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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## Poland agrees to joint development of Ukraine's Odesa-Brody pipeline

by Roman Woronowycz

*Kyiv Press Bureau*

KYIV – Poland agreed on January 16 to joint development of the Odesa-Brody oil pipeline from the Ukrainian border to Plotsk, near the Baltic Sea, where the oil would be transported by sea to ports in Western Europe.

The agreement, signed two days after Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers officially approved the project, is a major step in assuring the pipeline's economic feasibility. It heralded the first concrete step towards development of a single oil transport corridor from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea, which would make it one of the main oil pipelines from the oil-rich Caspian Sea region to energy-starved Europe.

It occurred nearly simultaneously with a renewed impetus to keep the focus of the Ukrainian government on an alternative, reverse usage of the Ukrainian oil transport system, from Brody to Odesa. Extensive mass media reports on January 15 stated that reverse use of Odesa-Brody could bring Ukraine economic benefit, according to a not-yet-released feasibility study. The study, to be released by Energy Solutions LLC, a little-known energy consulting firm, which coincidentally or not also is the name of a widely known and respected Washington-based lobbying firm, was held back after Energy Solutions stated that it needed more time to complete its analysis.

Several energy and oil transport experts in Kyiv who spoke with *The Weekly*, nonetheless, rejected any possibility of economic benefit from reverse use of the oil pipeline.

The Polish-Ukraine agreement, which Central and Western European leaders and the United States have strongly supported, stipulates the creation of a joint stock company between the two countries, the preparation of a business plan and the development of investors.

UkrTransNafta, the wholly government-owned firm that built and controls the Odesa-Brody pipeline, has said it has developed informal agreements with major international oil companies to pump 14 million tons of high-grade light sweet crude from the Caspian region to Europe annually, beginning with 5 million to 6 million tons next year, should all the details regarding the oil pipeline and the disputes surrounding it be settled.

Andrii Kliuyev, recently appointed vice prime minister of Ukraine's energy sector, who was present at the signing ceremony, which was held in Warsaw, noted afterwards that the agreement was the first tangible step in completing the pipeline from the Ukrainian border town of Brody to Plotsk in the next phase and on to the Polish port city of Gdansk in the final phase of development. Mr. Kliuyev underscored that the project needed to be initiated within the next 30 days so as not to lose momentum,

according to Interfax-Ukraine. He identified three phases in the project: preparation and analysis of financing and investment; negotiations with participants; and start-up.

Even with a concrete plan finally on the table in the long-awaited agreement between Poland and Ukraine, controversy which has been the hallmark of the effort to develop the Odesa-Brody pipeline – again emerged a day before the signing ceremony.

On January 15, Energy Solutions, a consulting firm contracted by the Ukrainian government to assess the economic viability of utilizing the still-barren oil pipeline in reverse, stated that the preliminary conclusions drawn from its analysis showed that it was economically expedient to pump oil from Brody to Odesa for a three-year period, during which time Ukraine could develop its Caspian oil route. It stated that Ukraine could make up to \$35 million during the life of the contract.

However, Ukraine's Ministry of Fuel and Energy immediately refuted delivery of the report and stated that it had yet to receive any results from the consulting firm. Minister of Fuel and Energy Serhii Yermilov said he was still awaiting the official report and that the firm had a January 19 deadline to present it. He also noted that a decision by President Leonid Kuchma was not expected before February 1. On January 17, the issue surrounding the results of the analysis became more unclear when Energy Solutions asked for more time to present the full feasibility study.

Much of the intrigue that has developed around the Odesa-Brody oil pipeline involves Russia's Tyumenskaya Neftanaya Kompania (TNK) and its recently acquired partner, British Petroleum. The new conglomerate has made a determined effort to convince Ukrainian officials to allow them to pump low-grade Russian Urals crude through Brody to Odesa for a three-year period. In Odesa the Russia crude would be transferred on to tankers and moved through the Black Sea through the Bosphorus Sea into the Mediterranean and onto southern Europe.

The main argument TNK-BP has used to convince Ukrainian state leaders to agree to the project is that the pipeline – completed and ready for utilization back in May 2002 – has sat idle since then, while Ukraine has attempted unsuccessfully to lure international oil companies, many from the United States, to commit to using the pipeline to transport Caspian high-quality light sweet crude.

Rejecting TNK-BP assertions, an economic analyst and an executive of UkrTransNafta told *The Weekly* in separate interviews they see absolutely no benefit for Ukraine in bending to TNK-BP demands and agreeing to a three-year contract. Ukraine would not only have no guarantee that TNK-BP would or could

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## PACE monitors caution Kyiv on constitutional reform process

by Roman Woronowycz

*Kyiv Press Bureau*

KYIV – Council of Europe representatives responsible for monitoring Ukraine's movement towards democracy warned on January 20 of a looming constitutional crisis in the country and did not rule out the leveling of sanctions by the quasi-governmental European human rights organization should specific political forces use constitutionally unauthorized means to push through political reforms.

At the conclusion of an unscheduled visit to Ukraine to review the political conflict that has developed over the upcoming presidential elections and the effort to have the Verkhovna Rada take the right of direct popular election of the president upon itself, the two representatives expressed serious concern regarding the manner in which the constitutional change process undertaken by the pro-presidential majority in the Parliament had moved forward thus far.

Hanne Severinsen, rapporteur for the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), said during a press conference that after the events of the last month, including a procedurally questionable hand vote in the Parliament to change the Constitution of Ukraine as well as several Constitutional Court rulings – one allowing President Leonid Kuchma to run for a third term even while the Constitution limits a state leader to two terms – Ukraine was in

political crisis.

"It would be good to avoid [reaching the stage] where the political system as such is discredited," explained Ms. Severinsen. "Ordinary people think what is going on in the Parliament is not in the interest of the people."

Ms. Severinsen, who explained that her remarks were preliminary assessments of what would become a formal report to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, said she questioned whether it was acceptable to initiate constitutional changes just 10 months before major elections. The PACE rapporteur also noted that constitutional changes should not be undertaken "like you change your shirt," and said she was disturbed by the lack of deliberateness in the process. She also said that she had serious reservations regarding the independence of the Constitutional Court after it unexpectedly – and to many unconvincingly – handed down the ruling allowing President Kuchma an exception to a third term in office.

Ms. Severinsen explained that her hope was that sanctions by European countries could be avoided if a proper dialogue developed between the political groups within Ukraine during which a proper procedure for constitutional change could be agreed upon.

Ms. Severinsen noted that, while not yet publicly confirmed, she believed the looming constitutional crisis in Ukraine

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## Rumors of Kuchma's death take on a life of their own

by Roman Woronowycz

*Kyiv Press Bureau*

KYIV – By the time President Leonid Kuchma returned on January 17 to Kyiv from Baden-Baden, where he was undergoing medical treatment and rehabilitation at the world-renowned German health resort, rumor had it that he had died. The corollary to that rumor was that, naturally, the death was being kept secret from the public.

Kyiv's notoriously famous rumor mill – developed during the Soviet era when the only thing you knew for certain was that what you were told in the press was most likely a lie – was working overtime late last week.

By early evening on January 15, Kyiv's bazaars, kitchens and cafés were filled with talk of the demise of the country's president. Rumors abounded that a sick Ukrainian president had gone to Baden Baden in a desperate – and secret – attempt to save his life.

The rumor also spread quickly beyond Ukraine to the Ukrainian diaspora, and was the subject of countless telephone calls and e-mail exchanges beginning on January 16. It was bolstered by a report carried by a Russian-based news service, News-Info, which reported on its website that its sources in Baden-Baden had said President Kuchma died on an operating table in Baden-Baden.

For years, Ukraine's controversial state leader has been the subject of rumors on his impending demise from cancer alternately, the rumors have had him suffering from most of its virulent forms, including stomach, intestinal, throat and thyroid cancers.

In the end, he has always showed up at his next press conference looking full of vigor and health.

The latest rumor no doubt arose from the fact that back on November 17, 2003,

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## ANALYSIS

## Is Ukraine's minister of defense in line to become transitional strongman?

by **Taras Kuzio**  
RFE/RL Newsline

Defense Minister Yevhen Marchuk plans to run in Ukraine's presidential election in October, *Ukrayinska Pravda* reported on January 6, citing fellow opposition newspaper *Postup*, which claimed it was leaked this information by senior officers of the Ministry of Defense.

As a presidential candidate, Marchuk could serve to ally outgoing President Leonid Kuchma's and oligarchs' fears regarding their fate in the post-Kuchma era. Marchuk, who is seen by Western governments and international organizations as pro-Western and pro-NATO, would also have a better image than leading pro-Kuchma politicians, such as Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, who hails from the pro-Russian Donbas and is tied to Ukraine's wealthiest oligarch, Renat Akhmetov.

Mr. Marchuk's career has spanned Ukraine's entire post-Soviet history. In 1991-1994 he was chairman of the Security Service of Ukraine (known by its Ukrainian acronym, SBU), a position he inherited because of his long background in Soviet Ukraine's KGB. Mr. Marchuk was prime minister in 1995-1996, but was sacked after falling afoul of President Kuchma.

In the 1998 parliamentary elections, Mr. Marchuk was among the first five candidates on the Social Democratic Party United (SDPU) list, alongside former President Leonid Kravchuk and party leader Viktor Medvedchuk. It was not until the following year's presidential election that the SDPU aligned with Mr. Kuchma.

During the 1999 presidential elections, Mr. Marchuk played a spoiler role, similar to that played by the late Gen. Aleksandr Lebed in the 1996 Russian presidential ballot. Mr. Marchuk's rhetoric, political niche and allies were similar to those later espoused by populist nationalist Yulia Tymoshenko, first in the National Salvation Front and then in the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc.

Mr. Marchuk was co-opted in the second round of the 1999 elections and named secretary of the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC), a position he held until 2003. In this position he was not trusted by Mr. Kuchma, and because of this Mr. Kuchma did not permit the NSDC to play the same kind of significant role in Ukrainian politics and security affairs that it had under Mr. Kuchma's trusted ally, Volodymyr Horbulin, in 1995-1999.

The reasons for President Kuchma's distrust were twofold. First, Mr. Marchuk's anti-Kuchma rhetoric in the 1999 elections was as radical as that emanating from Ukraine's most radical oppositionist, Ms. Tymoshenko. Second, a conflict emerged between Mr. Marchuk and the clan of Leonid Derkach, who headed the SBU in 1997-2001. Mr. Derkach's son Andrei is a leading businessman in the Dnipropetrovsk-based Labor Ukraine clan. As secretary of the NSDC, Mr. Marchuk accused the Derkaches of involvement in the illegal-arms trade.

Mr. Marchuk represented an "opposition" wing within the SBU to the officers grouped around Mr. Derkach until Mr. Derkach was forced to resign during the height of the Kuchmagate scandal in February 2001. It is this role that has led some Western observers and some members of the Ukrainian ruling elite to suspect that Mr. Marchuk either knew of but did nothing, or directed through

*Dr. Taras Kuzio is a resident fellow at the Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Toronto.*

intermediaries, the bugging of President Kuchma's office in 1999-2000 by presidential security officer Mykola Melnychenko.

Like his predecessor at the NSDC, Mr. Marchuk has always been a staunch advocate of Ukraine's membership of NATO. As vice prime minister in charge of national security in 1994-1995, he earned a reputation in Moscow of being a tough operator vis-à-vis Crimean separatists and with Russia in negotiations over the Black Sea Fleet. The NSDC's decision in May 2002 to announce publicly Ukraine's goal of NATO membership was Mr. Marchuk's initiative.

There are a handful of scenarios that could explain why Mr. Marchuk would seek the presidency this year. First, his candidacy could be a sign of desperation by the authorities because they have failed to find a neutral candidate who can stand above Ukraine's three main clans and is popular enough to win the elections. President Kuchma's distrust of Mr. Marchuk might be less significant now than the latter's potential usefulness in Ukraine's transition to the post-Kuchma era. It is in the interests of the presidential administration head, Mr. Medvedchuk to convince President Kuchma of Mr. Marchuk's newfound usefulness.

The pro-presidential parliamentary majority will be focusing its efforts on adopting constitutional changes before the elections. Mr. Marchuk has privately stated that an unspecified "radical step" will be taken in March. Mr. Marchuk could either be the authorities' sole neutral candidate, or he could run alongside a second candidate, Prime Minister Yanukovich. The SDPU would not view as a positive step the election as president of either Mr. Yanukovich or popular reformer Viktor Yushchenko.

Second, constitutional changes might be adopted that provide for presidential elections this year, but for Parliament to elect future presidents after a new legislature is elected in 2006. These are the constitutional changes favored by the Communists, whose 59 votes are needed by the pro-presidential majority to effect the changes.

Any president elected this year, therefore, would automatically become a transitional president whose term in office would last only from November 2004 to March 2006. Mr. Marchuk could be positioning himself as a potential interim president who would take Ukraine into the post-Kuchma era until a new president is elected by Parliament. This role would seek to assuage fears by President Kuchma and his oligarchic allies (particularly Mr. Medvedchuk) of their possible fate if Mr. Yushchenko were to win the election without constitutional changes, in which case he would inherit President Kuchma's extensive range of powers.

Third, given that Mr. Marchuk would have little possibility of winning the election, he could play the role of a "spoiler" candidate and take votes from others. In the 1999 elections Marchuk took votes from Socialist leader Oleksander Moroz that deprived the latter of the chance to enter the second round, where Mr. Kuchma – had he faced Mr. Moroz rather than Communist leader Petro Symonenko – might have lost.

Mr. Marchuk's pro-NATO orientation would be beneficial to the authorities insofar as the West would perceive him as less of a stark alternative to Mr. Yushchenko. In addition, as defense minister and through his links to the SBU, Marchuk would attract the votes of the one million voters in the various security forces, as well as again take votes from the Socialists and the Tymoshenko Bloc. And in a second round, Mr. Marchuk would be in a position to transfer his support to another candidate from the authorities, just as he did in the 1999 elections.

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Anti-dumping investigation suspended

WASHINGTON – On January 16 the government of Ukraine and the United States Department of Commerce signed the Amendment to the Agreement Suspending the Anti-Dumping Investigation on Certain Cut-to-Length Carbon Steel Plate from Ukraine from October 24, 1997. For the U.S. Department of Commerce, the amendment was signed by James. J. Jochum, assistant secretary for import administration, and for Ukraine's Ministry of the Economy and for European Integration by Mykhailo B. Reznik, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the United States. This amendment envisages continuation of exports of certain cut-to-length carbon steel plate from Ukraine to the United States, and provides for the agreement to remain in force through November 1 of this year. Yevgen Burkat, the chief of the Trade and Economic Mission of Ukraine, stated: "The signing of the amendment to the agreement almost coincided with the suspension of protective measures by U.S. President George W. Bush, and in case of favorable market conditions in year 2004 Ukrainian steel producers will be able to export to the USA cut-to-length carbon steel plate to the amount, totaling up to \$30 million (U.S.)." (Embassy of Ukraine)

### UWC seeks Medvedchuk's dismissal

NEW YORK – The Ukrainian World Congress (UWC), following up on the fiasco over the Kyiv venue of its eighth congress, wrote to the chief of presidential administration, Viktor Medvedchuk, requesting an explanation, inasmuch as the original congress site is within his jurisdiction. Having failed to receive a reply, the UWC executive board in December 2003 decided to wait an additional 30 days for a response, and failing that, to request that President Leonid Kuchma dismiss his chief of staff. The UWC's argumentation is as follows: the UWC entered into a binding contract with the Ukrainian Home to hold its eighth congress on August 19-21, 2003, and made the requisite deposit; two weeks prior to the event the UWC was notified that the Ukrainian Home was rescinding the contract because of imminent renovations; the Ukrainian Home falls within the jurisdiction of the presidential administration; throughout the ordeal the UWC intervened with representatives of the presidential administration insisting on contractual obligations; the UWC was compelled to contract for alternate accommodations; these events were followed up with a demand for an

explanation from Mr. Medvedchuk; there has been no response. The UWC's formal request for Mr. Medvedchuk's dismissal was forwarded to the president on January 5. (Ukrainian World Congress)

### Kyiv rally urges new union with Russia

KYIV – More than 1,000 people took part in a rally organized by the Progressive Socialist Party and the Russian Bloc in Kyiv on January 17 to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereiaslav, whereby Ukrainian Kozaks allied with Moscow against Poland. Participants in the rally called for the unification of the three countries that formed the Slavic core of the former Soviet Union: Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Russian congress backs Kuchma

SYMFEROPOL – The Congress of Russian Communities of Crimea has urged President Leonid Kuchma to run in this year's presidential election, *Interfax* reported on January 19. "Any change in the top state leadership at this historic stage will upset the system of succession of Ukraine's domestic- and foreign-policy courses," the congress said in a statement. The Constitutional Court of Ukraine ruled on December 30, 2003, that Mr. Kuchma may seek the presidency in 2004 despite a two-term limit in the Constitution of Ukraine that went into effect in 1996, during President Kuchma's first term. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Ukrainian troops in midst of protest in Iraq

KUT, Iraq – Ukrainian army tanks and Iraqi police were confronted by angry demonstrators throwing explosives who gathered on January 12 and 13 at City Hall plaza in this city 100 miles southeast of Baghdad. The Washington Post noted that the demonstrations coincided with a growing split between U.S. officials and a prominent Shiite leader, Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, who demanded on January 12 that direct elections be held soon. Some residents of Kut said the protests were instigated by extremist Shiite groups who had access to grenades and dynamite, which were thrown at Ukrainian troops on both days. The protesters, however, said that no political or religious group was behind them. During the protests, Ukrainian troops sat in tanks surrounding City Hall and lay on nearby rooftops with rifles. Order was restored in the afternoon of January 13 after a local Shiite cleric, Laith Rubaie, intervened at the request of Iraqi police, calling over a loudspeaker for calm and drawing the demonstrators

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## FOR THE RECORD: Reporters Without Borders on Protsyuk case

*Following is the text of a report issued by Reporters Without Borders. (The report is available at [http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id\\_article=904](http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=904))*

Reporters Without Borders on January 15 called for the reopening of the inquiry into who was really responsible for the U.S. Army's "criminal negligence" in shooting at the Palestine Hotel in Baghdad on April 8, 2003, and causing the death of two journalists: Ukrainian cameraman Taras Protsyuk of the Reuters news agency and Spaniard José Couso of the Spanish TV station Telecinco.

The call came in a report of the press freedom organization's own in-depth investigation of the incident, which gathered evidence from journalists in the hotel at the time, from others "embedded" with U.S. Army units and from the U.S. soldiers and officers directly involved.

The report said U.S. officials at first lied about what happened and then, in an official statement four months later, exonerated the U.S. Army from any mistake or error of judgement. The report provides only some of the truth about the incident, which needs to be further investigated to establish exactly who was responsible.

Pentagon spokespersons said right from the start that an M1 Abrams tank

opened fire on the hotel in legitimate self-defense in response to "enemy fire" coming from the hotel or the area around it. This line was maintained and emphasized at the highest official level in the days that followed.

Sgt. Shawn Gibson, the 3rd Infantry Division (3ID) tank gunner who fired the fatal shot, and his immediate superior, Capt. Philip Wolford, who authorized it, denied they had fired because of shooting from the hotel. They said the 4-64 Armor Company of the 3ID's 2nd Brigade, which was stationed on the Al-Jumhuriya Bridge soon after U.S. troops entered Baghdad, was in fact seeking to neutralize an Iraqi "spotter" monitoring and reporting on U.S. military activity. Some of this data caused the U.S. Army to change its line slightly in its official report released on August 12, 2003. It did not speak of direct shooting but of an "enemy hunter/killer team" that required a response in legitimate self-defense. This too was a lie – by omission.

By focusing only on the rules of combat, the U.S. authorities have remained silent about the real cause of the tragedy. The Reporters Without Borders investigation found that the soldiers in the field were never told the hotel was full of journalists.

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## Kuchma gives law enforcement officers a raise, and critics question its timing

by Roman Woronowycz  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma issued a presidential decree on January 13 to increase the salaries of law enforcement officers at the precinct level and make improvements in their working conditions.

Some members of the Verkhovna Rada questioned the timing and the purpose of the decree, noting that it came as politicians began gearing up for the October presidential elections.

The executive order explained that the goal is "to raise the level of performance of the precinct inspectors of the state militia, to attract highly qualified specialists and to create the required conditions for them to carry out their responsibilities."

It stated that there is a dire need within the Ministry of Internal Affairs to develop a better reserve of law enforcement personnel, to raise the professional qualifications of officers and attract personnel with higher education.

In the decree the president ordered the creation of "a system of material and moral encouragement," so that inspectors and low- and mid-level supervisors had the proper stimulus and conditions to carry out their duties. The decree noted the need to provide additional wages and "proper housing" to some officers.

It also called for a review of the physical conditions at the precincts where most state militia officers work, including an effort to return precinct premises that had been sold off or transferred to other government departments.

Finally, President Kuchma directed the State Committee on Television and Radio to develop a series of programs highlighting the work and accomplishments of the workers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and asked that the Ministry of Culture and Arts develop a series of films, documentary and otherwise, "to raise the authority and image" of state militia officers.

The decree received little attention in the press, as most national deputies remained focused on the ongoing political battle in the Parliament over political reforms and Constitutional change. Nonetheless, some lawmakers noted that the decree and the timing of its release would allow the president to quietly guarantee himself the allegiance of law enforcement officers as the presidential election campaign season began.

While some lawmakers noted the need for the executive order, others showed contempt for the political motivations behind it.

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## Kyiv residents celebrate traditions of Epiphany on the banks of the Dnipro River



Roman Woronowycz

KYIV – Epiphany, January 19 according to the Julian calendar, was celebrated here at the Ukrainian capital city's Hydropark. Among the multitudes in attendance was Kyiv Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko. Epiphany is also known in Ukrainian as Bohoiavlennia, Vodokhryshi (literally, blessing of the water) or Yordan (as in the Jordan River). Seen in the photos (clockwise, beginning with top right) are: Patriarch Filaret of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate blessing the faithful with holy water; Kyivans lined up for the traditional blessing of the water; and the crowds gathered at the river's edge and on the Venetian Bridge over a tributary of the Dnipro River.

## OBITUARIES

# Ihor Bulba, prominent member of Ukrainian community in Austin

by Ihor Lysyj

AUSTIN, Texas – Ihor Bulba, a prominent member of the Ukrainian community in Austin, Texas, died on January 8, in Buffalo, N.Y., after a long and valiant battle with cancer. At the time of his death he was with his wife, Eva, his three sons and one daughter, their families, grandchildren and numerous relatives.

This writer met Mr. Bulba for the first time in 1948 at the International Refugee Organization (IRO) school in Arolsen, Germany, where we both studied the intricacies of electronics. Later Mr. Bulba attended the Technische



Ihor Bulba

## S. Res. 202: an update

Below is a list of the current co-sponsors of Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell's (R-Colo.) Senate Resolution 202, the resolution on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine that unequivocally calls the Famine a genocide. The senators are listed in the order in which they signed on as co-sponsors; new sponsors are indicated by an asterisk.

George Voinovich (R-Ohio)  
 Mike DeWine (R-Ohio)  
 George Allen (R-Va.)  
 Richard Durbin (D-Ill.)  
 Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.)  
 Norm Coleman (R-Minn.)  
 Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.)  
 Saxby Chambliss (R-Ga.)  
 Joe Biden (D-Del.)  
 Arlen Specter (R-Pa.)  
 Russ Feingold (D-Wis.)  
 Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.)  
 Rick Santorum (R-Pa.)  
 Jon Corzine (D-N.J.)  
 Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.)  
 Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.)  
 John Kerry (D-Mass.)  
 Carl Levin (D-Mich.)  
 Wayne Allard (R-Colo.)  
 Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.)  
 Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.)  
 Mark Dayton (D-Minn.)  
 Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.)  
 Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.)  
 Mary Landrieu (D-La.)  
 Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.)  
 \*Susan Collins (R-Maine)

Hochschule in Munich and was an active member of the Ukrainian student community of that city. An extraordinary sense of humor was his hallmark during those difficult early years of our young immigrant life, when we were lacking in almost everything, and it served him well throughout his life.

Mr. Bulba arrived in the United States from Germany as an immigrant on the Displaced Persons quota in 1950. Within a few months of his arrival he was drafted into the U.S. Army and returned to Germany as a noncommissioned officer to the same town he had left only a few months earlier. After his tour of military duty he completed his formal professional education at the New York State University, Technical Institute in Buffalo, graduating with distinction as an electrical engineer.

His professional and military careers were closely interwoven from that point on. As he progressed up the executive ladder at General Electric, Westinghouse and other corporations, he also remained on the military reserve roster and served his adopted country with distinction during the Korean and Vietnam wars.

At the dawn of Ukrainian independence in the early 1990s Mr. Bulba was one of the first Ukrainian-American businessmen to lend a helping hand to the economically devastated country. On behalf of a group of American investors he organized, staffed and equipped a computer hardware manufacturing plant in Kyiv. Within a year the company was in full operation, manufacturing computer components and generating profits. It was later taken over by Ukrainian businessmen.

The roots of the Bulba family go deep in Ukrainian history. The Bulba clan hails from the Volyn/Polissia region of Ukraine and his ancestors served in the Zaporozhian Sich. The family name appears in historical records as registered Kozaks in the Volyn region during the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the wars of liberation that followed that period.

According to the oral family history, Mykola Hohol visited the city of Kremenets, the ancestral home of the Bulba family, in the 1830s to study historical records of Polish-Ukrainian military conflicts that took place during Kozak wars for independence. The city was the major center of learning in western Ukraine prior to the final partition of Poland in 1772, and the library in Kremenets remained the principal repository of historical documents and records in Ukraine after final partition of Poland and the annexation of the Volyn region by Russia. Hohol, as a young history lecturer at the Patriotic Institute and later at the University of St. Petersburg, needed resources of the Kremenets library for his research on the Kozak past.

During his stay in Kremenets, Hohol was a guest of Nikofor Bulba, a prosperous entrepreneur, innkeeper and great-grandfather of Ihor Bulba. Nikofor Bulba, a registered Kozak, acted as a guide for young Hohol during his stay in Kremenets. Together they visited many Kozak mohyly (burial mounds left by the war of liberation), as well as the castles and fortifications in the area of major military engagements, so vividly and accurately described by Hohol in the masterpiece he published later under the



The class of 1948 at the International Refugee Organization's Radio School in Arolsen, Germany. Ihor Bulba is seen in the second row, third from left.

title of "Taras Bulba."

This historical novel is based in large measure on the resources of Kremenets library, visits to battle sites and fortresses of the area, and on the lengthy conversations with Ihor Bulba's great grandfather Nikofor. The title of the resulting literary icon, "Taras Bulba," published in 1835 as a part of the Myrhorod anthology, is not coincidental but appears to be

an acknowledgment of the inspiration and the source of material used by the 25-year-old author in his novel.

During the war for Ukrainian independence in 1917-1918 Ihor Bulba's father served as an officer in the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and established a lifelong friendship with Lt. Stepan Skrypyk, nephew of Otaman

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# Michael Waris, tax attorney, founding member of UABA

BETHESDA, Md. – Michael Waris Jr., 82, a specialist in federal tax laws and retired partner at the Washington office of the international law firm Baker and McKenzie, died on January 9 at his home in Bethesda, Md., from complications of a stroke suffered in 1997.

Mr. Waris, the son of Ukrainian immigrants, was born in Philadelphia and grew up in Doylestown, Pa. Hard work overcame his poor childhood. He earned a bachelor of science in 1942 from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Commerce and Finance, and was cum laude graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Law School in 1944, where he was managing editor of the Law Review and member of the Order of the Coif.

He moved in 1946 from Pennsylvania to Washington, where he served as legal assistant to Chief Justice of the U.S. Tax Court, J. Edgar Murdock until 1948. He was a master of the bench of the J. Edgar Murdock American Inn of Court, a professional association of attorneys devoted to supporting excellence, civility, professionalism and ethics in the practice of tax law.

From 1948 to 1952 Mr. Waris was chief counsel of the Internal Revenue Service in New York City. In 1952 he returned to Washington, where he worked for the U.S. Treasury Department until 1962. During that time he helped develop the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, and ultimately became associate tax legislative counsel in the office of the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury.

In 1962 Mr. Waris joined Baker and McKenzie as a partner with an expertise in international tax problems, tax litigation and tax legislation. He retired from Baker and McKenzie in 1986. During that time he was also adjunct law profes-



Michael Waris

sor at Georgetown University and lectured on tax law throughout the country, publishing numerous articles on the topic. In 1980, Mr. Waris was appointed to a national IRS watchdog committee, the Advisory Group to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

Mr. Waris was a founding member of the Ukrainian American Bar Association in 1977. In 1996 he was awarded the distinguished service award for his work on behalf of Ukrainian legal causes. He was an active member of the Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family. He served for 24 years as chairman of both the Fund-Raising and Building committees.

Mr. Waris was a talented painter and an avid fisherman and hunter.

Mr. Waris is survived by Mary Luschyk Waris, his wife of 47 years, and by many nieces and nephews.

## FOR THE RECORD: Ambassador Herbst speaks on democracy in Ukraine

Following is the text of U.S. Ambassador John Herbst's speech on "Democracy in Ukraine" delivered on December 23, 2003, at the Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv.

We are here today to discuss a very large topic: democracy and Ukraine's future. Forgive me if I prove unable to give this subject the rigorous treatment that it demands. I am a diplomat, not a political philosopher. But as a representative of the oldest continuous republic on earth, and as a friend of Ukraine, I have something to say. Let's start with some basics. Since the Soviet Union fell apart, the U.S. has supported the transition to democracy and a market economy in all the Newly Independent States (NIS), including Ukraine. We have likewise supported their complete independence and territorial integrity.

At the same time, the establishment of democracy is the stated policy of the Government of Ukraine. It is one of the commitments that Ukraine takes on as a member of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The government has likewise declared its intent to seek integration into the Euro-Atlantic community, including membership in NATO and the EU [European Union]. This community is the greatest collection of free societies that the world has ever seen. Membership offers Ukraine an opportunity for freedom, prosperity and security. All members of NATO and the EU, and those about to enter, are democracies. That is a requirement for membership.

As Americans, we would like to see democracy flower here for two reasons. First of all, the U.S. and Ukraine share many common interests. We would like to establish a deep, long-term friendship and more, but that can only happen if Ukraine is a true democracy. Secondly, we would like to see long-term stability in Ukraine and history teaches that democracy, well grounded in the ethos of an open society, is the best way to ensure both enduring stability and felicity. That, in turn, will contribute to European security and stability.

### Transition to democracy: Ukraine's strengths

We are not dogmatic in our expectations for democracy. We do not believe that a full-fledged democratic culture can spring up overnight. We understand the tragedy of Ukrainian history over the past centuries. We know, too, that Ukraine suffered the worst that the Soviet Union – one of the most inhumane regimes in world history – had to offer.

With this history, Ukraine was bound to encounter obstacles on the way to democracy. And so it has. But Ukraine has also shown remarkable strength. In terms of democratic development among the NIS, Ukraine has been in the forefront. The 1994 election witnessed a real transfer of power. There are strong opposition parties. They exert substantial influence in public life, and have a real chance of coming to power. Politics in the Rada, however imperfect, reflect this. Ukrainians should be proud of the fact that this is not a rubber-stamp institution.

Listening to the debates in the Rada, involving strong competing parties, one can see the makings of real democracy. It is also possible in Ukraine to criticize the government and there are even media that, you might say, specialize in this. Political prisoners, in the sense that we find them in other NIS and in other places around the world, are not part of the Ukrainian world. Civil society is active and effective. Non-governmental organizations, think-tanks and charitable groups have used their expertise and resources to address some of the country's biggest problems: HIV/AIDS, illegal trafficking in persons, corruption and human rights.

All of these developments are very real achievements. But it would be a great mistake, inconsistent with the stated goals of Ukrainian political society, if people toted up these achievements and said, "that's enough for our first two decades of independence." After all, many serious problems remain.

### Transition to democracy: the problems

The major media, especially the broadcast media, do not at all reflect the full spectrum of opinion. The information they provide is carefully managed. And just to make things clear, "temnyky" are sent out to provide "guidance" for the media.

To better control the information available to the public, "special attention" is paid to those media that dare to criticize authorities. Tax inspectors, building inspectors and the police tend to find more problems with these media. Advertising revenue has a habit of drying up. Paper becomes harder to acquire, along with

printing services. For some brave journalists unwilling to play along, there are more decisive measures. One of the great scandals of Ukraine is that principled journalism is a very dangerous profession.

Yes, opposition parties are strong. But they often find themselves facing administrative methods to limit their activities. The business interests that support the opposition – like their counterparts in the media – are subject to the close attention of tax, building and other authorities.

Ukraine had the honor within the NIS of managing the first peaceful transfer of power at the national level. Since then, the elections have become more problematic. Our great hope is that next year's election will be free and fair and bring marked improvement in the electoral process in Ukraine. The great gifts of the Ukrainian people and the wise leadership of the country – with its eyes set on Euro-Atlantic integration – make this a real possibility.

But this outcome is by no means certain nor, some would say, likely. The skeptics can point to a whole series of disturbing incidents when opposition parties sought to conduct political events in Donetsk, Sumy and other cities. Suddenly, large halls in fine condition were under renovation, or bus companies refused to provide transportation services for events, or permission was refused by local governors to use public squares, or the local media were unavailable. Legitimate concerns have likewise been raised about police harassment of activists collecting signatures against the indirect election of the president, or about pressure designed to persuade locally elected officials to resign.

### Advancing toward democracy

But Ukraine can be different. Indeed, it has been different and better in the past. But to be better, all players in the elections must take the high road. We were pleased to see President [Leonid] Kuchma say that he would not seek re-election, in keeping with the two-term limit mandated by the Constitution. The president's call for a code of conduct for all parties in the election is also a good sign. But the responsibility for a free and fair election in the first instance hinges on the government itself. There is a need to ensure equal access to the media for all parties. All parties must be able to organize political events without hindrance all over the country. This also applies to the right of the Communist Party to campaign without hindrance in Lviv or Uzhhorod. Some critical structural questions must also be addressed. Currently the Central Election Commission is due to be appointed. As new members are appointed, it is essential that a broad spectrum of political views be represented: that there be balanced representation. There is a need for improved voter registration procedures, the judicial review of election-related cases, the regulation of vote counting and election monitoring, including exit polling.

### Getting past the cynics

Ukraine must also get past the naysayers who claim that, given its dreadful totalitarian past, Ukraine is not ready for democracy; that it is not natural for a society to move so quickly from despotism to democracy. I met recently with an otherwise intelligent Ukrainian who claimed that freedom of speech was not a high priority for the people of Ukraine. That free and fair elections were a Western standard. That the "Ukrainian standard" was the use of administrative methods in Donetsk to prevent lawful political activity. Now I salute this man's honesty, because he says in public what those who orchestrated Donetsk decided in secret to do. But I certainly question his judgment. His judgment would doom the Ukrainian nation to a future in many respects similar to its past – subject to the arbitrary rule of powerful people.

In democratic countries, it is considered normal for parties to campaign in areas where they are weak because if they sway just a few percent of the voters there, it could change the elections outcome. It also seems logical to conclude that by strengthening support in regions where they are weak, parties would strengthen the unity, not threaten the disunity, of the country.

### Georgia

In the wake of events in Georgia, we have a whole new class of naysayers. They claim that the U.S. orchestrated events in Georgia to create a new government. This is a simple fabrication. We have had excellent relations with Georgia and President [Eduard] Shevardnadze since the country's independence. We have provided substantial material assistance to the country and support for its territorial integrity. At the same time, in Georgia as elsewhere in the NIS and around the world, the U.S. has championed democracy. Long in advance of the run-up to Georgia's elections, we conferred with President Shevardnadze and others in the country on the need to hold free and fair elections. That obviously did not happen.

When people in the opposition expressed outrage at the obviously rigged outcome of the elections, and took over the Parliament, we counseled both Shevardnadze and the protesters to find a peaceful, lawful solution to the problem. We encouraged no specific outcome, just a non-violent one based on dialogue. We note that the interim government in Georgia has no plans to remain in power. New elections are scheduled for January. It is very important that they be free and fair.

### The importance of civil society and NGOs

Some naysayers take a slightly more sophisticated tack. They claim that non-governmental organizations, especially those funded from abroad, are subverting the lawful order in countries like Georgia. Let's take a look

(Continued on page 12)

## The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda Press Funds

A Ladies' Night Out fund-raiser for the press funds of The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda was held on October 3, 2003, at the Ramada Hotel in East Hanover, N.J., on the initiative of Jaroslawa Hordynsky and Ivanka Olesnycky. The following were participants of the benefit dinner.

Oksana Bauer	Morristown, N.J.	Roma Lisovich	Union, N.J.
Christine Brodyn	Springfield, N.J.	Olia Lukiw	Springfield, N.J.
Lydia Ciapka	Livingston, N.J.	Ivanka Olesnycky	Maplewood, N.J.
Roma Hadzewycz	Morristown, N.J.	Zenia Olesnycky	Florham Park, N.J.
Anna Harmaty	Chatham, N.J.	Donna Pochoday-Stelmach	Morris Township, N.J.
Chryzanta Hentisz	Maplewood, N.J.	Bozenna Polanskyj	Millington, N.J.
Olha Hnateyko	Clifton, N.J.	Daria Semegen	Springfield, N.J.
Jaroslawa Hordynsky	Springfield, N.J.	Zorianna Stawnychy	Kinnelon, N.J.
Irene Jarosewich	Clifton, N.J.	Oksana Trytjak	Plainfield, N.J.
Oksana Kaczaraj	Budd Lake, N.J.	Bohdanka Vitvitsky	Summit, N.J.
Christine Kozak	Rutherford, N.J.	Zirka Voronka	Maplewood, N.J.
Olha Kuzmowycz	New York, N.Y.		

### Additional donations to the two press funds were made by:

Amount	Name	City		
\$100.00	Olha Hnateyko	Clifton, N.J.	Roma Hadzewycz	Morristown, N.J.
\$70.00	Zenia Olesnycky	Florham Park, N.J.	Irene Jarosewich	Clifton, N.J.
\$50.00	Maria Kozmarsky Casanova	Upper Monclair, N.J.	Oksana Kaczaraj	Budd Lake, N.J.
	Katria Czerwoniak	New York, N.Y.	Olenka Kolodiy	Maplewood, N.J.
	Anna Denysyk	Morris Plains, N.J.	Olia Lukiw	Springfield, N.J.
	Jaroslawa Hordynsky	Springfield, N.J.	Bozenna Polanskyj	Millington, N.J.
	Maria Kuczyna	Morris Plains, N.J.	Zirka Voronka	Maplewood, N.J.
	Natalie Salek	Morris Plains, N.J.	Marta Woroch	West Orange, N.J.
	Neonila Sochan	Morristown, N.J.	Christine Kochan	Towaco, N.J.
	Ulana Sos	San Antonio, Texas		
	Olia Stawnychy	Rutherford, N.J.		
\$25.00	Zenia Olesnycky	New Providence, N.J.		
\$20.00	Oksana Bauer	Morristown, N.J.		
	Lydia Ciapka	Livingston, N.J.		

**TOTAL: \$1,270.00**

*Sincere thanks to all these supporters of The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund and the Svoboda Press Fund.*

## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### Calling all Ukrainian Americans

The U.S. Congress is back from its holiday recess, resuming its sessions as of Tuesday, January 20. As noted by various news media, the Congress has to deal with a number of leftover issues and bills – not the least of them an \$820 billion spending measure that funds diverse federal agencies. Also in the legislative mix are such significant measures as bills on energy, highway programs and taxes. Thus the legislative calendar is quite full. Plus, with 2004 being an election year – and a presidential election year at that – the congressional calendar will be cut short due to breaks for the two party conventions during the summer and an early recess in the fall that provides time for members of Congress to travel back home and campaign. Thus, observers say, the congressional schedule will be dominated by politics.

In the midst of all this, there is a Senate resolution that deserves the Senate's affirmative vote. We speak of Senate Resolution 202, "expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the genocidal Ukraine Famine of 1932-1933." The resolution was introduced half a year ago, on July 28, 2003, by Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.), co-chairman of the U.S. Helsinki Commission. While it continues to gain co-sponsors – the count is now up to 27 – it continues to languish in committee. (See update on S. Res. 202 on page 4 and adjoining columns on this page.)

That is why there continue to be calls for Ukrainian Americans and others to contact Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), who chairs the Foreign Relations Committee, to seek his support for this significant measure. In addition, Ukrainian Americans and friends of our community are being asked to contact their senators, if they are not yet co-sponsors of S. Res. 202, to impress upon them the importance of this resolution and explain why it is imperative that it be passed. At the same time, Sen. Campbell has written a "Dear Colleague" letter to all the members of the Senate, in which he underscores: "It is important that the world not forget this genocidal famine and that we support Ukraine's independence and democratic development as the best assurance that atrocities such as the Famine become truly unthinkable."

It is noteworthy that this resolution includes senators on both sides of the aisle – 10 Republicans and 18 Democrats. Thus, it is neither a Republican, nor a Democratic initiative, but a bipartisan expression of the sense of the Senate at a time when communities throughout the world have been commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Famine-Genocide, at a time when there are few survivors of that horror left among us.

Why should we rally to secure passage of this particular resolution? The answer is simple. S. Res. 202, which unequivocally states that "the man-made Ukraine famine of 1932-1933 was an act of genocide as defined by the United Nations Genocide Convention," is the strongest resolution dealing with the horrific events of 1932-1933 introduced in either house of the U.S. Congress. It tells the world the truth about what happened during the Famine years in Ukraine and neighboring ethnically Ukrainian regions, and it resolves that the millions of victims should be "solemnly remembered" and that the anniversary of the Famine "should serve as a stark reminder of the brutal imperialistic Soviet regime." Through this resolution the Senate "condemns the callous disregard for human life, human rights and manifestations of national identity that characterize the Stalinist policies that caused the Ukrainian Famine" and supports efforts "to publicly acknowledge and call greater international attention" to the Famine. In short, S. Res. 202 is both an important statement of the facts and a statement of U.S. concern.

We cannot fail to advocate and secure passage of this landmark resolution, for we cannot fail the memory of the millions of our kin who perished during the Famine of 1932-1933. And, the Senate must not fail to acknowledge the deaths of between 7 million and 10 million men, women and children during one of history's worst genocides.

Jan.  
25  
2001

### Turning the pages back...

"Tapegate," the scandal surrounding video and audio recordings that allegedly implicated President Leonid Kuchma and a coterie of high-level government officials in the disappearance of a Ukrainian reporter and the subsequent cover-up of the crime,

became an international affair on January 25, 2001, when the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe condemned the lack of freedom of expression in Ukraine, and agreed to organize an independent investigation into certain aspects of the case.

Our Kyiv Press Bureau reported that after a session in Strasbourg, France, devoted to Tapegate and freedom of expression in Ukraine, PACE refrained from sanctioning the country for its less than pristine human rights record of late, but voted to take responsibility for an independent analysis of the audiotapes and to give their author political asylum. PACE also agreed to conduct an independent DNA analysis of the body found at the beginning of November 2000 in the town of Tarascha, Kyiv Oblast, which Ukrainian authorities have said may be that of Heorhii Gongadze, a radio journalist who had vanished, literally without a trace, four months earlier, on September 16, 2000.

As Tapegate continued to unravel, anti-Kuchma demonstrations under the slogan "Ukraine Without Kuchma" expanded to more regions of Ukraine, only to be suppressed by state militia in many areas. While demonstrations in Cherkasy and Ternopil continued with dozens of pup tents clustered in the respective city centers, in Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk and Rivne local officials either banned demonstrations or dispersed protesters. Meanwhile, in Kyiv, the organizers of the "Ukraine Without Kuchma" movement found that the site of their pre-New Year demonstrations was now blocked by a barricade erected around Kyiv's central square. Officials said the barriers were erected in preparation for reconstruction of the square in time for the 10th anniversary of Ukraine's independence scheduled for that August.

Source: "Tape scandal becomes international affair as PACE urges independent investigation," by Roman Woronowycz, Kyiv Press Bureau, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, February 4, 2001, Vol. LXIX, No. 5.

## FOR THE RECORD

### Sen. Campbell's letter to colleagues urging support for resolution on Famine-Genocide

The following letter was sent on January 8 by from Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.), co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission, to each of his Senate colleagues.

"Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-1933." – Conclusion of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine.

Dear Colleague:

Last year, I introduced S. Res. 202, a resolution commemorating the millions of innocent victims of this Soviet-engineered famine. I urge you to join the bipartisan group of 26 Senate colleagues co-sponsoring this resolution: George V. Voinovich, Mike DeWine, Richard J. Durbin, Frank Lautenberg, George Allen, Norm Coleman, Barbara A. Mikulski, Saxby Chambliss, Joseph R. Biden Jr., Arlen Specter, Russell D. Feingold, Dianne Feinstein, Jon S. Corzine, Paul S. Sarbanes, Rick Santorum, Barbara Boxer, John Kerry, Carl Levin, Wayne Allard, Charles Schumer, Joseph Lieberman, Mark Dayton, Hillary Clinton, Debbie Stabenow, Mary Landrieu and Edward M. Kennedy. [Editor's note: Since the letter was written, another senator, Susan Collins (R-Maine), has signed on as a co-sponsor.]

Seven decades ago, a Famine in Soviet-dominated Ukraine and bordering ethnically Ukrainian territory resulted in the deaths of millions of Ukrainians. In his seminal book on the Ukraine Famine, "Harvest of Sorrow," renowned British historian Robert Conquest writes, "A quarter of the rural population, men, women and children, lay dead or dying, the rest in various stages of debilitation with no strength to bury their families or neighbors."

In 1988 – a few years prior to the fall of the Soviet empire – the

Congressionally created Ukraine Famine Commission following a four-year-long inquiry concluded that "Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-1933." Archival evidence since the Soviet Union disintegrated has only reinforced and documented the genocidal nature of the Famine.

The Ukraine Famine was not the result of drought or some other natural disaster, but of Soviet dictator Stalin's inhumane, coldly calculated policy to suppress the Ukrainian people and destroy their human, cultural and political rights. It was the result of deliberate starvation. Requisition brigades, acting on Stalin's orders to fulfill impossibly high grain quotas, took away the last scraps of food from starving families, including children, often killing those who resisted. Millions of rural Ukrainians slowly starved amid some of the world's most fertile farmland, while stockpiles of grain rotted by the ton. Meanwhile, the Soviet government was exporting grain to the West, rejecting international offers to assist the starving population and preventing starving Ukrainians from leaving the affected areas in search of food. The Stalinist regime – and, for that matter, subsequent Soviet leaders and their apologists in the West – engaged in a massive cover-up of denying the Famine.

Please join me in remembering the innocent victims of this tragedy. It is important that the world not forget this genocidal famine and that we support Ukraine's independence and democratic development as the best assurance that atrocities such as the Famine become truly unthinkable. If you are interested in becoming a co-sponsor of the Ukraine Famine resolution, please have your staff contact Orest Deychakiwsky (orest.deychak@mail.house.gov) at the Helsinki Commission at 5-1901.

## ACTION ITEM

### Senate Resolution on Famine-Genocide

Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.), co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission, has written a "Dear Colleague" letter in support of the Ukrainian Famine resolution (Senate Resolution 202), which he introduced last session and which clearly labels the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine a "genocide."

Senators from states having a significant number of Ukrainian voters co-sponsored the resolution, but those in other states have not. It is critical, therefore, that Ukrainians in all such states call and/or write their senators, urging them to co-sponsor S. Res. 202. It is imperative for those who know Ukrainian Americans or who have American friends in states whose senators have not yet signed up to call those people and have them contact their senators to solicit their support for S. Res. 202.

Ukrainians and their supporters are also urged to call Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, (202) 224-4814, to persuade him of the urgency of the adoption of this resolution.

If you do not see your senator's name in the list below, please give him or her a call today. For telephone numbers, call (202) 225-3121 or log on to <http://www.senate.gov>.

The 27 co-sponsors include both senators from the following states: California, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Other co-sponsors include:

Wayne Allard (R-Colo.), Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.), Joseph R. Biden, Jr., (D-Del.), Saxby Chambliss, (R-Ga.), Richard J. Durbin (D-Ill.), Mary Landrieu (D-La.), Susan Collins, (R-Maine), George Allen (R-Va.), Russell D. Feingold (D-Wis.).

– Submitted by Ihor Gawdiak, President, Ukrainian American Coordinating Council.

### Need a back issue?

If you'd like to obtain a back issue of The Ukrainian Weekly, send \$2 per copy (first-class postage included) to: Administration, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Pulitzer campaign and "Durantyism"

Dear Editor:

The Pulitzer Committee during its November meeting decided not to revoke Walter Duranty's Pulitzer Prize for his cowardly and shameless reporting from Moscow to The New York Times about Stalin's disastrous political and economic policy, and for denying the genocidal man-made Famine, when between 7 million to 10 million men, women and children in rural Ukraine died of starvation in 1932-1933.

However, the Ukrainian American community's effort to revoke it was not for naught, and did not pass unnoticed. Many newspapers and weeklies carried to the American public the message about the Famine-holocaust in Ukraine and its denial by Duranty. Also because of recent publicity a new word is entering the vocabulary and dictionary in regard to Duranty's ill-gotten reporting: "Durantyism."

Max Boot a senior fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations, in his commentary in The Providence Journal on December 4, 2003, "Durantyism is alive and well - 'Progressives' love anti-U.S. tyrants" writes that Duranty's very name became the byword for "craven stooge."

He also writes that "You would think there would be a lesson here for the present day, but Durantyism - 'progressive' Westerners' habit of licking the boots of tyrants - has long outlived Duranty himself." Mr. Boot is referring for example to strongman Fidel Castro, who in spite of recent jailing of many dissidents received laudatory reports from some American journalists. He also writes about the ill treatment of President George W. Bush during his recent visit to London by war protesters, who were indifferent to the fact that dictator Saddam Hussein murdered more than 300,000 of his own people.

So here you have a definition of Durantyism in a nutshell: "Licking the boots of tyrants" for whatever reason.

Hopefully there is also a message to some Ukrainian journalists, (who for example in unison with their Russian counterparts were outraged when U.S. and NATO forces attacked the former Yugoslavia in order to get rid of the brutal dictator Slobodan Milosevic), to think for themselves and have independent judgement concerning Ukraine's internal and international affairs.

Gregory M. Burbelo  
Westerly, R.I.

### Tymoshenko's golden faucets

Dear Editor:

In his December 28, 2003, letter to the editor, Zenon Mazurkevich takes to task Adrian Karatnycky for using "spin" in his analysis of developments in Ukraine. I won't even begin to comment on that, because I know that Mr. Karatnycky will not lose even one of his millions of readers as a result of Mr. Mazurkevich's charges.

What did catch my attention was Mr. Mazurkevich's shoot-from-the-hip statement: "When you read about Yulia Tymoshenko's golden faucets you are reminded of Saddam's palaces with their golden faucets."

Something doesn't ring true here. I

have read a lot about and by Yulia Tymoshenko, I have talked with her and I have never come across any mention of golden faucets in her residences. I have driven by the house she rents in a Kyiv suburb and, at least from the outside, it doesn't look like something with gold-plated plumbing. But even if Mr. Mazurkevich were to show me a clipping mentioning her golden faucets, I would be dubious. (What the newspapers don't write! Why, even the December 28, 2003, issue of The Weekly now will serve as some readers' source of information about Tymoshenko's alleged plumbing!) And yet, it's not her style. "Pani Yulia" is more partial to silver than to gold. Her jewelry, for example, is understated, and mostly silver, although she could easily afford something bold and shiny in 18-karat gold.

Personally, I wouldn't begrudge the quality of her faucets, because just three years ago she spent over a month in Kyiv's historic Lukianivsky prison, without provision for bail, and there, plumbing - I imagine - is closer to that in some of our urban "affordable housing" buildings. It's also worth noting, that two of Ms. Tymoshenko's closest political allies are Anatolii Matvienko and Levko Lukianenko. The first - former Komsomol chief of Ukraine, a fiery orator, and now head of the opposition Sobor party; the second - a political prisoner with a long pedigree, who more than 40 years ago was sentenced to death because he dared to challenge the monopoly of the Communist Party. Their views of her differ drastically from those of Mr. Mazurkevich.

And as for golden faucets: I would not dwell on them, whether they are in Saddam's, or the Kuwait Sheik's palace. We all know - and Mr. Mazurkevich certainly does - that the type of fixtures in one's home is more a function of the architect, than the owner. One could write an essay on the tyranny of architects when it comes to designing a building. They listen to your ideas and wishes, smirk, then open a catalogue and show you what you need and are going to get (and since they are pros in this sphere, they're usually right). I remember reading that after the first Gulf war it was our own U.S. Corps of Engineers that installed golden fixtures in the Kuwait palace. The Sheik himself was still hiding somewhere outside his city-state during the "remont."

R.L. Chomiak  
Washington

### Information sought about Kolomyia fund

Dear Editor:

In September I met with Yosip Matkovsky, the newly appointed headmaster of the Kolomyia Gymnasium. He asked if I could obtain information about The Fund to Support the Kolomyia Gymnasium. He told me it had been established in Philadelphia in 1972 by a group of 19 school alumni - 11 Americans and eight Canadians - from the class of 1922. But that is the extent of any information he had.

I know he would appreciate any help you or your readers might be able to provide in locating this fund.

Anyone with information should contact the Kolomyia Gymnasium at 19 Ivan Franko St., Kolomyia, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, 78200 Ukraine (e-mail gymnasium@km.if.ua), or me at P.O. Box 121, Putney, VT 05346-0621.

Anne Linden  
Putney, Vt.

## PERSPECTIVES

BY ANDREW FEDYNSKY



### Valentyn Moroz - 25 years later

Lest we forget, April 27 this year will be 25 years since Valentyn Moroz was released from a Soviet prison. After a decade-long campaign on his behalf, based on boundless idealism but little expectation that it would actually succeed, the Ukrainian diaspora was thrilled and more than a bit stunned.

With vast armies and nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union looked like it would last a thousand years. Police dogs and border guards kept hundreds of millions of people confined behind barbed wire and massive walls. Huge transmitters labored to jam short-wave radio. Internally, government censors screened every word, every image, even musical notes. Agents and informers monitored the most casual of conversations and everyone knew that any room anywhere could be bugged.

A tiny corps of so-called "dissidents" challenged this mighty monolith by simply speaking their minds. A few of them became quite prominent: Russians Andrei Sakharov, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Vladimir Bukovsky; and Jews - "Refusniks" who merely sought the right to leave the Soviet paradise: Anatoly Shcharansky, Alexander Ginzburg, Ida Nudel.

Ukrainian political prisoners like Mr. Moroz were less known. They were invariably viewed as being outside the mainstream, dangerous even, campaigning as they did for the right to cultural and national expression - as Mr. Moroz put it, for the "spiritual rebirth" of the Ukrainian people. In a state utterly dominated by Moscow, this smacked of separatism, which indeed it was. But that should not have been a problem: the Soviet Constitution had a secession clause, only it didn't work in the real world. Lawyer Lev Lukianenko was sentenced to death in 1959 for advocating its implementation.

With an eye on Moscow, American policymakers, largely in the executive branch, viewed "the Ukraine" as an integral part of "Russia." Defending Ukrainian dissidents was "interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union" and was therefore taboo.

Arrested in 1965, released, then re-arrested in 1970 for aggressively condemning the Soviet police state with all its censorship, arbitrary arrests and routine cruelty, historian Valentyn Moroz took on larger-than-life dimensions, becoming the symbol of implacable resistance. In this, he performed admirably.

On July 1, 1974, at Vladimir Prison, he declared a hunger strike. Quickly, this became big news in the Ukrainian diaspora and Voice of America, Radio Liberty, Vatican Radio, BBC, etc. then broadcast it back into Soviet Ukraine. As luck would have it, young people in the West were just beginning their summer vacations. Before long, grass-roots committees began organizing solidarity hunger strikes, contacting the local press and elected officials, asking them to publicize Mr. Moroz's cause. A great many did.

The Ukrainian Weekly from nearly 30 years ago has a lot of familiar names of people who participated in the Moroz campaign. Then-SUSTA student leader Eugene Iwanciw organized a 48-hour hunger strike in front of the Ford White House. The head of the TUSM student group, Askold Lozynsky, organized a five-day vigil at the United Nations in New York. Andriy Bandera, Andriy Semotiuk and others held a hunger vigil in front of the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa. My fellow Clevelanders Yuriy Deychakiwsky, Liza

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

Jasevych (now Paschyn), Andre Michniak, Steve Kmietek and others boldly camped out in front of the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

Yura Deychakiwsky still chuckles at the memory of Russian Embassy staffers waving ice cream cones at his nose, hoping to entice him to break his fast. Seventeen years old at the time, Yura held firm for one week until a doctor advised him to stop. Andre Michniak maintained his vigil for nearly three weeks. Mr. Moroz, who was ultimately force-fed, kept his for 145 days. In the end, the KGB yielded and eased the conditions under which he was held, defusing the issue, at least for a while.

Then, five years later, in a spectacular exchange of five political prisoners for two Soviet spies, Mr. Moroz was released, giving Ukrainian Americans a huge victory, one that turned out to be critical for America as well.

In the post-World War II era, the United States and the Western alliance expended enormous resources on defense, intelligence, propaganda confronting Lenin's inhuman system, but for some reason, policy-makers avoided the nationality issue despite ethnic Americans pushing a "Captive Nations" agenda. As the pundits explained, the Soviets considered that overly "provocative" and a "threat to their vital interests."

Taking his cue from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, President Gerald Ford downplayed the Soviet human rights issue and instead conducted a foreign policy based on international stability maintained by balance of power politics. Challenging that stance in the 1976 election campaign, President Ford's Democratic opponent Jimmy Carter turned foreign policy to his advantage, with many Ukrainian Americans supporting him. Upon his election, The Ukrainian Weekly hailed "the long-awaited exodus of Dr. Kissinger" and looked hopefully to a "rearrangement of priorities."

Those hopes were realized when President Carter named Zbigniew Brzezinski his national security advisor. A Polish American, Dr. Brzezinski understood the multi-national makeup of the Soviet Union and, in contrast to his predecessors, refused to concede permanent Russian domination of Eastern Europe. Negotiating the exchange of dissidents for spies in 1978-1979, Dr. Brzezinski insisted that Mr. Moroz be part of the deal. For the first time, American diplomats dealing with the Soviet Union put the Ukrainian national issue on the table and won.

Once freed, Mr. Moroz lost his allure as a symbol and slipped into obscurity. Other forces stepped up - the Helsinki groups, Poland's Solidarity, Ukraine's Rukh, Lithuania's Sajudis - setting in motion the dynamic that eventually cleaved the Soviet Union along the national fault lines that Dr. Brzezinski had instinctively recognized, which others with different philosophies toward Russia either failed to see or declined to consider.

Looking back from a quarter century's perspective, the idealism that motivated support for Valentyn Moroz and other Soviet Bloc national dissidents paid enormous dividends. Today, the world is different and better. That said, the intertwined issue of America's relationship with Ukraine, with Russia and the three countries with each other, is still in play. Always will be. And yes, presidential elections still matter - both Ukraine and America will have one in 2004. No need to go on hunger strike. Just choose wisely.

## South Texans celebrate holidays

by Stephen Sokolyk

NEW BRAUNFELS, Texas – The holiday season was an active one for the growing South Texas Ukrainian community. On December 20, the community was fortunate to have its very first Ukrainian Catholic liturgy in New Braunfels, celebrated by Father Mykola Dovzhuk of Pokrova Ukrainian Catholic Church in Houston.

Held in the chapel of a local church, the service attracted 30 congregants. There were many moist eyes amongst the faithful, who had long been rather isolated from their Church and heritage. This was only the beginning of a sustained mission effort by Father Dovzhuk in this area.

On January 10, the second Ukrainian liturgy was held in a neighborhood clubhouse, followed by the second annual community Sviata Vecheria (admittedly, four days late) at the home of Stephen and Beth Sokolyk. The couple was overjoyed to host 54 Ukrainians of all kinds – those who are Ukrainian by birth, marriage, adoption and association – packing the house, as well as Father Dovzhuk and his family.

Following a greeting of “Khrystos Rozhdayetsia” and the reply “Slavite Yoho,” the food was blessed by the priest, and then all sang a spirited version of “Boh Predvichnyi.” The potluck buffet featured two kinds of fish, four kinds of varenyky, holubtsi, cabbage and beet borsch with vushka, uzvar, kutia, fried mushrooms, beets, sauerkraut with peas, and some wonderful desserts. Topping it off were a few horilka toasts. The fellowship was wonderful; participants met new friends and deepened old friendships.

The Ukrainians of Austin and San Antonio had a big year in 2003, with Sviata Vecheria, a bandura concert, an Independence Day picnic, and the start of a Ukrainian Catholic mission to the area. There are more than 40 households on the community’s list, which groups every month. Ukrainians in the area are asked to contact Natalia Lysyj in Austin at NatBalden@aol.com, or Stephen Sokolyk in New Braunfels at ssokolyk@aol.com. Mr. Sokolyk may also be reached by phoning 830-606-5810.

## Toronto Malanka celebrates its 50th year



Member of Parliament Sarmite Bulte

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – North America’s most popular celebration of the Ukrainian New Year – the Toronto Plast’s Malanka – marked its 50th year on January 10. Invited guests included politicians of all three levels of government as the Parkdale-High Park riding (district) includes Bloor West Village, home of the Plast headquarters and center of Ukrainian organizational and commercial



Minister of Education Gerard Kennedy

life in the city.

Federal Member of Parliament Sarmite Bulte has often been a sponsor for grants for summer student jobs, which help in the production of Plast publications.

Long-standing member of the provincial parliament, Gerard Kennedy, was recently appointed minister of education in the newly elected Liberal government.

The new mayor of Toronto, David



Toronto Mayor David Miller

Miller – who showed up in a Ukrainian embroidered shirt under his tuxedo, the latest fashion among young Ukrainians – was formerly the city councillor for the area.

This year’s program included a Cabaret show, choreographed by Marusia Spolsky and led by professional stage actress Lada Darewych. There were over 1,000 participants of which about 25 percent came from outside Toronto, from places as far away as California and Alberta.

## REFLECTIONS: New Year’s Eve now, and then

by Dzvinka M. Zacharczuk

PHILADELPHIA – The Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center in Philadelphia makes good use of its large banquet hall. An appealing decor and its 10-foot-diameter chandelier with matching sconces give the hall ambiance and charm. For the New Year’s Eve festivities, a lot of sparkles and balloons were laboriously arranged by the hard-working committee.

The orchestra came early, rehearsing and adjusting sound systems. This hometown Philadelphia orchestra with a great tempo has a wonderful American success story. A few music lovers, who recently arrived from Ukraine, got together and just made music at parties and weddings.

The musicians were often referred to as “those from the Fourth Wave.” Hence the name they adopted for their group was the Orchestra of the Fourth Wave, and they composed a beautiful theme song so titled.

On New Year’s Eve the banquet hall sparkled and resounded with music as 300 guests arrived for the celebration. The guests were mostly all new Ukrainians, the Fourth Wave, with just a sprinkling of the “old immigrants,” who now seem to favor private parties. For those who work so hard in the Philadelphia Ukrainian community, it was heartwarming to have the center all lit up and full of people having fun on New Year’s Eve.

The admission included platters of

snacks and appetizers on each table, a 10 p.m. dinner in the Gallery and “bigus” (sauerkraut and sausage), sweets and coffee after midnight. Included also was a bottle of champagne for the New Year’s toast. Many guests still brought their little shopping bags with their favorite goodies. Some also came with school-age youngsters – babysitters are at a premium on such occasions. The little girls were all dressed up in party dresses. Somehow these youngsters managed to amuse themselves. Those who had to pass up a fast polka, a twist or a fox trot due to arthritis and such watched and enjoyed the company.

As for those like myself, who by no choice of their own were born on New Year’s Eve, there always is a tendency to reminisce, not just about the passing year, but about life as a whole. So, as I watched my fellow revelers enjoy a hot Hopak, I remembered such a celebration more than 50 years ago.

It was our first New Year’s Eve in America. We were the new wave – “the Third Wave,” in fact. The hall at the Ukrainian Home in Baltimore was not as big as the center’s banquet room in Philadelphia, but it was full of Third Wave Ukrainians with just a sprinkling of the so-called “old immigrants” of that time. There was also a committee that donated time, effort and “torty” (those delicious home-made cakes).

There were also a few of us children, who had no one to watch us at home. I remember some boys brought checkers and were playing in the cloakroom. The girls, however, did not have fancy party dresses – ours was the epoch of pleated navy skirts and white blouses with sailor collars. I remember, too, some of the grown-ups also brought little bags with goodies.

Then, at midnight, there was a crescendo of sounds made by the “so American” New Year’s Eve toys that the “old country’s” professors and doctors blew and rattled with delight. And one heard “Happy New Year” in broken English from a generation of Ukrainians who actually never

(Continued on page 15)



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Presentation of Debutantes at 7:00 p.m.

Banquet immediately following presentation

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For more information please call the UAYM National Board at 212 477-3004 or [www.uaym.org](http://www.uaym.org).



## Poland agrees...

(Continued from page 1)

ship the amounts that it has stated it could commit to – about 9 million tons annually – but it would have to expend three dollars more per ton to do so.

While somewhat reticent to explain the political motivations that might lurk behind a decision to absorb losses simply to keep control of the pipeline, the two experts agreed there was no economic benefit to paying three dollars more per ton just to send oil through Odesa-Brody.

"I can tell you right away that there is no economic benefit to reverse, none whatsoever," explained Mykhailo Honchar, director of the Department of Strategy for the Eurasian Transport Corridor for UkrTransNafta, the government-owned corporation that built and controls the Odesa-Brody line.

Mr. Honchar said it was unclear to him why any Russian oil company, not just TNK-BP, would be willing to pay more money to use Odesa-Brody from an economic point of view, when two alternative oil pipelines could be utilized, including the new Prydniprovsk pipeline that runs through Ukraine from north to south. He said the recent addition of a new pumping station in Mykolaiv, which would allow the Prydniprovsk line to easily absorb the 9 million tons that TNK-BP would like to ship through the Black Sea, combined with a new Russian-Ukrainian state agreement of December 29, 2003, which raised levels of the amount of Russian oil that could be pumped through the line, "should have taken any talk of reversing Odesa-Brody off the table."

The UkrTransNafta executive noted that the oil that would flow in a reversal of Odesa-Brody should TNK-BP obtain the three-year contract it is seeking would not give Ukraine a net revenue gain of \$35 million, as the preliminary announcement

by Energy Solutions asserted, and could cause economic loss. He explained instead that much of the oil that TNK-BP would ship would not be "new" oil, but crude that would be redirected from Ukrainian rail shipments by which it currently moves from the Russian border to the Black Sea. The specialists note that Ukraine would lose revenue through reduced usage of the more lucrative rail transport system.

"Let's not forget that UkrZaliznytsia (Ukrainian rail) generates revenue from this. Using the pipeline would be cheaper [for TNK-BP] and, therefore, a loss of revenue for Ukraine. [UkrZaliznytsia] has said it could lose as much as \$80 million," explained Mr. Honchar.

The logjam of ships waiting to use the Bosphorus Sea and Dardanelles presents another major problem for the TNK-BP reverse option. The two experts stated unequivocally, although with a least one note of caution, that the problems with heavy traffic through the only shipping route from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean made the reverse option for Odesa-Brody prohibitive.

"There is indeed a serious problem with getting through the straits around Turkey, explained Volodymyr Saprikin, an energy analyst with the respected Razumkov Center for Economic and Policy Studies.

However, Mr. Saprikin added that there is some questioning by shippers regarding Turkey's motives for limiting traffic through the straits. He surmised that some reserve capacity might exist and that several court actions have been brought because Turkey refuses to open the straits for passage of ships during the night-time hours.

Mr. Saprikin also expressed a slight difference in opinion with Mr. Honchar over the economic viability of the TNK-BP project in the short term. He noted that, at the moment, oil prices are near record levels and as a result the Russian government has raised by 10 percent the level of oil it allows

to be extracted from the ground in 2004. With the price for crude oil expected to peak soon and then fall in the second half of the year, Russian oil firms have been looking for ways to get their product out of the country and into market as soon as possible.

As for political motivations in pursuing an Odesa-Brody reverse, when the economics of the matter show it to be only marginally profitable yet very troublesome, Mr. Honchar, expressed two theories.

First, he said, it could simply be that the Russian authorities are using TNK-BP to keep Ukraine from making a concrete step towards integration into European structures by taking Odesa-Brody for itself for three years, the period during which most of the major oil transportation routes for getting Caspian oil to market will be developed. A second theory proposed by Mr. Honchar holds that powerful Ukrainian and Russian business interests with ties to TNK-BP want to exclude powerful Western oil multinationals from access to the Odesa-Brody oil

pipeline, while they develop their own interests and plans for shipping the lucrative light sweet Caspian crude to Europe.

"These people see the potential and see that this is a way for them to retain control over the situation," explained Mr. Honchar.

Finally, while the two experts could not unequivocally explain who owned Energy Solutions, the energy consulting firm that had been tasked by the Ukrainian government to produce a feasibility study on the subject, Mr. Saprikin cast doubt on the firm's credentials and the manner in which the tender was awarded. He said he doubted whether the firm had sufficient experience and expertise to be awarded the project if it had been tendered on a competitive and transparent basis.

"I don't think it met the demands of the tender," explained the Razumkov Center energy expert. "It doesn't have the experience that was required and it doesn't have the specialists at the level required, they are not experts on oil and gas transport."

## Rumors...

(Continued from page 1)

President Kuchma had been hospitalized and later that same day underwent surgery to remove what was described as an "acute lower-intestinal obstruction."

He traveled to Baden-Baden in late December 2003 and returned from his time at the German health spa. Ukrainian Television announced that the president had returned alive and healthy in order to put to rest the widespread gossip.

1-Plus-1 TV reported on January 17 that Mr. Kuchma's course of rehabilitation in Germany lasted three weeks and that it followed intestinal surgery that he had undergone in Ukraine [in November]. The program also noted that President "Kuchma is grateful to Germans for their hospitality and

will start working soon."

1-Plus-1 also reported that Peter Mauer, a 52-year-old gastroenterologist who treated President Kuchma, "told our program that the Ukrainian patient had undergone a very intensive course of physical therapy because his organism was exhausted as a result of the surgery and had lost much protein. Kuchma received a course of physio-therapy, rehabilitation and an electro-physiology program. Kuchma was administered amino acids, mineral substances and vitamins. Mauer said that this was a standard treatment for people who lose up to 25 percent of their strength following surgery. In Mauer's words, "now Kuchma's strength has been restored."

On Monday, January 19, however, a new rumor was floated. The latest buzz was that it was not the real Mr. Kuchma who had returned. The real president had died and a double had taken his place.



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## Detroit area Ukrainians treated to encounter with Soroka family

by Assya Humesky

DETROIT – Two months ago, on November 15, 2003, the Ukrainian community of Detroit and vicinity was treated to two memorable happenings: an art exhibit by Bohdan Soroka, a graphic artist from Lviv, and an encounter with the entire Soroka family – the artist himself, his daughter Solomia who now resides in Michigan, and indirectly, with his parents, Mykhajlo Soroka and Kateryna Zarytska, in whose honor the event was organized.

It took place at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Warren, Mich., and was sponsored jointly by two chapters of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America: Branch 45, which bears the name of Katrusia Zarytska, and Branch 50, named after Princess Olha, which initiated the event.

Oksana Stelmach, head of Branch 50, opened the program by welcoming the numerous guests, including Bohdan Fedorak, the center's director and the honorary consul of Ukraine for the state of Michigan. She also introduced the main participants of the program – the artist Bohdan Soroka, who is a professor at the Lviv Academy of Art and whose work was being shown in Michigan for the first time, and his daughter Solomia, a concert violinist.

The next speaker was Stefa Korol, head of Branch 45, who told the story of Katrusia Zarytska, who as a young girl scout joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and became the head of its underground Red Cross. She served time in a Polish prison, was later arrested by the Soviets and was exiled to Siberia together with her husband, Mykhailo. He died in a Mordovian camp in 1981, and 10 years later his family succeeded in bringing his remains back home. Today his body rests together with his wife's in the Lychakiv Cemetery in Lviv.

The poet Yar Slavutych wrote a poem about Mykhailo Soroka, which was masterfully recited by Vera Rryva. The following is the translation of the poem:

He fell into eternal sleep beneath the rose bush

which he had planted with his own hands. He watched it grow to his heart's content while throwing glances to the barracks beyond barbed wire where his wife was languishing in sorrow for ten years.

O, that husband's longing! What a feeling of pain!

She had been torn away from her infant son and thrown into the prison camps for life.

As his enfeebled heart was slowing down its beating, like a beat-up dog, in that same instant clouds began to part and let the sun shine brightly in the sky.

How avidly he gazed then at the rose, its crown of petals opened up in bloom adorning the grey-colored fencing delighting the imprisoned women's gaze.

The rose bush blossomed like an insurrection which blazed its flames into the distant lands. Mykhailo knew this earthly instant was his last which his imagination would preserve forever.

There is also a literary testament to Mykhailo Soroka's wife, Kateryna: a book titled "Kateryna Zarytska: Prayer for Her Son." It was written by Lesia Onyshko and published in 2002 in Lviv by the Svit publishing house as part of the series "Heroes of the National Idea."

In it we read: "All through the 25 years of her imprisonment, Kateryna Zarytska attempted to continue her self realization ... Optimism, spiritual strength, and belief in a better future helped her to survive ... Courage, tactfulness and a sincere desire to help, to lend her shoulder to anyone who needed it – those were the outstanding features of her personality ... Here is someone we can emulate."

In the words of Mrs. Korol, the best characterization of the Soroka couple was given by Mykhajlo himself when he said: "We have always stuck it out together, we had no fear of mass arrests, pacification, tortures, Bereza Kartuzka, the snow-covered stretches of Siberian roads. We would fall and rise up again, together we looked through the prison gates. An unstoppable thirst for freedom and love for Ukraine pushed us forward."

After Mrs. Korol's presentation, the audience viewed a documentary video about Zarytska's life filmed in Ukraine in vivid detail. Everyone was deeply moved so that for a while there was not a sound in the hall as people wiped their tears.

The next scheduled speaker was Lydia Kazevyeh, head of the UNWLA Detroit Regional Council. However, she was so affected by what she saw that she could not speak. Bohdan Soroka saved the situation by going to the microphone to answer questions and offer his reminiscences about his childhood years without a mother and the difficult life the family had after his mother finally returned from exile.

At the end of the program everyone relaxed while viewing Mr. Soroka's wonderful graphic designs and color drawings. One group of etchings was devoted to traditional Ukrainian wooden churches, another depicted Carpathian landscapes, while the third surprised and delighted the viewers with its childlike humor – a series of gnomes in odd costumes and postures – the works were meant for children.

The meeting ended in a friendly atmosphere with everyone enjoying refreshments.



Artist Bohdan Soroka (right) and his daughter Solomia (second from left) with Oksana Stelmach (left) and Stefa Korol of Detroit UNWLA Branches 50 and 45.

## Ukrainian Free University celebrates its Founders Day

by Mykola Danchuk

MUNICH, Germany – On January 16, the Ukrainian Free University (UFU), celebrated its Founders Day, or Dies Academicus. The festivities commemorated the 83rd anniversary of the establishment of the university in 1921. The event took place in the cultural center next to the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Intercession of the Blessed Virgin.

German and foreign political and diplomatic dignitaries, as well as academics and scholars from German and other universities were present. Over 200 persons from the Ukrainian community, as well as UFU graduate students, attended this event.

Both, the outgoing minister of science, education and the arts of the Free State of Bavaria, Dr. Hans Zehetmair, and the new UFU rector, Dr. Albert Kipa, underlined the uniqueness and significance of UFU as an institution of higher learning.

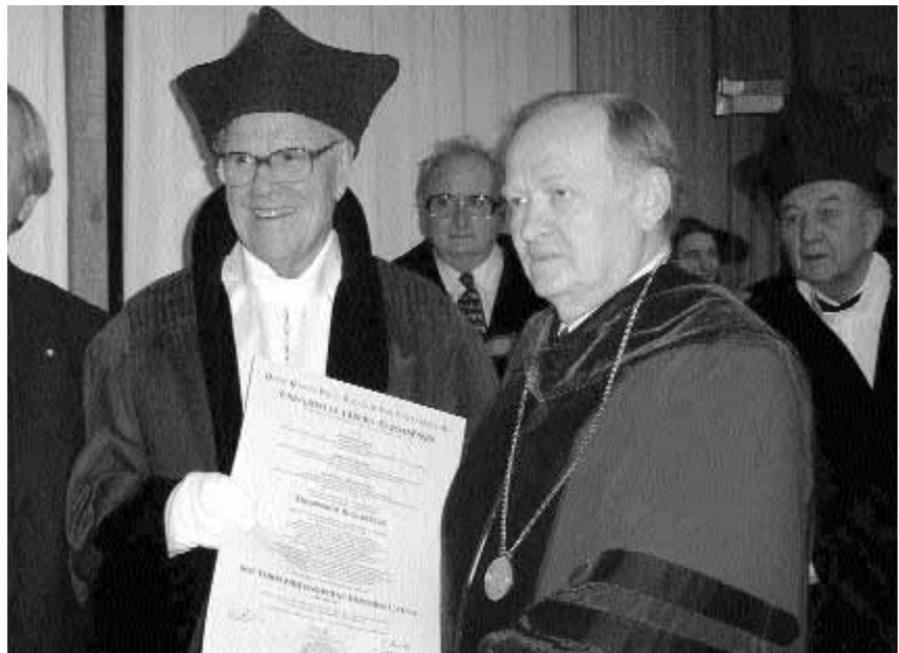
Dr. Kipa's opening address was followed by that of Olha Fedotova-Moritz, who spoke on behalf of UFU students. The outgoing UFU rector, Dr. Leonid Rudnytzky, sponsored this year's honoree, Dr. Theodor Hellbrugge, a world-renowned physician and educator.

The recipient of the Ukrainian Free University honorary doctorate presented

to the audience the essence of his pedagogical method. Dr. Hellbrugge expressed his gratitude and satisfaction that, thanks to the UFU, his book "The First 365 Days in the Life of the Child" will soon appear in Ukrainian. To date, the book has been translated into 31 languages.

Dr. Iwan Dacko, dean of the UFU Faculty of Philosophy, introduced Dr. Anna-Halia Horbach, the recipient of the prestigious Ukrainian Free University Medal, Pro Universitate Libera Ucrainensis, to exceptional scholars. Dr. Horbach received it for her lifelong work in the realm of Ukrainian literary studies, as well as for her defense of Ukrainian dissidents in the former USSR. In her acceptance speech, she stressed that her accomplishments would not have been possible without the active support of her late husband, Dr. Oleksa Horbach, Professor at Frankfurt University.

Violinist Natalia and pianist Roman Raitel assured the artistic part of the Dies Academicus. The accomplished musicians performed the works of Western and Ukrainian composers. The commemorative event concluded with the singing of the traditional student hymn, "Gaudeamus Igitur," and was followed by a reception.



The Ukrainian Free University's new rector, Dr. Albert Kipa (right) with Dr. Theodor Hellbrugge, recipient of an honorary doctorate.

## Bandurist Julian Kytasty performs at scholarship fund-raiser in Victoria

VICTORIA, British Columbia – The Ukrainian Studies Society of Victoria hosted world-renowned bandurist Julian Kytasty at a unique fund-raiser on October 13, 2003, as 50 guests first enjoyed a Thanksgiving dinner at the home of Motria Koropecy.

Each guest gave a donation of \$50 for the concert and dinner for which they received an income tax receipt.

Mr. Kytasty didn't arrive until 6:30 p.m. because of unfortunate travel arrangements. However, once refreshed, he entertained the guests for an hour.

He had with him three banduras. One

was his grandfather's; the other was a unique one he found on his travels to Brazil; the third was a contemporary one.

Mr. Kytasty played a selection of pieces he composed, as well as music of the Kobzari of Ukraine. He also played several pieces on his sopilka. The most memorable pieces were from his new CD, "Black Sea Winds."

The donations collected that evening went toward scholarship funds that support students from Ukraine studying at Pearson College and Ukrainian students studying at universities in British Columbia and Alberta.

country, Ukraine's economic situation is not optimistic. The Ukrainian Weekly is a publication that provides information about Ukraine and its people. It is a free online resource for anyone interested in Ukraine. Visit our archive on the Internet at: <http://www.ukrweekly.com/>

## Saskatchewan UCC announces 2003 Nation Builder honorees

SASKATOON – The board of directors of the Saskatchewan Provincial Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress announced the 2003 UCC-SPC Nation Builder Award honorees, who were recognized for their achievements and contributions to Canadian society and to the Ukrainian community. Some of the awards were presented posthumously.

The 10 individuals were honored on November 2, 2003, at the ninth annual Nation Builder Awards (NBA) luncheon in Yorkton, Sask.

Initiated in 1995, the UCC-SPC Nation Builders Awards are an official recognition event of the UCC-SPC whose object is to recognize worthy individuals who have provided, without reward or gain, outstanding service or exceptional community involvement in an area that is beyond the performance of the individual's normal duties or the exercise of the responsibilities of a profession to which that individual belongs; and/or have made a lasting impact on Saskatchewan and/or Canada through their contribution to Canadian or Ukrainian-Canadian community development, goals and ideals.

Each year about 10 individuals are so recognized. Candidates for recognition are nominated by UCC-SPC member-organizations, as well as by individual members of the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

Each group of honorees is chosen so as to represent a cross-section of Saskatchewan's Ukrainian community as well as Canadian society. Candidates for recognition must have spent a significant part of their lives in Saskatchewan or have made a significant part of their contribution while in Saskatchewan.

From its inception to the end of 2002, the Nation Builders Awards program has honored 95 individuals. Honorees hail from all parts of the province and represent a wide range of endeavors, from the arts and community advocacy, to community and/or political leadership and professional accomplishments.

The 2003 honorees and their citations follow.

- Bishop Basil Filevich – Ordained a priest on April 12, 1942, Father Filevich served in five parishes and ended his church service as a bishop in Saskatchewan in 1984-1994. The leadership qualities of Basil Filevich were recognized with ever-advancing eparchial appointments and distinctions, culminating in 1972 with the title of mitred archpriest. In 1983, at the age of 65, Mitrat Filevich accepted the nomination as bishop of Saskatoon, remaining at his post to the age of 78 years. The second bishop for the Ukrainian Catholics of Saskatchewan, the Bishop Filevich showed himself, throughout his life, to be a man destined to play a significant role in the preservation and advancement of his heritage, community and church. His vision and determination was directed primarily at education and a participatory community involvement.

- Wilfred Homenuik – Raised in Yorkton and member of the famous Homenuik golfing family, Mr. Homenuik won innumerable amateur, open and invitational golf tournaments and championships in Canada and internationally. He was also a member of Canada's World Cup teams in 1965 and 1971. He is currently the teaching professional golfer at the Oakdale Golf and Country Club in Toronto.

- Yaris (Yaroslav) Kotyk – Originally from Whitkow, Mr. Kotyk was extensively involved in the Ukrainian community from an early age, taking an active part in the projects and programs of the

Ukrainian Orthodox Youth of Canada (SUMK), as well as assuming key leadership roles. In later years, he was a dedicated member of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, serving in various executive positions for numerous years as well as organizer of the North Battleford TYC (Ukrainian Self-Reliance League) branch.

- Vera Labach – Ms. Labach has made an immeasurable contribution to the teaching of Ukrainian in Saskatchewan and elsewhere through her work with the Saskatchewan Department of Education and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, as a teacher in the school system, a lecturer at the University of Saskatchewan and a volunteer teacher. She is a founding member of the Mohyla Institute Summer Immersion School and Ukrainian Sadochok. She has also worked on several Ukrainian language-related projects with Ukraine.

- Emilia Panamaroff – In addition to her successful career as an accountant, Ms. Panamaroff has worked in the educational and cultural fields for over 30 years. She has conducted numerous workshops enlightening young and old in Ukrainian folk arts and language learning. Through her devoted efforts as both volunteer and its current CEO, she has been a key figure in the growth of the Musée Ukraina Museum in Saskatoon. She has been recognized for her outstanding leadership contributions to her local community. She has also actively campaigned on behalf of the needy in Ukraine and has established a foster children's plan.

- Zenon Pohorecky – As the founding professor of the department of anthropology and archaeology at the University of Saskatchewan, Dr. Pohorecky spent 30 years developing novel courses, publishing and lecturing to a wide audience. A published artist since the age of 8, his most renowned work was a mural of Canada's Ukrainian Centennial, which was viewed worldwide. Dr. Pohorecky is also recognized for his never-ending efforts for Ukrainians and aboriginals, as well as his support for multiculturalism and human rights. He also was a significant player in the establishment of the Saskatchewan Provincial Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC-SPC) and held executive positions at local and provincial levels.

- George Skwarchuk – A volunteer of legendary proportions, Mr. Skwarchuk dedicated himself not only to his Ukrainian community, but also the larger Canadian community. A recipient of many awards, he was part of the Boy Scout movement for 26 years, president of the Yorkton Ukrainian Self-Reliance League for many years as well as on the league's provincial and national executive boards. He was an active member of the Kinsmen, United Commercial Travelers and numerous other charitable organizations and institutions.

- Lillian Steranko – All aspects of Ukrainian culture have been a major part of Ms. Steranko's life since her youth. She has also taught everything from baking traditional Easter breads and writing pysanky/Easter eggs to cantoring, as well as the Ukrainian language and dancing. Considered to be her greatest contribution is her work with choirs. She conducted the Stenen Church choir for many years plus a combined choir from the Stenen, Hyas, Norquay, Sturgis and Endeavour parish district.

- Mary Usick – Ms. Usick has been extensively involved in the Ukrainian Canadian community over a prolonged period of time. A longtime member of Ukrainian Orthodox Youth of Canada, she served as President of the Regina

Branch. She has been a member of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada since the early 1940s and worked extensively with the Ukrainian Seniors of Regina, serving as president for a number of years. In Regina's mainstream community, she has supported numerous charitable causes and has received several awards for her volunteerism.

- Sen. Paul Yuzyk – An academic and historian of note, Dr. Yuzyk taught history at the University of Manitoba and at

the University of Ottawa. His studies and research centered on Slavic and Ukrainian history. Dr. Yuzyk published extensively, including the books: "The Ukrainians of Manitoba," "Ukrainian Canadians" and "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada," as well as contributed to other books. As a senator, he was instrumental in shaping Canada's policy on multiculturalism. Dr. Yuzyk was a leader and extremely active in Ukrainian Canadian organizations.

## Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk of Canada honored as one of Ukraine's people of the year

TORONTO – Korrespondent, one of Ukraine's most influential news-magazines, named Prof. Lubomyr Luciuk of Canada one of the country's "People of the Year" for 2003.

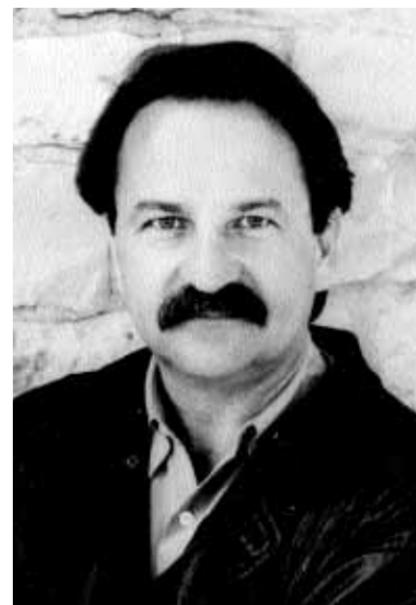
Dr. Luciuk is the director of research for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association. The organization was credited with starting the campaign to strip Walter Duranty of his Pulitzer Prize.

Duranty was a reporter for The New York Times who knowingly lied about the genocidal Great Famine, or Holodomor, in Ukraine in 1932 and 1933. He won the award the same year millions of Ukrainians were dying from starvation and famine-related illnesses.

Under the title "Fighter for fairness," Dr. Luciuk was recognized as a finalist for person of the year by the magazine's editorial board for urging the Pulitzer board to "do the right thing," and for mobilizing Ukrainian communities inside and outside Ukraine to send their thoughts straight to the committee.

"To be mentioned in Korrespondent is an unexpected but pleasant honor," said Dr. Luciuk. "It shows that some people in Ukraine are keen on bringing to justice those who perpetrated the Holodomor, and bringing to the world's attention those who helped cover it up, like Walter Duranty, The Times and the Pulitzer committee."

The campaign ended unsuccessful-



Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk

ly, as the Pulitzer Board decided that Duranty would keep his award for excellence in journalism. The news came on November 21, 2003, the day before the horrors of the man-made famine are commemorated around the world.

Korrespondent has a circulation of 50,000 with thousands more checking the magazine's Web site daily. Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Medvechuk, two Ukrainian politicians, were named "Persons of the Year" in the same issue.

## To The Weekly Contributors:

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

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

Mailing address: The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

PLEASE NOTE: Materials may be sent to The Weekly also via e-mail to the address staff@ukrweekly.com. Please do include your mailing address and phone number so that we may contact you if needed to clarify any information.

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

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## Ambassador Herbst...

(Continued from page 5)

at this. Non-governmental organizations funded by the U.S. and other democratic countries run programs designed to promote democracy and an open society. They offer training in political organization, in monitoring elections and the media, in establishing fair voting lists and procedures. They provide information to the general public about their rights as citizens and about the issues in the election. This support is not offered to just one or two parties or to promote the interests of any group. If here or in any other country, some NGOs receiving our funding undertake partisan activity, they do so in express opposition to our principles, and we will ask them to stop.

Our NGO-operated programs are open to all parties. While some have chosen to make greater use of these programs than others, virtually all parties have participated. The list includes the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (United) and the Agrarian Party in addition to Nasha Ukraina [Our Ukraine] and the Socialist Party. The Party of the Regions and the Communist Party were only two of the organizations so pleased with the work of the International Republican Institute that they wrote letters of recommendation for it.

For those who believe that the use of administrative measures of repression is the "Ukrainian standard," of course the activity of the NGOs may be considered subversive. But for those who support democracy, whatever party they favor, NGO activity should be welcome. NGOs play an important role in making sure that it is the Ukrainian people, and not influential insiders, who in fact elect the leadership of the country.

There has been much talk in Ukraine in recent months about constitutional reform. Ukraine, like all societies, has the right to change its Constitution and determine how to organize its democratic structures. While all countries have the right to change their constitution by established procedures, it is important that such changes in fact enhance democratic life. Ultimately, democracy is about fair play and procedures open to all. It is about rule of law and the separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial powers. Legitimate questions can be asked as to whether it is fair to change the rules of the political game at such a late stage. After all, the presidential elections are scheduled for 10 months from now.

We have and want no say in who wins the elections; we do however share the interests of the Ukrainian people in a fair, truly democratic process. Some critics claim that we favor parties in the opposition. This is nonsense. Looking at the vote of members of the opposition on such issues of importance to us as the dispatch of Ukrainian troops to Iraq or Liberia, it is clear that the opposition is not reluctant to take stands that contradict our interests. Looking at how some in the opposition espousing market principles voted against intellectual property rights, it is clear that, here, too, we are not talking about angels, or those who would do our bidding.

But it was James Madison, the author of the American Constitution, who noted that he was devising a system of government for men, not angels. Since he could not count on men and women, in this case Americans, to restrain themselves, he aimed to set limits by law - fairly enforced - on the exercise of power. Such limits are the best guarantee of freedom. And freedom is exactly what we wish for Ukraine and its people.

## Ihor Bulba...

(Continued from page 4)

Symon Petliura. Lt. Skrypnyk, later became a bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and patriarch of Kyiv and all Ukraine.

After World War I the Bulba family settled in Rivne, Volyn region. Ihor Bulba's father supervised the modernization of the city's municipal facilities, while his uncle served as a county administrator and judge, and later as a mayor of Rivne. Escaping Communist oppression the Bulba family emigrated to the West during the second world war, eventually settling in the United States.

For the past 28 years Ihor Bulba with his wife, Eva, lived in Georgetown, Texas, where they raised four children. In his retirement Mr. Bulba was an active member of the Ukrainian community in Austin, Texas, contacting and welcoming Ukrainian newcomers to the Austin area.

During the past decade Mr. Bulba transferred the majority of his family records, his numerous military uniforms and other artifacts of historic value to the City Museum in Rivne, where many of these are on permanent display. He also donated numerous Ukrainian art objects to the San Antonio Museum of Art in Texas.

A funeral liturgy, with full military honors, was held on January 12, at the Ukrainian Holy Trinity Orthodox Church in Cheektowaga, N.Y. A memorial service was scheduled to be held in Georgetown, Texas, upon Mrs. Bulba's return. In addition to his wife, surviving are: four children, Paul Konstantine, John Frank, Mark John and Ada Marie, with their spouses, eight grandchildren, and numerous relatives.

Donations in memory of Ihor Bulba may be made to The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund at 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.



Ділимося сумною вісткою, що 13 січня 2004 р. на 79-му році життя відійшов у вічність наш найдорожчий МУЖ, БАТЬКО і ДІДУСЬ

бл. п.

## ТЕОДОР ПОДПІРКА

ПАНАХИДА відбулася в четвер, 15 січня 2004 р. в похоронному заведенні Drago, Astoria, NY.

ПОХОРОННІ ВІДПРАВИ відбулися 16 січня 2004 р. в церкві Чесного Хреста, Astoria, NY. Тлінні останки спочили на цвинтарі в Locust Valley, NY.

В смутку залишилися:

дружина – КАРОЛИНА  
сини – КАРОЛЬ з дружиною РОКСОЛЯНОЮ і дітьми РОМАНОМ, АДРІЯНОМ і ВІКТОРОМ  
– РІЧАРД з дружиною САНДРОЮ і дітьми НИКОЛ і РИЧАРДОМ, мол.  
– ДЖАН з дружиною АЛИСОН і донькою ЕМІЛІСЮ та ближча і дальша родина в Америці, Канаді та Польщі.

Вічна Йому пам'ять!



With great sadness we share with our family, friends and acquaintances that on January 17, 2004, at 91 years of age, our dearest mother, grandmother and great-grandmother

## MARIA BRONYSŁAVA HOLOWCHAK

(maiden name Smerychynska) entered into her eternal rest.

Maria Holowchak was born September 4, 1912 in Lviv. She finished high school there and played on the school volleyball team. She later graduated from the Lysenko Musical Conservatory in Lviv, where she played violin. Afterwards she finished nursing studies in 1938 in Krakow, and pharmacy studies in 1943 in Lviv. In America Maria worked as a registered nurse for 20 years in Christ Hospital, Jersey City, N.J., and reached the position of head nurse of her floor at the hospital.

A Panakhyda was held on Friday, January 23, 2004 at 7:30 p.m. at the Galante Funeral Home in Union, N.J. Funeral services were held on Saturday, January 24, 2004 at 9:30 a.m. at St. John's Ukrainian Catholic Church, Newark, N.J.

Left behind in sadness are her:

daughters – Christina Holowchak-Debarry  
– Elizabeth Varian and husband Robert  
son – George  
grandchildren – Larissa Wowk and husband Andrij  
– Tanya West and husband Eric  
– Paul and Alexandra Varian  
great-granddaughter – Melasia Wowk

and other family in the United States. May her memory be eternal!

In lieu of flowers the family asks that donations be made to: St. John's Ukrainian Catholic Church, 719 Sanford Ave., Newark, NJ 07106



Ділимося сумною вісткою, що в п'ятницю ранком, 16 січня 2004 р. вдома, оточений рідними, відійшов у вічність на 78-му році життя наш найдорожчий ЧОЛОВІК, БАТЬКО і ДІДО

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## д-р СТЕПАН ДУДЯК

ПОХОРОННІ ВІДПРАВИ відбулися 22-23 січня 2004 р. в Cress Funeral Home, Blessed Sacrament Church і похований на Forest Hill Cemetery в Madison, Wisconsin.

В глибокому смутку залишилися:

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У глибокому смутку повідомляємо рідних, приятелів і знайомих, що 17 січня 2004 р. з волі Всевишнього відійшов у вічність

бл. п.

## МИКОЛА ІВАНІВ

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Залишив у глибокому смутку:

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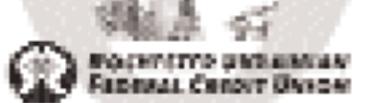
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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

toward his mosque for prayers. (The Washington Post)

### PACE warning on constitutional changes

KYIV – Hanne Severinsen, a member of the Monitoring Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), told journalists in Kyiv on January 20 that current attempts by the pro-presidential parliamentary majority to change the Constitution of Ukraine during the presidential election year are not “acceptable,” Ukrainian news agencies reported. Ms. Severinsen appealed to the parliamentary majority and the opposition to find a compromise, stressing that the constitutional-reform bill preliminarily approved on December 24, 2003, should be resubmitted to the Verkhovna Rada and debated “paragraph by paragraph,” rather than being pushed through by presidential allies. Ms. Severinsen and her colleague, Renate Wohlwand, met with a number of Ukrainian officials and opposition leaders in Kyiv to gather information about Ukraine’s constitutional reform for a PACE meeting scheduled for February. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Kuchma ready for talks with opposition

KYIV – Stepan Havrysh, coordinator of the pro-government majority in the Verkhovna Rada, told Interfax on January 19 that President Leonid Kuchma has agreed to pursue compromises regarding political reform through roundtable talks with opposition leaders. Mr. Havrysh was commenting on President Kuchma’s meeting with leaders of the parliamentary majority earlier the same day. He added that Mr. Kuchma will meet with opposition leaders on the condition that they undertake specific commitments regarding a vote on political reform. Mr. Havrysh said that at their meeting majority leaders did not discuss Mr. Kuchma’s possible participation in the 2004 presidential election. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Majority says it has requisite votes

KYIV – Stepan Havrysh, coordinator of the pro-government majority in the Verkhovna Rada, told the Inter television channel on January 15 that his bloc controls the 300 votes needed to pass a constitutional reform bill stipulating that the legislature elect the president in 2006. “The Ukrainian nation is currently expecting this reform. I am absolutely convinced of this,” Mr. Havrysh said. Meanwhile, Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko

told journalists the same day that the parliamentary opposition will do everything possible to prevent constitutional changes envisaging the parliamentary election of the president. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Kuchma aspiring to ‘interim’ term?

KYIV – Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko told journalists on January 15 that the pro-government parliamentary majority is seeking to make President Leonid Kuchma an “interim president” in 2004-2006, UNIAN reported. Mr. Yushchenko said the majority is set to support the constitutional reform plan preliminarily approved on December 24, 2003, which stipulates the election of a president by direct ballot in 2004 and then by Parliament beginning in 2006. Mr. Yushchenko quoted Nestor Shufrych, head of the Social Democratic Party-United parliamentary caucus, as saying that the pro-government majority and the Communist Party are 10 votes shy of the 300 deputies required to adopt the constitutional-reform bill and intend to “obtain” these votes from Our Ukraine deputies. Mr. Yushchenko added that Mr. Kuchma could even become an “interim president” until 2009, following a decision by the Constitutional Court. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Symonenko explains unusual alliance

KYIV – Communist Party head Petro Symonenko has disseminated a statement explaining why his organization supported the constitutional reform bill that was preliminarily approved on December 24, 2003, Interfax reported. Mr. Symonenko declared that the Communist Party is pushing for a radical reform of the country’s political system through constitutional amendments. “[Such changes] can be achieved in a constitutional way only as a result of coordinating positions with other political parties and structures that are represented in Parliament, including those protecting the interests of the bourgeoisie,” the statement reads. Mr. Symonenko stressed that the Communists oppose both a plan for parliamentary election of the president in 2004 and a possible third term for President Leonid Kuchma. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Ukraine’s population continues to shrink

KYIV – The State Statistics Committee reported on January 13 that there were 47.66 million people living in Ukraine as of December 1, 2003, which was 321,600 fewer than on January 1, 2003, Interfax reported. According to the last national census, held in December 2001, the country had 48.44 million residents. The previous census, which was held in the Ukrainian SSR in 1989, found that there were 51.45 million people living in Ukraine. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Poland, Ukraine sign accord on pipeline

WARSAW – The vice prime ministers of Poland and Ukraine signed an accord in Warsaw on January 16 on the creation of a joint venture to extend the Odesa-Brody oil pipeline to Plock in northern Poland, Polish Television reported. Under the accord, the construction of a 556-kilometer extension will begin in the second half of 2004 and be completed in 2005. “This undertaking has enormous significance for the government of Ukraine and will positively influence cooperation with the European Union,” Ukrainian Vice Prime Minister Andrii Kliuyev said at the signing ceremony, attended by his Polish counterpart, Marek Pol. “This is a strategic step,” Mr. Kliuyev added. The plan for the extension has the support of the European Commission. Ukraine built the Odesa-Brody pipeline with the intention of pumping Caspian oil to Europe. (RFE/RL Newsline)

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2. Verification of minutes of the previous Annual Meeting
3. Reports: Management  
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4. Discussion and approval of reports
5. Election of three members to the Board of Directors
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## Ukrainian National Home in Jersey City marks 85th jubilee

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – November 16, 2003, was a historic day for the Ukrainian National Home at 90-96 Fleet St. – it was the 85th anniversary of this Jersey City institution. Jersey City's Ukrainian community celebrated this event with a gala banquet.

The banquet honored 14 outstanding Ukrainian community activists, as well as National Home members. The main speaker, Zenko Halkowycz, introduced the Rev. Vasyl Putera, who led the assembled in prayer. The Rev. Putera remembered the departed pioneers who made all this possible.

Mr. Halkowycz delivered a short history covering the last 85 years of the Ukrainian National Home. The present structure, which was completed September 23, 1958, is the third building to bear the name "Ukrainian National Home." Mr. Halkowycz recounted the struggle of the pioneers who came to Jersey City as immigrants, who worked 12 hours a day, yet were visionaries and saw a need for a Ukrainian center as well as a Ukrainian Catholic church.

Mr. Halkowycz recounted the story of the events in 1958 when at the dedication of the present building State Sen. A. Harrison Williams laid the cornerstone, how Jersey City Mayor Bernard Berry delivered a rousing patriotic speech and how 650 people squeezed into the main hall of the home for the opening ceremonies and a grand banquet.

Mr. Halkowycz pointed out that during the past 45 years the Ukrainian National Home was very generous in donating funds for worthy Ukrainian charities and youth organizations. The home sponsored various youth projects from soft-

ball and dart teams, to embroidery, bandura music and youth dance groups.

Currently the home is host to many Ukrainian organizations and groups. The current dance troupe, called Maky, which is directed by Tamara Siby, performed and entertained the assembled members and their guests at the banquet. The popular Ukrainian vocal and music ensemble Lvivyany, under the management of Tamara's mother, Stacy Siby, entertained with nostalgic and haunting Ukrainian melodies and songs. Both Ms. Siby and her daughter grew up around this magnificent building and are members in good standing.

The following members were honored for their dedication and service and were recognized with plaques: Stefan Goras, Petro Kostyk, Stefan Czujko, Stefan Maksymczuk, Walter Bilyk, Iliia Shevchuk, Peter Wasko, Mychaijlo Pylypchak, Adam Tizio and Mr. Halkowycz.

Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 71 was honored for outstanding help in raising funds for the home. Mary Wasko was honored for raising money to help defray financial shortcomings. Jaroslaw Oberyshyn, an accountant, was honored for his financial services which he provides pro bono year after year. Last, but not least was the manager and director of the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, Yaroslav V. Zaviysky, whose financial help and advice are invaluable to the Ukrainian National Home.

The evening's festivities continued late into the night with an anniversary dance to the tunes of Vasyl Kavatsiuk's music ensemble. Mary Furey, the home's manager, and her staff prepared a regal banquet and a Viennese table with cake and coffee.



The Maky dance ensemble entertains guests at the 85th anniversary banquet of the Ukrainian National Home of Jersey City, N.J.

## New Year's Eve...

(Continued from page 8)

did master this "foreign language."

Not much has changed since then, I thought. Yet there are nice improvements. The Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center in Philadelphia is far larger and richer in its facilities than the small Ukrainian Home in Baltimore was more than 50 years ago. People like me grew up, became professionals and married, and now our grandchildren speak both Ukrainian and English.

This New Year's Eve at the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center was merrier and lasted into the early hours of the morning. Not so much "Happy New Year" was heard as was "Mnohaya Lita" (Many Years), sung with heart and exuberance to all and by all. At one point, a toast of

"Mnohaya Lita" was sung to a guest at the party who was celebrating his 91st birthday.

It was 3:30 a.m. as I drove my husband, Borys Zacharczuk, the president of the UECC's board of directors, home. He was brimming with satisfaction and tremendous gratitude to all those members of the board and other volunteers who worked so hard to make it all possible.

"It was a great party," I heard him say as we left the center, still brightly lit and sparkling, the dance going strong as the orchestra played its beautiful theme song:

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Happy New Year 2004 and "Mnohaya Lita" to all.

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August 23 return September 07	Kyiv 2, Kaniv 1, Ternopil 3, Pochaiiv, Kamianets-Podilskyj, Ivano-Frankivsk 4, Kolomyia - Carpathian Mountains, Lviv 4. Tour escort: Mrs. Irene Zadravec.	16 days	\$3,657.00

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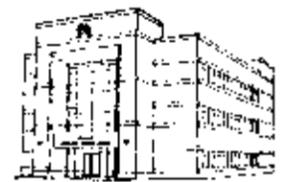
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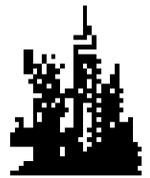
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# Reporters...

(Continued from page 3)

The U.S. shelling of the hotel was not a deliberate attack on journalists and the media. It was the result of criminal negligence.

At the bottom level, Capt. Wolford and Sgt. Gibson reacted as soldiers in a battle situation. They directly caused the death of the journalists and wounded three others, but should not really be held responsible because they did not have information that would have made them aware of the consequences of firing at the hotel.

Their immediate superiors – battalion commander Lt. Col. Philip DeCamp and brigade commander Col. David Perkins – also appear not to be blame worthy. Their reactions and the accounts of embedded journalists indicate they, too, had not been properly informed by their own superiors.

At a higher level, the headquarters of 3ID commander Gen. Buford Blount bears a heavy responsibility. The division's command had access to information from the Pentagon, from the U.S. Central Command Doha base in Qatar and from the media.

It is inconceivable that the massive presence of journalists at the hotel for three weeks prior to the shelling, which was known by any TV viewer and by the Pentagon itself, could have passed unnoticed. Yet this presence was never mentioned to the troops in the field or marked on the maps used by artillery support soldiers. The question is whether this information was withheld deliberately, out of contempt or through negligence.

At the top level, the U.S. government must bear some of the responsibility. Not just because it is the government and has supreme authority over its army in the field, but also because its top leaders several times made false statements about the

incident. They also talked regularly about the dangers journalists faced in Iraq.

Then White House spokesman Ari Fleischer stressed on February 28, 2003, the Pentagon's advice to the media to pull their journalists out of Baghdad before the war began. Asked whether this was a veiled threat to "non-embedded" reporters, he said: "If the military says something, I strongly urge all journalists to heed it. It is in your own interests, and your family's interests. And I mean that."

The argument that journalists had been warned of the danger reappeared in the Army's August 12, 2003, report. This amounted to creating two kinds of journalists – those who were "embedded" and so able to report on the fighting while under the protection of U.S. forces and those who were advised to leave the war zone or face being ignored.

The Pentagon thereby refused to accept any responsibility for the death of the two journalists.

The Reporters Without Borders investigation was carried out by French journalist Jean-Paul Mari, with help from the French weekly magazine Le Nouvel Observateur, which Reporters Without Borders warmly thanks.

\*\*\*

Reporters Without Borders defends imprisoned journalists and press freedom throughout the world, as well as the right to inform the public and to be informed, in accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Reporters Without Borders has nine national sections – in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, representatives in Abidjan, Bangkok, Istanbul, Montreal, Moscow, New York, Tokyo and Washington, and more than a hundred correspondents worldwide.

# Kuchma gives...

(Continued from page 3)

"[The state militia] will defend the president because the way in which they work depends on him," said National Deputy Vasyl Chervonii, a member of the Our Ukraine faction.

He explained that internal affairs officers would remain faithful to Mr. Kuchma whether he raised their salaries or not because the president's policies assure them that corruption would remain their chief source of income.

National Deputy Heorhii Kriuchkov of the Communist faction agreed that the timing for such a move could have been better. He stated, however, that he was

not ready to question the president's motivation.

Mr. Kriuchkov said he could not be too critical of the decree because reforms had already taken place within the Ministry of Internal Affairs including an extensive reduction within the ranks of generals and other ranking officials, and said that more reforms are needed. He explained that no one could doubt that inspectors and low-level officials deserve pay increases and that they have a difficult time supporting their families based simply on their government salaries.

"I can't comment on what Mr. Kuchma's ultimate strategy might have been, but on the surface it looks like a decision that was needed," Mr. Kriuchkov said.

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**СОКОЛИ**

## PACE monitors...

(Continued from page 1)

would now be on the agenda of the quarterly meeting of the Council of Europe scheduled for January 27.

Ms. Severinsen's colleague, PACE rapporteur Renate Wohlwend, explained that the PACE Ukraine Monitoring Group, which the two women head, was not looking to criticize Ukraine or to discriminate against the country, as many in Ukraine liked to charge.

"Some people get the feeling that the representatives of European institutions come here to teach you, but in fact the reason is to maintain a dialogue. Maybe that dialogue needs to be deepened," said Ms. Wohlwend.

Later in the day, President Kuchma responded bluntly to the assessments made by the two rapporteurs, stating that no self-respecting country could accept the threats made by the PACE representatives, especially since they had not been eyewitnesses to the events that had taken place recently. He added that the Council of Europe needed Ukraine as much as Ukraine needed the council.

"There is no need to make inappropriate ultimatums. There is no need to behave like our opposition force," Mr. Kuchma said in a publicly issued statement, in which he also assured the council that peace and democracy continue to exist in the country.

On December 24, 2003, the Verkhovna Rada had approved – officially with 286 votes in support – a legislative proposal that would change the Ukrainian Constitution to allow the Parliament to elect the next state leader, who in accordance with the current constitution is elected by direct popular vote. The parliamentary vote proceeded with a show of hands after factions in the minority opposition – mainly members of the Our Ukraine and Yulia Tymoshenko factions – had successfully blocked the work of the Verkhovna Rada for several days to halt the effort. The opposition has claimed that constitutional amendments are being forced upon the nation to ensure that the current ruling elite retains

its grip on power.

In order to successfully amend the Constitution of Ukraine the majority needed to get an initial bill in support of the political reforms passed before the winter session of the Parliament ended, which happened on January 15. The minority continues to allege that the vote was illegal because the draft laws were neither formally introduced with a reading nor debated before the vote was taken. They also assert that some lawmakers voted with both hands and that more votes were counted than the number of national deputies registered in the session hall.

To finish the process of constitutional change, the majority now needs a second successful vote in which two-thirds of the lawmakers express support for the changes, which would have to occur during the upcoming spring session in order for the amendments to become effective for the October 31 presidential vote.

Speaking during a press conference the day after PACE issued its preliminary assessment, Viktor Yushchenko, leader of Our Ukraine and a presidential favorite in 2004, said Ukraine is heading towards a situation in which the people could be forced to the streets to take back their country.

"When we talk of things we dearly value, we must also mention to what extent we are ready to defend them," explained Mr. Yushchenko. "Looking at all that has happened recently, I cannot exclude that a coup d'état is taking place. I believe that adequate measures must be taken in response."

However, the leader of Our Ukraine added that he believed "political and diplomatic means and Ukrainian parliamentarism have not been exhausted." Referring to the PACE assessment and remarks by U.S. Ambassador John Herbst, which questioned the way in which constitutional reform had begun in Ukraine, Mr. Yushchenko said he believed that international institutions would also bring pressure to bear on the current state authorities and that the effort to ramrod political reform through the Verkhovna Rada would die.

Mr. Yushchenko said he was ready to continue negotiations concerning meaningful and legitimate political reform, but only if this was in the interest of the nation and done in a deliberate and transparent manner. He said the first step to the renewal of dialogue must be to void the bill passed on December 24, 2003.

He underscored, however, that he

believed his primary responsibility would remain to assure that democratic values and norms continue to develop in Ukraine

"For me, the best way to guarantee democracy in Ukraine is to hold transparent, fair and free popular elections, without Kuchma involved," stated Mr. Yushchenko.

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## Soyuzivka's Datebook

<b>January 30 - February 1, 2004</b> Church of Annunciation Weekend, Flushing, NY	<b>March 6-7, 2004</b> Plast Kurin "Khmelnychenky" Annual Winter Rada
<b>February 14, 2004</b> Valentine's Day Weekend, Dinner and Show	<b>March 13, 2004</b> UACC Rada
<b>February 21, 2004</b> Napanoch Fire Department Banquet	<b>March 20, 2004</b> Grace Church Men's Retreat
<b>February 28, 2004</b> SUNY New Paltz Sorority Semi-Formal Banquet	<b>April 10, 2004</b> Easter Celebration and Easter Brunch
	<b>April 24, 2004</b> Zynych and Dziubina Family Reunion



To book a room or event call: (845) 626-5641, ext. 141  
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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

### Sunday, February 1

**SOMERSET, N.J.:** The Committee for Aid to Ukraine presents the Ukrainski Barvy vocal and instrumental ensemble from Kyiv in concert at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 135 Davidson Ave., at 4 p.m. Tickets: \$15. Part of the proceeds from the concert will benefit students in Ukraine. For additional information call Michael Shulha, (908) 534-6683.

### Sunday, February 8

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society and The Ukrainian Museum in New York invite the public to a lecture by Dr. Myroslava Mudrak, professor of art history at the Ohio State University, who will speak about the artistic heritage of Kazimir Malevich (1878-1935), the world-renowned

painter born in the Kyiv region whose work was pivotal in the development of abstract art; founder in 1913 of a radical new abstraction in art that he called Suprematism. The lecture and slide presentation will be held 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, February 15

**CHICAGO:** The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art presents soprano Oksana Krovytska in a program of operatic arias by Verdi, Puccini and Ponchielli and Ukrainian vocal repertoire by Sichynskyi, Liudkevych, Kolessa and others. The concert will be held at the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 2320 W. Chicago Ave., at 2 p.m. For additional information call the UIMA, (773) 227-5522.

### PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:

Preview of Events is a listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public. It is a service provided at minimal cost (**\$10 per submission**) by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community. Payment must be received prior to publication.

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

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

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## Tamburitzans announce auditions

PITTSBURGH – America's premier folk ensemble, the Duquesne University Tamburitzans, will audition talent for the 2004-2005 performing season on February 4 and 5.

Graduating high school seniors and current college undergraduates with dance, vocal or musical talent may audition for a spot in the renowned ensemble, which presents the music, songs and dances of Eastern Europe and neighboring cultures.

The Tamburitzans perform from coast to coast, averaging 80 shows per season, which runs from mid-August through May. Experienced dancers, singers and instrumentalists are needed to fill positions for next season's production.

Successful auditionees will receive substantial scholarship aid (currently over \$14,000 per year for up to four years) to study in the field of their choice

at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh. This is a great way for students to use their performing talents throughout their college careers while working towards a degree in information technology, pharmacy, law, health sciences, nursing, natural and environmental sciences, music, business administration, education, or any of the hundreds of specialized courses of study offered by Duquesne.

If travel to Pittsburgh is not possible, a 15-minute VHS video presentation showcasing the applicant's talents may be submitted.

For more information, or to schedule an audition, phone (412) 396-5185, fax (412) 396-5583, e-mail [tamburitzans@duq.edu](mailto:tamburitzans@duq.edu), or visit [www.tamburitzans.duq.edu](http://www.tamburitzans.duq.edu) to download and print an audition application and guidelines.

The deadline for submissions is February 2.