friends and allies to make sure Lebanon is truly free.

## Kennedys present Profile in Courage Award to Ukrainian president

by Peter Steciuk

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

BOSTON – Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko continued his visit to the United States on Tuesday, April 5, with a visit to the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum in Boston, where he was presented the John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award by Caroline Kennedy and Sen. Edward Kennedy. Mr. Yushchenko was honored for his brave and unswerving leadership of the peaceful Orange Revolution in

President Gerald Ford; U.S. Sen. John McCain of Arizona; and the Peacemakers of Northern Ireland.

The presentation ceremony featured an introduction by Paul Kirk Jr., chairman of the board of directors of the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation, and speeches by Sen. Kennedy, Ms. Kennedy and President Yushchenko.

Sen. Kennedy praised Ukraine's Orange Revolution and President Yushchenko's leadership of it, saying, "As we all know, at a critical moment in his nation's history, he took a strong and

President Yushchenko spoke with the doctors treating Nastia, who told him that burns covered 80 percent of the girl's body and that she had approximately a 75 percent chance of survival. The president then met with Nastia's mother, Olia, before proceeding to the burn ward to see Nastia and bring her toys and gifts.

The Ukrainian delegation drove from the hospital to the John F. Kennedy Library, where a group of over 300 members of the Ukrainian American community awaited President Yushchenko outside. He arrived with his entourage, including Transport and Communications Minister Yevhen Chervonenko, Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk, State Secretary Oleksander Zinchenko, National Security and Defense Council Secretary Petro Poroshenko, and WBC Heavyweight Champion Vitalii Klitschko. They were greeted by the Kennedys and proceeded to the award ceremony.

After the award ceremony, there was a reception that was opened to the public. At the same time, there was a private dinner and meetings attended by President Yushchenko, the Kennedys and members of their delegations.

At the private dinner, Sen. Kennedy recounted the story of his grandfather's campaigns for mayor of Boston, saying that his grandfather, John Fitzgerald, realized he could not rely only on the Irish vote. Fitzgerald also pursued the Italian vote, highlighting distant family roots from Italy. Sen. Kennedy said that, similarly, in light of the turnout at the event from the Ukrainian American community, he will pursue the Ukrainian vote.

Ms. Kennedy Schlossberg then announced that two of her husband's grandparents were born in villages near Poltava, Ukraine, meaning that the family has Ukrainian roots. She announced that she and her husband plan to make a trip this summer to Kyiv, Poltava and the villages of her husband's grandparents.

Sen. Kennedy promised to lead the

cheering for President Yushchenko at the next day's joint meeting of Congress. After having completed a customary exchange of gifts with the Yushchenko delegation, Sen. Kennedy spontaneously took a bronzed bust of John F. Kennedy from a display case in a private room in the library and presented it to President Yushchenko, saying that he wanted President Yushchenko to have something to remember the Kennedy family by.

The event was behind schedule, causing Sen. Kennedy to miss the last commercial flight to Washington. In a rare display, the Ukrainian delegation agreed to fly the Kennedys to Washington with them on their private government plane.

Much of the event was coordinated by Ukrainian Americans for Democracy in Ukraine – Boston, an ad hoc group created to call for honest elections in Ukraine this past winter. The organization's president, Peter Woloschuk, was asked to organize the event in conjunction with the John F. Kennedy Library. Mr. Woloschuk had prior experience coordinating visits of dignitaries, including U.S. presidents, Queen Elizabeth and Pope John Paul II. He was aided by Vice President Alex Gamota and Secretaries Tania D'Avignon and Oksana Kyrychok.

The organization advertised the event, distributed tickets to Ukrainian American organizations and Ukrainian parishes in the greater Boston area, and coordinated the media. They also arranged for a simulcast hall to accommodate those without tickets for the award ceremony, and arranged for the entire crowd to be invited to the reception, which was originally planned to be by invitation only.

The crowd of 900 was somewhat smaller than anticipated, largely due to a last-minute time change for the event after invitations had been sent out. The change was necessitated by scheduling conflicts.

On the day of President Yushchenko's visit to Boston, Mayor Thomas Menino signed a proclamation declaring it "Viktor Yushchenko" Day in the city.



Tania D'Avignon

Caroline Kennedy and Sen. Edward Kennedy present the John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award to President Viktor Yushchenko.

Ukraine this winter.

The Profiles in Courage Award, named for President Kennedy's Pulitzer-prize winning book, "Profiles in Courage," honors public servants who have made decisions of conscience without regard for the consequences. The award has been described as the "Nobel in government" and is represented by a sterling-silver lantern symbolizing a beacon of hope.

Mr. Yushchenko was selected by a bipartisan committee of national, political and community leaders including David Burke, former president of CBS News; U.S. Sen. Olympia Snowe (R-Maine); Elaine Jones, former director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund; Ms. Kennedy, president of the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation; Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass.); and Patricia Wald, former judge of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

Mr. Yushchenko joins a distinguished list of past recipients, including Afghan physician and human rights activist Dr. Sima Samar; United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan; former U.S.

courageous stand for what he knew was right. He risked his life – and nearly lost it – in the ongoing struggle for democracy in Ukraine. His story is the story of honor, decency and the will of the people triumphing over fraud, deceit and intimidation."

In his acceptance speech, President Yushchenko recounted that he entered politics because he knew that Ukraine had the resources necessary for prosperity but hated the nation's rampant corruption and poverty. He stressed that the Orange Revolution has brought to power a new cadre of public servants, who are honest persons and patriots, not determined by old Soviet stereotypes. He also expressed the hope that Ukraine will take its place among the democratic nations of Europe and will begin a new strategic partnership with the United States.

Before arriving at the John F. Kennedy Library, President Yushchenko and his entourage paid a visit to Anastasia (Nastia) Ovchar, a 5-year-old Ukrainian girl who dragged her 2-year-old sister from a burning apartment and is being treated for severe burns at the Boston Shriners Hospital.



Tania D'Avignon

President Viktor Yushchenko blows a kiss to Nastia Ovchar through the window to her room at Shriners Burns Hospital in Boston.

## Mayor Menino proclaims President Viktor Yushchenko Day

Following is the text of a mayoral proclamation issued by Boston Mayor Thomas M. Menino on April 5 that proclaimed the day President Viktor Yushchenko Day.

Whereas: President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine will receive the prestigious John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award from Caroline Kennedy and Sen. Edward Kennedy at the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston, Mass., on

April 5; and

Whereas: President Yushchenko survived an assassination attempt and overcame the efforts of Russian-backed political opponents to rig his defeat as the democratically elected leader of Ukraine – a European country of close to 50 million people; and

Whereas: President Yushchenko led the peaceful Orange Revolution in Ukraine – a grass-roots movement that brought millions of ordinary citizens of

all walks of life to the capital streets of Kyiv and throughout Ukraine; and

Whereas: President Yushchenko's election is inspiring the spread of democracy throughout the world, in spite of threats and intimidation; and

Whereas: Boston has benefited greatly from the contributions of the hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian Americans who have immigrated and settled here since the 1870s;

Now, therefore, I, Thomas M. Menino,

Mayor of the City of Boston, do hereby proclaim Tuesday, April 5, 2005, to be President Viktor Yushchenko Day in the City of Boston and join with all Boston residents in recognizing and honoring the President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko and commend and thank him for his inspiring selfless courage and devotion to his country's continued democratic and market development and, by doing so, his leadership on the spread of democracy throughout the world.

## FOR THE RECORD: Yushchenko's address to joint meeting of Congress

*Below is the text of the address to the joint meeting of Congress on April 6 by President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine. (The address was delivered in Ukrainian, with a simultaneous translation in English.)*

Mr. Speaker and Mr. President, Honorable Senators and House Members, Ladies and Gentlemen: On the wall of this great building, there is the Latin phrase "E Pluribus Unum," which means "Out of many, one." This motto reminds the world about the American Revolution, the starting point of the modern world's history of liberty.

My road here went through the orange-colored Independence Square that became known as Maidan. Millions of people standing there continuously repeated it: "Together we are many, we cannot be defeated." This motto of the Ukrainian Revolution is a reminder of the fact that freedom continues to win. Ukraine is opening a new page in the world's chronicle of liberty in the 21st century.

These two mottos have a lot in common. They speak to the strength of our peoples that comes from unity. They speak of the victories of our peoples in their struggles for freedom.

For me the invitation to speak before the joint session of Congress is an expression of respect for my Ukrainian nation. I am deeply honored to speak from the rostrum where before me stood so many great leaders: Winston Churchill, Lech Walesa, Nelson Mandela.

I am grateful for the unique opportunity to address this great forum of the American people. I perceive your eagerness to hear the new Ukraine as a token of partnership of the two nations united by shared democratic values.

On behalf of the Ukrainian people, I would like to thank the United States Congress; U.S. Presidents George Herbert Walker Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush; and the entire American nation for their invariable respect for Ukraine and their support for Ukraine's democracy. I would like to pay special tribute to President Ronald Reagan. He is well remembered in Ukraine for his deep commitment to freedom of Ukraine.

It is of special significance for me to express our gratitude right in this room. It is here that the Ukrainian nation enjoyed support in the hardest times of its history. It is here where the rights of enslaved nations were advocated. It is from this hall where the world came to know the truth about the Holodomor, the Genocide Famine masterminded to annihilate millions of Ukrainians. It is in this hall that freedom for Ukraine was voiced at a time when the nation was deprived of its own voice. Your words reached us and gave us hope. We heard them because at all times Ukrainians felt related to Americans in the space of freedom. In this space of freedom, no Iron Curtain could divide us.

In your city there is a monument to the father of the Ukrainian nation, the great poet Taras Shevchenko, whose prophecy of the emergence in Ukraine of its own "Washington with a new and righteous law" is enshrined on its pedestal. These verses have a profound and special meaning for all Ukrainians. Shevchenko was inspired by the invincible power of the words: "That God has bestowed each man on Earth with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." This shared conviction determines the unity of Americans and Ukrainians, and no distances can

obstruct it.

The American example of freedom has always been alluring. All the regimes that have sought to suppress democracy in Ukraine would often endeavor to nurture anti-American phobias, but they would invariably fail. Efforts of our American friends, who in the past so generously shared their democratic experience with us, enhanced the partnership between our two nations. For me, gratitude for these efforts has a personal dimension. It was

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through one of these programs that I met my wife, Kateryna Chumachenko Yushchenko, whose love and commitment gave me the strength to withstand the trials of the last months and years. I want to use this special opportunity to thank her for being beside me even at the most dangerous lethal threat I withstood.

Also I want to thank the United States for helping my wife, like millions of Ukrainians brought here by waves of emigration, to learn the values of freedom, and even still with Ukraine in her heart.

Many noble men and women on both sides of the Atlantic have always believed in Ukraine's democratic future. Our common belief came true in the days of the Orange Revolution. We highly appreciated the message sent by your country's leadership before the elections and during the Orange Revolution. It was clear and unambiguous. The U.S. condemned fraud and upheld Ukraine's right to freely elect their government.

This message enhanced our partnership and made it even stronger in the name of democracy. The Orange Revolution gave evidence that Ukraine is an advanced European nation, sharing the great values of the Euro-Atlantic civilization. A civil society has matured in Ukraine; its citizens stand ready to guard their rights and freedoms.

We Ukrainians are a diverse nation. We speak different languages, we practice different religions, and we have different political views. But we all recognize the right of each and every individual to determine his or her faith. This recognition underlines our unity and our strength.

In the days of revolution, millions of people went out to the Maidan, and not a single act of violence, and I repeat, not a single act of violence was recorded there. Under orange banners, the people shared bread and warmth, not only with friends, but with their opponents as well. Armed with belief and convictions, the people overthrew a corrupt regime. The dirtiest election campaign in history ended with gracious victory and justice. Citizens of Ukraine bowed down to the authority of justice and have jointly assumed the responsibility for their own faith.

Ladies and Gentlemen: today Ukraine is looking into the future with great hope and expectation. Free and fair elections have brought to state offices a new generation of politicians not encumbered with the mentality of the Soviet past. These are honest and professional patriots.

We are working as one team in pursuit of one goal, to lead our nation to success in the shortest time possible. We are shaping a new model of behavior of our government. It must safeguard the constitutional rights and free-

doms of citizens.

We want a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The new power will not permit any administrative pressure upon the next year's parliamentary elections. Their fairness and transparency will be secured. The people themselves will not allow it any other way.

The first indicator of change is the ever-growing independence of mass media. We have freed the press from pressures. There are no more secret instructions on what may and what may

not be covered. The monopoly of media by two or three oligarchic clans will be halted. We are building a free society, committed to freedom of speech; and we stand ready to defend it.

For me, each case of a journalist's death is a challenge to democracy. We wish to discover the truth about all tragedies that have occurred in the past years. Important evidence in the investigation of Heorhii Gongadze's assassination case has already been obtained. Not only the perpetrators, but those who contracted this crime will be held responsible.

Everybody who was killing politicians and journalists will stand trial, everybody who led the country to the split-up. We have the political will to return Ukrainians' faith and belief in justice.

Our top priority task is to secure independence of our judiciary. Our goal is to instill in Ukraine the rule of law. We are building a society where there will be no room for intolerance.

My father, Andrei Yushchenko, was a prisoner of Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Dachau. As a child, I heard my father's stories about the hell of concentration

Ukraine wishes to guarantee security to its citizens, to live in peace and accord with all of its neighbors, whether in the East or in the West. It is only logical that we target our efforts towards integration with NATO, the alliance that plays an essential role in securing peace and stability across the European continent.

I am convinced that the European and Euro-Atlantic aspirations of Ukraine will not be viewed as an additional hindrance. Ukraine's integration is not a problem, but rather a great new opportunity opening before our civilization.

Ukraine's accession to the European Union will put an end to the division of Europe and provide a new impetus to our civilization. Ukraine's accession to the alliance means a new level of stability across a strategically vital region, stretching from Warsaw to Tbilisi and to Baku.

It is quite natural for me to dwell upon new opportunities while standing at this podium. The United States, like no other country, has always built its policies on the premises of freedom, instead of

(Continued on page 13)

## Yushchenko's address...

(Continued from page 12)

merely seeking to retain a balance of power and interests. Since the times of President [Woodrow] Wilson, this great idealism inspired Europeans, lending them strength and courage for historic changes.

President Reagan advocated these ideals of freedom when, in front of the Berlin Wall, he challenged President Gorbachev, "Tear down this wall, Mr. President."

President Bush realized these ideals when he upheld the unification of Germany. President Clinton reminded us of these ideals when he supported the accession to NATO of East European and Baltic countries.

I deeply believe that America is again ready for such historic decisions. I have no doubt that we will receive support for our efforts and our aspirations. We do not want any more walls dividing Europe, and I am certain that neither do you.

Dear friends, the goal of my visit to the U.S. is to establish a new era in Ukraine-U.S. relations. We do not seek only thaws that alter chillings in our relations. We seek a new atmosphere of trust, frankness and partnership. A new Ukraine offers the U.S. a genuinely strategic partnership.

My discussions with President Bush have made it clear that Ukraine is being understood and supported. The time has come to make real steps towards each other.

Step 1, dear friends, we want to bury the Cold War relics of the senators and

House members. I am calling upon you to waive the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. Please make this step towards Ukraine. Please tear down this wall.

Step 2, the new Ukrainian government has on an unprecedented scale opened the Ukrainian market, dramatically reducing customs restrictions. In return, we expect the United States to cancel their restrictions that apply to Ukrainian goods within the U.S. market. I am calling upon you, ladies and gentlemen, please make this step.

Step 3, the non-recognition of market-based economy status for Ukraine is an anachronism. Ukrainian producers are deprived of the rights enjoyed by their competitors. The time has come to restore fairness. Three days ago, Ukraine officially requested the U.S. government to grant market-based economy [status] to Ukraine, and we are requesting that you make it happen by the fall.

Step 4, by November of this year, Ukraine must become a WTO member. I would encourage you, in the nearest months, please support our WTO accession.

Step 5, we invite the United States to during this year involve all political, financial and technological resources to erect a new shelter over the destroyed reactor of Chernobyl power plant. I would ask the Congress to support virtual [sic] programs.

Step 6, we want to see more Ukrainian students learning in U.S. universities over the next five years. I would encourage the Congress to finance such educational programs for Ukrainian students.

he said continue to help guide Ukraine toward fundamental democratic values.

Citing the Latin phrase "E Pluribus Unum" (Out of many, one), and the now famous phrase of the Orange Revolution "Together we are many, and we cannot be defeated," he drew strong parallels between democracy in Ukraine and the United States.

"These two phrases have a great deal in common. They speak to the strength that comes from unity," he said. "They speak of the struggles for freedom of two great peoples, who today are linked by a shared community of democratic values."

Mr. Yushchenko also added references to U.S. President George W. Bush — whom he had met with just two days earlier for a working lunch — former presidents and Winston Churchill, Lech Walesa and Nelson Mandela, as well as the famous Ukrainian poet and national hero Taras Shevchenko.

That Mr. Yushchenko was invited to address the Congress was itself a significant sign of the renewed faith that the United States has put in Ukraine, and specifically in Mr. Yushchenko's government.

Including Mr. Yushchenko, there have been only 97 similar addresses, to joint meetings delivered by foreign leaders and dignitaries in the history of the United States, according to the Clerk's Office at the U.S. House of Representatives. That number extends back to 1824, when the French general and Revolutionary War hero the Marquis de Lafayette made the first joint meeting address before Congress in 1824.

Foreign leaders and dignitaries have historically addressed Congress via three methods. They include joint meetings, joint sessions and separate House and Senate receptions.

Joint meetings, the preferred method for receiving addresses from foreign leaders and dignitaries, are used for special commemorative events and to receive addresses by domestic dignitaries, according to the Clerk's Office.

Step 7, Ukraine has agreed to waive the visa regime for United States citizens. I would request the U.S. government to, in the speediest possible manner, make a reciprocal step in relation to Ukrainian students, politicians and businesspeople.

Step 8, on behalf of Ukraine, I would ask you to include it in the list of participants of the Millennium Challenge program.

Following these priorities, we can make many others happen. For this, we have necessary possibilities in different areas. We welcome investments in the Ukraine's economy and are committed to creating a most favorable climate for the U.S. and all other international investors. It is in our own mutual interests to achieve as many success stories as possible of American enterprise in Ukraine.

The U.S. and Ukraine have common strategic interests, and we have unity in one thing. Everywhere possible we want to uphold freedom and democracy. We are committed to such a responsibility because we know if somebody is deprived of freedom, this freedom has been taken away from us.

Eleven years ago, my country voluntarily gave up the world's third largest nuclear arsenal. Ukraine made the world a safer place to live. Time has shown that this decision has not always met the kind of appreciation it deserved. Nevertheless, we remain committed to jointly counter the threats posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, missile and nuclear technologies.

Ukraine will be a reliable partner to the U.S. in fighting terrorism. I am sure we will be able to overcome it and not only by power of force. It is our obligation to eradicate the sources of terrorism. We can defeat the ideology of hatred that nourishes it. I am fully convinced that the time will come when in the dictionary of world languages, the term "terrorism" will be followed by the footnote, "archaic term." The same footnote, I am sure, will

also accompany other shameful phenomena like racism, discrimination and slavery.

We are witnessing the first successes of freedom in Iraq, where Ukrainian soldiers are risking their lives shoulder to shoulder with their American counterparts.

Ukraine is eager to continue its support to a democratically elected Iraqi government in addressing its economic and security challenges.

The array of subjects for our dialogue is endless, but I would prefer to see the leading role played not by governmental, but by public diplomacy. Before my departure for the U.S., I received a letter from a group of respectable Ukrainian and American organizations proposing concrete and relevant subjects for expanding our dialogue. These initiatives I am sure are worthy of being supported.

Ladies and Gentlemen: John Fitzgerald Kennedy took an oath before the whole world by saying, "We shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty." I am subscribing to these words on behalf of Ukraine. This authority was given to me by my fellow countrymen who endured days and nights in bitter cold and snow on the maidan. Ukraine is free and will always remain free. Citizens of Ukraine gained their freedom due to their courage and support of friends and proponents of democracy across the world.

In these days I want to recall one of them, Pope John Paul II, who said, "Following the path of truth is sometimes difficult, but never impossible."

We have embarked upon this road and will never step away from it. Together we are many, and together we are not defeated. God bless America. God protect Ukraine.

Thank you.

## Addresses joint meeting...

(Continued from page 1)

gave me the strength to withstand the trials of the last months and years," he said.

One of the most visible signs of those trials has been Mr. Yushchenko's face, which continues to look deeply pockmarked and bloated, though it no longer appears as gray as it did several months ago.

The Ukrainian president continued to stress his country's intention to move toward Europe, while the crowd, composed of a mixture of members of Congress and their guests — several of whom wore embroidered Ukrainian shirts and many in orange ties or scarfs responded very positively to those statements.

"We view accession to the European Union as an opportunity to realize the potential of our country," Mr. Yushchenko said. "For us a European future is a powerful incentive to attain high political, social and economic standards. This incentive has proved its effectiveness in the case of our neighbors. It would be unfair to deprive Ukrainians, who so graciously proved their European identity, of this chance."

Not only did Mr. Yushchenko repeat his intention to move Ukraine into the World Trade Organization, NATO and the European Union, but he also said he would hold responsible the people behind election fraud and the killings of journalists and politicians.

"We wish to discover the truth about all tragedies that have occurred in the past years," he said. "We are building a society rooted in the democratic rule of law. As part of that effort, we are committed to finding and punishing those who have beheaded journalists, murdered politicians, manipulated elections, fostered separatism and covered up these crimes. Our top priority is to ensure the independence of the judiciary."

Throughout his speech Mr. Yushchenko quoted historic giants who

## Members of Congress comment on Ukrainian president's speech

*Following are the reactions of several members of the House of Representatives to President Viktor Yushchenko's address to the joint meeting of Congress.*

### Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio):

Today, the people of the United States warmly welcome the first democratically elected president of the young, independent nation of Ukraine. It has been a profound experience to stand at the edge of history with the free election of a new president. And today it was my great honor to help welcome him [as one of the four Democrats chosen to escort him into the session hall] to the United States as Ukraine ushers in a new era of human possibility.

None of us will forget the sight of hundreds of thousands of citizens, risking their political lives for a democratic transition. President Yushchenko is leading Ukraine towards a freer, more prosperous era. His presence today in the U.S. Capitol reminds us that America has a moral responsibility and indeed, a duty, to help plant democracy where it seeks to root.

### Rep. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.):

I was deeply honored to escort President Yushchenko into the chamber of the House of Representatives today and moved by his remarks. His election sent a power-

ful message across the globe that the democratic rights of all people must be respected. Viktor Yushchenko literally risked his life for his country, and the Orange Revolution he led was an inspiration both to his countrymen and to the world.

I was proud to stand with him today, and as a senior member of the House International Relations Committee, I offer the Ukrainian people my continued support in their ongoing struggle to strengthen their economy and establish a permanent, lasting democracy.

### Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen (R-N.J.):

This morning, it was a humbling honor and pleasure to shake hands with and to hear Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko speak before a joint session of Congress. Like so many Ukrainians who have immigrated to America, and to our part of New Jersey, in search of a better life for their families, President Yushchenko is a symbol of courage.

At a critical moment in his nation's history, he survived a threat on his life by those who despised freedom, led an Orange Revolution for democratic change that rippled across Ukraine, and today stands as a model for other nations who also seek to live free from tyranny. I am proud to call President Yushchenko an ally and friend of the United States.

**A LOOK BACK: POPE JOHN PAUL II'S HISTORIC VISIT TO UKRAINE, JUNE 23-27, 2001**



A souvenir postcard of the papal visit of June 23-27, 2001, to Ukraine.



AP/Pool/Valeriy Soloviov



Roman Woronowycz

Pope John Paul II waves to the crowd gathered near St. Nicholas Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church at Askold's Tomb in Kyiv on June 23, 2001.

Pope John Paul II kisses a container with Ukraine's soil offered by children in traditional costumes upon his arrival in Kyiv on June 23, 2001.



Roman Woronowycz

Some of the more than 1 million who came out to see the pope during the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic liturgy at Lviv's Hippodrome on June 27, 2001.

**A LOOK BACK: POPE JOHN PAUL II'S HISTORIC VISIT TO UKRAINE, JUNE 23-27, 2001**



AP/Efrem Lukatsky

**Pope John Paul II and Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma are surrounded by Ukrainian children in national costumes upon the pontiff's arrival at Kyiv's Boryspil Airport on June 23, 2001.**



AP/Alexander Zemlianichenko

**Pope John Paul II and Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, primate of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, bless the faithful upon the pontiff's arrival at the Lviv Hippodrome on June 27, 2001.**



AP/Efrem Lukatsky

**Pope John Paul II arrives at Kyiv's Boryspil Airport on June 23, 2001. The pope is followed by Cardinal Angelo Sodano; on the right is Bishop Piero Marini.**



AP/Gabriel Bouys/Pool

**Pope John Paul II prays on June 24, 2001, in Bykivnia, in the forest near Kyiv where 100,000 Ukrainians were killed during Stalin's Great Terror.**



AP/Alexander Zemlianichenko

**Pope John Paul II blesses the faithful as his popemobile passes through the center of Lviv on June 25, 2001.**

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## Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

Dr. Gudziak also spoke about his background as an American-born Ukrainian who had been living in Ukraine since 1992. "I felt the call of the priesthood when I was a teenager in the mid-'70s. Both personally and historically that was not an easy time to go through such inclinations, and I went to the seminary in Rome and studied under Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, one of the few Ukrainian leaders of the 20th century who I think had a clear vision of where he wanted to lead his community," he related.

"One point in his agenda was stressing the role and the importance of intellectual life in the life of a Church, and a group of us young seminarians became inspired by his example and took the path of scholarship. I think he also reminded the diaspora community of the vitality of the Church in Ukraine and spoke about the need to be in solidarity with the Mother Church. So a number of us actually ... well we were seminarians of the new archdiocese in the '70s and '80s, as abstract as that seemed."

"When things changed I had an opportunity to, first as a graduate student, spend a good deal of time in Eastern Europe and Ukraine and Poland and then, after defending my dissertation, to move to Ukraine and work on the intellectual elaboration of the Christian legacy. I had a chance to go to Ukraine and work for the development of institutions that will help others gain a deeper knowledge and appreciation of each Eastern Christian tradition," Dr. Gudziak stated.

Source: "Interview: Dr. Borys Gudziak on the revival of religion in Ukraine," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, April 14, 1996, Vol. LXIV, No. 15.

## Orange justice...

(Continued from page 7)

the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations, the Comité pour la Défense de la Démocratie en Ukraine, the Ukrainian American Civil Liberties Association, the Ukrainian Civil Liberties Association in Kyiv, and other concerned civic organizations.

No people suffered more during the 20th century than Ukrainians. Enveloped by the twin scourges of Nazism and Bolshevism, Ukraine lost more blood and treasure than any European nation.

How many Soviet war criminals are still alive? No one knows, but since the Soviets were in power longer, it stands to reason that there are more of them than there are Nazi war criminals.

Where are these criminals? Most live in Ukraine. Others are probably in the United States and Canada. And if similar Polish and Lithuanian war crime commissions offer a clue, then some of them could be living in Israel.

Lithuania, for example, has asked the Israelis to extradite former KGB officer Nakham Dushanskiy for trial on nine criminal offenses, including genocide against members of the Lithuanian resistance movement. The Polish government has spent years seeking the extradition of Solomon Morel on charges of genocide for the deaths of innocent prisoners of war in a Communist camp he commanded after World War II. Thus far, Israel has refused to comply with either request.

No nation, not Ukraine, not the United States, not Canada, not Israel, should be a haven for war criminals. So, dear reader, when your neighborhood Ukrainian activist comes around with a postcard to sign, exercise your civic duty. Sign the card and cooperate in an international effort for orange justice.

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## Yushchenko's visit...

(Continued from page 2)

and inclusion of Ukraine within the Millennium Challenge Account. The policy paper also looks at ways to improve U.S.-Ukraine cooperation and transparency to block trafficking in weapons, narcotics and humans. The paper also calls for ensuring "a legitimate and stable venue [for Ukraine] to meet its security concerns. Membership in NATO provides such a platform."

President Yushchenko's visit also represents a break with the Kuchma administration's security policy toward the United States, according to Oleksander Potekhin. During the Orange Revolution, Mr. Potekhin led a rebellion among Ukrainian diplomats while he was based at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington (foreignpolicy.org.ua). The Kuchma administration believed it would gain Washington's blessing by supplying troops to coalition forces in Iraq but was willing to turn to Moscow if Washington failed to meet its expectations.

Mr. Yushchenko's three-day visit started off with a meeting and lunch with President Bush followed by a meeting with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. Later that day Mr. Yushchenko spoke at Georgetown University, where Kateryna née Chumachenko, Mr. Yushchenko's American-born wife, earned a bachelor's degree in 1982.

On April 4-5, the Yushchenkos will

visit Chicago. Mrs. Yushchenko was born in Chicago and received an M.B.A. from the University of Chicago in 1986. President Yushchenko will speak at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

On the last day of his visit, President Yushchenko will address a joint meeting of the U.S. Congress, a rare honor previously accorded to other U.S. - recognized "freedom fighters" such as Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel, Nelson Mandela and Boris Yeltsin. Mr. Yushchenko may use this occasion to return an original copy of the 1776 Declaration of Independence recently found in Ukraine's archives.

That same day he will lay a wreath at Washington's monument to Ukraine's national bard, Taras Shevchenko, which was unveiled by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1964. Mr. Yushchenko, whose father spent most of World War II in Nazi concentration camps as a German POW, will also visit Washington's Holocaust Memorial Museum.

President Yushchenko's final evening in the United States will be crowned first by a joint reception organized by the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute. IRI and NDI chairs, respectively, Sen. John McCain and former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, are strong supporters of recent democratic changes in Ukraine. The reception will be followed by a banquet in the Ukrainian president's honor organized by Ukrainian diaspora organizations.

## Under Kuchma...

(Continued from page 2)

ized the transfers as "contraband," not "exports" (Ukrainska Pravda, March 18).

Mr. Piskun faces the uncomfortable allegation that he did nothing to investigate the illegal transfer of this "contraband" while he was Ukraine's top prosecutor in 2002-2003. Mr. Omelchenko has revealed that his parliamentary committee informed the SBU, the Procurator General's Office and President Kuchma about these transfers in 1999-2002. Mr. Omelchenko received standard noncommittal replies that "your information has not been confirmed" (Interfax-Ukraine, March 18). Mr. Omelchenko claimed that Mr. Piskun is not genuinely interested in investigating the issue and his only aim is to continue to remain in his post. "Mr. Piskun is guided by principles of double standards, double morals and political opportunism," Mr. Omelchenko charged (Interfax-Ukraine, March 18).

The head of the parliamentary Committee on Organized Crime and Corruption, Volodymyr Stretovych, explained this discrepancy by stating that the Kuchma regime "did not provide opportunities for the prosecutor to investigate the affair" (Ukrainska Pravda, March 18). Similar accusations were made about the inability of the authorities under Mr. Kuchma to resolve the murder of journalist Heorhii Gongadze.

The missiles in question were part of the 1,000 missiles Ukraine inherited from the USSR and falsely recorded as having been destroyed in the 1990s. The Defense Ministry has rushed to deny any involvement - an unbelievable claim as it never bothered to inventory what it actually inherited from the former USSR (UNIAN, March 18). When Mr. Marchuk was defense minister, he complained that much of what Ukraine had inherited from the USSR had gone missing due to the lack of an inventory.

These long-range missiles, the Kh-55 (AS-15 Kent in NATO's classification) and Kh-55SM (AS-15B), are capable of delivering a 200-kiloton nuclear warhead, although Ukraine did not supply any nuclear material. Both missiles have

a 2,400 to 3,000-kilometer range and are launched by Tupolev bombers.

Thus, missiles based in Iran are capable of hitting Israel, while those based in China have the capability to hit Japan.

Russia's involvement in the arms transfers to Iran and China also is under scrutiny. The Russian secret services were allegedly involved, and Mr. Omelchenko has implicated two Russian arms traders (known only as "O" and "Ch"). Interpol arrested Russian citizen "O" in the Czech Republic last year and is still considering whether to extradite him to Ukraine.

Mr. Melnychenko provided the FBI with a recorded conversation in which a voice resembling Mr. Derkach's is heard saying that the transfer of the missiles to Iran was undertaken with the assistance of Russian security services.

Mr. Omelchenko also accused Valerii Shmarov, former head of Ukraine's state-owned arms trader, Ukrspetsekспорт, and former deputy SBU chairman Petro Shatkovskiy of complicity in the Iran and China deals. Mr. Shmarov has denied any involvement, as he headed Ukrspetsekспорт only from 2002 after Valerii Malev died in a suspicious car accident just as the Kolchuha scandal was unfolding (Interfax-Ukraine, March 19). Ukrspetsekспорт has always been closely linked to the SBU, and Mr. Malev was aware of the illegal transfers.

Missiles sent to Iran and China are not the only items that have gone missing. The Defense Ministry has admitted that a Strela-3M portable launcher and two missiles have disappeared from the navy in the Crimea (Interfax, February 24). These launchers are ideal for terrorists, as they can be held by one person and can hit airborne targets within a range of 4.5 kilometers at a maximum altitude of 30 kilometers.

The United States has welcomed the transparency of the Ukraine investigation and has expressed a desire to work with Ukraine in preventing future proliferation. U.S. State Department spokesman Adam Ereli has noted that the new atmosphere in U.S.-Ukrainian relations will facilitate cooperation in investigating how these transfers to Iran and China took place and why (Ukrainska Pravda, March 20).



With deep sorrow, we announce that on March 28, 2005,

## HALYNA JENSEN POLTAVA

entered into eternal life.

Halyna Poltava survived her husband, the Ukrainian poet, journalist, librettist Leonid Jensen Poltava, by fifteen years. During that time she worked as language editor at the National Tribune, the Ukrainian newspaper of which he was general editor until his death, and dedicated herself to republishing his major works in Ukraine.

Pani Halia was greatly respected and loved by all who knew her. Her bright smile, generosity and kindness were as sunshine to old or young, high or low, Ukrainian or not, and friends or strangers. Her family and friends will miss not only her loving presence but also the enriching engagement with her active intelligence and humor.

On April 1, 2005, Halyna Poltava was laid to rest beside her husband at her beloved St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in So. Bound Brook, NJ, joining her many already departed friends at peace there.

She leaves behind in profound sadness:

daughter Daria Dykyj in New York,  
stepson Ivan Alexander and his wife Cinzia in California and Rome,  
sisters Nadia and Motria and their families in Ukraine.

*Vichnaya Pamiat Nashiy Dorohiy Halyni*



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## МАРІЯ ДАНИЛІВ з ГРОБЕЛЬСЬКИХ

нар. в с. Щавнім на Лемківщині.

**ПАРАСТАС і ПАНАХИДА** відбудуться в п'ятницю, 8 квітня 2005 р. в похоронному заведенні Dean - Givnish Funeral Home.

**ПОХОРОННІ ВІДПРАВИ** відбудуться в п'ятницю, 8 квітня 2005 р. о год. 11:30 ран-ку в церкві Благовіщення в Мелровз Парк, Па., а відтак на цвинтар св. Марії на Факс Чейсі.

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## Taras Kuzio...

(Continued from page 4)

promoted such courses, but it has failed to adapt to the post-Soviet era and plays little role in contemporary Ukrainian studies.

In Canada a new Chair of Ukrainian Studies in Ottawa is meant to be geared towards contemporary Ukraine. It's drawback though, is that it is based in a French-speaking department of political science and bilingual university. CIUS has done little better than HURI. Canada is devoid of political scientists working on contemporary Ukraine, which perhaps explains two factors. First, why historians tend to undertake the majority of the commentaries on contemporary Ukraine. Second, why a historian heads the CIUS Stasiuk Center for the Study of Contemporary Ukraine.

**Who are the students who enroll in these courses? What topics are they particularly interested in and why? How are these students at GWU different from those who took your courses at the University of Toronto?**

Contrary to what Ukrainian culturalists and historians have claimed, there is a very large demand for classes dealing with contemporary Ukraine. In fact, classes on contemporary Ukraine (such as mine) have far more students than those in culture or history.

Each class has only one or two students of Ukrainian background, and so the demand is strong among Americans of non-Ukrainian background. In Toronto there were more students with Ukrainian background, particularly fourth-generation immigrants. There, students of Ukrainian background accounted for half of the student numbers. At GWU the situation is very different.

Of the three topics I offer, the two most popular have been EU and NATO: followed

by nationalism and identity. The first because it is very much in the news, and the second because it is an unusual topic not offered by other professors. Democratization (offered again in fall 2005) is likely to become popular because of the Orange Revolution. My fall 2004 class on democratization took place in the middle of the elections, which the students were enthralled by.

**It seems you've been very much in demand lately as a commentator and analyst on various news programs on television and radio. How do you account for such ubiquity?**

During the elections I undertook interviews for numerous outlets which included "Newshour with Jim Lehrer," CNN International, NBC, BBC World TV, BBC TV Newsnight, BBC World Radio, BBC Radio Newshour, CBC, NPR (in Washington, Philadelphia, Boston, Los Angeles), VOA TV (Ukrainian) and radio (English), RFE/RL Ukrainian service, Radio Dublin, Mississippi School of Journalism radio, Polish Press Agency, AFP, UPI, AFP, Knight Rider, two Norwegian and Swedish newspapers, and the Wall Street Journal Europe.

Two factors accounted for this. First, the explosion of interest in Ukraine's elections and the Orange Revolution. Second, the lack of competition. Ironically, I have benefited by the lack of investment from the North American diaspora into contemporary Ukrainian studies, as well as the apathy during the Orange Revolution of established North American academic centers devoted to Ukraine.

**Our readers remember your byline from RFE/RL Newline, but lately you have been writing for the Eurasia Daily Monitor, which graciously allows our newspaper to reprint your articles. Where else are you publishing your analyses these days?**

I used to write for three or four RFE/RL publications, but they ran out of funds to pay for freelance contributions. The Jamestown Foundation has private funding and launched Eurasian Daily Monitor (EDM) in May 2004. EDM is edited by Ann Robertson, who also edits the bimonthly Problems of Post-Communism, where I have an extensive article devoted to the 2004 elections and the Orange Revolution in the current issue.

Both Jamestown and Ann had the foresight to understand that the 2004 elections were a crucial turning point for Ukraine. They, therefore, encouraged me to write three articles per week during the six-month election campaign and now two. This meant that EDM had far better coverage than RFE/RL of the Ukrainian elections.

I also occasionally write op-eds, but these are usually when the newspaper requests them, such as Montreal's La Presse in the elections. Other areas where I regularly write are for Oxford Analytica and for Jane's Information Group. In the latter, I publish articles in Jane's Intelligence Digest and cover Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova for Jane's Sentinel Security Assessments.

With the power of the Internet many of these articles are re-published by other publications and websites, including in Ukraine.

**Do you undertake any other consulting projects?**

I have long been an outside quality controller for VOA and Radio Liberty's Ukrainian-language services. Another area that has grown since Ukraine's image has improved after the Orange Revolution is that of political risk. I research and prepare reports on Ukrainian economic agents and companies for a British investment bank that, in turn, is working on behalf of potential Western investors in Ukraine.

**We also know that you have been a featured speaker at many presentations before Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian audiences. What is the main message that you try to deliver these days to such disparate groups?**

Since coming to GWU offers to speak have been very high and can be divided into four groups. First, talks to Ukrainian American groups, which I have undertaken in Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia (twice), San Francisco and in Washington, D.C.

Second, academic conferences at the University of Toronto, a panel at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies conference in Boston, and at GWU on two occasions. I am also co-organizer of two panels at the Association for Study of Nationalities (ASN) convention in New York dealing with "Ten Years of Leonid Kuchma."

The third and fourth areas are what makes the U.S.A. different from Canada as Canada has no internationally known think-tanks on international affairs. The Canadian government is also disinterested in working with the academic community. In three years in Canada I was invited only once to Ottawa to a CIDA [Canadian International Development Agency] conference. When I was invited again in May 2004 I, like everybody else invited, was asked to pay their own way. I declined as I did not believe this showed Ottawa was serious in reaching out to specialists on Ukraine.

Talks given to think-tanks have included all of the main Washington-based think-tanks such as Brookings, Carnegie Endowment, Heritage Foundation, Kennan Institute, a seminar chaired by Zbigniew Brzezinski at the School of Advanced International Studies at John Hopkins University, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. I also squeezed in two talks to the Austrian and Norwegian institutes of international

affairs in Vienna and Oslo, respectively.

Fourth, to U.S. government bodies which are rarely publicized. Between September 2003 and July 2004 I gave talks to four seminars with Prof. Paul D'Anieri (University of Kansas) organized by the State Department and other government institutions. Other talks have been to the National Intelligence Council (with Prof. D'Anieri and Prof. Alexander Motyl) on the eve of President [George W.] Bush's visit to Europe where he met President Viktor Yushchenko. Two recent events were papers given to a U.S. government conference devoted to generational change in Ukraine and a paper given to a USAID [U.S. Agency for International Development] conference comparing democratic revolutions in Serbia, Georgia and Ukraine.

The themes discussed in the above events depend on the type of event. I tailor my presentations to different audiences, something not all academics can easily do. The audience – whether community, think-tank, U.S. government or academic – is very different.

The most notable presentation that came to mind was to a U.S. State Department and government seminar in July 2004 on the elections. My co-speaker, Prof. D'Anieri was quite pessimistic, which was the view of the 30 to 40 participants from all manner of U.S. government departments. In contrast, I gave a presentation where I predicted that Yushchenko would win. Most listeners were skeptical. When I met most of the same participants at a January seminar on generational change they congratulated me with the words "You were right."

**How else do you disseminate your analyses? We hear that there also is a Taras Kuzio website. What has the traffic been like?**

Taraskuzio.net is one of the most frequented websites dealing with studies of contemporary Ukraine. The number of visitors and downloads probably surpasses those of established Ukrainian academic centers. It has had 48,000 hits since January 2003. The number of visitors and pages viewed has been rising since September and peaked in November-December 2004. In those two months there was a daily average of 300 users and 500 page views daily. The interesting thing is that, although the number of visitors has leveled off, the page figure remains at 400 plus. Hopefully, these are repeat viewers that are exploring the site more. The page view totals for the elections special page included 421 in October, 2,000 in November and 1,000 in December. The site had over 10,000 articles downloaded during the 2004 elections.

**Are there any other projects that you are working on?**

Just published in Nationalities Papers is an extensive study of how Kyiv Rus' history is being treated in post-Soviet Ukraine. Also about to appear are articles dealing with Rusyns in Ukraine in the Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism and why Western multiculturalism cannot be applied to Post-Soviet States in the Journal of Contemporary European Politics. This is a critical response to the Canadian leading philosopher of multiculturalism, Will Kymlicka.

The Orange Revolution has become a particular focus of attention with four studies. I have a short article in the International Foundation Electoral Systems magazine Election Watch. Two lengthy studies of the Orange Revolution will be published in April in Problems of Post-Communism and the Journal of Democracy, a publication of the National Endowment for Democracy. A final publication will be a chapter in a book on the Orange Revolution edited by Anders Aslund and Michael McFaul and to be pub-

(Continued on page 19)

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## Taras Kuzio...

(Continued from page 18)

lished by Carnegie in September. I also have a chapter due out in a book which is titled "The Victory of Civic Nationalism in Ukraine" which is quite a prognosis in the light of the fact that it was written two years before the Orange Revolution.

D'Anieri and I are cooperating on two special issues of journals. Papers from the two panels on "A Decade of Ukraine Under Kuchma" for the ASN Convention are to be included into a special issue of Problems of Post-Communism. Another special issue of Communist and Post-Communist Studies is due out dealing with regime politics and democratization in Ukraine.

It is interesting, but also strange, that the works of political scientists like myself have been ignored by both the American Association of Ukrainian Studies when it has awarded prizes and when books are chosen to be translated into Ukrainian for publication in Ukraine. Why is it that only cultural or history books written by Western scholars are published in Ukraine, but not those of political scientists?

**What do you think will be the legacy of the Kuchma administration?**

Many wasted years where Ukraine went backwards. He should be placed on trial for massive abuse of office, ranging from corruption, election fraud, possible manslaughter and ordering violence, media censorship and treason. Ukraine's population has declined by 5 million since 1989 and Ukrainians (alongside Russians, Chinese and Indians) constitute the largest number of migrants.

On a final note, Kuchma failed Ukrainians during the elections as the guarantor of the Constitution. During the long campaign many Ukrainians felt as though the Constitution had been suspended.

**Can you capulize for our readers what you believe was the most important factor in Ukraine's presidential election of 2004? And why did the people rise up and demand fair elections as they did? Why did this happen in 2004 and not at some other time?**

Many factors played a role here, and it would be wrong to emphasize just one. These include an odious candidate (Viktor Yanukovich), Yushchenko as a morally unapproachable candidate, the dirty tactics used throughout the campaign, as well as the poisoning of Yushchenko (and especially tactics used in Round 2), Russia's overt intervention and the rise of a younger generation in the post-Soviet era. When it came down to it, Ukrainians wanted change and Yushchenko was the only one who promised that.

The 2004 elections were also different in two crucial areas from 1994: central Ukraine voted for Yushchenko and the left did not back Yanukovich in round two (as they had Kuchma in 1994). In Round 2 Yushchenko had a formidable alliance from Oleksander Moroz's Socialists through Anatolii Kinakh's Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, to Yushchenko's liberal Our Ukraine bloc and center-right Tymoshenko.

**How would you describe the team that makes up the Yushchenko administration? Is this a group that will be able to work well together? Are you a fan of Yulia Tymoshenko?**

We should not focus too much attention on spats between the team that came to power. They have far more in common than that which disunites them. They have common goals that will drive them to pursue.

As to Yulia, she is a controversial figure as she is, after all, a dissident oligarch. But, at the same time, she went into opposition in 1999-2000, which was before

Yushchenko did in 2001. Her stamina, determination and fire are what is required in Ukraine, and she neatly balances Yushchenko's more moderate posture. Yulia reminds me of Britain's Margaret Thatcher, who played a positive role in turning around Britain in the 1980s to the country we have today. Let's hope Tymoshenko with Yushchenko does the same for Ukraine.

**How would you rate President Yushchenko's first visits abroad and his presentations before the European audiences?**

Very good except for one factor, he needs to learn English – or even American. Being able to speak in English makes the message you give even more powerful, as with Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk's visit to Washington. Yushchenko was greeted as a hero in Davos [at the World Economic Forum] and at the European parliament and by Bush at NATO. I am sure he will be greeted in the same way when he visits Washington in early April.

**What is your prognosis for Ukraine's future, both domestically and internationally?**

I am cautiously optimistic. Ukraine is unlike Serbia and Georgia, or now Kyrgyzia, where revolutions have taken place as well. Ukraine has a functioning state and last year had the largest growth rate in Europe. The team that came to power is a powerful tandem that appeals to both moderates and radicals.

An important Rubicon will be the 2006 elections where Yushchenko-Tymoshenko and Volodymyr Lytvyn seek to enter allied. If this tripartite alliance wins more than 50 percent of parliamentary seats the president and government will be able to shape Ukraine's domestic and foreign policies in the years ahead.

Opposition to this group is more amusing than real. The Communists have collapsed from 20 percent in 2002 to 5 percent. Viktor Yanukovich is not treated seriously by anybody as a "leader of the opposition," while, Viktor Medvedchuk is loathed by the population and his Social Democratic Party has 1.5 percent ratings.

On the international level, Ukraine has a great chance to join NATO before Yushchenko ends his first term in office in 2009. The U.S. is key to this step.

As to EU membership, this is more difficult and will depend on Ukraine's domestic reforms. But, Ukraine's chances of joining are improved by two factors. First, the Orange Revolution has changed the West's view of Ukraine from that of being located in Eurasia to being European. Perception here is all important as, no matter how much Kuchma shouted that Ukraine lay geographically in central Europe, it was perceived under him as lying in Eurasia. Second, after inviting Turkey to join the EU, it cannot deny this to Ukraine. More Europeans prefer to see Ukraine inside the EU than they do Turkey.

**And, finally, what do you make of reports that pro-democracy movements in other parts of the globe, from Lebanon, are modeling their actions on Orange Revolution? Do you believe that freedom is on the march worldwide?**

Ukraine will soon be blamed for spreading revolution to Lebanon and Kyrgyzia. The Romanian elections, which took place around the same time as the Ukrainian, also were influenced by Ukraine. To state that freedom is on the march worldwide is an exaggeration. But, to say that autocratic regimes in the CIS are now scared by the Orange Revolution spreading is true. We never expected in Kyrgyzia, but it happened. Key countries in the CIS where pending elections could cause upsets are Belarus, Russia and Armenia. Watch this spot!

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### ПРОГРАМА

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8:00 вечір Зустріч – вечірка сеньйорів

Субота, 14 травня 2005

8:30 рано реєстрація  
10:00 – Відкриття – пл. сен. Христина Ковч, Головна Булавна УПС  
Привіт Голови ГПБ – пл. сен. Ярослави Рубель  
Вибір Президії і комісій  
11:00 – 75 років Українського Пластового Сеньйорату  
доповідь – пл. сен. Романа Грицива  
12:00 пол. Звіт Верифікаційної Комісії  
Прийняття Протоколу XV-ої Великої Ради УПС  
Звіти – Булави Головної Булавної УПС  
Дискусія над звітами  
1:00 по пол. Обід  
2:00 – „Сеньйорські справи - проблеми“ – модератор: пл. сен. Надя Нинка  
4:00 – Перерва і кава  
4:30 – Удільнення абсолюторії  
Звіт Номінаційної комісії  
Вибір нового Проводу  
Схвалення резолюцій  
5:00 веч. Крайовий З'їзд УПС Америки  
6:30 – Богослуження  
7:30 – Святкова вечірка з програмою – пл. сен. Зеня Брожина  
Слово Начального Пластуна – пл. сен. Любомира Романкова  
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## Saskatchewan scholarships announced

SASKATOON – The Prairie Center for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage (PCUH) has announced the establishment of two Saskatchewan Centennial Graduate scholarships. The year 2005 marks the Centennial of Saskatchewan's status as a province of Canada and it would be difficult to identify an ethnic group which has contributed more to this province's history than Ukrainian Canadians.

The mission of the PCUH includes researching and documenting “the contribution of Ukrainian Canadians to the national life of Canada and providing an academic anchor for the future development of Ukrainian Canadian heritage and culture.”

As an academic unit of St. Thomas More College and the University of Saskatchewan it is incumbent on the PCUH to develop this mission in accord with the academic direction of these two institutions.

As the University of Saskatchewan increasingly focuses on attracting promising graduate students the PCUH is able to join in that mission with the introduction of new scholarships for graduate students working in the area of Ukrainian Canadian or Ukrainian studies.

The scholarships will help fund graduate students for two years with an annual award of \$15,000. The scholarship recipients will develop their skills as researchers in association with a PCUH faculty associate at St. Thomas More College. The first scholarship will be awarded this summer.

For further information, readers may contact: Dr. Myroslaw Tataryn, St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan, via phone at (306) 966-8044.

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## Self Reliance New York donates \$50,000 to Plast's Vovcha Trova camp

by Sonia Slobodian Bokalo

NEW YORK – Bohdan Kekish, president of Self Reliance Federal Credit Union – New York, along with Bohdan Kurchak, treasurer and CFO, and Paul Liteplo, manager of member services, bestowed the princely sum of \$50,000 upon Yuriy Huk, president of the board of directors of the Vovcha Trova Plast Camp.

The donation will be used toward the camp's building fund for an open-air pavilion that will be used by campers during group activities and will protect them from both rain and sun. The presentation was made on January 29.

Self Reliance has a history of being a very generous benefactor to Ukrainian youth organizations and has made donations to Vovcha Trova in the past. Its generous donations speak volumes about the board of directors' understanding of the role of Self Reliance as a community leader and of the credit union's commitment to the future of the Ukrainian American community in the U.S.

Vovcha Trova recently began a fund-

raising campaign spearheaded by Andrij Kozak whose goal is to raise \$200,000 in order to build the pavilion and to expand and renovate existing facilities.

Plans include swimming pool repairs, building a dining area for the yunaky (older boys') camp, resurfacing and redoing the existing sports field, as well as restoring the exterior of the main administration building.

A two-year project to renovate all campers' cottages is nearing completion and will be completed before the 2005 camping season. Even though many parents and friends of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization volunteered their labor for this project, the cost exceeded \$40,000. Vovcha Trova, as every aging facility, needs constant repairs and improvements so that it can continue to serve Plast youths in a manner that is consistent with state requirements and with specific needs of current campers, Mr. Huk noted.

He added that it is the hope of the Vovcha Trova board that other institutions and individuals will follow the example of Self Reliance New York and will contribute generously to its improvement.



Yuriy Huk (second from right) receives a \$50,000 donation from Self Reliance New York Federal Credit Union, in the persons of (from left) Paul Liteplo, Bohdan Kekish and Bohdan Kurchak.

## Yushchenko speaks...

(Continued from page 10)

President Yushchenko began his presentation by noting that Ukraine gained its independence 14 years ago, but its freedom would only come later.

He recalled the words of Pope John Paul II, who had asked God to grant peace to the Ukrainian people, who through their undying efforts had earned the right to be free and discover their true roots.

"Pope John Paul II expressed this wish four years ago in Ukraine, when a free and democratic Ukraine was still only a

dream," he said.

"But the great pope, as a prophet, could see into the future," he added. And what recently transpired on Independence Square in Kyiv, he said, "has shown that this dream can come true."

"The Ukrainian example is very much needed in the modern world," he added. "The people united always win."

Ukraine's future, he said, lies in the European Union and the Euro-Atlantic community, and recent opinion polls have shown that a majority of Europeans agree with that goal. At the same time, he added, Ukraine will continue to strengthen its good relations with all of its neigh-

bors, including Russia.

In building its new partnership with the United States, President Yushchenko said, Ukraine would like to see the removal of existing trade and other barriers, and an expanded bilateral dialogue not only on the official level but one that would include increased interaction between the peoples of the two countries.

He noted also that "the new Ukraine and the United States will inevitably become partners on the premises of their commitment to the ideas of freedom."

Following his speech, Dr. DeGioia honored President Yushchenko for his work on behalf of freedom and democra-

cy with his university's highest award, the President's Medal. He noted that among the recipients of this award were the president of Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai, and South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Georgetown University, founded in 1789, is the oldest Catholic University in the United States. President Yushchenko's wife, Kateryna Chumachenko Yushchenko, was a student at its School of Foreign Service.

Later in the visit, President Yushchenko had speeches scheduled before the Council on Foreign Relations in Chicago and at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library in Boston.

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Week 1 July 10 - 16

Week 2 July 17 - 23

Week 3 July 24 - 30

\$400 UNA member

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New adventures every day! Learn camping essentials: orienteering, wilderness first aid and rescue, water safety, tracking and survival skills, wildlife awareness and eco-history.

Week 1 July 17 - 23

Week 2 July 24 - 30

\$500 UNA member

\$550 non members

## Tennis Camp 10-18

Intensive two weeks with instruction and competitive play directed by George Sawchak. Limited to 45 participants.

Weeks June 26 - July 8

\$540 UNA member

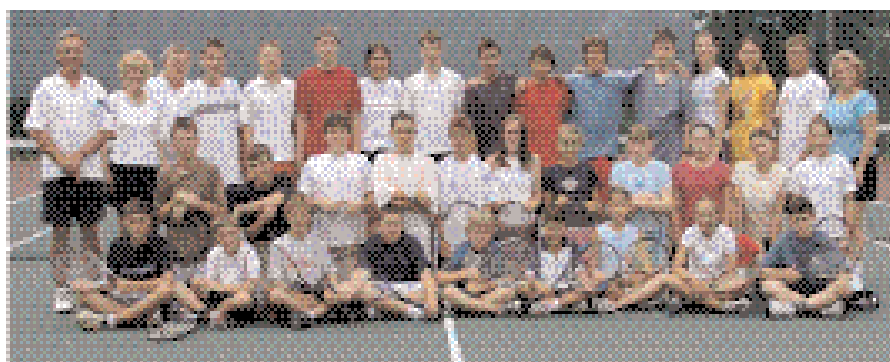
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Additional brochure information about camps and requirements is available online at [www.Soyuzivka.com](http://www.Soyuzivka.com)

A \$75 deposit is required for pre-registration.

All camps are bi-lingual and geared toward a better understanding of Ukrainian culture and heritage.



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Week 1 July 17 - 22

Week 2 July 24 - 29

9:30 AM - 1:30 PM Daily

\$150 per camper

\$190 if not an overnight guest

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Six hours of fun-filled activities in this new day camp.

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July 4 - July 8

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One week will complete academic, confined water and open water for PADI open water certification. Classes given by George Hanushevsky, scuba diver instructor. Pre registration is required. Check on line brochure for additional information.

July 31 - August 5

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\$120 deposit required

All fees payable to George Hanushevsky

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Directed by Ania Bohachevsky-Lonkevych (daughter of Roma Pryma Bohachevsky). Expert instruction for beginner, intermediate and advanced dancers. The camp will end with a grand recital on August, 20. Limited to 60 participants.

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# Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus boasts busy and exciting 2004

by Anatoli W. Murha

DETROIT – In this culturally diverse world, the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus continues to bring together talented musicians from North American cities for the continuation of a historic cultural mission. Traveling from Alberta, British Columbia, Connecticut, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Pennsylvania, the current concert ensemble of 50 plus members experienced an exciting journey in 2004, and is involved with three new projects for 2005.

The Spring Concert Series of 2004 opened the year for the UBC. Concerts were held in Syracuse, N.Y., Hartford, Conn., New York City, Passaic, N.J., and Philadelphia. In addition to these performances, the chorus also had the opportunity to honor the late Hryhory Kytasty with memorial services in South Bound Brook, N.J., Detroit, the Kobzarska Sich Bandura Camp in Emlenton, Pa., Cleveland and Toronto.

Stratford, Ontario, is well known for its theater and music festivals. The UBC was invited to showcase its program during the world-renowned Stratford Summer Music Festival in July of 2004. Performing to an audience of approximately 800 people, the UBC showcased the bandura and its program to an international audience. The theme for the festival was based on stringed instruments. According to John Miller, artistic producer of the Stratford Summer Music Festival, the UBC's performance was one of the best received of the festival.

In August the UBC took part in the Kobzarska Sich Bandura Camps 25th anniversary program. The late Hryhory Kytasty founded Kobzarska Sich in 1979. Over the years, Kobzarska Sich has brought together many musicians from North America, South America, Europe and Ukraine for two weeks out of the summer to continue the traditions of kobzarstvo. Most of the UBC's bandura players graduated from the Kobzarska Sich program.

Collaborative efforts with other artistic ensembles and organizations are important to the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus. The Kytasty memorial services were organized in conjunction with the Kytasty Foundation. In September, the chorus returned to Pittsburgh with its program, and shared the stage with the Kashtan Dance

Anatoli W. Murha is president of the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus.

Ensemble from Cleveland. In partnership with the Ukrainian Museum-Archives (UMA), the UBC hosted a fund-raiser on Saturday, November 20, in Cleveland based on one of the greatest football rivalries between the University of Michigan Wolverines and Ohio State Buckeyes.

To round out the year, the chorus presented Bandura Christmas International with Paul Plishka of the Metropolitan Opera and pianist Thomas Hrynkiw at the Macomb Center for the Performing Arts on Sunday, December 19. This was the first collaboration between the chorus and Mr. Plishka.

The UBC performed its Christmas classics, and included a special commemoration for the Orange Revolution. During its performance of the well-known American hymn "Amazing Grace," an orange ribbon was displayed on a screen above the chorus.

Mr. Plishka's repertoire included selections from Mozart, Lysenko and various Holiday Carols. Mr. Hrynkiw also showcased his talents with two solo selections. The concert culminated with two selections featuring Mr. Plishka as the soloist with the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus – "Nova Radist Stala" and "Adeste Fideles."

The Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus takes pride in representing the bandura on the international stage since its founding in 1918. Aside from concerts and tours, the chorus also focuses on documenting the voice of the bandura, kobzarstvo, Ukrainian music and culture, and ultimately the unique history of the UBC. Among the ways the UBC is able to fulfill this role is by recording its repertoire and by bringing the bandura to the television.

The UBC has embarked on a new recording endeavor titled "Bayda – A Tribute to Four Centuries of Kozak Heroism by the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus." Its projected release date is October 1. The goal of the recording is to document the chorus' historic repertoire with an emphasis on selections that showcase the bandura. Striving to make music accessible to all, the recordings will be distributed in Ukraine, and to North American libraries and music institutions.

Following up on the release of the CD "European Tour: Historic Live Recordings," the UBC will be issuing a video and DVD from its 2003 whirlwind tour of Europe. For viewing audiences, it



The Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus at work during a recording session.

will be a rare look into the workings of the UBC that sheds light on not just the tour, but gives a glimpse of the UBC's rich history. The UBC had the unique opportunity to work with renowned picture editor James Ho Lim for this project. Currently in its final production stage, the UBC plans to release the DVD and video by July.

After more than a 10-year hiatus, the UBC will be returning to Western Canada this November. The itinerary includes concerts in Vancouver and

Kelowna, British Columbia; Edmonton and Calgary, Alberta; Saskatoon and Regina, Saskatchewan; and Winnipeg, Manitoba. With this tour and the many before it, the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus will continue appearing on the world stage acquainting the public with the rich Ukrainian musical heritage.

For information and updates on the UBC, and for discography information, readers may log on to [www.bandura.org](http://www.bandura.org) or write to: Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus, P.O. Box 12129, Detroit, MI 48212.

**THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY**

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## Dance companies to present concert celebrating Virsky's 100th

TORONTO – The Desna Ukrainian Dance Company of Toronto and the International Summer School of Ukrainian Dance in Kyiv, will present a celebration concert, 100 Years of Pavlo Virsky on Sunday, April 17.

Virsky, who died in 1975, believed that dance could portray a nation's culture and soul. His passion for infusing folk traditions into dance resulted in the creation of a unique choreographic legacy and a world-renowned dance company that bears his name – the Virsky Ukrainian National Dance Company.

"This event will be of interest to Ukrainian Canadians and the general public who enjoy the passion and energy demonstrated by Ukrainian dancers," said Jerry Moroch, head of the event organizing committee. "Our committee is composed of volunteers from a number of Ukrainian organizations. We're collaborating to plan and promote a successful concert that will honor the legendary Pavlo Virsky."

The event will feature dance companies

from across Canada paying tribute to Virsky's choreography; guest speakers, including dance company alumni who experienced Virsky's artistic direction firsthand; a slide show, exhibits and a short documentary to pay tribute to a man who influenced Ukrainian dance like none other.

Honored guests, including the Virsky ensemble's current artistic director Myroslav Vantukh, Valeria Virsky (widow of Pavlo Virsky and former dancer) and Gregory Chapkis (Merited Artist of Ukraine and one of the oldest alumni of Virsky), will be invited to travel from Ukraine to participate in the jubilee celebration and concert.

"100 Years of Pavlo Virsky" will take place at 4 p.m. on Sunday, April 17, at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 83 Christie St., Toronto. Tickets cost \$25 and include a buffet; they may be purchased at the West Arka, Toronto (416-762-8751).

For more information or to purchase tickets, readers may contact Mr. Moroch at (416) 483-7030 or Yuri Grekov at (647) 444-1484.

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

### Troops may leave Iraq by mid-October

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko told U.S. journalists in Kyiv on March 31 that Ukraine might withdraw its entire military contingent from Iraq by mid-October, Mr. Yushchenko's personal website reported. "This will be mid-October, but I do not rule out that days may be changed according to [the pullout] schedule," the president said. "Our conceptual position is that our soldiers should leave Iraq this year." (RFE/RL Newline)

### First lady receives citizenship

KYIV – As reported in The Ukrainian Weekly last week, First Lady Kateryna Yushchenko obtained Ukrainian citizenship on March 22. Presidential spokeswoman Iryna Heraschenko added that an official statement on this matter will be made in the near future. Mrs. Yushchenko's parents, who were born in Ukraine, met in Germany during World War II and married in 1945. They subsequently immigrated to the United States. Mrs. Yushchenko, who has been living in Kyiv since 1999, has U.S. citizenship. (RFE/RL Newline)

### Opposition party holds congress

KYIV – The Social Democratic Party (United) held its 19th congress in Kyiv on April 2 and elected the head of former President Leonid Kuchma's presidential administration, Viktor Medvedchuk, as chairman and National Deputy Nestor Shufrych as his first vice-chairman, Interfax reported. The party declared itself in opposition to the Yushchenko government and intends to use the same tactics of mass protests that Mr. Yushchenko's supporters used during the presidential elections in November-December 2004. Mr. Medvedchuk told delegates that 16,000

members have left the party in the last five months and that in January-February 3,000 new people joined. The party presently has 395,000 members. The party intends to oppose Ukraine's entry into NATO and work toward strengthening Ukrainian-Russian relations and Ukraine's membership in the Single Economic Space. (RFE/RL Newline)

### EU official praises Ukraine's progress

KYIV – The European Union's External Relations Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner told Reuters in Kyiv on March 30 that she is pleased with Ukraine's efforts to implement the recently signed three-year Action Plan intended to bring the country closer to the EU. "It's good to see that things have started to move. The government has promised a reform agenda and we are glad to see progress is starting to be made," Ms. Ferrero-Waldner said, singling out the struggle of President Viktor Yushchenko's administration against endemic post-Soviet corruption. Ms. Ferrero-Waldner and several other EU officials held talks in Kyiv the same day with President Yushchenko, Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk and State Secretary Oleksander Zinchenko. (RFE/RL Newline)

### Moroz: no advance toward democracy

KYIV – Socialist Party Chairman Oleksander Moroz said in Kyiv on March 30 that Ukraine cannot be regarded as a democratic country, the Ukrainska Pravda website (<http://www2.pravda.com.ua>) reported. Mr. Moroz was speaking with Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger of Germany, rapporteur of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) for the investigation of the murder of Ukrainian journalist Heorhii Gongadze. "There are declarations to move toward democracy in Ukraine, but actually no movement itself," Mr. Moroz

(Continued on page 25)

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 24)

said. "The assassination of Gongadze and the protest actions linked to it four years ago have led to the Orange Revolution. Today, after the victory of the revolution, its sources have been forgotten. ... There is procrastination in [the investigation of] the Gongadze case in Ukraine, and PACE should monitor the case until it is passed to court." (RFE/RL Newline)

### Kremlin to rock stars: stay neutral

MOSCOW – The deputy chief of the Russian presidential-administration, Vladislav Surkov, in early March held a closed-door meeting with leading Russian rock musicians, during which he asked them not to participate in events that could provoke "an orange revolution" in Russia, The Moscow Times reported on March 31. Some participants in the meeting, which took place at a Moscow hotel, told the daily that Mr. Surkov, the Kremlin's chief ideologue, did not conceal his concern that Russia could see a repetition of recent events in Ukraine, where rock musicians played an important role in rallying Ukrainian youth in support of the Orange Revolution. Mr. Surkov said the authorities would like to be able to count on the support of the musicians, but added that they should at least remain neutral in the event of an uprising, The Moscow Times reported. Prominent rock stars Boris Grebenshchikov, Sergei Shnurov, Vyacheslav Butusov and Zemphira attended the meeting, according to the daily. (RFE/RL Newline)

### Participation in monitoring suspended

KYIV – Ukraine has suspended its participation in the CIS Election Monitoring Organization, UNIAN reported on March 15, quoting Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman Dmytro Svystkov.

Mr. Svystkov said Ukrainian observers did not participate in CIS monitoring missions in the recent parliamentary elections in Moldova and Kyrgyzstan. He explained that Kyiv's reluctance to work with CIS election monitors is due to serious discrepancies in the assessment of the 2004 presidential election in Ukraine between CIS and OSCE observers. According to Mr. Svystkov, all OSCE member-states, including those from the CIS, should stick to the same criteria in assessing electoral processes. (RFE/RL Newline)

### Some improvement in rights noted

WASHINGTON – The U.S. State Department stated in its 2004 human rights report released on February 28 that the Ukrainian government's human rights record "remained poor and worsened in a number of areas," but added that "there were also improvements in some areas, particularly toward the end of the year." The report, titled "Country Reports On Human Rights Practices," is submitted to Congress every year (for full report see <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpV2004/>). It stated that Ukrainian citizens' "right to change their government peacefully was restricted during most of the year," adding that the Orange Revolution in November and December did much to change this. The report also criticized Ukrainian authorities for interfering "with the news media by harassing and intimidating journalists, censoring material, blocking inter-regional broadcasts of independent media, closing down independent media outlets and pressuring them into practicing self-censorship." (RFE/RL Newline)

### Kyiv to fund churches' restoration

KYIV – The Kyiv City Administration intends to allocate 8.396 million hrv (approximately \$1.5 million U.S.) in 2005 for the restoration of churches. This is noted in the program of social and eco-

nom development for Kyiv in 2005 and was reported by Pravoslavie.ru on February 22. The Kyiv City Administration is planning to give 944,000 hrv for the restoration of the Cathedral of St. Volodymyr in the southern Ukrainian city of Khersones. It plans to give 439,000 hrv for the restoration and reconstruction of the complex of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Berestechko, Volyn region (northwestern Ukraine), and another 233,000 hrv for the decoration of the interior of the Nativity Church in the town of Borozne, Chernihiv region (northern Ukraine). The administration is planning to allocate a further 2 million hrv for the reconstruction of the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves, as well as 2.93 million hrv to pay for the reconstruction of the Nativity Church in Kyiv's Postal Square. The sum the administration is planning to give for 2005 includes funds for some work already conducted in 2004. Last year the Kyiv City Administration conducted reconstruction work on 11 churches at a total cost of 29 million hrv. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

### Gerard Depardieu visits Kyiv

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko supported the idea of cooperation between Ukraine and France in the realm of cinematography and discussed likely Ukrainian-French projects at a meeting with the famous actor Gerard Depardieu in Kyiv on March 15. The meeting was attended by Culture Minister Oksana Bilozir and National Deputy Ivan Havryliuk, the presidential press service told Ukrinform. As the Ukrainian president noted, there are many unrealized creative ideas of Ukrainian actors, directors and scenario writers in Ukraine. Mr. Depardieu told Mr. Yushchenko that he is keen on studying the Kozaks. According to him, this topic could be realized in film through

the Hohol character Taras Bulba. The famous French actor arrived in Ukraine to shoot a commercial. He intends to open his own restaurant in Kyiv. (Ukrinform)

### Contest for Taras Bulba script?

KYIV – Minister for Culture and Arts Oksana Bilozir told journalists, after she met at President Viktor Yushchenko's office with the French movie celebrity Gerard Depardieu, that a contest will be soon announced for the best script to shoot a feature film about Taras Bulba, the writer Mykola Hohol's immortal character. As Ms Bilozir noted, Mr. Depardieu's visit to Ukraine was by no means accidental as he will likely be the film's producer. The film is the brainchild of a triangular, Franco-Ukrainian-Polish artistic project. According to Ms. Bilozir, President Yushchenko will personally support the project's realization. (Ukrinform)

### OSCE project coordinator dies

CHISINAU – The OSCE chairman-in-office, Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, expressed shock and sadness on March 14 over the sudden death of Ambassador David R. Nicholas, the OSCE project coordinator in Ukraine. "I am greatly saddened by this news," the chairman-in-office said in a statement issued during a visit to Moldova. "Ambassador Nicholas had won widespread respect for his effective leadership of OSCE activities in Ukraine for the last two years. He was tireless in his efforts to assist Ukraine along the path of democratic reform. He was also a wise counselor to me on my visits to the country." A lawyer by profession, Ambassador Nicholas, 64, had served as representative of the U.S. secretary of defense to the OSCE in Vienna from September 2002 until March 2003, when he was appointed OSCE project coordinator in Ukraine. (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe)

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# UKELODEON

FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

## Syracuse Plast youths revive tradition of "hahilky"

by Borys Buniak

SYRACUSE, N.Y. – Under the direction of Ithaca College student Oksana Buniak, an active Plast counselor, an old Ukrainian tradition was revived in Syracuse, N.Y., on Easter Sunday. For the first time in 15 years, "hahilky" (spring ritual dances) were performed outdoors at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church after the Easter divine liturgy.

The hahilky brought back fond memories for the parishioners and the community while they watched the children dance with enthusiasm despite the cold, damp and windy weather. As the crowd swelled, the children expressed more joyfulness in their performance of the hahilky, including "Zhuchok," "Podolianochka" and "Planting of the Pear." Laughter was brought on with their rendition of "Viyu Vinets," in which Wasyl Buniak led the children into a weaving and unweaving of a human chain.

Those who had gathered to



The group of youths in Syracuse who performed "hahilky" on Easter Sunday: (back row, from left) Oksana, Liana, Wasyl and Zachar Buniak, Ivanka, Marko and Adrian Temnycky, Mykola Buniak, (front row) Juliana and Natalka Lykthey, Alexandra and Yaroslav Salenko, Tania and Kalyna Melnyk, Anastasia Melnyk, Alexa Javanovic, Christina Juravich, Adriana Buniak, and Natalka and Ostapko Juravich.



Wasyl Buniak leads the group in "Viyu Vinets."

watch remained after the performance to congratulate the children and thank them for bringing back this beautiful Ukrainian tradition, which symbolically welcomes spring and chases away winter. Several grandparents commented on how such a simple dance performed by children could provide a community with welcome feelings of enchantment and

warmth after a long, cold winter.

Children prepared for their performance by practicing on Saturdays after Ukrainian studies classes at Lesia Ukrainka School of Ukrainian Studies. Pastor Ivan Kaszczak and Father Vasyl Kadylo were instrumental in announcing this delightful event and expressed their sincere gratitude for the revival of this long-standing Ukrainian tradition.

## Ukrainian boys can jump!

by Christine Pavlovsky

NEW YORK – During the National Scholastic Indoor Track and Field Championships (NSIC) held on March 11-13 at the Armory on 168th Street in New York City, the top two places in the high jump were won by Ukrainian boys.

The winning height of 6 feet, 10 inches was cleared by Nick Ponomarenko, 19, of Concord, Mass., while Nick Syzonenko, 17, of Randolph N.J., cleared 6 feet, 8 inches. Four other jumpers from across the United States tied in clearing 6 feet, 6 inches for third through sixth places.

The NSIC is a USA Track and

Field sanctioned event. To qualify for this national meet the athletes in various events had to meet a certain criterion during the course of their indoor season.

Mr. Ponomarenko hails from Dnipropetrovsk and has been in the United States for under a year, while Mr. Syzonenko, a second-generation Ukrainian American, is a senior at Randolph High School. Mr. Syzonenko graduated last year from St. Andrew's Ukrainian School in Bound Brook, N.J.

Both young men are looking to continue their athletic careers in college, although neither has yet decided where.



Nick Syzonenko (left) and Nick Ponomarenko at the National Scholastic Indoor Track and Field Championships.

**OUR NEXT ISSUE:** UKELODEON is published on the second Sunday of every month. To make it into our next issue, dated May 8, please send in your materials by April 29. We especially encourage kids and teens to submit articles and see their names in print. Please include a daytime phone number with your submission. And don't forget to send a photo!

# SUM group enjoys field trip to Ashokan Preserve



The Puhachi (from left): Oles Gbur, Tania Bilanych, Christia Halibej and Nicholas Mosuriak.

WHIPPANY, N.J. – We are the Puhachi. We belong to SUM (the Ukrainian American Youth Association) in Whippany, N.J. Our friends from the Goshen, N.Y., SUM branch invited us to go to Ashokan Preserve. So on Sunday, March 6, we got up early in the morning and drove to the Ashokan Preserve near Kingston, N.Y.

When we got to the preserve, Jonathan met us and our friends from Goshen and took us down a trail to a wooden house. They make maple syrup there. He let us taste two different maple syrups. One was fake and one was real. The real one tasted yucky!

Then we went to some trees. They were maple trees. We each got a turn to turn the big drill that

makes the hole in the tree to get the sap out for the syrup. We even got a turn to tap the tree with a hammer. When you tap the tree with a hammer, syrup comes out of the tree. The syrup runs into a bucket that hangs on the tree.

After we tapped the tree, Jonathan poured some syrup in the snow and it turned into candy! We all got two pieces. After the syrup comes out of the tree they have to cook it and then they sell it.

When we were done with the maple trees, we ate lunch and got to go blacksmithing and tinsmithing. We each made something and took it home.

We had a lot of fun, even though Oles lost his shoe down a cliff. But, thankfully, Bohdan Woch saved his

shoe. This is where we met Magister Mykhailo. He is a SUM teddy bear who has been travelling around the world visiting different SUM oseredky (branches). He is visiting our friends in Goshen right now.

We invited him to come visit with us

and he will be coming to Whippany real soon. We are very excited and look forward to seeing him.

– submitted by Tania Bilanych, 7; Oles Gbur, 7; Christia Halibej, 6; and Nicholas Mosuriak, 7.

## “Bring-a-Friend-to Church” Sunday in Parma

PARMA – Members of the Junior Ukrainian Orthodox League Chapter of St. Vladimir’s Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral on Sunday, February 27, held their second annual “Bring-a-Friend-to-Church” Sunday.

Instituted by the parish youth, the purpose is to invite a friend of a different faith to attend the divine liturgy and learn about the Orthodox faith and traditions of the

Ukrainian Orthodox Church. All visiting teenagers were given special name tags and the clergy of the parish addressed the visitors. Each guest also received a gift as a memento of the visit to St. Vladimir’s.

Following the liturgy, everyone was invited to the parish center for a breakfast prepared by the Senior UOL Chapter.



Members of the Junior UOL Chapter, their guests and clergy of St. Vladimir’s Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, in Parma, Ohio, on the occasion of “Bring-a-Friend-to-Church” Sunday.

## Mishanyna

PETRO KONASHEVYCH Sahaidachnyi was a noted HETMAN, or leader of the ZAPOROZHIAN Kozaks, as many of you have probably learned at your local School of Ukrainian Studies.

He was known also as an organizer of the armies of the KOZAKS, Ukraine’s famed independent-minded warriors of the 16th and 17th centuries. In addition, he was a notable political and civic leader.

Born around the year 1570 as Petro Konashevych, he received the name SAHAIDACHNYI at the Zaporozhian Sich. He was a member of the ORTHODOX nobility in Halychyna and studied at the OSTROH Academy. For a while he worked for a Kyivan judge.

In 1601 he journeyed to the SICH, the stronghold of the Kozaks, and participated in campaigns against the TURKS and the TATARS. Under his leadership, the Kozaks captured Ochakiv and Perekop in 1607 and towns along the coast in Turkey in 1608, including Sinop and Trabzon, where they destroyed a force of 10,000 Turks and freed many slaves. Sahaidachnyi also led the Kozaks in a campaign against Muscovy (the forerunner of present-day Russia) undertaken with the Polish king in 1618.

Sahaidachnyi’s VICTORIES attracted the attention of European RULERS of the time. He succeeded in transforming the Kozaks into a regular military formation and gave their movement the character of a government.

Sahaidachnyi also defended the cultural and religious RIGHTS of the Ukrainian people. He contributed to the establishment of a cultural center in Kyiv and tried to unite the Kozaks’ military POWER with that of the clergy and nobility.

One of his most notable battles was at KHOTYN in 1621, where he led an ARMY of 40,000 Kozaks alongside the Polish army and defeated the

Turks. Sahaidachnyi died on April 20, 1622, in Kyiv of wounds suffered at Khotyn. He was buried in the monastery of the Kyiv Epiphany Brotherhood and bequeathed his assets to schools in KYIV and LVIV and for CHURCH causes.

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## Soyuzivka's Datebook

- April 11-14, 2005**  
Clergy Days
- April 15-17, 2005**  
Plast Kurin "Chortopolokhy"  
Annual Meeting  
BUG – Brooklyn Ukrainian Group  
Spring Volunteer Weekend
- April 16, 2005**  
Rochester Fire Company Banquet
- April 20-22, 2005**  
SUNY at New Paltz, Migrant  
Education Program and Retreat
- April 23, 2005**  
"Holiday Cooking in the Ukrainian  
Tradition" organized by Plast  
Kurin "Spartanky"  
TAP New York Beer Festival at  
Hunter Mountain, round-trip bus  
from Soyuzivka, special room  
rate – \$60/night
- April 29-May 1, 2005**  
Ukrainian Language Immersion  
Weekend offered at State  
University of New York at New  
Paltz
- May 1, 2005**  
Traditional Blessed Ukrainian  
Easter Day Brunch, doors open  
at 11:30 a.m.
- May 20, 2005**  
Ellenville High School Junior Prom
- May 20-22, 2005**  
Girl Scout Troop 856 Camp Out
- May 27-30, 2005**  
Memorial Day Weekend BBQ  
and Zabava  
Adoptive Parents Weekend, sponsored  
by the Embassy of Ukraine and  
the UNA
- June 1, 2005**  
Ellenville High School  
Scholarship Banquet
- June 6, 2005**  
Highland High School Senior Day
- June 10-12, 2005**  
Ukrainian Language Immersion  
Weekend offered at State  
University of New York at New  
Paltz
- June 12-17, 2005**  
UNA Seniors' Week and Conference
- June 19, 2005**  
Father's Day Program
- June 26-July 3, 2005**  
Tabir Ptashat – Session #1
- June 26-July 8, 2005**  
Tennis Camp for ages 10-18
- June 27-July 1, 2005**  
Exploration Day Camp – Session #1,  
for ages 7-10
- July 3-July 10, 2005**  
Tabir Ptashat – Session #2
- July 4-July 8, 2005**  
Exploration Day Camp – Session #2,  
for ages 7-10
- July 8-10, 2005**  
Ukrainian Language Immersion  
Weekend offered at State  
University of New York at New  
Paltz
- July 10-July 16, 2005**  
Discovery Camp – Session #1,  
for ages 8-12
- July 17-July 22, 2005**  
Chemney Day Camp – Session #1,  
for ages 4-7
- July 17-July 23, 2005**  
Discovery Camp – Session #2,  
for ages 8-12  
Adventure Camp – Session #1,  
for ages 13-16
- July 22-24, 2005**  
Ukrainian Language Immersion  
Weekends offered at State  
University of New York New Paltz
- July 24-July 29, 2005**  
Chemney Day Camp – Session #2,  
for ages 4-7
- July 24-July 30, 2005**  
Discovery Camp – Session #3,  
for ages 8-12  
Adventure Camp – Session #2,  
for ages 13-16
- July 24-August 6, 2005**  
Teachers Seminar, Ukrainian  
Educational Council  
of New York City
- July 31-August 5, 2005**  
Scuba Course for ages 12 and up



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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Wednesday, April 13

**NEW YORK:** Meest-America invites the public to an evening with members of the Maria Zankovetska Theater of Lviv to be held at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 E. 79th St., at 7 p.m. Among actors present will be Tayisia Lytvynenko, Fedir Stryhun, Lida Ostrynska, Oksana Lan, Albina Sotnikova, Yaroslav Muka, Stapan Hlova and Vitaliy Honcharenko. The evening's program will include excerpted performances from the theater's productions, as well as monologues, poetry recitation and song. There will also be an opportunity to meet with the artists in a casual atmosphere; refreshments will be served. Admission: \$20. For additional information call Meest-America, (800) 288-9949 or (908) 474-1100.

Friday, April 15

**NEW YORK:** As part of the exhibition "Visible Traces" currently on view at the Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA), featuring the most recent paintings by Alexander Motyl, there will be a cocktail reception, co-sponsored by The Harriman Institute of Columbia University, at the UIA, 2 E. 79 St., at 6-9 p.m. For more information, contact the UIA, (212) 288-8660, or The Tori Collection at www.toricollection.com.

Saturday, April 16

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) invites the public to a roundtable discussion titled "The End of the Concept of Eurasia." Featured participants are Dr. Larissa Onyshkevych, president, NTSh; Ambassador Yuri Shcherbak; Ambassador Derek Fraser; Dr. Taras Hunczak, Rutgers University; Dr. George Grabowicz, Harvard University; Dr. Nadia Diuk, director, Central Europe and Eurasia, National Endowment for Democracy; and Dr. Aleksander Motyl, Rutgers University. The roundtable will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 6 p.m. For additional information call (212) 254-5130.

Monday, April 18

**CAMBRIDGE, Mass.:** The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute will host a

lecture by Ihor Papusha, assistant professor of philology, Ternopil State Pedagogical University, and HURI research fellow, on the topic "Narrative Models of Realism in Ukrainian Literature." The lecture will be held in the HURI Seminar Room, 1538 Massachusetts Ave., at 4-6 p.m. The event is free and open to the public. For further information contact HURI, (617) 495-4053, or visit the website www.huri.harvard.edu.

Thursday, April 21

**NEW YORK:** The Columbia University Language Policy and Language Development in Ukraine Roundtable Series presents a lecture by Eugene Fishel, U.S. State Department, titled "Language Preference as a Political Indicator: Results of a Recent Survey in Ukraine." Mr. Fishel will present data from a national survey carried out in Ukraine at the end of 2004. This data, controlled for language to demonstrate differences (or similarities) between Ukrainian and Russian speakers, focuses on three main categories of issues: the state of the country, Ukraine's place in the world, and the 2004 presidential election. The roundtable will be held at Columbia University, 420 W. 118th St., International Affairs Building, Room 1219, at noon. For additional information call (212) 854-4697; e-mail ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu; or access www.sipa.columbia.edu/ukrainianstudies/.

**NEW YORK:** The Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University will hold a panel discussion titled, "The First 100 Days of Yushchenko's Presidency: An Analysis." Panel speakers will include Eugene Fishel, U.S. State Department; Ambassador Nelson Ledsky, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs; Stephen Nix, International Republican Institute; with Prof. Mark von Hagen, Columbia University, moderator. The panel discussion will be held at 420 W. 118th St., International Affairs Building, Room 1501, at 4-6 p.m. For additional information call (212) 854-4697; e-mail ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu; or access www.sipa.columbia.edu/ukrainianstudies/.

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