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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Protesters' demand: The New York Times must repudiate Walter Duranty's reporting

by Andrew Nynka

NEW YORK — A small but vocal group of protesters took to the streets here to demand that The New York Times publicly repudiate the reporting of Walter Duranty, the newspaper's international correspondent who claimed that reports of the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 were erroneous.

On a cold, windswept day in midtown Manhattan, the demonstrators' voices boomed from a portable sound system erected in front of The New York Times headquarters. The sound echoed up between the skyscrapers that stand over 43rd Street and stunned employees of The Times as they exited the lobby of the building, located between Seventh and Eighth avenues in Manhattan.

A solitary protester stood in front of the building's brass-framed revolving doors and handed out flyers as curious tourists walked by or as people came out of the building's lobby.

Across the street a group of some 35 protesters called on the publisher of The New York Times, Arthur Sulzberger Jr., to acknowledge that the Pulitzer Prize awarded to Mr. Duranty in 1932 was given in error. The newspaper does not actually own Mr. Duranty's award; the protesters instead called for The Times to relinquish a plaque dedicated to Mr. Duranty that hangs in the newspaper's fabled Pulitzer Alley, a meandering hallway on the building's 11th floor.

"It's the moral thing to do," said Volodymyr Kurylo, president of the United Ukrainian American Organizations of Greater New York. "After all, the lies that Duranty dispatched and were printed in The New York Times denied that Stalin was intentionally, with impunity, starving between 7 to 10 million innocent Ukrainian men, women and children to death."

In an e-mail message sent to The Ukrainian Weekly, Toby Usnik, director of public relations for The New York Times, commented on the matter.

"The Pulitzer Board has reviewed the Duranty prize over the years, and the board has not seen fit to revoke it," Mr. Usnik said. "In that situation, The Times has not seen merit in trying to undo history."

"Duranty's prize was given for a specific set of stories in 1931, not in 1932 or 1933 when the famine in Ukraine struck with full force," Mr. Usnik said. "In The Times's own displays and materials devoted to its Pulitzer Prizes, the Duranty award is labeled with the legend below. It is our statement on the matter."

That statement also was e-mailed to The Weekly by Mr. Usnik. It matches word for word the current inscription on the Duranty plaque in Pulitzer Alley. Prior to March 23, 2004, the plaque carried a shorter inscription. On that day it was taken down and the new inscription was

placed on the plaque. It was returned to its place in Pulitzer Alley on April 19, 2004.

Meanwhile, the protesters, who gathered for an hour at noon on November 18, held signs, flowers, banners and Ukrainian flags as several speakers stood on a makeshift platform erected on the street for the occasion. A black sheet was draped on the platform and over that hung a small wooden casket with the words "10 million dead" pasted on its lid.

Duranty's dispatches from Ukraine denied that Soviet leader Joseph Stalin knowingly allowed a famine to rage through Ukraine. However, several other reporters went to great lengths to expose the genocide that the Soviet leadership wanted to keep covered up.

Gareth Jones, a young Welsh journalist, snuck into Ukraine in the early 1930s to document events unfolding there. His reporting was later vilified by Mr. Duranty, who famously insisted that "There is no actual starvation or deaths from starvation, but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition."

Nigel Colley, the great nephew of Jones, joined the protesters in commemorating the Ukrainian Famine Genocide of 1932-1933.

"I am honored to announce that our organization has been joined by the Gareth Jones Society for Truth in Journalism," Mr. Kurylo said as he introduced Mr. Colley.

In a message that he echoed the following day during a commemoration at St.

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Orange Revolution anniversary celebration reveals continuing rifts in former coalition



Yana Sedova

Orange Revolution patriots from Zaporizhia dress Svitlana Nebyvailo in orange headbands in preparation for the first anniversary celebration at Kyiv's Independence Square.

by Zenon Zawada and Yana Sedova
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — More than 100,000 Ukrainians gathered on Kyiv's Independence Square on November 22 to celebrate the first anniversary of the Orange Revolution, the month of peaceful revolt that removed an oppressive regime and brokered the rebirth of the Ukrainian nation.

The commemoration bore some elements of last year's historic events as wet snow fell amidst chilly Kyiv winds.

Students marched and banged drums, tent kitchens doled out "kasha," and teenagers tied orange banners around each other's arms and heads.

But while last year's revolutionaries

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72nd anniversary of Famine-Genocide marked in New York

by Tamara Gallo-Olexy

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

NEW YORK — The annual national observance to commemorate the anniversary of the Ukrainian Famine Genocide of 1932-1933 was held on Saturday, November 19, at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City.

The program began with a moving introduction by Archbishop Antony of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., who described the recollections of an elderly Famine survivor and her guilt at having survived such an atrocity. He underscored how necessary it is to inform everyone about the atrocities in Ukraine in 1932-1933.

"Not only did her children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, but also her fellow parishioners, her neighbors, her community — all became abundantly aware of not only how precious and holy God-given life is, but also how easily people can be led astray, how easily they can succumb to the demagoguery of one considered to be a "great" leader, how easily the life — in particular the life of

those not in favor — can be devalued," Archbishop Antony said.

Cardinal Edward Egan of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York also paid homage to the Famine's victims. He noted that St. Patrick's Cathedral welcomes all "to commemorate this tragedy of the Ukrainian people."

Bishop Basil Losten of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Archbishop Antony then proceeded to concelebrate an ecumenical requiem service (panakhyda) for the repose of the souls of the genocide victims. The Dumka Chorus of New York, under the direction of Vasyl Hrechinsky, sang responses to the service.

Following the requiem prayer, Michael Sawkiw Jr., president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, provided brief introductory remarks on the 72nd anniversary of the Famine-Genocide. "It came at a time of no known natural calamity, pestilence, or drought," stated Mr. Sawkiw. "It came at a time of supposed peace between the two world wars...But it also

came at a time of subjugation of a tyrannical empire over the freedom-loving Ukrainian nation."

Ambassador Valeriy Kuchinsky, Ukraine's Permanent Representative to the United Nations delivered remarks from President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine. In his statement the Ukrainian president expressed "special words of gratitude to the American nation, which was the first to recognize the terrible consequences of the Holodomor of 1932-1933. I hope that this tragedy will be recognized also by the entire international community."

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Hennadii Udovenko also participated in the program and addressed those gathered at St. Patrick's Cathedral. He mentioned the first anniversary of the Orange Revolution and how the Ukrainian nation awoke to become the master of its own fate. Much like President Yushchenko, Mr. Udovenko cordially thanked "the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States for its strong

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ANALYSIS

Who are Yushchenko's true allies?by **Taras Kuzio***Eurasia Daily Monitor*

Despite Ukraine's September political crisis and the subsequent fall of the Yulia Tymoshenko government, the Tymoshenko bloc in Parliament is still a fairly reliable ally of President Viktor Yushchenko's Our Ukraine People's Union (OUPU). Other allies from the Orange Revolution, including the Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU) and the Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine (PIEU), may still be inside the government headed by Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov, but they frequently vote against the OUPU on strategic issues.

The Tymoshenko bloc and OUPU will contest the March 2006 elections separately, a strategy that, ironically, is likely to bring them more votes than if they enter the elections in one bloc. Two recent votes reflect the re-emergence of de facto Orange Revolution unity.

On November 2 the Ukrainian Parliament refused to ratify a Memorandum of Understanding with NATO regarding NATO use of Ukrainian airlift capacity. The memorandum had been ratified with centrist support in the Kuchma era because it brings tangible economic benefits to Ukraine. This time the vote failed because the SPU and PIEU,

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supposedly Mr. Yushchenko's allies, failed to deliver 30 of their 39 votes.

The failure of the Socialists and Industrialists and Entrepreneurs to support ratification of the memorandum is a clear indication that their loyalty to the strategic domestic and foreign policy objectives of the Yushchenko administration is low.

The weekly Dzerkalo Tyzhnia/Zerkalo Nedeli (November 5-11) complained that such a voting fiasco placed the Yushchenko administration in a poor light, as Kyiv could not follow through on its foreign policy commitments.

The Tymoshenko bloc also supported the OUPU over parliamentary opposition to the re-privatization of the Kryvorizhstal steel mill. Prior to the successful re-sale for \$4.8 billion, the Verkhovna Rada had twice voted to block the re-privatization. The Tymoshenko bloc, Reforms and Order, and OUPU opposed parliamentary votes for a moratorium on Kryvorizhstal's re-privatization, a vote supported by all 39 SPU and PIEU deputies. In a separate vote, both the SPU and the PIEU backed a resolution calling for Kryvorizhstal to remain in state hands (rada.kiev.ua).

Regarding both the NATO memorandum and Kryvorizhstal, the greatest cynicism came from the once hard-line supporters of Leonid Kuchma, the Party of the Regions of Ukraine (PRU) and the Social Democratic Party-United (SDPU). Both parties supported the ratification of the NATO memorandum under President Kuchma and privatized Kryvorizhstal in

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Leftists mark Bolshevik Revolution with anti-government gatheringsby **Jan Maksymiuk***RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova Report*

An estimated crowd of 10,000 people took part in an anti-government picket in front of the government's headquarters in Kyiv on November 7. [Editor's note: our Kyiv Press Bureau reported that the crowd could not have been larger than 2,000.] The picket, as well as a somewhat smaller rally on Independence Square shortly before it, was organized by the Communist Party of Ukraine to commemorate the 88th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

In 2000 the tradition of celebrating Revolution Day on November 7 ended when it ceased to be a state holiday in Ukraine, but Ukrainian Communists and other leftists continue to mark the date with street demonstrations every year. Such rallies are usually attended by older people and pensioners; that is, by those Ukrainians who harbor nostalgia for the Soviet era and routinely vote for forces that pledge to re-establish the former Soviet superpower in one form or another, be it a hypothetical union of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus or the proclaimed Single Economic Space that involves these three predominantly Slavic countries plus Kazakhstan.

This year the attendance at October Revolution rallies in Ukraine was hardly better than in previous years. Apart from the demonstration in Kyiv, there was only one more major rally in Mykolaiv in south-

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ern Ukraine, which attracted some 5,000 people. The attendance at November 7 demonstrations in other Ukrainian cities was reportedly quite low: Kirovohrad – 1,000 people, Odesa – 1,000, Symferopol – 1,000, Dnipropetrovsk – 600, Sumy – 500 and Sevastopol – 400.

This is a rather puzzling fact, for at least two reasons. First, Ukraine is on the eve of a major campaign for the March 2006 parliamentary elections. The Communist Party of Ukraine, which earlier this year formed the so-called Left-Wing Front as an election coalition for 2006, could seemingly use its rallies on the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution as a test as well as propagandistic confirmation of its political readiness to enter the parliamentary campaign as a meaningful force. Judging by what actually took place this November 7, the Communists continue to remain a minor political player in Ukraine.

Second, this November 7 Ukrainian left-wingers had a unique chance to hurl all of their repertoire of political and socioeconomic criticism at a single and clear-cut target – President Viktor Yushchenko and his government. To them, Mr. Yushchenko embodies all the evils that have plagued Ukraine since its independence in 1991.

To name just a few points of this repertoire: Mr. Yushchenko is a pro-Western politician and wants Ukraine to be integrated with the West in the World Trade Organization, NATO and the European Union; Mr. Yushchenko is a nationalist and anti-Russian politician; Mr. Yushchenko is an oligarch and wants

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NEWSBRIEFS**President decrees Freedom Day**

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko has signed a decree establishing Freedom Day on November 22, the date on which Ukrainians in 2004 launched popular protests known as the Orange Revolution, Interfax-Ukraine reported on November 21, quoting the presidential press service. The decree was signed “with the aim of promoting the ideals of freedom and democracy in Ukraine [and] ingraining the feeling of national pride in citizens, while taking into account the historic experience of events in the autumn of 2004.” According to the Labor Code, Freedom Day can become a day off in Ukraine only after the decree is endorsed by the Verkhovna Rada. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Tymoshenko seeks Orange unity

KYIV – Former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, who was sacked by President Viktor Yushchenko in September, has appealed to former political allies of the Orange Revolution to unite in order to prevent the possible return to power of former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, Reuters reported on November 19. “I think we can unite before the [March 26 parliamentary] elections or perhaps after them. I will make every effort to unite our forces. ... A counterattack headed by Yanukovich as a possible candidate for prime minister is very real. We must not let down our guard,” Ms. Tymoshenko told journalists in Kyiv on November 19. According to a poll conducted by the Razumkov Center among 1,993 Ukrainians on November 3-13, Mr. Yanukovich's Party of Regions is backed by 17.5 percent of voters, the pro-government Our Ukraine Bloc (Our Ukraine People's Union, Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and People's Rukh) by 13.5 percent and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc by 12.4 percent. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Courts rules to reinstate procurator

KYIV – The Shevchenkivskiy District Court in Kyiv ruled on November 18 that President Viktor Yushchenko's decision last month to sack Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun was illegal, Ukrainian and international news agencies reported. The court also ruled that Mr. Piskun must be restored to the post. Justice Minister Serhii Holovaty, who represented President Yushchenko in court, comment-

ed after the verdict that the president's team “lost the first battle but will win the war,” adding that he will appeal the ruling after obtaining its full text. Mr. Piskun, who was appointed procurator general in July 2002, had previously been dismissed by former President Leonid Kuchma and reinstated by another Kyiv district court in December 2004. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kazakh president visits Kyiv

KYIV – President Nursultan Nazarbaev of Kazakhstan and his Ukrainian counterpart, Viktor Yushchenko, signed a Kazakh-Ukrainian action plan for 2005-2006 in Kyiv on November 18, Ukrainian media reported. President Yushchenko commented that current Ukrainian-Kazakh relations are “practically cloudless,” adding that trade between the two countries now stands at some \$1 billion annually and may be increased by one-third in the following two to three years. Mr. Yushchenko also told journalists at a press conference of both leaders that his talks with President Nazarbaev ended with Kazakhstan's agreement to buy seven Ukrainian AN-148 planes. “We export to Ukraine oil and gas, farm goods and other items. There have been no other proposals. And none are needed. Kazakhstan is a sufficiently democratic country,” Mr. Nazarbaev said in response to the question as to whether he discussed the Orange Revolution with Mr. Yushchenko. President Nazarbaev, who has been in power since 1989, will run for re-election on December 4. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Campaign begins on November 26

KYIV – The Central Election Commission on November 18 decided that the election campaign for the March 26, 2006, parliamentary election will begin on November 26, Ukrainian media reported. Under the constitutional-reform law of December 2004 and the parliamentary-election law adopted in July 2005, Ukrainians will elect a 450-seat Verkhovna Rada in March for a five-year term under a fully proportional, party-list system and with a 3 percent voting threshold required for parliamentary representation. In 2002 the Ukrainian legislature was elected for a four-year term

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FOR THE RECORD: President Yushchenko's radio address on the ideals of the maidan

Following is the English-language translation of President Viktor Yushchenko's radio address broadcast on November 19. (Source: official website of the president of Ukraine, via the Embassy of Ukraine in the United States. The text is published with minor editorial changes to improve grammar and clarity.)

Dear fellow citizens – ladies and gentlemen:

A couple of days before the first anniversary of the Orange Revolution, which has been a milestone in the history of Ukraine and the whole world, I would like to speak about the maidan ideals and challenges that are facing us today.

On November 22, 2004, all of us standing in the squares of cities, towns and villages of Ukraine proved that we were citizens ready to impudently defend our major right – the right of choice. All of us standing in squares in Kyiv or Lviv, Odesa or Donetsk will forever preserve this feeling of unity and pride in the people and the country.

At that time, each of us clearly understood that we were creating a new Ukrainian history. The whole world was watching us and saw a new country.

It is difficult to overstate the role Kyiv residents played in those events of the Orange November. Back then, Kyiv was the political capital of Ukraine. But we would never have gained our victory without other squares, no matter which banners and flags they were carrying. Donetsk patriotism, Lviv composure, Kharkiv responsibility, Sumy courage and Cherkasy optimism were all bricks of the foundation of our new country.

One year ago, we gained our freedom through fighting and shouting. Ukraine had been independent for 13 years, but it became free last November. Freedom is the greatest accomplishment of the maidan.

As president of Ukraine, I am proud to represent this dignified, independent and beautiful nation. I am going to sign an order to celebrate Freedom Day on November 22 to assert the ideals of

democracy and national dignity.

One year ago, our fight for democracy did not stop. We only started this path on the maidan. Twelve months ago, we lived in a country with no freedom of speech and no political competition. We received a country with many problems and colossal diseases in various branches. Together we can make Ukraine prosperous and democratic.

Today, we happily speak about our achievements, but we also admit our mistakes. We need time to advance. The biggest sin is disappointment and distrust. The maidan slogans are as topical as they were a year ago.

One of the major demands of the people was to fight corruption. This week, I signed an order on urgent measures to fight corruption and legalize the economy. The government has three months to formulate bills to fight corruption and improve the procedure making state officials account for their income and assets. I pledged to make each state executive declare his/her income and expenses. This demand of the maidan will become a norm in Ukraine.

We wished to see the “bandits in prisons.” As president of Ukraine, I order law enforcement agencies to investigate resonant cases. Those involved in last year's large-scale electoral fraud, which made millions of people take to the streets, must be punished. Criminals will be in prisons! I will regard any delays in the investigation as insufficient professionalism of law enforcement agencies. Such unprofessional people cannot hold state positions.

We shouted: “The south and the west are together!” As head of state, I will spare no effort to never divide our country ideologically, religiously or linguistically. I will not let any political force speculate on these subjects.

We shouted: “Freedom Cannot Be Stopped!” As president, I guarantee that in March 2006 we will hold free democratic elections. I have established a political council and invited all political forces to take part in its meetings.

The council is now formulating an agreement on fair elections which we should all sign on the first day of the election campaign.

We have free journalists, and our society expects the media to honestly cover all election events.

The government will not abuse its authority during the campaign. The only argument we can use to make the people trust us is the successful implementation of our economic, social and humanitarian policy.

I often recollect the main slogan of the maidan: Together we are many, we cannot be defeated! United, we can change the country. I want the parliamentary elections to be a competition of teams and ideas, programs and ideologies. I am convinced the election results will help reinforce all democratic changes. I believe each of us will be an active citizen, and in 2006 we will together choose the future for our country. Together we will build the rich country our ancestors dreamed about.

While visiting France this week, I laid flowers on the grave of Symon Petliura, the patriot who fought for Ukraine's independence and died in exile, whose name was concealed and whose reputation was blackened for years. Standing by his grave, I thought of thousands of Ukrainians who fought for our independence and believed Ukraine would always exist.

I recollected the bitter words of Volodymyr Vynnychenko: “The dark and ancient forces divided democracy in Kyiv (perhaps even in Ukraine) into two groups. Every day, this division was getting greater and the fight fiercer. Finally we came to our senses, for the fight was too uncompromising and too harmful for democracy. Seriously and sincerely worried, the people stopped and looked around to ask themselves if there were other ways to reconcile. And they found

those ways. All you have to do is to come closer to each other and peacefully shake hands.”

I believe our generation of politicians will learn the lesson of our prominent great-grandfathers for the sake of Ukraine. I find these words of his important: “Our strength lies within us.”

I am sure that on November 22 we will gather on the maidan. This is our day. We proved to the whole world that we were wise Europeans capable of peacefully defeating dictators. I know those who ruled Ukraine for 13 years cannot accept their defeat. They strive for revenge and spare no forces or funds to restore their totalitarian regime.

I am sure November 22 is the best occasion to demonstrate our wisdom and mutual understanding, forgetting all petty intrigues and uniting for the sake of Ukraine.

Perhaps we cannot fully appreciate the importance of Freedom Day. However, we proudly say that Ukraine has changed. The world treats us as equals and regards us as a responsible and predictable partner. Ukraine is becoming a regional leader.

At the Ukraine-EU summit, we hope to hear a clear signal to get market economy status and to liberalize visa requirements for Ukrainian citizens.

I know there are many challenges ahead. In moments of hardship, I recollect the maidan and repeat the words of Winston Churchill: “Politics is as exciting and dangerous as war. However, war kills you once, while in politics that happens every day and 100 times.”

The thousands of hopeful eyes that looked at me during the Orange Revolution make me strong. Your faith inspires me. Your exploits encourage me to be demanding of myself and my team.

I urge all of you to think Ukrainian. Be patriots! Let us be proud to be Ukrainians! Happy Freedom Day!

Senate votes to repeal application of Jackson-Vanik provisions to Ukraine

by Serhiy Zhykharev

Ukrainian National Information Service

WASHINGTON – During an early evening session on Friday, November 18, the United States Senate passed by unanimous consent S. 632, a bill to repeal the Jackson-Vanik amendment for Ukraine and grant Ukraine Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR). The bill was sponsored by Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and received bipartisan support from other members of the United States Senate.

In a “Dear Colleague” letter written in late October 2005, Sens. Lugar and Barack Obama (D-Ill.) emphasized the need to repeal the Jackson-Vanik Amendment as a means by which “the U.S. must remain committed to assisting Ukraine in pursuing market economic reforms.”

“The permanent waiver of Jackson-Vanik and establishment of permanent normal trade relations will be the foundation on which further progress in a burgeoning economic partnership can be made,” they wrote.

S. 632 received the support of nearly a dozen members of the Senate including: Sam Brownback (R-Kan.), Jim DeMint

(R-S.C.), Mike DeWine (R-Ohio), Richard Durbin (D-Ill.), Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.), John McCain (R-Ariz.) Barack Obama (D-Ill.), Rick Santorum (R-Pa.) and John Sununu (R-N.H.).

Commenting on the passage of S632, Sen. Lugar stated: “... this bill signals the commitment of the U.S. to support freedom and prosperity in Ukraine. The U.S. should continue to work with Ukraine to address trade issues between the two nations.”

The Bush administration also expressed support for the repeal of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), and its Washington bureau, the Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS), were among the organizations and groups advocating the repeal of this measure.

Michael Sawkiw, Jr., president of the UCCA and director of UNIS, commented on the bill's passage: “The repeal of the Jackson-Vanik amendment has sent a message to Ukraine that the United States is a true strategic partner and will assist that country in its economic reform agenda. This archaic law of the former Soviet-era is now left for the history books.”

House passes bill authorizing Famine memorial on federal land

by Serhiy Zhykharev

Ukrainian National Information Service

WASHINGTON – The U.S. House of Representatives on November 16 passed H.R. 562, a bill that authorizes the establishment of a memorial on federal land in the District of Columbia to honor the victims of the Famine-Genocide that occurred in Ukraine in 1932-1933.

This bill was introduced by Rep. Sander Levin (D-Mich.) on February 2, and was referred to the Committee on Resources. On June 9 the Subcommittee on National Parks held a hearing regarding this bill. At the hearing, the proposed legislation received overwhelming support among the subcommittee members.

However, the National Parks Committee's regional director for the National Capital Region, Joseph Lawler, expressed the committee's opposition to this legislation. “We believe that creating separate memorials for individual groups,” stated Mr. Lawler, “would detract from the overall message of the Victims of Communism Memorial and could, potentially, create an unfortunate competition amongst various groups for limited memorial sites in our nation's capital.”

His testimony indicated that a general Victims of Communism Memorial, whose purpose is to commemorate all victims of communism who perished throughout the world, would also com-

memorate the victims of the Ukrainian Genocide.

In response, Rep. Levin, sponsor of H.R. 562 and co-chair of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, along with the Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS) provided testimony to the contrary. As a result, at the conclusion of the hearing, there was widespread support for the bill.

Throughout 2005, UNIS continued its efforts to gain support for this legislation among members of Congress. In the end, 36 members of the House of Representatives co-sponsored the bill.

The following representatives signed on to the bill: Roscoe G. Bartlett (R-Md.), Howard L. Berman (D-Calif.), Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio), Joseph Crowley (D-N.Y.), Danny K. Davis (D-Ill.), Lloyd Doggett (D-Texas), Eliot L. Engel (D-N.Y.), Michael G. Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.), Raul M. Grijalva (D-Ariz.), Luis V. Gutierrez (D-Ill.), Maurice D. Hinchey (D-N.Y.), Rush D. Holt (D-N.J.), Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), Dale E. Kildee (D-Mich.), Carolyn C. Kilpatrick (D-Mich.), Joe Knollenberg (R-Mich.), Dennis J. Kucinich (D-Ohio), James R. Langevin (D-R.I.), Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.), Thaddeus G. McCotter (R-Mich.), Michael R. McNulty (D-N.Y.), Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), Frank

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Orange Revolution...

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united themselves under the anthem "Together We Are Many," this year's crowd left the maidan divided between those who support President Viktor Yushchenko and those behind former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko.

Orange scarves, flags and hats were prevalent, but not nearly as many as last year. Instead, portraits of Yulia Tymoshenko and the tri-colored flag of her *Batkivshchyna* party proliferated among the faithful.

Ms. Tymoshenko herself acknowledged that those who stood on the maidan a year ago are now hiding their orange clothing or not wearing it.

Each leader told the crowd that they would do everything possible to unite their political forces for the March 26 parliamentary elections, with Ms. Tymoshenko even guaranteeing unity.

Both avoided directly attacking the other, but they both repeated the accusations they had been lobbing at each other during the past several months.

Without mentioning her by name, President Yushchenko repeated his accusation that Ms. Tymoshenko had pursued selfish ambition over the common good and political unity.

The former prime minister repeated the accusation that some in Mr. Yushchenko's government weren't interested in cleaning up corruption.

The two leaders didn't stand next to each other and delivered speeches in which they promoted their own separate political agendas.

Ms. Tymoshenko reminded the crowd that the March 26 parliamentary elec-

tion. "Well, shout 'Yulia' one more time and then I'll be ready to continue," Mr. Yushchenko snapped in a sarcastic tone. "I'm ready to continue."

It also became apparent at the anniversary that their rift has disillusioned their Orange supporters and eroded faith in their political cause.

Organizers had originally planned for between 250,000 and 500,000 supporters, said Volodymyr Filenko, a national deputy and event planner. Instead, an estimated 100,000 Ukrainians showed up at the maidan, which had a stage set up in the precise spot it was built last year.

The 100,000 supporters were enough to fill all of Independence Square and beyond.

Our Ukraine activists handed out party symbols to the crowd. However, the orange color was still diluted by the blue, yellow and pink flags of Tymoshenko's *Batkivshchyna* Party.

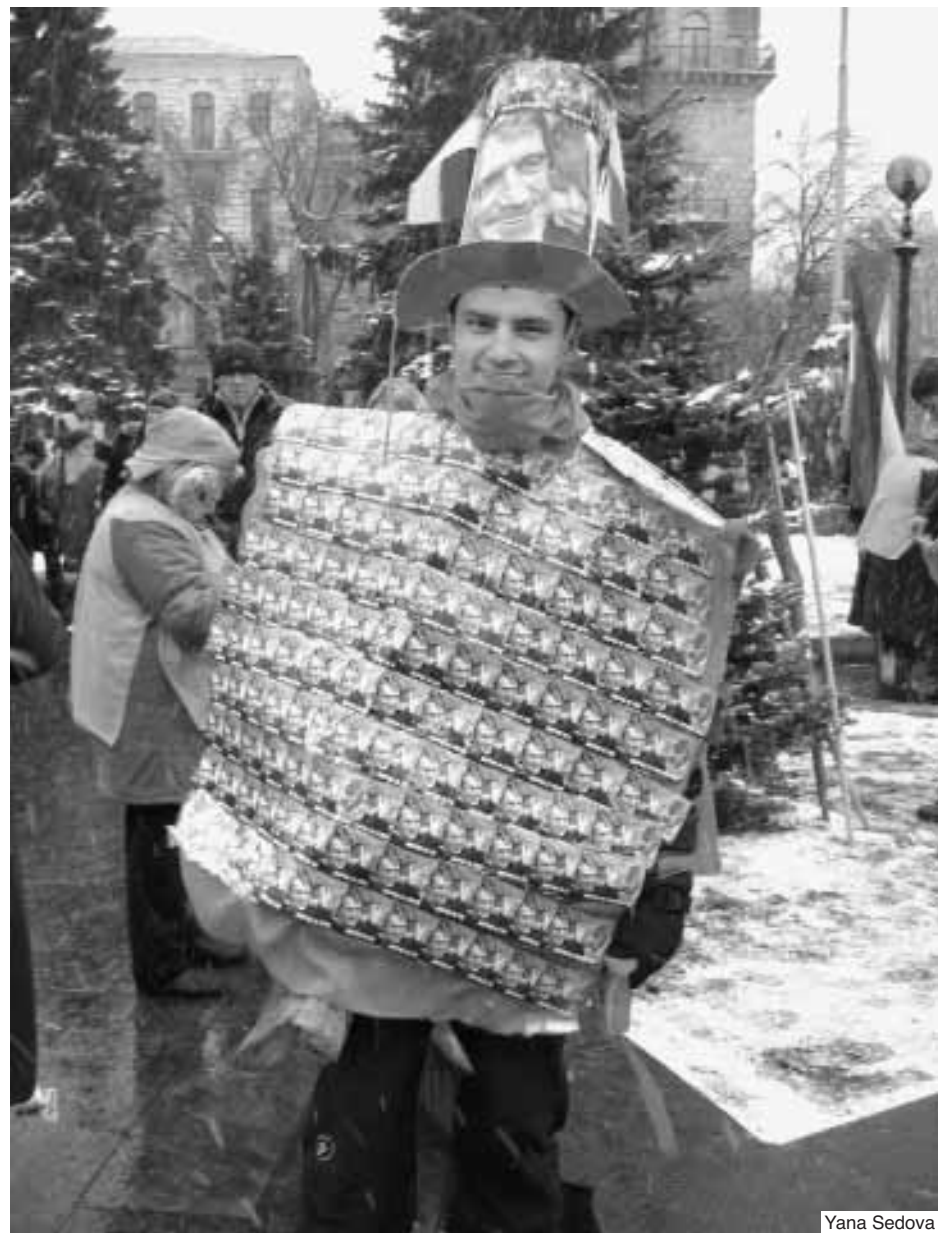
Iryna Stasiuk, 58, a pensioner from Zaporizhia, supported Ms. Tymoshenko during the previous elections and hopes her bloc will win in the March elections.

"We think that only a woman can establish order," Ms. Stasiuk said. "We are fed up with the life we have. We are not satisfied with the fact that there are people who get tens of thousands of dollars, while we work our whole lives and get peanuts."

Ms. Stasiuk didn't stand on maidan last year and so on November 22 she came purposely to "repay a debt" to Ms. Tymoshenko and to feel the spirit of maidan.

Slovian Voronetskyi, 43, the director of a bread-producing company in Khmelnytsky, also came to support the former prime minister.

"All Ukrainian people were offended by Tymoshenko's dismissal," Mr. Voronetskyi



Yana Sedova

Vitalii Horshovskiy decked himself out in Our Ukraine stickers for the anniversary celebration of the Orange Revolution.



AP/Oleksandr Prokopenko/Pool

Guards carry Yulia Tymoshenko through the crowd during the Orange Revolution anniversary in Kyiv.

tions would play a crucial role in determining the next prime minister, comparing the influence of that position with that of the chancellor in Germany.

Mr. Yushchenko, however, underscored that the March elections weren't about choosing a prime minister. "It's a reply to whether what we fought for and what we call Ukrainian democracy will survive, or whether we will transfer that inheritance to the former powers," Mr. Yushchenko said.

Their rift, which Ms. Tymoshenko insisted did not exist, resulted in a divided maidan in which some shouted "Yu-lia," while others chanted, "Yush-chen-ko."

The event further solidified Ms. Tymoshenko's status as Ukraine's most popular politician. Supporters reportedly carried Ms. Tymoshenko from her car to the maidan's stage.

And, when Mr. Yushchenko began his speech at 8 p.m., he was swarmed by chants of "Yu-lia," which visibly irritated

said. "She is a woman, the mother of our Ukraine. She wished Ukraine well. This [dismissal] was unjust."

Mr. Voronetskyi said he and his political allies were disappointed that people accused of separatism weren't held responsible. He approved of Ms. Tymoshenko's radical style of government and added that he and his family would give their votes for her.

After the event, only several dozen supporters remained on the maidan to revel in the anniversary. Most others rushed home.

The government spent about \$840,000 to celebrate the anniversary, said Roman Bezsmertnyi, the former vice prime minister for administrative and territorial reforms.

The day before the celebration, Mr. Yushchenko signed a presidential order declaring November 22 an official Ukrainian holiday, which will be referred

to as Freedom Day. In order for Freedom Day to become a day off from work, the Verkhovna Rada would have to approve it.

Rock musicians kicked off the program, followed by a moleben led by Patriarch Filaret of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate, Archbishop Lubomyr Husar of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and Roman Catholic Cardinal Marian Jaworski, among others. Patriarch Filaret and Cardinal Jaworski delivered brief sermons to the crowd, as did two evangelical pastors.

Several political leaders then spoke to the crowd, which most warmly responded to Yurii Lutsenko, the current minister of internal affairs who played a key role in the Orange Revolution by leading the demonstrations near the Presidential Secretariat.

"There were too many 'salute' at the maidan's end," Mr. Lutsenko said, using the Ukrainian term for fireworks. "And we left with the hope that Yushchenko and his team will automatically give us freedom, democracy and a normal life."

He urged everyone to launch a new maidan in their own homes. "Each of you begin to continue and embody the ideals of the maidan for which you stood here for 17 days," Mr. Lutsenko said. "Each of you begin with yourself."

He urged the people to pay their taxes, stop taking salaries in envelopes, avoid paying or taking bribes, and to interfere with crimes.

Former heavyweight champion Vitalii Klitschko's appearance on the resurrected maidan's stage drew immense cheers from the audience.

Speaking in his native Russian, he called for the Orange Revolution forces to unite into one force to create a decent life for themselves and their children.

In his standard fashion, Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov kept his remarks short and simple.

"Today I am convinced that the maidan is simply the beginning of our path,"

Mr. Yekhanurov said. "It's the starting point of Ukraine's revival and the renewal of each of us. In order to complete this path, what is needed is time, the will for change and time for these changes to become irreversible."

Last year, Ukraine took its first step toward democracy, he said. It was a hard test and "unfortunately, not everyone passed," Mr. Yekhanurov said. The government continues to learn, he said.

The next step is to apply the maidan's ideals to Ukraine's economic development, he said.

"Our actions are oriented toward realization of the ideas and values of which we became conscious during those decisive days – freedom and dignity, justice and accountability and the supremacy of law," Mr. Yekhanurov said.

Tymoshenko's address

While originally scheduled to speak prior to Mr. Yekhanurov, organizers granted Ms. Tymoshenko the opportunity to deliver her remarks just prior to the president's speech.

Her oration was replete with campaign rhetoric.

Taking the stage amidst loud cheers, she immediately addressed the disappointment Ukrainians felt when the Orange Revolution team split in September. "I want to turn to you and say straighten your shoulders and lift your heads up because the entire world and all of Ukraine appreciated what you did a year ago," Ms. Tymoshenko said.

She explained that the newly elected government had wanted to implement democracy and clean out the inherited rank-and-file of 18,000 officials, many of whom were enmeshed in criminal business. However, the process of cleaning out required confrontation and conflict, she said.

At that point, the government became

(Continued on page 11)

The Orange Revolution: "the longest rock concert in history"

by Bohdan Klid

When mass protests broke out in Kyiv following the rigged November 21, 2004, vote for president, observers who made their way to Ukraine's capital noted that, despite the tenseness generated by the political standoff, a carnival-like atmosphere marked the insurgency that became known as the Orange Revolution.

While a large stage in downtown Kyiv's Independence Square provided the main platform from which Viktor Yushchenko, the opposition candidate, and his political allies addressed the swelling



Oleh Skrypka of VV.

crowds, it also served as the main venue for Ukraine's leading and lesser-known rock groups and singers, who flocked to the capital to perform before audiences that on occasion surpassed a million.

On occasion Ukraine's leading singers, like Ruslana Lyzhychko, 2004 Eurovision song contest winner, appeared on stage with Mr. Yushchenko and other politicians, blurring the line between music and politics.

Two reporters described this unlikely combination of crisis-driven speechmaking and the merrymaking associated with

Dr. Bohdan Klid is research scholar and assistant director at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta.

a rock festival, which went on for 17 days, as "a post-modernist happening." Another noted that the musical marathon, which took place during Ukraine's most acute political crisis since independence, was probably "the longest rock concert in history." A website reporter labeled the entire affair, aptly, "a singing revolution."

Indeed, Ukraine's rock groups and singers played a critical supportive role in ensuring success for the insurgency. While hundreds of thousands of people soon filled central Kyiv following the opposition's initial appeal, the Ukrainian government then headed by President Leonid Kuchma did not buckle, initially. To force the government to give in, without shedding blood, Mr. Yushchenko and his political allies agreed to undertake a blockade of government and bring its business to a halt. This peaceful war of attrition required time to succeed.

Oleh Skrypka, lead singer of Ukraine's legendary rock group VV (Vopli Vidopliasoiva), put it well when he said that people in Kyiv were able to hold out for 17 days because of a solid contribution by the country's musicians. They entertained the crowds, inspired them, lifted their spirits, roused them to action and showed their support for the opposition coalition headed by Mr. Yushchenko. Indeed, one could hardly imagine that he and his political allies



Ten-year-old bard Svitoslav Sylenko.



Sviatoslav Vakarchuk (right) of Okean Elzy with Dr. Bohdan Klid.

could have, by speeches alone, inspired hundreds of thousands to remain on the streets for more than two weeks or motivated enough to maintain a peaceful siege of government in the bitter cold.

Ukraine's rock groups sang patriotic and protest songs, but also apolitical tunes that took on new meanings in the politically charged atmosphere created by the insurgency. This volatile period, following an especially brutal, and at times amusing, election campaign, in which Mr. Yushchenko was poisoned, while the government-anointed candidate, Viktor Yanukovich, a huge man, was felled by an egg thrown by a demonstrator, provided ample nourishment for creative minds.

Shortly after the protests began, a then little-known group, Gryndzholy, composed a hip-hop song, "Together, We Are Many" (Razom Nas Bahato) and posted it on the Internet. Downloaded by thousands, it was soon played on Kyiv's downtown stage and became an instant hit.

One song composed on the spot by a group from Sambir in western Ukraine, De Buv Bir, stressed the common interests of people in both western and eastern Ukraine

as the country seemed on the verge of splitting. Another, "The Color of the Sun" (Kolir Sontsia) written by Oksana Bilozir, was sung in Ukrainian and Russian, to inspire patriotism in both Russophones and Ukrainian speakers. The ballad-like song, "Don't Sleep, My Native Land" (Ne Spy, Moia Ridna Zemlia), by Serhii Fomenko of the group Mandry, also stirred patriotic feelings and became popular, while another, "The Time Has Come" (Chas Pryishov), performed by a heavy-metal band, De Shifer, beckoned the crowds to "break through unbreakable walls."

DJs produced mixes containing excerpts of political speeches from both candidates: to portray Mr. Yushchenko in a favorable light and to mock Mr. Yanukovich, who was prone to making gaffs. Even Mr. Yanukovich's wife, Liudmyla, was lampooned following her charge that people in Kyiv were crazed by oranges laced with narcotics and supplied with American-made felt boots (valianky) to stay warm.

When people marched off to blockade

(Continued on page 16)

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

announces that the

TORONTO DISTRICT FALL ORGANIZING MEETING

will be held on

Sunday, December 4, 2005, at 3:00 p.m.
at Protection of the Mother of God Church
18 Leeds St., Toronto, ON

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

49, 401, 402, 407, 432, 440, 441, 456, 466, 888

Meeting will be attended by:
Stefan Kaczaraj, UNA President
Al Kachkowski, Director for Canada

DISTRICT COMMITTEE
Rev. Dr. Myron Stasiw
Anna Buriij

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

announces that the

NEW YORK, NORTHERN NEW JERSEY AND CENTRAL NEW JERSEY DISTRICTS FALL ORGANIZING MEETING

will be held on

Saturday, December 3, 2005, at 10:00 a.m.
at the UNA Home Office
2200 Route 10, Parsippany, N.J.

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

5, 8, 16, 86, 130, 184, 194, 256, 267, 293, 325, 327, 450, 489
25, 27, 37, 42, 70, 76, 133, 134, 142, 171, 172, 214, 234, 287, 340
26, 155, 209, 269, 312, 349, 353, 372

Meeting will be attended by:
Roma Lisovich, UNA Treasurer
Eugene Oscislawski, UNA Advisor
Dr. Vasyl Luchkiw, UNA Advisor
Yaroslav Zaviysky, UNA Auditor

DISTRICT COMMITTEE
Motria Milanytch, New York District Secretary
Stephan Welhasch, Northern New Jersey District Chairman
Yaroslav Zaviysky, Central New Jersey District Chairman

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Remembering the Holodomor

"Truth and remembrance are needed to make sure that the horrors of the past will not be repeated in the future."

– President Viktor Yushchenko in his message to participants of the services in memory of the victims of the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 held on November 19 at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York.

On Saturday, November 19, the Ukrainian American community held its major observance of the 72nd anniversary of the Great Famine that ravaged Ukraine in 1932-1933 – a genocide ordered by Stalin that killed 7 million to 10 million. Thousands were in St. Patrick's Cathedral on that day to remember, to pray and to renew their pledge to never forget.

On Saturday, November 26, the people of Ukraine will solemnly observe a Day of Memory for Victims of Famines and Political Repressions. (We refer to the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 as the Great Famine to differentiate it from the other famines that affected Ukraine in the 1920s and 1940s.)

A decree issued by President Viktor Yushchenko calls on the public in Ukraine to lay wreaths of rye and wheat at monuments to famine victims and to honor their memory with a moment of silence and candle-lighting ceremonies at 4 p.m.

The observances here and in Ukraine come in the wake of developments in the United States and at the United Nations headquarters in New York – two of them positive, and one less so.

Speaking at the United Nations on November 1, when the General Assembly adopted a resolution proclaiming January 29 as International Holocaust Remembrance Day, Ambassador Valeriy Kuchinsky focused attention on another genocide – the Great Famine, "the cruel terror by hunger set up by the totalitarian Soviet regime" that was "deliberately targeted against the vital core of the Ukrainian nation."

In the U.S. Congress, the House of Representatives on November 16 passed a bill that authorized the construction of a memorial to victims of the Holodomor – a Ukrainian term that literally translates as death by forced starvation – on federal land in the District of Columbia. The plan is to unveil the monument on the Ukrainian Genocide's 75th anniversary.

Meanwhile, a small but determined group of protesters picketed The New York Times building in New York to demand that the paper publicly repudiate the reporting of Walter Duranty who denied that there was Famine in Ukraine in the 1930s. Contacted by The Weekly, The Times responded to the protest with a canned response dating back to 2004. (See story beginning on page 1 of this issue.) In short, The Times "has not seen merit in trying to undo history."

But recognizing a past injustice is not undoing history. And that is why Ukrainians around the globe still come together to remember the millions of their kin who suffered and were killed more than seven decades ago.

Though the diaspora and Ukraine are remembering the Famine-Genocide on different dates, we hope communities and individuals here will join in Ukraine's solemn commemorations with their own ceremonies on November 26. May millions of candles around the globe flicker in memory of the lives so brutally ended in 1932-1933.

Nov.
28
2004

Turning the pages back...

This week, we provide another snapshot of the situation in Ukraine as the Orange Revolution was unfolding last year. Following are excerpts of our editorial from our November 28, 2004, issue, written on the day before Thanksgiving, just

as the results of the Ukrainian presidential election were announced by the Central Election Commission.

... Viktor Yanukovich has 49.61 percent of the vote to Viktor Yushchenko's 46.61 percent. The election, it is clear, has been "won" by fraud. The people of Ukraine, and their supporters beyond the country's borders – among them diaspora Ukrainians – are expressing their outrage. ...

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

Ukrainian Americans can be proud of the quick and resolute response of the U.S. government to the dramatic developments in Ukraine, but we must not let up in our efforts to demand a fair count of the ballots in Ukraine – to secure a reversal of the fraud perpetrated by the authorities in Ukraine. ...

As U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell said, "This is the time for all alternatives to be examined, to be examined carefully, to be examined in light of the law, and hopefully, the parties acting reasonably and doing everything to avoid any use of force can find a way forward." ...

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

And, the Orange Revolution grows stronger every day.

Source: "Ukraine demands a fair count" (editorial), *The Ukrainian Weekly*, November 28, 2004, Vol. LXXII, No. 48.

THE ORANGE REVOLUTION ONE YEAR AFTER

Yushchenko's first year: a Western perspective

by Taras Kuzio

The Orange Revolution began in Ukraine after massive election fraud in the second round of the presidential election brought hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians onto the streets of Kyiv. After weeks of protests and a repeat election, the pro-reform candidate, Viktor Yushchenko, was elected president.

In the first year of the Orange Revolution, Ukraine has made considerable progress in 15 areas (as noted in Part I of this article), while progress has been disappointing in seven.

PART II

Problem areas

- 1. Market economic reform: Quarrels among senior Orange leaders, coupled with expensive social policies and unclear plans for re-privatization, led to policy incoherence and government malaise. Economic reform and privatization failed to become a government priority. Economic growth slumped from 12 percent last year to only 3 percent this year, with August seeing the first negative growth since 1999.

Yurii Yekhanurov will head the Our Ukraine People's Union bloc in the 2006 elections. This will be the first time that a prime minister heads an election bloc in an election, both giving voters the chance to decide for themselves about the achievements, or otherwise, of the government and for the government to take responsibility for its actions in a free and fair election.

- 2. Rule of law: The National Security and Defense Council under Petro Poroshenko pressured the legal system and courts. Poor personnel policy led to the continuation of Sviatoslav Piskun as procurator general and Roman Zvarych as justice minister. Mr. Piskun returned to his position on December 10, 2004, two days after Parliament and the president ratified the "compromise packet" that allowed Ukraine to hold a re-run on December 26. Mr. Piskun was finally released only in October 2005 after being accused of thwarting investigations into high-ranking Kuchma officials.

Mr. Zvarych's short period as justice minister was dogged by scandal. His curriculum vitae was shot full of deception, which he refused to acknowledge. His claims to have an M.A. and a Ph.D. from Columbia University proved to be false. Mr. Zvarych also had no legal training. His replacement, Serhii Holovaty, is a far better choice with a positive track record from the 1990s when he was justice minister in 1995-1997.

- 3. Divisions and "betrayal": The Ukrainian public finds it difficult to accept a split in Orange ranks. As a Financial Times (October 17) editorial noted, "A Yushchenko-Yulia Tymoshenko coalition remains the best chance for a reformist, Western-oriented government." After the 2006 elections, Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine People's Union will have a choice of creating a parliamentary majority with either Ms. Tymoshenko or Mr. Yanukovich. A pro-reform parliamentary majority would only be possible if the choice was in favor of Ms. Tymoshenko,

Taras Kuzio is visiting professor at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University. The article above is taken from the text of Dr. Kuzio's presentation on November 14 at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

not Mr. Yanukovich.

The signing of a Memorandum of understanding between President Yushchenko and Party of the Regions of Ukraine Chairman Mr. Yanukovich has led to feelings of "betrayal" of the Orange Revolution ideals. In Kyiv, 25 percent believe that Mr. Yushchenko "betrayed" the Orange Revolution, while only 6 thought it was Ms. Tymoshenko.

The signing of the memorandum with Mr. Yanukovich portrayed an image of weakness to the opposition. The additional votes received from the signing of the memorandum would not have been required if the first parliamentary vote for Mr. Yekhanurov's candidacy had succeeded. It failed by three votes because President Yushchenko had been in the United States for four days prior to it, instead of taking care of business at home – that is, ensuring that Parliament would approve his choice for prime minister.

- 4. Poor leadership: President Yushchenko has traveled abroad far too much in his first year – a factor he himself recognized only late in the year. His hands-off style of leadership is very different from that of his micro-managing predecessor, Leonid Kuchma. This has led to only sporadic interventions when crises have emerged in May or September, prior to which the president was unwilling to take tough decisions.

Mr. Yushchenko's lateness for meetings (often two hours or more) – and even with important VIPs – has become legendary. Another problem has been a lack of consistency in policies and statements. In both these cases, Mr. Yushchenko's support staff are partly to blame. His press department has a poor reputation in the West and his State Secretariat under Oleksander Zinchenko (January-September) did not function in the manner in which a president needs it to.

- Two governments: Mr. Poroshenko, as secretary of the National Security and Defense Council, acted as a second government, obstructing and interfering in areas beyond his remit, while ignoring others in national security which were. The additional powers given to the National Security and Defense Council were unconstitutional. Mr. Poroshenko has been accused of interfering in the rule of law and media by acting as a "grey cardinal," similar to Mr. Medvedchuk as head of the Presidential Administration.

- 6. No break with the ancien regime: By the first anniversary of the Orange Revolution, no senior official from the Kuchma regime has been charged with abuse of office, corruption, election fraud or the Gongadze murder. The organizers of Heorhii Gongadze's murder have still to be accused. Former Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Kravchenko committed suicide, while Gen. Oleksii Pukach fled abroad. Other senior Kuchma officials were permitted to flee to Russia or the U.S. Only the United States has arrested one of these officials, Volodymyr Scherban, while Russia has continued to provide protection. There has also been no progress in the investigation into the poisoning of Mr. Yushchenko in September 2004.

- 7. Business allies: The businessmen surrounding President Yushchenko were only removed after accusations were made against them by Mr. Zinchenko in September. These businessmen, such as Mr. Poroshenko, had played an important role in the 2004 elections and the Orange

(Continued on page 16)

COMMENTARY

Amnesia, or who we are

by Tetiana Seleznyova

Part I

Strange, strange country – but does it exist? There is a territory, of course. But what about the country itself? Maybe it is a phantom that has misled, become agitated, been divided into parts, or has not given peace to the other “stable and powerful” countries for many centuries?

And does it make any difference to us: Ukraine or the Russian empire, as our kind neighbors keep persuading us? The national identity and the conscience of the people, who through the will chance were born on this land, were always on the blade of a knife, always on the edge.

And the land is truly unique, capable of giving the world thinkers, outstanding singers, musicians, writers, poets, actors, scientists – just like that. Our generous country lets them go and loses them without requiring them to remember where they are from. You might say that it happens in every country or almost in every country. No. The confirmation of this is in the endless lists of names of the most talented people who became famous in foreign lands and never remembered their native land, unless by chance they heard a sad Ukrainian melody and shed a spontaneous, single tear.

And there were others. Oddballs who more than anything loved this land and could not betray it – even giving their lives for it. If not for them, the country would not exist at all. Throughout Ukraine's long-suffering history (and this is a holy truth – you would hardly be able to see such tragic uncertainties, trials, humiliations and betrayals in the “archives” of other countries), there have been luminaries embodying faith and the bloody hope for revival and prosperity of Ukraine.

The issue is not about well-being. We are still far away from that. First of all, in order to live happily and well-fed, we should realize who we are and where we are going. And we should do it together, step by step, faithfully and without getting off track. National consciousness does not begin or end with a Hopak, a folk song or embroidery. It is a deep feeling of identity and responsibility that can enlighten the soul at the age of 27, for example, or it can be with you from your very birth.

I was lucky enough to get it at 27. My country told me loudly that it was alive, inspired and rich in sincere people. Fractures, explosions, radiance, courage, devotion and stubbornness – you can live your whole life and never see or feel these things. Don't tell me that “dreams never come true.” I stood on the maidan against audacious lies so that I would be able to get over my fears. I stood there because it was warm, in spite of the frost and rain and snow.

It was for real. I truly felt the warmth of people's concern, their powerful strength, their participation in events and their strong belief in changing everything. That cannot be bought. Let's remember the wisest of tales, where a king sums up a fantastic story: “No money in the world can make a foot tiny or a heart big.” But the people who with crooked faces and fake smiles tell us today about the “complete failure of the so-called revolution” probably never read tales and never believed in the victory of

good over evil. Moreover, it is no wonder that they cannot feel anything except the smell of lots of money and the steely flavor of power.

Dear friends! Your sarcasm won't deny or change anything that has already happened. A new president was not accomplished – a new Ukrainian people was accomplished! We began a new count of time. If you are not able to hear this clatter, that doesn't mean it doesn't exist. And a belief in “a kind tsar,” the desire to have perfect government officials above all, makes demands on those who in power, but not on yourself – these truly are peculiarities of our national thinking. Moreover, these are signs of the difficult Soviet legacy, whereby the most important thing was appearance, a facsimile, not truth or content.

And from what did the Soviet Union begin? The huge and powerful entity began from an epochal murder. The prescient, insatiable and bloody “something” was created on the Romanovs' bones. The room where they were murdered was turned into: a museum. They created theme tours and told of how they finished off a tsar, his wife, his children and his domestics. The haughtily smiling “guide” would say that the “weak” and “uneducated” tsar and his wife crossed themselves while dying of bullets. Of course it's funny – not to know that God does not really exist!

It's not inconceivable that children left the room of horrors amidst the sounds of the “Internationale” certain that they lived in the best country in the world. And entire generations of intimidated monsters were raised who were not responsible for their moral deformity. They were forced to adjust to thoughts based on models, uniform desires, the right expressions. And those who resisted had to be broken. The intelligentsia was raped, starved or hauled off to the edge of the world. And those who stayed behind degradedly created works in “the spirit of socialist realism.” Only. They had to forever forget what fantasy and the “creative will” are.

But against this background, this background for an overall trance and state distortion, there were still people who believed. And their faith also created miracles. It's like a dream in which you are a hero and a happy ending is necessary; in which you smile and there are no sorrows and lies. But it's time to wake up. This can't be avoided. It's time to repent for our crimes, for silent consent. For consent to many years of murder of nature, talents, thoughts and people! For those who say that they lived “better in Soviet times,” is it possible they just care only “kovbasa” [sausage] for 2.20 rubles? Is it possible they are only concerned about their personal, petty and trivial happiness, and the rest does not apply?

It doesn't apply until they come knocking at the door of your family and haul off your fathers, brothers and sons. And if that did not happen, they could forever enjoy their kovbasa and nod their condolences at neighbors who met such grief. Such happiness is decadent. There is no development in kovbasa. And where there is no development, everything is dead.

A family will have a lot of problems if it places at the center of its values fraud for the sake of enrichment, betrayal for the sake of peace and disrespect for the nation because it did not make them secure. Such a “family” will destroy

(Continued on page 23)

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Jewel of Ukrainian village

It was a bitterly cold December 31 Chicago evening in 1905 when 51 Rusyns from western Ukraine gathered at 939 Robey (now Damen) to establish the St. Nicholas Ruthenian Catholic Parish.

Those attending included Father Viktor Kovalicki, the future pastor, and two leading community intellectuals, the venerable Volodymyr Sieminowicz, a medical doctor and one-time editor of *Ameryka* – America's first Ukrainian language newspaper – and Stefan Janowicz, an attorney.

Learning that a Danish Lutheran Church located at the intersection Superior and Bickersdicke (now Nobel) was for sale, those present voted to purchase it for \$8,000. A motion was approved to prevent the parish from falling into “alien” (Latin-rite) hands by stipulating that: “all property of said church which may hereafter be acquired be held in the name of its incorporated name but under no circumstances shall said church or its priests or pastors be under the jurisdiction of bishop or bishops except those of the same faith and rite.”

At a meeting on February 11, 1906, the newly formed parish council ruled that in addition to a “religious-moral” aspect, the church also had a “national-educational” goal.

“The aim of the religious-moral purpose,” it was written, “is to cultivate among ourselves mutual love, a law-abiding life, and to live a more honest and moral life, and to develop the discipline required to cultivate a spiritual life which can contribute to the preservation and growth of our Holy Church.”

“The aim of the national-educational goal was: To elevate ourselves through the support of a school, a reading room, political clubs and whatever else is deemed necessary.”

The pastor, of course, was expected to “live up to the religious-moral and national educational purposes of the parish” and he was to be respected as the “head of the community; he must be consulted in all matters pertaining to the community and he must be obeyed.”

The pastor able to live up to these laudatory goals was Father Mykola Strutynsky, a patriot-priest who arrived in 1907 and remained at St. Nicholas for 14 years. In a series of articles titled “Understand, Rusyn, Which Road is Yours,” appearing in *Svoboda* from August through October, 1902, he carefully explained that in Galicia, “Rusyns” were beginning to call themselves “Rus'-Ukrainians.” “They call themselves this name,” he wrote, “because they realize that even though they are in Galicia, our country is the child of Ukraine. Just as we came to America, the Rus'-Ukrainians came to Galicia.” His articles were revolutionary, a significant contribution to the efforts of Ukrainian Catholic priests to “Ukrainianize” our early Rusyn immigrants.

As more immigrants from Ukraine began to find jobs in Chicago, it was soon apparent that a larger church was needed. “Let us move west, where much land is still available,” urged Dr. Sieminowicz, during a March 19, 1911, parish meeting. “We can build a glorious new church, we can all purchase lots near the church, we can eventually build our homes on these lots and, with God's help, we can have our own, new Rus right here in Chicago.”

An entire block was eventually pur-

chased for the new edifice, and construction began soon thereafter. The cornerstone was blessed by Bishop Soter Ortynsky on November 27, 1913. The first divine liturgy was celebrated on Christmas Day, January 7, 1915. St. Nicholas still stands as the architectural jewel of the “New Rus',” officially designated “Ukrainian Village” on January 18, 1983, by then Mayor Jane Byrne.

As in all pioneer Ukrainian communities in America, the Ukrainian National Association (UNA) played a significant role. The first UNA branch in Chicago was the Brotherhood of St. Nicholas, established by Father Strutynsky and Dr. Sieminowicz in 1906. The branch eventually created a library and a citizens' club. Two more UNA branches were established with the help of Father Strutynsky in 1908: the Sisterhood of the Blessed Mother and the Brotherhood of St. Stephen. All three branches were associated with St. Nicholas and contributed mightily to the early national-educational development of the parish.

St. Nicholas was also the home of the famed Lysenko Chorus, which won first place in a city-wide choral competition in 1930.

The first “Ridna Shkola” was established at St. Nicholas in 1907 with one teacher (a “diak-uchytel”) and 10 students. By 1922, there were four teachers, some 300 students, and a Ukrainianization program that was in operation five days a week – Monday through Friday, at 4 to 6 p.m. A full-time day school was built and opened in 1936. A second school building opened in 1954. Today St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic School has an enrollment of some 150 students.

Also worthy of mention is the role played by Emily Strutynsky, wife of Father Mykola. Inspired by the American feminist movement then sweeping the country, as well as her personal acquaintance with Jane Addams of Hull House, Mrs. Strutynsky helped organize a national congress of Ukrainian women in hopes of forming a national Ukrainian mutual benefit insurance society for women. Held in Chicago in 1917, the congress gave birth to the Ukrainian Women's Alliance of America, an organization headquartered at St. Nicholas rectory. A year later, the Alliance began publishing *Ranna Zorya*, which listed among its many goals the hard task of creating a new “free, independent state of ours, Ukraine.”

In 1961 Chicago's prestige as an important center of Ukrainian Catholic life, was enhanced when the Holy See established an episcopal seat in the city. Msgr. Jaroslaw Gabro, who was born and raised in the Ukrainian Village, became the first bishop of the newly created Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy.

Next year, St. Nicholas Cathedral parish will be celebrating its 100th anniversary. A yearlong series of events have been planned by the centennial committee that has been working for over a year. Chicago's Ukrainians are looking forward to 2006 as the year that will strengthen the religious-moral and national-cultural commitment of all segments of our unique Ukrainian community.

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

Tetiana Seleznyova is a correspondent for *Radio Era* in Kyiv. She is a native of Vinnytsia, Ukraine.

Protesters' demand...

(Continued from page 1)

Patrick's Cathedral, Mr. Colley called on The Times to acknowledge that Duranty's reporting was deeply flawed and that it should not be honored with a plaque.

Mr. Kurylo said that Duranty's Pulitzer Prize continues to hurt the integrity of The New York Times. "We have come to save The Times from itself and forever remove the Duranty Prize from its pedestal," Mr. Kurylo said. He said protesters wanted

the plaque so that they could hang it in a planned Ukrainian Famine-Genocide Memorial in Kyiv as a reminder.

Meanwhile, a man and woman who passed by the protest stopped for a flyer in front of The Times' building. They read about Duranty and his reporting on the Famine-Genocide and learned that the protesters wanted possession of the plaque that honors a great liar, as journalist Malcolm Muggeridge once called Duranty.

As the couple finished reading and went on their way, the man turned, gave a thumbs up and said, "Good job; get it done."



Nigel Colley, the grandnephew of journalist Gareth Jones, speaks with a reporter from Fox News during a protest outside The New York Times headquarters.



Andrew Nynka

The diary of Welsh journalist Gareth Jones, one of the few to report on the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 as it was happening. The upper right-hand corner of the left page contains an entry that reads: "I don't trust Duranty. He still believes in collectivization."



Protesters outside The New York Times ask that the newspaper repudiate the work of Pulitzer Prize winner Walter Durant.

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2005 Ukrainian Famine Lecture focuses on dekulakization policies

TORONTO – Prof. Lynne Viola, professor of history at the University of Toronto, delivered this year's Ukrainian Famine Lecture.

Prof. Viola has spent over 20 years working in Soviet archives and is acknowledged as one of the leading scholars in the study of Stalinism, particularly the peasantry and collectivization. Her publications include "Peasant Rebels under Stalin" (1996), "The Best Sons of the Fatherland" (1987), and "A Researcher's Guide to Sources on Soviet Social History" (co-editor, 1990).

She is a co-editor of a new series published by the Yale University Press Annals of Communism, "The Tragedy of the Soviet Countryside," in which the first volume – "The War against the Peasantry, 1927-1930" – has been published and includes documentation relating to the background of collectivization, its violent implementation and the mass peasant revolts that followed. She is one of the few researchers in the world to have had access to the files of the KGB.

The lecture, which was sponsored by the Petro Jacyk Program for the Study of Ukraine, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress – Toronto Branch and the Toronto Ukrainian Charitable Fund, was held on November 9.

Prof. Viola's presentation was titled "Before the Famine: Peasant Deportations to the North," but she called it the "story of the other archipelago." While the labor camps of the gulag archipelago – the Soviet penal network – have been studied extensively by scholars, less is known about the settlement archipelago, the system set up during the dekulakization period of collectivization.

Dekulakization – ridding the countryside of so-called "wealthy" peasants – involved the expropriation of their land, the execution of a significant number of heads of household and the forced deportation of whole families to special settlements in the north.

Dekulakization had an economic aspect: kulak property was to serve as capital for the new collective farms and the deportees were used to settle uninhabited regions where they served as the labor force. It also had an ideological aspect and was used as a stimulus for the collectivization of the countryside – either the peasants joined the collective farms or they were labeled kulaks and class enemies and deported.

Prof. Viola argued that the mass deportations were the first phase in the repression of the village. They were a precursor of the Great Famine and part of the attempt by the Soviet authorities to decapitate the village of its leadership and thus stamp out any opposition to Bolshevik rule.

Prof. Viola gave the following figures: in 1930 and 1931, 63,720 peasant families from Ukraine were forced from their homes and villages and deported to the frozen wastelands of the Soviet hinterland (19,658 families to the north, 32,127 to the Urals, 6,556 to Western Siberia, 5,056 to Eastern Siberia). If one takes the figure of five members per family, this means 318,600 persons from Ukraine were deported. The Ukrainian deportees were the largest single category of deportees. Next in line were families from North Caucasus (38,404), Lower Volga (30,933), Middle Volga (23,006) and the Central Black Earth Region (26,006).

The large-scale deportations began in February 1930 and the process, in which families were often separated, was chaotic and disorderly. There was a general lack of food and warm clothing for the deportees, and many died en route.

Upon arrival in the north, the able-bodied deportees were sent into the forests and mines to work in the extraction of raw materials and the timber industry, which was crucial to the industrialization projects of the time. Families were left behind in atrocious conditions and housed anywhere room could be found. Overcrowding and the lack of supplies led to widespread disease, malnutrition and death. The most vulnerable were the children.

Prof. Viola read from some letters sent by the settlers.

Dr. V. V. Lebedev wrote about what he saw in Vologda in the spring of 1930: "A great many dekulakized are accumulating in Vologda ... They will be sent on further north, to the most distant, uninhabited and ruinous places, but they are temporarily housed in Vologda churches, the majority of which have already been long closed to believers. There they built bunks and the people are packed into the church buildings and typhus is breaking out. Horrors have begun ... The gubernia GPU [secret police] called me in, and the chief said to me: 'If you don't liquidate the typhus – I will shoot you.' I went to one of the churches together with some

GPU men. A guard stood at the church, and behind the door – groans and cries. They opened the doors. And there I saw hell. The sick, the healthy, the dying – men, women, old people, children. And the live ones cried out and raised their arms to us: 'Water! Water!' I have seen many terrible things in my life, but nothing like this."

Ekaterina Sergeevna Lukina, exiled to Narym, remembered her first days in the special settlement: "In the beginning we lived in shacks made from birch bark, then people began to build wooden huts. [They] gave us meager rations ... We children scavenged clay from which our parents built stoves. [They] gave us six kilograms of flour a month ... We were weak ... People began to swell and die. [They] buried them without coffins, in fraternal graves, which grew every day ..."

The deportees were expected to construct the special settlements in which they were to live and also required to work for the state – often for 11 or 12 hours a day. The settlements, which had 100 to 200 families each, were to be self-supporting, but they were isolated and hard to supply, and it was difficult to transport people there. In fact, they turned out to be more expensive than penal camps.

At first the industries that employed the deportee workers were responsible for the settlements, but there were continuous mass escapes and the settlements were porous and disorderly. By the summer of 1931 the GPU took over the running of the settlements. Deportations continued but, by the early 1930s, there

(Continued on page 21)

FOR THE RECORD: Statement by MP Wrzesnewskyj on the Holodomor

Following is a statement by Member of Parliament Borys Wrzesnewskyj in Canada's House of Commons on Thursday, November 16, about the Great Famine, or Holodomor.

Mr. Speaker, November marks one of the greatest tragedies in human history, when 7 million to 10 million members of farm families which had just brought in record harvests, were deliberately starved to death in the breadbasket of Europe by the Soviet regime in 1932-1933.

The Stalinist regime perpetrated the Great Famine/Holodomor by making food illegal in Ukraine's countryside. Red Brigades under the direction of

Lazar Kaganovich seized grain, prevented the starving population from leaving the countryside and then sent the food to the West for export. This was done to eliminate resistance to the forced collectivization of agriculture and to destroy Ukraine's national identity.

On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Holodomor, the U.N. declared a week of commemoration in memory of the victims of the Great Famine in Ukraine.

I join all members of the House in calling upon the government of Canada to recognize the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine and to condemn this genocidal act of inhuman brutality by Stalin and his henchmen.



The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) - Illinois Chapter, cordially invites its members and families, associates, and friends, to attend the 2006 Spring Scientific Conference and Ski Vacation to be held at the Club Med Crested Butte Ski Resort in Colorado, from Saturday, March 25th, through Saturday, April 1st, 2006. For more information, please contact: Lesia Kozicky of Dunwoodie Travel 800/550-4334.

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College students' mission takes them to orphanages in Ukraine

by Father Daniel Zelinsky

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J. – I am not exactly sure what I did to gain so much attention from Svitlana, Tania and Alesha from Znamianka orphanage in Ukraine, but I found myself showered daily with expressions of love. The last thing 16-year-old Tania gave me was a

Father Daniel Zelinsky is director of the Office of Public Relations of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.

necklace with a little gold crystal in the middle. As I received this gift, she smiled and told me that I was her friend. It was the last day of our stay in this particular orphanage, and my heart was breaking. I never thought it would be so difficult to leave the kids after the mission was over.

There are so many stories that I would love to share with the readers of this article about the 2005 College Student Mission Trip to the orphanages of Ukraine, however, the pictures that accompany this article do a much better job telling the readers about the faithful of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church

of the U.S.A., and what their love and financial help can do for the lives of over 250 children in two orphanages.

The 11 members of this year's mission team returned to their homes on August 26 of this year after spending two weeks in Ukraine. Nine young adults from the parishes of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. had worked and played with the orphans, assisted the orphanage staff in their daily responsibilities and observed the state and needs of the homes for handicapped orphaned children in Ukraine.

Five years ago, the UOC of the U.S.A. in partnership with the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund (today known as the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund – CCRF) adopted two orphanages in Ukraine. Orphanages in Znamianka, Kirovohrad Oblast, and in Zaluchia, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, were selected because the homes were in particularly deplorable condition, housing children with physical and mental birth defects.

Nadia Matkiwsky, co-founder of CCRDF, who joined Archbishop Antony in his personal meeting with the mission team members prior to their departure for Ukraine, explained that though these orphanages are located far away from Chernobyl, the effects of the Chernobyl

tragedy spread throughout every region of Ukraine since over 650,000 people from all corners of Ukraine assisted in the clean-up effort in 1986. According to the Ministry of Health of Ukraine, oncological diseases (tumors) among children in Ukraine tripled from 1986 to 1994.

Our Church's mission journey was organized by the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. – Offices of Youth and Young Adult Ministry (Natalie Kapeluck, director) and Missions and Christian Charity (Father

(Continued on page 15)



The 2005 College Student Mission team of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.



Jared Burgan plays his guitar for the children at the orphanage.



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	Ukraine & Russia I <i>Escort: Dr. Walter Karpinich</i>	May 20 – May 30	11	Kyiv, Moscow, St. Petersburg plus: Pushkin/Petrodvorets . <i>Special Features: "White nights" in St. Petersburg</i>	\$2990
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	Western Ukraine + Poland I	Jun 23 – Jul 07	15	Kyiv, L'viv, Yaremche, L'viv, Krakow plus: Rohatyn, Ivano Frankivsk, Vorokhta, Kolomyja, Zavyntcia	\$3350
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	Dnipro Cruise <i>"MS Gen. Vatutin"</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, Zavyntcia	\$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	

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Orange Revolution...

(Continued from page 4)

divided into two factions, she said. "One arrived to truly clean out what you don't like and build what you had expected," she told the crowd. "Then there was a second force that had no intention of doing so."

It was unreasonable to expect that the old corrupt officials would relinquish their grip or ties to power, she said.

"Today you feel that after the Revolution you have become separated from government," Ms. Tymoshenko said. "But tell me please, how did I feel when I couldn't appoint any official? I felt the same way you did."

Those two remarks were the closest Ms. Tymoshenko came to criticizing the Yushchenko government.

In contrast, Mr. Yushchenko devoted much more time in his speech to criticizing Ms. Tymoshenko, without referring to her by name.

Ms. Tymoshenko said it's an absurd rumor that she's against Mr. Yushchenko, especially considering that she struggled to help him become president. "Today the idea is being planted that Tymoshenko is fighting against Yushchenko," she said. "This is pure propaganda which you shouldn't listen to. Yushchenko is not running for prime minister."

The Orange Revolution was merely the first attack in what will be a long fight, she said.

She compared the current struggle to the five-year battle undertaken by their grandparents' generation in defending Ukraine against the Nazis during World War II, as well as other historic struggles.

"I want to remind you of the many centuries our parents fought for an independent Ukraine," she said. "How they lost their lives. How for 26 years they withered away in prisons. Do you think they thought they could accomplish their struggle in one year?"

The calm that Ukrainians are longing for is impossible when Ukraine is cleansing itself, she declared.

She also warned that revenge from Viktor Yanukovich, his supporters and related business clans is possible now more than ever. She urged those on the maidan not to become complacent.

"Yanukovich has no chances today," she said. "But if we don't do anything, then he will have a 100 percent chance."

Ms. Tymoshenko reminded the audience that the constitutional changes that take effect in January strip the president of many of his powers and transfer them to the prime minister and the bloc earning the parliamentary majority.

"During the parliamentary elections, we're practically choosing the country's leadership, like the chancellor in Germany," she said. "The elections lead to who will truly form the executive government."

The current division among the Orange factions may lead to a Pyrrhic victory, she said, which is why Mr. Yushchenko's party should support her candidacy.

Ms. Tymoshenko said she takes no offense that she was dismissed from the prime minister's post because positions don't decide, but history and the future decide. "We will not lose our faith and our gains," she said.

She even guaranteed that all the pro-Orange political parties will unite into a single political force. "Just as I and my entire team supported Viktor Yushchenko, now we must rally around the selection of a prime minister who personifies what we struggled for," said Ms. Tymoshenko, with tears reportedly welling up in her eyes.

Ukraine is a different country after the Revolution, she said, and the changes are

visible on a daily basis. For example, "Society is keeping its politicians under an X-ray."

Yushchenko's address

Following Ms. Tymoshenko's passionate 20-minute speech, during which she reportedly was on the brink of tears, President Yushchenko emerged on stage flanked by his wife, Kateryna, and their three children, who were tightly bundled up in orange caps and scarves.

The maidan crowd greeted him with divided cheers of "Yush-chen-ko" and "Yu-lia."

Mr. Yushchenko called for the revolution's political forces to unite and said that he was ready "to do everything for our unity."

The victory in last year's presidential elections can only be successful if democratic forces prevail in the March parliamentary elections, he said. "This is one whole that cannot be divided," he said.

In his 55-minute speech, Mr. Yushchenko also highlighted his government's accomplishments in the year since the revolution, and outlined his administration's future political goals.

When stepping onto the stage, he kissed a row of politicians. As he kissed Ms. Tymoshenko on her cheek, she seemed taken aback. She smiled awkwardly as she accepted his gesture, patting him a few times on his waist.

While Ms. Tymoshenko delivered her speech without a script, Mr. Yushchenko clung to a thick stack of papers to which he frequently referred.

He appeared stressed, wagging his finger frequently and sharply raising his voice at various times to emphasize certain points.

He began his speech by stressing that everyone, including he, had made sacrifices to make the Orange Revolution a reality.

Mr. Yushchenko pointed out that his mother died just a few days after his inauguration "because not every healthy person can handle a fight with the gangs that we fought a year ago," he said.

Different people from all walks of life converged on the maidan last year, Mr. Yushchenko said, "freeing themselves from fear, indifference and lies."

He rhetorically asked the crowd why his government lost sight of the ethics, morals and ideals that had held them together during the Orange Revolution.

The president then repeated the three priorities of his government: democracy, freedom and the supremacy of law.

"Last year, millions of people said at this spot, 'We don't need paychecks or pensions, but give us an honest government, the right to vote, freedom and supremacy of law so that the violence would stop,'" he said. "After 12 months of this path I emphasize that we haven't strayed."

He acknowledged disappointment among Ukrainians, but added that he believes that Ukraine has performed brightly in the past 12 months.

From the maidan, Ukrainians determined that they wanted honest elections, a government that respects democracy and the rule of law, freedom and justice, work that ensures prosperity and confidence in what the next day will bring, the president said.

After the revolution, Ukrainians finally feel as though they are a part of Ukraine, he said. About 90 percent of Ukrainians now consider Ukraine their fatherland, compared with 76 percent two years ago, he said. Among youth, 94 percent consider Ukraine their fatherland, compared with 87 percent two years ago, he said. Five years ago, more than half of Ukrainian youths wished they had been born in another country.

The biggest victory of the maidan is that Ukrainians are now proud to call

themselves Ukrainian, he said. Ukraine is now renewing its roots and cleaning out foreign myths from its history, he said.

"We needed to take the final step to reconcile, for example, the Ukrainian view of the victory over Nazism, in order that the veterans of the Great Patriotic War and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army veterans would shake hands," he said. "This didn't hap-



Yana Sedova

A Yulia Tymoshenko supporter holds a portrait of her favorite politician at the anniversary celebrations on the maidan.

pen. But I believe this step will be taken, and I will do everything in order to put old quarrels to an end."

In another chapter of Ukrainian history that needs cleansing of foreign myths, Mr. Yushchenko raised the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, which took the lives of 10 million.

He invited everyone to take part in the November 26 ceremonial planting of cranberry bushes – one for every village destroyed during the Holodomor.

"We need to draw lessons from this tragedy," Mr. Yushchenko said. "We need to realize that the fate of every dead, living and yet to be born person is interwoven into the fate of a single Ukraine."

Freedom of speech has triumphed as a result of the maidan, Mr. Yushchenko said, and it is gaining strength. "I am convinced that the press will soon become the fourth estate in Ukraine," he said.

Another gain from the maidan is the freedom to vote, Mr. Yushchenko said. He guaranteed that, starting with the first day of campaigning, the parliamentary elections will be honest and transparent. Not a single government office, computer or vehicle will be used in the parliamentary election campaign, he pledged.

Mr. Yushchenko said he took notice of Pora's latest political campaign, "It's time to question," which demands that the president account for his first nine months in office.

In compliance with this demand, Mr.

Yushchenko reviewed his administration's accomplishments, first stating that 830,000 jobs have been created since he took office. He said a total of 1.1 million jobs would be created after his first 12 months in office.

He also claimed that Ukraine's unemployment rate is currently 7.2 percent – the lowest in 14 years of independence.

The new government was also able to reduce mandatory military service for Ukrainian men. Those with higher education serve for nine months, while those with less education serve for one year.

Within a month, the government will pull the last remaining troops from Iraq, Mr. Yushchenko said.

His government also fulfilled the promise of reprivatizing Kryvorizhstal in a fair and competitive auction. "That was one strategic asset," Mr. Yushchenko said. "Which raises the question to the Yanukoviches, to the Medvedchuks and to the Kuchmas: Where are these strategic assets? Where have they gone?"

During the last 10 months, wages for the average Ukrainian have increased by 35 percent; average real income has increased 24 percent; the wages of teachers, doctors and cultural workers have increased 57 percent and minimum pensions have increased to meet the living wage, he said.

Hardly anyone among the anniversary's participants found any positive changes in the country during the last nine months.

However, they said they are still willing to wait.

"I think that things cannot change in a year, but they will change for the better I'm sure," said Svitlana Nebyvailo, 20, a student from Zaporizhia.

Ms. Nebyvailo came to Kyiv for the first time in her life and said the atmosphere on maidan impressed her. "For me, this day is a victory day," she said. "People fought for freedom and won."

Vitalii Horshovskii, 23, a student from Ivano-Frankivsk, came back to Kyiv after he spent 11 days on the maidan during the Revolution. He agreed that things couldn't change in one or two years.

"There were beautiful, divine words [delivered on the maidan], however, not a single word was implemented," Mr. Horshovskii said. "Prices increased, scholarships are the same, and pensioners live in poverty. And it was a cool team at the beginning. But it split."

The anniversary celebration's emcee, Yevhen Nyschuk, 33, said though thousands of people came back to Independence Square, the spirit of the maidan had certainly changed from last year, when he also was a DJ on stage.

Mr. Nyschuk said the presence of many thousands of passionate adherents of the Orange Revolution reminded the leaders about their unity with the people. "Politicians were forced to reflect on about what they do, what they think," Mr. Nyschuk said. "This [anniversary] grounded them back to reality."

FOR THE RECORD: President George W. Bush's message on Orange Revolution anniversary

Following is the text of President George W. Bush's message on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Orange Revolution. The message was released on November 22.

I send greetings to those celebrating the first anniversary of the Orange Revolution.

One year ago today, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian citizens stood up to defend democracy in their homeland. Through great courage and determination, they showed the world that the love of liberty is stronger than the will of tyranny. Last year's revolution

was a powerful example of freedom and democracy in action and an inspiration to those aspiring for freedom in their own land.

Ukraine's leadership now faces an historic opportunity and has an historic responsibility to fulfill the promise of the Orange Revolution and continue to transform Ukraine into a fully democratic state. The United States will continue to support the efforts of President Viktor Yushchenko in advancing a democratic, prosperous and secure Ukraine, and America is proud to call Ukraine a friend.

Laura and I send our best wishes on this special occasion.

Universities of Alberta and Lviv strengthen academic ties

by Bohdan Klid

EDMONTON – Maintaining the high quality of Ukrainian studies at the University of Alberta requires that students and faculty have the opportunity to study and conduct research in Ukraine, exchange ideas with colleagues there and cooperate with them on scholarly projects. To that end, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies initiated the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the University of Alberta and the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv in 1988, three years before Ukraine became independent.

The agreement encouraged both sides to facilitate research visits by faculty and graduate students at the partner institu-

tor of the Preparatory School for International Students at Lviv University, to visit the University of Alberta in January and February of this year.

During his visit, Prof. Krevs was based at CIUS. He met several times with Dr. Zenon Kohut (CIUS director), Dr. Bohdan Klid (assistant director), Renny Khan (associate director, international relations, University of Alberta International), and Barry Tonge (director of Education Abroad Programs, University of Alberta International) to discuss current collaboration between the two institutions and ways to enhance it.

Prof. Krevs also held many meetings with faculty, staff and students from various units to discuss cooperation. Those taking part included such top university

officials as Dr. Gregory Taylor (dean of the Faculty of Sciences), Dr. Andrew Greenshaw (associate vice-president, research), and Dr. Marc Arnal (dean of the Faculté Saint-Jean). Other meetings took place with chairs and staff members of the departments of MLCS, physics, mathematics, biological sciences, chemistry, sociology, political science, the Faculty of Education and the National Institute of Nanotechnology.

At CIUS Dr. Krevs met with Marusia Petryshyn, director of the Ukrainian Language Education Center, and Kim Robinson, general manager of the Ukrainian Knowledge Internet Portal (UKiP), to discuss the teaching of Ukrainian to foreign students at Lviv University and to help develop a Ukrainian language textbook and multimedia resources for language instruction.

Dr. Krevs also held talks with John Sokolowski, team leader of the Languages Curriculum Branch, and other officials at the Alberta Ministry of Education on the possible participation of Lviv University Preparatory School faculty in a pilot project on Ukrainian language testing in Edmonton high schools.

During his stay at the university, Dr. Krevs gave a lecture on "The Ivan Franko National University of Lviv and its Role in the Orange Revolution" and held an informational meeting on "Opportunities for Study and Research in Lviv." He also made presentations to Ukrainian community audiences in Calgary and Victoria, British Columbia. These visits were organized by CIUS development officer Anna Biscoe.

In September Mr. Tonge visited Lviv University to meet with its officials and to determine the feasibility of initiating the exchange in the 2006-2007 academic year.

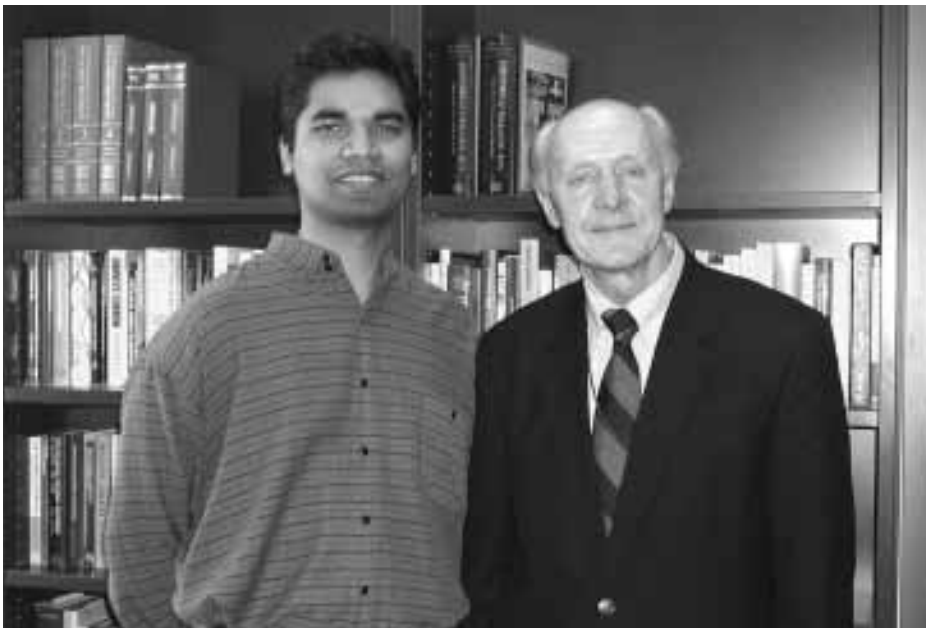
During his visit he met with students and announced that the University of Alberta International would fund two scholarships in the amount of \$1,500 each to help Lviv University students defray travel costs to Edmonton. Back from his visit to Ukraine, Mr. Tonge also indicated that one scholarship would be offered to a University of Alberta student to study at Lviv University.

As a result of Prof. Krevs's visit, his collaboration with Mr. Tonge, and the latter's visit to Lviv University, a draft student exchange and study abroad agreement was prepared, and other areas of future collaboration were identified. It is anticipated that the two universities will endorse this new collaboration during an anticipated visit by the rector of Lviv University, Dr. Ivan Vakarchuk, to Edmonton.

While greater student mobility between the two partner institutions is anticipated as a result of the agreement, dedicated financial support is critically important, especially in this period of rapidly rising costs of higher education and air travel.

In conjunction with Dr. Vakarchuk's anticipated visit to the University of Alberta, CIUS is planning a campaign to raise up to \$100,000 to establish an endowment fund from which annual scholarships would be awarded to students from each institution. Very recently, the government of Alberta announced a matching funds program for post-secondary institutions. While the details are still to be made public, CIUS officials believe that this endeavor stands a good chance of meeting eligibility requirements for matching funds.

To support this initiative or to obtain more information, readers may call Dr. Klid at CIUS, (780) 492-2972; or Mr. Tonge at the University of Alberta International, (780) 492-5960.



Renny Khan (left), University of Alberta International, and Viktor Krevs, Lviv University's Preparatory School for International Students.

tion. In the first years of its existence, reciprocal visits by faculty and students took place annually. By the mid-1990s, however, partly because of a lack of dedicated funding, visits became infrequent.

CIUS revitalized the relationship in 2003 by initiating the renewal of the MOU and broadening the scope of activities that could be undertaken by faculty, staff and students of the two universities.

To broaden the range of activities, CIUS proposed to supplement the MOU with a formal student exchange agreement that would allow students to spend a semester or more studying at the partner institution. In order to negotiate this agreement and explore other ways of developing a more fruitful relationship between the two institutions, CIUS, supported by University of Alberta International and the Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies (MLCS), invited Prof. Viktor Krevs, direc-



The main building of Lviv University, which was built in 1877-1881 and formerly housed the Galician Diet.

Journalist from Ukraine receives International Press Freedom Award

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – Canadian Journalists for Free Expression selected two journalists to be honored at their eighth Annual International Press Freedom Awards gala for outstanding contributions to the freedom of expression.

The 2005 Award winners were Mykola Veresen of Ukraine and Alagi Yorro Jallow of Gambia. They were selected by senior journalist and broadcaster Carol Off (who was the reporter on the controversial CBC program on the Orange Revolution – "Anatomy of a Revolution" – aired in February); CBC Senior Foreign Correspondent Joe Schlesinger; the head of Ryerson University's School of Journalism, Paul Knox; and documentary filmmaker, teacher and author Sally

Armstrong. The list of nominees also included journalists from Syria, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Spain and Uzbekistan.

Rod Macdonell, CJFE's executive director, said that, "In the end, Mykola Veresen's and Alagi Yorro Jallow's cases exemplified true fighters for freedom of the press. Their courageous work in the face of great adversity has demonstrated an exceptional commitment to free expression."

It is worth noting that CJFE's press announcement of the award included the information that "The [sic] Ukraine has been a dangerous country in which to be a journalist in recent years. In 2004, 20 journalists were arrested and more than 30 were physically attacked. In the past 10 years, four journalists have been murdered in Ukraine."

The awards gala, held on November 1

in Toronto featured as guest speaker, American investigative journalist Seymour Hersh, who recently captured the spotlight with his stories on the Abu Ghraib scandal in Iraq and 30 years ago broke the My Lai massacre story in Vietnam.

The fund-raising event attracted distinguished guests such as former Governor-General Adrienne Clarkson, Minister of Defense Bill Graham, former Commissioner of Human Rights at the U.N. Mary Robinson and Nobel Prize winner John Polanyi.

Mr. Veresen was the anchor at Channel 5 during the Orange Revolution and became, for many, the voice and face of the revolution. He is a veteran journalist and respected television broadcaster in Ukraine, and was the first Ukrainian journalist to work for a foreign news service, the BBC, report-

ing for the network in 1986-1996.

He then became host of the social affairs TV program "Taboo," which tackled themes that had previously been off limits, such as drug problems, sex and police corruption.

Mr. Jallow, managing editor of the Independent in Gambia, was chosen for his efforts to promote press freedom in Gambia.

CJFE is an association of more than 300 journalists, editors, producers, publishers, broadcasters, students and others who work to promote and defend free expression and press freedom in Canada and around the world.

Mr. Veresen currently works for the new TV channel K1, where he moderates a daily talk show. While in Toronto, Mr. Veresen met with the Ukrainian media at a press conference organized by the Consulate General of Ukraine.

Experts assess foreign aid to Ukraine, share "lessons learned"

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – "North American and European Aid to Ukraine" was the title of a two-part panel discussion held at the Center for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies at the University of Toronto on October 21.

The first panel was titled "A Critical Assessment" and was handled by panelists Janina Wedel (George Mason School of Public Policy), Alexandra Hrycak (Reed College) and Danylo Bilak (United Nations Development Program) and chaired by Olga Andriewsky (Trent University).

Prof. Wedel is the author of the prize-



Panelists (from left) Danylo Bilak, Janina Wedel, Alexandra Hrycak and Olga Andriewsky assess Western assistance to Ukraine.



Ruslana Wrzesnewskij



Bruce Steen



Marta Baziuk



Prof. Frank Sysyn

winning and controversial book "Collision and Collusion: The Strange Case of Western Aid to Eastern Europe" (Palgrave, 2001, second edition). As a social anthropologist, she aims to understand aid processes rather than the projects shaped by aid. She said that public policy debates on aid tend to look at "how much" and "for what," but she was interested in looking at the agents of aid, the relationships formed between donors and recipients, and the affects of the relationships on aid outcomes.

To have the intended results, the donor has to understand the informal social networks of the recipient country and how they shaped the society and its institutions, Prof. Wedel explained. The critical word in her analysis was "disconnect." She noted that "There existed a giant disconnect between East and West, forged by the Cold War and exacerbated by barriers of language, culture, distance and information." Donors did not take into account the fact that the former Communist countries were not Third World populations but were well-educated and highly literate, but didn't necessarily know what to do.

The whole aid industry has brought about the emergence of global elites –

power brokers who have more in common with each other than they do with particular nations, and had produced a "global community of democratic rhetoric," Prof. Wedel said. In summary, her view was that most foreign aid to the former Communist countries has been ill-planned, poorly executed and misdirected.

Prof. Alexandra Hrycak's comments were largely in agreement with Prof. Wedel's analysis, and she focused on the role of aid in the creation of transnational networks, using women's issues as a specific example. New organizations in Ukraine were planted by Westerners and dealt with issues – domestic violence, trafficking, entrepreneurship – that needed attention. But they failed in providing grassroots empowerment. Instead, "professional NGOs" arose, intermediaries who were positioned between the grassroots and the donors, but were not networked domestically.

As an example, Prof. Hrycak mentioned that La Strada – Ukraine, formed in Ukraine in 1997, was founded by La Strada International, based in Italy. For the years the years 2005-2007, La Strada International has a budget of 5.7 million euros but has no ties to local women's

organizations. Because U.S. corporations served as a model of its organizational structure, the link established was between professionals in Ukraine and professionals in other countries.

Prof. Hrycak gave one concrete example: when women's centers were established by La Strada – Ukraine in various regions, donors decided hotlines for women at risk were needed, like the ones set up in comparable Western centers. These hotlines remained completely unused – the idea of calling someone one does not know for advice is so foreign to Ukrainians that the hotlines were a total bust.

Although there is a dense horizontal network in Ukraine of women's organizations, many aid-funded NGOs bypass and ignore them and create vertical structures tied to international bodies, Prof. Hrycak pointed out.

Mr. Bilak's topic was technical assistance in Ukraine – where it's been and where it should go. He said that the Orange Revolution was proof of the effectiveness of technical assistance and that now the aim of technical assistance should be to capture the energy of the maidan (Independence Square) as the power structures have not caught up to where the people are.

According to Mr. Bilak, there are three main challenges for the further development of technical assistance. First of all, there is a need to build in accountability and decentralization in order to address the issue of corruption, a governance problem. Secondly, foreign "experts" should stay home, while technical assistance aid should help facilitate locally generated NGOs. In the long view, he said, one needs to work with a government that is interested in output rather than having a "grab and run" attitude.

The second session of the panel had as its subtitle, "Lessons Learned" and was chaired by Prof. Frank Sysyn (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies) and included Bruce Steen (country manager, Canadian International Development Agency – CIDA), Ruslana Wrzesnewskij (president, Help Us Help the Children) and Marta Baziuk (Winrock International, a private NGO funded by the Rockefeller family).

In the last three years Canadian foreign aid has undergone various reviews and one of the "lessons learned" was that the aid was so dispersed in terms of countries supported that it often prevented Canada in having an impact. Mr.

Steen explained that under Canada's new International Policy Statement, CIDA has selected 25 developing countries as targets for aid, with Ukraine being the only European one among them.

"Developing countries where Canada can make a difference" is the new slogan for aid disbursement. Ukraine is a development partner identified in the new policy for several reasons: it has seized upon reform initiatives, it is using aid effectively, and Canada is particularly well positioned to offer the needed expertise there. Aid to Ukraine will now focus on four main sectors: governance, health, private-sector development and environmental sustainability, Mr. Bilak noted.

Ms. Wrzesnewskij's organization has been helping children in Ukraine for over 10 years through direct aid to nearly 200 orphanages and a camping program for 500 children every summer. Although the organization uses Canadian and American volunteers, Ms. Wrzesnewskij's main "lesson learned" was the necessity to stick to the grassroots approach: to develop Ukrainian partners and provide them with a "train the trainer" program.

Some of her organizational tips included: make the locals look good, boost morale, celebrate victories, share your goals, network in Ukraine and work around corruption. She cautioned that one should expect resistance, especially meddling local authorities. Hence, it is wise to stay independent and work directly with people in Ukraine actually involved in the program. But, most of all, she said, in order to work successfully in Ukraine one needs perseverance and consistency.

Ms. Baziuk, who worked on a Women's Business Support Center project in Ukraine for Winrock gave, as her main "lesson learned" the advice that process matters. "There are no shortcuts to effective implementation of a program," she said. For example, in order to teach the concept of self-help, her project helped women entrepreneurs by giving them seed money to start businesses. These women then served as role models for self-help. Another lesson, like Ms Wrzesnewskij's was: find and foster local leaders, Ms. Baziuk said.

Prof. Sysyn added that CIUS, with only \$50,000 per year, has focused on academic aid with some successes: setting up the Institute of Historical Research at Lviv University, bringing researchers to Canada on the Kolasky scholarships and sending researchers from Lviv to Warsaw on the Stelmach program.

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Who are...

(Continued from page 2)

2004 to two oligarchs for one-sixth of the price obtained last month.

The Social-Democrats' call for a referendum on NATO accession has been ridiculed by the Ukrainian media. SDPU leader Viktor Medvedchuk did not protest when NATO and EU membership were included in the new 2004 military doctrine. And as prime minister in 2002-2004, Party of the Regions head Viktor Yanukovych led a government that had declared its intention to seek NATO membership in May 2002.

These votes on two crucial issues show that the September crisis did not irrevocably split the Orange Revolution camp. The best chance for a pro-reform parliamentary majority is if OUPU and the Tymoshenko bloc come together after the 2006 elections.

This view is strongly backed by two factors. First, public opinion has not been willing to accept the permanence of the split. Second, neither the OUPU nor the Tymoshenko bloc will have sufficient votes to independently create a parliamentary majority.

Calls for re-unification of the Orange Revolution camp have increasingly been heard from both the OUPU and the Tymoshenko bloc. Ms. Tymoshenko has initiated meetings on this subject with Presidential Secretariat Chair Oleh Rybachuk, but she has put forward two conditions.

First, the business entourage that surrounded President Yushchenko must not be included in the OUPU election lineup. This demand is easy to accommodate, as Mr. Rybachuk has already moved to block Petro Poroshenko, the most criticized of this business group, from easy access to President Yushchenko.

Second, Ms. Tymoshenko wants to be prime minister again. This demand is unlikely to be met and could prove a major stumbling block (Ukrayinska Pravda, November 3). Mr. Yushchenko would want to keep Mr. Yekhanurov in this position. Too many senior OUPU officials are uncomfortable with Ms.

Tymoshenko, whose abrasive style is seen in a negative light by OUPU senior officials, such as parliamentary faction leader Mykola Martynenko (Ukraina Moloda, October 27).

Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn, another potential OUPU ally, has called for "professionals" in government, and "not those who can shout at meetings," a clear jab at Ms. Tymoshenko (Ukrayinska Pravda, November 6). Mr. Lytvyn has depicted his eponymous election bloc as one that stands for "compromise" and Ukrainian unity, not divisiveness, a jab at both Ms. Tymoshenko and the PRU (Ukrayinska Pravda, November 7).

The head of the OUPU political council, Roman Bezsmertnyi, is as distrustful of Ms. Tymoshenko's populism and personal ambitions as are Messrs. Martynenko and Lytvyn. Nevertheless, he has accepted the need for unity negotiations after the 2006 elections to create a parliamentary majority (Ukrayinska Pravda, October 27, November 1).

Constitutional reforms set to go into effect after January 2006 will transform Ukraine from a semi-presidential to a parliamentary-presidential system. This will be a major step toward democratization, as the presidential systems seen throughout the Commonwealth of Independent States have been plagued by authoritarianism and abuse of executive office.

At the same time, constitutional reforms will lengthen the Parliament's term from four to five years, prevent defections from factions and force parties to compromise over creating a parliamentary majority that, together with the executive, chooses the government.

Of the six parties and blocs set to enter Parliament, President Yushchenko's OUPU can create a parliamentary majority only with one of the two other large forces: the Tymoshenko bloc or the Party of the Regions. The cooperation and goodwill between the OUPU and the Tymoshenko bloc created in the run-up to the election will facilitate a choice for Ms. Tymoshenko. In any case, they will celebrate the first anniversary of the Orange Revolution together.

Leftists mark...

(Continued from page 2)

to sell Ukrainian national assets to either Western economic moguls or Ukrainian oligarchs of his own ilk. In short, President Yushchenko is a much better target for leftist criticism on November 7 than his predecessor, Leonid Kuchma, was in the past decade.

As should be expected, Communist Party Chairman Petro Symonenko listed all these points regarding President Yushchenko in his speech on Independence Square in Kyiv, and they were voiced in different variations by local Communist leaders in other Ukrainian cities.

But the general impression of Ukrainian media and commentators was that this year's October Revolution commemorations were sluggish and uninspiring for adherents of the communist ideology in Ukraine, despite the fact that the country is now governed by combatants and followers of the "nationalistic" and "anti-Russian" Orange Revolution. This may be a signal that Ukraine's Communists and leftists, in general, need a new political agenda or new leaders – or both.

There also is no unity or solidarity among Ukrainian leftist forces regarding the celebrations of Revolution Day.

The Socialist Party of Oleksander Moroz was conspicuously absent from Kyiv's streets on November 7. The party has several ministers in the government, so it probably decided to stay away from

what promised to be an anti-government public event.

And Communist Party followers prevented the Progressive Socialist Party of Natalia Vitrenko – a no less fierce opponent of President Yushchenko than Mr. Symonenko – from laying flowers at the only remaining monument to Vladimir Lenin in Kyiv. The Communists consider the Progressive Socialists to be sidekicks of the Donetsk oligarchic clan, whose political arm is the Party of the Regions of Ukraine led by former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych.

What was actually new during the November 7 rally and picket in Kyiv was the appearance of a relatively new group called the Eurasian Youth Union of Ukraine, which was represented by two dozen young Ukrainians. The organization is an apparent branch of the International Eurasian Movement, which is sponsored by some forces in Russia as a "Eurasian" response to what they see as the onslaught of Western "Atlanticism" on Russia and its post-Soviet neighbors, including Ukraine.

Members of the Eurasian Youth Union of Ukraine busied themselves in Kyiv on November 7 by throwing rotten oranges at government buildings, and police reportedly arrested nearly all of them in the process. It is difficult to say whether in the future this group will be able to pose a more serious treat to the Yushchenko government than on November 7. However, its emergence seems to be emblematic, and those trying to rebuild a "Eurasian" empire have not yet run short of initiatives, supporters or money.

College students' ...

(Continued from page 10)

Deacon Dr. Ihor Mahlay, director. Both Ms. Kapeluck and Deacon Ihor were participants in the first missionary trip sponsored by the Church three years ago.

This year's mission team consisted of nine students: Laryssa and Tanya Tchaikowsky of St. Vladimir Cathedral, Chicago; Jared Burgan, Holy Ascension Parish, Clifton, N.J.; Hans Harasimchuk and Michael Nakonachny of St. Vladimir Cathedral, Parma, Ohio; Kathrine Kosiv of Holy Trinity Parish, New York; Jason and Eric Senedak of Ss. Peter and Paul Parish, Youngstown, Ohio; Katherine Holowchak, Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Parma.

In addition, there were two leaders/advisors, Iryna Mahlay, St. Vladimir Cathedral, Parma, and this writer, Father Daniel Zelinsky, director of the UOC Consistory Office of Public Relations.

Prior to mission team's departure for Ukraine, Archbishop Antony celebrated a moleben in the Consistory chapel and offered special prayers for all mission team members and for the success of their missionary efforts. He spoke about love and its everlasting ability to change people's lives if they let the Light of Divine presence to enter into and flow through them into the lives of others.

Archbishop Antony concluded by saying that, once experienced, love never permits people to return to their old selves and that the team members' experience in the orphanages would change their lives forever.

How prophetic his statements were!

The Znamianka orphanage houses 120

children, almost all of whom have serious physical and mental problems including Down syndrome, autism, a host of physical deformities and developmental problems, among others. The mission team provided the children with basic physical therapy, playing with, cuddling and lovingly hugging as many of the children as possible. The team also painted a new arts and crafts room, using the Disney theme "Under the Sea."

In Zaluchia the mission team did it all again at an orphanage that is home for 140 children. As in Znamianka, the vast majority of the children were born with physical and mental birth defects such as Down syndrome or cerebral palsy.

This home is a former family estate built before World War II and still in need of some major improvements. A new roof, new bathrooms with multiple showers, sinks in every room and a laundry, along with new beds, mattresses and linens have been provided through the financial support of the faithful of the UOC-U.S.A. Although many improvements have been made, much more needs to be done.

We completed our stay in each orphanage with a special healing service, during which the children who were mobile prayed with us and received a blessing of healing oils from Father Daniel. While I visited the rooms of the children who could not attend the service, the rest of the team spent quality time with the children in attendance and the staff of the orphanages.

Tanya Tchaikowsky, one of the team members, recalled:

"While in Zaluchia, after another moving service of Holy Unction, each of the chil-

dren was anointed, and was given an icon card of the Virgin Mary. All of the kids loved the gifts, and I saw many kissing the icons, and many more asked us to kiss them.

"I was sitting with Uliana, a brilliant girl who has learned to write and paint by grasping instruments in her teeth, and Vasyl, a quiet, patient little boy who has little use of his legs, and I was holding Alina, a very young girl with Down syndrome in my lap. Uliana turned to me and asked me to read to her what was written on the back of the icon card. I hadn't really paid attention to the back until this point. There, written in Ukrainian, were the Beatitudes.

"I started reading them to the kids and, by the time I had reached the end, I was in tears. I realized that these children truly are blessed. They are poor, meek; they mourn; they are all of these things. I was crying tears of joy because I realized that though they may face great hardships in their lives on earth, 'great will be their reward in heaven.'"

During the visits to the orphanages, the directors and staff were very hospitable and grateful for our Church's support and efforts, especially the actual physical presence and assistance of the mission team members. The staff members were also open and frank about their difficulties and needs in providing for the children.

Not only did the administration of the orphanages provide meals and lodging for the mission team, but they took the team on cultural excursions. In Znamianka, the members visited the city. In Zaluchia the team visited Kosiv and the ethnographic bazaar in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains. After completing their all too short (according to the team members) Christian work at the orphanages, the mission team spent a few days touring historic Lviv.

On the way back to Kyiv they made a pilgrimage to the Pochaiv Monastery-Lavra, venerating the miraculous icon of

the Mother of God and the relics of St. Job. In Kyiv, the group visited the Pecherska Lavra, venerating the relics of many saints buried in the caves, St. Sophia Cathedral and St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, which has been magnificently reconstructed with the support of many of the faithful in the United States.

Steven Haluszczak, a 2004 mission team lay leader recalled the following:

"Goup members often asked ourselves 'Why are we so lucky? We have parents who love us and have given us so much materially. Why do these children have so little? It just isn't fair.' These are questions for which we have no answers. And they are questions we will wrestle with perhaps for the rest of our lives.

"Our trip was truly a life-changing experience. None of us will be the same after our time in the children's homes. But this is truly another positive outcome of our experience. As we go about our everyday chores, it is very easy to overlook the pain and suffering of our fellow man. It is very easy to get caught up in our own worries and not heed the command of our Lord to 'Love one another. As I have loved you, so you must love one another.' (John 13:33-35). The members of our mission team gave love and have already received a hundredfold reward of love and increased understanding."

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund have had a tremendous impact on the lives of these handicapped and orphaned children. The visit and work of the mission team underscored the commitment the Church has made to these institutions.

The work of the Church in such outreach must continue, for our Lord has called us to love even the least of His children. We look forward to many more such missionary efforts to these orphanages and to other such institutions, both in Ukraine and in the U.S.A.

House passes...

(Continued from page 3)

Pallone Jr. (D-N.J.), Donald M. Payne (D-N.J.), Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.), Steven R. Rothman (D-N.J.), Allyson Y. Schwartz (D-Pa.), Louise McIntosh Slaughter (D-N.Y.), Christopher H. Smith (R-N.J.), Thomas G. Tancredo (R-Colo.), Diane E. Watson (D-Calif.), Anthony D. Weiner (D-N.Y.), Curt Weldon (R-Pa.) and Robert Wexler (D-Fla.).

During the floor action on November 16, Rep. Louie Gohmert (R-Texas), a member of the Committee on Resources, introduced the H.R. 562 for consideration. "Known by historians as the 'Harvest of Sorrow,' the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 was the result of ... grain seizures in order to neutralize the Ukrainian population," stated Rep. Gohmert. "Over 7 million people died of starvation as Russians stopped Ukrainians from entering Russia to obtain food. Attempts by the United States to intercede were stalled by Stalin's regime." He noted that "proponents of H.R. 562 hope that building a memorial in the District of Columbia will bring awareness to the event and honor its victims."

Rep. Nick Rahall (D-W.Va.), the ranking member of the Resources Committee, also spoke briefly about the bill. Rep. Rahall noted: "Mr. Speaker, we are all too aware of the damage that can be inflicted during wartime by conventional weapons. However, the Ukrainian Genocide is evidence of the shocking and deadly potential of an unconventional weapon such as hunger. ... While precise figures are hard to calculate, historians place the number of dead as a result of this policy between 8 and 10 million men, women and children. In rural Ukraine, it is thought that one in four people starved to death. These deaths have rightly been labeled one of the worst genocides in human history."

In his remarks to his colleagues, Rep. Rahall recommended that the legislation be passed, adding that by accepting this

gift – the government of Ukraine has said it will donate the memorial to be erected in Washington – the U.S. government will not only commemorate the victims of one of the worst genocides in human history, but also honor the 1.5 million Ukrainian Americans who worked relentlessly to preserve and publicize the memory of this tragedy during the 70 years it was denied.

Rep. Levin thanked the leadership of the House of Representatives for expediting the vote on the bill, as well as his colleagues on both sides of the aisle for their support. "This legislation is important for all of humanity," stated Rep. Levin. "It is very important to the 1.5 million Ukrainian Americans throughout the United States, including many of my constituents. It has special meaning to the people of Ukraine who have embarked on a courageous effort to build a free, democratic, open society, and indeed to all of us who value freedom."

During the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, 7 to 10 million Ukrainians were deliberately and systematically starved to death," Rep. Levin continued. "The memorial authorized by this bill will not only honor their memory, but also serve as a tangible reminder to all of us that we must work together to prevent such tragedies in the future."

Commenting on House of Representatives' action on the bill, Michael Sawkiw, Jr., president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) stated: "The passage of this bill sets the community one step closer to realizing our dreams of further informing the American public about the horrors the Ukrainian nation endured during the Genocide of 1932-1993. This monument will stand throughout the years as a memorial to all who perished. We couldn't have done it without the support of Rep. Levin, the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus and our friends in Congress."

Other Members of Congress have five legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include material about the Ukrainian Genocide as it pertains to H.R. 562.



Gregory Sachno

of Sidney Center, New York

passed away suddenly on Monday, October 31, 2005.

He was born March 1, 1926 near Kyiv, Ukraine.

During WWII his family was relocated to a labor camp in Aschaffenburg, Germany. He married his wife, Eleonore, in 1952 and emigrated to the U.S. in 1967. He has three children: Helga, Kurt and Robert; and a grandson, Gregory.

Gregory worked at the Cresskill, N.J. Dept. of Public Works for over 20 years and retired to Sidney Center in 1988.

He was a member of the Retreads Motorcycle Club and was an avid motorcycle enthusiast, riding until recently.

He will be missed.

DEATH ANNOUNCEMENTS

to be published in The Ukrainian Weekly – in the Ukrainian or English language – are accepted by mail, courier, fax, phone or e-mail.

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The Orange Revolution...

(Continued from page 5)

the presidential administration building, they were singing the song "We're Going," (My Idemo) by Maria Burmaka, a popular singer-songwriter, which contains the line "And ahead, there's fire." Ms. Burmaka, who witnessed this, broke down and cried as she realized that the lyrics had inspired people.

Ukrainian rock stars participated in direct actions of the crowds. Sviatoslav Vakarchuk, lead singer of Okean Elzy, one of Ukraine's best bands, mediated a strike by Taras Shevchenko University students with the administration, and also joined those blockading the presidential administration. Here, in what would surely qualify as a surrealistic moment, he autographed shields of riot police guarding the building.

Mr. Skrypka of VV, avoided the limelight for the most part and organized on-the-spot performances by bards to lift the spirits of those maintaining the blockades.

In the immediate aftermath of the insurgency, kiosks in Kyiv became inundated with both legal and pirate CDs containing songs associated with the Orange Revolution. The Yushchenko camp quickly released a CD, "We are Together" (My

Razom), while another early release carried the plain title "Orange Songs" (Pomaranchevi Pisoni). A pirate two-CD set, labeled simply "Yes!" (Tak!), was packed with about three dozen tunes plus video clips. Other pirate productions included "Orange Dances" (Pomaranchevi Tantsi) and "Orange Whip" (Pomaranchevyi Stiob), the latter containing tunes ridiculing Viktor and Liudmyla Yanukovych. In January Mr. Skrypka released a CD called "The Spirit Does Not Die, The Spirit Does Not Fade Away" (Dukh ne Vmyraie, Dukh ne Zhasa), containing songs by bards, two of them by 10-year-old Sviatoslav Sylenko, who participated in makeshift concerts by the barricades.

One year after the Orange Revolution, the political victory has lost some of its luster as the governing coalition headed by President Yushchenko has broken up, and many Ukrainians now believe that their new political leaders have let them down.

Yet, the Ukrainian people did succeed in defending their fledgling democracy, which was being subverted by the Kuchma government, and this was quite a feat to behold. Moreover, they accomplished this during a singing revolution that remains untarnished as one of the great happenings of recent history.

Yushchenko's first...

(Continued from page 6)

Revolution in providing resources for the Yushchenko campaign. Mr. Poroshenko and Andrii Derkach, two mini-oligarchs, provided resources to support the only two television outlets available for the opposition (Channel 5 and Era TV respectively).

After his election, their continued presence in Mr. Yushchenko's entourage became problematic as the president's image increasingly came to resemble that of Mr. Kuchma of being surrounded by "oligarchs." When asked if the new authorities were different from Mr. Kuchma, 52 percent said "yes" in March, while only 37 percent continued to agree in September.

Mr. Poroshenko's image has suffered an appreciable decline. His negative ratings are on par with those of Messrs. Medvedchuk and Kuchma. It would be a strategic mistake to include him on the Our Ukraine People's Union 2006 election list. But, mistakes are possible. Although not returned as Justice Minister to the Yekhanurov government, Mr. Zvarych was promoted to head the Our Ukraine People's Union 2006 election campaign.

Conclusion

Looking back over the first year of the Orange Revolution, it would be wrong to paint it in either fully white or black. There have been 15 positive steps and seven negative. That the positive outweigh

the negative shows that there are achievements to celebrate on November 22.

President Yushchenko is committed to democratization, economic reform and Euro-Atlantic integration. Mr. Yushchenko does not possess the necessary political will to deal with high-ranking officials from the Kuchma era. The memorandum with Mr. Yanukovych was a major strategic miscalculation.

Ms. Tymoshenko receives greater respect for her political skills. She is also more credible in possessing the political will to bring to trial high-ranking officials from the Kuchma era. The organizers of the Gongadze murder are more likely to be brought to trial by Ms. Tymoshenko than Mr. Yushchenko.

Policy incoherence in the first nine months of the Orange Revolution is not solely the fault of the Tymoshenko government. Other factors are the creation of a parallel government in the National Security and Defense Council led by Mr. Poroshenko, Mr. Yushchenko's lack of leadership and inability to take decisive decisions except in crises, and his extensive travels abroad which negatively affected domestic policies.

Both Mr. Yushchenko and Ms. Tymoshenko have positive and negative traits. If the Orange coalition could reunite during, or after, the 2006 elections, these traits could potentially balance against one another to promote a reform agenda and Euro-Atlantic integration.



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St. Nicholas Cathedral to begin celebrations of its centennial

by Maria Kulchycky

CHICAGO – At the annual St. Nicholas Parish Festival, the celebration of the feast of its patron saint, being held on December 4, St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral Parish will begin its centennial celebration to mark the founding of the parish in 1905.



The first church used by St. Nicholas Parish, an old wooden structure purchased from a Danish Protestant congregation.

The celebration will begin with a hierarchical divine liturgy celebrated by Bishop Richard Seminack at 10 a.m. in St. Nicholas Cathedral at Rice Street and Oakley Boulevard. It will be followed by a banquet at which the Centennial Calendar and the Centennial Renewal Project will be introduced.

The Very Rev. Bohdan Nalysnyk, rector of St. Nicholas Parish, issued an invitation to all Ukrainian community organizations, institutions, and churches to participate in the centennial of this prominent congregation in the Ukrainian Village. "We hope to make everyone in the eparchy aware that all parishes should see the cathedral as their mother church. And we hope everyone in our community sees St. Nicholas as the heart of the Ukrainian Village," he noted.

Religious pilgrimages and missions held at all local Ukrainian churches, a dance for alumni of St. Nicholas School, the 70-year-old parish grammar school, a fashion show featuring the history of women in the church, and a seminar for men, women and youth are among the events currently planned to celebrate the centennial. Additional events will be added throughout the

(Continued on page 21)



St. Nicholas Cathedral, completed in 1915, was modeled on Kyiv's St. Sophia Sobor.



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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

(Continued from page 24)

champagne toast along with Viennese deserts, coffee and tea; festivities will close with a bountiful buffet station breakfast. Admission: \$95 per person. Tickets and tables to be reserved by payment only, on or before December 17. Seating is limited. Evening attire is required. For further information call Nika Chajkowsky, (215) 860-8384, or Natalia Luciw, (215) 362-5331. Proceeds to benefit cultural programming and youth soccer. For general information visit: www.trysubsortscenter.org.

Saturday, February 25, 2006

LOS ANGELES: The California Association to Aid Ukraine (CAAU) will host its annual charity ball and presentation of debutantes on February 25, 2006. Pack your beach hat and join us at the Marriott

Hotel in Marina Del Rey, Calif., south of Los Angeles. Proceeds from the 2006 ball are designated for biomedical research in Ukraine. Admission: \$95 per person, adults; \$85, students. Admission price includes champagne and hors d'oeuvres, three-course meal, live music and dancing. The silent auction will feature a dazzling array of Hollywood items, Ukrainian gifts, baskets, artwork and toys. For reservations please send a check to Marta Mykytyn-Hill (treasurer), 1219 Via Arroyo, Ventura, CA 93003. Accommodations are available at the hotel. For preferred rates please book before February 6, 2006 and mention CAAU when booking. Rooms are subject to availability. For further information please contact Luba Keske, (818) 884-3836 (home) or (310) 449-3485 (office), or Shannon Micevych, (818) 774-9378.

PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:

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

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

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



The Ukrainian National Association will be mailing Christmas greetings to American Ukrainian service people presently serving their country in many parts of the world.

The UNA wishes to solicit your help in getting names, addresses and ranks of any Ukrainian you may know who is serving in the armed forces.

Help make this project successful!

The UNA will mail Christmas and New Year's greetings to our service people by December 25, 2005.

We wish to contact all our service men and women. With your help we will reach most of them!

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

under a mixed electoral system – 225 deputies were elected from party lists and 225 from one-seat constituencies. The voting threshold for parties in 2002 was 4 percent. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Yushchenko speaks on Belarus

KYIV – Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko has urged caution against the isolation of Belarus in the international arena, Interfax-Ukraine reported on November 16. Mr. Yushchenko was addressing a meeting of politicians and business people in Paris on November 15, during his two-day official visit to France. “Belarus should not be left in isolation, we need to have contacts and to render help to Belarus on the way to democracy,” the Ukrainian president said. “Europe will be making a mistake if it encloses Belarus in a cocoon,” he added. On November 16 in Miensk, Ukrainian Defense Minister Anatolii Hrytsenko and his Belarusian counterpart, Leonid Maltsau, signed a cooperation plan for 2006 between the Belarusian and Ukrainian armed forces. (RFE/RL Newswire)

UOC seeks ecumenical patriarch's help

WASHINGTON – The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. called upon Patriarch Bartholomew I of Constantinople “to defend” Ukraine from “the machinations” of the Moscow Patriarchate, according to cerkva.org.ua, which posted the news on October 24. “We call upon the high pastor to take strict measures to guarantee sovereign Ukraine the opportunity to enjoy the blessings of a national Church, free from external Church control and interference, despite possible threats and machinations

of the Moscow Patriarchate,” reads the text of the resolution by the Metropolitan Council of the UOC-U.S.A., which is under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. The text of another resolution adopted by the same council says that “the united church in Ukraine,” the creation of which our hierarchs should work on, is to be built “under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.” They also call upon the hierarchs to influence “the Ukrainian government and Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko.” The council also gave a positive assessment to the statement of Archbishop Vsevolod (Majdanski) of the UOC-U.S.A. after his meeting with President Yushchenko in early 2005. He underlined that the Patriarch of Constantinople “recognizes the borders of the Moscow Patriarchate the way they were when this Patriarchate was recognized by world Orthodoxy in 1593.” At that time the Kyiv Metropolitanate was part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, as the authors of the document report. The UOC U.S.A. consists of 100 parishes and missions, according to its website. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

New national TV chairman is named

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko congratulated Vitalii Dokalenko on his appointment as chairman of the National TV Company. The presidential press service told Ukrinform on October 27 that Mr. Yushchenko noted that, while holding negotiations and interviews with likely candidates to the position, he made sure that a person who knows the modern TV journalism and media management, and who is not politically engaged, must chair the company. Before the appointment Mr. Dokalenko chaired the TONIS TV channel. While introducing the National TV Company's new director Presidential Secretariat Chief Oleh

Rybachuk stressed that National TV Channel UT-1 should become the first Ukrainian channel to disseminate objective and qualitative information. According to Mr. Rybachuk, under former UT-1 Director Taras Stetskiv the channel had experienced significant improvements. It started broadcasting critical topics and objective information, but a lot remains to be done to bring the channel to European standards. Mr. Dokalenko noted that he is ready for a constructive dialogue with journalists. He also said that he would try to save the channel's staff. “We will not disregard UT-1's capable journalists,” he said. (Ukrinform)

Three peacekeepers injured in Iraq

KYIV – Three Ukrainian peacekeepers, on their regular engineer patrol of a road in the vicinity of the Iraqi town of An Numania, were slightly injured as a result of a land mine explosion on the roadside, it was reported on October 27. The Ukrainian peacekeepers' health condition was reported as satisfactory. Under a resolution by the president of Ukraine, the Ukrainian national peacekeeping con-

tingent in Iraq will be withdrawn by the end of 2005 – between December 20 and 30. The withdrawal plan has been adjusted after consultation with all parties. (Ukrinform)

Antonov aircraft highly appraised by U.S.

KYIV – A delegation from the U.S. Department of Defense recently visited the Antonov aircraft design bureau to familiarize itself with the bureau's operations and the capabilities of its Antonov airplanes, it was reported on October 27. Members of the delegation inspected the AN-225 Mria airplane, which has the world's largest cargo capacity of 250 tons, the AN-124-100 Ruslan airplane, the AN-70 military transport airplane, and the AN-148 regional jet. The successful use of Antonov airplanes in NATO operations was particularly stressed. An AN-124-100 Ruslan airplane was recently used to transport equipment and humanitarian cargo to Pakistan following the recent earthquake in the country. NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer also spoke about cooperation with Antonov during a recent official visit to Ukraine. (Ukrinform)

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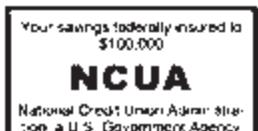
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St. Nicholas...

(Continued from page 17)

year.

"The celebration will culminate in a banquet to be held November 4, 2006, at Navy Pier," announced Nestor Popowych, chairman of the Centennial Committee. "On November 5, [2006] we will host a hierarchical divine liturgy celebrated by our metropolitan, cardinals, archbishops, bishops and clergy. In anticipation of the next century, we call on St. Nicholas parishioners, present and former students of St. Nicholas School, Ukrainian Village residents, and all who have been sheltered and safeguarded in the shadow of this magnificent sanctuary to 'Reflect, Renew and Commit.' Come join our festivities, witness the pageantry and help define our work for the next 100 years."

St. Nicholas Parish was founded at a meeting held at 939 Robie (now Damen Avenue) on December 31, 1905, at which several families recently arrived from western Ukraine agreed to form a parish and purchase a church. They found a small wooden church at Superior and

Bikerdicke (now Armour), which was for sale for \$8,000. Combining their savings and mortgaging their homes, they purchased the church and celebrated their first service the following month.

Within eight years they had outgrown the small structure and began planning the building of a grand and monumental church more representative of their Byzantine rite. They chose as the model for their new church the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, an icon of Byzantine architecture.

The current St. Nicholas Cathedral, completed by 1915, stands as a beacon in the Ukrainian Village in Chicago. It is a church where thousands of Ukrainian immigrants and Ukrainian Americans were baptized, attended school, had their first holy communion, were married and held funerals for loved ones.

The Centennial Committee has invited the Ukrainian community throughout the Chicago area and all the neighbors of St. Nicholas Cathedral to participate in the celebrations. For more information on centennial events and volunteer and donor opportunities throughout the year, readers may log on to www.stnicholas-cathedralukrcath.org.

2005 Ukrainian Famine...

(Continued from page 9)

was a general move from settlements to penal camps.

During World War II families were freed from the settlements if any member went into the army. At the end of the war there were 600,000 persons in the settlements and, as restrictions were eased, by 1947 some 230,000 settlers remained. However, the settlements were replenished by new groups – the deported nationalities accused of collaboration

during the war.

Prof. Viola called this story of the "other archipelago" a prehistory of the Great Famine and the first stage of the repression of the Ukrainian peasantry.

During the question period, Prof. Olga Andriewsky of Trent University asked about the political character of the deportations as most of them were from areas that were historically the most resistant to tsarist, and later Soviet, rule. Prof. Viola acknowledged that, in addition to ideological and economic considerations, politics did indeed play a role in the deportations.

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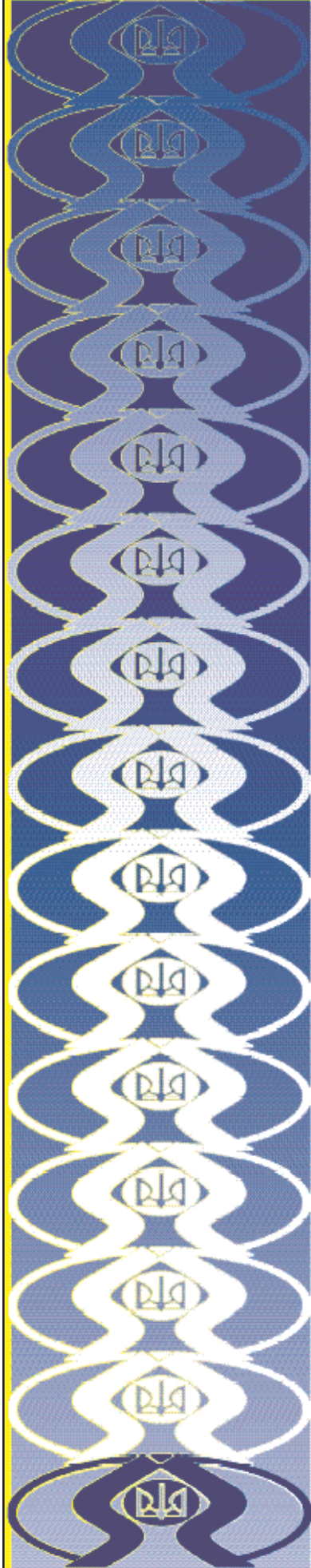
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72nd anniversary...

(Continued from page 1)

position to attract U.S. and worldwide attention to this awful tragedy of the Ukrainian people."

President George Bush also sent a message to the annual commemorative event, which was read by the UCCA president.

Mr. Sawkiw also informed those gathering that the House of Representatives had unanimously approved a bill authorizing the construction of a monument to the victims of the Ukrainian Genocide on federal land in the District of Columbia. The memorial is to be constructed by 2008 – the 75th anniversary of the Famine-Genocide.

He then proceeded to read excerpts of remarks by Rep. Sander Levin (D-Mich.), co-chair of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, and sponsor of the bill authorizing the memorial's construction. "This legislation is important for all of humanity," stated Rep. Levin in remarks in the House. "It is very important to the 1.5 million Ukrainian Americans ... it has special meaning to the people of Ukraine who have embarked on a courageous effort to build a free, democratic, open society, and indeed to all of us who value freedom."

Of particular interest were remarks delivered by Nigel Colley, grandnephew of Gareth Jones, a Welsh journalist who exposed the true nature of the genocidal Famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933. "To the list of the millions of Ukrainian peasants who lost their lives due to Stalin's man-

made Famine," Mr. Colley stated, "the name of the only Welshman, my great uncle, Gareth Jones, should perhaps now be added." He noted that newly discovered evidence at the British Public Records Office "points the finger of blame for Gareth's murder in 1935 in the direction of Moscow, quite probably in retribution for his international exposure of the Holodomor."

Mr. Colley said Jones' only crime was his "dogged pursuit of truth." Mr. Colley recounted Jones' travels throughout Ukraine and how he had witnessed and documented the genocide being perpetrated against the people of Ukraine.

Mayor Michael Bloomberg of New York issued an executive proclamation in remembrance of the victims of the Ukrainian Genocide. Excerpts from the text were read by Mr. Sawkiw.

Bishop Losten concluded the commemorative ceremony by thanking all the participants and expressing his hope that the world will never forget about the horrors the Ukrainian nation suffered because of who they were.

"A Prayer for Ukraine" was sung by the Dumka Chorus to conclude the program.



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Ми вдячні Всім за молитви за нашу подругу Орису, а також Всім численним жертводавцям на цей Фонд.

Всім наше сердечне пластове „Дякую“.

С К О Б

Провід Племени та Фонду

Amnesia...

(Continued from page 7)

itself morally and physically. There are many examples of it. Thank God we were able to weaken the choking "hand of Moscow" on our neck for at least a centimeter and that Ukraine is perhaps the single example of real and unique democracy in the world. This country is still young, it cannot be brilliantly manipulated, nobody knows what to do with it and it has caused icy shock and confusion. All the same, it is a step forward and not a swampy existence.

And a return to the past won't happen. We are moving forward with mistakes, discontent, pain, surrounded by thorns that are tearing our hearts to the blood. Only in due course will we rethink our past, repent and honor those who loved their homeland and gave their lives for it during Soviet times. It is a shame that this hasn't happened yet, that my compatriots still say there was no Famine in 1932-1933. Well, what can be said of other countries recognizing it then?

This country has just started a transformation from a mirage to a real state – free and independent. To declare into infinite vastness "No more lies!" is no joke. It demands an answer. Those who think that they have outwitted circumstances, that everything is past and they won't be called to account are making a big mistake. Life will make them answer. And, of course, I feel sorry for these immature politicians – even more so for the immature people who erased from memory the eyes of thousands of citizens who protected the truth, risking everything they had.

These immature ones are playing games now, compromising with criminals, selling their consciences and the well-being of Ukrainian children for the sake of the illusory "control of the situation," influence and buckets of black caviar every month. I want to tell them, "You are sick." They will never attain the human greatness of an 80-year-old babusia [elderly woman] who could barely walk amidst the crowd of people to the Central Election Committee on November 22.



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Soyuzivka's Datebook

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| December 4, 2005
Selfreliance NY Credit Union,
St. Andrew's Eve Luncheon | January 1, 2006
New Year's Day Brunch, 10 a.m.-1 p.m.,
\$14 per person |
| December 9, 2005
UNWLA Branch 95 Christmas Party | January 6, 2006
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve
Supper, 6 p.m., \$25 per person,
overnight packages available |
| December 10, 2005
UNA Employee Christmas Party | January 27-29, 2006
Church of Annunciation Family
Weekend, Flushing, N.Y. |
| December 23, 2005
Jeremiah Flaherty Law Office
Christmas Party | January 28, 2006
2006 Ukrainian Engineer's Malanka |
| December 24, 2005
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve
Supper, 6 p.m., \$25 per person,
overnight packages available | February 10-12, 2006
Valentine's Day Weekend |
| December 24-27, 2005
Skoczylas Christmas Family Reunion | March 3-5, 2006
Plast Kurin "Khmelnynchenky"
Annual Winter Rada |
| December 31-January 1, 2006
New Year's Eve Extravaganza Package | |



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The Weekly	December 18	December 9
Svoboda	December 16	December 9
The Weekly	January 1	December 23
Svoboda	December 30	December 23

1/16 page – \$35; 1/8 page – \$50; 1/4 page – \$100;
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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Monday, November 28

CHICAGO: The 14th annual Friends of Radiology in Ukraine (FRU) meeting will be held at 11:30 a.m.- 1:30 p.m. at the Lakeside Center, Level 2, Room E-259 during the 91st Scientific Assembly and Annual Meeting of the Radiological Society of North America (RSNA 2005). Friends is a non-profit global association of professionals in radiology that seeks to promote the advancement of radiological sciences in Ukraine. It supports radiology publications, including the Ukrainian Journal of Radiology, textbooks, dictionaries and international CME conferences in the Ukrainian language. FRU works in partnership with the Association of Radiologists of Ukraine (ARU). Ukrainian faculty invited to the meeting includes ARU President Volodymyr Medvediev, M.D.; Vice-President Volodymyr Rohozhyn, M.D.; Director of the Radiological Center of the Academy of Medical Sciences of Ukraine and General Secretary Iryna Dykan, M.D. Ongoing collaborative efforts between Ukrainian and Western radiologists to advance radiology education in Ukraine will be discussed. That same evening, FRU will hold its "Thanksgiving social get-together" – an annual tradition slated to take place at 7 p.m. at the Iberico Restaurant, 739 N. LaSalle St. (www.cafeiberico.com). For additional information e-mail baranetsky@pol.net.

Thursday, December 1

NEW YORK: Ukrainian poet Oleksander Irvanets from Rivne – one of the founders of the popular literary performance group "Bu-Ba-Bu" (Burlesque-Bluster-Boffoonery) – will give a talk about contemporary Ukrainian culture and literature at Columbia University. The ensuing discussion will be moderated by Dr. Yuri Shevchuk, lecturer of Ukrainian language and culture at Columbia. Time: 7 p.m. Venue: Room 1219, International Affairs Building, 420 W. 118th St. For more information contact ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu or (212) 854-4697.

Thursday, December 8

NEW YORK: Celebrate the holiday season with the Ukrainian Film Club of Columbia University, which will show the Soviet classic "Eve Before Christmas or Nights in the Village of Dykanka" (director, Aleksandr Rou, 1961), a full-length feature film based on the writings of Gogol. The film takes place in the 18th century near the Ukrainian village of Dykanka, where a blacksmith, Vakula, falls in love with a beautiful woman, Oksana, who will only marry him if he fulfills the impossible task of bringing her the tsarina's shoes. Vakula's adventures begin on Christmas Eve, turning his habitual rural life magical. The film will be shown in its original Russian/Ukrainian version with English subtitles at 7:30 p.m. in Room 614, Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University. Introductory remarks will be by Dr. Yuri Shevchuk, director, Ukrainian Film Club; discussion will follow the screening. Ukrainian food and drinks will be served. For more information contact Diana Howansky, (212) 854 4697, or ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu.

Saturday, December 10

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) invites the public to a commemorative program dedicated to the memory of Dr. Ivan Rakovsky (1874-1949), first president of NTSh in the United States, and Dr. Oleh Romaniv (1928-2005), the recently deceased president of NTSh in Ukraine. The program will include a presentation of the recently published book "Ivan Rakovsky" by Ivan Holovatsky, to be followed by an evening of reminiscences about Dr. Romaniv. The program 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.

WINNIPEG: A photo-journalism exhibition by Ruslan Tracz titled, "Voices of a Nation: Inside the Orange Revolution"

opens December 10 at the Outworks Gallery, 290 McDermot, third floor. The exhibition features a selection of photographs taken from September 2004 to January 2005, highlighting the historic events that unfolded in Ukraine. A Winnipeg freelance photo-journalist, Mr. Tracz was working at the Kyiv Post, Ukraine's largest English-language newspaper, when the Orange Revolution broke out. He was a correspondent for the Winnipeg Free Press throughout the Orange Revolution and wrote also for The Guardian and The Ukrainian Weekly. The exhibition will be on view through December 20. The project was funded in part by the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko and the Canada-Ukraine Foundation. For additional information contact Mr. Tracz at rtracz@gmail.com.

Sunday, December 11

PHILADELPHIA: The Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM) invites the public to attend a fun-filled traditional annual Christmas bazaar and meeting with St. Nicholas, which will take place in the church hall of the Annunciation Ukrainian Catholic Church at Old York Road and Cheltenham Avenue in Melrose Park at 9:30 a.m. Throughout the day, there will be plenty of delicious food for breakfast and lunch, hot and cold drinks, games and entertainment for children, a "Wheel of Fortune" and a "Basket of Cheer" for adults, many interesting items for sale, including Christmas cards, the traditional Christmas "kutia," poppyseeds, books and more. St. Nicholas will pay a visit at 2:30 p.m. The heavenly office will be open from 1 p.m. For more information contact Michi Wyrsta, (215) 379-2676.

YONKERS, N.Y.: A holiday art exhibit and Christmas bazaar, sponsored by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Branch 30, will be held at St. Michael Ukrainian Catholic Church, 21 Shonnard Place, at 9 a.m.-1 p.m. Come see and buy some great gifts for Christmas. Artists whose work will be on sale include Mykhaylo Barabash, Olia Basarab-Kolodij, Ducia Hanushevska, Edward and Jerome Kozak, Myron and Maria Bokalo, as well as the Kvitka Music Co. Purchase quality glass and oil paintings, graphic art, lithographs, Trypillian and Hutsul ceramics, car decals, folk art (embroidery, gerdany, ceramic jewelry, wood carvings), music CDs and videos, Christmas cards and more. Enjoy coffee and Danish pastries with friends. For more information, contact Olia Rudyk, (914) 762-6514, Monday-Saturday, or e-mail paniolia@hotmail.com.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Saturday, December 31

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA) and the Ukrainian Professionals at the Institute present "New Year's Eve at the Institute" to be held at 2. E. 79th St., at 9 p.m.-4 a.m. Welcome 2006 at this elegant evening, with dancing to the music of Luna, and a silent auction benefiting the Ukrainian Children's Aid and Relief Effort and the UIA. Admission price includes a buffet, open bar and a midnight champagne toast. Dress: black tie. Capacity is limited, and guests are encouraged to purchase tickets early. Tickets: \$125, members; \$150, non-members; \$100, students. After December 7, the ticket prices increase \$25. For tickets and additional information call (212) 288-8660.

HORSHAM, Pa.: The Tryzub Ukrainian American Sports Center, County Line and Lower State roads, in Horsham, Pa., invites the public to its New Year's Eve Extravaganza. As part of the festivities, there will be a two-hour cocktail party, beginning at 7:30 p.m., with a select open bar, live Latin guitar music and an elegant selection of gourmet foods and desserts catered by Coleen's of Center City Philadelphia. Guests will dance the old year away to the music of the popular Fata Morgana band. There will be a midnight

(Continued on page 19)