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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Billionaire Pinchuk promotes Ukraine's membership in EU

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

YALTA, Ukraine – To learn that Viktor Pinchuk is among Ukraine's biggest advocates for European Union (EU) membership may come as a surprise, considering he worked against the Orange Revolution.

Yet, for the past three years, the billionaire magnate has hosted and footed much of the bill for the lavish Yalta European Strategy (YES) conference, inviting leaders and experts from the world over to brainstorm over Ukraine's Westward progress.

Mr. Pinchuk tells reporters he is driven by the desire to see Ukraine assimilate European values and standards.

"I am not sure that Ukraine will be an EU member in 10 or 15 years," he said. "But we need these reforms – democracy, a market economy and rule of law."

Herein lies his deeper motivation – his vast industrial empire stands to benefit

from enormous gains as a result of such reforms and closer ties to Europe.

Interpipe Corp. is among the world's largest pipe producers, having secured 4 percent of the world's seamless pipe market, 10 percent of the global market in railway wheels and 11 percent of the manganese ferroalloys market, according to company information.

While he sells the majority of his pipes to former Soviet states, Mr. Pinchuk wants to sell more on the European market, where Interpipe currently sells about 20 percent of its product, said Andrii Gostik, an analyst at the Kyiv-based Concorde Capital investment bank. Interpipe has already established offices in Switzerland.

"Europe is a high-end market, and Interpipe's share is less than it could potentially be," Mr. Gostik said. Mr. Pinchuk's ability to sell more in Europe is limited by trade barriers established by

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As political crisis continues in Ukraine, Yushchenko convenes roundtable meeting

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – With his country mired in a political crisis, President Viktor Yushchenko invited the leaders of Ukraine's five parliamentary factions to find a way out during a roundtable meeting held on July 27 at the Presidential Secretariat.

As their solution, both Mr. Yushchenko and acting Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov proposed creating a new coalition government, raising the possibility that Our Ukraine may unite with the Party of the Regions and the Socialist Party of Ukraine.

"I am convinced that a moment of truth arrives in a nation's political life," Mr. Yushchenko told his colleagues. "Now's the time to make a decision."

The Ukrainian president called upon the five leaders of the Parliament's factions to put aside their differences and personal ambitions, and unite for the

sake of Ukraine by signing a government manifesto.

"We should unite around ensuring national sovereignty, integrity of our borders and territory, embodiment of economic transformation, guaranteeing all democratic rights and freedoms that were achieved," he stated.

Verkhovna Rada Chairman and Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz said during the roundtable that he also favors a broad coalition that includes his party.

Earlier that day, Our Ukraine leaders Roman Bezsmertnyi and Petro Poroshenko began negotiations with the Party of the Regions, while Mr. Yushchenko met individually with Yulia Tymoshenko of the eponymous bloc.

The nationally televised roundtable discussions revealed that the Orange Revolution's leaders still are failing to find common ground.

Ms. Tymoshenko, who also heads her bloc's parliamentary faction, rejected signing any manifesto that involved all five factions, calling such a union "exotic" and stating that she remains unconvinced it would do any good.

Instead, she maintained her stance that President Yushchenko should dismiss the Verkhovna Rada and that the Tymoshenko and Our Ukraine blocs should unite to run in pre-term elections.

Ms. Tymoshenko rejects any coalition with the Party of the Regions.

"We won't enter any broad coalition under any conditions," she said. "I am against business becoming politics, and definitively against politics becoming business."

Mr. Yushchenko said he's still keeping on the table the option of dismissing Parliament but he's reluctant to do so because he admits it could result in an even worse conflict in society.

The participants in the televised roundtable also included Mr. Bezsmertnyi of Our Ukraine, Petro Symonenko of the Communist Party and Viktor Yanukovich of the Party of the Regions.

In an attempt to buy time, Mr. Yushchenko said he would wait until August 2 to make a decision on Anti-Crisis Coalition's nomination of Mr. Yanukovich as prime minister and hold negotiations in the meantime.

He also said he would not compromise on the right to select the ministers of internal affairs, defense and foreign affairs, the procurator general and the chair of the Security Service of Ukraine.

While Mr. Yushchenko continued to weigh his options, the tensions between the Russian-leaning Party of the Regions and the pro-Western Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc intensified as thousands of their

(Continued on page 8)

Ukrainian American credit unions hold 25th anniversary conference

by Walter Tun

WASHINGTON – During the last few decades the Ukrainian American community has created a powerful financial voice: the Ukrainian American credit union movement. Ukrainian credit unions were chartered in the United States beginning in the 1950s and now hold over \$2 billion dollars in assets. Membership exceeds 100,000 Ukrainian Americans who support their community while benefiting financially from credit union services. From an economic point of view, the community's credit unions present a strong united voice and are the financial backbone of the diaspora.

Beginning on June 26, the presidents, directors and CEOs from 17 credit unions held their 25th anniversary technical conference and annual meeting in Washington. The Ukrainian National Credit Union Association (UNCUA) and its chairman, Bohdan Watral, organized this year's conference to exchange ideas and plans for the Ukrainian American credit union movement. UNCUA President and conference organizer Orysia Burdiak added a visit to the credit union-owned Credit Union House and to the Ukrainian Embassy.

At the three-day conference, Chairman Watral presented an overview of the Ukrainian American credit union move-

ment, and introduced speakers from the U.S. government and Congress, as well as representatives from nationwide credit union associations.

Former Florida Congressman and President of the Credit Union National Association (CUNA) Dan Mica enthusiastically greeted attendees. Mr. Mica extended encouragement and the cooperation of his association, and offered the use of the strategically located Credit Union House as a base for use in addressing Ukrainian-related credit union issues while in Washington.

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Participants of the Ukrainian National Credit Union Association's 25th anniversary conference in Washington.

ANALYSIS

Will Yushchenko dissolve Parliament?

RFE/RL Newsroom
July 26

On July 25, Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko faces a critical decision – whether to dissolve the country's Parliament. The deadline comes almost four months to the day after the Verkhovna Rada was first elected. In the interim, the legislature has been hamstrung by political infighting and power plays that have left the country without a government – and without an Orange coalition that would lead Ukraine toward deeper integration with the West.

Mr. Yushchenko has several options at his disposal, and none are particularly pleasant.

As president, Mr. Yushchenko has the constitutional prerogative to dismiss Parliament on July 25 – 60 days after the resignation of the previous Cabinet.

Such a move would break the political deadlock that has paralyzed Parliament since elections were held on March 26.

But it's an unappealing option for Mr. Yushchenko. Polls indicate his Our Ukraine bloc would see its numbers drop even lower than the 13 percent of the vote it took in its third-place finish in March.

Speaking on July 22 in his weekly radio address, President Yushchenko appeared to indicate he would not opt to throw out the Parliament. He was ready, he said, to cooperate with the Verkhovna Rada "for the sake of the country's stability and development."

"The new government will be given an important and difficult task," Mr. Yushchenko said. "It has to keep up the pace of economic development and advance the living standards of our citi-

zens. This can only be achieved by hard work, and only a team of professionals will be able to handle this task. This team should be headed by a person who can give up narrow partisan interests and take responsibility for the country's economic development. I hope for the wisdom of Ukrainian politicians."

The president may also be hoping for a situation that leaves at least some of his political clout intact. He faces unpalatable options even if he chooses to leave the current Parliament in place.

One would be for him to go into the opposition against the so-called Anti-Crisis Coalition led by the pro-Russia Party of the Regions of his political archrival, Viktor Yanukovich. This would leave President Yushchenko largely marginalized by a Parliament with newly enhanced constitutional powers.

Lastly, Mr. Yushchenko could agree to a grand coalition that would ally Our Ukraine with the Party of the Regions. It's a political partnership that was unthinkable two years ago, when the Orange Revolution carried Mr. Yushchenko to victory over a disgraced and discredited Mr. Yanukovich.

Such a decision would ensure a place for Our Ukraine in the new Cabinet. But it would be the final blow for many Orange Revolution supporters who have seen their dreams of Western integration sink alongside President Yushchenko's popularity.

One major player in Ukraine's parliamentary drama is pushing for the president to dissolve the Verkhovna Rada – Yulia Tymoshenko, Mr. Yushchenko's former

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Poland disappointed in Ukraine, but won't give up on its neighbor

RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova Report
July 26

Among the countries looking with greatest dismay at the political chaos in Kyiv is Poland, with its strong cultural and historical ties to Ukraine. Polish officials have actively sought to bring Kyiv into the Western fold since Warsaw joined NATO in 1999 and the European Union in 2004. The ongoing parliamentary impasse in Ukraine has alarmed many in Poland, who see it as a shift away from the promise of the Orange Revolution. Eugeniusz Smolar, the president of the Center for International Relations in Warsaw, spoke to RFE/RL about Poland's perspective on Ukraine's political struggle.

Over the past four months, we have watched Ukraine try, but fail, to form a coalition uniting the allies of the Orange Revolution. This was no doubt a very disappointing development for many in Poland.

Poland has never tried to suggest to Ukraine how they should solve their own problems. However, of course, as democrats and those who have fought for democracy in the past, we have our own preferences. And, of course, the preference for many, many people here who feel very warmly about Ukraine, who feel very passionate about it, is for the Orange Revolution camp to form a government.

For many people here who do not have the opportunity to follow Ukrainian events on a day-to-day basis, [the failure to create an Orange coalition] is quite a

shock, and many people can't understand why it didn't happen.

How do you explain this protracted political impasse?

To many of us, it seems that too much politics based on personality clashes, rather than programmatic differences, is actually occurring. So if you ask what we think about it, we think it's very bad, we are shocked, we don't understand the situation. We feel that some of the personalities are pushing their line very strongly, maybe even too strongly. And some other actors who should be very active, including President Viktor Yushchenko, are not doing their job properly. Full stop.

Polish officials have continued to express support for Ukraine's integration into the European Union and NATO. Former President Aleksander Kwasniewski was in Kyiv as recently as last week attempting to mediate discussions, but said he emerged "pessimistic" about the fate of the Ukrainian government. In Poland's view, can a working government emerge from the chaos in Ukraine?

Kwasniewski has the political and moral authority to get involved. He knows all the personalities. I know he talked to each and every one of them, to all the major actors. He tried to persuade them to get some kind of a working agreement. But at the end of the day, Poland, as a

(Continued on page 19)

NEWSBRIEFS**President has 15 days to ponder PM**

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko said in a radio address to the nation on July 22 that, in accordance with the constitution, he has 15 days to consider the motion of the parliamentary coalition of the Party of the Regions, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party to submit a candidate for the post of prime minister for parliamentary approval. The candidacy of Viktor Yanukovich for this post was officially submitted by the coalition to President Yushchenko on July 18. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yushchenko hails Rada's return to work

KYIV – Ukrainian President Yushchenko on July 19 praised the Verkhovna Rada for resuming its work, Interfax reported the same day, according to presidential spokeswoman Iryna Heraschenko. "President Yushchenko welcomes the fact that lawmakers respect the Ukrainian Constitution and have announced the formation of a new coalition in accordance with the procedural rules," she said. Ms. Heraschenko confirmed that the Presidential Secretariat on July 18 received the anti-crisis coalition's submission of the name of Party of the Regions Chairman Viktor Yanukovich as its candidate for prime minister, adding that the president will consider it within 15 days. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Tymoshenko bloc deputies to leave Rada

KYIV – Yulia Tymoshenko, head of the eponymous political bloc, told journalists in Kyiv on July 24 that 125 deputies have signed a declaration to leave her bloc's parliamentary caucus, Ukrainian media reported. The Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (YTB) has also adopted an appeal to lawmakers from the pro-presidential Our Ukraine to make a similar move and give up their parliamentary seats. Ms. Tymoshenko argues that, under a constitutional provision, if more than 150 lawmakers abandon the 450-seat Verkhovna Rada, the president would have the right to dissolve Parliament and call for new elections. In this way, the YTB hopes to prevent the Anti-Crisis Coalition recently

forged by the Party of the Regions, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party from forming a government in Ukraine. The YTB has 129 parliamentary mandates and Our Ukraine 81. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Moroz cautions against disbanding Rada

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Moroz on July 24 warned President Viktor Yushchenko against dissolving the Parliament, claiming that lawmakers would not comply with such a move, Interfax-Ukraine reported. "Let's remember Russia in 1993, when hundreds of people died as a result of political intrigues," Mr. Moroz said in a televised address to the public. "It was a shame for the state. ... Disbanding the [Ukrainian] Parliament would lead to a civil conflict, and this would be an unpardonable tragedy, for which someone would have to be held accountable." On July 25, the Verkhovna Rada passed a resolution to convene a special parliamentary session later the same day on the political situation in the country, with President Yushchenko in attendance. Beginning on July 25, Mr. Yushchenko has the power to disband the legislature elected on March 26, as lawmakers failed to comply with a constitutional provision obliging them to form a new Cabinet within 60 days of the previous government's resignation. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Will coalition pay off deputies?

KYIV – Yulia Tymoshenko, leader of the eponymous bloc in the Verkhovna Rada, said on July 20 that the Anti-Crisis Coalition intends to expand its support to the 300-vote constitutional majority by paying off lawmakers, Interfax reported. Ms. Tymoshenko suggested that lawmakers have been offered millions of dollars to join the coalition comprising the Party of the Regions, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. The coalition needs a constitutional majority in order to complete a reform that would transfer presidential powers to the prime minister, Ms. Tymoshenko said, adding that the coalition also plans to form its "own" Constitutional Court. "I'm convinced that the president will not surrender the

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Postmaster, send address changes to: **Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz**
The Ukrainian Weekly **Editors:**
2200 Route 10 **Zenon Zawada (Kyiv)**
P.O. Box 280 **Matthew Dubas**
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The Ukrainian Weekly Archive: www.ukrweekly.com; e-mail: staff@ukrweekly.com

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| | |
|--|---|
| Walter Honcharyk, administrator | (973) 292-9800, ext. 3041 ukradmin@att.net |
| Maria Oscislowski, advertising manager | (973) 292-9800, ext. 3040 adsukrpubl@att.net |
| Mariyka Pendzola, subscriptions | (973) 292-9800, ext. 3042 ukrsubscr@att.net |

Film distributors note success of Ukrainian-language "Cars"

by Yana Sedova

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV – With the debut of "Cars" in Ukraine, the nation's film industry discovered that the Ukrainian language can be more profitable than Russian – a notion once unfathomable among its executives.

The Disney film not only became the first full-length foreign movie dubbed into the Ukrainian language, but also covered all production costs and got higher-than-expected box office returns, raking in 30 percent more profit than its Russian-language twin.

"Our (profit) expectations were about \$350,000 for the Ukrainian version, however it earned \$500,000," said Bohdan Batrukh, the general manager of B&H Distribution Co., the Kyiv-based company that distributed "Cars."

Even the Russian-language inhabitants of eastern Ukraine preferred the Ukrainian version of the film.

In Donetsk for example, the average number of viewers that saw the Ukrainian-version of "Cars" at a particular showing was 37, compared with 32 viewers who viewed a Russian-language screening.

The success arrived despite unfavorable conditions for the Ukrainian-language version, in which the film was shown primarily in the mornings and afternoons.

"Many of my friends didn't have the possibility to see 'Cars' in Ukrainian because of this schedule," said Oleksa Sanin, a well-known Ukrainian director whose two daughters, 7-year-old Ivanka and 4-year-old Sasha, became passionate fans of the film.

As is the case with many Ukrainian children now, the girls can easily identify models of cars, quote funny expressions of their favorite characters and collect merchandise.

"Cars" proved that films dubbed in Ukrainian are competitive, said Viacheslav Kyrylenko, Ukraine's vice prime minister for humanitarian affairs, who initiated a government resolution establishing Ukrainian-language dubbing quotas for foreign films.

The cartoon's success is expected to lift the sails for the next summer blockbuster that has already reached Ukraine's shores.

"Pirates of the Caribbean – Dead Man's Chest" started its voyage in Ukrainian theaters on July 13 and became the first film with real-life actors dubbed into Ukrainian.

It also features the voices of well-known Ukrainian actors, including the father-and-son acting team of Bohdan and Ostap Stupka, who handled the roles of pirate Bill and rebellious son Will Turner, respectively.

Pirate captain Jack Sparrow (Johnny Depp) also kids around in the Ukrainian language thanks to Fagot, leader of

Ukrainian hip hop group, "Tanok na Maidani Congo."

About 55 percent of the "Pirates" versions distributed nationally are in Ukrainian, and 45 percent in Russian.

"Cars" showed that we need more Ukrainian versions," Mr. Batrukh said. "However, we cannot ignore commercial rules and everything will depend on the viewers now. We hope this trend [towards increasing Ukrainian-language versions] will continue."

He expects "Pirates" sales will easily cover the estimated \$50,000 cost of Ukrainian dubbing.

B&H Distribution Co. plans to dub ten more fiction films into the Ukrainian language by the year's end, he said.

The company has been working with two Kyiv-based companies that have technical equipment for high-quality dubbing – Lema Studio and Pteproduction Studio.

It's realistic to expect that in a year's time, every full-length movie released in Ukraine will be dubbed in both the Ukrainian and Russian languages, Mr. Batrukh said, which wasn't the case until this summer.

"The number of copies in each language will reflect the percentage of those ethnic groups that declare themselves as Russian- or Ukrainian-language speakers," he said.

Not everyone is sold on Ukrainian dubbing, however.

Prior to the release of "Cars," many pessimists among local distributors argued that viewers don't want to see movies in Ukrainian because they have gotten used to the Russian language.

Mykhailo Sokolov, president of the Association for Ukrainian Cinema Promotion, even addressed Mr. Kyrylenko directly and demanded that he revoke the government's decision establishing Ukrainian-language dubbing quotas.

Mr. Sokolov and the Association sued the Cabinet of Ministers in April, asserting that its decision violates the Constitution of Ukraine, which protects the free use of the Russian language and languages of all national minorities in Ukraine.

Now distributors will think twice, considering each distributed Ukrainian-language copy of "Cars" earned 50 cents more than its Russian-language counterpart.

"Those guys in Odesa who didn't take 'Cars' in Ukrainian on principle now took copies of 'Pirates' in Ukrainian," Mr. Batrukh said.

Odesa theaters were the only ones in Ukraine to outrightly reject the Ukrainian version, which was accepted even in Symferopol.

"And the guy who sued the Cabinet of Ministers – he actually owns one or two theaters and even asked us for a copy," Mr. Batrukh said. "So he also surrendered."

UKRAINE CRISIS: Sources, outcomes and potential ways forward

by Taras Kuzio

PART I

Executive summary

Ukraine is in the second year of an Orange administration following the inauguration of President Viktor Yushchenko in January 2005. President Yushchenko came to power on the back of the Orange Revolution – the third democratic revolution in a post-Communist state.

Ukraine's Orange administration fell into crisis in September 2005 and has been unable to reunite since that time. Negotiations to rebuild an Orange parliamentary coalition took place over three months following the March 2006 parliamentary elections. The resultant Orange coalition disintegrated before proposing its government following the defection of the smallest of the three political parties that created the coalition. Since the collapse of the Orange coalition, Ukraine is in the midst of a "crisis of constitutional reform," according to the acting secretary of the National Security and Defense

Council (NSDC), Volodymyr Horbulin. The head of the Presidential Secretariat, Oleh Rybachuk, also believes that Ukraine has slipped "into a political and constitutional crisis."

Ukraine's crisis of summer 2006 has the potential to lead to further instability, conflict and the downfall of President Yushchenko.

A revived Orange coalition would have been achievable following the March 2006 elections if President Yushchenko and Our Ukraine had accepted its results by acknowledging the right of Yulia Tymoshenko to become prime minister. Subsequent events showed that they were not willing to accept Ms. Tymoshenko's return to the position of prime minister. The summer 2006 crisis signals that hopes for a revived Orange coalition are no longer realistic.

Thus, the Orange Revolution is over before it even began. The Orange coalition lasted nine months in 2005 and has been unable to reunite since then. These divisions in the Orange coalition deepened during the seven months prior to the parliamentary elections in March. The three months of coalition negotiations since the elections were convincing proof that the Orange coalition cannot be put back together. During the negotiations, OU showed itself to be unwilling to enter a coalition where Ms. Tymoshenko would be prime minister. After three months of coalition negotiations, the Socialist Party defected to the Party of the Regions of Ukraine.

With the defection of the SPU and the ensuing crisis, a revived Orange coalition is no longer feasible and would not extract Ukraine from its deepening crisis. Following three months of simultaneous negotiations by Our Ukraine (OU) with both the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (YTB) and the Party of the Regions of Ukraine (PRU), it is clear that OU will not support Ms. Tymoshenko as prime minister. The defection of the Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU) from the Orange coalition leaves the YTB and OU with 210

deputies combined – not enough to create a parliamentary coalition.

The Anti-Crisis Coalition also is unfeasible because it includes the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) and proposes PRU leader Viktor Yanukovich as prime minister. The Anti-Crisis Coalition would return Ukraine to the parliamentary-executive conflict prior to the adoption of the 1996 Constitution of Ukraine and be perceived inside and outside of Ukraine as a step backwards from the pursuit of further reform and the democratic gains of the Orange Revolution.

A second Orange Revolution will not take place. Democratic revolutions, as in Serbia, Georgia and Ukraine, took place during election campaigns and at the end of the terms of unpopular and odious leaders. After 18 months of the Yushchenko administration, Ukrainians are turned off by politics, disillusioned and feel "betrayed" by their leaders.

The 2006 protests in Kyiv resemble the "Ukraine Without Kuchma" protests of 2000-2001, rather than the 2004 Orange Revolution, with Kyivites largely indifferent and protesters comprising mainly young people and western Ukrainians. OU is not backing the current protests, just as it did not back the Ukraine Without Kuchma protests. The current protests have the backing of the YTB and the Pora (It's Time) youth NGO and political party, but not the SPU, which backed the Ukraine Without Kuchma protests. The PRU failed to successfully counter-mobilize against the Orange Revolution but has mobilized its supporters during the current crisis, increasing the possibility of inter-regional and inter-party conflict.

With an Orange coalition no longer feasible, there are only two ways out of the summer 2006 crisis:

- A grand coalition of the PRU and OU: A grand coalition, which would encompass 261 deputies, could also include the SPU, although OU may be opposed to its inclusion following the "betrayal" by SPU leader Oleksander

Moroz. A grand coalition would need to find a compromise prime minister acceptable to the PRU and OU, and a working relationship with President Yushchenko. A grand coalition would reduce inter-regional tension and facilitate mutual compromise over contentious issues (i.e., the status of the Russian language and NATO, in exchange for no re-privatization, security of property rights and amnesty for election fraud). If a grand coalition proved successful, Ukraine's Parliament and political system could gradually evolve toward a two-party system with a center-right (PRU+OU) and center-left (the YTB having incorporated the SPU).

- Early parliamentary elections: President Yushchenko would entertain this step as a last resort as it would merely reinforce regional divisions and increase support for the two polarized parties in the Verkhovna Rada – the PRU and the YTB. The PRU could increase its current 186 deputies to close to half of the deputies (225), thereby giving it fewer incentives to compromise by launching a parliamentary coalition alone. President Yushchenko could be deprived of his own political force in Parliament if OU were to lose significant support to the YTB. Early parliamentary elections could also have unforeseen consequences by leading to early presidential elections.

The formation of a grand coalition and government should be undertaken simultaneously with three other steps:

- the swearing in by Parliament of Constitutional Court judges, thereby making the Constitutional Court a functioning institution;
- the replacement of Oleh Rybachuk and the reorganization of the Presidential Secretariat to provide effective back-up for President Yushchenko (neither Oleksander Zinchenko nor Mr. Rybachuk have provided President Yushchenko with the required support);
- selection of a secretary of the National Security and Defense Council

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Dr. Taras Kuzio, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshal Fund, and adjunct professor, Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies at the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University, is president of Kuzio Associates.

Kuzio Associates is an independent political-economic consultancy and government communications group with offices in Washington and Kyiv. Kuzio Associates draws upon two decades of expertise by its president, an internationally recognized authority on Ukraine, Central-Eastern Europe and the CIS. Kuzio Associates provides strategic advice to political clients on government relations and strategy, due diligence on Ukrainian companies and investment climate and opportunities in Ukraine.

The article above is an edited version of the analysis published in issue No. 1, 2006, of Ukraine Strategic Insider.

Quotable notes

"...This country is weak as never before, and for 18 months we have been witnessing this fierce struggle for power, in which no one trusts anyone and all available means and methods 'justify the ends.' This political leadership is not only weak. It is irresponsible. In these 18 months nothing has been done to unite the country.

"Nobody seems to care about the cleft that divided the country during the 2004 presidential election campaign. And that's not just weakness. That's what I call irresponsibility. Relations with Russia were spoiled, but no steps have been taken to mend them. That's irresponsible, too. It reflects badly on Ukraine's international image. ...

"I see a feasible way out in the idea of a 'grand coalition.' Proceeding from political reform, this Parliament can form a capable and responsible government. All it takes is strong and sound-minded professionals. I can say openly that the idea of confining the Regions Party faction to the opposition status was wrong and anti-national.

"The 'Orange leaders' were too selfish to understand what Ukraine really needed. They simply wanted to leave out and do without such a serious political force. ...

"In my opinion, it is the president, as the head of state, who could initiate a broad pact of national reconciliation, subscribing all the parliament factions as well as other political forces, public organizations and all citizens of Ukraine. Then we would see who is for the nation's unity and who is after power at any cost. I do believe that only a grand coalition can save this country. ..."

— Former President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma, in answer to the question "What is an optimal way out of the situation?" posed by Zerkalo Nedeli on the Web, July 15-21.

U.N. backs Romania in canal dispute with Ukraine

PARSIPPANY, N.J.— A United Nations commission of inquiry has backed Romania in a dispute with Ukraine over a shipping canal in the Danube river delta, which separates the two countries, reported Agence France-Press on July 10. Since 2004 Romania has protested against the construction in the section of the Danube leading to the Black Sea canal in the environmentally sensitive area of the Danube delta.

The commission was established by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), head-

ed by Dutch academic Joost Terwindt, with two scientific experts, one each from Romania and Ukraine.

These experts concluded that the canal could damage the habitats in the protected zone where fish and migratory birds breed. The dredging of the riverbed could result in sediment being deposited and then cast off into the sea, damaging the sea floor.

The two countries are also locked in a dispute in the International Court of Justice in The Hague over oil and gas deposits in the Black Sea.

IN THE PRESS

Orange coalition's collapse, relations with Putin's Russia

"The People's Choice," editorial, *The Washington Post*, July 17:

"Two years ago, politics in Ukraine seemed to be a battle between good and evil. Now the picture is more complicated. The good guy is president, but the bad guy is likely to become the next prime minister. Some say it's a failure of democracy. We disagree.

"...Mr. [Viktor] Yushchenko and his Orange coalition have faltered. The government has had to face Russian bullying and a bevy of domestic problems while the momentum of revolution waned. In March's parliamentary elections, the party of Mr. [Viktor] Yanukovich claimed the most seats. And after months of parliamentary wrangling, he won the nomination for prime minister last week.

"... The emerging political settlement in Ukraine reflects the current divisions within the country, which has a large ethnic Russian population in the east, Mr. Yanukovich's natural constituency, and a fierce Ukrainian nationalist movement in the west, Mr. Yushchenko's power base. It should be no surprise that the leader of the parliament might represent one end of the country and the president the other.

"Mr. Yanukovich may not be the prime minister we would have voted for. But we respect the honest choice Ukrainians made."

"Political Courage and Ukrainian Politics," by Walter Parchomenko, Ph.D., *Kyiv Post*, July 20:

"With each passing day there is an increasing likelihood that President Viktor Yushchenko will be remembered in Ukraine's history books as little more than a maïdan (Independence Square) legend during the Orange Revolution, a convenient rallying figure for Ukrainian citizens fed up with the corruption of Yushchenko's predecessor, Leonid Kuchma, and Yushchenko's rival in the extremely fraudulent 2004 presidential race, Viktor Yanukovich. Yushchenko may very well be seen by future generations as a weak, indecisive, and ineffective one-term president who routinely placed personal interests and political ambitions above the public interest; and as a president who intentionally squandered a rare second chance to revive a splintered Orange coalition and its maïdan ideals because of his deep hatred of former Orange ally Yulia Tymoshenko and fear that this charismatic leader of uncompromising principles would rob him of a second presidential term.

"... Contrary to conventional wisdom, President Yushchenko never intended the new Orange coalition to be more than a virtual coalition, a facade to conceal the bare-knuckled, behind-the-scene fight to undermine Tymoshenko's reputation as the country's new premier [prime minister], and her chances to be a major contender in the 2009 presidential election. Thus, from the outset, the president and his inner circle approached the idea of forming a new Orange coalition in bad faith.

The mechanism intended to ensure the success of their plan was the new coalition document, which was signed only after more than 100 days of tortuous negotiations, finally produced a result that was to the president's liking. As soon as the new coalition document was signed, the president's true intentions became painfully evident. Compelling

evidence to support this claim of bad faith on the president's part, notably includes the nomination by Yushchenko's party of his close advisor and family friend, the very confrontational Petro Poroshenko, to the key post of parliamentary speaker in the new parliament, an obvious effort to rein in Yulia Tymoshenko in her job as the new premier. ..."

"The Orange circus and Ukraine's circular politics," *The Economist*, July 13:

" 'We are forming a new political culture,' President Viktor Yushchenko told the people of Ukraine last week, 'which will last for centuries.' Given recent events, that seems an optimistic timescale.

"After the parliamentary election in March, it took three months for Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine party to form a coalition with the two other parties that had swept him into office in the "orange revolution" of 2004: the Socialists and a block led by Yulia Tymoshenko. The first orange coalition, in which Ms. Tymoshenko was prime minister, collapsed last September; this one fell apart after just two weeks. The Rada, Ukraine's Parliament, has since become a circus of fistfights and cat-calling. ...

"There is still (just) a faint hope that some good will come from this farce. A new election might produce a more stable Parliament. Or a grand coalition might ease the resentments of eastern Ukraine, which overwhelmingly backs Mr. [Viktor] Yanukovich — though it is hard to see such a coalition lasting long. At least, says Hryhorii Nemyria, Ms. Tymoshenko's adviser, trying to be upbeat, there has been no violence—except within the Rada."

"Putin Village," *Review and Outlook*, *The Wall Street Journal*, July 14:

"... For too long, the Putin regime could interpret America's softly, softly approach — leave aside the open coddling from Western Europeans — as a tacit endorsement. As both the G-8 hoopla and Mr. [Vladimir] Putin's thin-skinned response to the Cheney speech show, this Russian government cares deeply about Western opinion.

"Now would be a good time to recommit resources to election monitoring and democracy building. Woken up by January's gas war, the Western Europeans can lend a hand for a change. The new Russian middle class will appreciate and, one day, may take advantage of this engagement.

"Now would also be an ideal moment to prop up the fledgling democracies in Georgia and Ukraine that are feeling the heat from Russia and put those countries on a track to joining NATO. ...

"Russia doesn't deserve its place among the G-8 democratic nations, and the task of the U.S. and other members is to encourage reform that will make it worthy of membership. Political and economic freedom aren't only nice words to be hauled out at gatherings like this weekend's St. Petersburg summit. For Russia they are the key to future prosperity and stability, a future that Mr. Putin has put in jeopardy."

"For a European Energy Alliance,"

(Continued on page 17)

Dear Readers!



The Ukrainian Weekly is accepting greetings on the occasion of the

15th Anniversary

of the

Independence of Ukraine

We invite individuals, organizations and businesses to show their pride and support for those individuals who through personal dedication and sacrifice have secured a free and independent Ukraine.

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THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Young UNA'ers



Kira Olexy, daughter of Dr. Oresta Bilous-Olexy and André Olexy of Easton, Conn., is a new member of UNA Branch 5. She was enrolled by her grandparents Lida and Orest Bilous.



Steven John Veccia Jr., son of Marta and Steve Veccia of Massapequa Park, N.Y., is a new member of UNA Branch 130. He was enrolled by his grandparents Irene and Ihor Jadlickyj.



Luka Roman Zachary, son of Orest and Zina Zachary of Sterling Heights, Mich., is a new member of UNA Branch 175. He was enrolled by his grandmother Olga Zacharij.



Paul Oscislawski, son of Halya and Daniel Oscislawski of Princeton, N.J., is a new member of UNA Branch 234. He was enrolled by his grandparents Michael and Maria Shulha.



Bohdan Anton Pugach, son of Oksana and Bohdan Pugach of Tolland, Conn., is a new member of UNA Branch 234. He was enrolled by his grandmother Stefania Fedenyshyn.



Lara Olena Stecewycz, daughter of Hanna and Joseph Stecewycz of Boston, is a new member of UNA Branch 234. She was enrolled by her grandparents Edward and Helen Melnyczuk.



Ewan G. Ramsdell, son of Bruin Ramsdell and Susan Gready of Columbus, Ohio, is a new member of UNA Branch 253. He was enrolled by his aunt Maryann Mysyshyn.



Melanie Nadia Jakubowycz, daughter of Drs. Alexander and Marta Jakubowycz of Broadview Heights, Ohio, is a new member of UNA Branch 358. She was enrolled by her grandparents Dr. Alexander and Daria Jakubowycz.

Our fraternal activities: Chicagoans plan parish's 50th anniversary event



CHICAGO – St. Joseph Ukrainian Catholic Church will be celebrating its 50th anniversary on September 24 at the Rosewood Restaurant in Rosemont, Ill. The committee planning the event includes (from left): Anne Domanchuk, Gloria Paschen, Vera Gojewycz, Olga Kopystynsky, Mary Jo Patterson and Diane Bereza. Most of the committee members are also members of the Ukrainian National Association who consider their involvement to be part of their fraternal activities.

– Gloria Paschen

Mission Statement

The Ukrainian National Association exists:

- to promote the principles of fraternalism;
- to preserve the Ukrainian, Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian heritage and culture; and
- to provide quality financial services and products to its members.

As a fraternal insurance society, the Ukrainian National Association reinvests its earnings for the benefit of its members and the Ukrainian community.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Halted at the crossroads

By now we thought things would be clearer in Ukraine: President Viktor Yushchenko would have either disbanded the Verkhovna Rada – in accordance with the Constitution he could have done so as of July 25 – or he would have acted on the nomination of his erstwhile archrival Viktor Yanukovich for the position of prime minister. And Ukraine would have moved on.

But Ukraine, well, it's Ukraine.

And here we are, four months after the parliamentary elections, two months after the new Parliament began its session, five weeks after the Orange parliamentary majority had been struck, and two and a half weeks after the new Anti-Crisis Coalition was proclaimed, with nothing resolved, no government in place and the Verkhovna Rada at a virtual standstill.

As this issue of The Weekly was being put to bed, President Yushchenko had gathered together the country's political leaders, including heads of the five parliamentary factions, for a roundtable discussion on the crisis. As press time approached, it was clear only that all had agreed that Ukraine is in a political crisis and that the priorities of the government need to be delineated. But there was disagreement on how the parliamentary crisis should be resolved.

It seems to us that President Yushchenko is stalling, once again. These endless discussions and "dialogue" (to use the president's preferred term), frankly, are not doing anyone – least of all the people of Ukraine – any good.

Thus, Ukraine remains halted at the crossroads.

President Yushchenko, it appears, does not want to admit that he lost, and lost big, in the parliamentary elections in March. But, that's the way democracy works: you win some and you lose some. Whichever is the case, the people have their say and their elected officials have to deal with it.

And, it must be underscored that July 2006 is not November 2004. This time, Viktor Yanukovich and his Party of the Regions won fair and square. Yulia Tymoshenko and her eponymous bloc gained popular support. And Mr. Yushchenko, once the revered leader of the Orange Revolution, found himself in a greatly weakened position.

President Yushchenko now has few options. He can disband the Verkhovna Rada and call for new parliamentary elections, in which his party is threatened with getting even less popular support. He can agree to enter into what is being dubbed a grand coalition with the Regions, the Socialists and the Communists, in which case he can influence the choice of the prime minister but risks political suicide as those who supported him and the Orange Revolution will desert him. Or he can choose to not the join with the Regions, in which case Mr. Yanukovich – many of whose goals are directly opposed to the president's – is just about certain to become prime minister.

So, it appears that President Yushchenko is stuck, as the old adage says, between a rock and a hard place. (And, let's not mince words, most of this mess is Mr. Yushchenko's own doing.) In the meantime, the people of Ukraine are forgotten, the world is experiencing Ukraine fatigue and any good will left over from the Orange Revolution is being squandered.

As former President Leonid Kravchuk used to say: "Mayemo to scho mayemo." The best English rendering of that truism: "It is what it is."

Aug.
2
1987

Turning the pages back...

With the Russian language currently being promoted as a regional language in parts of Ukraine, an article by Dr. Roman Solchanyk carried 21 years ago in The Ukrainian Weekly reminds readers of how far we've come with this issue.

A report by the board of the Ukrainian Writers' Union published in 1987 in Literaturna Ukraina profiled schools in the major oblast centers in Ukraine and identified the language of instruction for each school. A presentation by Dmytro Pavlychko, head of the Commission for Ties between the Ukrainian Writers' Union and Educational Institutions, illustrated the dire state of Ukrainian-language education in Ukraine via a statistical breakdown of the number of Ukrainian, Russian and mixed schools by oblast.

According to Mr. Pavlychko, the problem was that the number of Ukrainian-language schools in the cities was completely out of line with their national composition. He also pointed out that Ukrainian and so-called mixed Ukrainian-Russian schools accounted for 28 percent of the total, while schools with Russian as the language of instruction constituted 72 percent.

However, Mr. Pavlychko found that the situation was worse since the mixed schools were "as a rule, in practice, Russian schools." This changes the statistical data to reduce the number of Ukrainian schools, which were predominantly found in rural areas, to 16 percent, with the Russian schools making up 84 percent, even though, out of the 25 oblasts, only Crimea had a Russian majority population.

This, according to Mr. Pavlychko, was the result of over 27 years of Soviet school legislation that allowed parents or guardians to determine in what language their children would be taught. If allowed to remain on the books, he estimated that Ukrainian schools would eventually disappear from the small towns and villages, with the Ukrainian language surviving only in Canada.

The responsibility for this, Mr. Pavlychko said lay not with the parents, or the hands of Moscow, "but the 'republican apparatus' at all levels, the overwhelming majority of which is composed of Ukrainians who have not been brought up on the culture of the international, but rather on indifference to the native language, on the illiterate Ukrainian-Russian jargon (surzhyk), and on the fear that love of the maternal language could be construed as a sign of nationalism."

To correct this, Mr. Pavlychko and his commission forwarded a letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR asking that the appropriate sec-

(Continued on page 11)

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

BY ZENON ZAWADA

KYIV PRESS BUREAU



The complexity of Viktor Pinchuk

Viktor Pinchuk sure knows how to host a party. And a conference to boot.

The Yalta European Strategy (YES) conference he launched in July 2004 has become an annual affair for Ukraine's dealmakers for good reason.

Tell me who would turn down the chance to hobnob with top leaders, experts and policymakers with free room and board at a Yalta beachfront hotel.

While the YES conference is part of Mr. Pinchuk's strategy of influencing Ukrainian politics toward Europe, it does an excellent job of lifting his status among Ukrainians and foreigners alike.

Ukraine's former oligarchs, now referred to as businessmen, have a stereotype as ruthless, conniving thieves who swindled Ukraine of its natural and industrial resources for their own profit, doing little for the nation and leaving its people in destitution.

All stereotypes possess an element of truth, or else they wouldn't have emerged in the first place.

And everyone has his own set of sins, so we're not to judge others. It's said that a crime is behind every great fortune, and who knows just exactly how Mr. Pinchuk made his.

Watching him in action though, in my very limited exposure, I must say Viktor Pinchuk's a hard man not to like. His people skills surpass those of most Ukrainian businessmen, possessing a unique ability to relate and communicate.

At the last evening party at a Georgian restaurant near the Livadia Palace, Mr. Pinchuk made it a point to approach every table and talk to the guests, both the powerful and the less-than-powerful, before they left.

He exchanged hugs with Yushchenko confidante Oleh Rybachuk and handshakes with Tymoshenko ally Hryhorii Nemyria.

He seemed to know that reporters crave access more than anything, and that's exactly what we got at Yalta. The host with the most chatted with us for a full hour under the hot Crimean sun, fielding our prodding questions, which were sometimes incisive, sometimes useful and, admittedly, sometimes stupid.

But the athletically built 45-year-old was patient and good-humored, speaking

with a confident, easy-going air and even exhibiting candor at certain points.

We felt respected, which goes a long way for a Ukrainian journalist who is used to being constantly lied to, stonewalled or simply ignored by press secretaries.

Reporters like to hammer away at public figures with whom they have no personal relation. It's easier.

The YES conference allows Mr. Pinchuk to reveal other sides to his persona that the media or public rarely see.

Throughout the conference, he stood alongside his father-in-law, Leonid Kuchma, trading laughs and comments with the old man, even saving him a seat in the front row. (And Mr. Kuchma listened intently to the discussions.)

It put a human face on an alleged murderer and a swindling son-in-law.

Seeing Mr. Pinchuk hold his wife's arm, even caressing it, added another dimension to my perceptions.

Elena Franchuk appeared to be the wife that many men secretly dream of – the pleasant, cheerful helper who entertained the guests and kept things moving along smoothly.

I'm aware that even the likes of Al Capone and John Gotti both had wives and kids (Mr. Kuchma has one daughter, Mr. Pinchuk two).

I don't know what I would have done walking in Mr. Kuchma's and Mr. Pinchuk's shoes in the minefield that was the post-Soviet business landscape.

May I put forth the outrageous notion that, in the anarchy of the early 1990s, anyone with a good set of brains and the right set of connections took advantage of the situation and snatched up what they could?

Yes, ideally all of Ukraine's factories and mines should have been auctioned to the highest bidder, with the proceeds benefiting the Ukrainian people. Or perhaps many of them should never have been privatized, or not privatized so quickly.

But any mature person knows that you can't base decisions on how the world should be. You have to act on how it is, and in a lawless environment, only the most cunning survive.

(Continued on page 10)



Viktor Pinchuk and his wife, Elena Franchuk (center), daughter of former President Leonid Kuchma (right) at the Yalta European Strategy conference.



The things we do...

by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

PERSPECTIVES

BY ANDREW FEDYNSKY



Forget Nesmachnyi, how about Prodaivodenko or Nezdymyshapka?

The discussion started with "Nesmachnyi," the surname of the Ukrainian soccer player on the Ukrainian team playing in the World Cup. What a surname, eh? It can be translated as not tasty, insipid, tasteless, unsavory, unpalatable. Oh, my. But in the great scheme of things in Ukrainian onomastica, it is just another descriptive surname. We all know folks with humorous, witty, sarcastic or just plain interesting or strange surnames.

Just in the Ukrainian government we have Bezsmertnyi (without death, will never die), Poroshenko (son of the one in charge of the porokh – gunpowder or, possibly, just the son of someone dusty), Semnozhenko (seven feet, or seven knives) and Holovaty (big-headed).

The names and nicknames the Kozaks received when signing up at the Zaporizska Sich in the 17th century were descriptive indeed, from funny and witty to observant or downright cruel. Osyp Bodianskyi (1808-1877) published the register in Moscow in 1875, in Russian. A Ukrainian translation according to the orthography of 1994 was edited by Ya. Oros, with an introduction by O. Horobyna ("Reyestr Usoho Viiska Zaporozskoho pislia Zborivskoho Dohovoru z Korolem Polskym Yanom Kazymyrom Skladenyi 1649 roku, Zhovtnia 16 dnia I Vudanyi po Dostemennomu Vydanniu O. M. Bodians'koho," Chastyna Persha. Kyiv: Kozaky, 1994. 195 pp. ISBN 7-7707-6047-8).

What a fascinating read! Other than the introduction, this book is just a listing of the Kozaks by their regiment (Volume I includes the Chyhyryn, Cherkasy, Kaniv and Korsun regiments). You see brothers, fathers and sons, in-laws, uncles – and sometimes that is clearly mentioned – as in "Demko Vaskiv ziat" (Demko, Vasko's son-in-law) or Isai Pavlyshyn ziat' (Isai, son-in-law of Pavlykha – widow of Pavlo).

Some very familiar names appear often – Yushchenko, Lazarenko, Lukianenko, Tymoshenko, Matviyenko, Zinchenko. There is even a Taras Shevchenko back in 1649.

I went through the register (just give me a map, a dictionary, a compilation of stuff that I'm interested in, and I'm happy) and selected the surnames that were more than the ordinary. And they sure were. There are stories behind some, physical and character descriptions behind others. And some – we'll just never know. Some are difficult to translate, lose everything in the translation, or seem to be onomatopoeiac. So, please humor me in these musings or free association on the Kozak register. For some I will add a free translation (quick and dirty), for others – well, you had to be there from the cradle absorbing Ukrainian or else paying attention in Ridna Shkola.

There are too many special names to choose from. The ones listed here will be by some sort of category – types of descriptions, nonsense and first names that we rarely encounter nowadays (expectant parents – go for it). Often the first and last name together sound lyrical. There are many diminutives. There is no intention to mock these names – they are

historical, and just so darn wonderful and creative. And, folks, in this purely subjective selection, I have not made any of these up. I couldn't if I tried.

Hrytsko Skorobohaty, Ivan Skorobohatko, Konak Skorobohatenko and Stepan Skorobohatchenko (got rich quickly, or sons of one who did). Ivan Vovkodav (wolf-strangler) and Levko Hrubylo (more than portly). Pylyp Korkonosenko, followed in the list by Ivan Korkonis. Ivan Pysanka, Ivan Kovbasa and Martyn Plastun. Lavrin Pidtopta and Dmytro Pidtoptenko. Semen Pokotylo (rolling along) and Ivan Skorokhid (fast walker). Ivan Tverdokhib (hard bread), Oleksa Neyizhpaska (don't or didn't eat the paska), Ivan Pechybabenko (bake babka) and Ivan Bublyk (Ukrainian bagel). Vas'ko Velykodnyi (Easter), Mysko Lomynoha (broken leg), Fes'ko Bezrukyi (without an arm) and Vas'ko Bezpalychenko (fingerless). Hrytsko Bezkyshkyi (without intestines), Vasko Hnylokyskyi (rotten intestines), Kuzma Cherevchenko (large belly or paunch) and Ivan Sranchenko.

I'm on a roll here ... These have different origins or have visited other countries: Vas'ko Tatoryn, Ivashko Moskal' and Ivan Liashkiv (liakhy – an original Polish tribe). Martyn Rozdobud'ko (will scrounge or find anything), Yats'ko Neuhad (can't guess), Tymko Tupylo (dull; not the sharpest one in the drawer), Maksym Nehrechenko (either not a Greek or not "hrechnyi" – polite), Ustym Tsiluiko (kisser) and Yakym Pomatsaiko (toucher, or groper), along with Nestor Samokhvalenko (self-praiser) and Antin Dvozhnenko (twice-married).

These are just fun to say and hear: Marko Baibuda, Martyn Taratura, Sydir Turubai, Mysko Manadyka, Tymko Kaziukalo, Havrylo Pokikalo, Sidko Bereka, Ivan Kuchuhura, Zharaburda Bereznichenko, Kalenyk Khytrashashyn, Tush Pidstrailenko, Voynylo Sahanenko, Ivan Nedaiko.

Some belong to higher or lower realms, such as Khvedir and Radko Khrystoliubenko (lover of Christ), Semen Podnebesenko (under the heavens), Yosko Vorozhbytenko (fortune-teller), Anton Antypenko (little devil).

Physical features appear often: Martyn Hola Potylytsia (bare nape of the neck), Andrushko Mordenko (pug-faced, big mouthed), Khoma Bilobrovchenko (white-eyebrow), Tyshko Chornousenko (black-mustache), Hrytsko Semyvolos (seven hairs), Harasym Lykshoshersty (rough hide), Radko Kryvoshyia (crooked neck), Dats Sukhorebryi (thin or skinny ribs), Marko Mochyhuba (wetting or licking his lips), Kurylo Syniohubs'kyi (blue lips).

The nose delegation is prolific: Khvedir Nis (nose, or the past tense of carry - carried), Lavryn Synionis (blue nose), Manyk Shyronis and Vasyl Shyronosenko (broad nose), Mysko Lomonis (either one with a broken nose or one who breaks others' noses), followed by Hrytsko Kryvonis and Sava Kryvonosenko (crooked nose), Hrytkso Lupynis (punch in the nose, or nose-picker), Ivan Sukhonis and Mykhno

(Continued on page 14)

The game goes on

What a paradox that the Ukrainian people should be on such a roll, while the country is stuck in a political rut.

The December 2004 election that brought President Viktor Yushchenko into office also quantified the split between Ukraine's Western regions, oriented on Europe, and the pro-Russian east. Confirming that division, parliamentary elections in March created political gridlock where the country, like a car spinning its wheels, became mired ever deeper in political morass.

By many measures, the country is doing spectacularly well.

In June, every region, along with millions in the diaspora, united behind Ukraine's team as it scrapped its way to the quarter-finals in the World Cup. Two weeks later, bicyclist Serhiy Honchar wore the yellow jersey at the Tour de France for three days in a row, identifying him as the leader of the world's premier bicycle race. Another Ukrainian, Yaroslav Popovych, won the tour's 12th stage on Bastille Day. In heavyweight boxing, Volodymyr and Vitalii Klitschko have been dominant for years.

Singer-performer Ruslana won the Eurovision Song Contest in 2004. Ukraine's First Lady Kateryna Yushchenko has been featured on American network news programs and, showing her elegant side, in fashion magazines, as well. The hryvnia is stable; the economy is growing; Kyiv's skyline is dotted with construction cranes; Ukrainian arts institutions are introducing the world to a long-hidden culture.

In global politics, President Yushchenko enjoyed warm welcomes around the world, including a joint session of Congress in 2005, which earlier this year responded positively to his appeal to lift Jackson-Vanik trade restrictions; Ukraine's friends and allies indicate support for the country's aspirations to join NATO and the European Union; Cardinal Lubomyr Husar was mentioned as a candidate to succeed Pope John Paul II.

Ukraine's independence unleashed vast creative forces. It makes you wonder what might have been had the Soviet Terror not devoured the country's cultural elite, had the Famine-Genocide never occurred. Now Ukrainians, having rejected the system that dealt such catastrophe, are displaying world-class talents, even as they struggle at basic government.

The seeds of Ukraine's current struggle were sowed long ago.

Indeed, this generation's government gridlock is a 21st century shadow of a devastatingly violent dynamic that began with Bohdan Khmelnytsky's revolution against Poland in 1648 and continued for 300 years. After Khmelnytsky's death in 1657, a top aide, Ivan Vyhovsky, became hetman. Repudiating the 1654 Pereiaslav Agreement with Russia, he steered his country away from Moscow and back toward Poland, winning an overwhelming military victory over Russia in the Battle of Konotop, only to be defeated in political intrigues that followed. Ironically, his fellow Kozaks turned him over to Poland for execution in 1664.

Vyhovsky's successor, Ivan Briukhovetsky, tilted completely toward Russia, signing a treaty placing Ukraine under direct authority of the tsar. In return, Briukhovetsky acquired titles, properties and the enmity of his people. In 1668, a Kozak mob, angry over the concessions he had made, seized him, chained him to a cannon and beat him to death "as if he were a mad dog."

In 1709 Hetman Ivan Mazepa made a bid for independence by allying himself with Sweden, only to have many of his fellow Kozaks hedge their bets and stick with Tsar Peter, who won a pivotal battle at Poltava and is now known as "the Great." In the last century, during World War I when Ukraine declared independence and again in 1942-1952, Ukrainians lined up on either side of the east-west divide in bloody civil war.

When the Soviet Empire collapsed in 1991, Ukraine and every other Soviet republic declared independence, with one exception: the Russian Federation. Where other Soviet peoples considered themselves liberated, most Russians saw themselves as already independent and, at the same time, considerably diminished.

Ever since, Ukraine has been trying to consolidate its statehood; Russia, particularly under Vladimir Putin, has been working to undermine it. Those two impulses clashed in the 2004 presidential election in Ukraine when the critical issue was the country's orientation: toward Europe or Russia? Related issues involved corruption and the age-old questions of who distributes political jobs, invests capital, goes to Washington, Geneva, Brussels, Paris and Moscow to represent the country. The Orange Revolution was thought to have resolved things once and for all; until Russia cut off gas to Ukraine on New Year's Day 2006. It was generally understood that Mr. Putin continues to dream of a reconstituted empire.

Despite political troubles, several dynamics bode well for Ukraine. Above all, in 1991, every single oblast in Ukraine overwhelmingly voted for independence – by an overall margin of 9-1. Now 15 years later, Ukrainians of all stripes and languages identify with their country and its symbols. Donetsk rooted for the national soccer team no less than Lviv.

Happily, Ukraine (unlike Russia), is a democracy and the country is free. The struggle to control Ukraine's government, and therefore set policy, has been orderly and peaceful – with the troubling and ominous exception of shadowy murders, convenient car accidents and the ghastly poisoning of Mr. Yushchenko. That the struggle is taking place in the full glare of world media – Internet, videophones, 24-hour news cycles – is critical. Now, with the mid-course correction the streets delivered in December 2004, Ukrainian elections accurately reflect where the country is: pro-Russian parties represent a little less than half the people, but they're organized and disciplined; those oriented on the West have more votes, but are less unified.

East/west in Ukraine is a reality, and both sides have a stake in governing their country. The central political challenge is to bring them together, checking and balancing each other, while moving the country forward. Rooting for the soccer team and respecting free expression is a start. An electoral and governing process that harnesses political forces to facilitate economic prosperity and cultural expression is progress. Getting Russia to stop interfering would bring sure-fire success, only that's not likely to happen. History, as Mark Twain once said, doesn't repeat itself, but it rhymes.

And so the game continues, testing yet again which is more powerful: Ukraine's age-old instinct for independence or Russia's drive toward empire.

Andrew Fedynsky's e-mail address is: fedynsky@stratos.net.

Billionaire Pinchuk...

(Continued from page 1)

the EU.

"EU membership would open up more markets than the World Trade Organization and remove restrictions that are currently in place," Mr. Gostik said.

Mr. Pinchuk's ties to European business aren't limited to selling metal products.

Ukraine's adoption of Western business and legal standards would enhance the attractiveness of his other assets to foreign clients and investors.

As a foremost example, Mr. Pinchuk is currently shopping around one of Ukraine's largest banks, the \$1 billion UkrSotsBank, to Western buyers.

The West is also important because Interpipe is also likely to take its shares public in the next decade, either on the London or New York stock exchange.

When chatting with reporters at the YES conference on July 14, Mr. Pinchuk spoke as a progressive reformer, stressing the need for new leaders in Ukrainian politics who bring fresh approaches to resolving problems.

In its current situation under its current leaders, Ukraine is not progressing, but simply moving from one crisis to another, he said. The best coalition government would consist of both Our Ukraine and the Party of the Regions, he noted, an alliance that would unify the nation and find common ground between the country's east and west.

"Any one-color coalition will not be effective or very stable," Mr. Pinchuk said.

His political party in the March 2006 elections, Viche, was an attempt to change the dynamics of Ukrainian politics from its current east-west rivalry.

Marketed as a progressive party representing the interests of Ukraine's small but fledgling middle class, Mr. Pinchuk said Viche's driving idea was to call new leaders together to craft a plan and vision for how Ukraine would position itself in the world economy.

Conflicts over North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) membership and the Russian language could be easily

resolved in referenda instead of languishing in the current political quagmires.

The viche party finished in ninth place and earned 441,000 votes, gaining the most support in Ukraine's biggest cities - Kyiv, Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk.

"Conditions have to be created for the coming of a new generation and the project of building a new country should be realized," said Mr. Pinchuk. "So our politicians should speak exactly about this, and not about positions. It shouldn't be a battle for government. It isn't interesting and it isn't romantic."

Whether reflective of his true beliefs or an attempt to create a new image, calls for reform and democratic values belie Mr. Pinchuk's past.

While serving in the nation's Parliament, he belonged to factions that supported former President Leonid Kuchma and his corrupt administration. No one doubts that his courtship and marriage in 2002 to Mr. Kuchma's daughter, Olena Franchuk, enabled him to enhance his personal business interests.

His first bonanza arrived in 2003, when he purchased a majority share of the lucrative Nikopol Ferroalloy Plant for \$77 million. Its current value has been estimated as much as \$1 billion.

At another rigged auction, Mr. Pinchuk teamed up with Donetsk billionaire Rynat Akhmetov in snatching up the Kryvorizhstal steel mill for \$804 million at a time when foreign competitors were making billion-dollar offers.

Mr. Pinchuk opposed the Orange Revolution because the success of his businesses depended on his relations with Mr. Kuchma. His television networks smeared Mr. Yushchenko during the campaign.

It was only when the momentum shifted in Mr. Yushchenko's favor that Mr. Pinchuk began to shift his political stance with the changing tide, declaring in a Kyiv Post interview that he himself would have joined the national revolt if he were in his youth (he is 45).

Mr. Pinchuk's friends, including former Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, are quick to point out that



Zenon Zawada

Viktor Pinchuk is among Ukraine's biggest advocates for European Union membership.

the billionaire was thinking along progressive lines before the Orange Revolution, having launched the first YES conference in July 2004.

Though he opposed the Orange Revolution when it erupted, he now says that Ukraine is better off for it. In his mind, the presidential elections and the revolution were two separate things. "We can be proud of the social phenomenon," he said. "It was a display of the society's emotions."

Not only is Ukraine better off after the revolution, but so is Mr. Pinchuk.

Ukraine's new luster has enabled his business assets to skyrocket in value in the months since. He is now valued at \$3.7 billion, making him the country's second-wealthiest man following Mr. Akhmetov.

Mr. Pinchuk told reporters that he continues to profit from his business and has even been recognized by the Ukrainian government as among the nation's best taxpayers.

His businesses have become more transparent, reflected in the fact that his employees receive all their salary on the books - currently a rare practice in Ukraine.

"No man in the world won't pay more (taxes) than what circumstances demand, especially in the absence of distinct laws," Mr. Pinchuk said.

"But gradually you begin to understand that it is more favorable to pay more because it is more favorable for you to become transparent. On the world markets, your capitalization will be higher and you will be worth more. As a result, you will be richer when you pay more taxes in the correct system and the correct legislation," he explained.

Not everything Orange is good, however.

Mr. Pinchuk is a fierce opponent of fellow Dnipropetrovsk native Yulia Tymoshenko, who led the government charge to reprivatize Kryvorizhstal and repossess Mr. Pinchuk's Nikopol Ferroalloy Plant before President Viktor Yushchenko sacked her in September.

He accused of her trying to shift control of the Nikopol plant from Mr. Pinchuk to his Dnipropetrovsk rival Ihor Kolomoiskyi, currently a minority shareholder in the plant.

Media reports later alleged that in exchange for control of Nikopol, Mr. Kolomoiskyi planned to sell Ms. Tymoshenko a minority stake in television network 1+1, a charge she has vehemently denied.

It was a make mistake to sell Kryvorizhstal to foreigners because Ukraine lost the chance to become a global player in the metallurgical industry, Mr. Pinchuk said. Kryvorizhstal could have remained a state-owned company that could have partnered with private firms and competed on the global steel market, he added.

Instead, the Ukrainian government demonstrated no national strategy in its decision to sell to Mittal Steel Co.

"Why did Lakshmi Mittal pay more? Because today's price is not as important as his long-term strategy for decades," Mr. Pinchuk said. "He sees that it's necessary to create a player who makes 100 million tons, then 150 million, then 200 million tons of steel. Why? Because the global economy will develop in this way."

Like virtually all Soviet citizens, Mr. Pinchuk came from humble beginnings. He worked as a metallurgical engineer in Dnipropetrovsk. And, like Ms. Tymoshenko, Mr. Pinchuk's first fortune came from trading and importing Russian and Turkmen natural gas.

The profit enabled him to begin acquiring factories such as the Nizhnedniprovskiy Tube-Rolling Plant, the Novomoskovskiy Tube-Rolling Plant and the Nikopol plant, among others.

It was his success in industry that enabled him to launch businesses in Ukraine's media, creating an empire that includes three national television networks and a leading daily newspaper, Fakty i Komentari.

His biographies state that his family faced discrimination by Soviet authorities because they were Jewish, having been denied the opportunity to study in Kyiv.

Mr. Pinchuk is currently active in the Dnipropetrovsk Jewish community and is financing a documentary film on the Holocaust along with Steven Spielberg's Shoah Foundation.

A collection of Jewish eyewitness accounts of the Holocaust in Ukraine, the film will premiere in September on the 65th anniversary of the Babyn Yar massacre, where Nazis executed about 34,000 Jews in September 1941. By the end of the German occupation, over 150,000 Jews, Ukrainian nationalists, POWs and others were killed at Babyn Yar, a ravine in Kyiv.

As political crisis...

(Continued from page 1)

supporters continued to hold marches and protests in Kyiv, sometimes even clashing with each other.

Ms. Tymoshenko continued to lead the demand for the dismissal of Parliament and new elections - an outcome not favored by the majority of Ukrainians, according to public opinion polls.

On July 24 she announced that 125 national deputies in her parliamentary faction would resign, with the hope that enough Our Ukraine deputies would join in order to force a dismissal of Parliament for lack of a quorum.

Ms. Tymoshenko would need 151 resignations, or one-third of the Verkhovna Rada, but so far no Our Ukraine deputies have joined the Tymoshenko Bloc in this action.

Correction

In the news story headlined "Anti-Crisis Coalition nominates Yanukovych for PM" (July 23), due to a typographical error a quote from Viktor Yanukovych was rendered as: "I saw in the president's yes a large desire to unite our efforts." The sentence should read: "I saw in the president's eyes..."

Congratulations,

Jennifer



We are very proud of you and all of your accomplishments!

Good luck in graduate school! You always have our full support, and we wish you the best in all you choose to do.

We love you!

*Love, Baba and Grandpa, Michael and Stefana Nebesny
Parents, Alexander and Melanie Nebesny*

Jennifer Marie Nebesny graduated from Franklin College in Franklin, Indiana on May 20, 2006. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree with a double major in psychology and sociology with an emphasis in social work.

She graduated Summa Cum Laude and received the Wayne Coy Memorial Award and the Panhellenic Cup in academics. She also received the Psychology Department Academic Excellence Award and was named the Outstanding Student in Sociology. She was inducted into Alpha senior scholastic honor society, Alpha Kappa Delta sociology honor society, Chi Beta Phi sciences honor society and Omicron Delta Kappa Gold Quill chapter for Leadership.

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Palij Memorial Lecture at University of Kansas focuses on Orange Revolution

by Jennie Dienes

LAWRENCE, Kan. – The annual Maria Palij Memorial lecture was a presentation by Prof. Alexander Motyl of Rutgers University titled “Did the Orange Revolution Make a Difference?” The April 11 lecture was made possible by the donations from the Palij family and from Friends of Ukrainian Studies to the Maria Palij Memorial Fund, with sponsorship from the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies at the University of Kansas.

Dr. Motyl opened his presentation by describing a hypothetical situation where the Orange Revolution had not happened and Viktor Yanukovich won the presidential election in November 2004. He did this to help illustrate the changes that have come about and to present a possible scenario of “what if” to show what could have been.

In this scenario, Dr. Motyl presented Mr. Yanukovich as president and his close cooperation with Russia and the other countries that make up the Commonwealth of Independent States. Mr. Yanukovich would align Ukraine’s stance with Russia’s position against American and NATO policies in Afghanistan and Iraq. Talks would ensue regarding Russian banks acquiring Ukraine’s top three banks – a move that will deepen economic integration between the two fraternal states.

Dr. Motyl said he believes that without the Orange Revolution, Ukraine would have become more oriented toward Russia and Central Asia.

Further transformations as a result of the Orange Revolution include people’s perceptions and expectations. One such expectation was that, as a result of the Orange Revolution, Ukraine would immediately embark on a course of major fundamental, comprehensive, rapid transformation and reform – reform that would catapult Ukraine into the forefront of Europe and transform it into some kind of Switzerland of Eastern Europe. This expectation was unrealistic and this false hope led the people to disappointments and negative assessments of the situation with a “sense that the country has not changed any,” explained Dr. Motyl.

Despite the unrealized expectations of the Orange Revolution, Dr. Motyl said he believes that a lot has changed, even though these changes may not be so easily perceived by everyone. The Ukrainian Constitution played a central role in the election contest; questions arose and everyone pointed to the Constitution. Dr. Motyl noted: “That’s how it works in a democracy. That’s how it worked during the Orange Revolution.”

He went on saying that the political landscape has changed for the better as well, noting that during the 16 to 18 months prior to the 2006 parliamentary elections, extreme right and left parties became marginalized with the creation of a greater center. This, he said shows that Ukraine is becoming more democratic.

Dr. Motyl was not blind to the current situation in Ukraine, noting that some things have not changed for the better. The main characters in the government and ruling elite have been around for quite some time and corruption is everywhere.

One of the consequences of the Orange Revolution is that Ukraine has made its presence felt on the international arena, he continued. Today Ukraine is more than a place on the map, it is engaged in the debates about what Europe is, where Europe should or should not extend, and the future of the European Union.

In the last year and a half Ukraine’s focus has shifted from the East to the West, but Dr. Motyl said he does not see Ukraine becoming anti-Russian anytime soon. He posed this question: “Is the West becoming more receptive to Ukraine’s pro-Western overtures?” Dr. Motyl also said he believes

that the Orange Revolution forces the West to be more receptive, even though membership in the EU may be possible only in the distant future – maybe 15, 20, 25 years away – another generation away. However, Ukraine is likely to join the WTO very soon and its status as a market economy boosts its presence in global markets.

Russia’s attitude toward Ukraine has changed as a result of the Orange Revolution, Dr. Motyl pointed out, adding that Ukraine’s attitude toward Russia is influenced by Russia’s attitude toward Ukraine, by Ukrainian’s attitudes toward themselves and who they are. President Vladimir Putin’s decision to intervene in the 2004 elections and the “gas war” earlier this year revealed that Russia’s attitude toward Ukraine also was transformed.

As a result, Ukraine can no longer feel that Russia is an unconditionally positive partner for Ukraine. Dr. Motyl posed the question, “Was Russia’s response to Ukraine appropriate? Was Ukraine’s reaction to Russia’s response appropriate?” These questions led to his conclusion that something had indeed been altered in the Russian-Ukrainian relations.

One problem for Ukraine is that part of the population has been looking for identity. Dr. Motyl said it hasn’t been certain whether it belongs in the East or the West and was searching how to define itself – what it means to be Ukrainian, what it means to be Russian or not to be Russian. It is for that segment of the population that Russia’s behavior led to a certain reshaping of thinking and an acceleration of the crystallization of Ukrainian identity. What this identity will be is uncertain – whether bilingual or monolingual for example – but there will be greater identification in the region and with the state, Dr. Motyl said.

Dr. Motyl also recalled the sense of empowerment felt by the population after the Orange Revolution, with the media becoming freer and the creation of a civil society. People’s attitudes towards their future, with regard to what they may or may not be able to accomplish, have been changed as well.

A reported 5 million to 6 million people took part in various aspects of the Orange Revolution. Out of these millions, a significant number of young people, possibly 2 million to 4 million, took part in in this transformation that has unified a generation of political activists, Dr. Motyl observed. These changes will begin to affect the political, cultural and social struggles that the young people will face, and they will determine Ukraine’s future in positions of authority, education, business and other areas.

Dr. Motyl’s comments and assessments of post-Orange Revolution Ukraine were followed up with a question-and-answer period. When asked by Prof. Paul D’Anieri about the threat of corruption in Ukraine, Dr. Motyl equated the current situation to that of Italy in the 1950s and ‘60s. Dr. Motyl added that corrupt countries can still be economically and democratically developed, citing the example of countries in East Central Europe, where there is a substantial amount of corruption, but not as deep or broad as in Ukraine.

On the topic of President Yushchenko’s declining popularity, Dr. Motyl commented that there are many contributing factors, some of which were already discussed. Pointing to the “cult of personality” issue, Dr. Motyl said that there remains a residual Stalinism in Ukraine. Another contributing factor was Ukraine’s relationship with the U.S., and especially with George W. Bush and his administration. Furthermore, with the war in Iraq and recent U.S. assistance in the Crimea, the Bush administration’s actions have been portrayed as imperialist by Russophile media outlets.

However, this view will be negated after 2008 when Mr. Bush will no longer

be president. U.S. foreign policy position may not change in that time, but the absence of President Bush will transform those arguments or make them substantially less valid, according to Dr. Motyl.

In comparing the new bourgeoisie in Ukraine to the robber barons of early 20th century America, Dr. Motyl noted that it was necessary for Ukraine not to send them all to jail, but to use these nouveau riche to build up business in Ukraine. Many of these oligarchs are western-educated – some with MBAs, who know foreign languages and assets in Europe. The thieves of the past are being held to new standards and they transform their behaviors to legitimize their business dealings, he explained.

Dr. Motyl pointed to Yulia Tymoshenko as an example. She made her money and transformed into that of a defender of honesty, torchbearer of the Orange Revolution and the crusader against corruption. Criminal responsibility and immunity for politicians are two problems Ukraine will have to confront. Ukraine, like Russia, will have to examine its past sooner or later, and people’s backgrounds will come out, he added. Taking criminal action against them for particular crimes would be an appropri-

ate response of the judicial system.

Regarding the inevitability of institutionalization and the potential for its reversal, Dr. Motyl said he sees a Ukraine that in 15-20 years could be like today’s Poland. However, Russia will still be a problem for Ukraine, specifically Russia’s stability and its new elections in 2008. Russia has been transformed into an authoritarian state with a lot of free money generated by oil and gas, which is not good for Russia or Ukraine, Dr. Motyl noted. With this in mind, the speaker said he sees Russia moving in the direction of Iran under the shah. Nonetheless, Ukraine will need good relations with Russia and vice versa, as it would be unnerving with an unstable superpower next door, he added.

Another issue that concerned Dr. Motyl was the secessionist movement in eastern Ukraine and that region’s apparent desire to join Russia. He pointed out that life is better in Ukraine for a political criminal than in Russia and it doesn’t make sense for these oligarchs to want to join Russia, where they would be treated like a small fish in a big pond. The threat of secession is real, but Dr. Motyl suggested that at some future time the regional divide may somehow be resolved.

Study of Ukraine promoted in Kansas

LAWRENCE, Kansas – The University of Kansas Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies (CREES) is one of 16 Title VI Comprehensive National Resource Centers for the Russian and East/Central European area supported by the U.S. Department of Education.

CREES has been a national resource center since 1965, offering degree-granting programs. Ukrainian studies became available 14 years ago after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Dr. Maria Carlson, director of the center at that time, negotiated academic exchanges with Ivan Franko National University (IFNU) in Lviv, and, in 1992 three professors from Lviv came to teach at the University of Kansas (KU): Prof. Volodymyr Piletski, teaching intermediate-level Ukrainian; Prof. Mykola Rozhyk, teaching Ukrainian history; and Prof. Daniela Olesnevych teaching economics of Ukraine. It was a bold and courageous step into a new and challenging world for Ukrainian faculty.

Since then, many other professors from KU and from Ivan Franko University have taken advantage of the Department of Education and Department of State grants that have facilitated these exchanges. Courses in Ukrainian language, literature, history and culture are currently offered. The University of Kansas Library has actively worked to increase its holdings of Ukrainian-language materials both in bound volumes and electronic resources in all disciplines.

KU faculty have traveled to Lviv to teach courses for entire semesters, for example, Profs. Paul D’Anieri and Leslie Dienes have taught courses in political science and political geography and culture of the U.S. and Canada, respectively. To increase the Ukrainian collection, Slavic librarians Brad Schaffner (now at Harvard) and Jon Giullian actively acquired materials. Librarian Jennie Dienes also spent two semesters in Lviv purchasing items at Lviv book forums and bookstores, and traveled to Kyiv to purchase materials there as well.

Faculty and graduate students from Lviv find KU a very friendly and helpful place for them to pursue their academic interests. Recent visitors were Dr. Viktor Krevs and Vice-Rector

Volodymyr Kyrylych from the administrative side; Profs. Natalia Chernysh and Viktor Susak, sociology; and Anatolii Romanyuk, Lyubomyr Skochylyas and Yurii Shveda, political sciences.

Last year, after Prof. Chernysh completed a three-month research stay at KU, she and other faculty in the Ivan Franko Sociology department prepared a conference in Lviv concerning changes in the study of sociology in Ukraine as a result of the exchange visits by professors and graduate students. Several faculty members of the sociology department at KU presented papers at this conference. In addition to the conference, KU and IFNU faculty collaborated on a May-June program of seminars for students at IFNU.

The Maria Palij Memorial Lectures are especially important to the University of Kansas and beyond. The guest speakers are specialists on Ukraine and its economic and democratic development. Profs. Alexander Motyl (2006) and Taras Kuzio (2005) also presented lectures about a decade ago, but provided new insights in Ukraine’s democratic development during their recent visits. Profs. Mark Von Hagen (2004), Anna Procyk (2003) and Herbert J. Ellison (2002) have elaborated on Ukraine’s bid for independence at various points in history and the rocky road it has taken.

CREES organizes roundtables, workshops, brown bag lunches and, most recently, web-cam video transmissions to encourage and allow KU faculty and research visitors from IFNU and other Ukrainian universities to share their views and opinions about the events occurring in Ukraine or their particular research interests.

Recent brown bag speakers were Taras Senyuta (IFNU, speaking on Chernobyl), Elmira Muratova (Tavrida University in Symferopol, on Chechnya), and Tatyana Boryak (Taras Shevchenko University in Kyiv, on escaping Bolshevism 1919-1939). Prof. Alexander Tsiovkh regularly provides updates on what is happening in Ukraine.

This program in Kansas is committed to providing courses and other opportunities for studying Ukraine and its position in the world.

– Jennie Dienes

First grad of Ukrainian Catholic University defends doctorate

by Matthew Matuszak

LVIV – Sister Paraskevia Vakula of the Sisters of the Holy Family has become the first graduate of the Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU) in Lviv to successfully defend a doctoral dissertation. Sister Vakula defended her dissertation, “Logos [Word] and Pneuma [Spirit] in the Century of the Creation of Christian Identity,” at the Patristic Institute Augustinianum in Rome on July 13.

It was only on March 2 that the Ukrainian government recognized the bachelor's degrees in theology awarded by the UCU, and so 50 UCU graduates on July 7 were awarded state-recognized degrees in theology for the first time. In addition there were 16 graduates in the first class to receive bachelor's degrees in history, also state-recognized.

The Vatican-based Congregation for Catholic Education, however, has recognized the degrees of UCU graduates since its first graduation in 1999, when the UCU was still the Lviv Theological Academy.

Consequently, dozens of UCU graduates have been pursuing advanced degrees at Catholic and secular institutions abroad. UCU graduates have studied at numerous institutions in Rome, including the Augustinianum, as well as the Catholic University of America, the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies in Canada, Drew University in New Jersey and Oxford University in England.

Sister Vakula graduated from the UCU (then the Lviv Theological Academy) in 2000 and then went to Rome for further studies. “UCU provided the basics, the fundamentals for graduate studies,” said Sister Vakula. “In particular it gave us the

tools, like languages, Latin, Greek, English. We were very well-prepared when we came to Rome.”

Sister Vakula's dissertation involved five early Christian authors, including Justin Martyr and Irenaeus. She will prepare the work for publication and is already set to return to Ukraine and start working at the UCU in the fall. There she will prepare a critical edition of the works of Ignatius of Antioch, including a translation into Ukrainian. She said that perhaps she will start teaching in the second semester.

The UCU itself started a licentiate (graduate-level) program in theology in 2001, with specializations in Eastern canon law, Church history and ecclesiology. There will be 27 students in the program when the new semester starts in the fall.

In addition to UCU graduates, including those from Holy Spirit Seminary, licentiate students come from the Drohobych seminary and the Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk eparchies of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, noted Dr. Taras Dobko, UCU's pro-rector for academic work. Advanced studies abroad will continue to be important for UCU graduates, but “It is also important to have a graduate program like this in Ukraine, which gives attention to Ukrainian church history, possibilities for learning about Ukrainian church music from other local institutions, and so on,” said Dr. Dobko.

In April, UCU graduate Rev. Serhii Stesenko became the first student of the licentiate program to successfully defend his work, “An Analysis of the Activities of the Eparchial Sobors of the Kyiv-Halych Metropolitanate of the UGCC from 1998 to 2002.”

“Scholarly research into the problematics



Ukrainian Catholic University Graduate Sister Paraskevia Vakula (right) was in Lviv with fellow UCU grad Sister Viktoriya Luka (left) for a theological conference in August 2005.

of UGCC sobors [Church assemblies] is fairly weakly developed,” said the Rev. Stesenko. “What we do have regards historical sobors that were held 100 or 200 years ago. We don't have really deep, scholarly analyses of the sobors that were held recently. And this is a problem, inasmuch as sobors form the directions for development of local Churches. Now our Church holds patriarchal and eparchial sobors. They all have exceptional significance in the development of Church life. They give the scholar a great field for work.”

Other students of UCU's licentiate program will be defending their final works in

the near future. And, more than 100 UCU graduates are pursuing advanced studies abroad, so many more will eventually be defending their doctoral dissertations. Plans for starting a doctoral program at the UCU are still on the drawing board.

Further information about the UCU in English and Ukrainian is available on the university's website at www.ucu.edu.ua. Readers may also contact the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., Chicago, IL 60622; phone, 773-235-8462; e-mail, ucef@ucef.org; website, www.ucef.org. The phone number of the UCEF in Canada is (416) 239-2495.

The complexity...

(Continued from page 6)

Now that Mr. Pinchuk has made his billions, most of which won't be taken away (with the looming exception of Nikopol), perhaps the public should assess him on what he does with his wealth.

Whether Mr. Kuchma was ever serious about Ukraine's EU membership remains unclear to this very day. It seems possible that he did want Ukraine to draw closer to the EU, considering that Mr. Pinchuk supported his presidency. After all, Mr. Pinchuk launched YES in July 2004, before the Orange Revolution.

Speaking of which, I asked Mr. Pinchuk: “What do you think of the Orange Revolution looking back in hindsight?”

“We can be proud of the social phenomenon,” he said. “It was a display of the society's emotions.”

“But nothing concrete?” I followed up.

“It was positive. In another sense, many politicians did not fulfill the expectations of these people.”

(Gosh, did he really want the maidan's expectations to be fulfilled? If so, he might have lost more than Kryvorizhstal and Nikopol. He could be sitting in jail.)

“They fought for their future and it will go down in the country's history and the world's history as something unique. I am involved in the media. I have to recognize that afterwards, freedom of speech became wider and deeper,” Mr. Pinchuk said.

But now that the Orange Revolution and Mr. Kuchma have come and gone, Mr. Pinchuk has begun to beat his own political drum, calling for Ukraine's membership in the European Union and a new political paradigm that goes beyond the country's current east-west divide.

As he stressed throughout the confer-

ence, EU membership isn't the only prize.

“We can go down this path and then just say that we have gone down a useful path and we don't need EU membership,” he told reporters on July 14. “The main thing is that we have compromised on reforms that are important for us. That's all. And then we will see. Maybe Europe will not be so interested in us.”

Merely establishing better trade and economic relationships with the EU would exponentially benefit Ukraine (as well as Mr. Pinchuk's business).

By hosting the YES conference, Mr. Pinchuk may be promoting his self-interest, but he's also doing more to promote Ukrainian EU membership than most are willing or capable of.

Just as he was getting into a sleek black Mercedes alongside former Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, I asked Mr. Pinchuk whether he was interested in financing a documentary film about the Ukrainian Holodomor, just as he had agreed to do for the Jewish Holocaust.

He replied: “I thought about it many times. I'm planning to finance a project that is connected with gathering the stories of eyewitnesses who had gone through it. Maybe some films will be made from these materials, but I want to take part in gathering those testimonies because there are fewer survivors every year. And then it might be some documentary. I think that it is very, very important for the Ukrainian people.”

A progressive, a reformer, a humanitarian, an exploiter, a swindler, an opportunist. Like all of us, Mr. Pinchuk is a complex figure.

He is also among Ukraine's most influential people.

Time will tell whether he'll be most famous for his notorious relationship with Mr. Kuchma, or if he comes out from under that shadow to make his own mark on Ukrainian history.



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Ukrainian Canadian professionals honor filmmaker Halya Kuchmij

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – Filmmaker Halya Kuchmij became the fourth recipient of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association Media Award, on June 29, receiving the honor from UCPBA Toronto president Roman Nazarewycz.

Ms. Kuchmij has worked in film and television as a producer/director for over 25 years, initially as an independent filmmaker, then with the National Film Board of Canada and finally with the CBC.

During her 16 years with the CBC-TV's documentary unit ("The Journal," "Man Alive," "Witness" and "Life & Times") she has filmed around the world, producing and directing six one-hour network specials, 35 network documentaries as well as countless current affairs magazine items.

Her film subjects have included profiles of Nelson Mandela, Spike Milligan, Sir Laurens van der Post, Lorne Greene and Burton Cummings, and she has made documentaries on Americans held hostage in Beirut, the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, international noise pollution, native justice in the Arctic and euthanasia.

While working in mainstream film and

TV, she has frequently sought out specifically Ukrainian topics. This began with her first independent documentary film, "Strongest Man in the World" – the story of Michael Swistun, a Ukrainian Canadian strongman/magician from rural Manitoba who toured western Canada during the depression with his one-man show. The film won the best theatrical documentary Genie in 1981 and catapulted her career into documentary filmmaking.

Her Ukrainian-themed films include "Laughter in My Soul" – the story of Jacob Maydanyk, the creator of a popular comic strip with a Ukrainian immigrant hero. She was one of the director/producers for the series "Canada: A People's History," making "Episode 11: The Great Transformation," which told the story of the first Ukrainian immigration to Alberta.

In 1988 Ms. Kuchmij traveled to Ukraine to film "Millennium" on Ukraine's 1,000 years of Christianity. Asked to do a film on Canadians in World War II, she made "The Enduring Legend of Pierre Le Canadien: The Peter Dmytruk Story," a story about a Saskatchewan Ukrainian in the Canadian armed forces who was shot down over France, fought with the French



Filmmaker Halya Kuchmij receives the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association Media Award.

Resistance and was killed in the war. He became a hero to the French but is unknown to most Canadians.

Ms. Kuchmij's films have won over 30 national and international awards,

among them the Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television's Genie (for film) and Gemini (for TV). Last year she was nominated for two Gemini awards: in the biography category for "Lord Black of Crossharbour," the story of Conrad Black, and in the sports category for "The Life and Times of Northern Dancer," the first Canadian-born horse to win the Kentucky Derby.

Ms. Kuchmij graduated from the University of Toronto and York University, is a director fellow of the Los Angeles-based American Film Institute and was a recipient of the prestigious Asia Pacific Media Fellowship.

She now has three projects in the works: the feature documentary "Living Strings," a history of the bandura and the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus under Hryhorij Kytasty; a biography of artist William Kurelek; and a film on Ukrainian war heroes in the Canadian armed forces, a project under development with the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center.

The UCPBA Media Award is presented every five years. Previous recipients include TV producer and broadcasting executive Ivan Fecan, TV comedienne Luba Goy and investigative journalist Victor Malarek.

Turning...

(Continued from page 6)

tion of the Draft Statute on the Secondary General Education School be amended as follows: (1) the Ministry of Education and not parents should determine the language of instruction in schools in accordance with the national composition of the pupils and (2) the language, literature and history of the given republic should be made obligatory subjects in schools with Russian as the language of instruction.

Although no written response was received, "this document has found support among those to whom it is addressed." Mr. Pavlychko said that the Draft Statute was now being "reconstituted anew" which might explain why the All-Union Congress of Teachers, which would have been called upon to ratify the document, had been postponed until early the following year.

Other criticism on language from Mr. Pavlychko came when he said, "the only reason why higher education in Ukraine is conducted almost entirely in Russian is because of several thousand foreign students in the republic." He suggested that a separate university be established in Ukraine for foreign students and pointed out that Ukrainian had been dropped from university entrance exams.

Mr. Pavlychko posed the question, "What is needed for our language to be able to breathe expansively and peacefully?" The answer according to him, was a constitutional guarantee as in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, that would make Ukrainian the state language of the Ukrainian SSR.

But this is not enough, he added. It is necessary to introduce the strictest regulations with regard to the utilization of the Ukrainian language in the republic and a detailed code which would concretely detail those spheres of life where utilization of the Ukrainian language would be obligatory.

These resolutions, according to Dr. Solchanyk, marked a turning point in the relationship between the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the Communist Party.

Source: "Catastrophic language situation in major Ukrainian cities" by Roman Solchanyk, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, August 2, 1987.

Ukrainian American credit unions...

(Continued from page 1)

New York State Credit Union League President William Mellin addressed participants and offered support from the New York League. Later, at the Embassy of Ukraine, attendees welcomed Ambassador Oleh Shamshur and New York Congressman James Walsh. Both Ambassador Shamshur and Rep. Walsh reiterated their support for the Ukrainian credit union movement.

Presenters for this year's conference included JoAnn Johnson, chairman of the National Credit Union Administration (NCUA), the U.S. government agency responsible for the oversight of our country's federally chartered credit unions. The NCUA oversees 9,500 credit unions with over 82 million members and \$520 billion in assets. NCUA Board Member Gigi Hyland spoke to attendees and praised their work in developing Ukrainian American credit unions. NCUA officers Matthew Biliouris and Judy Graham presented upcoming issues and challenges that face U.S. credit unions.

The conference also included presentations from several credit union support

organizations, including the Credit Union National Association (CUNA), Members United Corporate Federal Credit Union and the World Council of Credit Unions (WOCCU).

CUNA Mutual President Jeff Post welcomed participants and spoke on the issue of credit union insurance. CUNA's senior economist, Bill Hampel, presented an optimistic view of credit unions in today's economic environment and highlighted the fact that our nation's credit unions consistently provide more advantageous financial services for their members than do banks.

After the conference, the Illinois delegation, consisting of Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union's Board Chairman Michael R. Kos, CEO and President Watral, Directors Oleh Karawan and Roman Yatskovskyy, along with Walter Tun and Volodymyr Pavelczak met with Illinois Sens. Barack Obama and Dick Durbin, as well as Reps. Danny Davis and Melissa Bean. The senators and representatives expressed their steadfast support of America's credit unions and the credit union movement in Ukraine.

As this country's only Ukrainian American community-owned financial institutions, credit unions are indeed

thought of as a strong community force. Their association, the UNCUA, provides a focus for the collective voice of these most influential community institutions.

What does the ongoing growth of our credit unions mean for the Ukrainian American community? Nothing less than a powerful unifying force that can span differences between religious, civic, youth and cultural community organizations. Ukrainian community-owned cooperatives represent the core of an even stronger, more united Ukrainian American community – a community enriched by this focused financial strength, with a capable voice promoting cooperation and democracy both here and abroad.

As was noted at the credit union conference in Washington, Ukrainian community organizations can only benefit from increased cooperation and utilization of the community's credit unions. What Ukrainian American would not be proud to say that his/her community has its very own financial base, with over \$2 billion in assets? Credit unions issued a call to all Ukrainian American organizations to actively participate in enhancing the community's strength through membership in community-owned credit unions.

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Second session of preschoolers' Tabir Ptashat attracts 67 campers



Kristina Lew



KERHONKSON, N.Y. – Sixty-seven “little birds” descended on Soyuzivka, the Ukrainian National Association’s Catskill estate, on July 2-8 for the second session of “Tabir Ptashat,” the introductory Plast camp run by the “Pershi Stezhi” sorority of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization. The 4- to 6-year-olds and the 30 parent-counselors who volunteered to train and entertain them traveled to Soyuzivka from all across the United States and Canada: from Arizona, California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Toronto, Wisconsin and Washington. The theme of the second week, run by Christine Hladky of Randolph, N.J., was countries where Ukrainians live, and each day’s activities, from arts-and-crafts projects to songs, focused on Australia, Brazil, Canada, the United States and Ukraine. Highlights from the week included a concert by Olya Chodoba Fryz in the Veselka auditorium, a “Journey Through Ukraine” scavenger hunt on the grounds of the resort, and a blazing bonfire on the meadow before the Lviv Villa. The best part of the week for 6-year-old Petrusik Luba of Audubon, Pa.? “Everything.” Seen in the photos (clockwise from top) are: “Ptashata” and counselors from Week 2 of Tabir Ptashat; “Owls” Katia Hnatiw, Jack Russell and Odessa Howera raise the Ukrainian and American flags; a game of “tug of war” supervised by parent-helper Tymish Hankewycz; the camp bonfire; and “Flamingos” Gregory Gawdiak, Zen Kochanowsky and Andrew Lucky.



Tennis Camp celebrates its 39th year at Soyuzivka estate

by Petrusia Sawchak

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – Thirty youngsters, ages 10 to 16, came to tennis camp this year from 10 different states and Canada. More than half were repeaters from last year and some were second-generation campers like Greg Serba of New Jersey, Victoria Kuritza of Illinois and George Foty of Ontario, whose parents attended Tennis Camp years ago.

The director of Tennis Camp since its inception is George Sawchak, United States Tennis Association (USTA) ranked player, teacher, organizer and captain of the Middle States team that competes with other USTA sections.

Tennis instruction this year was given by Mr. Sawchak and daughter Tetiana Louer, also an accomplished former collegiate tennis player, USCAK's women's champion and instructor of the National Junior Tennis League (NJTL) in Philadelphia.

Assisting them were counselors Adam Ogonowski, Alyssa Kowcz and Tatyana Romanyuk. The dorm supervisor was Olya Czerkas who also assisted with off-court activities along with Petrusia Sawchak; both are teachers by profession.

As Mr. Sawchak repeated throughout the two weeks, "The main focus is tennis."

Youngsters received intensive tennis instruction at various sessions during the day that developed and stressed correct form, proper strokes and game strategy and the importance of good sportsmanship. The daily regimen always began with calisthenics. The last few



The participants and staff of Soyuzivka's Tennis Camp 2006.

days of camp was devoted to tournament play, where the campers put to use what they had learned.

Off-court activities included swimming in Soyuzivka's Olympic-sized pool, a barbecue party, movies, charades, dances and enjoying Hutsul Night, a special treat arranged by the Soyuzivka manager, Nestor Paslawsky. During the World Cup all the campers gathered and cheered together in the Main House as they watched Ukraine eek out Switzerland in a shoot-out. It was a day to remember!

Despite differences in age, the campers bonded with each other and had a terrific time. Some even cried when it was time to go home.

Many of the campers also participated and won in the USCAK-East Tennis Tournament held on the weekend of July 1-2. The winner in three events, Dennis Chorny, was a former tennis camper many years ago. In fact, both he and his brother Kornlyo had some of their first

(Continued on page 19)

Chorny big winner at USCAK-East tennis tournament

by George Sawchak

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – Dennis Chorny scored a tennis hat trick, winning three events at the 50th annual USCAK-East Singles and Doubles Championship held at the Ukrainian National Association's Soyuzivka Estate on July 1-2. Winning the men's singles, the doubles and mixed doubles events, Chorny played seven matches, 16 sets in two days – a task not easily accomplished.

In the well-played men's singles final Chorny bested Marko Krasij in a long three-setter 6-3, 3-6, 7-5, coming back from a 5-2 deficit in the third set to emerge victorious. In the semi-finals of the group Krasij defeated Nick Nalywayko and Chorny beat Steve Sosiak.

The winner of the round was Mykola Stroynik, who beat Greg Serba in the first round and received a default in the final when his opponent could not play.

Playing with his brother Kornlyo as a doubles' partner, Dennis Chorny won the men's doubles event, winning a close 5-7, 6-3, 6-3 match against the pair of Ihor Lukiw and Steve Sosiak, and in the finals besting another strong pair, Mark Hlushewsky and Peter Matkiwsky 7-6 (1), 6-2. In the semis, Hlushewsky and

Matkiwsky defeated the young pair of Adam Ogonowski and Greg Serba.

In the round-robin format of the mixed doubles, Chorny and his partner, S. Mocherniuk, won both matches defeating a daughter/father pair, Larissa and George Hrabec 6-2, 6-4, and a wife-husband duo, Marta and Richard Legeckis 6-3, 6-3. The Hrabecs took second place winning against the Legeckis 6-2, 6-2.

In the senior group finals Ivan Durbak defeated George Hrabec 6-4, 6-3, adding this title to the many he already possesses. In the semis Durbak advanced when, with the score at 4-3 in the first set, George Walchuk retired. In the same round Hrabec won from Walter Dziwak, and Dziwak won the consolation final from Milan Obradovic.

The overall tournament was played in 10 contesting groups – four adult and six junior groups, with 40 participants, making this one of the best attended USCAK-East tournaments in recent years. Most of the junior players were from the Soyuzivka Tennis Camp then taking place at Soyuzivka.

The junior girls' singles competition was conducted in three age groups.

The winner of the youngest group was Natalia Hryhorowych, who in the finals of

the group defeated Audrey Owens 6-1, 6-1. Third place went to Julie Goodfriend with a 6-2, 1-6, 7-5 win over Biata Gerasymenko.

The winner of the middle group was Victoria Kuritza, who bested Laryssa Boyko in the finals 6-4, 6-3. Third place in the group went to Ivanka Misilo, a 6-3, 6-3 winner over Alexia Blackhurst.

Adrienne Kowcz beat Anissa Boyko 6-4, 6-4 in the finals of the older group of girls thus winning the first place in that group.



UNA Treasurer Roma Lisovich and George Sawchak present awards to doubles finalists: (from left) Mark Hlushewsky and Peter Matkiwsky, and winners Dennis and Kornlyo Chorny.

Lidia Kowinko defeated Larisa Farion 6-1, 6-3 to take third place in the group.

In the only Junior Boys' Group, the winner was Nick Nolywayko, who defeated Daniel Tylawsky 6-2, 6-4 in the finals. The consolation winner of the group was Adrian Ripeckyj.

The junior girls' and boys' doubles winners were Anissa Boyko and Lidia Kowinko and Daniel Tylawsky and Adrian Burke, respectively. Boyko and Kowinko won the group when their opponents,

(Continued on page 14)



Tournament Director George Sawchak (center) presents trophies to Men's winner Dennis Chorny (left) and finalist Marko Krasij.



Junior trophy winners with the tournament committee (in the back row).

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Forget Nesmachnyi...

(Continued from page 7)

Sukhonosenko (dry nose), Artem
Krasnosenko (pretty nose).

Boroda is either chin or beard, and
kozaky did not grow beards (but maybe
facial hair is involved here): Lukash
Bezborodko and Ivan Bezborodchenko
(without chin, or beard), Hnat
Stryzhyborodenko (shave the beard).
And then there's Hrytsko Pupolovchenko
(belly button catcher?).

This guy would be fun at a party –
Ivan Nalyvaiko (keeps pouring), but not
this one – well, maybe – Hrytsko
Dobrolezhenko (lies down well). Some
of the gorier ones: Ivan
Pyschymuchenko (squeal while torturing
or being tortured), Semen
Krovopustenko (bloodletter), Ostap
Kostomolotenko (bone thresher or beat-
er), Sava Kozorizenko (goat butcher).

There's poor Ivan Trynytka (three
threads), Naum Chornoshтанenko (black
pants) and Yakiv Mokrohlay (wet head).
Speaking of heads, there are also cover-
ings for them: Danylo Velykoshapka
(big hat), Pavlo Biloshapka (white hat)
and Ivan Kryvoshapka (crooked hat).

Now these I'm just putting out there –
go figure: Onysko Pivtorabatko (father and
a half), Hryshko Kryvoyibaby (belonging
to the hunched baba), Tyshko Bezpechnyi
(safe), Khvedir Piatyhorchenko (five hills
or mountains). Fedir Pyvo (beer), Mys'ko
Pyvovarenko (beer brewer), Hrytsko
Vodopian (drunk from water?), Mykhailo
Sukholiyenko (pours dry) and Ivan
Nepyvoda (don't or doesn't drink water).

The first names are fascinating, and
the list makes one grateful some are no
longer that popular: Nychypir, Khrul,
Khvyl, Parkhom, Deimoiko, Nekrashka,
Kyryk, Kuts, Yosko and Yatsko and
Yakhno, Mysko, Bilash, Zhadan, Dorosh,
Kub, Poluyan, Dziurdza, Matiusha,
Khursa, Lushchik, Chornysh, Hapun,
Yarmak, Ovdii.

The surnames in the title?
Nekormyhostenko (someone who did not
feed his guests), Prodaivodenko (sells
water) and Nezdiiymyshapka (does not
take off his hat).

That's it? No more room? The crook
of the cane pulls me into the editorial
wings! Enough already? But I've just
started – I haven't even gotten to the end
of Volume I!

Don't worry, one of these days I'll be
back with many more – or my maiden
name isn't Pashchak (one with a large
[animal's] mouth).

Chorny big winner...

(Continued from page 13)

Larisa Farion and Laryssa Boyko, could
not compete. In one of the best matches of
the tournament, the final match by boys'
doubles went to Tylawsky and Burke who
defeated Nolywayko and Serhij Moshak
6-7, 6-3, 6-3.

During the closing ceremonies tro-
phies were presented by Ivan Durbak,
George Hrabec and George Sawchak,
tournament director, as well as UNA
Treasurer Roma Lisovich. Ms. Lisovich
spoke briefly about the support that
Soyuzivka needs from the community.

The next Ukrainian tennis tournament
will be USCAK's National Tournament
held yearly at Soyuzivka during the
Labor Day weekend.

Correction

Due to an error in transliterating from
Ukrainian, the last name of the winner of
the Father's Day raffle at Soyuzivka was
misspelled. The winner's name should
have been given as Taras Myshchuk.

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

country to Yanukovych and criminal groups," she added. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yanukovych and Yushchenko confer

KYIV – Party of the Regions Chairman Viktor Yanukovych said on July 20 after meeting with President Viktor Yushchenko that he believes the president wants to consolidate the efforts of Ukraine's political forces, Interfax reported the same day. "I saw in the president's eyes a big desire to consolidate efforts and that was enough for me," Mr. Yanukovych told reporters. However, Mr. Yanukovych was apparently unable to determine whether President Yushchenko would submit his candidacy for prime minister to Parliament. Mr. Yanukovych did claim that the president is not considering dissolving Parliament, and that the president is not considering any other candidates for the prime ministership. "The talks concerned the stabilization of the political situation, the stabilization of the Parliament's proceedings, and the creation of the effective system of power," Mr. Yanukovych said. (RFE/RL Newsline)

New coalition aims to include OU

KYIV – Party of the Regions leader Viktor Yanukovych, Yushchenko's main rival in the 2004 presidential election, declared in the Verkhovna Rada on July 25 that the recently forged parliamentary coalition of the Party of Regions, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party can be expanded to include the pro-presidential Our Ukraine, Ukrainian media reported. "At this crucial moment we must begin our work together from a clean sheet that has no markings or past mistakes. And the first line on this clean sheet should be '[Do] good for the people of Ukraine,'" Mr. Yanukovych said. The three-party coalition proposed Mr. Yanukovych last week as a candidate for prime minister. President Yushchenko promised to express his opinion on the Yanukovych candidacy by August 2, amid rumors that he may also be pondering the dissolution of the legislature and new elections. (RFE/RL Newsline)

President proposes political roundtable

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Moroz told lawmakers on July 25 that President Viktor Yushchenko has proposed to hold a roundtable with representatives of the Ukrainian Parliament and main political forces in order to discuss the current political situation in the country, Ukrainian media reported. "It was the president's initiative. I think it is a useful step. In my opinion, it will be an effective step," Mr. Moroz noted. He added that the roundtable would take place on July 26, but the presidential press service said that Yushchenko's schedule for July 26 does not foresee his participation in the roundtable announced by Mr. Moroz the previous day. At press time, it was reported that the roundtable would take place on July 27. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Rada rescinds dismissal of Cabinet

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on July 25 canceled its resolution of January 10 to dismiss the Cabinet of Prime Minister Yuriy Yekhanurov, Ukrainian media reported. The move was supported by 239 deputies – mostly from the newly formed coalition of the Party of the Regions, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. "After we exchanged opinions on the need for holding a roundtable, I asked my colleagues: 'Let's look at how we could make a gesture to meet the president halfway, to demonstrate that we are ready for cooperation, that we are working the way he wants us to work,'" Parliament Chairman Oleksander Moroz told lawmakers in explaining the

reason for the vote on Mr. Yekhanurov. The parliamentary debate before the vote, according to the Ukrayinska Pravda website, took place "amid bursts of laughter." It is not clear what legal consequences the July 25 resolution may have for Mr. Yekhanurov. In January, President Yushchenko ignored the parliamentary no-confidence motion in the Yekhanurov Cabinet. Mr. Yekhanurov stayed in his post until the inaugural session of the newly elected Verkhovna Rada on May 25, when he submitted the resignation of the entire Cabinet and assumed the role of acting prime minister. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Moscow hosts informal CIS summit

MOSCOW – The presidents of eight of the 12 CIS member-states met informally for dinner in Moscow on July 21 and continued discussions the following day, Russian media reported. The July 22 discussions focused on proposals by Kazakhstan's Nursultan Nazarbaev for reforming Commonwealth of Independent States structures to render them more effective, regnum.ru reported. The most important of those proposed innovations is a requirement that all CIS decisions in the spheres of migration policy, transport, education, "modern challenges" and humanitarian affairs be adopted by consensus. The 12 presidents are to decide on that proposal at their next summit, to be held in Miensk in November, Interfax quoted Mr. Nazarbaev as saying. He added that Russia should serve as the driving force for closer integration among CIS states. Other, unspecified participants argued in favor of a common CIS defense system. Armenia's Robert Kocharian did not attend, having caught a chill swimming earlier last week; Georgia's Mikheil Saakashvili stayed away after being informed it would not be possible to meet privately with Russian President Vladimir Putin on the sidelines; Ukraine's President Viktor Yushchenko opted out, citing domestic political tensions, according to the dpa news service; and Turkmenistan's President Saparmurat Niyazov has not attended an informal CIS summit since 2002. The culmination of the gathering was a horse race at the Moscow hippodrome in which a bay colt from Russia and a black colt from Azerbaijan finished neck and neck and shared first and second prize, regnum.ru reported. The Epsom Derby has ended in a dead heat only once in its 226-year history. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Russians take stock of G-8

STRELNA, Russia – President Vladimir Putin told reporters in Strelna at the close of the Group of Eight summit on July 17 that "we are satisfied that our partners received with understanding Russia's ideas and proposals for the summit," Russian and international news agencies reported. He added that "it is also obvious that Russia's growing economic potential allows it to play a more significant role in global development, and we are ready to participate actively in implementing all of the proposed initiatives." Deputy Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov noted that, prior to the summit, Moscow "faced a lot of criticism from different parts of the world, but in the end we managed to show that Russia's place in the G-8 is quite natural, that it's impossible to tackle vital problems without Russia." An unnamed Western diplomat was quoted by The Washington Times on July 18 as saying that the "Russians have clearly had a recovery of confidence." The Moscow daily Nezavisimaya Gazeta noted on July 17, however, that Russian plans for the gathering were overshadowed by the Middle East crisis and by Iran's refusal to agree to the Russian-backed proposal to halt uranium enrichment. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yavlinsky slams Putin's foreign policy

MOSCOW – Grigory Yavlinsky of the liberal opposition Yabloko party wrote in Novaya Gazeta of July 17-19 that President Vladimir Putin's foreign policy is ill-conceived and threatens the interests of Russia more than it does those of any other country. Mr. Yavlinsky stressed that the root of the problem is that Russia lacks "effective modern state institutions, democratic traditions, or even a modern society as such." He notes that Mr. Putin has successfully called attention to problems in democratic countries to discredit democracy itself. Mr. Yavlinsky said he believes that "there has been no discussion in Russia of Russia's place and role in the world, long-term strategy for international relations, or how all this relates to our country's internal ... development." Instead, Mr. Putin conducts a short-sighted foreign policy aimed at promoting the immediate interests of various "factions within the Kremlin." Mr. Yavlinsky argues that official comments about "being 'separate' from other [countries], [establishing] 'sovereignty,' and [exercising] foreign-policy independence are sometimes expressed in an oddly adolescent manner and involve steps that are potentially dangerous for Russia itself. How else could we describe the decision to sell

Tor missile systems to Iran, or show friendship and concern for North Korea and Hamas?" On July 17, State Duma Deputy Vladimir Ryzhkov of the Republican Party wrote in Nezavisimaya Gazeta that the discussion in Kremlin circles about "sovereignty" only serves to show that democracy is what Russia lacks in order to be truly sovereign. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Bishop Lonchyna heads board

LVIV – Bishop Hlib Lonchyna on July 10 was presented as the head of administration of the Religion Board of the Kyiv-Halych Metropolitanate of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC). Also present at the event was Patriarch Lubomyr Husar, primate of the UGCC, who said that the newly appointed head of administration will also fulfill the mission of exarch on matters of monasticism. Among the assignments of the new head will be to: monitor the work of inter-parchial committees; ensure that each commission has a clearly formulated goal in its activities; work to improve cooperation between commissions and coordinate their work; and work toward the professionalism of church personnel and premises, and appropriate financing for the activities of the commissions (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)



It is with great sorrow that we announce the death of our beloved father and uncle



Theodore S. Muzychka

on Monday, May 15, 2006.

Born September 26, 1916, in the Ternopil oblast, he survived the Great Famine of 1932-33. In 1935 he immigrated to the US and settled in New York City where he worked as a tailor as well as a chef in several restaurants. In 1942 he married Mary Oleksiw, who passed away on February 6, 2000. In 1967 he moved to Pennsylvania, where he worked as a chef for Brass Rail Restaurant until his retirement in 1984. He was a president of the local chapter of ODWU and a member of many Ukrainian organizations. He was very interested in Ukrainian and world politics.

The panakhyda was held on Friday, May 19, 2006, at the Kohut Funeral Home in Allentown, PA.

Funeral services were held at St. Mary's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Allentown, PA, followed by interment at the parish cemetery in Whitehall.

In profound sorrow are:
daughters, Vera and Barbara
"adopted daughter", Mary Pronkin
niece, Nadia Purnell with sons Daniel and Michael
nephew, Michael Kiey

May he rest in peace!

In lieu of flowers, donations for the restoration of the church icons may be sent to:

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Will Yushchenko...

(Continued from page 2)

Orange Revolution ally and prime minister, who had been determined to serve again as prime minister of an Orange coalition linking her eponymous bloc with Our Ukraine and the Socialist Party of Ukraine.

That aspiration died in early July, when the Socialists defected to the Yanukovich-led coalition.

But Ms. Tymoshenko remains a

charismatic figure and the self-described keeper of the Orange Revolution flame. For her, fresh elections would be an opportunity to win the votes of Ukrainians disenchanted by President Yushchenko's seemingly lackluster commitment to pro-Western principles.

Ms. Tymoshenko on July 24 tried to press the issue, declaring that deputies from her political bloc will give up their seats in an effort to force the dissolution of Parliament.

"Being aware of the danger of a

restoration in Ukraine of a Communist-oligarchic government, and with the aim of providing the president with additional constitutional provisions to call for extraordinary parliamentary elections in Ukraine, we state that we are ready to end our terms as members of the Ukrainian Parliament," Tymoshenko said.

Our Ukraine deputies are unlikely to take Tymoshenko up on her invitation to do the same. Borys Bezpalnyi, a member of Yushchenko's faction, described Tymoshenko's initiative as little more than public relations.

If President Yushchenko decides not to dissolve Parliament, his next deadline comes August 2, when he must endorse a candidate for prime minister submitted by Mr. Yanukovich's coalition and return it to parliament for final approval.

Constitutional changes implemented

this year took the power to nominate a prime-ministerial candidate away from the president.

The Anti-Crisis Coalition submitted Mr. Yanukovich's candidacy to Mr. Yushchenko on July 18. The Constitution gives the president 15 days to consider the nomination.

A Yanukovich prime ministership will be pleasing for Moscow, which resented Ukraine's pro-Western orientation following the Orange Revolution. Having a Moscow-friendly prime minister may mean a less punishing price rise when Ukraine renegotiates its gas contract with Russia in the autumn.

But the four-month impasse and the failure of the Orange coalition have likely dealt a setback to those in Ukraine who favor NATO and European Union membership.

Orange Coalition's...

(Continued from page 4)

commentary by Yulia Tymoshenko, The Wall Street Journal Europe, July 13:

"... To be clear, neither Ukraine nor Russia disputed the necessity of measured price changes. But unfortunately for Russia's neighbors, the price of Russian gas is not determined by market forces. Gazprom and its chairman, Dmitry Medvedev, who also doubles as Russia's first deputy prime minister, call the shots.

"Gazprom charges each neighbor a different price, a price largely determined by that country's relationship with the Kremlin rather than by supply and demand or gas-transport calculations.

"And so, as a result of its newfound independence from Russia after the Orange Revolution, Ukraine suddenly had to choose between a fourfold gas price hike or the interruption of its supplies. Similarly, Georgia was also feeling Moscow's wrath following the Rose Revolution and faced punishing price increases as well. Belarus, however, a country still in strong alignment with the Kremlin, continues to enjoy highly subsidized gas. ...

"... G-8 leaders should enforce energy

transaction standards that require open and transparent contracts in line with best business practices. This will help dilute the global power of leaders who play the energy card to achieve purely political goals.

"We see such problems today in the operations of state-owned energy firms in Latin America and through the use of opaque business intermediaries such as RosUkrEnergo, the firm that played a central role in the questionable gas deal between Ukraine and Russia. ...

"In the end, energy security for all of Europe requires recognizing that the linked nature of our supply and transmission systems makes us interdependent. This is where a formal Energy Alliance of consumers and suppliers could be useful. In this alliance, the nations of Europe would guarantee the energy supplies of one another in the event of a major disruption. ...

"The first critical step in an Energy Alliance would be to include Ukraine in the current energy dialogue that exists between the EU and Russia. It is self-evident that the country that hosts the majority of the transit of gas shipments to Europe from Russia would be included in this dialogue, especially in light of the events of this past January when Russia cut off the gas to Ukraine and Europe. ..."

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Poland disappointed...

(Continued from page 2)

country – starting with the top politician and ending with civil society here – is going to work with anyone who has the authority to hold power and who is a democrat. The final composition of the government is still unclear, but right now we're facing the scenario of a Parliament dominated by the pro-Russia Party of the Regions, and with the pro-Western president, Yushchenko, in the opposition. Is it important for Poland which of the major players ends up on top?

If the situation in Ukraine ends with the decision that the only working coalition could be a coalition of two currently warring factions, well then, let it be that way. For us, the most important thing is not who's running the country, but what the program is – whether it's Western-oriented, whether it's aimed at European and trans-

Atlantic alliance. Whether they are going to continue with the policy of democracy and respect for human rights and Euro-Atlantic integration. These are the most important questions and Poland will work with anyone who will go that way.

What about Viktor Yanukovich, Yushchenko's rival in the election that sparked the Orange Revolution? Is he a man Poland can work with?

It's very difficult to say. When I was in Ukraine I heard different stories about him, and some of what's being said is that he's a very pragmatic politician. But the only worry I have, from what I know of him, is that he's not a totally independent politician.

Does Poland remain suspicious of Russia's influence in Ukraine?

People who know more about it than I do, they say this is one of the important

factors in the whole game. And, of course, knowing what Moscow's reaction to the Orange Revolution was, and also the pressure that was put on Ukraine in the context of gas negotiations, I believe that the game has not ended.

Ultimately, the failure of the Orange coalition appears to be due, as you said, to personality clashes – specifically between Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, his one-time prime minister. Are these power struggles the reason that Ukraine has no government nearly four months after parliamentary elections?

This seems to be the basis of the existing situation. Whether this is in fact so is not for me to say. But the fact that the politics of such an important country as Ukraine is being reduced to the personal confrontation between major personalities is not helping Ukraine and its image in the world.

Kwasniewski's recent remarks on Ukraine have been very bitter, almost resigned. Is there a sense that Poland has given up on Ukraine, or is there more that it can do to keep Kyiv on a pro-Western course?

Poland will never give up where Ukraine is concerned because we believe in democracy. And we have this feeling that we ourselves achieved as much as we did not only because of our own efforts, but also because of the assistance which was provided by the government trade unions, Amnesty International and international organizations which construct civil society.

And what we are doing at the moment – what all of us are doing – is giving something back. We are actually trying to help those who, at the moment, are less fortunate than ourselves.

How much does geographic and historical proximity affect Poland's allegiance to Ukraine?

Ukraine for us – and Belarus as well – are very close to our borders – and they are very close people to us. And even if there are some political difficulties, it will not influence our general attitude. Poland will never abandon Ukraine or Belarus. More specifically, we will never abandon democracy and human rights in those countries.

– Compiled by Jan Maksymiuk

Tennis Camp...

(Continued from page 13)

lessons at Soyuzivka.

A very special banquet was held on the last Thursday night to award the tournament winners and announce the Best Camper awards. This year the camp was greatly honored by the presence of UNA President, Stefan Kaczaraj, who spoke about the Ukrainian National Association and Soyuzivka.

One camper, Mark Watson, was heard saying, "Is he really the president of UNA, and he came to talk to kids?"

After opening remarks Mr. Sawchak and Mrs. Louer distributed the camp certificates and presented trophies to the tournament winners:

Girls A Group: first place, Ada Kowcz; second place, Lydia Kowinko, and third place, Andrea Kusina.

Girls B Group: first place, Talia Hryhorowych; second place, Miss Kuritza; and third place, Alexia Blackhurst.

Boys A Group: first place, Daniel Tylawsky; second place, Nick Nalywayko; and third place, Adrian Burke.

Boys B Group: first place, Alex Puhalla; second place, Adrian Ripecky; and third place, Maxym Kurgansky.

The Mixed-Up Doubles winners were Mr. Serba and Serhij Moshak, who received water jugs courtesy of the Soyuzivka management.

Unanimously selected by the entire staff, the coveted Best Camper Awards were given to Miss Kuritza, Miss Kowcz, Mr. Serba and Mr. Tylawsky for their exemplary behavior and attitude both on and off the tennis courts.

A note of levity was added by Mrs. Czerkas and counselors who gave certificates based on funny attributes to all the campers. Mr. Sawchak concluded the banquet by thanking the staff and campers for their participation in this year's Tennis Camp and inviting everyone to continue playing tennis and return again next year.

Special thanks were also given to Soyuzivka's manager for his considerations and Chef Andrij Sonevytsky for his nutritious and tasty meals. After the formalities campers watched a slide show of photos from the camp and danced until midnight.



Tournament Award Winners with UNA President Stefan Kaczaraj.

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UKRAINE CRISIS...

(Continued from page 3)

who understands the link between domestic and foreign policies and is an expert on international affairs and Ukraine's national interests and obligations. (Anatolii Kinakh was a poor choice for such a position and Mr. Horbulin cannot move beyond acting secretary¹).

Background to the crisis

The origins of Ukraine's crisis lie in the failure of President Yushchenko to take advantage of his first year in power when he still possessed a wide range of powers inherited under the July 1996 Constitution of Ukraine.

These powers were never used to break with the Leonid Kuchma era, push through a government program of radical reforms or institute criminal charges against senior members of the Kuchma regime for abuse of office, corruption, election fraud and violence against journalists and politicians. With the majority of those who could have been charged following the Orange Revolution now inside the PRU faction in the Verkhovna Rada, where they have immunity, there is little likelihood of charges being introduced in

the foreseeable future (and certainly not in the life of the current Parliament).

President Yushchenko's inaction in 2005-2006 was followed by four key strategic mistakes:

- The Yulia Tymoshenko government was dismissed, thereby dividing the Orange Revolution camp, only seven months before the elections;

- A memorandum was signed with defeated presidential candidate Mr. Yanukovich that included proposals that pointed to President Yushchenko backtracking from his 2004 election promises and those made during the Orange Revolution. This perception of a president retreating from the values of the Orange Revolution was reinforced by Prime Minister Yuriy Yekhanurov's close relationship with the "national bourgeoisie" (i.e., the oligarchs).

- Divisions in the Orange Revolution camp permitted the PRU to grow in support from an average of 20 percent throughout 2005 to over 30 percent during the 2006 elections, culminating in the PRU obtaining the largest parliamentary faction of 186 deputies.

- The January 2006 gas agreement with Russia that reinforced divisions in the Orange Revolution camp and furthered

public perceptions of President Yushchenko as lacking a strategy and being beholden to corrupt business interests. The inclusion of the non-transparent RosUkrEnergo in the gas deal was either due to incompetence on the part of the executive and government, continuation of corruption schemes from the Kuchma era, or both.

Weak strategy continued to plague the Orange Revolution camp during the March 2006 elections and during coalition negotiations following the elections. An informal agreement within the Orange Revolution camp provided that whoever came first would have the right to appoint the prime minister.

The election results came as a shock to OU, which had expected to come in second (i.e., first in the Orange Revolution camp). Until the September 2005 crisis, OU had every opportunity to come in first in the 2006 elections as President Yushchenko is OU's honorary chairman. Instead, OU dropped to third place and received 9 percent fewer votes than in the 2002 elections, when it had obtained 23 percent.

The 2006 elections radically changed Ukraine's political landscape, laying the basis for the current political crisis.

The OU that entered the 2006 Parliament is more centrist and less

national-democratic than the OU of 2002. Major national democratic political forces which four years earlier had joined OU refused to join it in 2006. These included well-known national democratic leaders whose presence in government and in the Verkhovna Rada would have been a positive development. The Reforms and Order-Pora and Yurii Kostenko blocs failed to enter the 2006 Parliament.

The only centrist political party to enter Parliament was the PRU. In the 2002 elections the PRU, the party that has traditionally represented the Donetsk clan, campaigned together with four other parties in the pro-Kuchma For a United Ukraine bloc. Three of these parties ran independently in 2006 and failed to enter Parliament: the Agrarians (Volodymyr Lytvyn bloc), Labor Ukraine (LU) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP). Mr. Kinakh's Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, the fifth member of the For a United Ukraine bloc, defected to President Yushchenko in the second round of the 2004 elections and joined OU in 2006. The Social Democratic Party - United (SDPU), which had run in the 2002 elections independently of the For a United Ukraine bloc, also failed to enter the 2006 Parliament.

The YTB expanded its support more than threefold on its 2002 results, growing from 7 to 22 percent support and coming in first among the Orange Revolution camp. OU's support, meanwhile, declined from 23 to 14 percent.

Ukraine's 2006 Parliament, therefore, was the most polarized in Ukraine's 15-year history. Former pro-Kuchma centrists who had traditionally played the role of "buffer" between eastern and western Ukraine were no longer present. Two antagonistic political forces - the Party of the Regions and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc - were the largest factions in the Verkhovna Rada, with 310 deputies (or 70 percent of the total of 450). This polarization inside Parliament was heightened by contentious issues, such as NATO membership and the status of the Russian language, moving from low to high matters of concern for voters.

Polarization inside the Verkhovna Rada has been heightened by the PRU's attitudes to the immediate past. The PRU's leadership and electorate believe that they won the 2004 elections but were then "betrayed" by President Kuchma and his then head of the Presidential Administration, Viktor Medvedchuk. The PRU, therefore, is Janus-faced; while being anti-Kuchma, it is also a "post-Kuchma" party.

At the same time, the PRU's refusal to acknowledge President Yushchenko's legitimacy as deriving from a re-run of the fraudulent second round of the 2004 elections, and the PRU's continued hostility to the Orange Revolution as a "conspiracy," shows its inability to break fully with the political culture of the Kuchma era. This is reflected in other policy areas, such as the PRU's negative attitudes toward a free media.

The PRU leadership's unwillingness to accept its involvement in election fraud in 2004 - and, therefore, Mr. Yanukovich's defeat - has only been deepened by the lack of criminal charges instituted against senior Kuchma-era officials. With no charges in place, PRU leaders argue "election fraud, what fraud?" The possibility of criminal charges being instituted for election fraud in 2004 are now unlikely as those who could have been charged in 2005 now have parliamentary immunity for the life of the current Parliament.

(Continued on page 21)

¹ Acting Secretary Volodymyr Horbulin is beyond the legal retirement age and, therefore, cannot move from the position of acting secretary to secretary.





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UKRAINE CRISIS...

(Continued from page 20)

Coalition choices

Following the 2006 elections, OU senior leader Roman Bezsmertnyi proposed that OU recognize the results and accept that the YTB has a right to appoint its candidate for prime minister in a new Orange coalition. This correct strategic choice was ignored by both OU and President Yushchenko, who instead conducted simultaneous negotiations over the next three months with both Orange Revolution allies and the PRU.

The reality of the 2004 and 2006 election results, both of which confirmed Ukraine's regional divide, pointed to three potential coalition possibilities immediately following the March elections. These three possible coalition formats remain largely unchanged:

- Orange Revolution: OU, YTB, SPU (243 seats);
- grand coalition: OU, PRU (267) and possibly SPU (300 seats);
- "Kuchma Lite": PRU, CPU, SPU (240 seats).

An Orange coalition would have been created immediately following the 2006 elections if OU had come second (i.e., first in the Orange camp). The dragging out of coalition talks simultaneously with the YTB and the PRU was a consequence of OU coming in third.

The coalition marathon (April-June 2006) showed to what degree President Yushchenko and OU also were Janus-faced. While willing to accept credit for holding free and fair elections, they were unwilling to accept the logic of the outcome of the elections which had propelled the PRU and the YTB to control 70 percent of parliamentary deputies and the fact that OU now has reduced influence.

This unwillingness to accept the election outcome has directly led to this summer's political and constitutional crisis. President Yushchenko and OU strove to negotiate simultaneously with the YTB and the PRU in the hope of extracting maximum advantage for themselves by not allowing OU to become the smaller partner in any coalition.

OU hoped to prevent Ms. Tymoshenko from taking the position of prime minister in the Orange coalition and, failing this, to balance her position with OU controlling the position of Parliament chairman. OU's choice of nominee for Parliament chairman, Petro Poroshenko, reinforced two prevalent views: first, that there would be a return to the Tymoshenko-Poroshenko personal clashes that had plagued the first year of the Orange administration; second, the likelihood of the Orange coalition again collapsing due to personal rivalries. Following that collapse, a grand coalition of OU and the PRU would have emerged to replace a second failed Orange coalition.

In negotiations with the PRU, OU sought to obtain concessions over the prime minister's position in return for the PRU controlling the position of Parliament chairman. The PRU agreed to leave Mr. Yekhanurov as prime minister, whom it sees as ideologically close to it and who also opposes re-privatization. The PRU's compromise over the position of prime minister aimed to block the return of Ms. Tymoshenko, which would have threatened its strategic objectives of no further re-privatization and the sanctity of property rights.

The re-united Orange coalition eventually created three months after the March parliamentary elections would have seen Ms. Tymoshenko return as prime minister. But, the Orange coalition collapsed even before it could propose its government when the smallest of the three Orange coalition partners, the SPU,

withdrew its support from the coalition. The SPU officially claimed that the reason was its opposition to Mr. Poroshenko obtaining the post of Parliament chairman in exchange for Ms. Tymoshenko becoming prime minister.

In reality, the SPU had long sought the position of Parliament chairman for its leader, Mr. Moroz. The SPU had never raised its objections to aspects of the Orange coalition during the April-June negotiations and remained in government with the center-right OU throughout 2005-2006.

Mr. Moroz was Verkhovna Rada chairman on one previous occasion in the 1994-1998, when, again allied with the CPU, he attempted to thwart economic reforms and a pro-Western foreign policy. As Parliament chairman, Mr. Moroz was in conflict over domestic and foreign policies with President Kuchma.

OU's candidate for Parliament chairman, Mr. Poroshenko, merely provided the excuse for the SPU to no longer abide by the Orange coalition agreement. Mr. Poroshenko had been secretary of the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC) in 2005, a position he had occupied at the president's behest to counter Prime Minister Tymoshenko.

Anti-Crisis Coalition

The defection of the SPU to the PRU and the CPU has led to the creation of the least expected Anti-Crisis Coalition. The Anti-Crisis Coalition controls 240 out of 450 deputies, a number similar to the 243 that the Orange coalition was to have controlled. Alone, the PRU and their CPU allies had insufficient votes to create a parliamentary coalition, being 19 deputies short of a minimum majority of 226.

The Anti-Crisis Coalition removes the need for the PRU to concede the position of prime minister, which it can now seek to obtain for itself, with the SPU and the CPU sharing control of the parliamentary leadership. The PRU has proposed Mr. Yanukovich for prime minister, a position he occupied in 2002-2004 – the last two years of the Kuchma regime.

The inclusion of the CPU represents the first occasion in Ukraine that the Communists have entered the government, ironically during the Yushchenko presidency. The CPU has entered government at a time when the CPU is in terminal decline from its height of 120 national deputies in the 1998 Parliament; it now has only 21 deputies.

The two remaining parliamentary factions, the YTB and OU, have little choice but to go into opposition to the Anti-

Crisis Coalition. The YTB has always ruled out entering any coalition that included the PRU. OU will be forced into simultaneous mild opposition to, and cohabitation with, the Anti-Crisis Coalition. OU's national democratic wing will align with the YTB and its centrist, business wing with the PRU.

Informed sources have advised Ukraine Strategic Insider that President Yushchenko will never accept Mr. Yanukovich for the position of prime minister. The reasons are similar to those based on which he was disinclined to look favorably on Ms. Tymoshenko returning to the position of prime minister. Both Mr. Yanukovich and Ms. Tymoshenko are polarizing figures who, in the position of prime minister, would serve to further divide – not unite – Ukraine. Ukraine needs a centrist prime minister able to work with both the PRU and the YTB, and with the president.

OU will never join a coalition with the PRU if it includes the CPU and its prime minister is Mr. Yanukovich. It is these two obstacles that are preventing any negotiated solution to Ukraine's deepening crisis. Both the PRU and the YTB are seeking to extract maximum advantages for themselves without taking heed of the country's overall national interests and the need to overcome the deepening crisis and regional divide.

Faced with this escalating crisis, there are two scenarios facing Ukraine:

- Collapse of the coalition: The Anti-

Crisis Coalition collapses in the fall and is replaced by a grand coalition of the PRU and OU. Following the betrayal of the SPU leadership, which defected from the Orange coalition, it would be unlikely that OU would agree to the SPU joining a grand coalition.

- Early elections: The dissolution of Parliament and repeat elections. The election results would be unlikely to heal Ukraine's regional divide, which was confirmed in the 2004 and 2006 elections, and may polarize Parliament further by increasing the representation of the PRU and the YTB beyond their current 70 percent of deputies. OU, the SPU and the CPU could be elected with fewer deputies while the two left-wing parties could fail to enter the Verkhovna Rada (see Tables 1 and 2). OU could prevent this outcome by creating a joint election bloc with the YTB, which has been touted but seems a remote possibility. The SPU could well be decimated if, as expected, Mr. Moroz could be removed by a pending extraordinary congress called in protest to his alignment with the PRU.

Internal Affairs Minister Yuriy Lutsenko, a high-profile SPU member active in anti-regime protests during the Kuchma regime, has resigned in protest from the SPU. Mr. Lutsenko represents the right-wing of the SPU. His criticism of the SPU's alignment with the PRU is replicated by unlikely allies on the left of the SPU such as Yosyp Vinskyi, who has resigned as secretary of the SPU's Political Council.

What the latest polls say

Table 1: Early Parliamentary Elections: July 2006 (% support)

| Parties/ blocs | 3/06 election results | Polling organization | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|------|------|
| | | Sofia | FOM | KIIS |
| PRU | 32.14 | 37.1 | 36.5 | 50.3 |
| YTB | 22.29 | 22.3 | 19.8 | 22.4 |
| OU | 13.95 | 11.3 | 9.3 | 10.1 |
| SPU | 5.69 | 5.5 | 2.7 | 3.2 |
| CPU | 3.66 | 5.3 | 3.1 | 2.8 |

Table 2: Early Presidential Elections: July 2006 Polls (% support)

| Candidate | Polling organization | |
|------------|----------------------|----------|
| | Sofia | Razumkov |
| Yanukovich | 36.2 | 31.3 |
| Tymoshenko | 20.1 | 19.6 |
| Yushchenko | 14.4 | 8.4 |
| Moroz | 5.5 | 5.5 |

Key to abbreviations of polling organizations:

Sofia = Sofia Center for Social Research

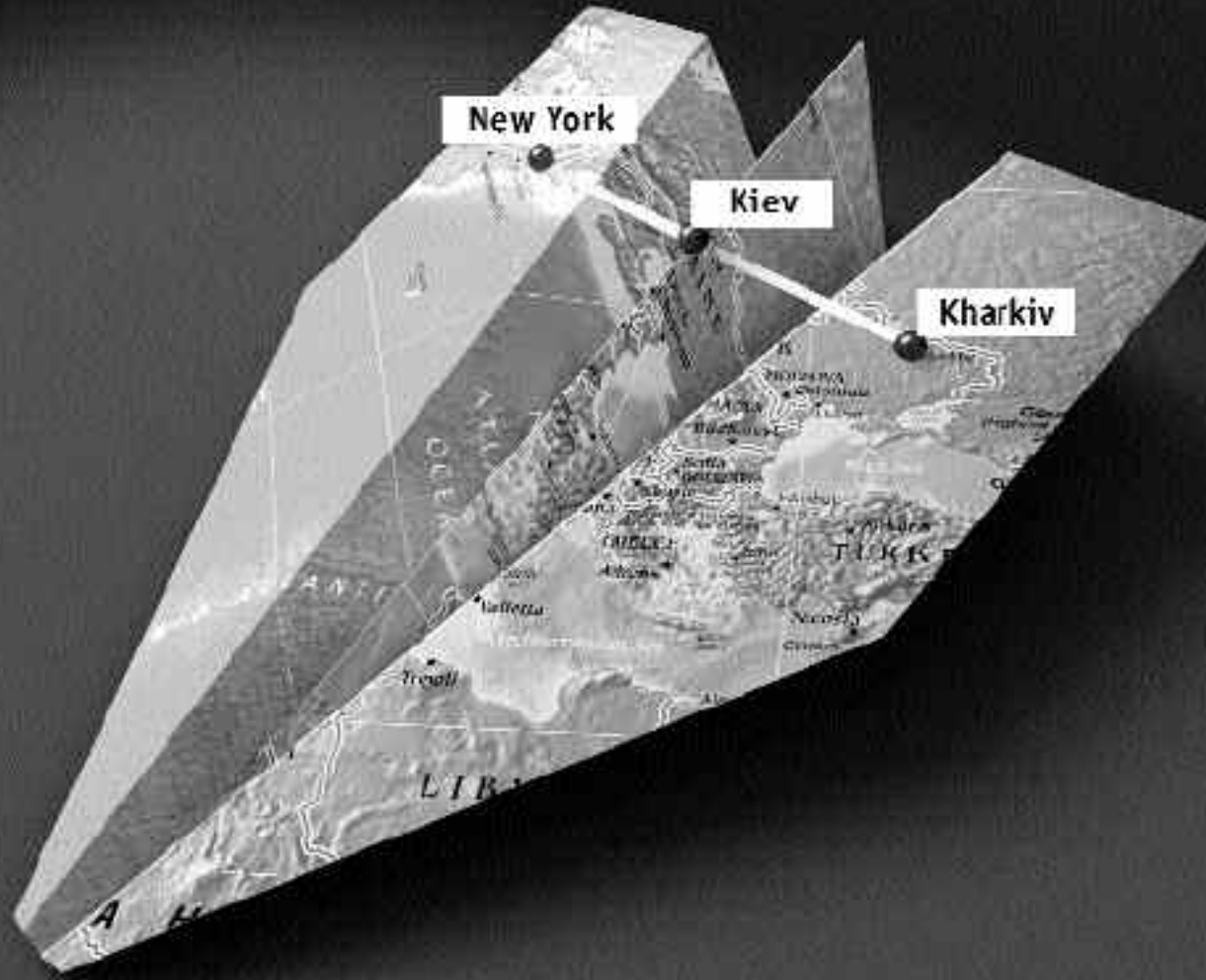
FOM = FOM [Public Opinion Foundation]- Ukrayina

KIIS = Kyiv International Institute of Sociology

Razumkov = Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Studies



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OUT AND ABOUT

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|--|---|
| <p>July 31 Cambridge, MA</p> | <p>Lecture and slide presentation by Myron Stachiv on Chernobyl and cultural preservation in Polissia, Harvard Hall, Harvard University, 617-496-6001 or alexdillon@earthlink.net</p> | <p>August 11-15 Onamia, MN</p> | <p>American Youth of Ukrainian Descent (ODUM) "Family Camp," 952-941-1633</p> |
| <p>August 3 Cambridge, MA</p> | <p>Documentary film presentation by Yuri Shevchuk, featuring Ukrainian filmmakers, co-presented by the Ukrainian Film Club and Ukrainian Studies Program of Columbia University, HURI Seminar Room, 617-496-6001 or alexdillon@earthlink.net</p> | <p>August 12 Jewett, NY</p> | <p>Children's Ukrainian Folk Singing Recital, under the direction of Anna Bachynska, Grazhda Music and Arts Center of Greene County, 518-989-6479</p> |
| <p>August 4 Cambridge, MA</p> | <p>Julian Kytasty performs traditional and composed bandura music, Holden Chapel, Harvard University, 617-496-6001 or alexdillon@earthlink.net</p> | <p>August 13 Edmonton</p> | <p>"Ukrainian Day," Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, 780-662-3855, ext. 1104</p> |
| <p>August 4 Washington, DC</p> | <p>The Washington Group summer social, National Gallery of Sculpture Art Garden, 240-381-0993</p> | <p>August 20 Horsham, PA</p> | <p>Ukrainian Independence Festival, Ukrainian American Sports Center Tryzub, 215-343-5412</p> |
| <p>August 4-6 Dauphin, MB</p> | <p>Dauphin Ukrainian Festival, Selo Ukraina, 204-622-4600 or toll free 877-474-2683</p> | <p><i>Entries in "Out and About" are listed free of charge. Priority is given to events advertised in The Ukrainian Weekly. However, we also welcome submissions from all our readers; please send e-mail to staff@ukrweekly.com. Items will be published at the discretion of the editors and as space allows; photos will be considered. Please note: items will be printed a maximum of two times each.</i></p> | |
| <p>August 5 Jewett, NY</p> | <p>"European Vocal Miniatures," Oleh Chmyr, Grazhda Music and Arts Center of Greene County, 518-989-6479</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Got a group? Need The Weekly?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Call our subscription department to find out how you may qualify for a group discount on your Weekly subscriptions. (973) 292-9800 ext. 3042</p> | |
| <p>August 6 New York</p> | <p>Cheres Ukrainian Folk Orchestra performs free concert at Lincoln Center's Josie Robertson Plaza, www.cheres.net</p> | <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>U.N.A. MORTGAGE LOANS</p> <p><i>Purchase or Refinance</i> <i>Save your money now</i> <i>Guaranteed low rate</i> <i>Adjustable rate now</i> <i>Save your money now</i> <i>Get ahead in life</i> <i>Now only</i></p> <p>1 - 800 - 252-9363 ext 3038</p> </div> | |
| <p>August 7 Cambridge, MA</p> | <p>Lecture by Dominique Arel on language and politics in Ukraine, Harvard Hall, Harvard University, 617-496-6001 or alexdillon@earthlink.net</p> | <div style="text-align: center;">   </div> | |
| <p>August 11 Cambridge, MA</p> | <p>Presentations and sketches by Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute students, Boylston Hall, Harvard University, 617-496-6001 or alexdillon@earthlink.net</p> | | |
| <p>August 11 Jewett, NY</p> | <p>Film screenings, "The Whisperers" and "Dora Was Dysfunctional," by Andrea Odezynska, Grazhda Music and Arts Center of Greene County, 518-989-6479</p> | | |



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Soyuzivka's Datebook

Through August 28, 2006
Every Monday: Steak Night with music by Soyuzivka's House Band

Through August 30, 2006
Every Wednesday: Hutsul Night with music by Soyuzivka's House Band

Through September 1, 2006
Every Friday: Odessa Seafood Night with music by Soyuzivka's House Band

August 4, 2006
Band Zahrava performs at the Tiki Bar, 10 p.m.

August 4-6, 2006
Kozak exhibit

August 5, 2006
Dance Camp performance 2 p.m., Auction Fund-Raiser sponsored by Chornomorski Khvyli and Soyuzivka's Heritage Foundation Golf Tournament
Zabava with band Zahrava, 10 p.m.

August 6-19, 2006
Ukrainian Folk Dance Camp, Session #2

August 12, 2006
Miss Soyuzivka Weekend and zabava with Tempo

August 13, 2006
Musical concert sponsored by UNWLA Regional Council of NY

August 12-19, 2006
Club Suzie-Q Week

August 18, 2006
"Pete and Vlod – unplugged" perform at the Tiki Bar, 10 p.m.

August 19, 2006
Dance Camp performance followed by zabava with Fata Morgana

August 26, 2006
Zabava with band Vidlunnia

September 1-3, 2006
Labor Day Weekend
September 1, Band Zahrava performs at Tiki Bar, 10 p.m.

September 2, Afternoon performance by band Hrim; performance by Yavir School of Ukrainian Dance, 8 p.m.; zabavas with bands Luna and Zahrava, 10 p.m.

September 3, performance by Yavir School of Ukrainian Dance, 1 p.m.; zabava with band Zahrava, 10 p.m.

To book a room or event call: (845) 626-5641, ext. 140
216 Foordmore Road P.O. Box 529
Kerhonkson, NY 12446
E-mail: Soyuzivka@aol.com
Website: www.Soyuzivka.com

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, August 5

JEWETT, N.Y.: "Music at the Grazhda" presents baritone Oleh Chmyr, soloist with the New Jersey State Opera, in a program of works titled "European Vocal Miniatures," with Victor Markiw at the piano. The concert will feature a repertoire of music by Western European as well as Ukrainian, Polish and Russian composers. Time: 8 p.m. The Grazhda is located on Ukraine Road, off Route 23 A; it is five miles west of the town of Hunter, N.Y., in the Catskill Mountains. For directions visit www.grazhdamusicandart.org; for additional information call 518-263-4619.

Sunday, August 6

NEW YORK: Cheres, the premier Ukrainian folk ensemble in the U.S., will be performing at Lincoln Center Out of Doors next month in a special tribute to international fiddling traditions called "Heritage Sunday: The World on a String!" Come hear the full-tilt acoustic folk music as played by the masters from the Carpathian Mountains. The free performance begins at 3:30 p.m. at Josie Robertson Plaza at Lincoln Center. For information log on to www.cheres.net.

Tuesday, August 8, and Thursday, August 10

NEW YORK: The Pioneer Theater in the East Village presents the New York City premiere of "Resilience," a feature film by Paul Bojack (a.k.a. Roman Paul Boychuk). Mr. Bojack's previous work includes "Glass Necktie," which was praised in the LA Weekly, the Los Angeles Times and Film Threat, and is available on DVD throughout the U.S. and Canada. Tickets for "Resilience" are available online at www.twoboost.com/pioneer (scroll down to "Resilience" and click on "Buy Tix") or call 310-313-1557. The Pioneer Theater is located at 44 Ave. A (near Third Street). Shows start at 7 p.m. This film is rated R.

Friday, August 11

JEWETT, N.Y.: "Music at the Grazhda" presents Andrea Odezynska, independent filmmaker and professor of film, School of Visual Arts, New York City, who will screen and discuss her two short films: the prize-winning documentary "The Whisperer" and the short comedy film "Dora Was Dysfunctional." The screening, sponsored by Music and Art Center of Greene County, will be held at 8 p.m. The Grazhda is located on Ukraine Road, off Route 23 A; it is five miles west of the town of Hunter, N.Y., in the Catskill Mountains. For directions visit www.grazhdamusicandart.org; for additional information call 518-263-4619.

Saturday, August 12

JEWETT, N.Y.: "Music at the Grazhda" presents a program of children's choral singing, recitations and skits under the direction of Anna Bachynska, former Lviv Opera soprano and current New York choral director and music teacher who conducts the

two-week folk-singing workshop held at the Grazhda. The program, sponsored by Music and Art Center of Greene County, will be held at 7 p.m. The Grazhda is located on Ukraine Road, off Route 23 A; it is five miles west of the town of Hunter, N.Y., in the Catskill Mountains. For directions visit www.grazhdamusicandart.org; for additional information call 518-263-4619.

Saturday-Sunday, August 19-20

CHICAGO: The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Illinois Division, is sponsoring Ukrainian Fest 2006 in Chicago's Smith Park, 2500 W. Grand Ave. (corner of North Campbell Street) from noon to 10 p.m. on both Saturday and Sunday. The festivities will feature Ukrainian food, crafts, music, lotteries and much more. Pony rides and children's attractions will add to the entertainment for the whole family. Dance groups will perform on Sunday afternoon. A celebration of Ukraine's Declaration of Independence will begin on Sunday at 1:30 p.m. For more information contact Pavlo T. Bandriwsky, 773-772-4500.

Saturday, September 2

KERHONKSON, N.Y.: The 50th annual swimming championships of the Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S.A. and Canada (USCAK) will take place at Soyuzivka. The warm-up is at 9 a.m.; the meet begins at 10 a.m. Prizes include awards for first, second and third place and team trophies funded by the Ukrainian National Association. Registration fee of \$10 per swimmer (includes commemorative T-shirt) is due by August 20; there will be no pool-side registration. Please make checks payable to "Ukrainian Sports Federation" and mail to: Marika Bokalo, 641 Evergreen Parkway, Union, NJ 07083. For more information call Mrs. Bokalo, 908-851-0617, or log on to www.soyuzivka.com.

Through Sunday, October 15

CHICAGO: The Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs announces the first major exhibition of early 20th century Ukrainian art in the United States. "Crossroads: Modernism in Ukraine, 1910-1930" will be on display at the Chicago Cultural Center in the fourth floor Exhibit Hall, 78 E. Washington St., through October 15. Admission to the exhibition is free. This outstanding exhibit of 21 Ukrainian avant-garde artists includes approximately over 70 works from the National Art Museum of Ukraine and other collections. A catalogue of the exhibit will be available for sale. The exhibition has been organized by the Foundation for International Arts and Education with the National Art Museum of Ukraine. It is presented by the Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs and the Kyiv Committee of the Chicago Sister Cities International Program. The exhibit includes works by Kazimir Malevich, Alexandra Exter and David Burliuk, Vasyl Yermilov, Oleksandr Bohomazov and others. For information contact Jill Hurwitz at 312-742-1148 or jhurwitz@cityofchicago.org.

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.

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

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