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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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Verkhovna Rada OKs resignations of Ministers Zvarych and Likhovyi

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Fed up with the Our Ukraine bloc's political indecisiveness, the country's coalition government led by the Party of the Regions let go two of the bloc's ministers from their posts.

American-born Minister of Justice Roman Zvarych and Minister of Culture Ihor Likhovyi were relieved during the November 1 session of Parliament, when their resignations, tendered two weeks earlier, were formally accepted by the Verkhovna Rada.

They were replaced with ministers who had served under former President Leonid Kuchma: Oleksander Lavrynovych became minister of justice and Yurii Lobutskyi is minister of culture.

"We can't allow ourselves to become hostages to someone's meditations, reflections, spiritual thoughts, hesitations, this kind of yearning for power," said Yaroslav Sukhyi, a Party of the Regions national deputy. "Give back your positions and tramp off!"

The Rada's move come after Our Ukraine People's Union (OUPU) Chair Roman Bezsmertnyi insisted the Our

Ukraine bloc would enter the opposition, despite President Viktor Yushchenko's urgings to return to the negotiating table.

In relieving the two ministers, the Party of the Regions demonstrated that its patience had run out with Our Ukraine, a political force that it doesn't need because it has enough votes in Parliament after uniting in a coalition with the Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU) and Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU).

Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych said the government would have also let go Minister of Family, Youth and Sports Yurii Pavlenko and Minister of Health Yurii Poliachenko, both Our Ukraine members if not for the fact that the coalition government hadn't yet agreed on their replacements.

Ministers Zvarych, Likhovyi, Pavlenko and Poliachenko had submitted their resignations on October 19 once Our Ukraine declared it was going into opposition to the Yanukovych government.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Borys Tarasyuk and Minister of Defense

(Continued on page 3)

Ukraine to join WTO no sooner than early 2007, says economy minister in rebuff to Yushchenko

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Ukraine can expect to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) no sooner than February 2007, said Minister of the Economy Volodymyr Makukha, derailing President Viktor Yushchenko's plan to join by late December.

Even if Ukraine passes the necessary laws and signs the necessary agreements by the year's end, Mr. Makukha said membership isn't realistic because Ukraine's legislative acts will still require extensive review by the WTO.

"After completion of Vietnam's procedures, the maximum amount of attention will be given to Ukraine," he told an October 30 press conference, referring to Vietnam's WTO bid. "In any case, to say that we will become a member earlier than February, when the WTO General Council meets, does not reflect reality," he added.

Mr. Makukha's announcement was yet another episode in the bipolar government's inability to agree upon a common foreign policy agenda and plan.

Just four days earlier, Mr. Yushchenko had said a December 21 meeting of the

WTO would decide Ukraine's membership.

Although Mr. Makukha is an independent politician, he was appointed to his post by Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych, the leader of the Party of the Regions, which staunchly supports pro-Russian cultural and military policies, but also favors European Union integration.

After Mr. Yanukovych inked a natural gas deal with the Russian Federation last week, political observers began suspecting that one of the unofficial conditions of the deal was for Ukraine to synchronize its WTO accession with Russia.

The Russian Federation's government

(Continued on page 4)

Rada's budget debate reveals wide chasm between opposing sides

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – One man's junk is another man's treasure.

Or in the case of Ukraine's 2007 budget, what Parliamentary Opposition Leader Yulia Tymoshenko called a "genocide," First Vice Prime Minister Mykola Azarov considered weighted, balanced and reconciled.

"All social programs that exist today," are absolutely preserved in next year's budget Mr. Azarov said. "Spending for them has increased."

Ukraine's Parliament debated and swiftly passed the first reading of Ukraine's 2007 budget on October 31, but not without the usual fireworks.

Complaining that she was allowed only three minutes to speak by Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Moroz, Ms. Tymoshenko called the budget shameful, just like the coalition government.

"The budget's social portion is absolutely ruined," she said. "The minimum wage and pensions don't increase in this budget."

Once her three minutes expired, she refused to leave the podium, provoking a mild standoff.

Mr. Moroz allowed her seven more

minutes as other national deputies decided to yield their time to her.

"Unfortunately, all social programs are practically ruined, particularly those related to wages and pensions," she continued, repeating herself.

(Continued on page 4)

Saskatchewan's first Ukrainian bilingual school opens

by Angela Wasylow

SASKATOON, Saskatchewan – History was made on Thursday, September 28, as Bishop Filevich Ukrainian Bilingual School – the first Ukrainian bilingual school in the province of Saskatchewan – was officially opened and blessed. Bishop Michael Wiwchar, together with the Rev. Bohdan Demczuk and the Rt. Rev. Vladimir Mudri, celebrated a moleben and blessed the school, staff and students.

Jim Carriere, chair of the Greater Saskatoon Catholic School Board, officially opened the school and together with the oldest student, Matthew Bilinski, and the youngest student, Salome Senger, unveiled the new name of the school. The students then rang a bell signaling the beginning of the school year.

The 160 kindergarten to Grade 8 students showcased their linguistic and religious education skills by replying to the moleben and singing hymns and prayers. Maria Kowaluk and Linden Predy gave a tribute to the late Bishop Basil Filevich. The choir pieces moved the audience of about 170 guests, including 35 Ukrainian language students from E.D. Feehan Catholic High School.

Principal Angela Wasylow recognized others who have helped along the journey toward a single-stream school. Walter Podiluk, former director of education, was a keen supporter of the beginning of the bilingual program in 1979. John Lewchuk was board chair when the movement toward a single stream school began. Dr. Helen Horsman, former director of education, was instrumental in the designation of the school.

Bishop Wiwchar lobbied the school board for what he knew the community desired and could sustain, Mrs. Wasylow noted. The work of Nadia Prokopchuk, Ukrainian education consultant, Saskatchewan Learning, has been invalu-

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The Rt. Rev. Vladimir Mudri blesses a classroom at Bishop Filevich School.

ANALYSIS

Putin offers Ukraine "protection" for extending Russian fleet's presence

by Vladimir Socor Eurasia Daily Monitor

In his annual phone-in dialogue with Russian citizens, televised live on October 25, Russian President Vladimir Putin proposed extending the stationing of Russia's Black Sea Fleet in Ukraine's Crimea beyond the 2017 legal deadline. Moreover, Mr. Putin obliquely cast doubt on Ukrainian sovereignty and security in the Crimea and farther afield by purporting to offer Russian military guarantees to that sovereignty and security.

Mr. Putin was answering pre-arranged questions from nine locations in Russia plus Sevastopol in Ukraine. Dwelling at length on two questions from Sevastopol regarding Russia's Black Sea Fleet based there, Mr. Putin replied (Interfax, October 25): "Russia ... is ready to negotiate an extension of the timeframe of our fleet's presence there ... I expect that we can resolve all these issues in a constructive dialogue on the governmental level, the ministerial level. Such negotiations are ongoing." He also hinted at "difficult internal political processes" in Crimea

and alleged "Slavic"-Tatar tensions there. Mr. Putin carefully couched his proposals in terms seemingly respectful of Ukraine's sovereignty, though reminiscent of Soviet military assistance offers to then-"fraternal sovereign countries" at their "request." He declared: "The decision on such issues undoubtedly lies within the competence of the Ukrainian sovereign state. Should the need arise, and should the Ukrainian people and leadership make a request, Russia would guarantee noninterference in Ukraine's internal affairs, if anyone would fancy such temptations [to interfere]. In that case, I assure you, the presence of Russia's fleet would not be irrelevant. ... If the Ukrainian leadership deems it possible and addresses us with a request for assistance, we are prepared without involving Russia into decisions on that type of issues – to provide assistance to our closest neighbor, the fraternal

Ukrainian republic, to protect her." The Russian president employed his recently developed, dialectical approach to the sovereignty and territorial integrity

(Continued on page 14)

Russian-Ukrainian "international" gas consortium back on the agenda

by Vladimir Socor Eurasia Daily Monitor

On October 10, President Viktor Yushchenko's office issued two policy announcements on control over Ukraine's gas transit pipeline system: regarding national ownership and regarding a Russian-German-Ukrainian consortium.

Meeting in the morning with Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych to discuss government policies and a Party of the Regions-Our Ukraine "broad coalition," Mr. Yushchenko "underscored the inadmissibility of any compromises regarding transit fees for [Russian] gas and the ownership of the country's gas transportation system," according to the presidential press service (Interfax-Ukraine, October 10).

Speaking by telephone with German Chancellor Angela Merkel in the afternoon, Mr. Yushchenko "came out in favor of resuming negotiations toward the creation of a Ukrainian-German-Russian consortium for gas transportation," the presidential press service reported (Interfax-Ukraine, October 10). As they spoke, Chancellor Merkel was hosting Russian President Vladimir Putin on an official visit in Germany.

According to the newly appointed deputy head of the Presidential Secretariat, Oleksander Chalyi, the Merkel-Yushchenko telephone conversation was a substitute for a personal meeting that was not held during President Yushchenko's October 3-4 visit to Germany. At that point, Chancellor Merkel had been so engrossed in the German government's debate on health service reform that she could not see the Ukrainian president, Mr. Chalvi maintained in his inaugural news conference (Interfax-Ukraine, October 11).

Irrespective of any scheduling problems, the sequence of these top-level contacts suggests that Russian-German coordination occurred first, and then the Ukrainian president was approached. The German government apparently passed up the opportunity to discuss the gas consortium issue with Mr. Yushchenko in

Germany barely a week before Mr. Putin's visit there. Gas deliveries and transit topped the agenda of the Russian president's visit to a Germany complacent about overdependence on Russian supplies (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, October 12).

The gas transit system is Ukraine's single largest economic and strategic asset, and Russian control over it is a major objective of Russian policy in Europe. The idea of turning Ukraine's gas transit system into a Russian-Ukrainian consortium dates back to a 2002 preliminary document of intent, supplemented by a similar document signed in 2003 with Germany. Then-President Leonid Kuchma signed those documents in the knowledge that national control over the pipeline system was a matter of consensus in Ukraine across party lines and that the Verkhovna Rada was unlikely to approve a cession of such control.

At that time, Moscow insisted on dealing with Ukraine first on a bilateral basis. creating a Russian-Ukrainian consortium (on terms that Moscow would largely have defined), and then inviting a third party to join as a minority shareholder. Germany, whose then-Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder backed the consortium plan, was the leading candidate for minority shareholder through one of Germany's energy companies.

To induce Kyiv to yield control over the system, Moscow held out promises to cancel Kyiv's debts for past deliveries of gas, to maintain low and stable prices on future deliveries, and to invest massively in the Ukrainian system's modernization and expansion. The latter promise was misleading all along, as Gazprom is chronically short of investment funds for projects in Russia itself. The issues of past debts, future prices, and, above all, ownership were not conclusively resolved during Ukraine's 2004-2006 presidential and parliamentary elections, with Russia awaiting the political outcomes in Ukraine before deciding on further moves.

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NEWSBRIEFS

Presidential decree on Helsinki monitors

KYIV - President Viktor Yushchenko signed a decree "On Commemoration of the 30th Anniversary of Creation of the Ukrainian Group to Promote Implementation of the Helsinki Accords." According to the decree, the Cabinet of Ministers is to organize solemn events on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's formation. Moreover, the government is tasked with elaborating issues related to increasing state stipends for Ukrainian citizens who were persecuted for their human rights defense activity . The president directed the Kyiv State Administration with inaugurating commemorative plaques on sites connected to the life and activity of members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. (Ukrinform)

Rada rejects proposal to honor Grigorenko

KYIV - The Verkhovna Rada on October 31 declined to approve celebrations in 2007 of the 100th anniversary of the date of birth of Gen. Petro Grigorenko, member of the Ukrainian Group to Promote Implementation of the Helsinki Accords and the Moscow Helsinki Group. One hundred ninety-three deputies voted for the measure, but 226 votes were needed for it to pass. In accordance with the proposal, among various anniversary events were to be special anniversary gatherings organized by government entities. Gen. Grigorenko was born October 16, 1907; he died in 1987. The former Red Army general was stripped of his military honors, arrested for his human rights activities and sent to a psychiatric institution. In 1977 he emigrated to the United States and was stripped of his Soviet citizenship. (Ukrayinski Novyny)

Russian fleet's presence may be extended

KYIV - Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych told journalists in Kyiv on October 30 that the current Ukrainian-Russian agreement on the deployment of Russia's Black Sea Fleet in Crimea until 2017 could be prolonged beyond that year, Interfax-Ukraine reported. Mr. Yanukovych denied allegations that the issue of the Black Sea Fleet was somehow linked to reaching last week's deal on gas deliveries to Ukraine in 2007. (RFE/RL Newsline)

WTO bills expected in Rada by December

KYIV - Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych told journalists in Kyiv on October 30 that the government is planning to submit to Parliament by mid-December a dozen bills required for Ukraine's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO), RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service reported. Mr. Yanukovych earlier predicted that his Cabinet would send the required bills to the Verkhovna Rada by mid-November. Meanwhile, Our Ukraine lawmaker Ksenia Liapkina said the same day that this year the Verkhovna Rada is unlikely to endorse all of the bills Ukraine needs to pass toward WTO membership. Ms. Liapkina noted that Ukraine's accession to the WTO will be delayed by the government and the ruling coalition, which in her opinion do not want to move quickly on the issue. "This is political will dictated from outside Ukraine," she added. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Police foil attack on local marketplace

DNIPROPETROVSK - Special police forces in Dnipropetrovsk on October 30 arrested some 90 people out of the 150 who, armed with firecrackers and pneumatic weapons, unsuccessfully attempted to seize the city's central marketplace called Ozerka earlier the same day, UNIAN reported. In 2004 control over Ozerka was taken over by a private firm in a tender that many potential local buyers decried as dishonest. In September 2006 the tender was cancelled by a court decision. The identity of the attackers has not yet been established. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yushchenko attends EU summit

HELSINKI - Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko said at the European Union summit in Helsinki on October 27 that Ukraine aims at enhancing its current level of cooperation with the EU to a "level of political association and economic integration," Reuters reported. Mr. Yushchenko was speaking at a news conference following talks with European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso and Finnish Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen, who represented the EU presidency. However, Mr.

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Kyiv court repeals requirement on Ukrainian-language dubbing of films

by Yana Sedova

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV – The revolutionary decision of the previous Cabinet of Ministers requiring the dubbing of foreign films into the Ukrainian language faces the fate of the Titanic.

The Kyiv Appellate Court repealed the Ukrainian-language quotas on October 17, siding with the Association for Ukrainian Cinema Promotion that filed a lawsuit against the Cabinet of Ministers for issuing its decree.

"This decision bans the Ukrainian language in our distribution industry," said Viacheslav Kyrylenko, the former vice prime minister for humanitarian affairs who led the campaign to dub movies into Ukrainian.

The quotas stipulated Ukrainian-language dubbing for 20 percent of feature films released since September 2006, 50 percent as of January 2007 and 70 percent as of July 2007.

Since September, all foreign film dis-

tributors were obliged to show the Ministry of Culture both a Russian and Ukrainian version of each film as the only way to obtain a distribution license.

The Association for Ukrainian Cinema Promotion asserted that the Cabinet decree violated the Constitution of Ukraine, which protects the use of the Russian language and languages of all national minorities in Ukraine.

Distributors now use other arguments, mostly economic, against Ukrainian-language quotas.

Every year, about 300 foreign films are released in Ukrainian theaters, they said at an October 27 press conference, and dubbing all of them into Ukrainian would be too expensive. Currently, Ukrainian distributors simply obtain their films dubbed in the Russian Federation into the Russian language.

"Dubbing costs about \$50,000 per film, and there are many low-budget movies that never bring as much of a box office return as blockbusters," said Tetiana Smirnova,

executive director of the Cinema Forum of Ukraine and the Association for Ukrainian Cinema Promotion. "European feature films might disappear, and only Russian and Hollywood movies would stay in the market."

Distributors blame B&H Distribution Co., the largest in Ukraine's film market, in lobbying its business interests and trying to establish a monopoly through its support of Ukrainian-language dubbing.

After the Cabinet decree, only B&H was willing to pay for dubbing the Disney film "Cars" and "Pirates of the Caribbean – Dead Man's Chest."

"B&H Co. earned \$12.5 million last year, and that is why they can afford the dubbing," Ms. Smirnova said. "But small distributors can't. So we could have at least started with providing movies with Ukrainian-language subtitles."

At the same time, distributors said movie-goers aren't interested in watching films in their original languages with Ukrainian-language subtitles.

Insisting that the issue is not political, distributors said it's simply not their duty to promote the Ukrainian language.

Distributors say there are no copy laboratories with appropriate production capacity. The only laboratory at the National Dovzhenko Cinema Studio can produce 100 copies per week at most, while the market needs tens of thousands of copies per year.

The distributors also claimed to have conducted their own opinion polls in 32 eastern and western cities, which supposedly convinced them that 80 percent of movie-goers want to see films in the language they're used to, namely Russian.

In eastern Ukrainian movie theaters, for example, the Ukrainian-language version of the animated film "The Ant Bully" drew an audience of up to 10 movie-goers, compared to several hundred for the Russian version.

"In situations like this cinema theaters are unable to pay salary to its staff," said Ihor Ihnatiev, the manager of Luksor

Ukraine, a distribution company.

The pirated video market swelled because movie-goers couldn't see films in the Russian language, said Mykhailo Sokolov, president of the Association for Ukrainian Cinema Promotion. "If these 80 percent do not see a movie in a language they want, they will buy home video movies," Mr. Sokolov said.

However, his claim was false on two accounts.

During the Ukrainian dubbing experiment, Ukrainians had the option of viewing films in Russian or Ukrainian. Furthermore, the Ukrainian-language versions were shown only during unpopular movie-going hours, namely during mornings and afternoons.

Box-office reports don't support the distributors' claims.

In heavily Russian-speaking Donetsk, the average audience for a Ukrainian-language version of "Cars" was 37 moviegoers, compared with an average audience of 32 movie-goers who opted for the Russian-language, said Bohdan Batrukh, the general manager of B&H.

The Association for Ukrainian Cinema Promotion requested a more comprehensive approach by the government and guarantees of the government's financial support for the industry, particularly any Ukrainian-language dubbing.

"We now see that the market is not ready for the Ukrainian language and it's not profitable to release a lot of films in Ukrainian," Mr. Ihnatiev said. "The state should have better supported national film production."

A happy ending appears elusive in the long-suffering soap opera in which the Ukrainian language plays the role of the beautiful, yet neglected Cinderella.

"I believe the deputies, the media and society will not keep silent," Mr. Kyrylenko said. "They had the possibility to see movies dubbed, or at least subtitled, in the Ukrainian language for the first time in Ukraine's history. It's too early to close the book on this story."

Moroz urges caution on UPA issue, opposes benefits for UPA veterans

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Moroz has called on national deputies not to rush to review the status of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and its combatants, reported the Ukrayinski Novyny news agency on October 27.

At a meeting with faculty and students of Kyiv National Economic University, Mr. Moroz said: "Is it necessary today to honor this organization, making its members out to be defenders of the motherland? And what about the nearly 200,000 victims of the Lutsk and Volyn tragedies of 1943?"

Mr. Moroz criticized the work on the UPA of historian Stanislav Kulchytskyi,

saying that he uses materials of UPA soldiers and does not consider Soviet and German archives.

According to Mr. Moroz, German archives show that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army liquidated only 600 German soldiers during the war with the USSR, while at the same time Soviet partisans eliminated nearly 600,000 German troops.

The Rada chairman further stated that he is opposed to granting any social benefits to UPA soldiers. On May 9 President Viktor Yushchenko had called on the Verkhovna Rada and the Cabinet of Ministers to grant equal social benefits to veterans of the UPA and the Soviet Army.

Ukrainian interns hold roundtable with MP Borys Wrzesnewskyj



OTTAWA – Liberal Member of Parliament Borys Wrzesnewskyj (Etobicoke Center) recently hosted a roundtable and farewell reception for the 20 visiting Ukrainian university students who were part of this year's contingent from the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP). The future leaders of Ukraine spent two hours exchanging their ideas and views with Mr. Wrzesnewskyj. The roundtable discussion focused on Canada's political system and the evolution of Canada-Ukraine relations. Interim Liberal Leader Bill Graham also attended the send-off and wished the interns all the best in their future endeavors. This year marked the 16th anniversary of the establishment of the CUPP. Supported by the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation of Toronto, under the direction of the president of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation Ihor W. Bardyn, the CUPP has provided Ukrainian university students an exceptional opportunity to learn how democracy functions in Canada by working closely with Canadian members of Parliament of all parties. Above, the interns are seen with Mr. Wrzesnewskyj at the conclusion of their roundtable.

Rada moves to suspend internal affairs minister

RFE/RL Newsline

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on November 2 passed a bill setting up an ad hoc commission to investigate alleged corruption and abuse of office in the Internal Affairs Ministry and proposing that Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych suspend Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Lutsenko for two months, UNIAN reported.

The motion, submitted by Party of the Regions National Deputy Yevhen Kushnariov, was supported by 235 law-makers of the 435 registered for the ses-

sion. Kushnariov told lawmakers that the reason for his motion is recent articles in the Kyiv-based newspaper 2000 charging that there have been numerous cases of corruption and abuse of office in the Lutsenko-led ministry.

Our Ukraine lawmaker Viacheslav Kyrylenko told the Verkhovna Rada that its move against Mr. Lutsenko is a "political reprisal." Mr. Lutsenko, who has no formal party affiliation, was proposed for his Cabinet job by President Viktor Yushchenko following a deal with Mr. Yanukovych.

Verkhovna Rada...

(Continued from page 1)

Anatolii Hrytsenko are likely to remain in their posts because they are the two ministerial appointments designated by the Constitution of Ukraine to be made by the president of Ukraine.

Mr. Zvarych was reappointed justice minister on August 4, when it seemed possible that the Our Ukraine bloc would unite with the coalition government into a National Unity Coalition.

In their agreement, Our Ukraine managed to name four of its politicians to chair Cabinet ministries, in addition to Messrs. Tarasyuk and Hrytsenko.

This violated Ukraine's Constitution, experts said, because Our Ukraine wasn't formally a member of the coalition gov-

ernment, the so-called Anti-Crisis Coalition.

In the months since, President Yushchenko and other Our Ukraine leaders accused the coalition government of violating the Declaration of National Unity particularly on foreign policy issues.

Mr. Zvarych was born in Yonkers, N.Y., to Ukrainian immigrants. He was active in New York City's Ukrainian American community before pursuing a political career in Ukraine. He became a Ukrainian citizen in October 1993.

President Yushchenko first appointed Mr. Zvarych as his Justice Minister on February 4, 2005, following the Orange Revolution. He lost the position in September, after the president decided to sack his entire Cabinet.

Ukraine to join...

(Continued from page 1)

is against Ukraine joining the WTO earlier, because that would give its smaller neighbor the upper hand in bilateral negotiations for its accession. Ukraine would then be able to use its stronger position to win gains in resolving trade disputes with Russia.

Mr. Makukha denied the coalition government was slowing Ukraine's entry on the Russian Federation's behalf, insisting it was deriving its policies and measures independently.

As evidence, he pointed to the fact that Ukraine is much further along in the WTO accession process.

Yet, at the same time, Mr. Makukha several times repeated the importance of Russia as a trade partner for Ukraine.

"This isn't the Olympics, where someone is supposed to finish first, and someone else second," he told The Weekly. "It's extremely important for us to become a WTO member, and we don't have any direct reason to tie this to Russia. There are certain problems that trouble them. We are giving them answers as to how to resolve these problems that arise."

Specifically, Russian trade officials expressed their concern that Ukraine's membership would lead to a flood of spirit, alcohol and sugar products from Ukraine.

Ukrainian officials assured the Russians that proper customs and border control would prevent a flood of such products into Russia, Mr. Makukha said. "We aren't talking about any synchronization," he said. "We're consulting and removing concerns from our trade partners."

Established in 1995, the WTO is an international trade organization aimed at enhancing free trade among states. Its



Ukraine's Minister of the Economy Volodymyr Makukha.

supporters argue that free trade creates competition that ultimately benefits consumers, while its detractors believe the WTO is a part of a globalization process that is destroying local economies and communities.

In order to join, Ukraine's Parliament still needs to pass about 20 bills. The Presidential Secretariat has submitted 16 bills for review, which the Cabinet of Ministers will approve, Mr. Makukha said.

However, there are tactical disagreements between the Secretariat and the Cabinet regarding three bills that involve foreign economic policy and agriculture, be said

Minister of Foreign Affairs Borys Tarasyuk on Octber 23 accused the pro-Russian coalition government of intentionally disrupting the schedule for preparing and reviewing WTO laws in the Verkhovna Rada. Furthermore, the Universal of National Unity called for the coalition government to complete all WTO-related measures by the year's end, he said.

Mr. Yanukovych said on October 30 that he will submit all the remaining, necessary WTO legislation for Parliament's consideration by mid-December.

Although the Party of the Regions and its ranks of wealthy businessmen generally support Ukraine's WTO accession, the Communists are notorious for their opposition, and it's unclear whether they will fall in line for the vote.

Other enemies of Ukraine's WTO accession, Mr. Makukha said, include businessmen who currently operate under

closed schemes, and would therefore be negatively affected by new rules on transparency.

Other than bringing Ukraine's legislation into conformance with WTO requirements, Ukraine also needs to agree to tariff proposals and requirements. The only trade protocols still requiring bilateral agreements are with Kyrgyzstan and Taiwan, Mr. Makukha said

The Verkhovna Rada was to consider 16 WTO-related bills at its November 2 session. The Communist Party of Ukraine has already stated its deputies will vote against the bills, while Our Ukraine and the Tymoshenko Bloc will vote in favor. Many Party of the Regions deputies will also vote in favor, while the Socialist Party of Ukraine hasn't indicated its position.

Rada's budget...

(Continued from page 1)

"Veteran pensioners are at the Rada at the moment. I would like to tell them that their requests were absolutely not taken into account. Veteran pensioners are practically deprived of normal pensions, and I would like for them to turn to the government, before it's too late."

Real income grew 20.5 percent when she was prime minister, Ms. Tymoshenko said, while the 2007 budget is planning for 8 percent growth.

Meanwhile the income tax will increase from 13 percent to 15 percent, she said.

"This means that every person absolutely will undoubtedly lose a part of their salary," Ms. Tymoshenko said.

The budget cuts financing of the State Pension Fund by \$1.1 billion, she said, which means no one's pension will increase. Utility bills will also increase markedly, she said, without any government subsidies.

City governments are burdened with handling social programs, but the 2007 budget doesn't allocate them adequate funds to meet the public's needs, Ms. Tymoshenko noted. Instead, the budget falsely inflates city budget incomes, she said.

The budget has a 2.6 percent deficit that plunges Ukraine further into debt, she continued.

It also includes free economic zones, which she described as tax loopholes for businesses that support the Party of the Regions.

Tymoshenko Bloc deputies complained that they received copies of the budget just three hours before the October 31 session began, and that comparative budget tables were received only a half-hour before voting.

"Is two or three hours enough to seriously and carefully read this document in order to vote for it?" asked Oleksander Turchynov, Ms. Tymoshenko's closest advisor.

Party of the Regions National Deputy Volodymyr Makeyenko, who chairs the parliamentary Budget Committee, said printed versions of the budget were distributed the day before.

He and other coalition government leaders dismissed Ms. Tymoshenko's criticisms as distortions, touting the 2007 budget as responsible and balanced, particularly in the social spheres.

In fact, their claims were direct contradictions of Ms. Tymoshenko's criticisms: the State Pension Fund will have 1.5 times more financing than the 2005 budget, wages will increase by 12.5 percent, and social spending will increase by 8 percent from last year.

Specifically, new mothers will continue to receive \$1,700 in government sup-

port, Mr. Makeyenko said.

Mr. Azarov personally guaranteed that by 2008, Ukraine will have between \$5 and \$7 billion in foreign investment. He accused the preceding Cabinet of Ministers of failing to properly manage the 2005 and 2006 budgets.

In fact, the 2006 budget even failed to adequately fund Ukrainian cultural programs that the government is currently trying to cover, he said.

"I would like to turn your attention to several programs — 'Insuring Development and Application of the Ukrainian language' — nil, 'Measures to Establish Cultural Ties with the Ukrainian Diaspora' — nil, 'Creating a Distribution for National Films' — nil,' Mr. Azarov said. "Presidential grant for young artists for creating and realizing creative projects, nil, publishing book under the program 'Ukrainian Book' — nil. All these programs will be financed 100 percent by the year's end. But a question arises: Why weren't they financed through August?"

Mr. Azarov neglected to mention that the 2007 budget denies funding for the planned Holodomor Memorial Complex and Ukrainian Institute of National Memory.

Mr. Azarov accused Ms. Tymoshenko of resorting to populist politics in her criticisms, while Socialist National Deputy Oleksander Baranivskyi accused her of lying outright about the 2007 budget.

"Budgets are never ideal, just as a husband's wage at home – whatever he brings, it's always too little for his wife," Mr. Baranivskyi said, mocking Ms. Tymoshenko.

He particularly praised the budget for increasing education funding by \$1 billion, which would cover computers and textbooks.

With the 2007 budget, Ukraine's Parliament is on the cusp of a historic moment, Mr. Makeyenko said. "It's three years until the next elections," he said. "During this period, we have the chance to pass a balanced 2007 budget and begin work today to review non-politicized projects for the 2008 and 2009 state budgets."

After three hours and 20 minutes of debate, the coalition government, along with 11 Our Ukraine deputies and eight Tymoshenko Bloc deputies, mustered 256 votes to approve the budget in its first reading.

A second reading and vote are scheduled for November 20.

After the session, Ms. Tymoshenko told reporters that the coalition government wanted to pass the budget as quickly as possible with minimal debate or discussion.

"In the conditions that people are living in, this is practically a budget of genocide in my opinion," she said.

Philadelphia Ukrainians meet with Pennsylvania Gov. Rendell



PHILADELPHIA – The governor of Pennsylvania, Ed Rendell, on October 27 met with Ukrainian leaders to discuss his vision for Pennsylvania, a state that has one of the largest Ukrainian communities in the U.S. The first wave of Ukrainian immigrants settled in the 1900s in Pennsylvania; today it is home to the Fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants. Gov. Rendell told the Ukrainian delegation that Pennsylvania has seen economic growth more than triple. In 2002 Pennsylvania was ranked 41st in job growth; today the state is ranked 15th. Pennsylvania ranks sixth in the nation for new and expanded corporate facilities and fourth for new manufacturing growth. During his tenure previously as mayor of Philadelphia and now as governor, Mr. Rendell participated in various Ukrainian community events, including commemoration of the Holodomor – the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933. Currently, the governor and his trade office are exploring a "state to state" relationship with Ukraine. Gov. Rendell is seen above (second from left) with (from left) Borys Zacharczuk, Ulana Mazurkevich and Ihor Fedoriw.

- Ulana Baluch Mazurkevich

Leading Ukrainian scholarly institutions confer at Shevchenko Society

NEW YORK – The Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) on October 21 hosted the third meeting of the representatives of leading scholarly institutions and programs dedicated to Ukrainian studies.

Held at the NTSh headquarters, the conference was a followup to two previous such meetings, held on October 1, 2005, and May 6 of this year.

Dr. Orest Popovych, president of NTSh, welcomed the participants, recognizing first Dr. Larissa Onyshkevych, the immediate past-president of NTSh, who had initiated these conferences. He then extended special welcome to first-time participants Dr. Michael S. Flier, director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI) and Oleksandr Potebnja Professor of Ukrainian Philology at Harvard University, as well as the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU) in Lviv.

Also in attendance were (in the order of their presentations): Dr. Frank Sysyn, director of the Peter Jacyk Center at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS); Dr. Lubomyr Hayda, HURI; Dr. Zenon Kohut, CIUS director; Dr. Myroslava Znayenko, president of the American Association of Ukrainian Studies (AAUS); Dr. Mark von Hagen, chair of both the Ukrainian Studies Program and the department of history at Columbia University; Dr. Roman Procyk, vice-president and learned secretary of NTSh, representing the Ukrainian Studies Fund; Dr. Albert Kipa, president of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. (UVAN) and rector of the Ukrainian Free University (UFU) in Munich, Germany; and Dr. George Grabowicz, Dmytro Chyzhevsky Professor of Ukrainian Literature at Harvard University, representing the Krytyka magazine and publishing house.

In the general part of the program, each representative was given five minutes to report about the latest developments at the given institution in the areas of scholarships, grants, publications, scholarly conferences and archives.

Dr. Popovych distributed copies of the recent NTSh announcements about the society's pre-doctoral scholarships and

the new post-doctoral fellowships in Ukrainian studies. He also spoke about continued financial support for the publications of the NTSh in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University and the archeological excavations at Baturyn in Ukraine.

Dr. Sysyn reported on the work by the CIUS on the electronic encyclopedia of Ukraine, the publication of the Journal of Ukrainian Studies and the English translations of the volumes of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's "History of Ukraine." The CIUS is also planning conferences to mark the anniversaries of the Holodomor and the battle of Poltava in 1709.

Drs. Hayda and Flier presented a rich menu of the seminars, symposia and exhibitions on Ukrainian themes either taking place or planned at HURI. They also announced that 12 post-doctoral fellows will be doing research at the HURI this year, each for a period of four months.

Dr. Kohur reported about the extensive publication program at CIUS, its support of the Baturyn excavations project, and an exchange program between the University of Alberta and Lviv University for undergraduate students.

Dr. Znayenko, representing some 60 members of the AAUS, spoke about her society's participation in scholarly conferences and the awarding of prizes for the best works of Ukrainian literature.

Dr. von Hagen cited examples of recent activities at the Ukrainian Studies Program of Columbia University: a roundtable in Washington, devoted to the subject of Ukraine and NATO; conferences on Babyn Yar, on Nadia Svitlychna, and with Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk. Also active at Columbia University is the Ukrainian Film Club, run by Dr. Yuri Shevchuk.

Dr. Procyk stressed the need to find benefactors for Ukrainian scholarly institutions. In the case of archives, he advised that copies be retained in North America when transferring the originals to Ukraine.

Dr. Kipa reported that both UVAN and UFU were in a state of financial crisis. According to him, the financial resources of the UFU will be exhausted by the end of October after which the university will be run by unpaid volunteers. Teaching at the UFU is expected to end in July 2007. The good news is that at UVAN work is being done on the archives and their electronic version will hopefully appear soon.

Dr. Grabowicz spoke about the joint publication projects of Krytyka and HURI. As examples he cited books by Yaroslav Hrytsak, Tamara Hundorova, Yurii Andrukhovych and Vasyl Makhno. He announced proudly that Krytyka was voted the best publishing house in Ukraine.

The second half of the meeting was devoted to more specific recent problems, such as the crisis in the area of the state archives of Ukraine, and the efforts by some universities in Ukraine to gain autonomy.

Directly involved in these efforts is the Rev. Dr. Gudziak, who reported that the UCU is one of the eight universities that formed a consortium designed to develop Ph.D. pro-



Meeting at the Shevchenko Scientific Society are: (first row from left) Larissa Onyshkevych, Myroslava Znayenko, Orest Popovych, Daria Dykyj, (second row) Frank Sysyn, the Rev. Borys Gudziak, Lubomyr Hayda, Michael Flier, Mark von Hagen, Zenon Kohut, Roman Procyk, Vasyl Makhno and Albert Kipa.

grams in humanities and social sciences according to Western models. At present, the official educational establishment in Ukraine does not recognize the American Ph.D. degree as a doctorate, confirmed the Rev. Gudziak. If Ukraine's educational system is to modernize, it must do so independently of the govern-

Amount Name

ment and its ministries, according to the Rev. Gudziak.

The conferees were unanimous in their agreement to meet again in the spring of 2007, albeit perhaps with a less ambitious agenda.

Prof. Vasyl Makhno served as the recording secretary for the above conference.

The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: October

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

30 years ago: a new movement

Thirty years ago, on November 9, 1976, the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was established. Its founding members were: Oksana Meshko and Oleksander Berdnyk, both veterans of Stalin-era camps; Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukianenko, who had been active in the Ukrainian Peasants and Workers' Union of the late 1950s-early 1960s; Oleksiy Tykhy and Nina Strokata, who were involved in the intellectuals' movement of the 1960s; Mykola Rudenko, a member in the early 1970s of the Moscow chapter of Amnesty International; Petro Grigorenko, a Red Army major-general who had become a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group; and two neophytes, Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matusevych – the only ones who had not been imprisoned before joining the new group.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group outlined its goals as follows:

"1. To assist in making wide circles of the Ukrainian public familiar with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To demand that this international legal document serve as the regulating principle of relations between the individual and the state. 2. ... to promote the implementation of the humanitarian provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. 3. To work toward ensuring that Ukraine, as a sovereign European state and as a member of the United Nations, is represented by a separate delegation at all international conferences where compliance with the Helsinki Accords is reviewed. 4. To demand, with a view to encouraging a free exchange of information and ideas, the accreditation to Ukraine of representatives of the foreign press, the establishment of independent press agencies and such."

To join the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was an act of great courage, as Soviet repression in Ukraine was harsher than in any other republic of the USSR. Still, its members were steadfast in their belief that the accords signed on August 1, 1975, provided an opening for them to hold the Soviet Union to the commitments it freely undertook in Helsinki, in particular its humanitarian provisions. In addition to human rights, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group focused on national rights, and it did not mince words. Already in its first document, Memorandum No. 1, the group spoke of the physical and spiritual genocide of the Ukrainian nation (citing the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, among other examples) under the Soviet regime. Its first memorandum also documented the fate of 75 political prisoners from Ukraine.

Soviet persecution of the group's members was fast and furious, as the regime sought to silence the group from the first day of its existence. On February 5, 1977, the Soviet authorities' crackdown intensified, with Rudenko and Tykhy becoming the first Ukrainian Helsinki monitors to be incarcerated for their activity. As its members were arrested and sent off to prisons, camps or psychiatric wards, new activists joined the group's ranks.

Many members paid even more dearly – with their lives. Two of the Ukrainian monitors, Yuriy Lytvyn, 50, and Mykhailo Melnyk, 35, committed suicide as a result of harsh imprisonment and repression; three, Vasyl Stus, 47, Oleksiy Tykhy, 57, and Valeriy Marchenko, 37, died in the gulag as a direct result of their conditions of imprisonment and lack of medical care.

But the group continued its work, demonstrating, as their Memorandum No. 1, had announced to the world, that "... the struggle for human rights will not cease until these rights become the everyday standard in social life" and that "prisons, camps and psychiatric hospitals are incapable of serving as dams against a movement in defense of rights."

Twenty-five years after the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Kyiv witnessed an anniversary gathering of its surviving members. One of them, Vasyl Ovsienko, explained the group's contribution to Ukraine: "Without the Helsinki Group there would have been no independent Ukraine. U.S. military, economic and political pressure came in response to light shed by the Helsinki groups. We helped to destroy the Soviet Union."

Today, 30 years after the emergence of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, we bow our heads in memory and in tribute to these heroes.

Nov. **9** 1976

Turning the pages back...

This week we remember the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group 30 years ago on November 9, 1976, as reported by The Weekly on November 21. The group was headed by Ukrainian poet Mykola Rudenko and had as its first members:

Lev Lukianenko, Nina Strokata, Oles Berdnyk, Ivan Kandyba, Myroslav Marynovych, Mykola Matusevych, Oleksiy Tykhy, Oksana Meshko and Petro Grigorenko.

The purpose of the group included monitoring the implementation of human rights in Ukraine in accordance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords signed in 1975, to gather and disseminate information about their violation, and to secure an independent role for Ukraine in subsequent negotiations and in international affairs. The USSR, not Ukraine, had signed the accords, but the Soviet authorities were bound to the provisions of the act. Ukraine's Helsinki monitors saw that it could be used as a basis for demands regarding human and national rights in Ukraine.

Two weeks after the group was formed in Ukraine, an American counterpart committee was created based out of Washington. Many of the founding members of this counterpart group, among them Ihor Koszman, Ulana Mazurkevich, Andrew Fedynsky and Bohdan Yasen, were activists in the Valentin Moroz defense movement. The American committee monitored compliance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords in Ukraine and reported all violations to the signatories. Additionally, the Committee of Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine was formed that same month. It organized many demonstrations demanding the inclusion of Ukraine in the Helsinki process and defending the persecuted members of the Helsinki Group. Other groups aided in attracting international attention to the group,

SIXTH ANNUAL GRIGORENKO READINGS

Human rights activist Nadia Svitlychna through the prism of Amnesty International

by Anna Procyk

It has been almost 40 years ago that Nadia Svitlychna's name came to the attention of human rights groups, including Amnesty International, through the publication of a collection of documents exposing the flagrant violation of human rights in Ukraine. These materials were compiled by Vyacheslav Chornovil, at that time a young journalist working for a television studio in Lviv. They circulated in manuscript form in Ukraine and, as has been the case with similar samizdat/samvydav literature, through Czechoslovakia, Poland and other channels, found their way abroad. They appeared in Paris in 1967 under the title "Lykho z Rozumu" (Woe from Wit) and a year later the book's English translation was published by McGraw Hill as "The Chornovil Papers."

This publication created a stir if not a sensation in the West, and not only among people actively engaged in the defense of human rights.

Prof. Frederick C. Barghoorn of Yale University in the introduction to "the Chornovil Papers" evaluated highly the contribution Ukrainian intellectuals were making in the struggle for freedom of expression and civil rights in the Soviet Union. He singled out in particular what he saw as the "community of interests among Soviet intellectuals of various national backgrounds," observing that "although the preservation of the Ukrainian cultural heritage and language are central features of the outlook of many young Ukrainian intellectuals, the latter perceive themselves as struggling, not against the Russian nation ... but rather against dictatorship and police state." Max Hayward of London, with obvious admiration, wrote: "... the Ukrainian opposition is striking both for its moderation and its high intellectual level." What was stressed in these and other evaluations was the mature level of nationalism among the Ukrainian dissidents: their emphasis on national equality without expressions of antagonism or ill feeling toward the ruling nation.

Svitlychna's older brother and mentor, the eminent poet and literary critic, Ivan Svitlychnyi, had been considered the central figure, the guiding spirit of this

Dr. Anna Procyk is professor of history at Kingsborough Community College of the City University of New York. This paper was delivered at the sixth annual Grigorenko Readings at Columbia University on October 10.

group. And Nadia, after her arrival in Kyiv, soon acquired recognition as his right hand in editing, translating and disseminating dissident literature. While she was not caught in the first wave of arrests documented in "The Chornovil Papers," her name does appear on the pages of the prisoners' correspondence.

One letter in the Chornovil Papers written to Svitlychna by a political prisoner, the modernist, non-conformist artist Opanas Zalyvakha, was of particular interest to human rights activists in New York because Zalyvakha was adopted as a prisoner of conscience by the Riverside Group of Amnesty International.

It was probably the impression created by the artistic works of Zalyvakha reproduced in "Lykho z Rozumu," as well as the cruelty of his punishment – it was learned that a labor camp guard broke Zalyvakha's fingers in order to prevent him from painting – that prompted the head of Amnesty International in Washington, a great admirer of modernist art, to adopt Zalyvakha as one of the first Soviet "prisoners of conscience" in the United States. The second Soviet adoptee was the Russian dissident Vladimir Bukovsky.

At that time besides the Washington group, there was only one other active Amnesty section in the United States, the already mentioned Riverside Group, which even though not officially affiliated – was nevertheless closely connected with Columbia University: the majority of its members were either Columbia University professors or students, including its head, a prominent scholar of Japanese culture, Prof. Ivan Morris, a British subject who joined Amnesty in England, where the organization was originally founded in 1962. Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski – although not a member of Amnesty - was nevertheless very responsive when approached with requests of assistance in various matters, especially in efforts to publish the documents from "The Chornovil Papers" in American papers and journals.

Being the only person in the Riverside Group from the Russian Institute (now The Harriman Institute) at Columbia University, it was only natural that I would become involved in the work on behalf of the two Soviet prisoners of conscience. In subsequent years, one of my Columbia colleagues, Walter Odajnyk, joined the group and another friend, Marta Skorupskyj, being associated with a Ukrainian research center not far from the

(Continued on page 18)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

A tribute from a bystander

by Irene Zabytko

I can't say I really knew her – I missed out on the opportunity. It's more truthful to say I knew of her, and yet I had the privilege of witnessing Nadia Svitlychna's presence long before she was aware of mine.

The first time I heard about Nadia Svitlychna was in my research for an undergraduate independent project. I read about the "Shestydesiatnyky," the dissidents in Ukraine in the 1960s who expressed their anti-Brezhnev grievances through underground samvydav and public protest, and I wanted to learn more about them. Exploring that era was actually a personal reawakening since I had no real connection to Soviet Ukraine outside of the Cyrillic scribbles on graph paper stationery my parents received from remote villages they no longer recognized.

From my research, I was introduced to the courageous Vasyl Stus, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Petro Grigorenko and certainly Nadia Svitlychna. I was especially fascinated when I learned more about her astonishing heroism and integrity in defending the other dissidents. She was unwavering in her dedication and stamina when she distributed the underground political writings for human rights in Ukraine despite KGB harassment and labor camp internment.

At tremendous personal sacrifice, she fought for a cause which even Ukrainians, never mind the world, did not necessarily embrace or aid. What a tumultuous time for Ukraine in those days (but then it's always a tumultuous time there it seems). What exceptional heroism those dissidents of the '60s exhibited in their hope and faith for a more humane Ukraine.

The first time I actually saw Svitlychna in person was at the infamous and pivotal

Irene Zabytko is the author of the novel "The Sky Unwashed" and the short story collection "When Luba Leaves Home." "Second Wreath Conference," a Ukrainian feminist gathering in Edmonton, Alberta. It was a controversial and exciting forum, progressive and invigorating, and I was thrilled to be among other women who shared a heritage I was slowly embracing again.

I sat inside a packed auditorium awaiting her keynote address to us. She came on stage, and her unassuming manner and gentle demeanor were evident. She spoke in a calm Ukrainian lilt and described her arrest and her time in the horrific labor camp in Mordovia without pity for herself or recriminations toward her denouncers. She simply related her experiences with grace, candor and lack of rancor or bitterness, even when she showed the audience the camp uniform she wore and had miraculously preserved – a striped and otherwise plain dress, simple in its form and yet terrible in what it represented.

I remember remarking to a friend who was also there how extraordinary it was that after all she had gone through, Svitlychna appeared so serene. My friend said it was because she was given another chance at life after she defected to the West and was reunited with her family. Svitlychna was, as my friend put it, "reborn."

Years later, I saw her again. It was a year after Ukraine's independence, and I was in post-Soviet Kyiv where I taught English as a Second Language classes for the Ukrainian National Association's innovative volunteer program, "Teach English in Ukraine." I was going home after several fulfilling weeks of teaching and being my students' first real-life American.

I was waiting in the long line to board my Air Ukraine flight at Boryspil. Two people were ahead of me, one was Svitlychna, although I was oblivious at first. She looked familiar, certainly very native Ukrainian, but it wasn't until she was made to go through the metal detector several times that I finally remembered.

(Continued on page 16)

FOR THE RECORD

UCC on the 50th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution

Following is the text of a statement on the 50th anniversary of the Hungarian uprising against Soviet domination that was issued on October 24 by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress.

On October 23, 2006, freedom-loving people across the world mark the 50th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. This spontaneous nationwide revolt against the neo-Stalinist government of Hungary and its Soviet-imposed policies lasted from October 23 until November 10, 1956, when it was brutally crushed by the armed forces of the Soviet Union assisted by domestic collaborators. Thousands of Hungarians died defending their nation. Many others became refugees.

The revolution was an act of national self-defense in the face of an anti-democratic dictatorial regime which did not serve the interests of the Hungarian people but only those of the imperialist regime in Moscow.

Ukrainian Canadians bow their heads in memory of those who gave their lives for the ideal that nations have the right to live as they chose in their own countries. We celebrate the spirit of love of country and of fellow citizens which motivated the freedom fighters of '56. This same spirit was subsequently shown in other countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Most recently, in Ukraine, during the Orange Revolution this spirit served as an example to the hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians who braved the threat of state violence and foreign intervention to stand up for their rights.

Canada became home to many of the refugees of the revolution. Ukrainian Canadians are proud to count their Hungarian neighbors as friends. Together our two communities became champions of freedom and democracy in countries ruled by totalitarian regimes. We stand together now in continuing to contribute to Canada and its multicultural society.

On behalf of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, I extend my best wishes to the Hungarian Canadian community. Let no one forget the spirit and example of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956!

Orysia Sushko, president Ukrainian Canadian Congress

PERSPECTIVES

BY ANDREW FEDYNSKY



Franko – an uncommon genius

Ivan Franko didn't much like Ukrainians. For him, they were people of little character, undisciplined, sentimental and prone to bickering, egoism, two-facedness and pride. He saw few examples in their history of civic spirit, loyalty, justice and freedom.

Ukrainians, on the other hand, really love Franko. They've put him on postage stamps, coins and currency (see Ingert Kuzych's "Focus on Philately," June 6, 2004, and July 4, 2004), named streets, town squares, a cruise ship, opera house, theaters, universities and even an entire city after him. There are monuments to him in Lviv, Kyiv, Brody and my hometown of Cleveland. For good reason.

Born 150 years ago in a remote corner of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Franko had an astonishing career. With an energy and capacity for work that seems superhuman, he created well in excess of a thousand pieces of fiction, poetry, journalism and scholarship, most of them in Ukrainian, but not all. Franko worked in 14 different languages, translating Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Byron, Pushkin, Ibsen, Zola, Mickiewicz, Heine, Goethe, Cervantes, etc., not to mention original articles published in 50 different European publications.

I first came across Franko when my mother read "Lys Mykyta" to me when I was a little boy. In retelling the 12th century French folktale of Reynard the Fox, Franko enriched it with Ukrainian folklore and satire, creating one of the most recognized figures in Ukrainian culture: the clever fox who stands alone against all the other animals, shrewdly turning his enemies' weapons against them and winning in the end. I still have my T-shirt from the Lys Mykyta Lounge - "The Sly Fox" - where Cleveland Ukrainians gathered in the 1970s, and remember fondly the satirical magazine Edward Kozak put out from 1947 to 1990, calling it – What else? – Lys Mykyta.

Franko also wrote about a hundred short stories. At the Ridna Shkola Saturday school in the 1960s, we read a couple, including one about a boy who spends a year in school and learns basically nothing: all he knows is how to write the nonsense syllables, "a-babahalamaha." Today, Ivan Malkovych, responsible for a wonderful series of children's books, calls his Kyiv publishing house – you guessed it – A-ba-ba-hala-ma-ha. My wife read those books to our children when they were little.

As a teenager I read "Zakhar Berkut" (1883), a novel about Ukrainians' resistance to the Mongols in 1241. (Recently, our son brought the same novel home from Ridna Shkola, only now in abridged form much like Cliff's Notes.) In all, Franko wrote several dozen novels, including "Boa Constrictor" about the nascent oil industry in Galicia and the birth of working class consciousness. (I read a 1957 English translation of a Russian translation of the original Ukrainian.) Franko wrote another novel on the same topic, "Boryslav is Laughing." A couple of years ago, someone asked me if there's an English translation and I had to tell him, alas, that none exists, as far as I know.

On the other hand, we do have translations of Franko's poetry – many of them on the terrific website http://www.franko.lviv.ua, including love poems, sonnets, revolutionary hymns and his incredible narrative poems. One, "The Death of Cain," describes the biblical murderer and his wanderings and reflections after being

expelled from Eden. In another one, the 17th century ascetic Ivan Vyshensky dispatches his "epistles" from Mount Athos, urging his countrymen to struggle for freedom. Franko's masterpiece is "Moses," a personal reflection on the burden of spiritual leadership. Although the poem is about Jews searching for the Promised Land, the allusion to Ukrainians is clear. A century later, composer Myroslav Skoryk debuted his opera based on Franko's work in the very opera house named after its author.

As if novels, short stories, children's books and poetry weren't enough, Franko also wrote several plays, including "Stolen Happiness," about Ukrainian village life. Still in repertory, it became the basis for another opera – this one by Yulia Meytus – as well as a 1952 movie, an Armenian television production and a recent film by Andrii Donchyk.

Franko was also a formidable scholar, publishing around 100 or so sociological, political and historical-economic studies: these include works on the peasant movement, 1848 Revolution in Galicia and Polish-Ukrainian relations; several studies on the Ukrainian language and its dialects; a five-volume collection of texts and analyses of Ukrainian Apocrypha and Legends; literary criticism of modern Ukrainian and European writers; a History of Ukrainian-Ruthenian Literature: a History of the 18th Century Puppet Theater in Ukraine; studies of folk songs; anthropological compilations of clothing, food, art, beliefs and sayings of Galician peasants.

Franko also organized political parties and scholarly organizations, edited newspapers and journals, and taught at the university. In one poem, he exhorts himself to "work, work, work and in working succumb." And that's what happened: when Franko died at age 59, he was utterly exhausted. No wonder: a 50-volume edition of his works, published in the 1970s-1980s, contains only half of what he wrote. Imagine: 50 volumes!

To say Franko didn't like Ukrainians is not the whole story. In his famous poem "Sidohlavomu," he cites why he dislikes his country, only to conclude it's because of his "excessive love" for her. That's why he devoted his life to such a broad array of literary and civic activities — to give his people a culture that social, historical and political circumstances had denied them — something he analyzed, described and worked all his life to remedy.

Presumptuous as it is for me to try to figure out Franko's mind, I'll bet if he saw what his country has achieved since his death in 1916, he'd be delighted by the Declaration of Independence, the Orange Revolution, the tilt toward the Ukrainian language, etc. On the other hand, he probably wouldn't be surprised at Ukrainians' difficulties with governing even as that provides another reason to dislike his countrymen. Maybe their success at this year's World Cup soccer championship would have made up for it. No doubt, he would have enjoyed it just like the rest of us, only by now, he would have written a novel, an epic poem and an analysis of the interplay between sports and politics in Ukrainian history.

Franko was an uncommon genius. What a pleasure to rediscover him on the 150th anniversary of his birth!

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

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Kuzio responds to Karatnycky

Dear Editor:

Adrian Karatnycky's letter (October 15) raised important points that could have been made without the implied threats and personal attacks. My record is absolutely impeccable regarding the use of sources and people entrusting me with information "off the record" or on the record. The conversation in the Baraban bar was in the presence of Roman Olearchyk, the Ukrainian American Financial Times correspondent in Kyiv, which surely makes him a "Western" journalist.

I have just returned from a three-week visit to Ukraine for the U.S. government during which I met many senior Ukrainian and U.S. officials. I will fully respect their privacy as always. The single case that Mr. Karatnycky is referring to is rather different and I, therefore, made a conscious decision to bring to the public domain ties between him and oligarch Rynat Akhmetov, president of Systems Capital Management and a leading financier of the Party of the Regions.

Mr. Karatnycky has never hidden his ties to Mr. Akhmetov. Only two days after President Viktor Yushchenko was elected Mr. Karatnycky traveled to Donetsk to interview Mr. Akhmetov. The interview led to a flattering article about Mr. Akhmetov in the Wall Street Journal on January 14, 2005, titled "A Ukrainian Magnate Tries to Mend Fences." This relationship has continued as Mr. Karatnycky admitted in his letter when referring to the energy conference in Houston. Donbass Fuel-Energy Co., the major energy company within Mr. Akhmetov's System Capital Management, is listed as a "supporter" of the Orange Circle (http://www.orangecircle.org/donors.html).

Let's put the decision to do this interview and write the op-ed into context. At the same time when Ukrainians in Ukraine and in the Ukrainian diaspora believed in the Orange Revolution slogan of "bandits to prison," Mr. Karatnycky was seeking to ingratiate himself with Ukraine's wealthiest oligarch. During Mr. Karatnycky's talks in the U.S. and Canada in 2005-2006 he has claimed that there was "no proof" for accusations made against Mr. Akhmetov for his murderous rise to power to become head of the Donetsk clan. During an April 10 panel on the March elections held in Washington and organized by The Washington Group, Mr. Karatnycky dismissed the lack of criminal investigations against "bandits" by stating that there had also been no charges made against those who had committed Soviet crimes. During Our Ukraine's October 21 congress in Kyiv, delegates were given copies of a recently published book titled "Donetskaya Mafiya." Mr. Akhmetov is a prominent character in the book.

During my visit to Ukraine I asked many senior politicians, lawyers and policy-makers whether they believed the Party of the Regions, which is partly financed by Mr. Akhmetov, could evolve into a postoligarch and post-Kuchma party. I did not receive a single positive answer.

Why would the Orange Circle, through its president, choose to have any association with an oligarch group headed by Mr. Akhmetov which has one of the worst reputations in Ukraine? But, perhaps more importantly, why has the Orange Circle received financial support from Akhmetov - but not from any Our Ukraine businesses?

There would seem to be a conflict of interest between the Orange Circle and Mr. Akhmetov's Systems Capital Management that should be subjected to greater transparency. I would welcome a public debate with Mr. Karatnycky on these issues.

> Taras Kuzio, Ph.D. Washington

9/11 and beyond: a look at U.S. policy

Dear Editor:

Your editorial about 9/11 was somewhat similar to the ritualistic official line toed by mainstream media. However, there is substance in the comment about President George W. Bush's political detour in his 9/11 speech, where he tried "to make the case" for his miscalculated neo-colonial war in Iraq.

A tragedy is a tragedy; in a hostile give-and-take it usually strikes the innocent. It did so recently in Lebanon, Afghanistan and Iraq, as it did throughout history. 9/11 was no exception. It "changed the world" only because this time the U.S. was on the receiving end.

The 9/11 outrage evoked sympathy and condolences throughout the world. Tactfully, no one rubbed it in that Americans got a taste of what the U.S. has been dishing out to some Third World countries during the last 50 years in terms of both the destruction of infrastructure and human "collateral" casualties.

Media commentaries on 9/11 are mostly cliches, dwelling on drama and avoiding any reference to the failures of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East that had plenty to do with 9/11. (American military bases would not be located near the Persian Gulf in the last several decades if the main export from that region were cabbage and tomatoes instead of oil.)

Commenting on the media presentation of terrorism as the central issue in 9/11, Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to former President Jimmy Carter, wrote in The New York Times on September 1: "It is as if terrorism is suspended in the outer space as an abstract phenomenon, unrelated to any specific motivation. Missing is the discussion of the simple fact that lurking behind every terrorist act is a specific political antecedent."

With its attention focused on "the war on terror," the country was waving flags while President Bush exploited the occasion to promote the partisan far-right Republican political agenda. Given a blank check by the rubber-stamp Congress, he cut taxes for billionaires and launched two wars financed by cred-

Fear-mongering became the centerpiece of the 2004 Republican re-election strategy – and still is for the coming Congressional election. "Terrorism is a horse which we can ride through the election," lectured Karl Rove, the president's chief strategist, at the Republican National Committee meeting in Texas during the summer of 2002.

This time the horse may be freaked out by the hefty price of gas and heating oil, which doubled and tripled since Mr. TERS CANNOT EXCEED 500 WORDS.

Bush took office. The miscalculation of the White House and the neocons is illustrated by a misfired prediction from Rupert Murdoch, Fox channel tycoon, in February 2003: "The greatest thing to come out of invading Iraq will be \$20 a barrel for oil."

Rattled by bad news from the Middle East and the sinking poll numbers at home, the president is now compelled to escalate the rhetoric. In tune with Connecticut's Sen. Joe Lieberman and some out-to-lunch talk-show hosts, he is now battling not only the terrorists but also "the Islamic fascists."

> **Boris Danik** North Caldwell, N.J.

Thanks for covering Famine-Genocide

Dear Editor:

Congratulations on The Ukrainian Weekly's 73rd anniversary. I am deeply touched by the fact that your first 1933 issue was "born of the need of the times," during which the Famine was raging in Ukraine.

At that time, four of my brothers and sisters were dying of starvation in the village of Kilochky, near Poltava, while my mother was serving a five-year term for "stealing" four ears of corn. Although I am a child of my parents' second, post-Famine family, the mere mention of Famine or the year 1933 deepens the open wound in my soul.

I am eternally grateful to your publication for alerting the world to the Soviet Genocide of the Ukrainian nation.

> Halyna Hrushetska Westchester, Ill.

We welcome your opinion

The Ukrainian Weekly welcomes letters to the editor and commentaries on a variety of topics of concern to the Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian communities. Opinions expressed by columnists, commentators and letter-writers are their own and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of either The Weekly editorial staff or its publisher, the Ukrainian National Association.

Letters should be typed and signed (anonymous letters are not published). Letters are accepted also via e-mail at staff@ukrweekly.com. The daytime phone number and address of the letter-writer must be given for verification purposes. Please note that a daytime phone number is essential in order for editors to contact letter-writers regarding clarifications or

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BOOK REVIEW

Zbigniew Brzezinski's book on Ukraine in the Ukrainian language

"Ukrayina u Heostratyhichnomu Kontektsi" (Ukraine in the Geostrategic Context) by Zbigniew Brzezinski. Kyiv: Kyiv Mohyla Academy Publishers, 2006. 101 pp.

by Volodimir Bandera

Zbigniew Brzezinki's influential book "Ukraine in the Geostrategic Context" is now available in the Ukrainian language thanks to the publishing house of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy. It is very timely in view of the unsettling political and socio-economic conditions involving the post-Soviet nations.

From this short but insightful publication we can learn how a renowned political scientist perceives Ukraine from the standpoint of geopolitics. Unlike some Western observers, this expert treats the newly independent state not as a pawn of the world powers but as an assertive player that defends and promotes its national interests.

Dr. Brzezinski's international reputation is based on his brilliant academic career, participation in the implementation of U.S. foreign policy, authorship of a stream of books, analytical articles and sought after appearances in the mass media.

His father was Poland's senior diplomat in Germany during the rise of Nazism (1931-1935), in Moscow during Stalin's reign of terror (1936-1938), and in Canada at the time of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact that preceded the German and Soviet attack on and the occupation of Poland.

The young Brzezinski studied at McGill University, earned his doctorate at Harvard, and became professor and director of the Institute of the Problems of Communism at Columbia University.

The book reviewed here consists of three parts. First is the translation of Dr. Brzezinski's monograph "The Geostrategic Triad: Living with China, Europe and Russia." It was originally published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (2000). As we know, the analysis provided by this and similar think-tanks plays a key role in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy. From Ukraine's standpoint, especially relevant is the analysis of interaction between the U.S. and Russia.

Dr. Brzezinski argues that, after the disintegration of the Russian-dominated

Dr. Volodimir Bandera is professor of international economics at Temple University.

Soviet empire, the strengthening of the newly independent states like Ukraine and Georgia could encourage the formation of a new Russia as a democratic country without imperialistic aims and confrontationist international policies. Not surprisingly, later in the book, this optimistic thesis was challenged when Dr. Brzezinski lectured to audiences in Ukraine.

The second part of the book consists of several public lectures and interviews which focus on the geopolitical implications of Ukraine's independence immediately preceding and following the Orange Revolution. Dr. Brzezinski's speeches and impromptu responses to questions demonstrate a deep grasp of East European conditions and will delight the readers with a masterful lively oratory.

For instance, during his lecture at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy on May 14, 2004, a student asked: "If Europe loses Ukraine now, what would it lose in the future?" Dr. Brzezinski's answer was: "If Europe loses Ukraine, it will also lose Russia; and without Ukraine and Russia, its security will be weaker. Hence Europe should be greatly interested to promote close relations with Ukraine, both since the country is important in itself and since Ukraine's entry into the EU will be conducive to the broadening of desirable relations between Europe and Russia."

Another student's question was: "What will be the Western response if the elections (in Ukraine) will be undemocratic and not conforming to European and American standards?" To this Dr. Brzezinski responded: "The relations would markedly worsen ... However, most importantly, if the elections are free, honest and legal, then regardless of who is elected, there will be positive cumulative effects on the development of a democratic society; it is in the interest of Europe and America to maintain constructive relations with the important country Ukraine."

Unlike the other parts of the book, the essays in the second part were published in Ukraine and in Ukrainian periodicals abroad, and they were usually broadcast in Ukraine by Western media like the BBC, Deutsche Welle and Radio Liberty.

The third part of the book offers several short but poignant essays which appeared as op-ed page commentaries in the Wall Street Journal and/or The New



York Times during the momentous days of the Orange Revolution. Thus, the article "Russian roulette" comments on Kyiv's democratic upheaval and the rudeness of Vladimir Putin's heavy-handed meddling. Then, in his article "Imperial Russia, Vassal Ukraine," Dr. Brzezinski cautions the West that "... the defeat of democracy in Ukraine or a successful Russian-backed break-up of the country would further ignite the ambitions of those in Moscow who still dream of a reconstituted empire."

It should be noted that through these articles Dr. Brzezinski's voice in defense

of freedom and democracy has been broadcast by the Wall Street Journal to millions of readers of its American, Asian and electronic editions. These articles were also carried by hundreds of other newspapers worldwide, including some periodicals in Ukraine.

Certainly, Dr. Brzezinski's insights go beyond the time frame and the context of the original publications. His broad historical and global perspective can help readers also to understand current developments like the Russia-provoked energy crisis, the challenge to Ukrainian as a state language, and the difficulties with Ukraine's entry into the World Trade Organization, NATO and the European Union.

While the author recognizes these problems for the leadership of a reborn nation, he is optimistic in that the Orange Revolution was "a revolution of hope."

The Ukrainian edition of this book is the fifth in a series of translations called "Current Global Views." Published by the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, the series includes Vsevolod Isajiw's "Society in Transition: Social Change in Ukraine in Western Perspective," a compendium of studies by 19 experts of various fields.

Slated for publication is Dr. Brzezinski's latest book, "The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership," and Oleh Havrylyshyn's "Capitalism for All or a Few?" This series of translations is sponsored by the Ukrainian Federation of America.

The reviewed book may be acquired for \$14 via the Internet at ridnaknyha@excite.com.



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Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art celebrates 35th anniversary

by Laryssa Chreptowsky Reifel

CHICAGO – The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art celebrated its 35th anniversary at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Chicago on October 7.

The turnout for the celebration was quite strong, with more than 250 people in attendance. Guests at the celebration enjoyed a very pleasant cocktail hour with excellent music by Zorepod. The mistresses of ceremony were Dr. Vira Bodnaruk and Laryssa Chreptowsky Reifel.

Vera Chreptowsky opened the evening by welcoming all of the guests and thanking them for their support of UIMA.

Guest speakers Prof. Myroslawa Mudrak of Ohio State University and Prof. Vladimir Morenets of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy gave speeches about the relevance of the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art and its role in the diaspora.

Prof. Mudrak expounded upon the role of the institute in the world by explaining that "Through the abstract language of music and art, the institute has offered the opportunity to find meaning on a level that transcends the literal and the pedestrian,

and to invite engagement at a level of contemplation that offers universal import. Hence, the Institute of Modern Art is not about what it means to be Ukrainian through popular arts and customs, but what it means to be Ukrainian within the family of mankind in the world today, especially in terms of the Western world whose aesthetic values Ukraine had made its own – from the Byzantine period, through the Baroque, and into the modernist age."

Prof. Morenets very eloquently discussed the role of initiative in the diaspora and specifically praised the initiative of the four men whose efforts were celebrated at the event: Dr. Achilles N. Chreptowsky, UIMA's founder and principal benefactor; Wasyl Kacurovsky, UIMA's first curator and principal art expert; Konstantin Milonadis and Michajlo Urban, UIMA's first artists.

In addition to formal speeches, there was a short film presentation that contained a photo montage and interviews with various volunteers at the institute and their thoughts on the meaning of the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art and its role in the community.

The highlight of the evening came with the introduction of a new award to be



At the 35th anniversary celebration of the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art (from left) are: Vera Chreptowsky, Prof. Myroslawa Mudrak, Prof. Volodymyr Morenets, the Very Rev. Bohdan Nalysnyk of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, Dr. Vira Bodnaruk and Laryssa Chreptowsky Reifel.

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NCUA Se oz 15 d Nouvez este a all tres a a 15/00. given by the institute on very rare occasions. The Guardian of the Institute Award is to be given to individuals who have distinguished themselves in their service to the institute. Mrs. Chreptowsky introduced the award and its first recipient – Oleh Kowerko. Mr. Kowerko was given the award because he has exemplified what it means to be a Guardian of the Institute through his 35 years of selfless dedication to the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, its programming and evolution.

Many leaders from both the Ukrainian and American communities addressed the banquet with warm greetings of congratulations. Among them were Consul General of Ukraine Vasyl Korzachenko, Deputy Commissioner of Cultural Affairs Valentine Judge; the president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America – Illinois branch, Pavlo Bandriwsky; the vice-president of the Heritage Foundation of First Security Federal Savings Bank, Pavlo Nadzikewycz; the secretary of the board of Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union, Victor Wojtychiw; and the senior manager of operations, Chicago Sister Cities International Program, Kate Heilman.

Mr. Wojtychiw of Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union and Dr. Nadzikewycz of the Heritage Foundation of First Security Federal Savings Bank also announced generous donations to the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art.

First, Dr. Nadzikewycz announced a \$10,000 donation from the Heritage Foundation and congratulated the institute on 35 years of service to the community. Then, Mr. Wojtychiw announced a \$25,000 donation from Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union.

Many individuals also gave donations in honor of UIMA's 35th anniversary celebration.

* * *

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

UIMA is located at 2320 W. Chicago Ave.; telephone, 773-227-5522. The institute is open Wednesday through Sunday, from noon to 4 p.m.

New Ukrainian television program is launched in Montreal

MONTREAL – CH Television has launched a new, much-anticipated, weekly Ukrainian half-hour program called "Suziria," that reflects the activity of the Ukrainian community in Montreal and the province of Quebec.

The program features interviews, primarily in the Ukrainian-language, on various topics with such guests as Canadian opera singer Taras Kulish, Montreal artist Serhij Burtovyy, lawyer Evhen Czolij on the fourth World Forum of Ukrainians and Prof. Roman Serbyn on his recent research in Kyiv.

A special CH television film crew in September covered the annual Ukrainian Festival in Rosemount, in which over 10,000 Montrealers participated.

With the unveiling of a commemorative internment plaque in Beauport and Valcartier, Quebec, in October, a special program focused on the internment of Ukrainians in Quebec. Interviews were con-

ducted with Peter Pawliw from Sherbrooke, whose mother was interned at Spirit Lake; with Kim Pawliw, his daughter, whose poem on the internment won a Quebec competition; and with Zorianna Hrycenko-Luhova, a researcher on the internment documentary "Freedom Had A Price."

Every week, the television program highlights the newest top three popular songs from Ukraine, instructs viewers how to find specific Ukrainian sites on the computer, introduces viewers to works of young, up and coming Ukrainian filmmakers in Montreal, focuses on the presidents and activities of the many Montreal organizations, and airs weekly announcements about various community events.

The television program is geared to both young and old, and is especially appreciated by the elderly who are unable to attend the various functions but still want to have a connection with the community.

The Ukrainian program fulfills the man-



"Suziria" crew members (from left): host Anastasia Kyva, CH TV program director Istan Rozumny and host Oksana Zhovtulia.

Saskatchewan's...

(Continued from page 1)

able. Randy Warick, former superintendent of schools worked diligently on behalf of students and parents. The present superintendent of schools, John McAuliffe, is a dedicated and effective leader.

Former principals of the Ukrainian bilingual program each gave valuable service, while staff and parents have been steadfast in their dream of a single stream facility and their hard efforts have been rewarded, Mrs. Wasylow concluded.

For 27 years the bilingual program has served the families of the entire city of Saskatoon, first at St. Goretti School and more recently as the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Bilingual Program at Holy Family School.

The present staff members include Principal Wasylow; Vice-Principal Olya Kowaluk, who is also a learning assistance teacher and "sadochok" teacher, teachers Brenda Kelln, Julie Thachuk, Lydia Gabruch, Maureen Romanchuk, Bohdan Zerebecky, Alvin Bodnarchuk, Catherine Schabel; teacher assistants Mary Holowachuk and Stacia Horbay and Office Coordinator, Sonia Kodak. The band teacher is Carol Weninger-Calver, while George Jedlicki is student counselor. Laurisse Marchessault is a language assistance teacher. Caretakers are Shannon Martin and Vanessa Miskolzie.

Guest speakers included Mr. Carriere, of the Greater Saskatoon Catholic Schools, Bishop Wiwchar, Mrs. Prokopchuk, Superintendent McAuliffe, Slawko Kindrachuk of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Saskatoon Branch, and Chrystal Polanik, president of the Home and School Association.

The program was marked by a sense of gratitude to those who helped reach the goal of a Ukrainian bilingual school, as well as the need for the entire Ukrainian community to actively support and enhance the school.

date of the station, a division of CanWest MediaWorks, to reflect the various communities in Canada. The Montreal program was initiated in large part by Isabella Federigi, the CH Television station manager – who recognized that the Ukrainian community in Montreal and Quebec is over 100 years old – and by Istan Rozumny, filmmaker and a CH TV program director.

The duration of the program is guaranteed for six months. However, as Ms. Federigi stated, "The station could bring it back if the show proves to be a good investment and serves the community properly. CH tries to give a chance to communities, to have a local show by

using a rotation process." Many of the 18 Montreal ethno-cultural communities have continuous programming by financially supporting their community TV program.

The weekly hosts of "Suziria" are Oksana Zhovtulia and Anastasia Kyva. The production line-up and researcher is Valentyna Golash, and the program director is Istan Rozumny. "Suziria" can be viewed on CH Channel 14 four times a week every Saturday at 9:30 p.m., Sunday at 9 p.m., Tuesday at 11 p.m. and Friday at 5 p.m.

The Montreal Ukrainian television program welcomes comments and program suggestions; readers may call 514-522-4150 or e-mail info@chmontreal.com.

Ukrainian Catholic University

Ukraine: Former U.S. ambassador assesses Orange Revolution

RFE/RL

PRAGUE – Steven Pifer served from January 1998 to October 2000 as the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine. On the sidelines of the Prague Energy Forum, organized by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in partnership with the Warsawbased Institute for Eastern Studies, Pifer spoke to RFE/RL's Jan Maksymiuk about the aftermath of the Orange Revolution, Ukraine's gas price rise and the state of the proposed Russia-Belarus union.

How do you assess the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004 from the perspective of the nearly two years that have since passed? Are there any practical results of the revolution for ordinary Ukrainians today? Are you disappointed with the turn of political events in the country following this year's parliamentary elections?

Well, I think the turn in political events in Ukraine has probably surprised many –

authority in the president, with no real checks and balances. So now you have more serious checks and balances, first of all between the Ukrainian executive branch and the legislative branch, and also between the president and the prime minister.

Second, I would point out, if you look at the countries in Central Europe and the Baltic states that have successfully made the transition after the collapse of the Soviet Union, after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, those countries that joined NATO and the European Union in 1999 and 2004, they all had the parliamentary-presidential model. This has been a successful model in Central Europe.

Now, the problem that we've seen, and we saw it for example in the debate in September, over whether Ukraine would seek a NATO membership action plan, was that although there are new constitutional arrangements now in effect, there's some ambiguity, there's not total clarity on issues such as the NATO membership action plan. Or on

this, introducing new energy-efficient technologies, and be able to absorb the price increases. Now certainly it won't be without some pain, but I was surprised in September that most people talked about it as if Ukraine could manage it in a way that people weren't talking about managing energy price increases say eight or 10 months ago.

Mr. Yanukovych has said that Ukraine should be prepared for an even more painful gas price hike beyond 2007. And Mr. Yushchenko has recently signaled that Ukraine should return to talks on forming an international consortium, with the participation of Russia, to run his country's gas transit pipelines. Do you think Ukraine can ensure its energy security without giving control over its gas transit infrastructure to Russia?

There are two different questions here. The first question is, Ukraine ultimately needs to be prepared that it's going to have to pay world market prices for energy. I think it's also fair for Ukraine to expect that there'll be a certain transition period, just as for example Russia, when it negotiated its WTO bilateral agreement with the European Union, negotiated with the EU a five-year transition in terms of raising domestic prices for energy within Russia.

But it makes sense both from an economic point of view, but also from the point of view of energy security, that Ukraine plans that it's going to ultimately have to pay world market prices, and therefore begin adapting toward that. Because once Ukraine is paying global prices, it reduces the amount of political leverage that Russia may have over Ukraine. If Ukraine's getting a special deal, there will be that temptation for the Russians to exploit that question.

The second question on the international consortium – this is something that five or six years ago, when I was still in the American government, we were very interested in, because we saw an international consortium to manage the pipeline as a way to promote win-win solutions, both for Ukraine and for the producers and shippers in Russia, but also for the consumers – I think the consortium idea still has some merit.

But it's going to be very important that Ukraine look at the exact terms of what the consortium looks like. The concern here is that when designing the consortium with Russia involved, and they usually also talk about a consumer, maybe [German gas company] Ruhrgas or somebody on the consumer side being involved. Ukraine has to bear in mind that there always may be a convergence of interests between the producer and the shipper in Russia, and the consumer in Western Europe. And that convergence of interests is, of course, that the shipper and the consumer want to minimize the transit costs. So there is that alliance of interests which could work against Ukraine. So Ukraine has to make sure that the consortium is designed in such a way that its interests do not get shortchanged.

Belarus is a country that pays for Russian gas deliveries not so much with money as with political loyalty. In your opinion, for how long may Belarus expect to receive gas from Russia at such a discount as now, when it pays just \$47 per 1,000 cubic meters of gas? Will Russia increase its gas price to Belarus next year? If so, by how much?

I'm a little bit less familiar with the gas and energy scene in Belarus than in Ukraine, but I think it would be awfully optimistic for Belarusians to continue to expect to enjoy that kind of deal. If you look around, Ukraine will be paying \$130, and in the Baltics it's already \$120 and it's likely to go up.



Steven Pifer

Forty-seven dollars seems to be fairly much of a gift. And indeed, Gazprom has already been making noises that they would like to raise the prices of energy, because Gazprom also is a partially commercial entity, at least. There's a mixture there because it's state-owned, but Gazprom is also looking to maximize its revenues, and it's hard to see how Gazprom can afford to continue to provide energy at that low price to Belarus. So, I think Belarus would be wise to begin thinking about what happens when the prices of energy go up there.

Some Russian and Belarusian analysts believe that Moscow has no clear vision of what to do with Belarus. Russian President Vladimir Putin proposed to Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka three integration scenarios in 2002: (a) political absorption of Belarus by Russia; (b) integration similar to that between the EU countries; (c) putting into operation the 1999 union state treaty that has so far remained mostly on paper. Mr. Lukashenka rejected the first two options, stressing the equality of both sides in a common state. What is your opinion about the future shape of the Belarus-Russia Union? Could it be a viable political formation?

That ultimately is going to depend upon Russia and Belarus. What has struck me is that although the two countries have talked about a political union since the mid-1990s, you really haven't seen much in the way of real progress. Part of my assumption has always been that while the Russians talk about a political union with Belarus, they didn't want to make the practical steps, because actually bringing Belarus into a union with Russia would probably impose some significant economic costs, not only in terms of the energy subsidies that Russia is already providing, but also other types of subsidies to make that work. It seems to me that up until now, Russia has been unwilling to make that economic investment to make a political union.

I also found it interesting that when President Putin posed those two alternatives, either absorption or an EU-type arrangement, it was almost designed as if he was trying to give Mr. Lukashenka two alternatives that were very unpalatable. It seems to me that while there may be talk about this political union, I haven't really seen much evidence that either side is moving to make that a reality, which suggests that both sides may be comfortable with talking about a union, but neither is really prepared to make the investment in the costs, or the sorts of real changes that would be necessary to make that happen. Both may be, in fact, comfortable with the current situation.

... it may be very important that the two Viktors - President Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yanukovych - are going to have to come to terms together if they want to produce coherent policy that moves Ukraine forward.

the fact that [Prime Minister Viktor] Yanukovych has returned. But he returned basically as a result of a free and fair democratic process. So, that's hard to argue with. In the longer term, though, if you look at the Orange Revolution, the impact is going to be seen in things such as a media that I think today is stronger, feels more independent and is prepared to challenge the government, and a stronger non-governmental-organization sector.

You will have, I believe, a strong and vocal opposition in [former Prime Minister and opposition leader] Yulia Tymoshenko as an opposition leader, unlike the kind that Ukraine has had in the past. So I think there are different manifestations now that are good for Ukrainian democracy.

And, again, with regard to Mr. Yanukovych's return, his party won in March in a free and fair election; hopefully now it doesn't bring some of the baggage back from the [former Ukrainian President Leonid] Kuchma years. But I think there will be a lot of people watching very carefully on this.

The coming of President Viktor Yushchenko to power in 2004 became possible through the introduction of a constitutional reform that limited presidential powers in favor of the prime minister and Parliament. Ukraine has moved from a presidential republic, which is characteristic of most post-Soviet states, to a parliamentary-presidential system, which is more typical of European democracies. But this shift has triggered a bitter confrontation between Messrs. Yushchenko and Yanukovych over who should be the real ruler of the country. Don't you think that Ukrainians are not yet ready to break with their political thinking in terms of the authoritarian power system established by President Kuchma?

I'd say, first of all, that this change, the fact that Ukraine has moved from a suprapresidency model to a parliamentary-presidential model, is probably a good thing. Certainly one of the problems of the Kuchma era was that you had too much

other questions, there is no precise guide as to what happens when the president and the prime minister are in disagreement

I'm not sure that this is something that can be fixed easily or quickly by looking at the Ukrainian Constitution. In the end, it may be very important that the two Viktors – President Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yanukovych – are going to have to come to terms together if they want to produce coherent policy that moves Ukraine forward. And that's going to be a challenge for both of them. But it'll be important for Ukraine that they meet that challenge.

Today Kyiv and Moscow are expected to sign a deal on gas supplies for 2007. What is your prediction regarding the price Ukraine will have to pay for imported gas next year? And what impact may this new price have on Ukraine's economy?

Based on what I've seen, the expectation is that in 2007 Ukraine will have to pay something on the order of \$100-\$135 per 1,000 cubic meters of gas, which is an increase from the \$95 per 1,000 cubic meters that Ukraine has paid for imported gas in 2006. What struck me when I was in Kyiv in September was when I talked to various people, both in the government and also in industry, nobody seemed to see that this would be a huge problem. They seemed to understand that the price was going up, and they seemed to believe that this would not be a huge blow to the Ukrainian economy.

And what I heard from multiple sources was that in fact, Ukrainian large industry already understands that the price of energy is going up, probably eventually to world market prices. And, therefore, large businesses are making decisions now in investing in energy-efficient technologies, decisions that they didn't make four or five years ago because gas was so cheap and there was no economic reason. So they're making decisions now.

And several people said that if Ukraine has two or three years to make this transition, they should be able to accommodate

Grad student analyzes political attitudes of adolescents in Russia and Ukraine

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – Olena Nikolayenko's Ph.D. dissertation analyzes and compares the political attitudes of today's teenagers in Russia and Ukraine. A graduate student in comparative politics, Ms. Nikolayenko did her field research in Russia in April-May 2005 (in the cities of Moscow, Tula and Rostov-on-the Don) and in Ukraine in September-October 2005. In Ukraine, the cities chosen were Kyiv, Lviv and Donetsk.

Her fieldwork involved questionnaire surveys of about 100 students age 14 to Russia, but in Ukraine a language question was added: Which language do you speak at home: Russian, Ukrainian, or both Russian and Ukrainian? In Lviv, most spoke Ukrainian at home, in Donetsk – most spoke Russian, while "both Russian and Ukrainian" was chosen by the majority in Kyiv, although Ms. Nikolayenko suspects that the students would mostly use Russian at home but, because everyone in Kyiv learns Ukrainian, they were able to use Ukrainian. On the other hand, in Donetsk, students are not learning Ukrainian.

"I did my survey in Ukraine in the fall



Olena Nikolayenko in Lviv.

16, in each of three schools chosen in each city – therefore, about 900 questionnaires were collected for each country. The questionnaires concerned the acquisition of political attitudes as part of the socialization process.

Ms. Nikolayenko explained, "Both Russia under [Vladimir] Putin and Ukraine under [Leonid] Kuchma (and to some extent – Viktor Yushchenko) are similar, somewhere between democracy and dictatorship. Political scientists have coined the term 'hybrid' regime – a very strange creature which has some democratic institutions and some democratic procedures in place, but where the ruling elite manipulates procedures to its own advantage. It really is not interested in developing functioning democratic institutions or a vibrant civil society but wants to keep the pretence to stay in power."

"I was intrigued by the similarities between the two countries and at the same time I hoped that there might be some differences due to the escalation of authoritarian measures in Russia especially in the last few years," she noted.

"In Ukraine there was some sense that the Orange Revolution was a watershed event, and that a monumental change might come as a result of it. So I thought that there would be different shades of grey between Russia and Ukraine. I wanted to analyze the extent to which differences in the political climate would leave their imprint on the political attitudes of the young generation – those who will be voters in a few years and who will, to some extent, decide the future of their country."

In her survey, Ms. Nikolayenko elected to measure three objects of political support: support for the regime as a whole by asking about support for democracy; secondly, attachment to the political community – by asking students about national pride in their country and their opinion about the collapse of the Soviet Union; and, as the third element of political support – she wanted to measure their trust in the authorities.

The questionnaire was the same as in

of 2005, almost one year after the Orange Revolution. What I confirmed was a shocking, although not surprising, thing – the extent of the east-west difference as far as the adolescents' perception of the president, the interpretation of the Orange Revolution and the political reality around them," she explained.

"Students in Lviv and Donetsk continue to perceive the situation in different terms. After the Orange Revolution, the Lviv Ukrainians feel that it was part of their experience, whereas Donetsk Ukrainians are totally alienated from the process. In Donetsk, they feel like losers; in Lviv, there is a sense of pride in the victory of ordinary citizens. But this illustrates the failure of the incumbent government to reach out to different segments of the population and try and build some bridges across the country," Ms. Nikolayenko said.

On some questions, the differences between Donetsk and Lviv were larger than the difference between Donetsk and Moscow. Ms. Nikolayenko concluded that in Ukraine intra-country differences are larger than the differences between Ukraine as a whole and Russia.

In the support for democracy question (questions were mostly multiple choice with: strongly agree, agree, ambivalent, disagree and strongly disagree as choices for a given statement) – how suitable do you think democracy is for your country? – approximately 64 percent of the respondents in both Russia and Ukraine strongly agreed or agreed that democracy is the best form of government for their country.

However, percentages answering strongly agreed varied widely – in Lviv, 44 percent; Kyiv, 28 percent; and Donetsk, only 17 percent. This is not surprising because the students link what is going on in the country with democracy and in the east (at least in Donetsk) they don't like it.

To the question "How proud are you to be a citizen of your country?" there were similarities at the country level. In both Russia and Ukraine about 88 percent are proud to be citizens of their countries. In Lviv, 97 percent said they

were strongly proud or proud, but pride was also high in Donetsk – 80 percent.

Trust in politicians and authorities was similar to that in Russia. Everywhere students complained about the corruption of officials references to "khabari" (bribes), "prodazhni" (those who sell out), etc. would come up many times. Mistrust for the militia and the courts was pervasive, with respondents feeling that they don't care about protecting law and order, but only about stuffing their pockets. There was some ambiguity with regard to the president – in the fall of 2005 Mr. Yushchenko still had some lingering popularity in the west, while in east he was evaluated negatively.

However, there was a striking difference between Lviv and Donetsk on the appraisal of the Soviet Union's demise. In Russia, 63 percent considered it a negative page in their history; in Donetsk, 69 percent saw it as a negative; while in Lviv, 92 percent saw the collapse of the USSR as a positive thing.

"The disturbing thing for me is the extent to which the mass media and the politicians perpetuate the stereotyping of each other. Politicians are trying to antagonize rather than improve relations between the regions and I think this does have some impact on the young generation. Although they are growing up in independent Ukraine, they continue to hold this deep-seated stereotyping," Ms. Nikolayenko said.

She pointed out that media in the east are controlled by local administrations – by the regional regimes and the regional governors. There is lack of face-to-face contact between east and west. "Those who live in the western Ukraine don't go to Donetsk, Luhansk or Kharkiv. The East is not as picturesque as the Carpathians. Adolescents from the east don't have contacts with the West and go to Russia where they are likely to have relatives," she observed.

Interest in youth in Russia has intensified after the Orange Revolution and, Ms. Nikolayenko pointed out, to some extent in Ukraine as well, but from the Viktor Yanukovych side not the Mr. Yushchenko side. In Russia, Ms. Nikolayenko said,

authorities recently increased the spending for patriotic education and launched a series of initiatives, trying to co-opt youth into organizations and teach them how to be patriotic. "After Yushchenko came to power, he could have done something to co-opt the youth of the whole of Ukraine. I didn't get the sense that there was any attempt to develop a youth policy, for example, a new curriculum for the civic education course which is mandatory. There were some good initiatives, but not at the government level," Ms. Nikolayenko said.

She added that a Lviv organization, Nova Doba (with funding from the U.S.) developed a new textbook in civics – colorful, illustrated and much improved. But although it was approved by the ministry of Education and recommended for use, it was not financed by the foreign minister and de facto it meant nothing.

"The findings of my research show that there are regionally concentrated pockets for democracy and at the same time a negative appraisal of democracy. The real danger is that Ukraine will continue to oscillate between democracy and dictatorship, although some might argue that support in the whole country – 64 percent – is more than half. But it doesn't seem to be high enough to rock the boat and radically change the situation because there are a large number of adolescents, especially in Donetsk who feel alienated from democracy or don't really think it fits the country," Ms. Nikolayenko concluded.

* * *

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A previous article on Olena Nikolayenko's research in Russia appeared in The Ukrainian Weekly on August 21, 2005.

Adrian Bryttan speaks on music from Ukraine at the Shevchenko Society



NEW YORK – In a lively presentation-cum-video, Dr. Adrian Bryttan on September 16 led his audience at the Shevchenko Scientific Society through snippets of operas and instrumental works, performed recently in Lviv, Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv. Most of these were done under his own baton, but the program also included an unusually accomplished rendition of a Hnatyshyn mass by a girls' church choir in Drohobych, a joyful reading of the "Hot Canary" from Dr. Bryttan's violin recital in Lviv, some ballet and even drama. All of this was introduced on video with a walk-through of streets and memorable sights in the cities, while Dr. Bryttan made comments, often interjecting humor. A Fulbright scholarship afforded Dr. Bryttan the opportunity to spend parts of 2005 and 2006 in Ukraine. Seen above (from left) are: Vasyl Makhno, Orest Popovych, Adrian Bryttan, Daria Dykyj and Vasyl Lopukh and Olha Kuzmowycz.

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NEWSBRIEFS

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Barroso responded that a free-trade accord between the EU and Ukraine is the primary goal and ruled out talks of EU membership. 'Ukraine still has reforms to do, let's be honest about it, and today in the European Union we are not ready, our member-states are not ready, to assume new membership obligations," Mr. Barroso said. The two sides initialed a deal to make it easier for Ukrainian journalists, students and businessmen to obtain EU visas, and another on readmission of illegal migrants. President Yushchenko reportedly assured the EU that the supplies of Russian gas to Europe via Ukraine will be uninterrupted this coming winter. (RFE/RL Newsline)

More details of 2007 gas deal

KYIV - The Swiss-based RosUkr-Energo, which holds a monopoly on gas supplies to Ukraine, will deliver up to 62 billion cubic meters of gas to Ukraine in

2007 under a contract made public last week, Interfax-Ukraine reported on October 27, quoting Ihor Voronin, head of UkrGazEnergo, a joint venture created by RosUkrEnergo and Ukraine's Naftohaz. "The key provisions in the addendum to the contract envision the supply of up to 62 billion cubic meters of gas in 2007 at a price of \$130 [per 1,000 cubic meters] with a minimum guaranteed amount of 55 billion cubic meters. These supplies will not be accompanied by any other additional conditions," Mr. Voronin said. According to Mr. Voronin, the addendum stipulates that the price of \$130 with regard to the minimum contracted amount of 55 billion cubic meters will remain unchanged irrespective of "what happens in the Central Asian gas market," whence Ukraine is to receive imported gas in 2007. "We managed to avoid the mistakes that were made, for example, in 2006, when Turkmengaz unilaterally stopped fulfilling its contract

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Putin offers...

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of formerly Soviet-ruled countries: "Crimea forms part of the Ukrainian state, and we cannot interfere in another country's internal affairs. At the same time, however, Russia cannot be indifferent to what happens in Ukraine and Crimea."

Mr. Putin also claimed that the Russian fleet's presence is economically advantageous to Ukraine in terms of annual payments for rent and services and job creation. Successive Ukrainian governments, irrespective of political color, have felt otherwise, however – at least until now.

Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych, on a working visit to Russia's Far East, is being quoted as allowing for the possibility of prolonging the Russian fleet's presence in the Crimea beyond 2017, when the 1997 agreements expire. Russia should choose whether to build naval bases on its own coast or use the existing ones in Crimea; and both Russia and Ukraine should take decisions before 2017 (Channel 5 TV [Kyiv], October 29).

Mr. Putin's unprecedented proposals, as well as his insinuation that negotiations on the issue are ongoing, have surprised Kyiv. According to Defense Minister Anatolii Hrytsenko, no negotiations to prolong the Russian fleet's presence are being conducted by, or known to, the Defense or Foreign Affairs ministries; nor has President Viktor Yushchenko authorized any such discussions about relying on that fleet for protection, according to Mr. Hrytsenko.

"If anyone is holding such negotiations, they are behind-the-scenes and illegal," Mr. Hrytsenko said. Ukraine, he went on, rules out any permanent foreign bases on its territory, whether of NATO membercountries or of the CIS Collective Security Treaty Organization. Ukraine is capable of defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity on its own, would not seek military assistance from other countries to that end, and will not prolong the Russian fleet's stationing, Mr. Hrytsenko unambiguously declared (Interfax-Ukraine, Ukrainian News Agency, October 26).

While in Finland for the European Union-Ukraine summit. President Yushchenko addressed this issue twice in response to queries from the media. In his first statement, he firmly declared that the legal basis for the stationing of Russia's fleet in Crimea will expire with the relevant bilateral agreements signed in 1997 and valid through 2017. He also cited - as did Mr. Hrytsenko – Ukraine's constitutional prohibition of foreign military bases on Ukraine's territory (Interfax-Ukraine, October 26).

Mr. Yushchenko's second response

seemed more nuanced, however. While the Ukrainian state and armed forces, he said, are in charge of protecting the country's territorial integrity, "We on the other hand are grateful to Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin if he is referring to those guarantees that Russia gave alongside the United States and other countries [to Ukraine in 1994] in the context of [Ukraine's] nuclear disarmament." Mr. Yushchenko suggested that the issue of prolonging the Russian fleet's presence in Crimea and related issues be referred to the relevant subcommission under the Putin-Yushchenko commission and ultimately to that commission itself for discussion (Interfax-Ukraine, October 26).

Referral to the presidential forum could be Mr. Yushchenko's answer to Mr. Putin's insinuation that negotiations are ongoing through government channels, which on the Ukrainian side are partly outside the president's control. Mr. Yushchenko hopes to host Mr. Putin in Kyiv for a session of the presidential commission before the end of this year.

In a follow-up statement, the Presidential Press Service reiterated Ukraine's familiar position that it would observe the terms of the 1997 agreements with Russia, as well as Ukraine's constitutional ban on foreign bases, and then quoted Mr. Yushchenko as saying: "I am convinced that we are finding compromises with Russia in these circumstances" (Ukrainian News Agency, October 26).

The Russia-Ukraine subcommission on Russian Black Sea Fleet issues held a regular meeting in Sevastopol on October 27-28. Ukraine's chief delegate, First Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Volodymyr Ohryzko, stated in concluding the session that the issue of prolonging the validity of the 1997 agreements "was not discussed because it is out of the question" (Ukrainian News Agency, October 29).

Mr. Putin's statement is the boldest challenge to the status quo in Crimea since he came to power in Russia. Moreover, Moscow has the political and covert-action means to create in Crimea the very type of situations against which Mr. Putin is offering to "protect" Ukraine if the Russian Fleet's presence is extended. Thus far, such means have been shown to include inflammatory visits and speeches by Russian Duma deputies in Crimea, challenges to Ukraine's control of Tuzla Island in the Kerch Strait, the fanning of "anti-NATO" - in fact, mainly anti-American – protests by local Russian groups in connection with planned military exercises, and stirring up artificial Russian-Tatar tensions on the peninsula.

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NEWSBRIEFS

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and Naftohaz Ukrayiny was left without 40 billion cubic meters of gas that was stipulated in the contract," Mr. Voronin added. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Belarusians remember Stalin's victims

MIENSK – Several hundred people marched on October 30 from central Miensk to the Kurapaty, site of Stalin-era mass executions on the city's outskirts to commemorate Dzyady (Ancestors' Remembrance Day), Belapan and RFE/RL's Belarus Service reported. Although the march was officially authorized, police briefly detained several participants. Some demonstrators carried banners reading: "No To Union With Russia!" and "Union With Russia Means Hunger and Killings!" (RFE/RL Newsline)

Putin offers to help 'fraternal' Ukraine

MOSCOW - In his multimedia televised question-and-answer session on October 25, President Vladimir Putin said that Russia is prepared to help Ukraine if it faces "outside interference." In response to a question as to whether Russia could help Ukraine resolve increasing ethnic tensions concerning Crimean Tatars on Ukraine's Crimean peninsula, Mr. Putin replied: "If the Ukrainian leadership considers it necessary and asks us for help, we will be ready, without immersing ourselves into these [ethnic] problems, without drawing Russia in trying to resolve such problems, to provide assistance to our closest neighbor. [We will help what we call] without exaggeration the brotherly republic of Ukraine, in order to protect it from outside interference, should anybody be tempted [to interfere]." He added that "when I said that, if it were necessary, and if there were a request from the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian leadership, Russia could guarantee at least one thing – guarantee Ukraine against interference [by other countries] in its internal affairs. Should anybody be tempted to interfere, I assure you, the presence of the Russian fleet would prove rather useful." He did not indicate who might be tempted to interfere in such a way that the Russian naval forces could prevent it. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yushchenko denies concessions to Russia

KYIV - President Viktor Yushchenko denied on October 26 that Ukraine had made any political concessions to reach a deal with Russia on gas prices, Interfax reported. Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych announced on October 24 that Ukraine in 2007 will buy Russian gas at \$130 per 1,000 cubic meters. The deal caused speculation that concessions had been given to Russia, including the extension of the Russian Black Sea Fleet presence in Crimea. "At the presidential level no political questions were discussed," Mr. Yushchenko said, "and I am sure that the government [did not discuss such questions] either." The president also said that the possible extension of the fleet's presence might be considered by the Yushchenko-Putin Commission, adding that a visit to Ukraine by Russian President Vladimir Putin will be prepared "probably for this year." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Simultaneous WTO accession?

KYIV – Oleksander Chalyi, deputy head of the Presidential Secretariat, said on October 25 that the question of Ukraine's simultaneous accession to the WTO with Russia is illogical, Interfax reported. "The position of the Ukrainian president is clear on that [question]," Mr. Chalyi said. During a meeting between Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko and Russian

Prime Minister Mikhail Fradkov on October 24, the latter reportedly brought up some possible negative consequences of Ukraine joining the WTO ahead of Russia. According to Mr. Chalyi, President Yushchenko assured Mr. Fradkov that Ukraine's "accession will not pose any danger to the Russian Federation." The same day, Ukrainian Finance Minister Mykola Azarov said that the Russian side meant the terms of the accession rather than its date. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kyiv to inform Moscow on WTO accession

KYIV - Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych said on October 26 that Ukraine is ready to inform Russia about its progress on WTO accession, Interfax reported the same day. "The fact that Ukraine and Russia are connected with close trade ties is good ground for informing our trade partner about our intentions while passing decisions on European integration or WTO entry," Mr. Yanukovych said, adding that similar actions should be made in the sphere of foreign policy. However, Mr. Yanukovych stipulated that the government "has acted and will always act on the basis of Ukraine's national interests." Ukraine's expected accession to the WTO has been postponed many times – Prime Minister Yanukovych announced that WTO General Council should consider Ukraine's membership in February 2007. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Jews praise Odesa for pilgrimage help

ODESA – In a letter to Eduard Hurvits, mayor of Odesa, representatives of the Israeli tourist agency Derekh Tsadikim, which organizes religious tours in Ukraine, thanked Svitlana Kobylianska, general director of the Odesa International Airport, for being professional and for successful services rendered for recent Hasidic pilgrims. "The efficiency level of the employees of the Odesa airport is much higher than that of their colleagues at Boryspil International Airport in Kyiv and other Ukrainian airports," wrote I. Habai, executive director of Derekh Tsadikim, in the letter. "We witnessed for the first time that the registration of documents for such a large number of people (3,500 people arrived over a 36-hour period) lasted less than 40 minutes (e.g., in Boryspil it takes at least two or three hours). All flights were arranged on time without causing any problems to the passengers. In our opinion, all this opens very bright prospects for the development of tourism, including of the religious type, in Odesa." (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

UOC in Canada comments on story

WINNIPEG, Alberta - Father Bohdan Hladio, chancellor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (UOCC), has sent the Religious Information Service of Ukraine commentary on a July 31 news story from Interfax. The commentary, which was received on September 30, noted: "Regarding the article 'Ukrainian Orthodox in Canada No Longer to Give Communion to Non-Orthodox' posted on the RISU website, several corrections need to be made. The title itself would indicate that the practice of the UOCC until now has been to distribute holy communion to non-Orthodox. This is false. The UOCC, in common with all Orthodox Churches, restricts the reception of the holy mysteries to those who have been officially and sacramentally received into the Orthodox Church. The dateline given for the article is Ottawa. Our main Church office is in Winnipeg. We have no press-office in Ottawa. How is it that 'official' UOCC Church announcements are coming out of Ottawa? While it is true that in certain isolated cases communion has been distributed to non-Orthodox, the cited encyclical was made necessary by the fact

that certain heterodox Christians, often Catholics of the Eastern rite, whether out of ignorance or for some other reason feel entitled to receive communion in parishes of the UOCC. The reference to the decline in membership is both disingenuous and misleading. We have two concrete means of measuring Church membership in the UOCC - governmental statistical data and Church membership rolls. According to governmental census data there were 119,000 self-professed Ukrainian Orthodox Christians in Canada in 1961 and 32,700 in 2001. According to Church membership rolls there were approximately 18,000 members in 1961 and 11,500 in 2005. As is obvious, the data given in the posted article consisted of comparing apples and oranges." (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Putin dogged in Germany by murder case

MUNICH - Russian President Vladimir Putin faced questions from Bavarian and other German officials regarding the Politkovskaya murder case during his visit to Munich on October 11, as he had the day before in Dresden, German media reported. Bavarian Economy Minister Erwin Huber said that the killing "casts a shadow over Russian society as far as democracy, freedom of expression and the use of violence is concerned, and President Putin owes Bavaria and the world answers." Elsewhere, the head of Germany's parliamentary Human Rights and Humanitarian Assistance Committee, Herta Daeubler-Gmelin of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), said Mr. Putin must provide answers about the killing in the next two months or face "the consequences." She is a former justice minister who was sacked by Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder (SPD) in 2002 for her remarks at a closed SPD meeting comparing U.S. President George W. Bush to Hitler. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Activists slam Putin's comments ...

MOSCOW – Igor Yakovenko, general secretary of the Russian Union of Journalists, told RFE/RL's Russian Service in Moscow on October 12 that the recent killing of critical journalist Anna Politkovskaya "has divided Russia in two." On October 11, Lev Ponomaryov, who heads the activist group For Human Rights, told RFE/RL that Ms. Politkovskaya "opposed the authorities and she did cause damage to the present authorities. But in no way did she damage Russia. I am certain of that." He was responding to recent statements by President Vladimir Putin that were

critical of Politkovskaya and suggested that her killing unfairly harmed Russia's image. Mr. Ponomaryov added that "it is not by chance that we speak of an authoritarian rule [in Russia], especially now that Putin is beginning to have messianic overtones. He thinks that he and Russia are one, and that it is his vocation to save Russia. Unfortunately, he does not hear or accept any criticism. "The New-York based Committee to Protect Journalists called Mr. Putin's comments "a backhanded attack" that "belies his commitment to justice." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Legislator warns against 'cozy dinners'

BRUSSELS - Finnish European Affairs Minister Paula Lehtomaki, whose country holds the European Union's rotating presidency, told the European Parliament in Brussels on October 12 that Anna Politkovskaya's murder was "a major setback for freedom of expression in Russia," Reuters reported. She added that "this is a terrible crime, which we call on the Russian authorities thoroughly to investigate. We want the perpetrators to be brought to justice, and this is a particularly important test of the rule of law in Russia." She added that the EU will raise the case with President Vladimir Putin at the October 20 summit in Lahti. But Daniel Cohn-Bendit, floor leader of the Greens in the legislature, told Ms. Lehtomaki that the EU treads lightly with President Putin because of its dependence on Russian energy supplies. "You talk about bringing the perpetrators to justice, but one of the perpetrators is going to be having dinner with you," he noted. Mr. Cohn-Bendit added that "as we saw on television with [German Chancellor Angela] Merkel and Putin [in recent days], we need Putin so much that no one is going to be able to ask him the difficult questions. I think we should negotiate with Putin but we don't have to have cozy dinners with him." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Advisor quits over Putin's remarks

MOSCOW – Oleg Orlov, who heads the human rights group Memorial, said on October 17 that he has resigned his post as adviser to Russian President Vladimir Putin as a member of the Presidential Council on Promoting Civil Society and Human Rights, news agencies reported. Mr. Orlov said he disagrees with Mr. Putin's recent comments on the slain journalist Anna Politkovskaya. Many observers at home and abroad described Mr. Putin's comments as cold and demeaning. (RFE/RL Newsline)



Walter W. Fedun

Walter W. Fedun from Port Jervis, NY, passed away on October 4, 2006. He was 90 years old.

Funeral services were held on October 9th at Walter's parish, St. Volodymyr's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Glen Spey, NY. Interment was at Holy Spirit Cemetery in Hamptonburgh, NY.

Born in Bobowa, Poland, Walter lived most of his life in Ternopil, Ukraine, before emigrating to the United States after World War II. Once here, he put himself through college, married, and then worked as an engineer for Grumman Corporation in Bethpage, NY, and at its facilities at the NASA Kennedy Space Center in Florida. His projects included the LEM spacecraft for the first lunar landing in 1969 and the US Navy's F-14 jet fighter. His name was recently honored at the Cradle of Aviation Museum in Garden City, NY, Long Island's tribute to America's aerospace industry. Walter retired to Port Jervis in 1979.

Among those who will dearly miss their father, grandfather, and brother are his son Bohdan with wife Angela and child Ian; daughter-in-law Kathy and children Jill and Walter; and sisters Maria Sawicki, Luba Iwanchuk, and Christine Leonard with husband Richard and sister-in-law Edith Rekshynskyj, with all their families.

In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to St. Volodymyr's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Glen Spey, NY, or the Ukrainian Museum in New York, NY.

File No. 988-06 SURROGATE'S COURT – WESTCHESTER COUNTY THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK By the Grace of God Free and Independent

To: Walter Verheles, Katherine Verheles, Paul Zitko, Natalia Zitko, Tanya Zitko, Larissa Volosyena, Svetlana Kornienko, Walter Luhova, Tamara Luhova and Katherine Oleniak, whose whereabouts are unknown, and if deceased, to all the unknown distributees, heirs at law and next of kin, of Barbara Pregon, their guardians, committees, conservators or assignees, and if any of them survived the decedent but have since died or become incompetent, their successors in interest, executors, administrators, legal representatives, devisees, legatees, spouses, distributees, heirs at law, next of kin, committees, conservators, guardians or any person having any claim or interest through them by purchase, inheritance or otherwise.

A petition having been duly filed by Russell Kantor, who is domiciled at 188 Rockne Road, Yonkers, NY 10701.

YOU ARE HEREBY CITED TO SHOW CAUSE before the Surrogate's Court, Westchester County, at 140 Grand St., White Plains, New York, on November 22, 2006 at 9:30 o'clock in the fore noon of that day, why a decree should not be made in the estate of Barbara Pregon lately domiciled at 375 Marlborough Road, Yonkers, NY 10701, admitting to probate a Will dated Jan. 15, 2001, a copy of which is attached, as the Will of Barbara Pregon deceased, relating to a real and personal property, and directing that Letters Testamentary issue to Russell Kantor (State any further relief requested).

Hon. Anthony A. Scarpino, Jr. Dated, Attested and Sealed September 21, 2006 Surrogate John W. Kelly, Chief Clerk

Stephan Wislocki, Esq. 914-347-7197 PO Box 129, Hawthorne, NY 10532-0129 29 Taylor Rd., Valhalla, NY 10595

Note: This citation is served upon you as required by law. You are not required to appear. If you fail to appear it will be assumed you do not object to the relief requested. You have a right to have an attorney appear for you.

A tribute...

(Continued from page 7)

She was more diminutive up close than on that Edmonton stage, but still as dignified and calm as before. She was patient, cooperative and absolutely gracious with the customs guard, a pimply faced young man with tryzub insignia who nervously waved the electro-magnetic wand over her body. She extended her arms, amused at the entire ritual, then asked if it was all right to go through the gate. I wondered if he had any awareness of who she was, and what great deeds she had done for his generation and his new country. I wondered if she thought it ironic to be mildly harassed in the country she helped to liberate by an official half her age and nowhere near her stature.

Eventually, we boarded what was a fascinating flight. Besides Svitlychna, a professional singing group called the Cherkasy Kozaks (with forelocks and shaven heads) were also on board, as were many Hasidic Jews and their families, all en route to New York. I thought it amazing how well the Hasids interacted with the beautiful Ukrainian stewardesses who were dressed in embroidered blouses. Scattered in the rows between the bearded and fedorawearing Hasids were the mustached, bald Kozaky and the most amazing thing was that nobody was alarmed or bothered that two historically rancorous groups were sharing the same space. Nobody cared.

It happened that I sat in the same row as Svitlychna. She had the window seat, and one of the Kozaks sat between us. He and I hardly spoke since he was in deep conversation with her. I overheard her talking to the Kozak whose head was bent down low, his ear capturing her story told in a soft voice that was often muffled by the monotonous drone of the plane's engines. I was actually jealous that he was sitting there, the lone

recipient of her company, and I almost asked if he would change seats with me.

We had a long stopover at Dublin's Shannon Airport. Those were the days when Shannon welcomed the "Russians" by placing large signs (in Russian) in the bathrooms that instructed unsophisticated travelers what the sinks were (not for bathing), and what the showers were (for bathing only). None of the passengers appeared offended – in fact it was well-intentioned, even amusing, and from what I saw, many were happy to be contained in a very classy part of the airport with an Irish pub and several high-end souvenir shops.

I wandered around until I saw Svitlychna and shyly approached her. She was buying a beautiful hand-woven scarf for one of her children. I reminded her of the conference in Edmonton so long ago. Yes, she remembered that amazing event. She was friendly, and very patient in listening to my struggling Ukrainian, and we continued our conversation all the way back to our seats on the plane.

She noticed I was worried. I confided (for in that brief time, I felt comfortable enough to confide in her) that I somehow miscalculated the long stopover in Ireland, and feared missing my connection in New York. She asked if I had a place to stay in case I was stranded, and if not, I was welcome at her home in New Jersey.

I was taken by her generosity. It was a sincere invitation and given in her gentle voice to a stranger who could barely communicate her gratitude. I am sorry now that I hadn't taken up the invitation because it would've provided the opportunity I will never have of getting to know that great woman.

I lost her in the crowds going through customs at Kennedy Airport, but not before she handed me her business card and insisted I call if I needed a place to stay. Then she smiled and was gone.



Russian-Ukrainian...

(Continued from page 2)

Meanwhile, Ukraine's situation has deteriorated in a number of respects. First, according to Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych, the national energy holding company Naftohaz Ukrainy "appears to be on the verge of bankruptcy, as a result of extraordinary obligations and a year-and-ahalf of criminal management" (Associated Press, September 28) – a reference to the presidential protégés in charge from early 2005 through mid-2006. There is no clear accounting of the company's debts to Russia. Apart from its arrears to Gazprom, the new debts incurred by Naftohaz to Gazprom's newly created offshoot RosUkrEnergo just in the first half of 2006 amount to some \$600 million, according to Fuel and Energy Minister Yurii Boiko (Interfax-Ukraine, October 11).

In addition, Naftohaz took out Western loans in 2005-2006. Some funds were used to refinance debts to Gazprom and/or RosUkrEnergo (from the AMRO Bank), and others were used for investment in the gas transport system (from Deutsche Bank, used by Naftohaz for other than the declared purpose, and said to have been written by Deutsche Bank over to Gazprom for collection from Ukraine).

Moreover, it remains unclear how Ukraine is paying Moscow for the gas just received for Ukraine's winter supplies. Injected into Ukraine's underground storage sites in September and early October, according to Mr. Boiko, that volume amounts to at least 8 billion cubic meters, belong to RosUkrEnergo's offshoot UkrGazEnergo; plus possibly a portion of the stored 10 billion cubic meters may also belong to RosUkrEnergo itself (Interfax-Ukraine, October 11).

Naftohaz lost half of its sales revenue earlier this year by ceding the industrial

market for gas within Ukraine to UkrGazEnergo. It has also forfeited major transit revenue by agreeing to maintain the fee on Russian gas en route to Europe via Ukraine unchanged at only \$1.6 per 1,000 cubic meters per 100 kilometers of pipeline, despite the price hike on Russian-delivered gas to Ukraine. The Yanukovych government is adhering to this arrangement inherited from the Yushchenko team.

Finally, the price on Russia-delivered gas to Ukraine is rising substantially due to Turkmenistan's price hike on the gas it sold to Russia for resale to Ukraine. The Turkmen hike, from \$65 to \$100 per 1,000 cubic meters, in effect from October 1 onward, is not yet reflected in the price charged by RosUkrEnergo to Ukraine in the fourth quarter of 2006. RosUkrEnergo will collect that increment from Ukraine retroactively in 2007, when the price of its gas supplied to Ukraine is expected to rise from \$95 to some \$130 per 1,000 cubic meters, mainly of Turkmen provenance.

In this situation, Moscow seems set to move to claim control over Ukraine's gas transit system, in association with Germany as a minority partner. Politically, it will try to sell its move in Ukraine as a comprehensive settlement of past debts and evidence of restraint on future prices.

It will try to sell it politically in the West as a major investment project to modernize Ukraine's system in the interest of Western consumers.

And it will portray it both in Ukraine and in the West as an "international" consortium with Germany in tow, obscuring Berlin's actual role in an energy partnership that Russia is shaping on its own terms.

The article above is reprinted from Eurasia Daily Monitor with permission from its publisher, the Jamestown Foundation, www.jamestown.org.



The Ukrainian National Association will mail Christmas greeting cards to **Ukrainian American service people!**

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

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

The UNA will mail Christmas and New Year's greetings to our service people by December 25, 2006.

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Please send the information by December 2, 2006, to: Ukrainian National Association, Inc. UNA National Organizer - Oksana Trytjak 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280 Parsippany, N.J. 07054

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Human rights...

(Continued from page 6)

university, was very helpful in supplying information about the most recent violations of human rights in Eastern Europe.

Thus, through Zalyvakha's correspondence, almost from the beginning of Amnesty's involvement in the defense of Soviet dissidents, human rights activists became acquainted with Nadia Svitlychna. Needless to say, one could not help but be impressed by the bravery of this young woman to whom numerous prisoners were sending warm greetings and words of gratitude for her support, especially since it could be assumed that, given Soviet reality, her involvement in the defense of political prisoners would sooner or later result in arrest and deportation – which indeed would be the case a few years later.

For us, at that time still relatively young students, it was naturally most inspiring and gratifying to get involved in the defense of such individuals as Zalyvakha and Bukovsky. We were impressed by the paintings, writings and unbending courage of the Ukrainian

artist. We were deeply moved by the bravery of Bukovsky who, in a secret interview given to a Western correspondent, boldly declared: "we are determined to break the chains of fear that have been paralyzing our society." If these words became firmly chiseled in our memory, it is because in subsequent years they were heard in dissident circles scattered throughout Eastern Europe.

In 1971, while walking with Chornovil and a group of his friends on the streets of Lviv, I was suddenly seized by an acute feeling of fear after realizing that we were followed by a swarm of secret agents. I asked my companion: "Aren't you afraid? I am scheduled to leave for New York in a few days but you and your group...?" In a most unpretentious but resolutely firm manner Chornovil replied: "Please understand that we are above fear. Our actions are dictated by our conscience; we cannot act otherwise."

This strong stand adopted by the dissidents expressed itself in different ways. In the case of Svitlychna, it was reflected through her refusal to be intimidated by the almost daily harassments of the KGB and in her readiness to provide assistance

to her colleagues. In a recent obituary, the literary scholar Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska describes the comforting sense of strength that Svitlychna's presence instilled among the dissidents: "Standing next to her, one could always feel a strong, loyal arm on which one could depend, even in the most dangerous situations of life."

The principle upon which this unbending stand rested was spoken of by Vaclav Havel when he appeared before the U.S. Congress in 1990: "The only genuine backbone of all our actions, if they are to be moral, is responsibility, responsibility to something higher than my family, my country, my firm, my success."

My departure from Ukraine in the summer of 1971 was not as smooth as expected, primarily because in addition to my walks with Chornovil and his friends, I also met the wife of a well-known dissident incarcerated in the Vladimir prison. Her husband at that time was a newly adopted prisoner of conscience of the Riverside Group. Most likely because she was the mother of a young child, of all the dissidents I met on my trip that summer, on her face only, could one detect a slight shadow of fear.

Svitlychna too was a young mother of a small son when she was arrested in 1972. One can imagine the agonizing thoughts and emotions that must have seized this young woman while being taken from her child to prison. Yet later, in her reminisces of those painful years related on numerous occasions either before Ukrainian audiences or human rights groups, she stoically avoided references to her personal travails, preferring to focus on the ordeals of others.

Being away from New York for a good part of the 1970s, I did not have the good fortune to witness Svitlychna's unexpected arrival in the West in 1978. I do know, however, that she was very ably assisted and cared for in Rome where she first landed by Ms. Skorupsky, who, as has been noted above, worked closely with human rights groups.

When I returned to New York, my involvement in Amnesty once again brought me, this time directly, face-toface, with Svitlychna. The political prisoner on whose case we were working at the Madison Group - very ably at that time coordinated by Yadia Zeltman - was the Ukrainian poet Zenovii Krasivsky, who happened to be a close friend of the Svitlychny family. Svitlychna generously provided us with invaluable information about the prisoner (and his continually harassed and maligned wife, Olena Antoniv), while through her occasional personal appearances at Amnesty's meetings, her words instilled encouragement to continue our work which, at that time, seemed to be producing no results.

The early 1980s were perhaps the most discouraging years for human rights activists working on behalf of dissidents in the Communist world. Yet, even during those dark days, Svitlychna never wavered. At a time when some Ukrainian human rights organizations began diverting their attention to matters only remotely related to the defense of political prisoners, she almost single-handedly undertook the defense of one of the most talented and most harshly persecuted figures among the dissidents: the poet Vasyl Stus, who later, mainly through her efforts, was a Nobel Prize nominee. This was the strong, always loyal arm of which Ms. Kotsiubynska spoke. This was also the arm that, I am certain, all political prisoners feel when cared for by Amnesty.

Next to her indefatigable work in the arena of human rights, Svitlychna perhaps is best remembered as a mediator, as a consummate conciliator. It was truly remarkable how she succeeded in bringing to her cause people from the most diverse walks of life, from the most diverse national and political backgrounds. It has been said that she learned this invaluable skill from her brother Ivan, but I think that also very influential for the development of her world outlook was the philosophy of Stus with whose poetry she became most intimately acquainted through many years of editing his works.

A few lines of one poem will be sufficient to bring to light this point:

How good it is that I've no fear of dying Nor ask myself how ponderous my toil Nor bow to cunning magistrates decrying Presentiments of unfamiliar soil,

That I have lived and loved, yet never burdening

My soul with hatred, curses or regret...

The issue of anger and hatred as impediments to human progress in the sphere of human rights was discussed by Havel during an interview he gave in the early 1990s. When the host of the program, Jim Lehrer, raised the issue of former enemies, the Czechoslovak president calmly responded that the most dangerous enemy is the enemy within you: the thorn of hatred in one's heart.

Resisting anger and hatred, of course,

(Continued on page 19)

Human rights...

(Continued from page 18)

did not mean collaboration or compromises with the former oppressors. Vaclav Havel understood that democracy in Czechoslovakia could not have been built with the cooperation of former party bosses, Jindra, Bilak and others, and he stubbornly resisted pressure to do so. Similarly, one could not have expected to see democracy's foundations constructed in cooperation with the former secretary of ideology of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

We are witnessing the sad consequences of this illusion, even though there are still some who try to convince us that yes, indeed, all is well in the house constructed with the help of Leonid Kravchuk and Leonid Kuchma.

Svitlychna avoided political issues, most likely because she knew that her involvement would interfere with the principal task she had set before herself after the collapse of communism: the publication of works by her dissident colleagues, especially those who in the 1990s were no longer alive. For this reason, it seems, she did not even care to participate in the debate on the marginalization of the former dissidents after the collapse of the Soviet Union, an issue raised at a number of conferences at Columbia University.

Here it would be of interest to note how during the first presidential campaign in Ukraine, the former dissidents who, as we have seen, were so highly praised by Western political commentators for their moderation, intelligence and political tact, had been consistently smeared by the opposition as ultra rightists whose election would inevitably lead to war with Russia. Even here in the West, these slanderous remarks were often repeated and, on occasion today, the dissidents and their younger admirers are sometimes irresponsibly

placed side-by-side with the Zhirinovskys.

In spite of her public reticence on political issues, in early 1991 Svitlychna did send me a copy of a letter with a highly political content written to her by Krasivsky. It is my impression that some of the ideas may have reflected Svitlychna's own views as well: why would she otherwise send it to me – at that time Krasivsky was already a free man.

The following excerpt brings out the central theme: "We all know that the Soviet state represented nothing but a state of usurpers, but we pretend that [with the latter's cooperation] a democratic system can be constructed here, that even a parliamentary form of struggle is possible ... Adherents of this line of reasoning do not want to recognize that ... they are allowing themselves to be led into a blind alley."

It is known that Svitlychna's efforts could not save Stus, and in the early 1980s, hardly anyone's could. But how many lives she did save beginning with her simple letters of encouragement and parcels assistance! This type of activity was the mirror image of Amnesty work during those decades. The efforts of both, Svitlychna's and the human rights organization are best summed up in the title of Jeffrey C. Goldfarb's recent book: "The Politics of Small Things: The Power of the Powerless in Dark Times."

What started with letter writing and care packages in the dark ages of the Soviet era ended with nominations of prisoners for a Nobel Prizes and ultimately with the fall of the Berlin Wall. It is an effort which, if pursued with persistence and responsibility, produces results that are capable of being carried only on the shoulders of giants.

* * *

Editor's note: Nadia Svitlychna would have been 70 on November 8.





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Ukrainian Graduates of Detroit and Windsor to honor Ukrainian of the Year

by Michael J. Berezowsky

DETROIT – The Ukrainian Graduates of Detroit and Windsor, an organization of college and university graduates, professionals and businesspersons in Metropolitan Detroit and Windsor, Ontario, will honor Oleh Mahlay, artistic director and conductor of the famous Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus at the Graduates' 67th anniversary banquet on Sunday, November 19.

An organization active in the Ukrainian communities of Detroit and Windsor since 1939, the Ukrainian graduates has, since 1955, annually honored a "Ukrainian of the Year" to recognize individuals who have been particularly active in the Ukrainian communities in the United States or Canada or made special contributions to them.

Previous recipients of the award include Vera Andrushkiw, former Congressman David Bonior, Dr. Paul Dzul, Dr. Myron Kuropas, Vera Petrusha and Marie Zarycky, and the late Mary Beck, Jaroslaw Dobrowolskyj, John Panchuk, Canadian Governor General Raymond Hnatyshyn, Canadian Justice John Sopinka, Anastasia Volker, Canadian Sen. Paul Yuzyk, Stephen Wichar, Martha and Michael Wichorek and Emily Zaporozhetz.

Mr. Mahlay, this year's recipient of the "Ukrainian of the Year" award, an attorney by profession living in Parma, Ohio, frequently comes to Detroit in his role as artistic director and conductor of the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus, which has been based in Detroit, since emigrating to the United States after the second world war.

The chorus, named in honor of Taras Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian poet, traces its origins to 1918 in Kyiv, Ukraine's capital. It has made numerous concert tours of the United States, Canada and Western Europe, and has twice toured Ukraine since its independence. Its previous music directors and conductors in the United States were Hryhory Kytasty (a previous Graduates' "Ukrainian of the Year" honoree), Volodymyr Bozhyk, Hryhory Nazarenko, Ivan Zadorozhnyj, Petro Potapenko and Wolodymyr Kolesnyk. The chorus' extensive musical repertoire is available on CDs and cas-

settes. Its website is www.bandura.org.

Mr. Mahlay has made great contributions in maintaining the bandurists' very high level of artistic performance, spending many weekends every year in Detroit and working tirelessly with the members of the chorus, many of whom, like him, also come trom different states and provinces. Mr. Mahlay and every member of the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus deserve the continuing admiration and appreciation of every American and Canadian of Ukrainian heritage for their deep commitment to Ukrainian music and culture, for their continuing hard work and devoted efforts in preserving, performing and popularizing Ukrainian choral music throughout the world, according to the Ukrainian Graduates.

The "Ukrainian of the Year" Award is a well-deserved recognition of Maestro Mahlay's efforts and achievements and is intended to honor him individually and, by extension, to honor every member of the capella as well, the Graduates noted.

During the anniversary banquet, Lydia

Nehaniv, chairman of the scholarship committee, will announce this year's recipients of the Ukrainian Graduates scholarship awards to local Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian college students. For many years now, the Ukrainian Graduates, among its other activities (which have included the creation, renovation and endowment of the beautiful Ukrainian room at Wayne State University in Detroit) has given financial aid to hundreds of deserving students attending colleges and universities in the U.S. and Canada.

This year's scholarship recipients are: Lubomyr Berezowsky (Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.); Michelle Bocian (University of Windsor); Vasyl Mayorchak (Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich.); Yuri Mayorchak (Henry Ford Community College, Dearborn, Mich.), recipient of the Ivan Halich Memorial Scholarship; Natalia Pavlyuk (Macomb Community College, Warren, Mich.); Alexander Prysiazhniuk (Wayne State University); Peter Sawka (Lawrence Technological University, Southfield, Mich.), recipient of the Wichorek Family Memorial Scholarship; Joseph Stoiko (Michigan State University), recipient of the Tanya Dubriwny Memorial Scholarship; and Nicholas Zurawskyj (University of Detroit Mercy, Detroit), recipient of the Alex Sutaruk Memorial Scholarship.

The 67th anniversary banquet of the Ukrainian Graduates of Detroit and Windsor will be held on Sunday, November 19, at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Warren, Mich. Tickets may be purchased by calling 586-268-8863, 248-851-7093 or 586-758-6086 or at the Ukrainian Selfreliance and Future Credit Unions.

Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

among them the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine.

Within two years of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's creation, all of the founding members were either imprisoned or exiled. But membership grew to include even political prisoners in labor camps. In retaliation, the Soviets began to charge members with criminal, not political, activity.

The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was formed in 1979 under the direction of Gen. Grigorenko; beginning in 1987 Mr. Rudenko led the group. Former political prisoner Nadia Svitlychna joined the group in the U.S. in 1978 and edited the publication Visnyk Represii na Ukraini, which documented repression in Ukraine.

Toward the twilight of the Soviet regime, during the era of perestroika/perebudova and glasnost, all imprisoned members of the group were released. They reorganized the group and elected Mr. Lukianenko as their new leader. The focus of the organization shifted toward a broad civic association called the Ukrainian Helsinki Union that promoted democratic reform in Ukraine and economic and political sovereignty for the country.

The following year the group revised its program and activities, and joined in the political processes in the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviets (Councils). Large demonstrations were organized against repressive laws and the group helped to organize the Popular Movement of Ukraine, known as Rukh.

Source: "Form Citizens Committee in Ukraine to Monitor Helsinki Accords," The Ukrainian Weekly, November 21, 1976; "Ukrainian Helsinki Group," Encyclopedia of Ukraine.

NOTES ON PEOPLE

Pharmacist honored for community service

RIDGEFIELD, Conn. – Jaroslaw (Jay) Palylyk of Ridgefield, Conn., was selected to receive the prestigious Wyeth Pharmaceutical's "Bowl of Hygeia" award for 2007. Only one pharmacist is chosen annually from each state.

Mr. Palylyk was selected for the award in recognition of his outstanding achievements in community service by pharmacy professionals. The award is for those pharmacists who excel beyond their standard job duties and pay back their communities through exceptional public service and innovative pharmacy practices.

Mr. Palylyk is very active in the Ukrainian community in Yonkers, N.Y., where he grew up. His efforts with the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM) and St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church keep him busy on a regular basis.

Currently, Mr. Palylyk owns RxCare Pharmacies Inc, a pharmacy serving nursing homes, long-term care facilities and group homes throughout the state of



Jaroslaw (Jay) Palylyk

Connecticut and parts of New York. Mr. Palylyk has been a registered pharmacist for over 25 years and has been a pharmacy owner for 22 years.

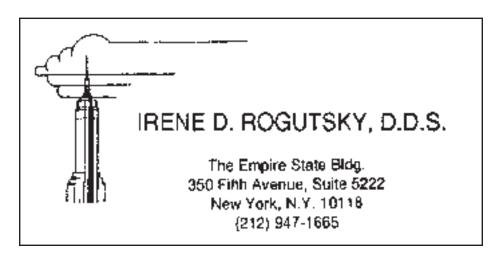
Tucson couple marks 50th anniversary

TUCSON, Ariz. – Stefan and Trudy Tkachyk celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary on Sunday, July 16. Following the divine liturgy celebrated by Pastor Basil Bucsek at St. Michael Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church a reception was given in the couple's honor, with best wishes resonating throughout the day.



Trudy and Stefan Tkachyk (center) with their pastor, the Rev. Basil Bucsek, and altar boys, as well as Zenon and Mary Korytko.

Notes on People is a feature geared toward reporting on the achievements of members of the Ukrainian community. All submissions should be concise due to space limitations; photos are appreciated. Items will be published as soon as possible after their receipt, when space permits.



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Every great institution depends on a core of dedicated supporters who are willing to take their commitment beyond the occasional visit and become involved at a deeper level. For the Soyuzivka Heritage Foundation, that kind of commitment is essential—and can be exhibited in becoming the first members of the new Soyuzivka Heritage Foundation.

There will be many levels of membership, but at the heart of it all, members will be individuals who share the vision of Soyuzivka as the epicenter of the Ukrainian American community, members who desire to promote and preserve their cultural, educational, and historical Ukrainian-American heritage. Since 1952, Soyuzivka has been the hub of the Ukrainian American community, a gathering place to which the descendants of the many waves of Ukrainian immigrants keep returning to experience their rich cultural heritage and to meet other Ukrainian Americans. Today, in the establishment of a Soyuzivka Heritage Foundation, Ukrainian Americans and supporters of Soyuzivka join in their efforts to preserve this cultural jewel.

Many of these descendants are experiencing a renewed interest in their ethnic roots. The Soyuzivka Heritage Foundation is an initiative to reeducate both young and old in an effort to maintain a proud heritage.

Members will be people who enjoy Soyuzivka enough to want to give something back – to make a personal investment in its exhibits and programs, and renovation and preservation initiatives— for themselves and for their community.

You can be sure that your membership commitment to the Soyuzivka Heritage Foundation, at any level of support, WILL make a difference.

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\$500.00 (10% discount for 1 catered company party event at the Soyuzivka annually) Corporate

Special Membership Categories:

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and a commemorative brick Heritage

\$500.00 (pay no entrance fee, parking/pool fees) 5% discount in gift shop; "Plant-a- tree" with commemorative

plaque and permanent recognition in the Heritage Founders Circle display

\$1,000.00 (lifetime no entrance fee, parking/pool fees and a 5% discount for all Soyuzivka services; Legacy

permanent recognition in the Heritage Founders Circle display

There are other ways to donate as well... Every Donor \$ is appreciated... The Bilous Foundation recently donated \$1500 for upgrading the PA system.

The Chornomorski Khvyli Plast Kurin is organizing a fund-raiser for new pool equipment. The UNA Seniors and Spartanky Plast Kurin is sponsoring a children's playground project.

Contact Nestor Paslawsky with your ideas...845-626-5641

Membership form			THANK YOU!
name			TITALINE TOU.
address			Your \$\$\$ will go to fund new 2006
city			projects and will create a strong financial
statezip code			foundation for Soyuzivka:
email/			 New dual air conditioning/heating system
phone —			for Veselka
Send form and check to: Soyuzivka Heritage Foundation,	2200 Route 10, Parsippany NJ, 07054		 Additional new mattresses
Individual \$100.00 Seniors over 65 \$30.00 Students 17- 23 \$40.00 Heritage \$500.00 Corporate \$500.00 Send in your form and we will send y Thank you all for your support!	Family (children under 16) Partner	\$150.00 \$300.00 \$1000.00 d benefits information.	New curtains in Main House rooms

OUT AND ABOUT

November 11 Boxing match featuring heavyweight champion New York Volodymyr Klitschko against Calvin Brock, benefiting

UNESCO, Madison Square Garden

November 11 Ivan Franko School of Ukrainian Studies 50th anniversary, Ukrainian Youth Unity Complex, Edmonton, AB

780-421-0900

November 11 "The Sounds of Ukraine," Kyiv Chamber Choir Winnipeg, MB performance, Knox United Church, 416-292-3407

Book presentation, "Spomyny" by Oksana Lemecha November 11 Lutzky, Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York

212-254-5130

November 11-12 Trembita marching band fund-raiser "zabava," featuring the music of Vorony, Dim Molodi, Montreal

514-894-4960

"The Sounds of Ukraine," Kyiv Chamber Choir November 12 Kitchener, ON performance, Timothy Eaton Memorial Church, 416-292-3407

November 12 Nadia Svitlychna commemoration, sponsored by Verkhovynky Plast sorority, Shevchenko Scientific New York Society, 732-225-6865 or 212-673-9801

Seminar by Elvis Beytallayev "The Crimean Political November 13 Scene in the Post-Soviet Era and its Implications for Cambridge, MA Ukraine's Relations with Turkey and Russia," Harvard

November 13 Presentation by Anders Aslund, "An Assessment of the Yanukovych Government in Ukraine," Woodrow Washington Wilson International Center for Scholars,

202-691-4000

November 13 Presentation by Philip Kazin, "Ideological Lessons of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine and Conservative Washington Trends in Russian Political Thinking," George Washington University, 202-994-6340

Ukrainian Research Institute, huri@fas.harvard.edu

November 15 Ukrainian Easter egg decorating (pysanky) workshop, Jenkintown, PA Manor College, 215-884-2218

November 17 Texas Hold'em Night, Sports Pub Tryzub, 215-343-5412 Horsham, PA

November 18 73rd annual commemoration of the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide, St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York

212-228-6840

Ukrainian bead-weaving (gerdany) workshop November 18 Jenkintown, PA intermediate level, Manor College, 215-884-2218

November 18 Lecture, "Scientific and Alternative Medicine," by Dr. Viktor Gribenko, Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York

212-254-5130

The Ukrainian Museum 30th anniversary gala, November 19 New York

Essex House, 212-228-0110

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.

Attention, Students!

Throughout the year Ukrainian student clubs plan and hold activities. The Ukrainian Weekly urges students to let us and the Ukrainian community know about upcoming events.

The Weekly will be happy to help you publicize them. We will also be glad to print timely news stories about events that have already taken place. Photos also will be accepted.

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Soyuzivka's Datebook

November 10-12, 2006

Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization "Orlykiada"

November 19, 2006

Family Reunion Ellenville Co-op Nursery School Fund-Raising Auction

November 22-26, 2006 Family Reunion

November 23, 2006 Thanksgiving Feast November 25, 2006 90th Birthday Party

December 1-3, 2006

Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization "KPS Vidprava Stanychnykh"

December 24, 2006

Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve Supper

December 31, 2006 New Year's Eve Extravaganza

To book a room or event call: (845) 626-5641, ext. 140
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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, November 11

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a presentation of the book "Spomyny" (Memoirs), by Oksana Lemecha Lutzky, which was published in Ternopil, Ukraine, in 2006. The program also will feature George Gajeckyj, Taras Hunczak and Vasyl Makhno. It will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call 212-254-5130.

Sunday, November 12

NEW YORK: The Plast Ukrainian scouting sorority Verkhovynky invites you to a commemorative program for Nadia Svitlychna at 2 p.m. at the Shevchenko Scientific Society, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets). The program will include poetry reading, musical numbers and a slide show. For information call 732-225-6865 or 212-254-5130.

CHICAGO: A benefit luncheon for the Ukrainian Catholic University featuring Father Borys Gudziak, Ph.D., rector, will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 2247 W. Chicago Ave. For more information call the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, 773-235-8462.

Tuesday, November 14

OLD BRIDGE, N.J.: Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 98 of Holmdel and Middletown, N.J., will sponsor a screening of the film "Harvest of Despair" at the Central Library, 1 Old Bridge Plaza, Municipal Center, Old Bridge, NJ 08857, at 7 p.m.; telephone, 732-721-5600, ext. 5010. Directions are available on the library website, lmxac.org/obpl/. Refreshments will be served; admission is free. Please come and bring your friends to view this informative and sobering film. For more information call Branch 98 President Viki Mischenko, 732-671-1914, or e-mail ukr.info@att.net.

Saturday, November 18

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Chorus Dumka will sing the panakhyda service at

St. Patrick's Cathedral, Fifth Avenue and 53rd Street, at 2 p.m. to commemorate the victims of the 1932-1933 Famine-Genocide in Ukraine. For more information call 718-896-7624.

Saturday, November 25

PITTSBURGH: The Ukrainian Technological Society of Pittsburgh, an association of professionals and businesspersons, will host its 37th annual dinner-dance at the Pittsburgh Athletic Associaiton, 4215 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15213. The social hour begins at 6 p.m. Taras G. Szmagala of Brecksville, Ohio, will be presented the 2006 Ukrainian of the Year Award for his dedication and service to the Ukrainian American community. Andrew N. Farley of Spring, Texas (formerly of Pittsburgh), will be presented the 2006 Friendship Award for lifetime support of the Ukrainian community. Tickets are \$60 per person; dress is black tie. For invitations or more information call Nickolas C. Kotow, secretary, 724-337-5704, or write to the Ukrainian Technological Society, P.O. Box 4277, Pittsburgh, PA 15203.

Sunday, December 3

NORTH PORT, Fla.: The solemn blessing and dedication of the rectory of the Ukrainian Catholic Parish of the Presentation of the Most Holy Mother of God will be presided over by Bishop Robert Moskal. The event will start with a pontifical divine liturgy at 11 a.m., followed by a luncheon for all parishioners, invited dignitaries (both secular and religious) and guests. The event will take place in the parish hall, 1078 N. Biscayne Drive. For more information call the pastor, Father Severyn Kovalyshin, 941-426-7931, or email severinokov@yahoo.it. Website: www.ukrainiancatholicflorida.com.

WARREN, Mich.: A benefit luncheon for the Ukrainian Catholic University featuring Myroslav Marynovych, senior vice-rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University, will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 26601 Ryan Road. For more information call the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, 773-235-8462.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

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.

Listings plus payment should be sent a week prior to desired date of publication to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054; fax, (973) 644-9510. Items may be e-mailed to preview@ukrweekly.com.

Ukrainian National Women's League of America

Branch 113 – New York



cordially invites you to their

20th Anniversary Gala

Saturday, December 2, 2006 The Ukrainian Institute of America 2 East 79th Street New York, NY

7:00 p.m.

Evening attire • Buffet • Entertainment • Dancing Donation: \$75 per person

RSVP - Luba: 212-460-8615 Irena: 201-865-8216
