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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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

Vol. LXXIII

No. 44

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 30, 2005

\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

National deputy says he sees no progress in fighting corruption

by Yana Sedova
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Ukraine has made no progress in combating corruption since the Orange Revolution, and the effort is hopeless, said National Deputy Volodymyr Stretovych, the chairman of the Verkhovna Rada's Committee on Combating Organized Crime and Corruption.

Mr. Stretovych offered his surprisingly candid and somber assessment at an October 24 roundtable discussion attended by reporters and leaders of the Pora Civic Party, the political party that evolved from the Pora movement during the Orange Revolution.

Pora leaders asked why government authorities have failed to prosecute those who broke Ukrainian law in the years leading up to the Orange Revolution, those who falsified votes during it, and the lawbreakers since then.

Lack of political will is the main reason for losing the battle against corruption, Mr. Stretovych told the roundtable. "The government is sowing permissiveness," he said. "That is why we'll never build a lawful state."

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Ukrainian steel giant sold for \$4.8 billion

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — In what pro-Western forces consider the Yushchenko presidency's biggest success so far, the Ukrainian government on October 24 sold its most valuable industrial asset, Kryvorizhstal, to Mittal Steel Co., the world's largest steel maker.

The Netherlands-based multinational firm paid \$4.8 billion for a 93 percent stake in the Kryvyi Rih plant, more than five times the \$804 million paid by Rynat Akhmetov and Viktor Pinchuk at a rigged June 2004 auction that denied billion-dollar offers from several foreign firms.

A court stripped the two businessmen of ownership in April this year.

"If all of Ukraine's enterprises went through a relatively fair auction such as this one, Ukraine would be incredibly rich compared to where it is today," said Ivan Lozowy, president of the Kyiv-based Institute of Statehood and Democracy, which is exclusively financed by Ukrainian business donations. "This shows just how Ukraine's potential has been lost over the past 14 years."

Mr. Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yuriy Yekhanurov hailed the sale as a victory for the Ukrainian people that will bring at least \$1.4 billion to the national budget and restore confidence in the nation's business climate among foreign and domestic investors alike.

"The transparent auction would not have been possible without the 2004 revolution," Mr. Yushchenko said in a statement released by his press office.

"It demonstrated that our policy, supported on the maidan, was irreversible. Due to your steadfastness, the mill was legally returned to the state," the statement noted.

In fact, both Mr. Yushchenko and former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko sought to maximize their



AP/Efrem Lukatsky
President Viktor Yushchenko congratulates Lakshmi Mittal, chairman and CEO of Mittal Steel, after the company won the tender for Kryvorizhstal by offering \$4.8 billion.

public relations gains from the auction, which many hope will become a turning point in Ukrainian enterprise.

Rarely does a business deal capture a national audience, but

Channel 5 TV opted to nationally televise the Kryvorizhstal auction on a live morning broadcast.

Ukrainians watched business-

(Continued on page 12)

Ukrainian National Association's General Assembly holds annual meeting

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — The annual meeting of the Ukrainian National Association's General Assembly took place on Friday, September 23, through Sunday, September 25, at Soyuzivka, the fraternal organization's estate.

The business session is held annually to discuss the UNA's operating results and adopt a new budget for the coming year, develop a strategic direction for the fraternal organization and address various organizational issues. The annual meeting also provides an opportunity for the advisors to report on activities of their local community and UNA branches.

President Stefan Kaczaraj presided over the three-day session. The first day was largely devoted to the reports of the executive officers, who reported on the status of the UNA for 2004 through the second quarter of 2005.

Each General Assembly member also reported on his or her activity during the past year. Also reporting to the General Assembly were Editors-in-Chief Irene Jarosewich of Svoboda and Roma Hadzewycz of The Ukrainian Weekly, as well as Soyuzivka General Manager Nestor Paslawsky.

Meetings of the Auditing, Finance, Organizing, Fraternal and Marketing, Canadian and Publications committees took place. The committees reviewed the performance of their respective areas of responsibility and presented formal recommendations and

(Continued on page 23)



Roma Hadzewycz
Members of the Ukrainian National Association General Assembly during the opening ceremony of their annual meeting.

ANALYSIS

September crisis may be over, but strategic problems remain

by **Taras Kuzio**
Eurasia Daily Monitor

President Viktor Yushchenko has declared that the political crisis in Ukraine is over. The turmoil began on September 5 with allegations of corruption within his inner circle (Channel 5 TV, October 6). Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn, a close ally of Mr. Yushchenko, added that there are no longer grounds to speak about a "political crisis" in Ukraine (Ukrayinska Pravda, October 11).

The reprieve will be short-lived, as the constitutional reforms coming into effect in January will make it imperative for President Yushchenko to obtain a parliamentary majority after the March 2006 parliamentary elections.

Current polls show Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine People's Union (OUPU), the Yulia Tymoshenko bloc, and the Party of the Regions of Ukraine all poll about 20 percent each (Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, September poll). Three other parties likely to enter Parliament – the Communists, Socialists and Mr. Lytvyn's People's Party – all poll less than 10 percent each. With just 5 percent support, Mr. Lytvyn may become the power broker for creat-

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

ing a parliamentary majority (Ukrayinska Pravda, October 13).

These low levels of support across the board mean that Mr. Yushchenko will need to compromise with the other two large blocs of votes: the Tymoshenko bloc or Viktor Yanukovych's Party of the Regions. But a compromise with either political force will bring problems.

Ms. Tymoshenko has always demanded a high-profile position in exchange for her cooperation, either prime minister or chairman of Parliament. But after Ms. Tymoshenko's poor economic performance as prime minister this year, President Yushchenko is unlikely to offer her this position again.

After widespread dismay over the memorandum signed between Messrs. Yushchenko and Yanukovych in September, President Yushchenko will have even more problems cutting a deal with his former rival for the presidency. A 2006 OUPU-Party of the Regions of Ukraine parliamentary majority would be seen as a betrayal of the Orange Revolution, reform prospects and Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration.

In the short term, Mr. Yushchenko needed to end the immediate crisis if he is to improve his public standing and ratings in the six months remaining before the elections. After eight months of drifting, elite infighting, wasted opportunities and too-frequent travels abroad, President Yushchenko needs to re-assert his authority.

The crisis gave Mr. Yushchenko an

(Continued on page 17)

Ukraine's prime minister appears to break the ice in visit to Belarus

by **Jan Maksymiuk**
RFE/RL Newsline

Ukrainian Prime Minister Yuriy Yekhanurov on October 18 paid an official visit to Minsk, where he held talks with Belarusian President Alyaksander Lukashenka and Belarusian Prime Minister Syarhey Sidorski. The visit suggests that Ukrainian-Belarusian relations, which soured after President Viktor Yushchenko came to power in the Orange Revolution, are warming up.

Mr. Lukashenka could not have been pleased by Mr. Yushchenko's presidential victory. Like Russian President Vladimir Putin, President Lukashenka congratulated Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych on having won the presidential run-off with Mr. Yushchenko in November 2004 despite the lack of a final tally in that vote.

The ensuing mass protests in Ukraine and Mr. Yushchenko's triumph in the repeat run-off in December 2004 no doubt came as a nasty surprise to Mr. Lukashenka – who had only recently staged a dubious referendum that allows him to run for a third term as president in 2006.

The Orange Revolution in Ukraine has inevitably kindled hopes that deposing President Lukashenka through a similar, popular revolt in Belarus is not out of the question.

By January, before Mr. Yushchenko

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

was even inaugurated, Mr. Lukashenka had publicly announced that "there will be no pink, orange, or banana revolutions in Belarus."

Mr. Lukashenka's irritation with Mr. Yushchenko in particular, and the Orange Revolution in general, was evidently increased by a statement that the latter signed in early April with U.S. President George W. Bush, pledging "to support the advance of freedom in countries such as Belarus and Cuba." Delivering his annual address to the Belarusian legislature later the same month, President Lukashenka slammed Ukraine for allegedly "forming camps" that were intended to train "revolutionaries" for Belarus.

A brief diplomatic squabble between Kyiv and Minsk followed in May, after Belarusian police arrested five young Ukrainians and 14 Russian youths who had come to Minsk to support their Belarusian colleagues during an anti-government rally. Minsk granted early release to the Russians, while the Ukrainians had to serve jail terms of 10 to 15 days in full and were subsequently deported and banned from re-entering Belarus for five years. President Yushchenko accused the Belarusian authorities of applying double standards to the Russian and Ukrainian demonstrators.

Afterwards, official Kyiv noticeably toned down its public statements regarding Belarus. Before the political crisis caused by the dismissal of Yulia

(Continued on page 17)

NEWSBRIEFS

Mittal wins auction with \$4.8 B bid

KYIV – The German branch of the Netherlands-based consortium Mittal Steel purchased a controlling stake in Ukraine's Kryvorizhstal steelworks for \$4.8 billion on October 24, international news agencies reported the same day. The price was a record for a privatization auction in Ukraine, the dpa news service reported. In the 45-minute auction, which was televised live, the German branch of Mittal Steel, Mittal Steel Germany GmbH, won 93 percent of Kryvorizhstal with a bid of 24.2 billion hryv (\$4.8 billion U.S.). Two Ukrainian consortiums also participated in the auction: Kyiv-based Smart Group and Donetsk-based Industrial Group. Kryvorizhstal accounts for 20 percent of total steel output in Ukraine, which is the seventh-largest steel exporter in the world. (RFE/RL Newsline)

SPF chair is hospitalized

KYIV – Valentyna Semeniuk, the chair of the Ukrainian State Property Fund, has been hospitalized with high blood pressure, ITAR-TASS reported on October 24. She reportedly became ill after the Political Council of the Socialist Party of Ukraine, of which she is a member, asked her to resign over the Krivorizhstal privatization. The Socialist Party sought to have the steel giant turned over to the state. Ukrainian State Property Fund Vice-Chairman Oleksander Bondar said that "there was no political implication behind Semeniuk's illness. Her health has really worsened." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Property Fund head resigns ...

KYIV – Valentyna Semeniuk, chairwoman of the State Property Fund, tendered her resignation to the president, Ukrainian media reported on October 24. The previous day the Socialist Party, of which she is a member, asked her to step down in connection with the planned sale of the Kryvorizhstal steel mill. The Socialist Party sought to have Kryvorizhstal turned over to the state. "A member of the Socialist Party cannot be involved in a deal that contravenes the party's program," ITAR-TASS quoted Yosyp Vynskyi of the Socialist Party as saying. (RFE/RL Newsline)

... President refuses to accept

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko

has refused to accept the resignation of State Property Fund Chairwoman Valentyna Semeniuk, Interfax-Ukraine reported on October 25. "I will not accept Valentyna Semeniuk's resignation," Mr. Yushchenko said at a press conference in Kharkiv the same day. "I appreciate her professionally. That is why I did not accept her resignation statement," he said, adding that the State Property Fund is performing well, "from preserving vacancies, paying off social debts, increasing capacities and occupying new markets to basic principles of object privatization." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Some 400,000 to vote abroad

KYIV – According to Minister of Foreign Affairs Borys Tarasyuk, so far, 392,696 Ukrainian nationals who reside and work abroad have been entered onto the lists of voters that will be made public on October 31. The Foreign Affairs Ministry has launched a telephone hotline service (238-18-61) to advise Ukrainian citizens about voting procedures, Mr. Tarasyuk noted. (Ukrinform)

Rumsfeld expresses support for Ukraine

VILNIUS – Speaking at a NATO conference in Vilnius, Lithuania on October 23, U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld highlighted Washington's support for Ukraine's bid to join the alliance, international news agencies reported the same day. In his remarks Mr. Rumsfeld stressed Kyiv's progress on political and military reform. "Progress [on reform] has been made, and we encourage it and are available to be of assistance in various ways," Reuters quoted Mr. Rumsfeld as saying at a press conference in Vilnius. Reuters quoted an unidentified senior U.S. official as saying that Mr. Rumsfeld arrived in Lithuania on October 22 – one day earlier than scheduled – to stress Washington's support for Ukraine with the European defense ministers who have been more cautious about Ukraine joining the alliance. Ukraine has said it hopes to join the alliance in 2008, during a tentatively scheduled NATO summit. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Hrytsenko on Ukraine's NATO aspirations

VILNIUS – Ukrainian Defense

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

FOUNDED 1933

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

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

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

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

Postmaster, send address changes to:
The Ukrainian Weekly
2200 Route 10
P.O. Box 280
Parsippany, NJ 07054

Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz
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Andrew Nynka
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The Ukrainian Weekly Archive: www.ukrweekly.com; e-mail: staff@ukrweekly.com

The Ukrainian Weekly, October 30, 2005, No. 44, Vol. LXXIII

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Students go on hunger strike to demand increased rights

by Yana Sedova

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – A student hunger strike, which resulted in the hospitalization of its leader, convinced Ukraine's Ministry of Education and Science to yield to students' demands for increased rights.

After eight days of protests in front of

the ministry building and the Presidential Secretariat, 20 students launched the hunger strike on October 10, led by Oleh Yatsenko, the chair of Studentske Bratstvo, a Ukrainian youth civic organization.

Mr. Yatsenko was hospitalized on October 13 due to concerns about a potential heart attack. The same evening,

Vice Minister of Education and Science Mykhailo Stepko announced the Ministry would comply with Studentske Bratstvo's five demands.

"Our dialogue with officials lasted six months," Mr. Yatsenko said at an October 17 press conference. "We stressed that we didn't plan any street demonstrations, with the hope that all our concerns would be resolved in response to our appeals."

However, the five demands set by students at the Ukrainian Students Forum on June 27-28 failed to get any reaction from the ministry, Mr. Yatsenko said.

In their most critical demand, students asked President Viktor Yushchenko not to sign the bill "About Higher Education" because of three amendments that violate students' rights, Mr. Yatsenko said.

The first amendment imposes a mandatory three-year state assignment for graduates who studied in institutes and universities on government scholarships. This amendment was intended to force students to work in undesirable towns and villages in Ukraine. If a student rejects the assignment, he or she may be forced to repay the scholarship.

Another amendment gives private universities the right to raise tuition payments based on fluctuations in the dollar-hryvnia exchange rate. Activists were concerned that this might cause unjustified tuition hikes and strike hardest at students who barely find money to pay for their education.

The third amendment conflicted, activists said, with the Bologna Process, a European Union project launched by Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy in May 1998, that seeks to create a unified European system of higher education starting in 2010. Ukraine joined the Bologna Process on May 19, agreeing to its obligations.

Among the requirements is that student council representatives have a 10 percent voting stake in university councils.

"Ukraine has to follow its obligations," Mr. Yatsenko said. "However, the

new bill provides only an advisory status for student council leaders."

Studentske Bratstvo also demanded public transportation discounts for summer sessions and timely distribution of student identification cards in order to obtain these benefits.

Among their most controversial demands is prohibition of fines for missed classes, which university rectors staunchly oppose. Though the ministry agreed to forbid the collection of fines for missed classes, some rectors still openly say that they will keep fining students, said Anastasia Khoniakina, the press secretary of Studentske Bratstvo.

Rectors claim the fines are necessary to force students to attend classes, however, some students end up paying more for missed classes than the tuition for the classes themselves.

In his letter to students, Mr. Stepko announced that a Ministry commission also had examined corruption allegations made against Ruslan Postolovskyi, the rector of Rivne State Humanitarian University.

In addition to leading a government university, Mr. Postolovskyi also owns and serves as rector of the Rivne Institute of Slavic Studies.

Studentske Bratstvo alleged that Mr. Postolovskyi rented dormitory rooms in the public university to those attending the private university he owns. As a result, those attending the Rivne State Humanitarian University had no place to live.

The Ministry of Education and Science ordered Mr. Postolovskyi to meet the demands of Studentske Bratstvo that he end his corrupt activities within a month.

As part of its campaign, Studentske Bratstvo demanded the resignation of Mr. Postolovskyi and Vasyl Yakovets, the rector of Nizhen State University.

The student activists allege that both rectors pressured students to support and vote for presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich.



Andrii Sydorenko

Studentske Bratstvo Chair Oleh Yatsenko leads students in a three-day hunger strike in one of nine tents.

OSCE provides Ukraine's CEC with computers to improve voter lists

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

KYIV – With parliamentary elections due in March 2006, the Ukrainian Central Election Commission (CEC) on October 4 began distributing computer equipment and software to local working groups dealing with voter registration throughout Ukraine.

The computer equipment, which was provided within the framework of the Plan of Cooperation between the OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine and the CEC, will be used to establish reliable voter lists.

More than 1,700 computers, 850 printers, 29 servers and additional accessories will be distributed.

"This shows the strong commitment on the part of the CEC to promptly follow-up on the recommendations of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights," said Ambassador James Schumaker, OSCE project coordinator in Ukraine.

Yaroslav Davydovych, chairman of

the CEC, the state body responsible for conducting elections in Ukraine, said, "This initiative will assist the CEC in the establishment of reliable voter lists, within the timeframe set out in Ukrainian legislation, which will serve as the basis for a future voter register."

The project was carried out with financial support from the European Commission Delegation to Ukraine, the Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the governments of Finland, Norway and the United States.

In assisting the Ukrainian government through projects undertaken within its competencies, the OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine supports the election process in a non-partisan and objective manner. The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights is the institution responsible for election observation within the OSCE.

Quotable notes

"The government has failed to become transparent. It doesn't respond to criticism. Sure, you can criticize it now more easily, you know you won't get arrested or killed, but it's not making any difference. Freedom of speech is just one part of a democratic society: The authorities have to respond to it. Otherwise, it's one-way traffic."

– Serhii Leschenko, a journalist with *Ukrayinska Pravda*, as quoted in an October 18 story by Kateryna Khinkulova for *BBC News*.

"... Unfortunately, the declared maidan values did not materialize in the deeds of people entrusted with people's hopes. The majority of the ruling team that rode the wave of the revolution did not realize who they owe their success to."

"Businessmen, who occupied the offices on Hrushevsky and Bankova streets, firmly believe even now that their paths were paved with the millions of dollars spent on the revolution, but not with the millions of Ukrainians at the streets. ..."

– Mykola Tomenko, former vice prime minister in the Tymoshenko Cabinet, writing in the September 30 issue of *Ukrayinska Pravda*.

The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine

Prime Minister:

Yurii Yekhanurov (Our Ukraine)

First Vice Prime Minister:

Stanislav Stashevskiy

Vice Prime Ministers:

Agro-Industrial Complex: Yurii Melnyk

Humanitarian and Social Issues: Viacheslav Kyrylenko (Ukrainian People's Party)

Regional Policy: Roman Bezsmertnyi (Our Ukraine)

Ministers:

Agrarian Policy: Oleksander Baranivskiy (Socialist)

Coal Industry: Viktor Topolov

Construction and Architecture: Pavlo Kachur (Our Ukraine)

Culture and Tourism: Ihor Lykhovyi

Defense: Anatolii Hrytsenko

Economy: Arsenii Yatseniuk

Education and Science: Stanislav Nikolayenko (Socialist)

Emergencies: Viktor Baloha (Our Ukraine)

Environment: Pavlo Ihnatenko (Our Ukraine)

Family, Children and Youth: Yurii Pavlenko (Our Ukraine)

Finance Minister: Viktor Pynzenyk (Reforms and Order Party)

Foreign Affairs: Borys Tarasyuk (Rukh)

Fuel and Energy: Ivan Plachkov

Health Minister: Yurii Poliachenko

Industrial Policy: Volodymyr Shandra (Our Ukraine)

Internal Affairs: Yurii Lutsenko

Justice: Serhii Holovaty

Labor: Ivan Sakhan

Transport and Communications: Viktor Bodnar

Security Service of Ukraine Chair: Ihor Drizhchanyi

National Security and Defense Council Secretary: Anatolii Kinakh (Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs)

Presidential Secretariat Chair: Oleh Rybachuk (Our Ukraine)

Specialists speak on the U.S. and Ukraine after the Orange Revolution

by Taras Mazzyar and Marta Matselioukh
U.S.-Ukraine Foundation

WASHINGTON – On Friday, October 14, The Washington Group (TWG), in conjunction with the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced

business affairs. During the visit, the U.S. delegation met with Ukraine's government officials, including the Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov, Presidential Secretariat Chair Oleh Rybachuk, Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk, Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council Anatolii

The assistant secretary pointed out that it is also necessary to remember that Ukraine has made significant progress since this past January. "The media operate more freely, respect for civil rights has improved and the court has become more independent," stated Mr. Kramer.

Commenting on the recent Ukrainian political turbulence, Mr. Kramer said that "no country has made the transition from communism to democracy and a market economy without ups and downs. So, we need to have realistic expectations and to keep helping to steer Ukraine in the right direction. We [the U.S.] also said that there is a very urgent need to regain the momentum on vital economic reforms and to redouble efforts to combat corruption."

During meetings with Ukraine's officials, the U.S. side also stressed the need to set aside personal animosities, and to cooperate on issues that are vital for Ukraine's future.

Following Mr. Kramer's presentation, Dr. Kuzio analyzed the recent events in Ukraine, the public reaction to them, as well as the overall trends in contemporary Ukrainian politics.

According to Dr. Kuzio, it is incorrect to assess the recent crisis in Ukraine from two maximalist viewpoints – to either ignore it, or to emotionally exaggerate that the Orange Revolution has been betrayed. Ukraine's politics is also too complicated to blame only one side (usually Ms. Tymoshenko) for creating the crisis. Blame is to be shared by Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Yushchenko.

Eight positive developments are currently taking place in Ukraine since the Orange Revolution, explained Dr. Kuzio.

Firstly, although the new government is a mismatch of various political factions, the new guard, unlike its Kuchma-era predecessor, is not pursuing violent means against those who oppose it.

Secondly, the Orange Revolution has empowered young people and reinforced civil society. Thirdly, there has been a great increase in media freedom. Fourthly, law enforcement is being brought under democratic control and corruption attacked.

Fifthly, according to Dr. Kuzio, there is a positive trend in that Ukraine is moving away from Eurasia's and the CIS's super-presidential system to a European, Central-European system. "Of the 27 post-communist states which have undergone democratic transition since 1991, the most successful have been those with parliamentary systems in Central Europe, not a presidential system. Ukraine is moving in its reforms towards the Central-European, Baltic model. And that's a good thing," said Dr. Kuzio.

Sixthly, Dr. Kuzio pointed out that the political spectrum of Ukraine is radically changing, with the centrist camp in an even

worse mess than that of the Orange coalition. The Communists are on the decline.

Seventh, corruption is being dealt with, but not as much as one would have hoped. Finally, Russia's and Ukraine's paths are diverging.

But, there are also areas to criticize. Overall, Dr. Kuzio said he believes that President Yushchenko has traveled abroad too much, and the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States should not have encouraged his most recent trip to America. Instead, Mr. Yushchenko should have focused more on Ukraine's domestic political crisis and getting his candidate for prime minister through Parliament in the first attempt. Also, signing the recent memorandum with former Prime Minister Yanukovich was a strategic mistake.

Both Mr. Kramer and Dr. Kuzio agreed that the upcoming March 2006 Ukrainian parliamentary elections are crucial for Ukraine's future. Because of constitutional reforms, the next Parliament will be extended by one year, until 2011. "During that time, basically, Ukraine's fate is decided in terms of NATO, WTO and the EU. That's why Yushchenko has to work hard for the next few months," said Dr. Kuzio.

A question and answer period with the audience followed the discussion. Corruption in Ukraine, Ukraine's prospective membership in the World Trade Organization and the European Union, Ukraine's treatment of the country's Jewish community, the problem of Ukraine's graduation from the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and the media situation in Ukraine were of special interest.

With regard to the Jackson-Vanik amendment, both speakers confirmed that the Ukrainian government has made significant progress in this area through the years, and that the U.S. government supports the graduation of Ukraine from Jackson-Vanik.

Taking into account the positive achievements of the Orange Revolution, the speakers were generally positive about the medium-term prospects and possibilities for Ukraine's future. However, they noted that the future will depend on the success of Ukraine's government policy and economic reforms which have been slowed recently and require the attention of President Yushchenko.

With almost every seat in the SAIS Rome Auditorium occupied, the event was very well attended. Among the attendees were Steven Pifer, former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine; Marcus Micheli, senior Ukraine Desk officer at the U.S. Department of State; and Eugene Fishel, acting division chief at the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the State Department. A reception followed the event.



Dr. Taras Kuzio speaks, as Orest Deychakiwsky (center) and David Kramer listen.

International Studies (SAIS), hosted a presentation on "After the Orange Revolution: the U.S. and Ukraine."

The speakers included David Kramer, deputy assistant secretary for European and Eurasian affairs at the U.S. Department of State, and Taras Kuzio, visiting professor at George Washington University. The event was held at 7 p.m. at SAIS.

Moderated by Orest Deychakiwsky, staff advisor at the U.S. Helsinki Commission, the panelists assessed the contemporary situation in Ukraine, analyzed the effects of the Orange Revolution, and commented on the direction of U.S.-Ukraine relations for the near future.

As the evening's first panelist, Mr. Kramer highlighted the importance of the Orange Revolution, Ukraine's continued democratization and its integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. Mr. Kramer noted: "The Orange Revolution has radically transformed the political dynamics in Ukraine. And it also had and still has significant ramifications for the whole region. All of us, not least the Ukrainian people, have a stake in Ukraine's continuing democratization and success, the development of a market economy and rule of law, and integration into global economic institutions and the Euro-Atlantic community."

Mr. Kramer remarked on his most recent trip to Ukraine with Anthony Wayne, the assistant secretary of state for economic and

Kinakh, and officials of the Finance and Economy ministries.

Meetings were also held with former Prime Ministers Yulia Tymoshenko and Viktor Yanukovich, former State Secretary Oleksander Zinchenko and Verkhovna Rada deputies from a number of different factions.

According to Mr. Kramer, during their meetings with Ukraine's officials the U.S. delegation delivered a consistent message that the United States continues to support Ukraine's reform efforts and Euro-Atlantic aspirations.

"For our part, the United States' part, we stay ready to help support development of democracy, to help in anti-corruption efforts and forward economic reforms. We'll cooperate closely with the Ukrainian government across a wide spectrum of issues. The joint statement that the two presidents, President [George W.] Bush and President [Viktor] Yushchenko, signed in April focuses on concrete areas of our cooperation such as promoting democracy and freedom, fighting terrorism, supporting Ukraine's NATO aspirations and combating weapons proliferation and promoting economic reform. We also pledge to cooperate in fighting organized crime, trafficking in persons and other issues such as HIV/AIDS. We certainly have a full agenda with the Ukrainians," Mr. Kramer said.

MP Mark testifies for redress before Standing Committee

OTTAWA – Inky Mark, member of Parliament for Dauphin-Swan River-Marquette, testified on October 21 before the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage.

Mr. Mark explained, "The committee has started to hear testimony regarding two of my Private Member's Bills: C-331, the Ukrainian Canadian Recognition Act, and C-333, the Chinese Canadian Recognition Act that was tabled by my colleague Bev Oda."

Both pieces of legislation seek to educate Canadians about their history. The intent of C-331 is to recognize the injustice that was done to persons of Ukrainian descent and other Europeans who were unjustly interned at the time of World War I and to provide for public

commemoration and education. C-333, once passed, will recognize the injustices done to Chinese immigrants through head taxes and exclusion legislation.

During the hearing MP Mark commented, "Both the Ukrainian and the Chinese communities have been seeking recognition for over two decades in this country. I've been working on both of these bills since being elected in 1997. It has taken a long time for this legislation to get where it is."

"Why do we need to pass Bills C-331 and C-333? We are a multicultural society. We reflect the best of mankind around the world. So, to continue, we need to fix our historical problems. These two issues are not currently part of our Canadian history. They are missed," he stated.

Mr. Mark concluded his statement by saying, "There is no doubt after all these years it is time for resolution. It's time to quit talking about it and deal with it. Parliament must lead the way. We need to recognize and accept our past, learn from it, and move on. It's long overdue."

After hearing more testimony, the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage will draft a report to be presented to the House of Commons for further debate and a vote at third reading.

The Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA) has endorsed Bill C-331, and the UCCLA's director of research, Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, was to appear as an expert wit-

ness before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage to speak in support of Mr. Mark's bill.

Commenting on recent developments with respect to the Ukrainian Canadian community's requests for acknowledgment and restitution, Dr. Luciuk said: "Working with our partners in the Ukrainian Canadian Congress and Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, and with the active support of MPs Borys Wrzesnewskyj and Walter Lastewka, we have already been able to move our case forward, as was announced August 24 when the prime minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Paul Martin, bore witness to

(Continued on page 25)

FOR THE RECORD: NATO secretary general's speech in Kyiv

Following is the text of the speech by Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, secretary general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, titled "Achieving Ukraine's Integration Goals: What Needs To Be Done," which he delivered at the Diplomatic Academy in Kyiv on October 20.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends:

It is always a pleasure to return to Ukraine. As you know, this time I have come to your country with the North Atlantic Council, the decision-making body of NATO.

Yesterday we had very fruitful meetings with President [Viktor] Yushchenko, Prime Minister [Yurii] Yekhanurov, Ministers [Borys] Tarasyuk and [Anatolii] Hrytsenko, Speaker [Volodymyr] Lytvyn and other members of the government and the Parliament of your country. Today, we have an equally important program. Members of the North Atlantic Council have flown out to Kharkiv, Odesa and Donetsk to reach out to the young people and members of the civil society in these regions. I have stayed in Kyiv to meet with you and also your colleagues at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

Dear friends:

It is a particular privilege for me to address the Diplomatic Academy, knowing that work under way today, including in the framework of the NATO-Ukraine Distinctive Partnership, is changing fundamentally the environment in which you one day will be practicing this diplomatic profession.

When I was here in June, the alliance and Ukraine had just decided to launch an "Intensified Dialogue" on Ukraine's aspirations to NATO membership and on the reforms necessary to bring those aspirations closer to reality. Foreign Minister Tarasyuk shared with me a "discussion paper," in which the Ukrainian authorities identified areas where policies would need to be changed or actions taken in order to achieve NATO standards.

These standards apply to issues as diverse as the strength and reliability of democratic institutions, the current state of defense and security sector reform, Ukraine's commitment to peaceful resolution of disputes and the maintenance of good relations with her neighbors. All of these questions will be addressed during the Intensified Dialogue process.

The Intensified Dialogue is off to a good start, and we took another important step yesterday, when the North Atlantic Council held a series of meetings with President Yushchenko and senior members of Ukraine's executive and legislative branches. Allies continue to be struck by the seriousness and professionalism of our Ukrainian colleagues.

We also have been witness to the leadership's determination to ensure continuity in Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration drive, despite political changes here in Kyiv over the past weeks. And we intend to maintain a robust schedule of NATO-Ukraine work throughout the autumn. The next step in this regard will be the informal defense ministerial consultations in Vilnius [Lithuania] next Monday [October 24], which will help us to focus more sharply on Ukraine's specific needs in the area of defence and security sector reform.

Ukraine's reform process and the further evolution of its relationship with the North Atlantic Alliance are inextricable, and both received a new impetus with the "Orange Revolution." Why is this so? Because the ideals of the maidan are our ideals as well. Because what drives Ukraine forward into a future of liberty and prosperity will also bring us closer together. The North Atlantic Treaty of

1949 was built upon a shared commitment to "democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law."

The alliance has defended these values for 56 years. Through our partnerships and our "open door" policy, we have helped states in transition throughout Central and Eastern Europe, including several of

our operations in Kosovo and Afghanistan. We look forward to working together in the context of our anti-terrorist naval patrols in the Mediterranean Sea in Operation Active Endeavor.

But beyond this operational context, we will also look increasingly to Ukraine as a partner in fighting arms trafficking and

border, Ukraine will have yet another opportunity to demonstrate her role as a responsible partner and a net exporter of security. This can only serve to improve the country's integration prospects.

Finally, we will be looking to the Ukrainian authorities to conduct a comprehensive dialogue with the Ukrainian people, to explain what the alliance is, what we have achieved in the framework of the NATO-Ukraine Distinctive Partnership, and why Ukraine wants and expects more. Because if the country is to realize her membership aspirations, then this must be a national project with broad public support. It must engage all constituencies and all regions, those who wore blue last December as well as those who wore orange.

Events like this one here today can help in this effort. And indeed, as we speak, many members of the North Atlantic Council are discussing these issues with the Ukrainian people across the country. But there needs to be greater overall awareness of what Ukraine's security concerns are, and how the alliance can help – indeed, is helping – to address them.

Here, I would highlight two concrete areas in which NATO is helping to address

(Continued on page 21)

...if [Ukraine] is to realize her membership aspirations, then this must be a national project with broad public support. It must engage all constituencies and all regions, those who wore blue last December as well as those who wore orange.

Ukraine's neighbors, to put these values into practice. There is no reason whatsoever why Ukraine should not also assume her rightful place as a full member of this community of shared values.

Progress has already been made in charting a course toward this ambitious goal.

Freedom of the media, a chronic concern that has plagued our relationship in the past, has improved dramatically since the beginning of this year. Political programs are being debated openly, and a vibrant parliamentary opposition is taking shape. In this distinguished company, however, rather than congratulate you on what has been achieved already, I would like to discuss some of the most important challenges that lie ahead.

The main engine driving Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration agenda forward needs to be a firm commitment to democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. The Ukrainian authorities – indeed, all political forces in Ukraine – need to demonstrate that they are willing and able to build strong, reliable democratic institutions, and to keep these institutions free from corruption.

Ukraine faces another important election in a few months. It is not for us, or anyone else outside Ukraine, to decide the results of that election.

But the quality of the process – whether there will be a free and fair campaign, equal access to media, unimpeded voting and an accurate vote count – will be a very strong indication of how much progress Ukraine has made in putting Euro-Atlantic values into practice. Similarly, it is not up to us to craft your system of government, but as the constitutional reform process moves ahead, Ukraine will have yet another opportunity, in consultation with the Council of Europe and others, to demonstrate her commitment to generally accepted democratic norms.

We will also be looking to Ukraine to affect sweeping changes throughout the security sector, building upon the very real progress achieved, with allied assistance, in reforming Ukraine's national defence institutions. This is absolutely essential, not because "NATO said so," but because professional, accountable military, security and intelligence organs, firmly underpinned by democratic control and respect for the rule of law, are indispensable to Ukraine's future as a free, democratic state. So are law enforcement and judicial institutions that serve the cause of justice, rather than political agendas.

Ukraine's leadership understands this, and the alliance stands ready to help them in making these reforms.

We will continue to work together to address common political and security challenges. Ukraine is an indispensable partner for the alliance in the conduct of

proliferation, and helping to address regional issues, such as the search for a political settlement in Transdnistria. Here, we welcome the energy and dynamism that the Ukrainian authorities have shown since the beginning of this year.

By tightening her own export control standards, and working together with the European Union to ensure adequate control of the Ukrainian-Moldovan state

NATO-Ukraine Commission's joint statement to the press

Following is the text of the joint press statement issued at the conclusion of the NATO-Ukraine Commission Meeting held in Kyiv on October 19.

At the April 2005 meeting of NATO-Ukraine Commission (NUC) foreign ministers, NATO and Ukraine launched an Intensified Dialogue on Ukraine's aspirations to NATO membership and relevant reforms, without prejudice to any eventual alliance decision. Today in Kyiv, the NATO-Ukraine Commission held its first meeting in the framework of this Intensified Dialogue. NATO Ambassadors were welcomed by Foreign Minister Borys Tarasyuk and Defense Minister Anatolii Hrytsenko, who participated in the meeting on behalf of Ukraine.

Members of the commission discussed Ukrainian efforts to implement reforms required of European democracies interested in pursuing alliance membership. They noted with satisfaction that a fruitful first round of expert consultations in the framework of the Intensified Dialogue was held in September between high-level Ukrainian officials and NATO international staff, and indicated they will remain engaged as this process continues.

Foreign Minister Tarasyuk briefed allies on internal political developments in Ukraine and priority issues of Ukraine's foreign policy, including the enhancement of regional security. He reaffirmed Ukraine's interest in NATO membership, and its desire to join the Membership Action Plan. In this connection, he also outlined Ukraine's ongoing efforts to ensure economic growth, the further democratization of governmental institutions, including in the defense and security sectors, the enhancement of the rule of law, including through judicial reform, the conduct of free and fair elections, and the continued fight against corruption. He reconfirmed Ukraine's commitment to implement these and all other aspects of the Ukraine-NATO Action Plan.

Defense Minister Hrytsenko informed the NUC about progress to date and future plans in the area of defense reform. He underlined that the MOD [Ministry of Defense] will continue to reform the armed forces of Ukraine to bring them closer to Euro-Atlantic standards, especially by developing interoperability with allied forces as a basis for active participation in, and support of, NATO-led operations. The minister looked forward to further discussions of Ukraine's defense and security sector reform plans with allies at the NATO-Ukraine high-level consultations in Vilnius [Lithuania] on October 23-24.

Allied ambassadors reaffirmed NATO's open-door policy, while underscoring that NATO remains a performance-based organization founded on shared values. They reiterated their commitment to the Intensified Dialogue, with a view to further supporting the achievement of Ukraine's reform objectives and her Euro-Atlantic integration aspirations. They welcomed the reform efforts of the Ukrainian leadership and encouraged Ukraine to fully utilize the Intensified Dialogue process to advance reforms. In this vein, they underscored that concrete progress in the key reform and policy areas discussed with Ministers Tarasyuk and Hrytsenko would be the prerequisite and ultimate measure against which Ukraine's aspirations to NATO membership would be considered. They looked forward to reviewing Ukraine's implementation of the NATO-Ukraine Action Plan at the NUC ministerial session in December.

NATO ambassadors thanked Ukraine for its warm hospitality. They welcomed the further discussions they would have of NATO-Ukraine cooperation with both the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine and the Verkhovna Rada, as well as the opportunity to engage the Ukrainian people directly through seminars and information activities in Donetsk, Kharkiv and Odesa.

Ukraine's economy freer, but stalled, say economic reports

by Andrew Nynka

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The Ukrainian economy, once booming but now largely stalled in the aftermath of the Orange Revolution, is freer than it has been in at least a decade, say several economic reports released recently. The findings of the research are significant because the studies also suggest that economic freedom is more effective than democracy in diminishing violent conflict.

One study, conducted by the Fraser Institute in Canada, ranked economic freedom within countries on a scale of 1-10, with 10 being the most free. In 2003, the most recent year studied, Ukraine scored a 5.5 and ranked 105th out of 127 countries. This is a significant improvement from 1995, when Ukraine scored a 3.4 and was ranked last among the 123 countries evaluated. The average economic freedom score for all of the countries included in the report was 6.4 in 2003.

In 2000 Ukraine moved up to a 4.7 rating and ranked 116th out of 123 countries. In 2001 it moved up to a 5.0 and its rank did not change from the previous year. In 2002 Ukraine scored a 5.4 and ranked 109th out of 123 countries. The study was first conducted in 1995.

A report from that study, titled "Economic Freedom of the World: 2005 Annual Report," examines the degree to which the policies and institutions of given countries support economic freedom.

According to the authors of the report, the ranking of economic freedom within a country was based on a number of factors. Among them were individual choice, the voluntary exchange of goods and services, the freedom to compete, and the security of privately owned property.

The study was conducted in conjunction with independent research and educational institutes in over 60 countries, including the Ukrainian Center for

Independent Political Research based in Kyiv.

In one of the more interesting findings, the report said that "when measures of both economic freedom and democracy are included in a statistical study, economic freedom is about 50 times more effective than democracy in diminishing violent conflict."

In a statement released together with the report on September 8, James Gwartney, a co-author of the report and a professor of economics at Florida State University, said that stable democracies tend to have high levels of economic freedom, which led to the question of whether democracy or economic freedom affects the chances of violent conflict.

"Researchers have long known democracies go to war about as often as other nations but tend not to go to war with each other," Mr. Gwartney said. "The impact of economic freedom on whether states fight or have a military dispute is highly significant, while democracy is not a statistically significant predictor of conflict."

Though the Fraser Institute's report is a positive indicator for Ukraine, President Viktor Yushchenko has still had to contend with the reality that his country's economy is cooling quickly.

Ukraine's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has slumped from 6.5 percent in January to just 1.6 percent in August, Mr. Yushchenko said during the International Economic Forum held at Lviv's Chamber of Trade and Industry on October 6. GDP, a measure of the value of a country's total output of goods and services, is often used to illustrate a country's economic strength.

While Ukraine's GDP has been falling in the immediate aftermath of the Orange Revolution, the Fraser Institute's study shows that its economy has been steadily opening up since at least 2000.

In this year's index, Hong Kong retained the highest rating for economic freedom, 8.7 of 10, closely followed by

Singapore at 8.5. New Zealand, Switzerland and the United States tied for third with ratings of 8.2.

The United Kingdom, Canada and Ireland ranked sixth, seventh and eighth respectively. Australia, Estonia, Luxembourg and the United Arab Emirates tied for ninth. The rankings of other large economies are Germany, 19th; Japan, 30th; France, 38th; Italy, 54th; Mexico, 59th; India, 66th; China, 86th; Brazil, 88th; and Russia, 115th.

The bottom countries were Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Venezuela, Zimbabwe and Myanmar. However, a number of other countries for which data are not available, such as North Korea and Cuba, may have even less economic freedom.

Thirty-eight components and subcomponents were used to measure the degree of economic freedom in five areas: (1) size of government; (2) legal structure and protection of property rights; (3) access to sound money; (4) international exchange; and (5) regulation.

The authors also noted that the overall pattern of results did not shift when additional variables, such as membership in the European Union, nuclear capability and regional factors, were added.

The report was co-authored by Robert Lawson, professor of economics at Capital University in Ohio. Erik Gartzke, a political scientist at Columbia University, contributed to the report.

Another study, conducted by the Heritage Foundation and the Wall Street Journal, examined the economic freedom of 155 countries. Ukraine was the second most improved country, giving it an overall rank of 88th, while Madagascar was the most improved, with an overall rank of 48th.

In reference to the region encompassing North America and Europe, the report noted that "Ukraine, though, logged the most dramatic improvement in the region, by reducing its tax burden, easing price controls and accelerating the pace

of privatization." The study also found that this was the only region that has not repressed economies.

The "2005 Index of Economic Freedom" looked at the link between freedom and prosperity, and found that "the countries with the most economic freedom also have higher rates of long-term economic growth and are more prosperous than are those with less economic freedom," the Heritage Foundation said on its website.

The study measured 161 countries against a list of 50 independent variables that were grouped into 10 categories. The editors did not grade five countries because they are currently in a state of "civil unrest or anarchy." Those countries were Angola, Burundi, Congo, Sudan and Iraq. Serbia and Montenegro also was not graded because of a lack of reliable data.

The 10 categories measured were trade policy, fiscal burden of government, government intervention in the economy, monetary policy, capital flows and foreign investment, banking and finance, wages and prices, property rights, regulation and informal (or black) market activity.

The top five most economically free countries were Hong Kong (first), Singapore (second), Luxembourg (third), Estonia (fourth) and Ireland (fifth).

"Perhaps the greatest surprise in this year's index is the failure, for the first time, of the United States to make the top 10," a statement from the Heritage Foundation said. "Although its score remains unchanged from last year, and it is still classified as free, the United States – now in a tie for 12th place with Switzerland – has been 'treading water,' according to the editors, and hence has been surpassed by countries willing to open their economies still further."

The five least economically free countries were Turkmenistan and Zimbabwe (tied for 151st), Libya (153rd), Burma (154th) and North Korea (155th).

Lviv residents support Yushchenko over Tymoshenko, according to new poll

by Yana Sedova
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Lviv residents prefer President Viktor Yushchenko and his Our Ukraine People's Union party to his partner in the Orange Revolution, Yulia Tymoshenko, a new poll reported.

While Mr. Yushchenko commands more support than Ms. Tymoshenko, Lviv residents are reluctant to blame her for their split, according to an opinion poll conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology that was financed by Western companies and educational institutions.

If parliamentary elections were to take place on October 30, 38 percent of Lviv city residents would vote for the Our Ukraine People's Union political party led by Mr. Yushchenko, while 23 percent would vote for Yulia Tymoshenko's

Batkivschyna Party.

Oleksander Moroz's Socialist Party would get 4 percent of the city's votes, and 7 percent of Lviv residents wouldn't vote for any political party.

Regarding the political crisis that resulted in the September 8 dismissal of the Cabinet of Ministers, the largest number of Lviv residents blame Mr. Yushchenko's circle – 35 percent of respondents said politicians from the president's team are responsible. The poll did not identify any specific politician.

Only about 10 percent blame Mr. Yushchenko himself and even fewer respondents, 8.4 percent, consider Ms. Tymoshenko responsible for the crisis.

Mr. Yushchenko received 36 percent of support from poll respondents in his conflict with Ms. Tymoshenko, who was supported by 20 percent of respondents.

Among local politicians, Andrii Sadovyi and Vasyl Kuibida have the highest ratings.

If citizens were to vote for the Lviv mayor on October 30, Mr. Sadovyi would get 26.8 percent of votes. Mr. Kuibida wouldn't be far behind with 26.1 percent of votes, the poll said.

Lviv's current mayor, Liubomyr Buniak, would secure only 1.2 percent of the vote, the poll said.

The institute polled 706 respondents between October 1 and 10; the margin of error was not more than 4 percent.

USTDA grant to support aviation safety in Ukraine

Embassy of the United States

KYIV – U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John E. Herbst and First Deputy Chairman Anatolii Kolisnyk of the State Administration of Ukraine for Aviation Safety Oversight on September 27 signed a grant agreement with the goal of improving aviation safety in Ukraine.

The \$625,000 grant from the U.S. Trade and Development Agency (USTDA) will be used to fund technical assistance to improve aviation safety oversight functions in Ukraine to meet international standards. The State Aviation Administration selected Robinson Aviation Inc. of Arlington, Va., to provide the technical assistance.

"An internationally recognized and professional aviation regulatory system is vital not only for passenger safety," Ambassador Herbst said at the signing ceremony. "As Ukraine continues its transition to a more market-oriented economy, a viable and dynamic air transportation system is vital to the country's economic well-being and growth."

To this end, the USTDA-funded technical assistance seeks to enhance the safety posture of the Ukrainian aviation regulatory regime by helping transform the civil aviation authority into an organization that meets international standards by assuring the flying public that its national air transportation is safe and secure.

Specifically, the technical assistance program will evaluate the current status of Ukraine's civil aviation safety regulatory system, in both structure and operation, in light of the Ukrainian government's obligations in the International Civil Aviation Organization. In addition, it will include the preparation of an action plan to address regulatory, staffing, organizational and technical issues that the overall evaluation identifies.

The U.S. Trade and Development Agency advances economic development and U.S. commercial interests in developing and middle-income countries. The agency funds various forms of technical assistance, feasibility studies, training, orientation visits and business workshops that support the development of a modern infrastructure, and a fair and open trading environment.

USTDA's strategic use of foreign assistance funds to support sound investment policies and decision-making in host countries creates an enabling environment for trade, investment and sustainable economic development. In carrying out its mission, USTDA emphasizes economic sectors that may benefit from U.S. exports of goods and services. Since 1992 USTDA has allocated more than \$11 million to Ukraine, of which almost \$10 million were grants for feasibility studies.

Correction

In its news release published in The Ukrainian Weekly on October 23, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America listed incorrect information about the day and date of the New York City commemoration of the anniversary of the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine. The correct day/date for the memorial services and program at St. Patrick's Cathedral is Saturday, November 19.



THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

UNA sponsors exhibit about Ukrainian Insurgent Army

by Roma Hadzewycz

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is the subject of an exhibit currently on view here at the Ukrainian National Association's Corporate Headquarters.

The exhibit, which is based on the authoritative Chronicles of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Litopys UPA), encompasses historic photographs, archival documents, maps and various artifacts related to the UPA's fight for the freedom of Ukraine.

The official opening of the exhibit on Sunday, October 16, was scheduled to coincide with the Feast Day of the Protection of the Mother of God (Sviato Pokrovy), which is considered to be the day in 1942 when the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was founded.

Opening remarks were given by UNA Treasurer Roma Lisovich, who noted the importance of passing information about Ukraine's history on to the next generation.

An introduction to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was provided by Dr. Taras Hunczak, Rutgers University professor emeritus of history, who pointed to his own connection to the UPA as a young boy who served as a courier.

Prof. Hunczak spoke of the UPA's battle for Ukraine's freedom as it was caught between two powers: the Soviets and the Nazis. He described the fighting force as "an underground movement that had no outside support."

A showing of the documentary "A Daughter's Journey" by Christina Kotlar, who holds a master's degree in production for film and video from American University in Washington, was a highlight of the program. The filmmaker noted that she had read the memoirs of her father, Julian Kotlar, in Litopys UPA and realized "it was time to tell his story."

Ms. Kotlar and her father traveled to the region where her father's UPA unit was active and interviewed his comrades in arms and contemporaries in the diaspora. Her 20-minute documentary-in-progress – which will be expanded into an hourlong production – takes viewers to her father's birthplace and to the

forests in and beyond his native Lemkivschyna region where the UPA waged its valiant struggle.

Mr. Kotlar is seen in the film recounting how UPA units were "constantly on the move, spending not longer than one day in one place." He relates that these units "counted on civilian support" and that is why "entire villages that supported the UPA were destroyed by the enemy."

Mr. Kotlar underscores that "the sacrifices that cost us dearly were not in vain."

The film screening was followed by a question and answer session, during which Ms. Kotlar revealed that she is working on her documentary with a view toward showing it at film festivals. "We need to tell our story – a story about honor," she said.

She said she would like to add the civilian perspective to her narrative, as civilian support was crucial to the functioning of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Ms. Kotlar also noted that she has found this exhibit "elicits stories" from others who were either in the UPA, played supporting roles, or lived through this difficult period in Ukraine's history.

The same exhibit had been on display at Soyuzivka, the Ukrainian National

Association's estate in Kerhonkson, N.Y., over the weekend of July 29-31 as part of a broader conference titled "A Day in the Life of the UPA – Ukrainian Insurgent Army."

For information about viewing the

exhibit, readers may call the Ukrainian National Association, (973) 292-9800, ext. 3071. The exhibit will be on display at the UNA headquarters building, 2200 Route 10 (westbound), Parsippany, N.J., through November 12.



Roma Hadzewycz

Standing before a panel highlighting the women who served in the UPA are (from left): UNA Treasurer Roma Lisovich, UPA veteran Julian Kotlar, Prof. Taras Hunczak and filmmaker Christina Kotlar.



Prof. Taras Hunczak speaks about the history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.



The audience at the UNA Corporate Headquarters listens to presentations about the UPA.



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The UNA Cleveland District is pleased to invite
the Ukrainian community
to an informative session with

**UNA President
STEFAN KACZARAJ**

**Sunday, November 6, 2005
at 12:00 noon**

**At Pokrova Ukrainian Catholic Church
Parish Hall
6812 Broadview Rd.
Parma, Ohio**

Coffee and snacks will be served at 11:30 a.m.

**At the conclusion of the meeting
a drawing will be held for all attendees –
a weekend stay at Soyuzivka.**

Welcome one and all!

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Recognition long overdue

November 1 marks the 61st anniversary of the death in 1944 of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, a great civic, cultural and religious leader of Ukraine who was enthroned as metropolitan of Halych and archbishop of Lviv in 1901. Sheptytsky was a fearless fighter against both the Soviet and Nazi regimes whose influence was felt worldwide.

Active in political life, he was a member of the Galician Diet, the Austrian House of Lords and the Imperial Ministerial Council – all capacities in which he advocated Ukrainian rights and promoted Ukrainian education. He was a political prisoner of both the Russian and Polish authorities who occupied Halychyna at various times in history, yet he continued to speak out for the Ukrainian cause. In 1930 he condemned the Polish pacification campaign directed against the Ukrainians. He became an enemy of Soviet authorities when he spoke out about the Great Famine of 1932-1933 and condemned communism. As well, he criticized the assassinations of Polish officials that were carried out by radical Ukrainian nationalists.

All the while Sheptytsky was active also as a pastor and Church leader. He held regular eparchial synods and established the order of Studite Fathers. He sent many clergymen abroad to care for the needs of Ukrainian immigrants in North and South America. In 1928 he founded the Theological Academy in Lviv (which today has evolved into the Ukrainian Catholic University).

During the second world war Sheptytsky defended his Church during the Soviet occupation of western Ukraine. When the Germans occupied the region, he at first believed that German rule would be better than that of the Soviets. Soon, however, he saw the Nazis' true face. In early 1942 he wrote a letter to Himmler to denounce the treatment of the Jews and to protest the use of Ukrainians in anti-Jewish repressions. He also provided refuge to Jews and instructed his monasteries and convents to do the same. He authored the well-known pastoral letter "Thou Shalt Not Kill" and wrote to Pope Pius XII about the Nazis' killings of the Jews. According to various accounts written by historians, contemporaries and those whom Sheptytsky saved from the Nazis, more than 150 Jews were saved by the metropolitan.

According to a recent article in the Israeli newspaper Haaretz, for decades Holocaust survivors have tried to convince Yad Vashem to recognize Sheptytsky as one of the "Righteous Among the Nations," a designation given to those whose efforts to save Jews are recognized by the Holocaust memorial authority in Jerusalem. Since the 1960s the committee that grants the title of "Righteous" has met to discuss the Sheptytsky case 13 times; 13 times it has voted against recognition of Sheptytsky's courageous acts.

But a group of survivors in Israel is determined to win the recognition for Sheptytsky that he so rightfully deserves, wrote Haaretz, and they are circulating a petition to Yad Vashem. In the meantime, the Ukrainian-Jewish group Tkuma is to hold a seminar in Lviv dedicated to Sheptytsky with the participation of historians from Israel and Ukraine. And, Holocaust survivors say they are encouraged that an upcoming visit to Israel by President Viktor Yushchenko may also help the cause.

Meanwhile, within the Catholic Church, a movement for Sheptytsky's beatification that began in the 1950s bore its first fruit in 1968 when Pope Paul VI bestowed the title "Servant of God" upon Sheptytsky. In 2004 Cardinal Lubomyr Husar said all that is needed for the beatification of Metropolitan Sheptytsky is that the Church recognize a miracle that occurred through his intercession.

As we recall this great man on November 1, we pray that his extraordinary life and deeds may soon be recognized.

(Editor's note: the source for the historical information cited above is W. Lencyk's entry in the Encyclopedia of Ukraine.)

Nov.
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1997

Turning the pages back...

In 1997 at this time of year, our editorial announced: "The election season has begun in Ukraine" and issued a warning to our Ukrainian American community to beware of being used by those who were seeking office. Following are

excerpts from that editorial.

* * *

... Even before any major announcements of candidacies were made, Pavlo Lazarenko – once branded as one of the most corrupt officials in Ukraine – arrived in the United States. He said the goal of his October 19-24 visit was to spread "objective information" about developments in Ukraine, but others saw it differently: here was candidate Lazarenko, suddenly a reformer and democrat, preparing the ground for his run at the presidency.

In New York he plugged the platform of his Hromada (Community) party, and said the Kuchma administration has repeatedly harassed him and his party. In Washington he went on the offensive against the Kuchma administration, telling Ukrainian Americans: "There is no democracy in Ukraine. It died with the coming of the current administration, or regime."

Soon after his return to Kyiv, Pravda Ukrainy and Vseukrainskie Viedomosti, two Russian-language newspapers largely controlled by supporters of Mr. Lazarenko, published glowing articles about the visit. Both were replete with errors (some laughable, like references to "Harry" Kissinger, "Stan" Sestanovich, and "Congressmen" Morningstar and Pascual) and falsehoods (these much more serious, such as reporting that Ukrainian Americans support Mr. Lazarenko, that the U.S. government has soured on the Kuchma administration and that the Embassy of Ukraine in the U.S. is not doing its job). Both dis-informed the Ukrainian public by stating that The New York Times and the Washington Post had reported on the visit. ...

(Continued on page 16)

IN THE PRESS

Yushchenko's deal with Yanukovych, questions about the Orange Revolution

Interview with President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine with the Financial Times, London, published on October 14:

QUESTION: Not long ago you signed a joint agreement with your opponent in last year's elections, Viktor Yanukovych. Some of your supporters see this move as talks with the enemy. How should the agreement be understood?

ANSWER: I spoke not with Yanukovych, but with 13 million people [who voted for him in last year's elections], who represent principally eastern Ukraine.

My basis was the main slogan that everyone carried on Independence Square during the Orange Revolution: "East and West together."

I think I and every citizen of Ukraine is denigrated when Ukraine is divided, when in violation of the Constitution someone can speak of separatism, of an eastern Ukrainian republic. We all need to understand the precipice Ukraine was standing on.

So my idea was that the leaders of the factions in Parliament should sign a joint declaration for the sake of the future, and reach a mutual understanding on five to seven key issues.

That is, holding honest elections in March of next year, adopting a budget, not allowing political repression or persecution, European integration and joining the World Trade Organization, and adopting laws [defining the status of] the president, opposition and government.

And regarding the people who were drawn into falsifying last year's presidential elections, I proposed to formulate a more or less balanced policy, to reach a mutual understanding on the issues that can be closed.

We want to move, so shall we slap the cart or the horse?

Shall we imprison people for organizing the server [which allegedly gave unauthorized people real-time access to nationwide voting results data during the presidential elections], for organizing multiple voting at many polling stations, for the beating of demonstrators outside the Central Election Commission, which was organized by particular high-ranking officials?

Or shall we persecute thousands of doctors and teachers [i.e., ordinary people] who took part in vote fraud?

It wasn't a joint memorandum about the March elections. It was about how to resolve the key challenges that the political elite faces today, independent of whether they are from the authorities or the opposition.

Editorial, Financial Times, London, October 17:

... Mr. [Viktor] Yushchenko is hampered by the deal struck with Mr. [Leonid] Kuchma to secure peaceful regime change. Following next March's parliamentary elections, much of the president's power will be transferred to the prime minister.

So instead of thinking long term, Mr. Yushchenko must focus on the short-term issues of his party's poll prospects and its possible post-election coalition partners. It is in this context that he talked to Mr. [Viktor] Yanukovych.

It is to be hoped that Ms. [Yulia] Tymoshenko will now see sense. A

Yushchenko-Tymoshenko coalition remains Ukraine's best chance for a reformist, West-oriented government.

Even if Mr. Yushchenko bends with the political wind, he must not break with the Orange Revolution's ideals. Already he has gone too far in extending legal immunity from MPs [members of Parliament] to local assembly members.

It is not just principles that are at stake, but also Ukraine's future place in Europe.

Dominique Arel, associate professor and chair of Ukrainian studies at the University of Ottawa in Canada, writing in the October issue of Current History in the article titled "Is the Orange Revolution Fading?":

... Buoyed by the Orange Revolution, most analysts expected the Yushchenko presidency's first 100 days to be marked by a powerful program of political change, taking advantage of the disarray of the political opposition to reset the agenda and, more important, to change the way politics is conducted in a post-Soviet state. Puzzlingly, there was no such momentum. By one count, the number of draft laws initiated by the new president and prime minister was the lowest ever submitted to Parliament by the executive branch for any one legislative session since independence.

Compounding this image of passivity is a continuing and troubling ambivalence toward the law. Orange elites seem unable, or unwilling, to understand that an inclination to bend the law, even for high-minded short-term political purposes, can be extremely subversive for the long-term consolidation of Ukraine as a "normal" and "European" state. If 15 years of post-communist transition have taught one thing, it is that the rule of law constitutes the stepping-stone from which everything follows. Back in the early 1990s, many experts thought that a law-based state would evolve as a by-product of the implementation of liberal economic and electoral reforms. What we better understand now is that whenever political expediency trumps respect for the law, even for the purest of intentions, the foundations of a law-based state are eroded. The Orangists do not appear to share this understanding yet.

* * *

... Arguably the most critical challenge in the Orange era is the de-politicization of these "punishing" state agencies and the establishment of legal restraint in the application of executive power. In the first half-year of the Yushchenko administration, there is no evidence that a seismic change has occurred, or is about to.

The Procuracy, for one, does not appear to have changed the way it conducts business. Hardly a week has gone by, since January, without the announcement that a high-profile person associated with the former regime – including Yanukovych himself, his main business ally, and his former regional chief of staff – has been summoned for questioning or arrested. The number of such criminal cases that have been opened is reportedly in the thousands, although no case has yet gone to trial. The drumbeat of criminal investigations has been greeted favorably, or with indifference, by Western observers who bear little sympathy for the old regime. Yet one is struck by how selective the justice system has remained. ...

PERSPECTIVES

BY ANDREW FEDYNSKY



A local call in the global village

I was in a meeting in September when my cell phone rang. It was my friend Roman. "Can I call you back?" I asked. He readily agreed and gave me his number. An hour later, walking down St. Clair Avenue, I returned the call.

"Where are you?" I said.

"I'm on the Khreschatyk," Roman replied. Wow! The main boulevard in Kyiv, the same path city residents took more than a thousand years ago to the Dnipro to be baptized.

It was noon in Cleveland and 7 p.m. in Kyiv, and there we were, chatting at a distance of 5,000 miles, the signal clear as a bell. And it was a local call! Truly we live in a global village.

I remember a time when a letter from Ukraine, with colorful stamps marked "CCCP," was a big deal. Often, my parents pointed out how the envelope had been opened and then crudely resealed. "Tsenzura" (censorship), they'd explain before sitting down at the kitchen table to read the precious message from a brother or sister in the old country. Little was taken at face value. A person suffering from "the same illness" that had befallen someone else a while ago, meant the KGB was on his case. "Brisk winds blowing" was a political crackdown, and if "Stefko" was angry, that was really bad news.

Visits to Ukraine were also fraught with intrigue. Walk into an apartment and the host would put a finger to his lips and point knowingly to the ceiling. Relatives cautioned that the neighbor asking about life in America was really a KGB informant. Frumpy women sitting on every floor recorded the comings and goings of hotel guests.

It was a mechanical age, for the most part. To write, people took pen in hand or banged away at a manual typewriter. For copies, they used carbon paper. Kids these days barely know what that is, yet that's how Soviet dissidents in the 1960s and '70s challenged the system and ultimately brought it down. They'd type poetry, essays or stories in five or six copies, each more faint than the previous and distributed them to a small, trusted circle of friends, who then made copies of their own in the same painstaking, mechanical way. The KGB, desperate to stop the flow of self-published literature, conducted searches for forbidden manuscripts. They went so far as to analyze the typeface on documents, comparing it to a central registry of typewriters to try to identify and arrest the offending citizen.

Today, it all seems absurd, yet that was the grim reality – a nightmare society, cheerless, unimaginative, where creativity was stifled. Slowly, as radio increasingly penetrated the Iron Curtain, as copy machines replaced carbon paper, as growing numbers of artists, athletes and diplomats defected and tourists smuggled books, recordings and other contraband, the system was overwhelmed and ultimately collapsed. Brute-force politicians proved incapable of keeping pace with a more assertive citizenry who used more nimble technology.

Thirty-five years after my first trip to Kyiv, I was there again in August, when I joined the huge street festival marking Independence Day. It was overwhelmingly young and cheerfully vibrant. Tens of thousands shared the boulevard: break dancers, folk singers, Hari Krishnas, AIDS activists, jugglers, punks, unicy-

clists, veterans, boys dressed as Kozaks, girls in embroidered blouses. There were dogs, ponies and a monkey perched on a young man's shoulder. I saw a young Shevchenko-look-alike selling posters and an aging Lenin look-alike with a tin cup. Lots of people had cell phones pressed to their ears.

Believe it or not, there was even a long column of pagans parading on the Khreschatyk away from the river to honor the gods St. Vladimir deposed in 988. People took the Sun Worshipers in stride. After all, I thought, it's a free country; tourist that I am, I snapped pictures on my digital camera.

Walking the beautiful streets of Kyiv, I noticed how the Ukrainian language, once a rarity, is now ubiquitous on billboards, handbills, advertising, traffic signs, official notices, restaurant menus. Russian is also pervasive: for every Ukrainian conversation you overhear, four or five are in Russian. Indeed, when I spoke Ukrainian, the response was often in Russian. Politely, I'd explain that I'm an American who grew up with English and Ukrainian and barely comprehend Russian. Oh, no problem. Cab drivers, waitresses, sidewalk vendors, journalists, etc. would switch to the language of the customer – me – sensing, no doubt, that a deal or a tip was hanging in the balance.

For all the positives and negatives, Ukraine has truly changed for the better, and electronic communication has played a big role. It was critical for Ukraine's independence in 1991 and even more so during the Orange Revolution when people half a world away had up-to-the-minute information on what was going on.

In the Digital Age, people communicate freely – e-mailing, sending faxes, calling each other on cell phones, flying back and forth, often across political borders and many different time zones, pursuing their common interests, whether those are personal, cultural, commercial, religious, athletic, political or even criminal. The technology serves the cause of freedom, to be sure, but it's naive to think that just because no one's steaming open envelopes to read your mail, freedom is assured.

Dictators have always used a combination of guile and force to get their way. Nowhere was that more true than Ukraine. Today, the same technology that makes communication so easy also facilitates manipulation of public opinion, falsification of elections, the harassment and persecution of individuals. Indeed, it's now possible to track your every phone call, every purchase, every keystroke on your computer. That's why it was so inspiring to see Ukrainians whose ancestors had endured the tsarist Okhrana and the Soviet Cheka, NKVD and KGB rise up last December to defend what the nation had struggled for centuries to achieve.

In the process, Kyiv has become dynamic, stylish, bustling and free. Indeed, it's possible to call a friend in Kyiv, just like that – from Cleveland or a hundred thousand other places. Now, the challenge is to use Ukraine's hard-won freedom to achieve the kind of economy that brings rural Ukraine, with all its impoverished, dirt-road villages into the prosperous, connected global village.

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Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



And, oh, by the way...

In an August 31 editorial titled "More Anti-Semitism," the Kyiv Post wrote: "August 28 marked another sad day for Ukraine. That's when latent, often ignored and frequently tolerated anti-Semitism in Ukraine appeared to have shown its repugnant face. A local Jewish student was beaten and left for dead in the center of the city."

In an October 10 news story titled "Ukrainian Jews Honor Victims of Babi [sic] Yar Massacre," the Kyiv Post recounted the horrors of that Nazi-directed carnage which killed 33,700 Jews, and then, in a kind of gratuitous, "oh, by the way" statement, the editorial concluded: "Hundreds of thousands [of Jews] have been killed in pogroms [in Ukraine] over the centuries, and millions died in the Holocaust."

Babyn Yar was a horrendous atrocity during which Nazis killed thousands of Ukrainian Jews. But Ukrainians also were murdered at Babyn Yar. They were not mentioned in the Kyiv Post story. Why not? Like the Holocaust itself, it appears that Babyn Yar has now become an exclusively Jewish calamity.

Questions abound. Why is it that whenever Kyiv Post writers mention anti-Semitism in Ukraine they feel compelled to mention pogroms that occurred in Ukraine centuries ago, never mentioning the fact that they were orchestrated by Russian tsarist authorities and the Black Hundreds?

If Ukraine is so anti-Semitic, why are thousands of Jews returning to Ukraine from Israel? Why is there never any mention of the 1,755 people of Ukraine who rescued Jews during World War II, Christians like Tanka Kontsevych, mentioned in Martin Gilbert's book "The Righteous: Unsung Heroes of the Holocaust." Why does the Kyiv Post ignore Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, responsible for the survival of hundreds of Jews?

While thousands of Jews are returning to "anti-Semitic" Ukraine, Jews are fleeing France in droves. Small wonder. According to the French Interior Ministry, there were 510 anti-Jewish acts or threats in the first six months of 2004. More still in 2005. Claiming that France was host to "the wildest anti-Semitism," Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon recently urged more of France's Jews to emigrate to Israel.

Do any of these news stories mention France's complicity in the Holocaust? Of course not. And yet, the Vichy French government, a collaborationist regime headed by Henri Petain, "helped in the deportation of 70,000 Jews." They also "directly assisted the Nazis, in taking Jewish private property, destroying synagogues, and other Jewish monuments, and in shipping Jews to Nazi death camps." Donna F. Ryan confirms these numbers in her 1996 book "The Holocaust and the Jews of Marseille."

Is the Vichy government ever mentioned in news stories about anti-Semitism in France today? No. Instead we get a kind of sanitized version of the present depravity, suggesting that France's growing Muslim population is responsible.

If the Kyiv Post was truly balanced in its approach to Ukrainian Jewish relations, it would investigate the administration of the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum in Israel for its continuing refusal to award the title of "Righteous" to Metropolitan Sheptytsky for his role in

saving hundreds of Jewish lives in Ukraine and, at great risk to his own life, openly condemning the killing of Jews from the pulpit. Yakov Suslensky, an Israeli citizen, whose life was saved by Ukrainians during Soviet times, has appealed to Israeli courts 18 times to rectify this injustice, all to no avail. He has also appealed to three Ukrainian presidents – Leonid Kravchuk, Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Yushchenko – to appeal to Israel directly, also to no avail.

I know Yakov Suslensky; I helped coordinate two of his visits to the United States where he spoke to Ukrainian American audiences but was totally rebuffed by the Jewish American power structure.

Another Jew, Kurt I. Lewin, son of the Chief Rabbi of Lviv, saved from certain death by Metropolitan Sheptytsky, has also taken up the cause, not only among Jews but with the Vatican as well. During the Nazi occupation of Ukraine, Mr. Lewin was hidden by Studite monks headed by Ihumen Clement, Sheptytsky's brother, where he became fluent in Ukrainian and totally at home with the Ukrainian liturgy. He even learned to sing the liturgical responses.

Describing his Ukrainian Studite friends in his 1994 book "A Journey Through Illusions," Mr. Lewin wrote: "They accepted every task entrusted to them by Metropolitan Andrew [Andrey], including sheltering Jews at the risk of their lives. They did it voluntarily, for the love of Christ, without expecting thanks or a reward. Like most Ukrainians, they were not particularly friendly toward Jews, or interested in them. Nevertheless, a large number of Jews (over 200 of them) were saved in extraordinary circumstances, considering the size of the order."

When the war ended, Mr. Lewin emigrated first to Israel, where he served in the military, and later to the United States, where he also tried to get fellow Jews interested in the metropolitan. In his book he writes: "It was only after my arrival in the United States in 1951 that I could again explore the possibilities of interesting Jewish organizations in this extraordinary saga of assistance [the work of Metropolitan Sheptytsky]. I contacted the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, and others. I found no response whatsoever."

Later, Mr. Lewin, who named his son Andrew in honor of the metropolitan, testified in Rome on behalf of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's beatification on numerous occasions, beginning in 1959. His chapter titled "The Story of a Saint" is the best overview of the political resistance which the Sheptytsky postulation process has faced over the years, even among Ukrainian clergy. In favor of beatification was Cardinal Eugene Tisserant, prefect of the Congregation of Eastern Churches. Opposed was Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski of Poland who argued at the time that Metropolitan Sheptytsky was a controversial figure, much too involved in politics during his lifetime.

It's sad that the Kyiv Post chooses to simplistically beat the pogrom drum every time some deranged cretin beats a Jew in Ukraine. Understanding Ukrainian-Jewish relations requires a far more nuanced approach.

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Shevchenko Society presentation focuses on recent scholarly conferences

by Dr. Orest Popovych

NEW YORK – An exceptionally bountiful summer of international scholarly conferences on Ukrainian themes called for a coda, and one was arranged by the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) in the form of a roundtable at its headquarters on September 10.

The program featured several speakers who shared with the audience their impressions from three international conferences, which were wholly or partially devoted to Ukrainian topics: The sixth international congress of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies (IAUS), June 28-July 2, in Donetsk, Ukraine; the seventh congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES), July 25-30, in Berlin, Germany; and the 24th annual Conference on Ukrainian Subjects, June 29-July 2, in Urbana-Champaign, Ill.

First to speak was Dr. Mark von Hagen, director of Columbia University's Ukrainian Studies Program, who as the IAUS president at the time delivered the keynote address at the Donetsk congress. With slight amusement, Dr. von Hagen recalled how his speech had touched some raw nerves, evoking angry comments from the likes of Mykola Tomenko, then a vice-prime minister of Ukraine, as well as from Hanna Skrypnyk, president of Ukraine's National Association of Ukrainists.

What displeased them was Dr. von Hagen's sharp criticism of Ukraine's governmental and academic institutions, who he said "inactively watch the collapse of Ukrainian culture," while "the Ukrainian language is still weak and unstable." He bemoaned the present sorry state of the Ukrainian language and studies in Ukraine, attributing the lack of progress in this area to the persistence of a Soviet-style centralized bureaucracy.

The thrust of Dr. von Hagen's presentation, however, was to thank all those people and organizations, particularly the NTSh

and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, who helped organize and run the Donetsk congress. He also thanked the Ukrainists, who had chosen him to serve as the IAUS president for the past three years, a tenure that he called "the peak of my career." Dr. von Hagen reserved his special appreciation for NTSh's continuing financial support of the Ukrainian Program at Columbia University.

Dr. Myroslava Znayenko, a member of the NTSh governing board, president of the American Association of Ukrainian Studies, and a member of the organizing committee of the Donetsk congress, remarked that the level of scholarship demonstrated at the congress was very high, thanks to the titanic efforts of such people as Drs. Von Hagen, Yaroslav Hrytsak and Frank Sysyn, and Diana Howansky, as well as the considerable help from the congress's host, Prof. Volodymyr Shevchenko, rector of Donetsk National University.

Dr. Znayenko expressed her appreciation for the modern organization of the Donetsk congress as well as the international atmosphere created in part by the participation of local university students with foreign-language skills. Unfortunately, said Dr. Znayenko, the government of Ukraine had failed to interact constructively with the congress, displaying a provincial approach to Ukrainian scholarship, which was contrary to the expectations raised by the Orange Revolution.

In her reminiscences about the Donetsk congress, Dr. Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych, president of NTSh, focused on the question whether there was anything Ukrainian about Donetsk, arguably one of the most Russified cities in Ukraine. In fact she did encounter there three islands of Ukrainian presence: a Plast youth organization group, a very active branch of the NTSh, and a crop of graduate students specializing in Ukrainian language or literature at Donetsk National University.

On the negative side, she cited the insidious subtext of a bilingual play she saw at a local theater, in which the characters who were rude simpletons invariably spoke Ukrainian, whereas the Russian speakers were always well-mannered people of culture.

In Donetsk, Dr. Onyshkevych organ-

ized two panels, gave two talks, chaired two roundtables, participated in two others, and staged a presentation of NTSh publications. Furthermore, she initiated the formation of a Resolution Committee, which issued 13 detailed resolutions, mainly in support of Ukrainian language and scholarship in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian aspects of Donetsk were expanded upon in the detailed report by Svitlana Andrushkiw, director of the NTSh library, who visited both the local NTSh chapter and the Donetsk Regional Library. Headed by Prof. Volodymyr Biletskyi, the NTSh chapter has 52 members, and is remarkably active in the area of publishing. It issues periodic publications as well as a chronicle of its chapter and, in cooperation with the local Ukrainian Cultural Center, publishes the magazine *Skhid* ("The East") six times a year.



During a presentation at the Shevchenko Scientific Society about recent scholarly conferences (from left) are: Myroslava Znayenko, Mark von Hagen, Larissa Onyshkevych, Leonid Rudnytsky, Svitlana Andrushkiw and Maria Rewakowicz.

Very significantly, it also publishes Ukrainian-language textbooks, which are supplied to Ukrainian schools not only in the Donetsk area, but also to Ukrainian communities in the Kuban and Voronizh regions of Russia. The Donetsk Regional Library, said Ms. Andrushkiw, contains large holdings of literature from the Ukrainian diaspora. An exhibit of NTSh publications was displayed at the library at the time of her visit.

In addition to the four speakers, the following NTSh members participated in the Donetsk congress: Drs. Renata Holod, Marta Chomiak-Bohachevsky and Oleksandra Hrytsak, as well as Yevhen Stakhiv.

Next, a picture show set to music introduced the story of the ICCEES congress in Berlin. The still photographs depicting scenes from Berlin and the Congress were accompanied by the sounds of classical music chosen by NTSh's Andriy Legkyi, a composer.

Dr. Onyshkevych, who had earlier reported on the Berlin congress in great detail (see *The Ukrainian Weekly*, August 28), now limited her comments to a few memorable vignettes. The tone for the congress, whose theme was "Europe – Our Common Home," was set by Aleksander Kwasniewski, the president of Poland, whose keynote address was devoted almost exclusively to Ukraine, projecting his warm feelings toward Poland's eastern neighbor. Such feelings turned out to be contagious, as witnessed

of the sessions.

In addition to Dr. Onyshkevych, the following NTSh members participated in the Berlin congress: Drs. von Hagen, Myroslava Mudrak, Olenka Pevny and Maria Rewakowicz. Dr. Onyshkevych commented that staying in Berlin involved considerable expenditures, which in the future could be alleviated if Ukrainians were to acquire their own home there.

Reports on the Berlin congress wound down with remarks by Dr. Rewakowicz, who attended the sessions on Ukrainian literature. She also noted the extraordinary emphasis at the congress on Ukrainian subjects, pointing out that in addition to the 14 sessions devoted solely to Ukrainian themes, there were a great many involving Ukraine in a comparative context. However, Dr. Rewakowicz expressed disappointment with the virtual absence of Ukrainian diplomats from the congress.

Rather than reporting specifically on this year's 24th annual Conference on Ukrainian Subjects in Urbana-Champaign, Dr. Leonid Rudnytsky chose to trace the history of this "oldest, unique, strictly Ukrainian" conference, which has been sponsored by the Ukrainian Research Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for nearly a quarter of a century under the leadership of Prof. Dmytro Shtohryn.

Dr. Rudnytsky stressed the inexpensive stay at these conferences, which have been attracting an international cast of participants, particularly from Ukraine. According to Dr. Rudnytsky, the advantages of the Urbana-Champaign conferences include access to a great library and a prevailing relaxed atmosphere. Over the years the latter has generated a number of amusing episodes, some of which Dr. Rudnytsky recounted for the audience.

In addition to Drs. Rudnytsky and Shtohryn, this year's conference was attended by the following NTSh members: Drs. Jean-Pierre Cap, John Fizer, Assya Humesky, Taras Hunczak, Luka Kostelyna, Julian Kulas, Myron Kuropas, and Swiatoslaw Trofimenko, and Prof. Martha B. Trofimenko.

The NTSh roundtable on scholarly conferences was expertly chaired by Prof. Vasyl Makhno, who enriched the program with his informed commentary.



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next page for more information.**

Representatives of leading Ukrainian scholarly institutions meet

NEW YORK – At the invitation of Dr. Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych, president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh), representatives of leading Ukrainian scholarly institutions in North America convened at the society's headquarters here on October 1.

The objective of this conference was to share information on the current status and future plans of each of these organizations with respect to Ukrainian studies and publications, and to examine the possibilities of coordination and joint projects in these endeavors.

In attendance were the following representatives: Dr. Onyshkevych and Dr. Orest Popovych, NTSh; Dr. Olexa Bilaniuk and Dr. Albert Kipa, Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. (UVAN) [Dr. Kipa is also the rector of the Ukrainian Free University]; Dr. Tymish Holowinsky, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute; Dr. Roman Procyk, Ukrainian Studies Fund; Dr. Myroslava Znayenko, American Association of Ukrainian Studies; Dr. Zenon E. Kohut, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS); Dr. Serhii Plokyh, Peter Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research at CIUS; Dr. Mark von Hagen, Columbia University's Ukrainian Studies Program

and Dr. George Grabowicz, the magazine and publishing house "Krytyka."

Each representative summarized briefly the most important projects pursued by his or her institution. Major successes were noted in the area of scholarly publications, notably by CIUS, NTSh, Krytyka and UVAN.

There was general consensus on the need to further promote the development of Ukrainian studies in North America, to provide scholarships to students and jobs to graduates in these disciplines, noting that the market for Ukrainian specialists in North America was rather limited. Therefore, there is a need to tap into the talent pool of Ukraine to rejuvenate these studies in North America.

The meeting expressed the need to put in order Ukrainian libraries and archives, including their computerization. The electronic Encyclopedia of Ukraine and other information published by CIUS were cited as examples to be emulated. There still remains the unfinished problem of making computer programs available to Ukraine in the Ukrainian language. NTSh has made considerable progress on this front over the years by pressing both Microsoft and Linux to Ukrainize their programming.



Meeting at the NTSh headquarters (from left) are Drs. Serhii Plokyh, Mark von Hagen, Roman Procyk, Orest Popovych, Larissa Onyshkevych, George Grabowicz, Myroslava Znayenko, Albert Kipa, Vasyl Makhno, Olexa Bilaniuk, Tymish Holowinsky and Zenon Kohut.

The scholars also noted the need to coordinate various efforts of different scholarly institutions, which includes adherence to a single Ukrainian orthography as well as a specific style manual.

All agreed that the exchange of information and ideas on the role of Ukrainian scholarly institutions in North America was very fruitful and it was decided to hold the next such meeting in March 2006.

Ukrainian studies at University of Toronto now part of European program

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – On July 1 of this year Ukrainian studies joined Europe – at least at the University of Toronto. The former Center for Russian and East European Studies (CREES), which housed the Petro Jacyk Program for the Study of Ukraine and the Wolodymyr George Danyliw Foundation, was merged with the Institute of European Studies, the European Studies Program and the Joint Initiative in German in European Studies to create the Center for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (CERES).

According to the newly appointed director of CERES, Prof. Jeffrey Kopstein, the scholarly community at the university working on Europe, Russia and Eurasia, decided it was time to break down the intellectual walls set up during the Cold War. Much had changed in that part of the world as countries of former "Eastern Europe" have become members of the European Union, others are waiting to join, while Russia and its former colonies in the Eurasian space find themselves in a new geopolitical context.

The main objectives of CERES are: to

educate students at the graduate level, to offer them internships and exchange programs, and to promote scholarly links between East and West. The Peter Jacyk Program for the Study of Ukraine, set up



Laryssa Iarovenko, Petro Jacyk program administrator.

in 2001, will continue to encourage scholars at the University of Toronto and Ukrainianists at other North American institutions to develop joint projects. It facilitates the study of contemporary Ukraine by organizing workshops, conferences, lectures and seminars.

The program maintains a graduate student exchange with the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Ukraine and brings visiting scholars from Ukraine for short periods. The Danyliw Foundation funds a lecture series and supports an annual full-credit teaching

fellowship focusing on contemporary Ukrainian studies. Laryssa Iarovenko is the program administrator for the Peter Jacyk Program.

The CERES inaugural event on September 27 was a panel discussion, titled "What's Ahead for Europe," featuring the ambassador of Canada to the EU, Jeremy Kinsman, and other panelists. A few days before this event, the Petro Jacyk Program sponsored Prof. Timothy Snyder of Yale who spoke on Polish

(Continued on page 17)



Prof. Timothy Snyder of Yale University.



Prof. Jeffrey Kopstein of CERES at the University of Toronto.

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9	\$ 380.00
10	\$ 395.00

Ukrainian steel...

(Continued from page 1)

men representing Mittal Steel compete with Luxembourg-based steel powerhouse Arcelor SA and Smart Group Ltd., which is controlled by Russian businessman Vadym Novynskyi.

Arcelor had partnered itself with the Industrial Union of the Donbas, led by Serhii Taruta, the only Ukrainian oligarch present at the auction.

In the same room as the competing businessmen sat a chipper Ms. Tymoshenko accompanied by National Deputy Andrii Shkil. Ms. Tymoshenko was at the forefront of reprivatization efforts, and it was obvious that she wanted to share the spotlight.

Mr. Yushchenko also got his television appearance, as he was shown in a separate room watching the auction with Mr. Yekhanurov at his side.

Each company submitted their starting price, and the bidding commenced with the competitors flashing white placards to raise their offers to buy the mill in \$20 million increments.

Smart Group dropped out early, making its final bid of about \$3.5 billion.

The two remaining firms fought a duel throughout the remainder of the auction, pushing Kryvorizhstal's price far beyond what industry analysts had expected.

After 45 minutes, when Mittal Steel was declared the winner with its \$4.8 billion bid, Ukrainians saw an ethnic Indian man pumping his right fist in delight.

Mittal Steel is led by Chief Executive Officer Lakshmi Mittal and his son, Chief Financial Officer Aditya Mittal. They represented the German-based branch of the publicly traded company.

Among the first to congratulate the Mittal businessmen was Ms. Tymoshenko, who spearheaded the reprivatization drive that President Yushchenko later characterized as too aggressive.

The sale set a new standard for Ukrainian assets on international markets, Mr. Yekhanurov said.

It even "signifies the end of the oligarchs' era," said Volodymyr Polokhalo, editor of the website Politychna Dumka.



Press Office of Ukraine's President
President Viktor Yushchenko, Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov (left) and Presidential Secretariat Chief Oleh Rybachuk (foreground) watch the TV broadcast of the Kryvorizhstal auction.

The \$4.8 billion is equal to 6 percent of Ukraine's GDP, analysts said. It compares with \$1.5 billion in foreign investment to Ukraine for all of 2004.

"Now the main mission of the government is to defend transparency of payments and defend the transparency and clarity of the rights of ownership of the new investor," Economics Minister Arsenii Yatseniuk said on October 24.

Prime Minister Yekhanurov said he remained firmly against any further reprivatizations of Ukrainian enterprises that were sold at unrealistic or illegitimate prices during Leonid Kuchma's presidency.

Instead, Mr. Yekhanurov has stated that he supports a privatization policy in which the government buys back those unfairly purchased assets directly from the corrupt businessmen themselves.

"Instead of punishing these people and putting them in jail, Mr. Yekhanurov is talking about paying these people back the money they paid," Mr. Lozowy explained.

Mr. Yekhanurov led Ukraine's State Property Fund between August 1994 and February 1997 under President Kuchma, when many questionable sales of state properties were just starting to take place.

In fact, more than \$800 million earned

from Kryvorizhstal's sale will go to compensate Mr. Pinchuk and Mr. Akhmetov, said Viktor Pynzenyk, Ukraine's finance minister and a member of the Reforms and Order Party.

Revenues from the sale will also help to realize capital improvement projects to metro systems and airports, and increase capitalization of government banks, Mr. Pynzenyk said.

"In any case, we cannot earmark this money to finance social spending, but only for one-time projects that would heat up the economy," he said.

The sale of Kryvorizhstal will not only bring needed revenues into the government's coffers, Mr. Lozowy said. Mittal Steel will provide Western management skills and know-how to the plant, which will help to ensure that it develops as a growing business, he added.

The televised auction demonstrated Ukraine's newly adopted high standards of democracy, President Yushchenko said. It represents one of the biggest foreign investments in the former Soviet Union, he said, and it was the largest price ever paid for an integrated industrial enterprise.

Moreover, Mr. Yushchenko said he hopes that foreign investors will no longer fear the business climate in Ukraine, a panic triggered when Ms. Tymoshenko mentioned early in her term that the government could seize about 3,000 businesses.

Not all Ukrainians were happy with the sale of Ukraine's most valuable assets to foreigners, however.

Outside the State Property Fund's offices, about 40 protesters, mostly from the Communist Party, chanted anti-Yushchenko slogans and held banners that read, "Ukraine is not a commodity."

Also demonstrating against the Kryvorizhstal sale was a group of about a dozen students led by Vadym Hladchuk, the chair of Youth – Our Hope, an activist youth group that launched the Sprotiv website. (www.sprotiv.info)

Youth – Our Hope wanted Kryvorizhstal to remain under government control, and Mr. Hladchuk said he was particularly disturbed that Russian businessmen were given the opportunity to potentially gain control of Ukraine's largest industrial asset.

Mr. Novynskyi of Smart Group has close business links to Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Russian Federation's ambassador to Ukraine.

"American and European investors, in all about 12 companies, weren't allowed," Mr. Hladchuk said. "Among the bidders is an enterprise from the Russian Federation involving Mr. Chernomyrdin. We fought against Yanukovich, who represented Russian capital ... and it turned out that it's all the same for Viktor Yushchenko. This offends us."

The Verkhovna Rada on October 20 passed a resolution forbidding the sale of Kryvorizhstal.

However, State Property Fund (SPF)

Chair Valentyna Semeniuk said she was required by a decision of the Cabinet of Ministers to carry out the sale.

Ukraine's Socialist Party, led by Oleksander Moroz, was most vocal in its opposition to the sale of Kryvorizhstal, which they said should have remained under government ownership. Keeping the plant would have brought more revenues into the national budget than selling it, Mr. Moroz said.

"The declared sum of money could have entered the budget in the form of taxes during the next two years," he said. "I'm not even talking about the direct profit from the state enterprise that could be \$5 million annually."

Such an assertion is ridiculous, Mr. Lozowy commented. "Keeping Kryvorizhstal in state hands is a 100 percent recipe for corruption and stealing money from enterprises," he said. "It guarantees that nothing from Kryvorizhstal would go into the state's tax collection."

SPF Chair Semeniuk, herself a Socialist Party member, was not present at the auction because she said she had fallen ill several days earlier and was hospitalized.

On October 24 she submitted a letter of resignation to Mr. Yushchenko in protest against Kryvorizhstal's sale. The president rejected her resignation and commended her work at the SPF as "irreproachable."

Former presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich said selling the plant to Westerners will give them too much influence in Ukrainian politics. Economic dependence will lead to political dependence on them, he said.

"They will come and buy up Ukraine," Mr. Yanukovich warned.

After the sale, however, those who opposed the auction suddenly began making their own suggestions and demands on how the money should be spent.

In a political move to boost its meager popularity, the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine – United (SDPU) suggested that the government compensate the millions of Ukrainians who lost their savings in the hyperinflationary period of the early 1990s.

SDPU Chairman Viktor Medvedchuk said it wasn't his party's initiative, but an attempt to fulfill a promise made by the government.

Mr. Yushchenko vowed to use the money to launch programs that will modernize the government, public utilities and the military, support farming and develop high technology and science.

The Cabinet of Ministers is working out a mechanism to use the money, Mr. Yushchenko said.

Meanwhile, Mr. Pinchuk and Mr. Akhmetov are still fighting the privatization of their property. They are currently appealing the April court ruling that allowed the Ukrainian government to retake possession of Kryvorizhstal.

One appeal is pending in the Ukrainian Supreme Court, while the other appeal is in the European Court.

Prior to the auction, Mr. Pinchuk and his entourage had been threatening the mill's potential buyers that they might be wasting their time and money on a property to which he still might have legal claim, Mr. Lozowy said.

"I'm glad the Indians avoided the threats of these spoilers Pinchuk and Akhmetov," he said.

However, another signal arrived on October 26 indicating that it might be too early to celebrate.

Standard & Poors rating agency warned that it may lower Mittal Steel's long-term corporate credit rating. "Mittal Steel's purchase of Kryvorizhstal demonstrates a more aggressive strategy to growth and financial policy as compared with the basis of its current rating," its report said.

OSCE project coordinator in Ukraine trains consular officials in anti-trafficking methods

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

KYIV – More than 80 representatives of foreign embassies and consulates, Ukrainian ministries, non-governmental organizations (NGO) and other international organizations gathered on October 13-14 in Kyiv for a two-day anti-trafficking course.

The training course, organized by the OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine in cooperation with the Canadian Embassy and the NGO La Strada-Ukraine as part of a comprehensive national anti-trafficking program, focused on victim identification, best practices, and current trafficking and anti-trafficking trends in

Ukraine.

Other discussion topics included the services available to victims returning to Ukraine and awareness-raising materials in foreign diplomatic missions.

"The fight against trafficking in human beings is a top priority for the OSCE. Trafficking is a complex problem, and preventing and combating it requires complex responses which cut across all three dimensions of OSCE work. The Office of the Coordinator stands ready to provide all appropriate support to Ukraine's anti-trafficking efforts," said Ambassador James Schumaker, OSCE project coordinator.

This is the third in a series of training sessions on trafficking in persons hosted by the Canadian Embassy in Kyiv for consular and visa staff of foreign diplomatic missions.

Canada's ambassador to Ukraine, Abina Dann, said it was "vital at this critical period in Ukraine's history to prevent the trafficking of vulnerable members of society.

"Canada applauds Ukraine's efforts to counter human trafficking, and welcomes its commitment to developing a four-year plan for prevention and victim rehabilitation. We are pleased to join with other foreign missions, international agencies and non-governmental organizations in working with Ukraine to curb this tragic phenomenon," she added.

Correction

In her interview with Peace Corps volunteer Mark Raczkiwycz (October 9), Oksana Piaseckyj made several errors. Mr. Raczkiwycz has a bachelor's degree in business administration not an M.B.A.; the correct title of his book is "10 Steps to Starting a Successful Business"; and the database he organized was limited to normative acts regarding business activity that were formulated by the Ivano-Frankivsk municipal government (not laws that regulate business activity in all of Ukraine).

PERSONAGES IN LITERATURE: Ivan Bahriany, 'Tribune of the Republic'

by Eugene Melnitchenko and Helena Lysyj Melnitchenko

No other recent Ukrainian writer has done more to show the world the evils of communism and of Russian imperialism, and to keep the hope of Ukrainian independence alive than Ivan Bahriany. In his commentary on Ukrainian diaspora writers, "On Unclipped Wing" (Donetsk: 2003) Eastern Publishing House, Wolodymyr Bilajiw appropriately calls him the "Tribune of the Republic."

Through his writings and speeches, Bahriany lived and died serving that cause, with deep respect for Ukrainians and strong belief in their inevitable independence. In his novels and poetry he showed that, despite Soviet killings and tortures, concentration camps and famines, Stalin's flunkies were unable to destroy the Ukrainian spirit.

He predicted that, built on lies and preserved by terror and torture, communism and Russian imperialism would self-destruct.

Bahriany was born on October 2, 1906, in the village of Ochtyrka, Sumy province, into a working-class family. He went through the usual, then Russified, schooling that would have led him to a practical vocation. But, influenced by Taras Shevchenko's poetry and Leonid Hlibov's stories, he switched to study art and literature. He started writing poems in Ukrainian early and

published them and some of his drawings in the school journal, Hope, which he edited.

Bahriany matured in the post-Revolutionary years during the 1920s rebirth of Ukrainian intellectualism and its efforts to separate Ukrainian art and literature from Russian. He was heavily influenced by some of its leaders, including Borys Antonenko-Davydovych and Mykola Khvyliovyi, actively participating in their efforts and organizations. Their stated mission was to move Ukrainian culture away from Moscow.

However, as their efforts gained momentum and came into conflict with Moscow's ideology and goals, Ukrainian intellectual organizations were liquidated and their members were either shot or sent to the gulag in Siberia. Between 1932 and 1939 the Soviets butchered most Ukrainian intellectuals, including teachers, writers, artists, priests, and military and political leaders. Antonenko-Davydovych was sent to and later died in Siberia, while Khvyliovyi, expecting execution, committed suicide.

Bahriany, too, was arrested and spent eight years in Soviet jails and concentration camps, which left a serious mark on his health for the rest of his life: tuberculosis, diabetes and a weak heart. Fortunately, he was able to escape and after World War II found himself in a displaced persons camp in New Ulm, Germany, which, under his leadership, became a center of Ukrainian cultural rebirth. There he founded Ukrainski Visti (Ukrainian News) and several publishing houses, Ukraina, Prometei and Na Hori, which published his books



Ivan Bahriany

and those of other Ukrainian writers who were then forbidden in Ukraine.

According to his own account ("Why I Don't Want to Return to the USSR"), Bahriany's first exposure to Communism was when he was 10 years old and lived with his 92-year-old grandfather, a beekeeper. One night, armed men speaking Russian came and killed the grandfather and his son, after torturing them in front of the boy. The grandfather, because he was a landed farmer, and his son because he was a soldier in the Ukrainian National Republic's army. Bahriany's second uncle was sent to Solovky for 10 years, extend-

ed by another 10, where he died.

Later Bahriany himself witnessed first hand the atrocities committed by Stalin's henchmen. In his writings and speeches, Bahriany pointed out that some 10 million Ukrainians perished between the late 1920s and late 1930s from the Great Famine, tortures and mass executions. With no one to protect them, millions disappeared without a trace; people were shot, then documents were created to support the decision. To the Soviets, he said, a person was not worth anything. The Soviets believed that "It is better to break the ribs of hundreds of innocent people than let one guilty slip by."

After settling in Germany, Bahriany devoted the rest of his life to informing the world of the horrendous atrocities committed by Stalin and the Soviet Union. Over and over again, he emphasized that the Soviet empire was built on lies, tortures, famine and slavery.

After World War II, by the Yalta Agreement, Ukrainians were defined as being either Polish or Russian citizens, and all Russian citizens were forcibly repatriated "na rodinu," to "the motherland." In the brochure "Why I Don't Want to Return to the USSR" Bahriany wrote: "I will return to my motherland with millions of my brothers and sisters, who are here in Europe and there in Siberian concentration camps, when the totalitarian bloody Bolshevik system is eliminated in the same way as was Hitler's. When the NKVD goes in the same direction as Gestapo, when Russian fascism disap-

(Continued on page 21)

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



УКРАЇНА

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Tour Name	Tour Dates	# Days	Itinerary	Price
Ski Karpaty	Jan 26 Feb 07	13	Bukovel Ski Resort, near Yaremche, (www.Bukovel.com), L'viv	\$1850
Mini Ukraine I	May 18 May 26	9	L'viv, Kyiv	\$1975
Ukraine & Russia I <i>Escort: Dr. Walter Karpinich</i>	May 20 May 30	11	Kyiv, Moscow, St. Petersburg plus: Pushkin/Petrodvorets. Special Features: "White nights" in St. Petersburg	\$2990
Best of Ukraine I	May 25 Jun 09	16	Kyiv, Odesa (Bilhorod Dnistrovsky), Yalta, L'viv plus: Bakchysaraj, Sevastopol and Chersonesus, Karpaty-Slavsk	\$3390
Dnipro Cruise <i>"MS Dnipro Princess"</i>	May 30 Jun 11	13	Kyiv, Kaniv, Kremenchuk, Zaporizhia, Kherson, Sevastopol, Odesa (rate includes: air + cruise)	\$2475
Western Ukraine + Poland I	Jun 23 Jul 07	15	Kyiv, L'viv, Yaremche, L'viv, Krakow plus: Rohatyn, Ivano Frankivsk, Vorokhta, Kolomyja, Zaryvnytsia	\$3350
Best of Ukraine II	Jun 29 Jul 14	16	Kyiv, Odesa (Bilhorod Dnistrovsky), Yalta, L'viv plus: Bakchysaraj, Sevastopol and Chersonesus, Karpaty-Slavsk.	\$3590
Mini Ukraine II	Jul 06 Jul 14	9	L'viv, Kyiv	\$2290
Ukraine & Russia II	Jul 08 Jul 18	11	Kyiv, Moscow, St. Petersburg plus: Pushkin/Petrodvorets	\$3190
Ukraine, Poland + Hungary I	Jul 12 Jul 23	12	Kyiv, L'viv, Krakow, Budapest plus: Wieliczka Salt Mines and Szentandre Village	\$2690
Western Ukraine + Poland II	Jul 21 Aug 04	15	Kyiv, L'viv, Yaremche, L'viv, Krakow plus: Rohatyn, Ivano Frankivsk, Vorokhta, Kolomyja, Zaryvnytsia	\$3350
"TAK" – Youth Tour <i>Escort: Dr. Adriana Helbig Chaperon: Orestia Fedyniak Age: 18-35</i>	Aug 02 Aug 21	20	Kyiv, Odesa, Yalta, L'viv, Yaremche, Budapest plus: Kaniv, Bakchysaraj, Chersonesus, Sevastopol, Rohatyn, Vorokhta, Kolomyja, Ivano Frankivsk	\$3790
Eastern Ukraine	Aug 15 Aug 29	15	Kharkiv, Poltava, Chernihiv, Kyiv (Independence Day), L'viv plus: Sorochynskij Yarmarok	\$3290
Western Ukraine + Poland III	Aug 18 Sep 01	15	Kyiv, L'viv (Independence Day), Yaremche, Krakow plus: Rohatyn, Ivano Frankivsk, Vorokhta, Kolomyja, Zaryvnytsia	\$3090
Mini Ukraine III	Aug 17 Aug 25	9	L'viv, Kyiv (Independence Day)	\$2150
Hutsul Festival Tour	Aug 22 Sep 01	11	Kyiv (Independence Day), Kolomyja (Festival), L'viv	\$2490
Best of Ukraine III	Sep 07 Sep 22	16	Kyiv, Odesa (Bilhorod Dnistrovsky), Yalta, L'viv plus: Bakchysaraj, Sevastopol and Chersonesus, Karpaty-Slavsk.	\$3290
Dnipro Cruise <i>"MS Gen. Vaturin"</i>	Sep 09 Sep 24	16	Kyiv, Kaniv, Kremenchuk, Zaporizhia, Odesa, Sevastopol, Kherson, Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv (rate includes: air + cruise)	\$2650
Ukraine, Poland + Hungary II	Sep 13 Sep 24	12	Kyiv, L'viv, Krakow, Budapest plus: Wieliczka Salt Mines and Szentandre Village	\$2490
Western Ukraine + Poland IV	Sep 22 Oct 06	15	Kyiv, L'viv, Yaremche, L'viv, Krakow plus: Rohatyn, Ivano Frankivsk, Vorokhta, Kolomyja, Zaryvnytsia	\$2890
Mini Ukraine IV	Sep 28 Oct 06	9	L'viv, Kyiv	\$1875
Ukraine & Russia III	Sep 30 Oct 10	11	Kyiv, Moscow, St. Petersburg plus: Pushkin/Petrodvorets	\$2790

Features: All rates include air/land arrangements, transfers, meals (except ski tour), sightseeing and portage. Not included: Airport security taxes, excursions on cruises and gratuities. Rates subject to currency fluctuation and fuel surcharge. For individual travel arrangements, lowest fares to Ukraine and additional cruise departures call or e-mail Scope!

Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art to showcase artists of the Orange Revolution

CHICAGO – In December 2004 the world was focused squarely on the elections in a country that is seldom the subject of national or global headlines. The country is Ukraine and nearly one year ago, the people of Ukraine asserted their right not only to free elections but to fair elections.

The historical significance of what transpired from the attempted poisoning of the democratic candidate to the mass demonstrations in Kyiv's Independence Square, captured the hearts and minds of all who watched. For two weeks the world witnessed the power of the human spirit that desires freedom, fairness and democracy. Witnesses were in awe of the peaceful and organized manner in which hundreds of thousands united for the cause of democracy. People poured in from all regions of Ukraine, as did Ukrainians from around the world.

In freezing temperatures, tent cities were built and food was distributed. Rock stars performed and people blogged the events in real time from the streets via e-mail and text messages. In the end, the demonstrators, draped in the Orange color of their embattled candidate, prevailed, and Viktor Yushchenko was elected president of Ukraine.

Recognizing the historical significance of what was transpiring, the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art in Chicago, in conjunction with the Center for Contemporary Art (CCA) in Kyiv, will host an exhibition of contemporary art that blossomed from the streets of the revolution.

During the demonstrations the director of the CCA in Kyiv, Yuriy Onuch, flung open the doors of the center to young artists demonstrating in Independence Square and encouraged them to utilize the resources of the center to experiment and create utilizing the energy of the revolution as their muse. For several weeks a group of young artists utilized the facilities at the CCA to capture, explain and interpret the momentous occasion of the Orange Revolution.

The result was nothing short of extraordinary.

"Artists Respond: Ukrainian Art and the Orange Revolution" showcases the work of this new generation of Ukrainian artists. The exhibit captures the significance of a major historical event, and the art works ask difficult questions surrounding Ukraine's past, its identity today and how it will move forward. The compositions in the exhibition combine to explore these questions and others such as Ukraine's role in the West and how it manages its relationship with the East.

The exhibition offers works in many media including painting, sculpture and mixed media.

The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art (UIMA) has joined together with the Center for Contemporary Art to bring this exhibition of revolutionary art to Chicago. The UIMA will present the exhibition in North America from December 2 through February 28, 2006.

The exhibition is being co-curated by Yulia Vaganova, director for the Center of Contemporary Art, and Nicholas Sawicki, art chairman at the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art. The exhibit is made possible by a grant from the Heritage Foundation.

An exclusive showing of "Artists Respond: Ukrainian Art



"Labyrinth" (acrylic on synthetic canvas) by Kyrylo Hryniiov and Yaroslav Kolomyichuk.

and The Orange Revolution" is scheduled for Friday, December 2, at 7 p.m.

The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art was founded by Dr. Achilles Chreptowsky to preserve and promote the knowledge and appreciation of contemporary Ukrainian art and culture. It has served as an artistic anchor in Chicago's West Town community for more than 30 years, providing world-class art exhibitions, concerts, literary readings, and educational and cultural exchanges.

The Center of Contemporary Art in Kyiv was established in 1993 as part of the international SCCA network. The center seeks to encourage the development of an artistic community by enabling artists, art agencies and professionals to undertake their own projects, participate in exhibitions of contemporary

art, obtain information and establish local and international contacts. Since February 1999, the center has been operating as the Center of Contemporary Art – an Independent International Charitable Foundation that is a co-founder of the International Contemporary Art Network Association (ICAN) and is registered in the Netherlands.

The Heritage Foundation was created to support Ukrainian institutions such as the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art. The foundation supports numerous organizations including schools, museums and churches. The foundation also supports the growth and development of democracy in Ukraine.

The UIMA is located at 2320 W. Chicago Ave., Chicago, (telephone, 773-227-5522). The institute is open Wednesday through Sunday from noon to 4 p.m. Additional information is available at the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art website at www.uima-art.org.

Paris to Kyiv launches new CD



TORONTO – The Paris to Kyiv ensemble celebrated its first internationally released CD, "Fragmenti," with a concert at the St. Lawrence Centre for the Arts' Jane Mallett Theater in Toronto. The songs from this genre-blending album provided the soundtrack for this musical celebration scheduled for Friday, October 21.

With one foot firmly on Canadian soil and the other in Eastern Europe, Alexis Kochan has uncovered an arrestingly original soundscape in between her Paris to Kyiv project. For the past 10 years, Ms. Kochan and her collaborators have blended ancient Ukrainian music with contemporary sounds. Drawing on the deep musical traditions of Eastern Europe, they weave a universal sonic tap-

estry, working in strands of jazz and new music, medieval Slavonic chant, dance tunes inspired by Carpathian Mountain fiddlers and blind bandura players, original compositions and ancient ritual songs with roots in the Neolithic era.

Recorded in New York and Winnipeg, "Fragmenti," Paris to Kyiv's fourth album, retains the group's signature Ukrainian folk poetry, prayers and song fragments, while introducing electric, acoustic and classical elements, meditative grooves and overtone chanting. The disc assembles the talents of Ms. Kochan, violist/guitarist/singer/songwriter and Fragmenti producer Richard Moody and bandurist/sopilka player Julian Kytasty, as well as welcomed special guests: overtone singing artist Alan Schroeder, percussionists Christian Dugas and Rodrigo Munoz, and fretless bassist Paul Yee.

Paris to Kyiv will present "Fragmenti" on an eastern Canadian tour with stops in Stratford, Ontario (Friday, October 14), North Bay, Ontario (Monday and Tuesday, October 24-25), Montreal (Wednesday, October 26), Gatineau, Quebec (Saturday, October 29) and Iqaluit, Nunavut (Monday, November 1).

Further information on Paris to Kyiv can be found on the website www.olesia.com or by e-mailing info@olesia.com.

Taran: a new young band on the scene in Winnipeg

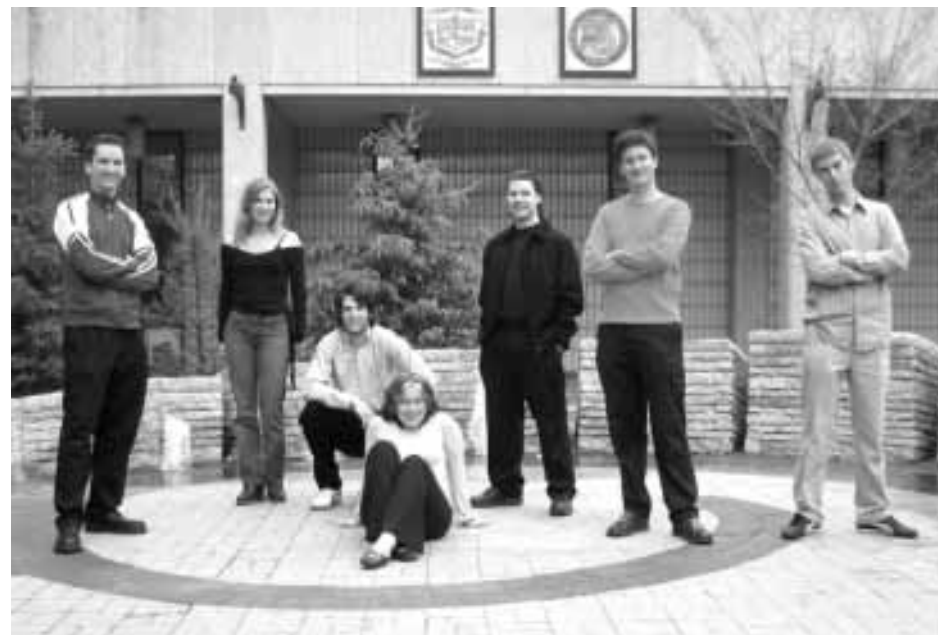
by Oksana Shulakewych

WINNIPEG – They burst into song with the enthusiasm that only the young possess. The Westend Cultural Center was busting at the seams when the folk band Taran performed in Winnipeg on

June 3. And what a group they are – young (all between the ages of 20 and 26), talented, exciting and full of spirit.

The brainchild of Dobryan Tracz, who felt that the community sorely needed a

(Continued on page 15)



Winnipeg's Taran band.

The two worlds of Christina Senkiw: fine art and children's books

by Halyna Kostiuk

TORONTO – From time to time every parent faces the problem of finding good books for his/her child to read. Although there are myriad books to choose from, a special book that appeals to the taste of adults and children is not easy to find. That is why a children's publication that combines text and illustrations harmoniously attracts special attention.

Artist and author Ms. Senkiw is fortunate to be blessed with the ability to create, both with words and with her paintbrush, stories that are very interesting to children. She delights her readers with colorful images that stay in their memories for a long time.

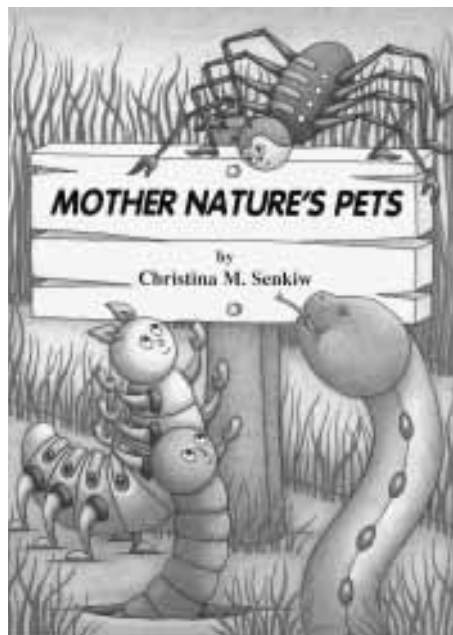
Ms. Senkiw was born in Toronto and graduated from the University of Toronto with a degree in two areas of study: history of fine art, and fine art studio. Her artistic talent became evident early in her childhood and, through diligence and perseverance she has achieved expertise and recognition.

In the mid-1980s, the artist started to work in the field of art for children. At one of her solo art exhibitions at the time, an interested viewer suggested that she should create a children's book, which she proceeded to do, and thereby added the title of author to her already existing résumé as an artist.

Ms. Senkiw's latest book for children, "Mother Nature's Pets" (available in separate editions in English and Ukrainian) was published in 2005. The art for the book is done in the same minimal style as her paintings. Her writing style also is clear and concise, so that it is easy to understand and remember the story.

The content, however, is not superficial. It contains many wise insights that speak to children as well as adults. For instance, at one point in the book the Caterpillar (one of the four protagonists) makes this thought-provoking observation: "Well, for some reason, children hate me when I'm a caterpillar, but they adore me when I'm a butterfly."

Ms. Senkiw's book "Sonja's First



Christina Senkiw's latest book for children, "Mother Nature's Pets."

Camp" reveals an understanding of child psychology and children's interests. She creates a story that blends historical traditions with contemporary life. Within the framework of an exciting adventure, children learn about Ukrainian traditions that are associated with Mid-Summer's Night Eve.

Every dramatic moment in the story is illustrated. Ms. Senkiw's drawing technique is unusual. She layers colors in such a way that no pencil or brush strokes are visible, creating a colored texture that seems to have been deposited onto the surface through a fine sieve. This technique imbues the images with a watercolor-like translucency and brightness, where even the night scenes have a luminous glow.

The drawings are framed with attractive and original decorative borders. The artist creates arrangements of flowers and butterflies on the upper left hand corner and the lower right hand corner of every illustration. These floral brackets stabilize and strengthen the organization of each composition and greatly enrich the visual content. The detailed illustra-

tion of their voices will echo in your mind long after the songs are over. In addition Ms. Basarab plays the violin with amazing speed, passion and beauty, and is happy to engage with the crowd.

Steven Sirski brings years of drum and percussion experience, and his creativity and energy are unmatched. On accordion, Nancy Sedo weaves beautiful melodies which are the diving force behind the Taran sound.

On lead guitar, Andriy Michalchyshyn brings a unique sound that adds to the eclectic musical style of Taran. Taras Babiak on bass blends the various sounds of the instruments. Mr. Tracz (leader of the band) plays the acoustic guitar and coordinates the band's operation.

Five are students – Mr. Michalchyshyn, in education, Mr. Sorski in arts, Messrs. Shawarsky and Babiak in science, and Ms. Basarab in law. Ms. Sedo is working in accounting, and Mr. Tracz is a biologist with the Public Health Agency of Canada.

Taran has recorded an album, "Moonlight," that is sure to turn heads. While the melodies are traditional, the arrangements are new and uniquely contemporary. With a run of 55 minutes "Moonlight" is a remarkable collection of folk melodies, many of which were learned around the warmth of campfires around the world at Plast camps. Taran is currently working on a Ukrainian polka music video.

For information readers may e-mail taranmusic@hotmail.com or log on to www.taranmusic.com.

tive quality of these drawings does not detract from their purely aesthetic merit.

During Ms. Senkiw's recent solo art exhibit at the Ukrainian Canadian Art Foundation Gallery in Toronto, they were exhibited beside her fine art paintings, which are completely different. From a purely aesthetic point of view, the drawings for children hold their own as works of art. The pieces in the exhibit were arranged chronologically which was the most effective way to display the artist's achievements in recent years.

The book "I Want to Dance" by Ms. Senkiw is a lively story about a little boy who learns how to work diligently toward a desired goal. The drawings in this book are dynamic – full of movement and energy. In the illustrations throughout the book, the artist employs neutral backgrounds of pale blue or light gray in order to highlight the compositions. "I Want to Dance" and "Sonja's First Camp" were published bilingually, with two languages in one book (English and Ukrainian), which makes them accessible to a wider audience.

One of Ms. Senkiw's most important achievements is her artwork in the book "History of Ukrainian Costume." The artist researched the costumes in great detail, but used the material selectively – choosing not to follow her sources blindly.

Despite the fact that many artists have worked on recreating historical Ukrainian costumes (Victoria Kowalchuk, Olena Slynchak, Oksana Kosmyna and Mychailo Budennyj are some of the better known ones), Ms. Senkiw's unique personal style separates her from the rest. She not only conveys the physical essence of the costume, but also, and most importantly, she shows the psychological implications of dress and how it reveals the socioeconomic status of its wearer.

In the "History of Ukrainian Costume," male and female figures dressed in historical Ukrainian costumes are depicted in a flat, almost decorative, manner. The two-dimensional quality of Ms. Senkiw's art is not simply decorative but has a sophistication and depth that is not found in everyday ornamentation.

In her art, two-dimensionality is an aesthetic value that is integral to the composition and creates the desired abstraction of the subject. The reduction of the drawings to their bare essentials frees up pictorial space in which the viewer's imagination can roam creating its own fantasy and thus opening up a visual dialogue between the artist and the viewer.

The color schemes also support this visual dialogue. Ms. Senkiw uses soft, well-blended tones that harmonize well. They do not divert attention from the composition, but enhance the clarity and balance of all the components of the drawing.

Traditional embroidery on Ukrainian folk costumes is unique and extremely intricate. Ms. Senkiw consciously edits the complicated patterns so that only the basic infrastructure (usually geometric) of the design remains. Even the luscious floral ornamentation of the Baroque era is severely simplified. This conscious and consistent stylization of reality is found at the root of all Ukrainian folk art – weaving, pottery, embroidery – which dates back countless centuries all the way to the Trypillian era (circa 4500 to 2000 B.C.).

In situations where researchers have not been able to provide enough information about a given costume, as for instance, in the case of the Scythian costume in the "History of Ukrainian Costume," Ms. Senkiw prudently simplifies this drawing even more than the others. She communicates her restraint artistically by restricting herself to a monochromatic palette of reds and browns, and adds only delicate hints of decoration

to the hem of the woman's long dress.

In the "History of Ukrainian Costume," the garments of later eras are richer in details. The period from the 15th to the 17th century is represented by an impressive variety of costumes. The garments of wealthy citizens and the Ukrainian Kozak military elite were decorated with baroque designs. All the figures are drawn on a white background so that the colors of the costumes stand out clearly. A crisp black outline flows around the contours of each figure and the colors are contained within the areas defined by this outline.

Ms. Senkiw consciously uses this method in order to convey her visual message as clearly as possible. It also allows her to emphasize the two-dimensional quality of the artwork, and to focus the viewer's attention on the surface of the drawing. A characteristic of this style of art is the total absence of shadows. Every figure exists in a brightly illuminated environment, which draws the viewer's eye to the tiniest details and endows everything with equal importance. Ms. Senkiw always uses bold and simple forms to create these figures. She achieves maximum visual impact with a minimum of gesture. For example, in color plate No. 4, "Ancient Rus' prince and princess, 10th-13th centuries," only the borders of the garments are ornamented, however, the borders themselves are richly encrusted with precious gems. Typically, the artist has drawn almost symmetrical fluid lines that define the outer edges of the garments of the prince and princess.

Ms. Senkiw has started illustrating the Ukrainian alphabet and has currently completed 11 letters out of 33. These 11 letters were part of her solo exhibit in Toronto. As with all her previously mentioned artwork for children, the paintings depicting each letter are executed in a minimalistic style, using simplified forms with fluid outlines that create a striking visual rhythm. The well-planned compositions are designed to develop a child's imagination by inspiring fantasies, and to help the child to memorize the alphabet easily and quickly. We hope to see a beautiful alphabet book in the future.

At first glance, Ms. Senkiw's artistic style appears uncomplicated. The artist does not overload her work with unnecessary details. Her paintings and drawings are bold and direct – seemingly effortless – and her visual narratives are clear and straightforward. Each of her drawings is a miniature, self-contained story.

But the simplicity of her art is very sophisticated just like the deceptively simple ornamentation found on ancient Trypillian pottery, on the woven klylms of Podillia, on Ukrainian pysanky (Easter eggs) and in Ukrainian embroidery. The artist is very familiar with Ukrainian folk art. She responds to it at a subconscious level, however, she does not transpose the symbolic language of folk art directly to her canvases.

She transforms the symbols, aesthetically and stylistically, by passing them through the prism of her contemporary sensibility. Using modern techniques and materials, she adapts them to the ethos of the 21st century. That is why her work is an inseparable part of the contemporary art process.

Ms. Senkiw is at the zenith of her creativity, and admirers of her art will certainly have many more opportunities to view her original creations in the future.

Ms. Senkiw exhibited her recent drawings and paintings, and launched her latest book for children, "Mother Nature's Pets," at the Ukrainian Canadian Art Foundation Gallery in Toronto on April 10-24.

Taran...

(Continued from page 14)

band composed of "young people," Taran has been in existence for over a year. Mr. Tracz and the band members felt that it was their opportunity to give something back to their community.

Inspired by the spirit of the Canadian prairies, Taran has dipped into material that dates back many years, yet leans toward a modern and youthful sound.

Their music is filled with great passion and intensity. Melodic polkas make you want to dance and sing the night away, while skillfully arranged music vocals make a Taran waltz one of the highlights of the group's rich repertoire. In their kolomyika you can feel the dancers spinning, kicking twirling and leaping higher and higher.

Taran has built a strong following in the Ukrainian community across Canada, recently performing in Vegreville, Alberta, and at the Bloor Street Ukrainian Festival in Toronto.

The group got together through their various Ukrainian connections where their paths crossed – Plast, Ukrainian school, the Orlan and Rusalka dance ensembles. Four are Plast members, and two are fourth generation Ukrainian Canadians; all have a love of Ukrainian music running through their veins.

Lead vocalists Mark Shawarsky and Katrusia Basarab provide the band with powerful vocals that distinguish the band from all others. The power and beauty of

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Benefit breakfast to help Ukraine's orphaned children

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – New Hope for
Children, a non-profit relief and aid
organization that has been helping
orphanages in Ukraine, will host a break-
fast on November 6 in New Jersey.

The event, billed as a "Breakfast of
Love and Caring for the orphan children
of Ukraine," will be held at Elk Lodge
No. 290 in New Milford, N.J., and seat-
ing for the all-you-can-eat buffet will be
from 8 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.

Throughout the breakfast, videos of
children in the orphanages of Odesa will
be shown, along with photos of the work
projects that have been supported by the
efforts of the relief organization.

New Hope for Children has been pro-
viding basic necessities for orphanages
in Odesa since 1999. Over these years,
blankets, bedding, mattresses, clothing,
beds and cribs, floor covering and furni-
ture have been sent to Ukraine to make
the lives of less fortunate children a little
more comfortable.

Medical supplies gathered by the organi-
zation have been sent through the United
Nations for use in hospitals treating the
children affected by the Chornobyl disaster.
Each Christmas, hundreds of toys, new
warm clothing and Beanie Babies are sent
as wrapped presents, so that every child can
have a present to open during the holiday.

The organization is now seeking the
support of the Ukrainian community to
help expand its efforts throughout Ukraine.

"We must care for children who will
be the future," said Maryanne Olsen, the
founder and director of New Hope for
Children.

During the breakfast, the organization
will also hold a raffle, which is scheduled
to take place at 2 p.m. Those who wish to
come to the breakfast and learn more
about New Hope for Children can pur-
chase tickets at the door, or can obtain
tickets and/or raffle books in advance by
contacting Mrs. Olsen at (201) 262-7544.

The winner of the raffle does not have
to be present to win. Proceeds from the
breakfast and the raffle will be used to
cover the costs of shipping winter items
and Christmas gifts to the orphans, and
to meet the continuing need for beds at
the Orphanage for Mentally Challenged
Children in Odesa. Donations to the
organization in any amount are also wel-
come. Tickets for the buffet are \$6 for
adults and \$3 for children.

Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 8)

... no one organization at this time
speaks for all Ukrainian Americans, so it
is certainly ludicrous to state that our
diverse community supports this particu-
lar politician. Since Askold Lozynskyj
was the person cited in the articles as say-
ing the Ukrainian American diaspora sup-
ports Mr. Lazarenko, we contacted the
UCCA president to confirm that state-
ment. He laughed: "The same thing hap-
pened after the Marchuk visit" (when for-
mer Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk
attended the UCCA convention).

... the UCCA, and perhaps all
Ukrainian Americans, have been used by
Mr. Lazarenko. And, frankly, we don't
like being used. We had better beware, as
there certainly is more to come before
the 1998 parliamentary elections and the
1999 presidential balloting.

Source: "Beware: elections ahead"
(editorial), *The Ukrainian Weekly*,
November 2, 1997, Vol. LXX, No. 44.

September crisis...

(Continued from page 2)

opportunity to clean out his government before his first year as president ends. Mr. Yushchenko's son Andrii, embroiled in scandal earlier this year, is no longer seen in a \$120,000 BMW "on loan" from a member of the Yushchenko entourage, although he still has his \$30,000 cell phone.

Mr. Yushchenko's only major strategic mistake during the crisis was the deal with Mr. Yanukovich. Almost half (47.2 percent) of Ukrainians supported Ms. Tymoshenko's firing and the subsequent political house-cleaning. Yet two-thirds of the new government headed by Yuri Yekhanurov are holdovers from the Tymoshenko Cabinet, including three Socialist ministers.

Gone are Serhii Teriokhin (minister of economics) and Mykola Tomenko (first vice prime minister for humanitarian affairs) from the Reforms and Order Party. Reforms and Order party leader Viktor Pynzenyk remains finance minister, but he may lose his party post at an

upcoming party conference.

Serhii Holovatyi replaced Roman Zvarych as justice minister. Unlike Mr. Zvarych, whose educational background led to a scandal (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, May 4), Mr. Holovatyi is a well-known legal expert who was justice minister in the mid-1990s and headed the Ukrainian Legal Foundation. Mr. Holovatyi was expelled from the Tymoshenko faction after he voted for Mr. Yekhanurov as prime minister.

In return for his agreeing to be justice minister, Mr. Holovatyi demanded the removal of Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun, who was duly fired on October 14. Internal Affairs Minister Yuri Lutsenko has complained that his Ministry found it impossible to work with the Procurator General's Office, (PGO), which was blocking investigations at the local level (Ukrayinska Pravda, October 13). The new team at the Justice Ministry and the PGO may spur progress toward resolving Kuchma-era crimes.

Mr. Yushchenko also sacrificed several family members, businessmen who

helped finance his campaign and the Orange Revolution. Mr. Yushchenko fired Transport Minister Yevhen Chervonenko, his bodyguard in the elections; Davyd Zhvania, minister of emergency situations; and Petro Poroshenko, secretary of the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC). Both Mr. Zhvania and Mr. Poroshenko are godfathers to Mr. Yushchenko's children.

The removal of Mr. Poroshenko and other businessmen helps repair President Yushchenko's image of not relying on oligarchs, as had former President Leonid Kuchma. Mr. Poroshenko in particular has very low popularity ratings on par with those of President Kuchma. Nevertheless, Mr. Yushchenko has always defended Mr. Poroshenko and other now-removed businessmen from allegations of corruption. Even if these allegations are not proven, President Yushchenko would be making a strategic blunder by allowing Mr. Poroshenko and other former entourage members to join the OUPU 2006 election list.

In other personnel decisions, Oleksander Tretiakov's position as first adviser to President Yushchenko has been eliminated. Mr. Tretiakov, whose

business interests lie in the energy sector, had earned a reputation for controlling access to Mr. Yushchenko.

Anatolii Kinakh, first vice prime minister under Ms. Tymoshenko, is now NSDC secretary. Mr. Kinakh, whose Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs polls barely 1.1 percent, is a poor choice for this position. Under President Kuchma, NSDC secretaries were experienced in national security affairs, but Mr. Kinakh – like Mr. Poroshenko before him – has no background in this field. One of Mr. Kinakh's first policy steps was to raise the possibility of Ukraine and Russia jointly integrating into the WTO, a position welcomed by Russia (Ukrayinska Pravda, October 10).

Three key ministers have kept their jobs for now. Defense Minister Anatolii Hrytsenko and Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk are both staunchly pro-Western. Internal Affairs Minister Lutsenko is currently purging his corrupt ministry.

President Yushchenko survived the September political crisis, but still-bigger challenges lie ahead: winning the 2006 elections and taking control of Parliament.

Ukraine's prime minister...

(Continued from page 2)

Tymoshenko's Cabinet in September, Ukraine experienced a distressing gasoline crisis. Kyiv appealed for help in dealing with its gasoline shortage over the summer to Belarusian oil refineries. The issue of advancing freedom in Belarus appears to have lost its priority status for President Yushchenko; realpolitik appears to have gained the upper hand in Kyiv's relations with Minsk.

Ukraine is an important trade partner for Belarus. Both Messrs. Yekhanurov and Sidorski have declared that they intend to increase bilateral trade turnover to \$2 billion this year, which would represent a 50 percent increase from 2004. Ukraine absorbed some 4 percent of Belarus's exports last year.

However, there is a lingering problem of an economic nature in relations between Minsk and Kyiv. Their governments cannot agree on the topic of Ukrainian debts to Belarus that date back to 1992. Ukraine (or Ukrainian entities) reportedly failed to pay for Belarusian commodities imported by Ukrainian firms in the early 1990s. Belarus subsequently made the ratification of a border treaty with Ukraine conditional on the repayment of those obligations.

Mr. Sidorski recalled during his meeting with Mr. Yekhanurov that both sides had signed an official protocol in 2003, fixing the outstanding debt figure at \$134 million. Mr. Sidorski proposed that Kyiv repay the obligations through supplies of goods and electricity, while Mr.

Yekhanurov called the proposal interesting but remained noncommittal. The Ukrainian prime minister stressed, however, that the debts were incurred by Ukrainian enterprises and cannot be regarded as a liability of the Ukrainian state.

Nevertheless, the Belarusian president was conspicuously pleased during his meeting with the Ukrainian premier. "I am ready to conduct a dialogue [with Ukraine] proceeding from what interests us," Mr. Lukashenka told Mr. Yekhanurov. "Taking into account the proximity of our countries and peoples, we have always made and will continue to make some concessions for the sake of the future, and we are ready to resolve problems on mutually beneficial terms."

Mr. Lukashenka's contentment is understandable. Mr. Yekhanurov's October 18 trip was only the second such senior official visit in Belarus this year. (Russian Prime Minister Mikhail Fradkov visited Minsk in September.)

President Lukashenka is a pariah in the international arena and only rarely travels abroad or receives foreign officials in Belarus. His international contacts are largely limited to receiving Russian governors in Minsk – no big deal for someone who dreamed of taking the helm of a united Russian and Belarusian state during the era of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

This time, however, Mr. Lukashenka was doubly lucky: Prime Minister Yekhanurov brought along an invitation for President Lukashenka to meet with President Yushchenko in Kyiv.

tal level, the relations between Poland and Ukraine are good, but that on the level of society as well as in regard to the policies of local governments, there are a lot of unresolved issues and frequent bad-mouthing back and forth.

The Petro Jacyk Program has announced some of the scholars it will host this academic year: Tetyana Sakharuk (University of Internal Affairs, Kharkiv) will do research on human rights protection; Denys Kuzmin (Odesa National University) will tackle the issue of Ukraine and EU enlargement; Olga Voloschenko (Kyiv University of Law) will explore the role of religion in shaping law; and Olha Luchuk (Ivan Franko University, Lviv) will research the correspondence of George Luckyj, the late scholar of Ukrainian literature, who taught at the University of Toronto for over 30 years.

Ukrainian studies...

(Continued from page 11)

Ukrainian Relations in the wake of Poland's accession to the EU and the Orange Revolution. His presentation was introduced by the consuls general of Ukraine and Poland, respectively, Dr. Ihor Lossovsky and Dr. Piotr Konowrocki.

Prof. Snyder's generally positive and optimistic evaluation of current Polish-Ukrainian relations was challenged by Prof. Orest Subtelny (York University) who pointed out that Prof. Snyder had left out an important influence on the state of Polish-Ukrainian relations – that of Russia – and drew attention to the fact that Poland seems to find a friend in Ukraine when it runs into problems with Russia.

Prof. Piotr Wrobel (University of Toronto) agreed that, on the government-



With deep sorrow we inform family and friends that on Monday, October 17, 2005, at the age of 89 passed away our beloved mother and grandmother

Dr. Stefanie Tershakovec Bereznicki

Parastas was held on Friday, October 28, 2005, at 5 p.m. at St. Michael the Archangel Ukrainian Catholic Church in Jenkintown, Pa.

Viewing was held on Friday, October 28, 2005, at 3 p.m. at St. Michael's Church in Jenkintown, and on Saturday, October 29, from 8:30 a.m. at Lytwyn and Lytwyn Funeral Home in Union, N.J.

Funeral services were held on Saturday, October 29, 2005, at 10:30 a.m. at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, Newark, N.J., followed by interment at St. Andrew's Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J.

In deep sorrow:

son	Ivan with wife Marianna Chaikovsky
daughter	Olena Nitefor with husband Michael
grandchildren	Hanna and Vera Nitefor
brother	Andrew Tershakovec with wife Tatiana and daughter Tamara
sister	Marijka Hawrylak with husband Roman
sister-in-law	Myroslava Tershakovec with sons George and Andrew and their families
cousins	Ostap Tershakovec with family Wasył Tershakovec with family
niece	Marijka Leshchynska with family in Ukraine
in-laws	Halina Bodareva and Iryna Tymoshenko

extended family in the U.S., Canada and Ukraine

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In lieu of flowers, donations in memory of Stefanie may be made to the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. Please send checks to Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

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Children's cancer center in Kharkiv receives medical and diagnostic supplies

by Evhenia Medvedenko

KHARKIV, Ukraine – Kharkiv City Children's Hospital No. 16 on September 15 held a special press conference to officially announce the delivery of medical equipment and diagnostic supplies from the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund (CCRDF). The medical shipment valued at \$65,163 was made possible by a major grant from the Philip Morris Co. earlier this year.

Speaking on behalf of the Fund, founder and Chairman of the Board, Dr. Zenon Matkiwsky thanked Philip Morris for its generous contribution, and pledged continuing support for the Kharkiv hospital. Hospital No. 16 specializes in the treatment of children with

leukemia and other oncological illnesses.

As part of this shipment, the hospital's hematology laboratory received binocular microscopes, photometers, a spectrophotometer, a water distillation system, a Stat Fax immunology analyzer, a laboratory centrifuge, diagnostic kits for the Cobe Spectra cell separator, and a variety of diagnostic reagents and consumable supplies for the hematology analyzer Cobas-Micros BOSH.

At this stage, the Kharkiv laboratory is fully equipped for the analysis and treatment of a wide range of blood-borne illnesses. Each year nearly 600 children in Ukraine receive the grim diagnosis of leukemia. Thus, CCRDF is striving to help the hospitals that specialize in leukemia treatment to obtain the critical

supplies and test kits and medications they need to combat this dreaded illness.

In the framework of this humanitarian program, CCRDF is also purchasing medical and laboratory equipment for the oncology departments at the Rivne Regional Children's Hospital and the Zhytomyr Regional Children's Hospital: specifically, filters for blood components and test systems for diagnosis of hepatitis and Epstein-Barr Virus, a binocular microscope, lumbar needles and spinal needles for bone marrow biopsies, infusion kits that will make it possible to properly diagnose and treat leukemia victims.

Since it was established in 1989, the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund has delivered over

\$53 million worth of medical and humanitarian aid to hospitals and orphanages in 14 oblasts (provinces) of Ukraine. The Fund has established partnerships with 20 hospitals and has provided extensive training and technology infusion that has resulted in dramatic reductions in infant mortality and improvements in cancer remission rates. With the help of Philip Morris, the fund also hopes to expand surgical programs for children born with congenital heart defects in Kharkiv, Odesa and Lviv.

Tax-deductible contributions may be sent to CCRDF at 272 Old Short Hills Road, Short Hills, NJ 07078. For more information, readers may call (973) 376-5140 or log on to <http://www.childrenofchernobyl.org>.



In Kharkiv City Children's Hospital No. 16, doctors admire a new photometer delivered by the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund.



The hematology (blood testing) laboratory at Kharkiv City Children's Hospital No. 16 was recently bolstered by the arrival of state-of-the-art binocular microscopes and over \$60,000 worth of technology and supplies delivered by the CCRDF.

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Ivan Bahriany...

(Continued from page 13)

pears the same way as did German."

He pointed out that the USSR was a huge concentration camp, built on slavery, physical and mental torture, terror and starvation. Criticizing the government in the West is acceptable, while in the Soviet Union it is a crime. He carried a cyanide capsule to end his life in case he were forced to return home.

Bahriany wrote novels, poetry and political statements, and delivered speeches in Europe, the United States and Canada. In all of them, his message was always the same: that there was no freedom in the USSR and that the evil Soviet empire's terror had no limits. In his 1952 speech before the Congress of Free Press in Berlin and his 1954 statement on "Ukrainian Literature and Art Under Communism's Russian Terror" for the U.S. Congress, he listed the many dozens of Ukrainian writers and artists (his friends) who were executed or sent into exile by the Soviets. For what? For creating in their own language and national heritage, he answered. There is no difference, he emphasized, between the old Russian and the new Soviet imperialism. The aim of both was to create one Russian nation and both used art and literature to engineer that Russian nation in all their occupied lands, including Ukraine.

NATO secretary...

(Continued from page 5)

not only the geo-strategic interests of Ukraine, but also the very real personal security concerns of individual Ukrainians.

First of all, the retraining of redundant military personnel, where we have doubled our support this year and intend to do even more in 2006. And second, the disposal of large stockpiles of unstable, Cold War-era munitions, where earlier this year we launched the largest Partnership for Peace trust fund in history. Most Ukrainians understand these challenges, but how many know that NATO is helping to address them?

There also needs to be greater understanding of the alliance itself and its current goals and missions.

The Ukrainian people need to understand that, far from being a Cold War relic, today's NATO is a force for stability and support in the Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq, Darfur and most recently in the earthquake relief effort for Pakistan. They need to know that although the nature of the security threat has changed, the need for effective and lasting cooperation between like-minded democratic nations in meeting common security challenges has not.

They also need to understand that integration into the alliance and strategic partnership with Russia are not competing, mutually exclusive goals. Indeed, NATO itself launched a very dynamic partnership with Russia and that partnership continues to deepen and grow.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends:

I can make all these points here today, just as NATO ambassadors can make them in Donetsk, Kharkiv and Odesa.

But it will ultimately be up to you, the people of Ukraine, and her current and future leaders, to carry this conversation forward. Because the fundamental decisions about Ukraine's future are decisions that you will have to take. And I would ask you, the students of the Diplomatic Academy, as experts in Euro-Atlantic security, and as members of a generation that has the most to gain from the path of reform and integration, to play your part in this process.

The alliance's doors remain open, and solid performance in the implementation of key reforms can make Ukraine's membership aspirations a reality. The future truly is in your hands.

In his poems and novels, Bahriany created a national hero for Ukrainians who were demoralized by Soviet persecution and the aftereffects of World War II. His heroes go through difficult trials, challenges and tortures, but never give up and continue fighting the system. They face challenges bravely and honestly, never losing their beliefs in humanity, justice and freedom. By showing that his heroes were not victims, but were morally triumphant, he kept the Ukrainian spirit and quest alive. He raised his heroes from oppression and tortures to a positive, optimistic level.

This was true about Hryhorii Mnohohrishnyj in the novel "Tyhrolovy," (Tiger Hunters), Andrii Chumak in "Sad Hetsymanskyi" (The Garden of Gethsemane) and Anton Bida in the poem "Anton Bida - Heroi Truda" (Anton Bida - Hero of Labor).

In "Tyhrolovy," Mnohohrishnyj escapes from a heavily guarded train taking him, and many others like him, to Siberia. After almost starving to death, he is rescued by a Ukrainian family of tiger hunters who accept him as if he were their own son. The novel is set in a treacherous but scenic Siberia, with many hunting adventures, and some encounters with Mnohohrishnyj's Soviet pursuers. He falls in love with the family's daughter, Natalka, and, as the pursuers come closer to capturing him, he and

Natalka heroically escape to the Far East.

Bahriany strongly believed in the value of human beings and freedom. By nature, he was a writer and a poet, but he was forced to become a politician by circumstances. He was the leader of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP), the aim of which was the destruction of the Soviet empire and the re-establishment of Ukrainian independence. In his political statements, he clearly underscored that the URDP was "against all kinds of slavery and social and political constraints on people. The party stands against communism and Soviet Russian imperialism and for independent Ukraine, for our national freedom."

He called on all Ukrainians - eastern, western, Orthodox, Catholics - people from different backgrounds to unite and form their country so that it could find its destiny. Ukraine was unable to regain independence because of the division that was instilled in us by our occupiers, he said. We need to overcome our differences. Unity, he believed, could be achieved through democracy.

In recognition of his capable writings and strong stands, Bahriany was elected president of Ukrainian National Council in exile.

Although attacked furiously by the Soviets and even some of his own compatriots, he pursued his goals to the end. Bahriany died prematurely from a weak

heart on July 25, 1963, and was buried in New Ulm. On his monument, which was created by Lev Molodozhnyn (who also created the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington), is written "We are. We were. And will be. And our motherland is with us."

Bahriany was a very talented writer and his writings gained wide recognition while he was still alive. His novel "Tyhrolovy," for example, was translated into German, French and English (The Hunters and The Hunted). He was posthumously awarded Ukraine's Shevchenko Prize in 1992.

According to Bilajiw, during a visit to the United States and Canada in 1959, Bahriany told a small group of friends about his encounter with a Belgian writer at a worldwide exhibit in Brussels that, we believe, summarizes his mission in life.

The writer asked Bahriany to tell him who the Ukrainians are. And, after Bahriany explained, the Belgian writer commented that he was envious because some day Ukrainians would have a great country in Eastern Europe, while most other countries' futures have already been defined. Belgium can only be Belgium, while your country's future is still wide open, he said.

Bahriany encouraged us to keep focused on the goal and to move in that direction.



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Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate host annual pilgrimage in Sloatsburg

by Helen Labinsky

SLOATSBURG, N.Y. – The Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate hosted a beautiful and memorable weekend program making 51 years of dedicated celebrations honoring the Mother of God on her feast day, the Assumption of Mary into Heaven.

The weekend celebration on August 13-14 for Christian pilgrims was filled with beautiful Ukrainian rite liturgies, making it convenient for everyone to attend liturgy, moleben to the Mother of God, Akathistos to the Dormition in Ukrainian and in English, Dormition vespers, a panakhyda (requiem service) for the deceased pilgrims who fell asleep in the Lord during the past year, holy water blessing, anointing of families and of the sick, blessing of flowers and fragrant herbs, and blessing of departing pilgrims.

Four excellent workshops were presented at 1-3 p.m. on Saturday afternoon

by eloquent clergy.

The highlight of the celebration was the pontifical divine liturgy concelebrating by bishops and priests on Sunday at 10 a.m., starting with traditional procession to the grotto.

Confessions were available for the pilgrims during the entire weekend.

Food was served at the pavilion on Saturday afternoon and evening and all day Sunday by the League of Ukrainian Catholics, whose members came from New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and New York state (as far away as Buffalo) and many friends, relatives and other generous volunteers of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate.

So once again, another beautiful celebration was hosted by the sisters, many new friends were made and many, many beautiful memories were added to the experiences of pilgrims.

Ukrainian National...

(Continued from page 1)

motions to the entire General Assembly.

The Finance Committee presented and the General Assembly approved a budget for the coming year.

Much emphasis during the General Assembly's deliberations was given to the upcoming 36th Convention of the UNA, which will be held on May 26-29, 2006, at Soyuzivka.

All reports and resolutions of the 2005 annual meeting will appear in the meeting's minutes, which will be published in both Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly at a later date.

In attendance at the General

Assembly's sessions were:


- Members of the Executive Committee Stefan Kaczaraj, president; Martha Lysko, first vice-president; Eugene Iwanciw, second vice-president; Al Kachkowski, director for Canada; Roma Lisovich, treasurer; (Christine Kozak, national secretary, was excused);

- Auditors Zenon Holubec, Yaroslav Zaviysky and Alexander Serafyn;

- Advisors Joseph Hawryluk, Stefan Hawrysz, Vasyl Luchkiw, Wasyl Liscynsky, Pawlo Prinko, Myron Groch and Gloria Horbaty; and

- Honorary Members Taras Szmagala Sr. and Tekla Moroz.

– UNA Executive Committee



MEET THE RECTOR!


The Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation is pleased to announce that **Rev. Borys Gudziak**, Rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University, will be honored at events in the following cities this fall on the following dates:

Saturday, November 5, 2005:
Rector's Dinner in New York, New York, 6:30 p.m.
St. George's School Auditorium,
215 E. 6th Street

Sunday, November 13, 2005:
Rector's Luncheon in Chicago, Illinois, 1 p.m.
Ukrainian Cultural Center,
2247 W. Chicago Ave.


Sunday, November 20, 2005:
Rector's Luncheon in Warren, Michigan, 2:00 p.m.
St. Josaphat Banquet Centre
26440 Ryan Road

All friends and supporters of the Ukrainian Catholic University and the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, along with all other interested persons, are welcome to meet Rev. Gudziak at these events. Organizations are also most welcome to these events.




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National deputy...

(Continued from page 1)

Corrupt schemes and bribery are still widespread in the top levels of government, Mr. Stretovych stated.

All law enforcement authorities, including the Procurator's General Office, the tax and customs services and all levels of the police are still highly corrupt, the Committee on Combating Organized Crime and Corruption stated in an October 7 report.

"All those whom the president called bandits skillfully migrated to the new authorities," said National Deputy Mykola Karnaukh, a Socialist Party member who is the committee's secretary.

In the months since the Orange Revolution, for example, the Procurator General's Office often requested legal cases from its regional offices and then closed them within a few days, which "became a real epidemic," Mr. Stretovych said.

The courts have become corporations that work to benefit corrupt officials, he said. Judges have even been business partners of defendants in criminal or civil cases, he said.

"How can one expect unbiased court hearings in this situation if a plaintiff has a corporate interest with a judge?" Mr. Stretovych said. "We don't know what to do with corruption in the courts. Every day it is becoming worse."

Even after the Orange Revolution, corrupt officials dominated Ukraine's legal institutions, Mr. Stretovych said, specifically naming former Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun and his wife, Svitlana.

Mrs. Piskun and Svitlana Azarova, the wife of former Vice Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, established a company, Planet of Investment, which illegally appropriated enterprises in Ukraine and "robbed European companies," Mr. Stretovych charged.

Mrs. Piskun is also the daughter of Supreme Court Chief Judge Anzhelika Hrek.

"Oligarchic clans ruled and still keep ruling the country, and use legal authorities to ensure private interest," Mr. Stretovych said.

A special commission will investigate the business activities of Planet of

Investment this week.

However, it is doubtful anyone will be punished, Mr. Stretovych said, since it's not obligatory to implement the committee's decisions, according to the bill regulating its activity.

Even after Mr. Piskun's dismissal two weeks ago, powerful businessmen still evade prosecution.

Mr. Piskun filed criminal charges against Petro Poroshenko for bribing businessmen in order to gain control of a \$16 million luxury high-rise on Hrushevsky Street in Kyiv.

The Procurator General's Office closed the case on October 21, a week after President Viktor Yushchenko fired Mr. Piskun.

Mr. Yushchenko happens to be the godfather of Mr. Poroshenko's twin daughters.

In recent remarks, former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko accused the Yushchenko government of preferring to cut deals and compromising rather than combating corruption.

"Today everything is leading to a swamp, where everyone comes to agreement, signs memorandums and compromises," Ms. Tymoshenko said. "And now the only ones in conflict with the government are those people who expected real changes."

Though every year the number of appeals is growing, Mr. Yushchenko's administration failed to stand up against corruption, said Mr. Stretovych, who is a member of the Our Ukraine coalition and was a member of the Christian-Democratic Union when elected to the Verkhovna Rada in 2002.

"The new bandits with new authorities will never go to jail," he said. "Those who committed misdemeanors will be imprisoned. But those who steeped their hands in blood or stole millions will be out of prison."

The same day that Mr. Stretovych made his comments, five Kyiv city council deputies called their own press conference to allege that businessmen have been buying the top positions of the Our Ukraine People's Union party electoral lists in order to secure themselves political positions and immunity.

"Places on the party lists are simply sold," said Oleksa Yurchenko, an Our

Ukraine People's Union council member representing Kyiv's Darnytsia region.

There is no strict and transparent separation of government and business within the political party, he added.

Nor has the Verkhovna Rada been of help, Mr. Stretovych said. During the last three years, the Verkhovna Rada hasn't supported a single anti-corruption bill, he said.

"If the committee makes a decision, the Parliament is supposed to approve it. We have many facts that show when the committee says 'yes,' the Parliament says 'no.' This is absolutely impossible," he commented.

When corruption victims submit complaints to his committee, its procedures not only fail to protect them, but also leave them at the mercy of those they accuse, he said.

For example, when local police officers

informed the committee about corruption on the part of superiors, the committee sent a letter of inquiry to the local government. As a rule, the accused official is the one who receives the letter, he said.

It's not surprising, Mr. Stretovych noted, that the committee always received the same answer: "The facts mentioned in your letter were not confirmed."

"A reverse effect happens," Mr. Stretovych said. "Police officers often refuse to write appeals, explaining that they might get into trouble."

Even the national deputies on his own committee are indifferent, he said. Only three or four of its 16 members attend the committee's meetings and make an honest effort, Mr. Stretovych explained.

Sometimes the deputies fail to pass decisions or recommendations at their meetings because there is no quorum.

The UNA's 36th Convention

will be held at the UNA resort

Soyuzivka, Kerhonkson, N.Y.

Friday, May 26, through Monday, May 29, 2006

A convention committee has been formed and has started preliminary work on assuring that every delegate and guest will have a pleasant experience during the UNA's first convention at Soyuzivka.



Front row from left: Stefa Hawryluk, Maya Lew, Vera Staruch, Anna Slobodian, Oksana Trytjak, Committee Chairman.

Second row from left: Nicholas Fil, Roman Hawryluk, Vasyl Luchkiw, Longin Staruch, Sonia Semanyshyn, Gerry Tysiak.

Not pictured: Maxine Hayden, Nestor Paslawsky.

MP Mark...

(Continued from page 4)

the signing of the Agreement in Principle that will provide \$2.5 million in funding for specific commemorative projects and initiatives recalling Canada's first national internment operations."

Dr. Luciuk added: "We will also soon be negotiating a second installment, of no less than \$10 million. Those funds will be deployed for more long-term educational, cultural, research and publications programs intended to hallow the memory of all of the internees and underscore how important it is to remain vigilant in defense of civil liberties and human

rights in times of domestic and international crisis."

Speaking of MP Mark and Bill C-331, the UCCLA activist said: "Mr. Mark has been a steadfast and true supporter of the Ukrainian Canadian community's calls for righting this historic injustice. While we anticipate that his act will be amended, we nevertheless expect the House of Commons and Senate of Canada to pass this bill and so help recognize officially what Ukrainians and other Europeans endured during the internment operations. This is another positive step forward. We call upon all MPs and all of the parties represented in the House of Commons and Senate to join us in endorsing Mr. Mark's initiative."

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

Minister Anatolii Hrytsenko said on October 23 that Kyiv's future integration with NATO should not harm relations with Russia, ITAR-TASS reported the same day. "Russia and many wise Russians think that Poland and the Baltic countries, which are NATO members, do not endanger Russia. Ukraine has normal relations with Russia and does not infringe its interests in any way," Mr. Hrytsenko said after meeting with U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. ITAR-TASS quoted a source in the Ukrainian Defense Ministry as saying that Messrs. Hrytsenko and Rumsfeld discussed bilateral U.S.-Ukraine relations, a "cooperation plan" for 2006, and the withdrawal of Ukrainian troops from Iraq after the December parliamentary elections there. (RFE/RL Newsline)

NATO leader comments on Ukraine

VILNIUS – As NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer told a joint follow-up news conference in Vilnius, Lithuania, on October 24, Ukraine will likely join the NATO Membership Action Plan between 2006 and 2008. NATO will keep watching developments in Ukraine, Mr. de Hoop Scheffer noted, and will make relevant deci-

sions. Everything will depend on Ukraine, as it is Ukraine that is guiding its reformation process, he noted. Further meetings in similar formats, the secretary general said, will be helpful in realizing Ukraine's aspirations toward NATO. (Ukrinform)

Ukraine awaits Iraqi elections

VILNIUS – The ultimate date of the Ukrainian military contingent's withdrawal from Iraq will be adjusted with allies after the parliamentary elections have been held in Iraq, Ukrainian Defense Minister Anatolii Hrytsenko told journalists in Vilnius, Lithuania, having met with his U.S. counterpart, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. Messrs. Hrytsenko and Rumsfeld came to Vilnius, Lithuania, to attend informal ministerial Ukraine-NATO consultations. According to Mr. Hrytsenko, his talks with Mr. Rumsfeld dealt with the situation in Iraq and plans for Ukraine-U.S. military cooperation for 2006. (Ukrinform)

Young Batkivschyna established

KYIV – A nationwide Ukrainian youth organization called Moloda Batkivschyna, or Young Fatherland, has been established as the youth wing of the Batkivschyna Party headed by Yulia Tymoshenko. Delegates from all regions of Ukraine attended the founding congress on October 22. Former

Prime Minister Tymoshenko was elected honorary chair of Young Fatherland; and Viktor Taran was elected head of its coordinating council. (UNIAN, BBC)

Our Ukraine Youth Union founded

KYIV – The pro-Yushchenko Our Ukraine People's Union party has established a youth branch called Our Ukraine Youth Union, it was reported on October 22. The organization held its founding congress at the Polytechnical Institute in Kyiv, with some 1,500 delegates in attendance. The Our Ukraine People's Union said it views the new youth branch as a tool for getting young people politically involved. Channel 5 TV reported that the process of establishing the Our Ukraine Youth Union was managed by Minister of Family and Youth Affairs Yurii Pavlenko. (Channel 5, BBC)

Rada rejects draft budget

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on October 20 rejected the government's draft budget for 2006 and scheduled a new first reading for November 1, Ukrainian and international news agencies reported. Deputies want to raise the deficit from 1.9 percent to 3 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) to direct more funds to social benefits, whereas the government opposes such an increase. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Compensation bill is vetoed

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko has vetoed a bill obliging the government to compensate Ukrainian citizens for devalued or lost savings that were deposited in the former Soviet Union's Savings Bank, Interfax-Ukraine reported on October 24. Finance Minister Viktor Pynzenyk said the government would have to pay 12 billion hryv (\$2.4 billion U.S.) annually beginning next year if the bill were enacted. "We understand the problem, but the figure [we would have to pay] reaches 12 billion hryv per year. It is an issue of capabilities and wishful thinking," Mr. Pynzenyk said. He added that the 2006

budget draft provides for the payment of 600 million hryv in compensation for the savings Ukrainians held in the Soviet-era Savings Bank. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Grim demographics for Ukraine

KYIV – The Institute of Demography and Social Studies of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences estimated that the country's population will dwindle from the 47 million recorded last month to 35 million in 2050 if the current demographic trend continues, Interfax-Ukraine reported on October 21. (RFE/RL Newsline)

PGO closes Poroshenko case

KYIV – The Procurator General's Office has closed the Petro Poroshenko case. The PGO's press service reported on October 21 that the case has been closed for lack of evidence. Legal proceedings against Mr. Poroshenko were instituted on October 10. On October 19 ex-Security Service of Ukraine Chief Oleksander Turchynov said, citing reliable sources, that acting Procurator General Serhii Vinokurov had been ordered to promptly close the case. (Ukrinform)

Kinakh to discuss Poroshenko case

KYIV – The National Security and Defense Council (NSDC) is closely cooperating with the Verkhovna Rada committee in charge of investigating corruption within the upper echelons of power, the Procurator General's Office, the Security Service of Ukraine and other law enforcement bodies, NSDC Secretary Anatolii Kinakh told journalists in Kyiv on October 21. Mr. Kinakh stated his intention to meet with acting Procurator General Serhii Vinokurov to discuss in great detail the case of Petro Poroshenko. Mr. Kinakh reassured the news media that he will defend the supremacy of law because this principle underlies democracy and the people's trust in authority. Replying to the journalists'

(Continued on page 27)

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11/12/05 – 3/4/06
12го листопада, 2005 - 4го березня 2006

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United States Postal Service		13 Publication Title		14 Issue Date of Circulation Data Below	
Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation		THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY		OCT 23, 2005	
1. Publication Title	2. Publication Number	3. Filing Date			
THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY	570-870	OCT 21, 2005			
4. Issue Frequency	5. Number of Issues Published Annually	6. Annual Subscription Price			
WEEKLY	52	\$45.00/MEMBERS \$55.00/NON-MEMBERS			
7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication (Not printer) (Street, city, county, state, and ZIP+4)		8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher (Not printer)			
THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY PO BOX 280 2200 ROUTE 10 PARSIPPANY NJ 07054		UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, INC. PO BOX 280 2200 ROUTE 10 PARSIPPANY NJ 07054			
9. Full Name and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor (Do not leave blank)		10. Owner (Do not leave blank. If the publication is owned by a corporation, give the name and address of the corporation immediately followed by the names and addresses of all stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, give the names and addresses of the individual owners. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, give its name and address as well as those of each individual owner. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, give its name and address.)			
Publisher (Name and complete mailing address) UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, INC. PO BOX 280 2200 ROUTE 10 PARSIPPANY NJ 07054		Contact Person WALTER HONCHARYK Telephone: 1-973-292-9800			
Editor (Name and complete mailing address) ROMA HADZENYCH THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY PO BOX 280 2200 ROUTE 10 PARSIPPANY NJ 07054		Managing Editor (Name and complete mailing address) (SAME AS ABOVE)			
11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities. If none, check box <input type="checkbox"/>		12. Tax Status (For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates) (Check one) The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes: <input type="checkbox"/> Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months <input type="checkbox"/> Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months (Publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement)			
Full Name		Complete Mailing Address			
UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, INC.		PO BOX 280 2200 ROUTE 10 PARSIPPANY NJ 07054			
13. Publication of Statement of Ownership		16. Publication of Statement of Ownership			
Publication required to be printed in the OCT 30, 2005 issue of this publication		Publication not required			
17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner		18. Date			
Walter Honcharyk		ADMINISTRATOR OCT 21, 2005			
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5. If the publication has Periodicals authorization as a general or requester publication, this Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation must be printed in any issue in October. If the publication is not published during October, the first issue printed after October.					
6. In item 15 indicate the date of the issue in which this Statement of Ownership will be published.					
7. Item 17 must be signed.					
Failure to file or publish a statement of ownership may lead to suspension of Periodicals authorization.					
PS Form 3526, October 1999 (Reverse)					

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 26)

question about whether the PGO's decision to close the Poroshenko case resulted from Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun's dismissal, Mr. Kinakh noted that this issue involved "multi-factored interactions." The main point, Mr. Kinakh said, is to prevent the situation from lowering the PGO's efficacy. It is important to see a person in the procurator general's position who will protect the Constitution of Ukraine and human rights, and who will not be guided by political conjecture or career considerations, Mr. Kinakh stated. (Ukrinform)

Rybachuk comments on Piskun's firing

KYIV – Presidential Secretariat Chairman Oleh Rybachuk told a news briefing in Kyiv on October 21 that Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun was dismissed because he slowed down investigations into the most resounding crimes and launched criminal cases that had obvious political implications. Mr. Rybachuk also accused Mr. Piskun of having repeatedly divulged investigation secrets, which allowed many criminals to avoid being brought to justice. Mr. Rybachuk also charged that the prosecutor's move to institute legal proceedings against ex-Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council Petro Poroshenko had a purely political background. (Ukrinform)

Poisoning analysis to proceed

KYIV – According to Presidential Secretariat Chairman Oleh Rybachuk, the analysis of Viktor Yushchenko's poisoning was delayed because the Procurator General's Office made a decision to carry it out only on October 20. Mr. Rybachuk noted that, as soon as President Yushchenko received the notice informing him of the need for expert analysis by specialists in Ukraine, he gave his consent to undergo the necessary tests. It was former Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun who delayed the testing procedure, Mr. Rybachuk contended. He noted that the former top prosecutor repeatedly declined proposals for testing, saying it was unnecessary as there was quite enough evidence. (Ukrinform)

Two Lviv priests declared saints

LVIV – On Friday, October 21, a clerical delegation, led by Lviv Metropolitan Cardinal Marian Jaworski, left Lviv for the Vatican in order to attend Sunday events there to declare Archbishop Yosyp Bichevski (1860-1923) and Father Zigmund Gorazdovski (1845-1920) saints. Both men were Polish priests active in Lviv and were beatified by Pope John-Paul II. (Ukrinform)

President reaffirms Euro-Atlantic course

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko

assured NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer in Kyiv on October 19 that Ukraine will not diverge from its course toward Euro-Atlantic integration and sees NATO membership as a strategic foreign policy goal, Ukrainian and international news agencies reported. In turn, Mr. de Hoop Scheffer said staging free and fair parliamentary elections in March will be "a very important milestone" in judging Ukraine's progress toward NATO membership. He also cited the need for judicial reform, rule of law and the fight to eliminate corruption. "NATO's door was, is and remains open," he noted. "Because NATO is a performance-based organization, these reforms ... are essential, and they have to be done by Ukraine, and NATO will help." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Constitutional Court at a halt

KYIV – Nine judges of Ukraine's Constitutional Court retired on October 18, bringing the number of vacancies in this body to 13, The Kyiv Post reported on October 20. The Constitutional Court, which is made up of 18 judges appointed to nine-year terms – six each chosen by the president, the Verkhovna Rada and the Congress of Judges – determines whether laws and acts of the president and the Cabinet of Ministers and international treaties conform with the Constitution of Ukraine. Parliament now needs to appoint four judges and the president needs to appoint three, with the remainder to be chosen by the Congress of Judges. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Six-month ban on poultry imports

KYIV – The Ukrainian Parliament on October 20 imposed a six-month ban on all poultry imports in an attempt to protect the country from bird flu, Ukrainian and international news agencies reported. The measure was supported by 229 deputies in the 450-seat legislature. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Odesa region fears avian flu

ODESA – Hunting wild birds in the Odesa region has been prohibited because of a potential avian flu hazard, Ivan Panchyshyn, first deputy chief of main agency for agricultural-industrial development of the Odesa State Regional Administration, said on October 20. The probability of the Odesa region being affected by avian flu is very high, he said, adding that this is connected to the wild birds' migration from north to south and that the Black Sea region is a transit zone. He stated that the private sector, where large numbers of poultry are kept, is most likely to be affected. In addition to prohibiting hunting, authorities banned imports of poultry articles from countries where the disease has been reported. (Ukrinform)

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

(Continued from page 28)

at Columbia University is hosting "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Ukrainian Cinema since Independence," a series of lectures on the current state of and challenges faced by Ukrainian cinema as it tries to shake off the crippling legacy of the Soviet past and to adapt to the fast-moving reality of a post-Soviet Ukraine. The first lecture, "Oxygen Starvation. The Defeated Expectation of Freedom," will focus on

Ukrainian full-length feature films and be held at the Innis Townhall, Innis College, University of Toronto, 2 Sussex Ave. The lecture by Yuri Shevchuk of Columbia University will be followed by a discussion and a full-length feature film presentation. For more information contact the Jacyk Program, (416) 946 8113, e-mail larysa.iarovenko@utoronto.ca or check the website www.utoronto.ca/jacyk/.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

Preview of Events is a listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public. It is a service provided at minimal cost (\$20 per listing) by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community.

Listings of no more than 100 words (written in Preview format) plus payment should be sent a week prior to desired date of publication to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054; fax, (973) 644-9510. Items may be e-mailed to preview@ukrweekly.com.

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Soyuzivka's Datebook

November 4-6, 2005
Plast Orlykiada

November 12, 2005
Wedding

November 19, 2005
Sigma Beta Chi Fraternity Formal
Dinner Banquet

November 20, 2005
Ellenville Cooperative Nursery
School Auction

November 23-27, 2005
Family Reunions

November 24, 2005
Thanksgiving Feast 1-4 p.m., \$25 per
person, overnight packages
available

December 24, 2005
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve
Supper 6 p.m., \$25 per person,
overnight packages available

December 31-January 1, 2006
New Year's Eve Extravaganza Package

January 6, 2006
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve
Supper 6 p.m., \$25 per person,
overnight packages available

January 27-29, 2006
Church of Annunciation Family
Weekend, Flushing, N.Y.



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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, November 5

NEW YORK: Father Borys Gudziak, Ph.D., rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University, will celebrate liturgy at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church at 5 p.m. A dinner in his honor will be held at 6:30 p.m. at St. George School Auditorium, 215 E. Sixth St. Admission to the dinner is \$100. Tax-deductible checks should be made out to the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation (UCEF). Send ticket requests to St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church, 30 E. Seventh St., New York, NY, 10003; telephone, (212) 674-1615; or to the UCEF, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., Chicago, IL, 60622; telephone, (773) 235-8462.

HILLSIDE, N.J.: You, your family and friends are invited to join us at 2:30 p.m. at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church, corner of Liberty Avenue and Bloy Street, for an afternoon of prayer and reflection regarding the message of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (Garabandal). The event will consist of a moleben and the rosary, followed by a presentation regarding Our Lady's message as well as personal accounts of the Miracle of Garabandal by Dr. Michael and Helen Rozeluk of Canada. During a visit to Garabandal in 1994, Dr. Rozeluk was cured of painful, permanent injuries to his neck and jaw after being blessed with a relic medal blessed by Our Mother. Since that time, in gratitude, the Rozeluks have developed a powerful ministry of spreading devotion to the Blessed Mother and Her Son, Jesus. The couple will speak also about their 2002 and 2004 missions to Ukraine that spread the message of Garabandal. The day will conclude with the opportunity for all present to venerate an icon, the Medal of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. The sacrament of Reconciliation will be available to those who would like to go to confession. While the event will be conducted primarily in English, it will also be accented with Ukrainian. For further information, please contact Patricia Shatynski, (908) 322-7350. Additional information and directions to the parish may be found on the parish website, www.byzantines.net/immaculateconception.

Sunday, November 6

WARREN, Mich.: The Detroit Regional Council of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) presents the 80-70-60 Jubilee Luncheon, a celebration of the 80th anniversary of the UNWLA, the 70th anniversary of the Detroit Regional Council and the 60th anniversary of Our Life magazine, at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 26601 Ryan Road, at 2 p.m. Keynote speaker: Iryna Kurowyckyj, president of the UNWLA; guest speaker: Anya Dydik-Petrenko of the Voice of America. Entertainment by the Soyuzianky Quartet (Olga Dubrivny-Solovey, musical director); and Ostap Stachiw, soloist/bandurist. An art exhibit will feature works by Halyna Cisaruk, Jarema Kozak, Volodymyr Nemyra, Chrystyna Nykorak, Jurij Savchenko, Konstantyn Savchenko, Oleksander Tkachenko and Eugenia Worobkevych. The exhibit will be on view beginning at 1 p.m. A raffle of donated art by the aforementioned artists will conclude the program. Tickets: \$30, or \$50 for sponsors, are available at both area Ukrainian credit unions and from UNWLA members. To reserve tables for 10 call (248) 656-0306.

Monday, November 7

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.: The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute will host a lecture given by Tetiana (Hoshko) Zaytseva, assistant professor, history of Ukraine, Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv, and Eugene and Daymel Shklar Fellow, Ukrainian Research Institute. Her lecture, "Municipal Self-Government in Europe's Borderlands: Magdeburg Law in East Central Europe and Ukraine," will be held in the Seminar Room of the Institute at 4-6 p.m. The institute is located at 1583

Massachusetts Ave. Cambridge, MA 02138. For more information contact HURI at (617) 495-4053 or huri@fas.harvard.edu.

Sunday, November 13

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites the public to a program titled "Theater in a Basket" ("Teatr u Koshyku"), in which Iryna Volynska (Lviv) will perform dramatic scenes from the works of Vasyl Stefanyk. The program will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 2 p.m. For additional information call (212) 254-5130.

CHICAGO: Meet Father Borys Gudziak, Ph.D., rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University. A luncheon in his honor will be held at 1 p.m. at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 2247 W. Chicago Ave. Call your local parish or the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, (773) 235-8462, for ticket information.

HARTFORD, Conn.: The Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine is sponsoring a presentation on contemporary Ukrainian cinema by Dr. Yuri Shevchuk, lecturer of Ukrainian language and culture, and director of the Ukrainian Film Club at Columbia University. The presentation will include a screening and discussion of the films "Mamay" (Oles Sanin, director), Ukraine's 2003 official entry for the Academy Awards consideration in the category of best foreign language film, and "Podorozhni" (Ihor Strembitsky, director), the 2005 Palme d'Or Short Film award winner. All films are in Ukrainian with English subtitles. The presentation will take place at 1:30 p.m. at the Ukrainian National Home, 961 Wethersfield Ave., Hartford. Suggested donation: adults, \$10; students, \$5. For information call (860) 223-3622.

Saturday, November 19

DETROIT: Ukrainian Children's Aid and Relief Effort Inc. (UCARE) invites the public to a fund-raising event showcasing artwork created by orphans in Ukraine. "From a Child's Hand: Hearts for Art" Gallery Show and Auction will be held at the Detroit Zoo Wildlife Interpretive Gallery at 7-10 p.m. The proceeds from the sale of the children's art pieces and related items will support the specific needs identified by the orphanages, and UCARE's medical and scholarship programs. Tickets are priced at \$65 per person and include hors d'oeuvres and wine; black tie optional. To order tickets call (248) 526-0899 by November 12 (advance ticket sales only). For more information, go to www.ucareinc.org.

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) invites the public to a presentation of two publications sponsored by the NTSh in America: a book by Halyna Svarnyk (Lviv) on the collection of archives and manuscripts at the NTSh in Lviv, and a work by Yevhen Misylo about the deportation of Ukrainians from Poland to the USSR in the years 1944-1946. The presentations will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call (212) 254-5130.

Sunday, November 20

DETROIT: Meet Father Borys Gudziak, Ph.D., rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University. A luncheon in his honor will be held at 2 p.m. at the St. Josaphat Banquet Centre, 26440 Ryan Road, Warren, Mich. Call your local parish or the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, (773) 235-8462, for ticket information.

Tuesday, November 29

TORONTO: The Petro Jacyk Program in cooperation with the Ukrainian Film Club

(Continued on page 27)