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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Decades later, Ukraine openly mourns the millions lost in Famine-Genocide

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Today Yakym Kovalyshyn sees little except for dark shapes and shadows, but in 1932-1933 his eyes witnessed the misery of starving mothers and their children as they dragged themselves into Kyiv from the famine-ravaged countryside looking for food.

"I had the soul of a peasant, I came from the village, I had never seen this and my heart hurt," explained Mr. Kovalyshyn, today 92 and all but blind as a result of time spent at forced labor in Soviet concentration camps. "I was taught mercy and belief in God, but people ignored these villagers who lay on the sidewalk before the store."

Mr. Kovalyshyn, 21 years old at the time and filled with the spirit of the "enlightened future of Communism," had left his village in the Polish-controlled Ternopil region of Ukraine at the age of 18 to move to Soviet Ukraine, where he was promised a free college education in the Ukrainian language — not the Polish tongue then being forced upon western Ukrainian lands.

After living initially in Kharkiv, he had moved to Kyiv where he was assigned a job at a Kyiv bread store in the Podil district. There, at close range,

he saw the bloated bellies of children near death and the desperate eyes of mothers begging for a small piece of a loaf of bread to feed their babies as famine raged in Ukraine.

Mr. Kovalyshyn did not last long at his first job in Kyiv. The director of the store told him he would have to make a choice: either stop feeding the peasants because that could lead to arrest and imprisonment for both of them, or leave. He chose the latter.

Seventy years after Stalin and the Communist hierarchy decided to force a reluctant Ukraine to accept agricultural collectivization and Soviet domination from Moscow by artificially starving the peasant population in what came to be known as the Great Famine, there is finally full awareness and recognition by the state leadership of the extent and nature of what remains the worst man-made calamity in Ukraine's tragic history. Many who never saw what Mr. Kovalyshyn saw, are finally admitting that it did occur.

At the anniversary commemorations in Kyiv on November 23, President Leonid Kuchma and government leaders placed wreaths and flowers at the single memorial of the Great Famine in Kyiv, located

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UNA General Assembly holds first post-convention meeting

by Roma Hadzewycz

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — The Ukrainian National Association's General Assembly met here at Soyuzivka on Friday and Saturday, November 22-23. The focus of the assembly was revitalization of the Soyuzivka resort, which this year marks its 50th anniversary.

The agenda was a brief one, as this was a special meeting held during a UNA convention year and was the first full gathering of the General Assembly elected at the association's 35th Regular Convention held in May in Chicago.

Reports on the UNA's operations for 2002 were delivered by the fraternal society's three full-time executive officers, President Stefan Kaczaraj, National Secretary Christine E. Kozak and Treasurer Roma Lisovich, who took office on July 1.

In addition, members of the General Assembly — which encompasses six executive officers, three auditors and 11 advisors — reviewed organizing results for 2002 and discussed the plan of action for enrolling new members in 2003; approved the UNA budget for 2003; and

approved several standing committees that are to spur UNA activity in the fields of fraternal activity, organizing efforts, finances and the UNA's Canadian affairs.

The committees — which are to function for the full four-year term of the General Assembly and are chaired by UNA executive officers — were constituted as follows:

- Fraternal Committee: Second Vice-President Eugene Iwanciw (chair), Advisors Eugene Oscislawski, Vasyl Liscynsky and Barbara Bachynsky;

- Organizing Committee: First Vice-President Martha Lysko and Ms. Kozak (co-chairs), Advisors Joseph Hawryluk, Stefan Hawrysz, Myron Pylypiak and Pawlo Prinko;

- Financial Committee: Ms. Lisovich and Mr. Kaczaraj (co-chairs), Advisors Vasyl Luchkiw and Michael Kuropas;

- Canadian Affairs Committee: Director for Canada Al Kachkowski (chair), Advisors Myron Groch and Andriy Skyba.

(Vice-President Iwanciw and Advisors Bachynsky, Skyba and Kuropas were not

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Soyuzivka celebrates 50th anniversary as plan for its renaissance is announced

by Roma Hadzewycz

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — Hundreds of guests accepted the Ukrainian National Association's invitation to "come home to Soyuzivka" for the UNA estate's 50th anniversary gala on Saturday, November 23.

They came home and they learned that there is a promising plan for Soyuzivka's future as a four-season resort serving the Ukrainian community.

Upon arriving at the resort's Main House, guests were greeted by outdoor lights spelling out "I ♥ Q." Inside, the lobby was decorated with hundreds of balloons bearing the same message.

The welcome continued in the guests' rooms, where a schedule of the festivities was attached to Hershey's kisses, in keeping with the "I love Soyuzivka" theme, and more balloons. The resort was booked solid, and many guests stayed at nearby hotels, including the Hudson Valley Resort, which always welcomes Soyuzivka's overflow guests.

Cocktail hour in the Main House lobby and library was jam-packed with guests, as they mingled with old friends and enjoyed the photo display of people and events from years past at Soyuzivka. Many found themselves in the photos on exhibit, and thus recalled old times, good company and cherished moments.

Then it was on to the banquet in the Veselka auditorium. At the entrance, guests were cordially welcomed by three young ladies, Adriana Brodyn, Kira Myskiw and Melasia Rud, dressed in

Ukrainian folk costumes. It was a full house as nearly 300 people were in attendance: Soyuzivka regulars, former employees, UNA officials, participants of Soyuzivka's sports competitions, leaders of Soyuzivka camps and many others who have come to know and love this unique resort. (The younger set enjoyed a buffet dinner in the Main House dining room.)

The banquet opened with the singing of the American and Ukrainian national anthems by Sviatoslava Kaczaraj. An invocation was delivered by Bishop Basil Losten of the Stamford Eparchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, who led the audience in singing the prayer "Otche Nash."

UNA President Stefan Kaczaraj welcomed all the guests and UNA'ers present, noting that "Soyuzivka holds a very special place in our hearts." He then gave a capsule history of the significance of Soyuzivka for Ukrainian children, youths and parents, for campers, athletes and devotees of Ukrainian culture.

He also vowed: "We must and we will do all in our power, with God's help and the community's support, to rebuild Soyuzivka, to make sure that it is secure for our children and grandchildren."

UNA National Secretary Christine E. Kozak introduced the master of ceremonies for the evening, former UNA Vice-President Nestor Olesnycky, who shared with the audience some of his memories of Soyuzivka, including his stint as a summer worker at the resort.

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Self Reliance N.Y. donates \$50,000 to Soyuzivka



Dr. Bohdan Kekish (left), president of Self Reliance New York, presents the credit union's \$50,000 donation for Soyuzivka Project Renaissance to UNA President Stefan Kaczaraj.

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — A surprise \$50,000 donation from Self Reliance (New York) Federal Credit Union to Soyuzivka elicited a robust round of applause at the gala banquet celebrating the 50th anniversary of the resort, which is owned and operated by the Ukrainian National Association.

The presentation was made by Dr. Bohdan Kekish, president and CEO of Self Reliance New York, to Ukrainian National Association President Stefan Kaczaraj. Also present at the banquet were Orest Glut, a member of the credit union's board of directors, and Nicholas Oprysko, manager of the credit union's Kerhonkson branch, as well

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ANALYSIS

Enlarged Europe's borderlands present a vast challenge

by Christopher Walker
RFE/RL Newsline

At the precise moment the Euro-Atlantic community is opening its arms to a large group of new NATO and European Union candidates, it is simultaneously turning a cold shoulder to certain soon-to-be-neighbors. The West is zeroing in on and looking to isolate the leadership of two problem countries that represent some 60 million people on the future EU's doorstep.

Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka and Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma (both of whose countries already border NATO) were told by the alliance that they are unwelcome at the Prague summit. In the case of Mr. Lukashenka, the Czech Republic rejected his entry-visa application; he is now facing a possible Europe-wide travel ban. In response, President Lukashenka has suggested he might loosen his own country's border controls and flood Western Europe with illegal immigrants and narcotics.

Ukraine's President Kuchma is embroiled in a major controversy connected with his country's alleged transfer

Christopher Walker is head of the Rapid Response Unit at the EastWest Institute. The views expressed in this article are his own.

of a Kolchuha radar system to Iraq, an act that has put the Ukrainian president squarely in Washington's crosshairs.

Belarus and Ukraine have settled into a particularly alarming pattern of behavior, where one is more likely to hear of illegal arms deals and "disappearances" of opposition figures and independent journalists, than news of credible economic or political reforms.

This behavior raises profound questions concerning the shape and character of the new, enlarging Europe: Will countries not on a near-term EU or NATO track manage to strike a reform course to enable their productive and meaningful participation in modern European affairs? Or will these societies remain stuck in place, effectively shutting off the road to stability and prosperity, thus increasing the likelihood of new dividing lines in Europe?

The Baltic states and other countries of Central Europe are proceeding apace with their reform and modernization efforts and soon expect to be full members in the two desired Western clubs

The Czechs, Hungarians and Poles already became full members in NATO in 1999; Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria were in the second round of newly admitted members. The EU also

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Can expanded NATO defeat terrorism?

by Roman Kupchinsky
RFE/RL Newsline

The terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, augured a new era in international warfare. Since then, the United States has played a prominent role in taking aim at international terrorism, as opposed to concentrating simply on protecting itself and its allies from conventional and nuclear attacks. As NATO has just invited seven new states to join the alliance, this is an apposite moment to look back on the past year to see what role, if any, NATO has played so far in the war on terrorism and how that role could develop in the future.

NATO's response to the September 11 attacks was swift, as the heads of member-states vowed support for U.S. President George W. Bush. The day after the attacks, NATO invoked for the first time in its history Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which says that an attack against any member will be considered an attack on the entire alliance. This landmark decision was soon followed by a number of practical steps to help the United States in its counterattack against terrorism.

First, in response to a request from the United States, NATO agreed on October 4, 2001, to take certain measures to expand the alliance's ability to combat terrorism, including enhanced intelligence-sharing. Second, by October 26, 2001, sections of NATO's Standing Naval Forces had begun patrolling the eastern Mediterranean to monitor shipping there. Third, from mid-October 2001 through mid-May of this year, NATO aircraft flew more than 350 sorties protecting the United States. Finally, a new, closer relationship with Russia developed to bolster the effectiveness of the long-term struggle against terrorism. These

Roman Kupchinsky is the editor of RFE/RL Crime and Corruption Watch.

new relations resulted in the formation of the NATO-Russia Council in May.

These were important measures, but the alliance has not really played a major role in the ensuing U.S.-led fight against terrorism. While 14 NATO allies participated in Operation Enduring Freedom, this was, nonetheless, a U.S. operation in which NATO did not have an official role. After all, aiming to strike quickly, Washington did not care to deal with political interference from its 18 allies. By bypassing NATO, the United States turned the invocation of Article 5 into little more than a symbolic gesture. Those allies that did send troops to Afghanistan surely did so with confidence in ultimate U.S. victory and few casualties.

The U.S.-led coalition drove the Taliban out of Afghanistan and, according to Jane's Intelligence Report of October 14, up to one-third of Al-Qaeda operatives in that country might have been killed. Nonetheless, subsequent events have shown that the war against terrorism is far from over. The recent attack on an oil tanker off the coast of Yemen and the bombing of a nightclub in Bali have shown that terrorist organizations – Al-Qaeda or others – still have the ability to take the offensive and strike blows against their enemies.

In a similar vein, CIA Director George Tenet told a congressional committee on October 17 that, "When you see the multiple attacks that you've seen occur around the world, from Bali to Kuwait; the number of failed attacks that have been attempted; [and] the various messages that have been issued by senior Al-Qaeda leaders, you must make the assumption that Al-Qaeda is in an execution phase and intends to strike us both here and overseas. That's unambiguous as far as I am concerned."

Since the war against terrorism is clearly not over, the question becomes: Is a new, improved and expanded NATO prepared

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NEWSBRIEFS

Kuchma names ministers to new Cabinet

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma has appointed State Tax Administration head Mykola Azarov as first vice prime minister and finance minister in Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's Cabinet, Reuters reported on November 26, quoting presidential spokeswoman Olena Hromnytska. Ms. Hromnytska also told the agency that Ivan Kyrylenko has been appointed vice prime minister for agriculture, Dmytro Tabachnyk as vice prime minister for humanitarian issues, and Vitalii Haiduk as vice prime minister for fuel and energy. Mr. Yanukovich told journalists on November 25 that Defense Minister Volodymyr Shkidchenko, Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Smyrnov, Justice Minister Oleksander Lavrynovych, and Foreign Affairs Minister Anatolii Zlenko will retain their posts in his Cabinet. President Kuchma also proposed that the Verkhovna Rada approve Serhii Tyhypko, the leader of the Labor Ukraine-Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs parliamentary caucus, as governor of the National Bank of Ukraine. That post is currently held by Volodymyr Stelmakh. (RFE/RL Newsline)

More questions raised about Kolchuhas

WASHINGTON – U.S. and British experts who last month investigated the alleged sale by Ukraine of a Kolchuha radar system to Iraq said in a report released on November 25 that they were unable to prove that Ukraine transferred radar systems to Iraq "under openly declared contracts," but added that "covert or illegal arms transfers, particularly with the complicity of third parties, remain a credible possibility," Reuters and the Associated Press reported. The report says Ukraine provided documentation on 72 Kolchuha systems but that four remain unaccounted for. According to Ukrainian officials, these four systems were sold to China, but Ukraine denied investigators access to the contracts, claiming they were commercial secrets. The investigators say they need missing documentation on the sale of the four systems to China, technical information on the location of the systems in China and access to people who were not available for interviews during their visit to Ukraine in October – especially Leonid Derkach, the former head of the Security Service of Ukraine, and Yurii Orshanskyi, the former honorary consul in Iraq. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kwasniewski: do not isolate Ukraine

PRAGUE – At a news conference following the NATO summit in Prague on November 22, President Aleksander Kwasniewski said the West must not isolate

Ukraine, Polish Radio reported. "Much depends upon President [Leonid] Kuchma himself, and on his circle, and whether he has drawn the conclusions from the fact that the world expects a Ukraine that is moving forward and not one that is marking time," Mr. Kwasniewski said. "The world wants a Ukraine that resolves problems and does not seek successive justifications," he added. Commenting on the NATO ploy to arrange countries' representatives at the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council session according to their names in French in order to move Kuchma farther away from Tony Blair and George W. Bush, President Kwasniewski said President Kuchma was treated "like a partner, critically but openly." (RFE/RL Newsline)

NATO-Ukraine Commission adopts plan

PRAGUE – The NATO-Ukraine Commission at the NATO summit in Prague on November 22 endorsed an "action plan" to take the bilateral relationship to a "qualitatively new level," Reuters reported, quoting NATO Deputy Secretary-General Alessandro Minuto Rizzo. Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatolii Zlenko, who headed the Ukrainian delegation at the session, said the plan will put Kyiv on the road to membership of the alliance. Mr. Rizzo said allegations that Ukraine sold a Kolchuha radar to Iraq were also discussed at the session. "Ministers concluded that transparency and trust were indispensable features to continue to forge a solid community of values between the alliance and Ukraine," Mr. Rizzo told journalists. ITAR-TASS on November 23 quoted a source from Ukraine's National Defense and Security Council as saying the "action plan" spells out a long-term program of adopting European standards in Ukraine's defense sector, the economy, science, counterterrorism and dealing with emergency situations. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Envoy details obstruction to probe

KYIV – U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Carlos Pascual has sent a letter to the media charging that Ukrainian officials stonewalled U.S. and British arms experts invited in October to verify whether Ukraine sold any Kolchuha radar systems to Iraq, the Associated Press reported on November 22. Mr. Pascual's letter came as Ukrainian officials were denying the Kolchuha charges at the NATO summit. The envoy said inspectors were not allowed to see full reports of investigations by Ukraine's National Defense and Security Council, the Defense Ministry, or the procurator general. "While Ukraine's export sys-

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Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz
Editors:
Roman Woronowycz (Kyiv)
Andrew Nynka
Ika Koznarska Casanova (part time)

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Ukraine participates in NATO's Prague summit and agrees to new action plan

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – After much speculation and doubt, Ukraine took part in the NATO summit in Prague on November 21-22 – albeit in a revamped and downgraded format. Ukraine agreed to a new action plan that will intensify relations between Kyiv and Brussels, and set in motion a process for eventual membership in the 26-member North Atlantic Alliance.

Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatolii Zlenko – not President Leonid Kuchma – took part in the Ukraine-NATO Council meeting held on the second day of the two-day affair. The Ukrainian foreign minister signed documents that give Ukraine reason to believe it can eventually become a NATO member-state if it continues to follow a path of economic, military and administrative reform, including a specific objectives plan for 2003.

Mr. Zlenko said after the meeting that he left the gathering more optimistic than he had expected to be.

"We have adopted what are new basic documents opening a new strategy of Ukraine-NATO relations. With these documents in mind, Ukraine can now begin practical preparations for NATO membership," explained Mr. Zlenko, according to Interfax-Ukraine.

NATO Deputy Secretary General Alessandro Minuto Rizzo, who co-chaired the meeting, said that a path had been cleared for more intensive consultations and cooperation with Ukraine. He added,

however, that while NATO is willing to share its experience, Ukraine must step up reforms aimed at strengthening the rule of law, respect for human rights, market economy principles and the development of civil society.

Ukraine had withheld a decision on whether it would attend the event, where seven former Iron Curtain states became NATO members, until only days before its start. Kyiv had objected to a decision downgrading the meeting to a gathering of foreign ministers from what was originally to have been a NATO-Ukraine summit of state leaders. NATO made the decision to downgrade the session after Kyiv failed to convince Washington it had not transferred Kolchuha anti-aircraft defense systems to Iraq in contravention of United Nations sanctions.

The decision came after Washington suspended direct U.S. government aid to Ukraine on September 25 when it announced that it had verified the authenticity of digital recordings it had obtained. On those recordings Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma is heard to give approval for his top arms export control chief to sell at least one Kolchuha to Iraq via a Jordanian intermediary.

Mr. Kuchma, who had warned just days before the summit that if he didn't go no representative from Ukraine would attend the NATO summit, in the end appeared in Prague at the 44-member Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, which consists of the NATO member-states plus those countries that are associated with the NATO

Partnership for Peace program.

To avoid a possibly embarrassing situation, in which President Kuchma and U.S. President George W. Bush might have sat next to each other at the session – which could have given the appearance that the two were friends even as the U.S. has declared it is officially not on speaking terms with Ukraine's presidential administration – the meeting was conducted in French, NATO's second official language. While an English-language alphabetical seating arrangement would have put the United States next to Ukraine, in accordance with the French language (whereby the United States is known as *États-Unis* the seating arrangement gave them half a table of breathing space.

In a short statement during the session, President Kuchma congratulated the seven new NATO members, while reminding them that Ukraine played a role in their development by sustaining independence and striving for European integration, which helped to maintain security in Europe. He also reiterated Ukraine's desire to follow the seven former Iron Curtain nations into NATO.

"We understand that the road to our own Prague is a long one," said Mr. Kuchma. "But we are resolutely disposed to follow it."

While no meetings occurred between Presidents Kuchma and Bush, the Ukrainian president was not isolated or ostracized in Prague as some had suggested he might be. Threats of empty seats at the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council ses-

sion did not materialize upon the appearance of the Ukrainian president. Mr. Kuchma even had a private meeting with Italian President Silvio Berlusconi, whose country is squarely situated in the West as a member of both the Group of Seven most industrialized nations and the European Union.

Mr. Kuchma also had short meetings with NATO Secretary General George Robertson and European Union Foreign Affairs Minister Javier Solana, according to the Ukrainian government newspaper, *Uriadovyi Kurier*.

Mr. Robertson, however, said later that the meeting with President Kuchma happened by chance and involved only formal greetings.

"I did not support his participation in the Prague summit," explained Mr. Robertson.

Ukraine, although not the center of attention in Prague, because that belonged to NATO's seven new members – Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia – was also nowhere near the periphery. In fact, a separate article in the summit's main declaration, approved on the first day of the Prague deliberations, recognized Ukraine's importance and NATO's desire for close cooperation with the country.

The Kolchuha issue hung like a cloud over Ukraine during the two-day session, nonetheless. NATO General Secretary Robertson, who dedicated his first post-

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Dedades later...

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before St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, a tradition begun only four years ago after a presidential decree declared a day dedicated to those killed by the Communist system during the Great Famine and other Soviet repressions. In remarks before the simple monument, Mr. Kuchma gave the most far-reaching official Ukrainian acknowledgment of the scope of the Moscow-ordered program to extinguish a good portion of a Ukrainian nation resistant to continued colonization.

"Ukraine must let the international community know the truth about the Famine, its causes and consequences, to have it recognized as an act of genocide against the people of Ukraine," stated Mr. Kuchma.

The Ukrainian president said that one-fifth of Ukraine's rural population was eradicated in 1932-1933 "by starvation and Stalin's butchers." He suggested that a large memorial to the victims of the Great Famine must stand in Kyiv eventually, and that cities and towns throughout Ukraine need to build their own as well.

"This is not for formality's sake," explained the president. "This will show our deep respect to the perished and the undying memory about this tragic page of history, and simultaneously it will be a symbol of the immortality of our nation."

National Deputy Les Taniuk, the head of the Memorial Society of Ukraine, which is dedicated to documenting the political crimes of the Soviet era, told *The Weekly* he had witnessed a gradual change over the last decade in the way the state viewed the Great Famine, which today, finally, has led to a recognition that an artificially-induced hunger managed from Moscow had taken the lives of millions in Ukraine in 1932-1933.

"During the Soviet era we could not even speak the word 'holodomor' (literally death by hunger)," explained Mr. Taniuk in characterizing how recognition

developed. "Then you could use the word without fear of arrest. After that there was an acknowledgment that a famine had taken place in 1932-1933, but it had happened due to natural causes. After independence it became a famine that had come about due to government irresponsibility. Today we have a more accurate reflection of the truth."

Famine history must be institutionalized

Mr. Taniuk said, however, that the Great Famine as a part of Ukrainian history still needs to be institutionalized in Ukraine. He explained that the country still does not have a Great Famine museum, nor does it have a wide array of books published on the subject. Mr. Taniuk also asserted that school kids still did not receive proper knowledge of what happened in 1932-1933. He said the

event must become a part of the Ukrainian consciousness, not just an event to be commemorated.

"Look at the way the Jews consider the Holocaust. They think of it in every aspect of their lives," he stated.

Mr. Taniuk also would like Ukraine to take a harder look at the numbers; the number of people who perished not only due to the Great Famine in particular, but also as a result of forced collectivization. He said he believes the official number of deaths should be placed at 13 million to 15 million individuals and which would include kurkuls, the farmers who were shot or sent to death camps as collectivization began. In addition, he said the official number of deaths directly related to the famine should be raised

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Yakym Kovalyshyn



A religious service in memory of the victims of the Great Famine held before Kyiv's memorial to the Genocide of 1932-1933.

UNA General Assembly...

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able to attend the General Assembly meeting.)

Members of the UNA Auditing Committee, Zenon Holubec (chair), Yaroslav Zavytsky and Alexander Serafyn, do not serve on standing committees due to their function as auditors.

Highlights of reports

Among the highlights of the reports delivered by the association's executive officers was the following information.

- The UNA's bottom line was adversely affected by the general state of the U.S. economy; the UNA's conservative investment strategy has proven to be a wise one.

- The Ukrainian National Urban Renewal Corp., a wholly owned subsidiary that is responsible for the UNA headquarters building, has seen a significant increase in income from rents.

- The director for Canada is striving to activate the UNA's Canadian membership and to establish fruitful contacts with UNA branch secretaries in that country.

- The UNA has signed a contract with a similar fraternal organization, Western Catholic Union, for the WCU to perform general marketing of UNA products and to recruit and train insurance agents.

- In accordance with new mortality tables that are to be released in 2003, the UNA will review the costs of its policies. The review is expected to result in lower premiums.

- The UNA will introduce a new education IRA that will become available next year.

- The UNA will continue efforts to recover its financial losses via civil litigation against Joseph Binczak, a former insurance agent for the UNA who has been indicted on charges of theft and falsifying records in a scheme to defraud seven annuity holders of funds. It was underscored that no UNA policyholder suffered any loss as a result of this case.

- In accordance with a decision of the UNA Executive Committee, Soyuzivka is to be transferred to a limited liability corporation that will be a wholly owned subsidiary of the UNA.

- A preliminary plan for revitalizing the financially distressed Soyuzivka resort was presented. It encompasses a general makeover of Soyuzivka as a Ukrainian heritage center where



Roma Hadzewycz

The UNA General Assembly in front of Soyuzivka's monument to Taras Shevchenko.

Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike could come to be immersed in all facets of Ukrainian culture; the introduction of more family-oriented activities, such as miniature golf; remodeling of the Main House to include rooms for business meetings and smaller receptions, as well as renovation of its dining room; refurbishment of Lviv, which formerly housed children's camps; blazing of trails for hiking; and possible transformation of the Halych building into a timeshare property. Full details will soon be announced to the public. (The kick-off for the "new Soyuzivka" campaign occurred at the 50th anniversary banquet held at the resort on Saturday evening,

November 23).

- The Soyuzivka Redevelopment Committee established at the recent UNA Convention will become active in raising funds for the resort in connection with a new campaign called "Soyuzivka Project Renaissance."

- UNA officers will attempt to tie their trips to various cities for UNA district committee meetings to seminars for secretaries and organizers, as well as presentations to the broader public about the role of the UNA and its products. Efforts will be made to increase attendance at district committee meetings and generate interest in the activity of the UNA.

The UNA's 2003 budget

A key item on the General Assembly agenda was adoption of the UNA budget for 2003, which foresees expenses and other decreases in surplus of \$6,627,852 and income of \$6,722,000, for a modest increase in surplus of \$94,148. It was adopted as proposed by the Budget Committee, composed of Ms. Lisovich and Messrs. Holubec, Serafyn, Prinko and Hawryluk.

The 2003 budget envisions an aggressive marketing campaign for the UNA's two official publications, *Svoboda* and *The Ukrainian Weekly*, which together are viewed as a key fraternal benefit; as well as continued support for *Soyuzivka*, coupled with active promotion of the resort and a campaign aimed at raising funds for its improvement and its renaissance. The budget also foresees cutting the resort's deficit in half.

The General Assembly also voted to authorize the Executive Committee to use *Soyuzivka* assets as collateral in any arrangement of finances for its redevelopment.

In the spirit of the 50th anniversary celebrations of *Soyuzivka*, members of the assembly approved a motion to donate \$50 each from their per diems in support of the UNA estate's revitalization.

Before they began their deliberations on Friday morning, General Assembly members participated in the traditional opening ceremony at *Soyuzivka*'s monument to Taras Shevchenko, the patron of the Ukrainian National Association. Once the national secretary and treasurer had placed a wreath before the statue, assembly members sang the American, Canadian and Ukrainian national anthems. Ms. Lysko delivered a brief talk on Shevchenko's continuing relevance and the ceremony concluded with the singing of the bard's "Testament" (*Zapovit*).

After the General Assembly meeting was formally closed on Saturday before noon, the body's standing committees held their separate meetings. As well, the UNA's Ukrainian National Foundation held a meeting of its board.

That evening members of the General Assembly attended the gala 50th anniversary celebrations of the UNA estate, *Soyuzivka*.

The 2003 annual meeting of the UNA General Assembly is scheduled for November 21-22.

Decades later...

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from the current 5 million-7 million to about 8 million-10 million.

Mr. Kovalyshyn, the blind nonagenarian, admitted to seeing some of those millions of dead on the streets of Kyiv in 1932-1933. He also acknowledged that Kyivans and residents of all the cities to which peasants fled to seek sanctuary only to be forced back on trains and boats and returned to the countryside to die could have done more to stop the slaughter.

"Everybody knew what was going on, but they were scared," explained the slight but still sturdy senior citizen. "In public, no one made comments about what they were seeing, even to a friend. But in private, in our kitchens, we discussed it. People had already learned to live in fear, even then. The national spirit had already been broken."

Mr. Kovalyshyn also explained that the Communist central regime was spared criticism to a large degree because residents tended to blame local leaders for the calamity occurring in the countryside rather than Stalin and Moscow.

He did not downplay the fact that he

was not a victim but merely an eyewitness, although he emphasized that most city dwellers throughout the affected regions had difficulties finding food because most of what was confiscated by roaming bands of ethnic Russian Communist "enforcers" was shipped back to Russia.

Moments ingrained in memory

Mr. Kovalyshyn gave an account of two other moments that remain ingrained in his memory seven decades later.

He explained that as a member of the Communist Youth League, he was part of a youth brigade ordered to go to the Kyiv countryside to agitate for food to fill the depleted shelves of Kyiv's bazaars. In the village of Muzychiv he saw the dying villagers, the empty warehouses and bare shelves and heard the accounts of how food was confiscated.

"They told us that they simply had no more to give," explained Mr. Kovalyshyn.

A couple of months later, hearing about a transfer of "cannibals" from Kyiv's Lukianivka Prison, youthful curiosity led him and a friend to sneak into the Kyiv train station to take a peek at state prisoners – peasants accused of

eating human flesh – as they were transported by train out of Kyiv. He said that even today he clearly remembers their crazed expressions.

While those events occurred seven full decades ago, Mr. Kovalyshyn, although sightless today, still sees them through his mind's eye as if they happened yesterday. He explained that he understands well that the political system that so attracted him, as well as those who developed and nurtured it, are responsible for the death and misery of millions.

Mr. Kovalyshyn said he realized he had chosen a fateful path when it veered off its intended course unexpectedly and without due cause. In 1935 he was arrested and charged – baselessly, he maintained – of being an agent for Poland. His reward for wanting to be part of the grand Soviet experiment: five years in a concentration camp in Mordovia followed by 36 years of forced exile in Krasnoyarsk.

Today Mr. Kovalyshyn can be considered a survivor of the Soviet system; a system he outlasted. In 1986 not only was he officially rehabilitated – as Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev undertook his *perebudova* programs – but allowed to return to Kyiv as well.

For more than a decade Mr. Kovalyshyn has lived in an independent Ukraine. He sees no need for further social experiments.

A fateful decision in 1928

He explained that in 1928 he was driven to Soviet Ukraine by National Communist Mykola Skrypnyk, whose inspiring words on a free Ukrainian nation within a Communist society had moved him to make his fateful decision. It's just that the journey there took many more difficult turns than he had expected. In the end, he wanted only to live in freedom.

Today, he believes that has finally happened. And 70 years after his ironic trek began, Mr. Kovalyshyn said he feels Ukraine has found its path as well. However, much still needs to be done to sustain independence, he added.

"Ukraine needs its own historical truth. Those nations who do not know their history cannot know their place in today's world," he observed. We need for our economy to grow, people who are still economically poor cannot feel free. But foremost, we need to secure our freedom. People need to understand this priceless entity called freedom."

Soyuzivka celebrates...

(Continued from page 1)

During the course of the banquet Mr. Olesnycky asked his audience to recall their ties to Soyuzivka, asking, in succession, those who met their spouses to stand up, then those who were married at the resort, as well as those who were champions at tennis tournaments.

He also introduced key people in the audience, including members of the UNA General Assembly and Soyuzivka stalwarts. A special introduction was made of "Soyuzivka pioneers" – those in the audience who were present when Soyuzivka was officially opened in 1953 as a Ukrainian resort: Daniel Slobodian, a former manager of the resort, in fact its first manager when Soyuzivka was purchased in 1952; Ulana Diachuk, a UNA Home Office employee who later became UNA president; Luba Lapychak Lesko, a longtime employee and later head of the Svoboda Press administration; and Neonila Sochan, a former employee of the Svoboda administration who was a leader at the first camp held at Soyuzivka in 1952, a camp for Plast children, and later founded the "Tabir Ptashat" camp for preschoolers. Special mention was made of Mr. and Mrs. Roman Rakoczy who have vacationed at Soyuzivka for 47 consecutive years.

The keynote address was delivered by Roman Kyzyk, a Soyuzivka regular who grew up at the resort and today brings his children there. Mr. Kyzyk, principal of the firm Executive Partners, reflected on the meaning of Soyuzivka and the connections it has engendered through the years. "Take a second," he urged his listeners, "and reflect on the relationships that brought you here tonight."

He concluded his remarks by speaking of necessary transitions, and of how "strategy is the bridge between vision and reality." He added that "the UNA and Soyuzivka need to regain the economic, political and cultural leadership for all Ukrainians."

Mr. Kyzyk's reflections were the lead-in to a presentation by UNA Treasurer Roma Lisovich, whose goal was to get the audience excited about the possibilities for Soyuzivka's future.

She underscored that it is time to "think out of the box" in order to make Soyuzivka "an inclusive place for all who want to learn about their heritage," as well as for non-Ukrainians who would like to learn about the rich Ukrainian culture. She added that the resort would also strive to be more family-oriented by offering more activities to meet their needs.

Among the features envisioned for a new Soyuzivka enumerated by this

speaker were: a miniature golf course, new meeting rooms and reception halls, timeshare property, an exercise room, more hiking trails and revamped dining facilities. Details are to be announced in early 2003.

Ms. Lisovich concluded by inviting the community's assistance. "You input of talent can help preserve this treasure of our community," she noted.

A high point of the evening came when it was announced that the Self Reliance (New York) Federal Credit Union was donating \$50,000 to Soyuzivka (see story on page 1). The presentation, made by Dr. Bohdan Kekish, president and CEO, was the first donation to what was later dubbed "Soyuzivka Project Renaissance" and set in motion a series of donations from guests at the banquet that added \$20,000 more to the fund for Soyuzivka.

A blue-ribbon panel of experts – Orest Fedash, hotel manager; Peter Darmohraj, architect, and Myron Kukuruza, building contractor – who have volunteered their services to help revitalize Soyuzivka was introduced to the audience at the banquet.

Also assisting with Soyuzivka's planned renovations is John Shmerykowsky, a structural engineer, who answered UNA executives' call for assistance in that field.

Taras Szmagala Jr., Alex Chudolij and Al Kachkowski, three members of the Soyuzivka Redevelopment Committee established by a resolution of the May 2002 UNA Convention, briefly addressed banquet participants about the plan for the resort's rebirth.

The entertainment that evening included musicians and vocalists. Composer/songwriter Oles Kuzyszyn sang several selections, accompanying himself on the piano; he was later joined in a duet by his daughter, Adriana. Also on the bill was jazz/cabaret singer Marianna Vynnytsky.

The band chosen to play for the evening's dance was Tempo, a regular at the resort for many years. That fact was very obviously appreciated by guests who danced up a storm to favorite tunes.

A local winery, Rivendell, had been contracted to prepare special anniversary bottles of wine bearing a 50th anniversary Soyuzivka label.

The program for the evening was printed in a bilingual booklet that also contained a brief history of Soyuzivka compiled by Oksana Trytjak, special projects and fraternal activities coordinator at the UNA.

Also as part of the golden jubilee, the UNA's two official publications, Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, each released special eight-page pullouts devoted to Soyuzivka.



Roma Hadzewycz

Soyuzivka guests enjoy the cocktail hour in the Main House lobby decorated for the occasion with "I Love Suzy-Q" balloons.



Banquet guests are welcomed by (from left) Melasia Rud, Kira Myskiw and Adriana Brodyn.



Soyuzivka's blue-ribbon panel of experts with UNA Treasurer Roma Lisovich: (from left) Peter Darmohraj, Myron Kukuruza, Ms. Lisovich and Orest Fedash.



Among those in attendance at the festivities were four persons who were present at Soyuzivka's official opening in 1953, a year after the resort was purchased by the UNA: (from left) Neonila Sochan, Luba Lapychak Lesko, Daniel Slobodian and Ulana Diachuk.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Our Soyuzivka

Last weekend marked both a celebration of the past and a step into the future for Soyuzivka, the upstate New York resort owned and operated for the benefit of the Ukrainian community by the Ukrainian National Association.

On Saturday, November 23, hundreds of guests traveled to Soyuzivka for its gala 50th anniversary banquet. They came because, as UNA President Stefan Kaczaraj put it, "Soyuzivka holds a very special place in our hearts."

In fact, many of the people in attendance had grown up with Soyuzivka, including UNA officers, Soyuzivka employees, and guests who today bring their own kids to this extraordinary place in the scenic Shawangunk Mountains, even members of the Tempo Orchestra whose history is intimately tied to the resort. According to Soyuzivka pioneers, among the audience were some of Soyuzivka's first campers. Present also were tennis players who had trained at the resort and participants of its various sports meets, as well as students at Soyuzivka's Cultural Courses and dance workshops. Some had met their future spouses at the Q; others had their weddings at the resort. Many of them were members of Plast, a scouting organization whose history encompasses camps at Soyuzivka - including the first camp ever held there, a camp for "novatstvo" held in 1952 - and Plast's "Tabir Ptashat" day camp for preschoolers, which began in 1989. (Those first "ptashata" today are already university students who in a few short years will be in a position to take on leading roles in our community life.) In some cases, three generations of families were represented at the 50th anniversary bash. One couple could boast that they had vacationed at the resort for 47 consecutive years - certainly one for the record books.

All had special memories of the time they spent at Soyuzivka.

There were so many connections among so many people present that the jubilee event was more like a reunion, and the wonderful display of photos from Soyuzivka's past served to heighten that feeling. Those who could not come sent messages - 40 messages in all were received from various groups and institutions that have benefited from Soyuzivka's facilities. Many letters expressed sincere thanks to all those whose hard work had laid the foundation for the existence and the development of Soyuzivka.

One sensed a genuine excitement in the air on November 23 - a feeling that this event was something special, that the people gathered realize what a treasure our Soyuzivka was, is and, hopefully, will continue to be. Indeed, the plans for a new Soyuzivka that will continue in its role as a keystone of our community are already in the development stage, and some of them were shared with Soyuzivka guests during the jubilee weekend. More details will be released in the new year.

What can be accomplished - how the vision can become a reality as keynote speaker Roman Kyzuk characterized it - depends not only on the Ukrainian National Association, which has financially supported the resort for 50 years, but also on our community. Will our community demonstrate its love for Soyuzivka in more tangible ways - by using the resort, by donating their talents, by making contributions to its renaissance? If the 50th anniversary festivities at Soyuzivka are any indication, the answer should be a resounding "Yes!"

Dec. 2 1991

Turning the pages back...

Eleven years ago, on December 2, 1991, the U.S. government issued a statement on Ukraine's independence referendum, in which more than 90 percent of voters approved the August 24, 1991, declaration of Ukraine's independence. The statement did

not recognize Ukraine, as did Poland and Canada - the first two countries to do so. In fact, the administration of George Bush went out of its way to express support for Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. U.S. recognition came more than three weeks later, on December 25, only after Mr. Gorbachev had resigned.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater delivered the official reaction to Ukraine's vote for independence, excerpts of which appear below.

"Yesterday, in a free and fair vote, the people of Ukraine voted for independence. The United States welcomes this expression of democracy which is a tribute to the spirit of the Ukrainian people. The president would also like to congratulate Leonid Kravchuk on his apparent victory in Ukraine's first free presidential election. Yesterday's referendum and election were also a tribute to the defeat of the coup in which Boris Yeltsin played such a pivotal role and a positive development for the New Europe.

"For its part, the United States looks forward to the kind of normal relationship with Ukraine that one would expect it to have with a democratizing country. Ukraine's aspiration to join the Euro-Atlantic community is striking testimony to the will for liberty in a nation which has persisted and survived despite the terrible calamities of the 20th century.

"In developing this relationship, we also intend to continue our cooperation with President Mikhail Gorbachev and his government and to strengthen our expanding ties with President Yeltsin and the Russian government as well as the other republics.

"We are aware that independence raises some complex issues to be resolved among Russia, Ukraine and the center. The establishment of a new cooperative relationship between Russia and Ukraine, based on openness and mutual respect, will be a test of whether they are capable of making the transition to democratic societies which respect the rights of individuals. ... The president has instructed the secretary of state to dispatch a special emissary ... to discuss with the newly elected authorities in Kiev our future relationships with Ukraine..."

"As the people of Ukraine, Russia and the other republics continue peacefully and democratically to pursue the hard work of freedom, the president supports them in their work and wishes them peace and prosperity."

Source: "White House reacts to referendum" and "Canada recognizes Ukraine," The Ukrainian Weekly, December 8, 1991, Vol. LIX, No. 49.

COMMENTARY

Active citizens or loyal individuals: whom does Ukraine need more?

by Dr. Viktor Stepanenko

RFE/RL Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine Report

Last month Ukraine entered the 12th year of its independence, but as a state and society, it still faces a dramatic challenge that is not usually discussed in official propaganda outlets. The point is that people living in Ukraine, including ethnic Ukrainians, still do not feel that the state is their own and, as a result, they as a whole do not consider themselves to be citizens of the country called Ukraine. Formally, of course, they are citizens and hold Ukrainian passports. According to surveys, however, there is no dominant popular feeling, nothing to mention pride, about belonging to the citizenry of Ukraine.

According to a poll conducted in April and May within the framework of the nationwide program Monitoring Ukrainian Society by the National Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology among a representative sample of 1,800 respondents, only 41 percent of respondents considered themselves to be "citizens of Ukraine." Almost the same proportion of respondents identified themselves as inhabitants of their localities and regions. And nearly 13 percent of respondents, who belonged primarily to older generations and lived predominantly in eastern parts of the country, still considered themselves to be "citizens of the USSR."

Perhaps, one should not overstate this rather massive "non-citizenship" of the Ukrainian population mainly because of the short historical period in the formation of a new political entity: the Ukrainian nation. But two aspects of this poll should be given serious attention.

First, there is a downward trend in the share of the Ukrainian population that now identifies itself with Ukrainian citizenship in comparison with those who considered themselves Ukrainian citizens at the beginning of the 1990s.

Second, as an analysis of the survey has shown, respondents understood their citizenship as mostly a formal attachment to the country where they are physically living rather than a stance of active social and political engagement in Ukrainian society.

The survey revealed that only 9 percent of the respondents who identified themselves as "citizens" believed in their ability to protect their own rights against the state. (For comparison, 11 percent of the respondents who identified themselves as "representatives of their ethnic group" and 12.5 percent of those who identified themselves as "people of the world" said they believe in that ability.)

In other words, the dominant type of Ukrainian citizen is that of a politically inert individual who is reluctant to resort to actions of protest against any possible unjust decisions by the authorities.

This makes one believe that the reason people distance themselves from

Ukrainian civic identity lies not only in the mass psychological frustration of socio-economic expectations regarding the prospects of the Ukrainian state in the early 1990s. There are clear signs of the alienation of the Ukrainian population from the state. Why is this the case?

The Ukrainian state or more accurately, the political circles representing the state machinery, in its relations with the people actively reproduces the logic of its Communist predecessor, which used to dictate and instruct "from above." The result of this activity is the formation of a "state-centered" (or, to use a French term, "étatic"), rather than civic, identity, i.e., an individual identity that is shaped and controlled by the state.

It is possible to form the identity of an inert individual and to induce a mass culture of apathy by means of indoctrination involving mass propaganda and psychological manipulation in the state-controlled media. But one can never in this way construct a civic Ukrainian identity implying people's social engagement and political participation. The vital issues of Ukraine's "unfinished revolution" (Taras Kuzio, "Ukraine. The Unfinished Revolution," in "European Security Study" 16, London, Institute for European Defense and Security Studies, 1992), such as an undeveloped civil society and the lack of social cohesion and solidarity, can also be explained by this distorted interaction between the state and its citizenry.

Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph I used to say when someone was recommended to him as a patriot of Austria, that "he may be a patriot of Austria, but the question is whether he is a patriot of me." Today's dilemma regarding Ukrainian citizenship may be reflected in the following paraphrase of the emperor's saying: Does a future Ukrainian democracy need careerists loyal to the authorities or active citizens who are capable of promoting changes and reforms in Ukrainian society?

As demonstrated by comparative international sociological surveys conducted in 11 post-Communist countries (Claire Wallace, "Xenophobia in Post-Communist Europe," Glasgow, 1999), citizens of successful post-Communist democracies were usually proud of their nationality, while this was not the case in countries experiencing difficulties in their transformation, like Ukraine. These surveys obviously imply that either successes in post-Communist transformation boost national pride, that national pride is a necessary condition for such successes, or that both factors operate simultaneously.

It seems that the real challenge to political reform in Ukraine does not lie exclusively in changing the governing system from a presidential to a parliamentary republic, as was recently declared. This challenge rather, is connected with the need for a reform in the way the state interacts with its citizens. Such reform would have to switch the state machinery from the propagandistic and predominantly command style of its current public relations policies to a much more cooperative and partner-like model.

Dr. Viktor Stepanenko is a senior research fellow at the Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and the director of the Center for Public Policy Development.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY Visit our archive on the Internet at: http://www.ukweekly.com/

NEWS AND VIEWS

Teachers of Ukrainian studies schools meet at conference in Cleveland

by George Gajecky

Over 70 principals and teachers of schools of Ukrainian studies affiliated with the Educational Council gathered at the end of the 2001-2002 academic year for a Teachers' Conference at John Carroll University in University Heights, Ohio, near Cleveland.

The conference was preceded by a meeting of principals and PTA. The president of Educational Council, Dr. Eugene Fedorenko, informed them about the status of schools for the 2001-2002 school year. There were 30 active schools in the "Ridna Shkola" system, with 2,610 students and 358 teachers.

This is a positive trend because 65 percent of the teachers are between the ages of 25 and 50. Also, many of the teachers have arrived within the last 10 years from Ukraine. It seems that the new teachers are outnumbering the local ones. However, some work needs to be done to attract more newly arrived students to our schools.

In the last year three new textbooks were published; another three are scheduled to come out soon. George Gajecky's "Contemporary History of Ukraine, 1945-2001" was released while textbooks in geography and culture are in the process of being printed.

Next year, 2003, marks the 50th anniversary of the Educational Council. A jubilee book will appear with a description of all present and former schools in the system. All schools are urged to send in current information about their schools.

The main conference of teachers was opened on Saturday, June 22. Prof. David G. Anderson, chairman of the department of classical modern languages at John Carroll University, and Prof. Helen Turkewicz-Sanko of the French department greeted the assembled teachers. Then came welcomes delivered by Prof. Fedorenko and Renata Harmatii of the organizing committee. Afterwards the teachers divided into two large groups: the lower grades, kindergarten through grade 7; and the upper grades, 8-12.

The first group was headed by Vera Bej of Philadelphia and Olena Olijowski of Cleveland. They discussed how to better present teaching materials to younger children. It was decided that, beginning with Grade 1, each grade should assimilate about 250 words per year into the students' vocabulary. That way, by Grade

8, a child's vocabulary should encompass 1,750 words. Presentations were made by Raisa Cherniv (Cleveland), Natalia Doerrler (Palatine, Ill.) Daria Kramarchuk (Cleveland), Oksana Kulynych (Yonkers, N.Y.), Luba Hryciv (Detroit) and Olena Herhot (Washington).

The session for the upper grades was devoted to programs and methodology and was headed by Nadia Chojnacka (Chicago) and Mr. Gajecky (New York). Mr. Gajecky analyzed the program for teaching history in the upper grades, stressing that the program focuses on the "heroic periods" when Ukraine was an independent state: Kyivan Rus', the Hetmanate, the struggle for independence and contemporary Ukraine.

Dr. Fedorenko underlined the need to synchronize instruction of literature, culture and history. The "classical periods" have to be aligned so as to allow for the modern Ukrainian literature of the 1980s and 1990s. Natalia Bodnar (Cleveland) showed how to use modern technology in teaching geography.

During the afternoon session, in the upper grades' session, Mr. Gajecky explained how to teach contemporary Ukrainian history using his new textbook as a guide. Dr. Fedorenko showed how concentrating on a single book, like Volodymyr Vynnychenko's "Shchos' Bilshe za Nas" (Something Greater than Us) brings satisfactory results. Volodymyr Fedoruk (New York) talked about teaching history in the seventh grade and Ihor Mirchuk (Philadelphia) explained his textbook on Ukrainian culture, which may be used for four years.

During a plenary session everyone was dazzled by computer displays and Internet entries for various topics. Viroslav Kosc, principal of the school in Cleveland, showed how he uses the Internet in school. Ms. Harmatii (Cleveland) explained how getting credits for Ukrainian subjects in high school and college might stimulate interest in students of Ukrainian school. This was also stressed by Maria Kitsiuk (Yonkers), who gave an example of how the New York State Regents Exam gives Ukrainian students a chance to get college credits.

Tania Farmiga (Cleveland) provided an interesting analysis of over 300 questionnaires filled out by students of various schools. For instance, history was the

(Continued on page 14)

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

No apologies to "silent majority"

Dear Editor:

One can well understand Alla Heretz's attempt (Letter to the Editor, November 10) to put a positive spin on her admitted "familial trait" of "silence due to fear." She utterly and completely misunderstands Dr. Myron B. Kuropas' original point. "Silence" while one's family members, one's neighbors and one's nation disappear is indeed "complicity" (outright if not "clandestine").

There is nothing noble or praiseworthy about this "silence," and it is futile to demand or expect an apology from those

who point this out. Fortunately, her boldness, in demanding an apology from Dr. Kuropas can be viewed as a positive sign demonstrating that individuals can overcome a "familial trait" of silence. This alone should help her family come to realize why the rest of us don't give the same level of respect to those who "suffer in silence" that we accord to those who fight or fought for justice and survival with dignity.

Sorry, there should be no apologies to the "silent majority." If they don't start voting and fighting to improve the Ukrainian condition, then let them go on "suffering in silence" without demanding anyone's respect.

Jaroslav Sawka
Sterling Heights, Mich.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



A Ukrainian Thanksgiving

Of all of our holidays, Thanksgiving is my favorite.

Thanksgiving is a family holiday, a colorful autumnal time without the hustle, bustle and commercialism of Christmas, a time when the entire family – grandparents, mom and dad, children, grandchildren and, if you're lucky, great-grandchildren, can come together to give thanks for the many blessings we enjoy as Ukrainian Americans.

For as long as I can remember, Thanksgiving has been a solemn holiday in our house. Although both of my parents emigrated from Ukraine in the 1920s, and suffered through the Great Depression, they always celebrated Thanksgiving with as much spirit as the early Pilgrims. Mama invariably baked a turkey and took great care to prepare all of the ingredients which constituted a traditional Thanksgiving dinner. Mama and Tato loved America and appreciated the opportunity to give thanks as Americans.

Allow me to share a story about giving thanks. There is a legend about two angels who were once sent down from heaven. Each angel was given a basket and went from place to place collecting prayers that people said. When all the prayers were collected, the angels noticed that the basket of one angel was very heavy while the basket of the other angel was very light.

"What do you have in your basket?" asked one angel of the other. The angel with the heavy basket replied, "I was sent to collect the prayers of all the people who said, 'I want,' 'I need,' or 'Please give me.'" The angel with the light basket replied sadly, "I was sent to collect all the 'thank you' prayers from all the people to whom God has sent a great blessing."

That little story, which appeared in our church bulletin on November 24, reminded me that I was one of those people to whom God has sent not one great blessing, but many.

This past Thanksgiving I gave thanks for family. I was blessed with grandparents who were gentle, caring and involved with my life. My grandmother, may she rest with God, was a saint.

I was fortunate enough to have wonderful parents, not perfect, but wonderful, nevertheless. It is a tribute to them that my sister and I grew up never wanting for anything. They took time to mold us, to nurture us and to point us in the right direction.

My greatest blessing today is Lesia, my life's companion, the woman who agreed to join me on my life's journey some 38 years ago and has never wavered. She has remained by my side through trouble and triumph, tears and laughter, sadness and joy.

Thanks to Lesia, I became the father of Stefko and Mykhailo, two outstanding young men who have followed in their grandfather's Ukrainian footsteps. They, too, have found joy in their marriages to Lesia and Patty.

Being grandparents to Mariana, Andrew, Kathryn, Kailee and Natalie has enriched our lives immensely. Each one of our grandchildren is a unique gift. Observing their development from infancy to childhood has been as extraordinary an experience as everyone told us it would be.

Thanksgiving is a uniquely American holiday, with the special smells of turkey and pumpkin pie, and, if you're lucky, a fireplace blazing away. We are reminded of

the enormous sacrifices made by the Pilgrims and all who came after to create the most powerful, compassionate and creative nation on the face of the earth.

It was in America that Rusyns became Ukrainians. It was here that the spirit of the Ukrainian people, crushed and defiled in the homeland, was preserved, nurtured and allowed to blossom. It was America that gave our people an opportunity to develop their talents and to create institutions of higher learning, culture and mutual benefit.

It was in America, not Ukraine, that our fraternal associations were born. It was here that the now powerful Selfreliance credit unions and banks emerged to provide financial assistance to countless individuals and institutions, as well as to numerous Ukrainian causes that would have met an early death without that kind of assistance.

It was in America, not Ukraine, that our Churches – Catholic Orthodox and Protestant – were allowed to blossom and to invigorate their centuries-old traditions. It is here that our Churches and seminaries thrived. Patriarch Lubomyr Husar is a product of America, not Ukraine.

It was an American president, Harry S. Truman, who despite vociferous criticism from the Soviet Union and American fellow travelers, signed the Displaced Persons Act in 1948 opening America's door to thousands of Ukrainian escapees from the evil empire.

It was America, not France, not Germany, not Japan, not Great Britain, that brought the evil empire to an end, freeing, in the process, the Ukrainian nation.

It was in America, not Ukraine, that a Ukrainian free press came into its own. Even today, 11 years after Ukraine became an independent nation, a free press as we understand it, does not exist in the homeland.

It troubles me to read oafish denunciations of America by the looney left while praising the likes of Saddam and Arafat.

I am disgusted by the tactics of many of my university colleagues who have enlisted in the "America is Always Wrong" cabal while providing cover for the Islamo-commies who are bent on destroying the very institutions that these comrades profess to defend.

It angers me when I remember that it was the same group who burned American flags during the 1960s while kneeling at the altars of Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, and Mao Tse Tung.

Finally, I was thankful during this past Thanksgiving that it is George W. Bush who is leading our country. Like Ronald Reagan, President Bush has intellectually overwhelmed his opposition. Watching this man perform is like watching Olympic-class figure skaters gracefully gliding over the ice on their way to victory. The opposition continues to underrate Mr. Bush, and that's fine. The opposition believes that they can win the next election with the same, tired, old McGovernite rhetoric of the past, and that's fine, too. Far be it from me to interfere with their fantasy life.

Yes, dear reader, this past Thanksgiving was an occasion of glorious celebration for the Kuropas Clan. I hope it was the same for you.

Myron Kuropas' e-mail address is: mbkuropas@compuserve.com.

Ukrainian music draws capacity crowd at Winspear Center in Edmonton

EDMONTON – A festive concert of primarily Ukrainian music was presented by the Ukrainian Male Chorus of Edmonton, under the direction of Orest Soltykevych, with Christine Chepyha, accompanist, on November 9 at the prestigious Winspear Center.

Featured at the concert, which drew a capacity audience of well over 1,000, were well-known special guests, the Montreal/Kingston piano duo of Luba and Ireneus Zuk, and Edmonton-born New York-based jazz pianist John Stetch. Andrew Hladyshevsky served as master of ceremonies. The rich and versatile program consisted of traditional and contemporary works by Ukrainian and Canadian composers, as well as some classics.

In the opening program the choir presented sacred works by Mykola Lysenko, Mykhailo Verbytskyi, Dmytro Bortnianskyi and Mykola Kolessa.

Subsequently, the Zuk piano duo performed "Ronde Villageoise" (1961, rev. 1986) by Clermont Pépin, "Andante cantabile" Op. 20 by Ihor Bilohrud, "Can-Can" (from Three Dances, 1955) by Myroslav Skoryk and the symphonic poem – "Mazeppa," in the composer's transcription for two pianos, by Franz Liszt. Ireneus Zuk introduced the works from the stage.

The second group of songs presented by

the choir comprised works by Yuriy Shevchenko, Yevhan Kozak, Hryhorii Kytastyi, Anatol Kos-Anatolskyi and Anna Zwozdesky/Gene Zwozdesky/Willi Zwozdesky.

After the intermission the choir performed works by Yakiv Yatsynevych, Mykhailo Krechko, B. Laba, as well as Beethoven's "Moonlight Sonata" in an arrangement by Liubov Zabashta.

This was followed by jazz pianist John Stetch, who announced his five selections, all his own compositions: a flirtatious song "Rye, Not Wheat"; a waltz, faintly reminiscent of the "Carol of the Bells" by Leontovych; "Sitting by the Window"; a ballad titled "Harmony in the Family"; "The Famine," dedicated to the victims of the 1932-1933 Great Famine in Ukraine; and "The Kolomeyka Fantasy."

The concert concluded with the final group of choral works by M. Bilan; Y. Kozak; Anatolii Pashkevych, Ivan Nedilskyi and Willi Zwozdesky.

The capacity audience warmly applauded and cheered members of the choir, the conductor, the accompanist, and the guest soloists who came on stage for the final bow. Maestro Soltykevych, Ms. Chepyha, Luba Zuk, Ireneus Zuk and Mr. Stetch were presented with bouquets of flowers.

The Ukrainian Male Chorus of

Edmonton was formed in 1984 with the objective of developing, promoting and fostering a greater appreciation for the traditions of Ukrainian choral singing.

The chorus has performed extensively throughout Alberta as well as in Saskatchewan and British Columbia, including Expo '86 in Vancouver. It has sung the national anthems at Oilers hockey games and at the Canadian Football League's all-star game when it was held in Edmonton.

The group participated in the opening ceremonies at Festival '88, which celebrated the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine and sang for the President of Ukraine during his 1994 Edmonton visit. In the summer of 1996 the male chorus represented Canada in the International Choral Festival in Missoula, Mont. The choir has also performed at Ukrainian festivals in Vegreville, Alberta, and in Dauphin, Manitoba.

This summer, the choir toured Poland and Ukraine. The first part of the tour was in northern Poland, performing for the Ukrainian community that has developed in the area as a result of forced resettlement by an act of the Polish government in 1947-1948. For the concerts the choir joined forces with the Zhuravli Ukrainian Men's Chorus of Poland. The choir then performed in Ukraine — in Lviv, Ternopil

es of many of their works, and several prominent composers have written especially for them. The Ukrainian Canadian Congress awarded Luba Zuk, profesor at the School of Music at McGill University, the Shevchenko Medal in recognition of her research and performance activities in this field.

Ireneus Zuk, a graduate of McGill University and the Conservatoire de Musique de Québec, studied also at the Royal College of Music in London and the Juilliard School in New York, and holds a doctorate from the Peabody Conservatory of Johns Hopkins University. He is director of the School of Music at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.

Recently the government of Ukraine recognized the significant artistic achievement of the Zuk duo by awarding them a medal and the title "Merited Artist of Ukraine."

Edmonton-born John Stetch started life as a professional musician while attending McGill University in Montreal, where he obtained his Bachelor of Music degree. He worked several years on the Montreal music scene, before moving to New York, where he worked with his own trio and quartet and as sideman with Rufus Reid. While in New York, Mr. Stetch had occasion to work with, among other, James



The Ukrainian Male Chorus of Edmonton, formed in 1984, under the direction of Orest Soltykevych.



Orest Soltykevych (center), director of the Ukrainian Male Chorus of Edmonton, with guest soloists, the piano duo of Luba and Ireneus Zuk, at the close of the concert held at Winspear Center on November 9.

Julian Kytasty's "Year of Asia" takes him to New York and Toronto

NEW YORK – The year 2002 has become the "Year of Asia" in the musical life of Julian Kytasty, with extensive collaboration with musicians from Mongolia, India and China. Two of the projects played live for the first time in New York.

The concert "Music from the Far Ends of the Steppe," featuring Mr. Kytasty (bandura, flutes, voice), master Mongolian musician Battuvshin (limbe, morin khor, throat singing), and Ilya Temkin (husli, hurdy gurdy, guitar), was held in Tibet House in New York on November 23. The concert program was a preview of an upcoming CD – a rich tapestry of sounds, vocal and instrumental, that the three musicians recorded earlier this year – on which Mr. Kytasty also has an opportunity to sing in Mongolian.

On December 1 Mr. Kytasty will participate in a concert being held in Toronto that will assemble most of the North American performers currently working on authentic instruments with the material of the old-time blind singers – the kobzari and linyky. The concert will feature Victor Mishalow, kobzarska bandura; Mr. Kytasty, kobzarska bandura; Hryhorii Herchak,

lira; Jurij Fedynskyi, kobzarska bandura, kobza; Mr. Temkin, kobzarska bandura, husli, lira; and Maestro Mishalow's students on the kobzarska bandura. The concert, titled "Shliakhomy Kobzariv" (In the Steps of the Kobzars), will be held in the newly renovated hall at St. Volodymyr Orthodox Cathedral, 400 Bathurst St., at 1 p.m.

On Friday, December 6, Mr. Kytasty's Experimental Bandura Trio (EBT) will perform at Symphony Space in the "Music for Pipa" concert, which is being presented by the World Music Institute. Mr. Kytasty joins Wu Man, a virtuoso performer on the pipa, or Chinese lute, for the second half of her program. Ms. Man, whose credits include performing and recording with Yo Yo Ma's Silk Road project and with the Kronos Quartet, will perform an opening solo set of traditional Chinese material. The second half of the program will feature newly arranged duets drawing on both Chinese and Ukrainian sources. The two musicians will be joined by Mike Andrej and Jurij Fedynskyj of the Experimental Bandura Trio in three rearranged numbers from the EBT Songbook.

and in the native village of one of the choristers. The tour ended with a return to Poland for a performance at a festival in the Lemko region.

The Ukrainian Male Chorus of Edmonton produced a CD titled "The Old Sheepskin Coat" (1992) in commemoration of the centenary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, and has just issued its new CD, comprising live performances throughout the past decade.

Luba Zuk and her brother, Ireneus, perform both as solists and as a piano duo. The duo has appeared in concerts in North America and the Far East and has made several tours of Western Europe. Its recent tours in Ukraine included several return engagements at the International Music Festival in Kyiv.

The Zuk duo has consistently promoted music by Canadian and Ukrainian composers. They have given first performanc-

Ulmer, Reggie Workman, Rashied Ali, Billy Hart, Mark Turner and Seamus Blake.

His seventh CD as leader, "Ukrainianism," is, in his words, his "most personal and challenging collection of pieces so far."

Two of Mr. Stetch's other CDs were nominated for Juno Awards, and he has earned second place in the Thelonius Monk Composer's Competition and first place in the Prix du Jazz du Maurier in 1998 at the Montreal International Jazz Festival.

He has performed solo at such prestigious venues as the Caramoor Jazz Festival in Katonah, N.Y., and the Esther Honens International Keyboard Festival in Calgary. Earlier, he frequently recorded for the CBC program Jazzbeat.

This fall Mr. Stetch was featured on the National Public Radio in the United States on Marion McPartland's "Piano Jazz."

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Volume 8 of Hrushevsky's "History of Ukraine-Rus' " launched in Edmonton

by Serhii Plokhyy

EDMONTON – The Peter Jacyk Center at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (University of Alberta) held a book launch on October 10 to mark the publication of Volume 8 of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's multi-volume "History of Ukraine-Rus' " in English translation.

The book, titled "The Cossack Age, 1626-1650," is the third volume of Hrushevsky's History to be issued by the Jacyk Center's Hrushevsky Translation Project and the second volume in Hrushevsky's subseries on the history of the Kozaks. It is the first volume to include his groundbreaking research on the history of the Khmelnytsky uprising.

Volume 8 was published thanks to the sponsorship of Hanna Mazurenko of Toronto, who made a donation to the project in memory of her husband, Danylo. The volume was translated by Marta Daria Olynyk of Montreal and edited by Frank E. Sysyn with the assistance of Myroslav Yurkevich. Dr. Sysyn, director of the Jacyk Center and editor-in-chief of the Hrushevsky Translation Project, wrote the introduction to the volume and, together with Yaroslav Fedoruk, prepared its extensive updates to Hrushevsky's bibliographic notes.

The book launch, which took place at University of Alberta Faculty Club, was well-attended by university students and faculty, as well as by members of the

Ukrainian community. Before beginning the proceedings, Dr. Sysyn called on the audience to observe a moment of silence in memory of Mr. Jacyk, who had shown great generosity and devotion to the project. The audience was then greeted by Dr. Paul Sorenson, associate vice-president for research at the University of Alberta, who congratulated the Jacyk Center on its latest achievement and thanked members of the Ukrainian community for their continuing support of Ukrainian studies at the university. The director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Dr. Zenon Kohut, stressed the importance of the Hrushevsky Translation Project and the publication of Hrushevsky's monumental History in English translation for the dissemination of knowledge about Ukraine and its history.

Dr. Nancy S. Kollmann, professor of history and director of the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies at Stanford University, was the keynote speaker at the launch. She shared her views on the importance of Hrushevsky's history to students and teachers of East European history in North America.

Dr. Kollmann discussed her own courses on Russian and East European history, into which she integrates considerable material on Ukraine. She said she pays particular attention to Ukraine as an example of the emergence of cultural and national identity in the early modern period, despite the lack of an independent

state in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

Until now, Dr. Kollmann commented, she has been able to draw on a large mass of material from Russian historians, but relatively little from Ukrainian scholars. She said she is especially pleased that the publication of Hrushevsky's work, which develops the topics that she emphasizes in her courses, will allow her students to delve more deeply into the Ukrainian past. She argued that the publication of Hrushevsky's multi-volume work in English would help shift the focus of those interested in that part of the world from the history of states and elites to that of ethnolinguistic and cultural communities.

Dr. Sysyn summarized the numerous tasks involved in producing a volume. He emphasized the success of the earlier volumes in sales and in scholarly reception. He then thanked the sponsors, the Petro Jacyk Educational Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities (U.S.A.), and the numerous donors in the Ukrainian community, many of whom were present, for their support of the project and presented the new volume to the audience.

Volume 8 of the history deals with the period in which the Kozaks' emergence as a political power, the Khmelnytsky uprising, and a variety of important political, social and economic developments made Ukraine a focal point of European

and Near Eastern affairs. Hrushevsky provides a comprehensive account of Ukrainian Kozakdom in this period and gives his own interpretation of its importance in the history of Ukraine, Poland and Muscovy, as well as in Jewish and Ottoman history.

In addition to Edmonton, Volume 8 was launched also in Toronto on October 20, with Ms. Mazurenko and Nadia Jacyk, head of the Petro Jacyk Educational Foundation, in attendance. A book launch also took place in Montreal on November 8 and one is scheduled for Pittsburgh on November 24, during annual meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.

The volume is available for purchase from CIUS Press offices in Edmonton and Toronto. Until May 31, 2003, Volume 8 of the "History of Ukraine-Rus' " can be purchased for the special price of \$90. Until that same date, the entire 10-volume (in 11 books) "History of Ukraine-Rus' " can be acquired for the subscription price of \$1,000. These special prices include shipping; in Canada they also include the GST. Outside Canada, prices are in U.S. dollars. After the designated date, prices will revert to their normal retail levels, that is, \$119.95 for the single volume and \$1,200 for the entire history. Orders should be sent to: CIUS, 450 Athabasca Hall, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2E8.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Hrushevsky's history is essential to understanding Ukraine today

Following are excerpts of the keynote speech delivered by Dr. Nancy S. Kollmann, professor of history and director of the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies at Stanford University, at the book launch to mark the publication of Volume 8, "The Cossack Age, 1626-1650," of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's multi-volume "History of Ukraine Rus' " in English translation.

...The appearance in English of Hrushevsky's Volume 8, dedicated to the Kozak uprisings and social conditions of the early 17th century and to the first years of the Khmelnytsky uprising, is truly a momentous occasion. From my vantage point I see its importance from many different perspectives. As a teacher of East European and Ukrainian history, I welcome it as an invaluable help in the classroom. As a historian and teacher of Russian history, it will be a wonderful tool to give students a different viewpoint on the development of the Rus' lands than the usual Russian nationalist myth promoted in so many other English-language books.

From my point of view as a scholar involved in promoting area studies of this part of the world East Europe, the former Soviet Union at a time of tremendous change, I see this book as very helpful in pushing new trends of thinking about area studies. What I'd like to do today is to elaborate on those two big areas a bit – the changes that are going in area studies and the usefulness of this book in the teaching of East European, Ukrainian and even, maybe even especially, in Russian history.

Let me start with the issue of area studies. Tangentially, but still importantly, this volume of Hrushevsky in English can help scholars, not just historians, as they struggle to reconceptualize how to study the part of the world that includes Ukraine. Because of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War and the gradual reconfiguration of



Dr. Nancy S. Kollmann

geopolitical and social and economic connections among the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, we – that is, scholars in North America and Europe – are forced to rethink how we understand this part of the world. ...

Scholars in all disciplines, especially contemporary social science studies, now are rethinking how we conceptualize the history of the lands that include Ukraine. As you may know, during the time of Soviet power and the Cold War, particularly in the United States and less so in Canada, everyone studied Russian history and Russian studies. Russia was privileged, because it was the superpower; in the [United] States it got all the government funding and attention. The study of the so-called Eastern Bloc East European states, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, fell to the background and wasn't studied much. And Ukraine, as you know, was buried in the Russian empire and greatly ignored – and even

worse discounted because the Russocentric view that was dominant argued that Ukraine was simply an integral part of Russian history, and didn't even have its own culture.

There were, of course, alternative visions expressed in the post-war period. Scholars like the Polish émigré historian Oscar Halecki tried to call the attention of the Western world to the independent history of the several nations and cultures in what he called East Central Europe. He argued that East Central Europe – and here he included Ukraine – was fundamentally part of Western civilization. And in the 20th century in North America, particularly in Canada, scholars were carrying out research, centers of study were being funded by people like yourselves in places like here, Toronto and Harvard, and books and journals were presenting an independent vision of Ukrainian history.

But this work wasn't enough to counterbalance the din from the dominant Russocentric scholarship. All the English-language textbooks and many of the courses taught in American universities at least were shaped by émigré Russian historians who gave no respect to the concept of an independent Ukrainian culture and history.

Now the landscape of area studies is changing. Scholars in a variety of disciplines are recognizing that the groupings that seemed to make sense in the Cold War "Russian and East European Studies" don't make sense anymore. What we used to consider Russia is now a complex of independent states and many different ethnicities and cultures. What we used to call Eastern Europe is looking more and more like Europe in its economic ties, its geopolitical connections (NATO, the European Union), its assertions of national and cultural identity. And Ukraine is being understood more and more as part of broader European trends post-Soviet change.

Scholars in the social sciences like political science, sociology and anthro-

pology are very interested in studying the problems of post-Soviet transition economic development of market economies, political reforms of communist systems, cultural transformations in the realm of nationalism and identity-building.

They are finding Ukraine a very accessible place to study these processes of transition: the language is fairly accessible, the conditions of scholarship and field research are accessible. And they are approaching Ukraine with a relatively open mind – they aren't so steeped in a Russocentric vision of the world, they see connections across geopolitical regions, or they look for commonalities in development across many nations.

The net effect is that Ukraine is finding a place in the newly configured area studies as part of a more flexibly conceived geopolitical realm of European studies. For example, we are hosting a speakers series this year at Stanford in contemporary Ukraine, and we are finding several very interesting scholars – political scientists, an anthropologist who are using Ukraine as a case study in important processes of change.

Now what does Hrushevsky's book have to do with the new social science research in Ukraine today? It provides the factual underpinning, easily accessible in English, for scholars in other disciplines to acquaint themselves with the history that demonstrates how and why Ukrainians have developed so independent and separate a national culture and identity. It readily helps them cut through the seeming confusion of why this state that only rarely had its own sovereign state can claim now to be a cohesive political, cultural and social entity. That modern-day reality of independence is grounded in the history Hrushevsky covers in this volume.

Of course, Hrushevsky's book will be most influential to historians as they, too,

(Continued on page 21)



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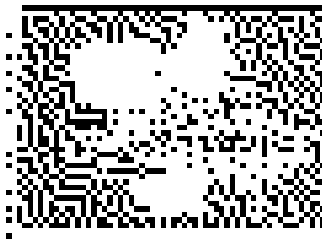
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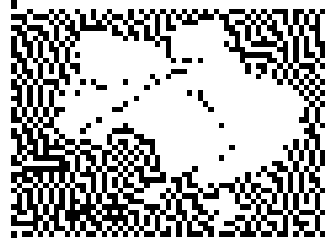
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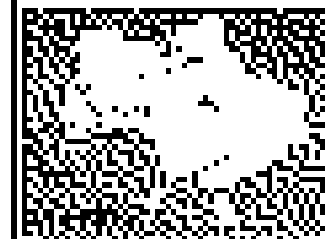
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RENAISSANCE OF KYIV: Klitschko brothers are known worldwide

by Marta Kolomayets
and Natalia A. Feduschak

KYIV – For boxing brothers Vitalii and Volodymyr Klitschko, Kyiv mayor Oleksander Omelchenko is more than a friend, a business partner or a spiritual father.

He is their lucky talisman.

“The only fight I ever lost was when Oleksander did not come to Germany,” said Vitalii, who at 31 has the enviable record of 31-1 with 30 knockouts. “And that’s when Oleksander Oleksandrovych promised to be at every fight.”

“It is not a political relationship, it is a friendship,” said Volodymyr, the younger Klitschko who was an Olympic gold medalist in the 1996 Atlanta Games and currently holds the World Boxing Organization championship title. His record of 40-1 with 36 knockouts rivals that of his brother’s. (The younger Klitschko is known as Volodymyr in Ukrainian and Vladimir in Russian, and is known by the German spelling Wladimir in the boxing world.)

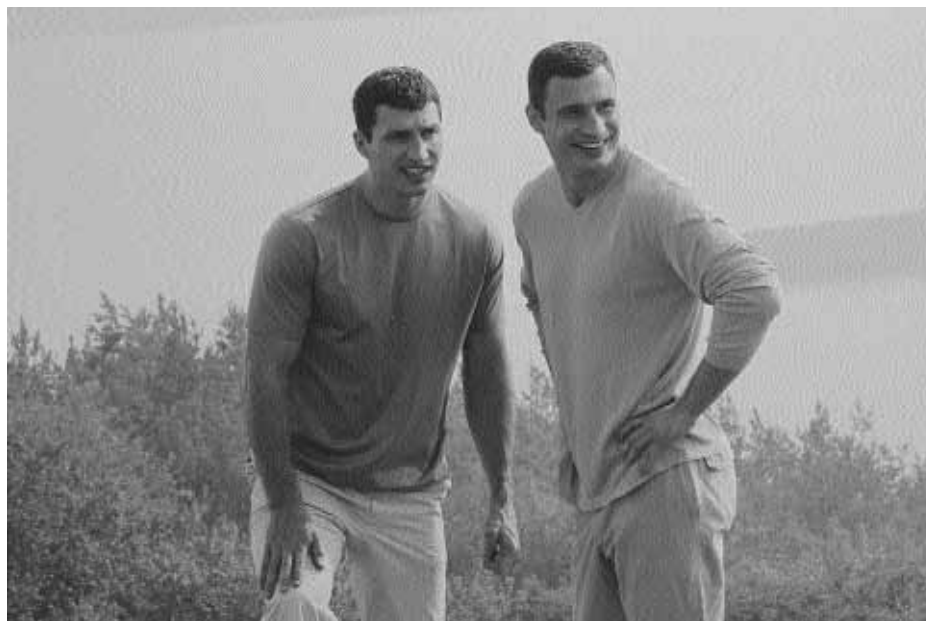
For Mr. Omelchenko, the relationship with the Klitschkos is not only cherished, but one that is reminiscent of the mayor’s past when he traveled with his two sons, Ian, 36, and Oleksander, 34, to their boxing matches in rings across the then-Soviet Union.

“They are like sons,” Mr. Omelchenko said of the brothers. “The first thing is that the nation should be proud of people like the Klitschkos.”

Other Ukrainian athletes like skaters Oksana Baiul or Viktor Petrenko and gymnast Lilla Podkopyayeva may be better known to the Ukrainian community in the United States and Canada. Yet to an entire generation of Ukrainians in Ukraine, as well as many youths around the world, the Klitschko brothers are positive role models and a phenomenon. Their good will and grace have won them high marks not only among sports enthusiasts. Today, even though they live in Germany, they have become Ukraine’s most important ambassadors.

“Of course we come from Ukraine, we don’t want to forget our country,” said 26-year-old Volodymyr. “We want to do something for Ukraine because the people in Ukraine need it and we want to try to make some commercial (public relations) for Ukraine worldwide.”

What the Williams’ sisters are to tennis, the Klitschko brothers are to boxing. In the



The brothers Klitschko during a visit to Kaniv, the burial place of Taras Shevchenko.

six years since they signed on with Germany’s Universum Box Promotion after Volodymyr’s Olympic win, they have conquered Europe’s boxing arenas and have now set their sights on America. They have seen world capitals, met with international leaders, including former President Bill Clinton, and are involved in the important work of helping children in need worldwide by being UNESCO ambassadors.

While boxing promoters are trying to promote them, the Klitschkos and their friend the mayor are trying to promote Kyiv.

The brothers have been big supporters of Mr. Omelchenko, whom they met six years ago, in part because they have a shared belief about the city’s future. The brothers have been very active in construction projects throughout Kyiv. Most prominently, they have helped in the reconstruction of St. Michael’s Golden-Domed Cathedral, where the Klitschkos helped with the construction of an angel and even placed tiles in some of the church’s mosaics. They have also helped restore historic buildings in Kyiv’s center.

“I think Kyiv is one of the most beautiful cities in the world,” said Volodymyr. “Sometimes it looks like Vienna, sometimes like Zurich or Hamburg, a real European city. Every time I come back something changes for the better here, for the best.”

Since moving to Germany, the Klitschkos have become two of the top five most popular athletes in Germany. Their

first fitness book, published in German, came out with an initial printing of 500,000 copies, the largest in that country’s publishing history. Volodymyr appeared in the Hollywood film “Ocean’s Eleven” in a fictitious match with world heavyweight champion Lennox Lewis, a bout that ended with no clear winner as the script called for the lights to go out.

The Klitschkos’ popularity is expected to grow as both brothers make inroads in the mecca of boxing – the United States. In fights to be broadcast on HBO, Volodymyr will go into the ring December 7 in Las Vegas, where he will meet Jameel McCline to defend his WBO title. (Mr. Omelchenko is expected to attend the match in the role of talisman.)

In recent news, Vitalii’s 10th round defeat of Larry Donald in Germany on November 23 has put the younger Klitschko in the contender’s seat for a bout with World Boxing Council championship belt holder Lennox Lewis. Although no exact date has been scheduled the fight is likely take place during the first quarter of 2003.

If Vitalii prevails, it will be not only a victory for him – and a chance at super-stardom – but a victory for their homeland. No matter how big they get, they will always come home.

“All my life I have traveled the world,” said Vitalii, who was born in Kyrghyzstan, where his father served in the Soviet military. “But my home is Kyiv. My home is

Ukraine because my ancestors are from Ukraine. I grew up here.”

The brothers have had offers to change their citizenship. Their answer has always been, “What’s the point?”

“I had some proposition to change my citizenship and for what?” said Vitalii. “You are a citizen where you have a good feeling, where you have family and where you have friends. That’s your country. I feel good in Ukraine. I have a mentality from my country and I can’t change my mentality. I am from Ukraine.”

Said Volodymyr, who was born in the Central Asian country of Kazakstan, “It (Kyiv) is my home because I always come back.”

The Klitschko brothers are similar in many ways. They are very polite, have GQ good looks and a charisma that electrifies a room. Certainly, they tower over everyone present. Vitalii stands at 6 feet 8 inches and weighs in at 245 pounds. Volodymyr is only slightly shorter – by 2 inches. His weight is 243 pounds.

Both hold doctorates in philosophy and speak several languages well, including English and German. Volodymyr speaks good Ukrainian, a tidbit that has surprised even some of Ukraine’s more nationally minded politicians. Vitalii’s Ukrainian is more hesitant; he promised to “speak his native tongue” at the next interview.

Still, the brothers recognize the importance of language and identity. Their fitness book, geared toward people who care about their health, is expected to be published not only in Russian – a hugely lucrative market – but in Ukrainian as well.

It is this sort of patriotism that separates the Klitschkos from many other leading Ukrainian sports figures who have come out of the Soviet experience. Like pole-vaulter great Serhiy Bubka, who is now a member of Ukraine’s Parliament, they are consciously promoting their country abroad, even as scandals rock international relations and grab headlines.

“We make Ukraine’s politics in the West,” said Vitalii. Although he has no political ambitions so far, he sees the importance of his role in promoting Ukraine abroad.

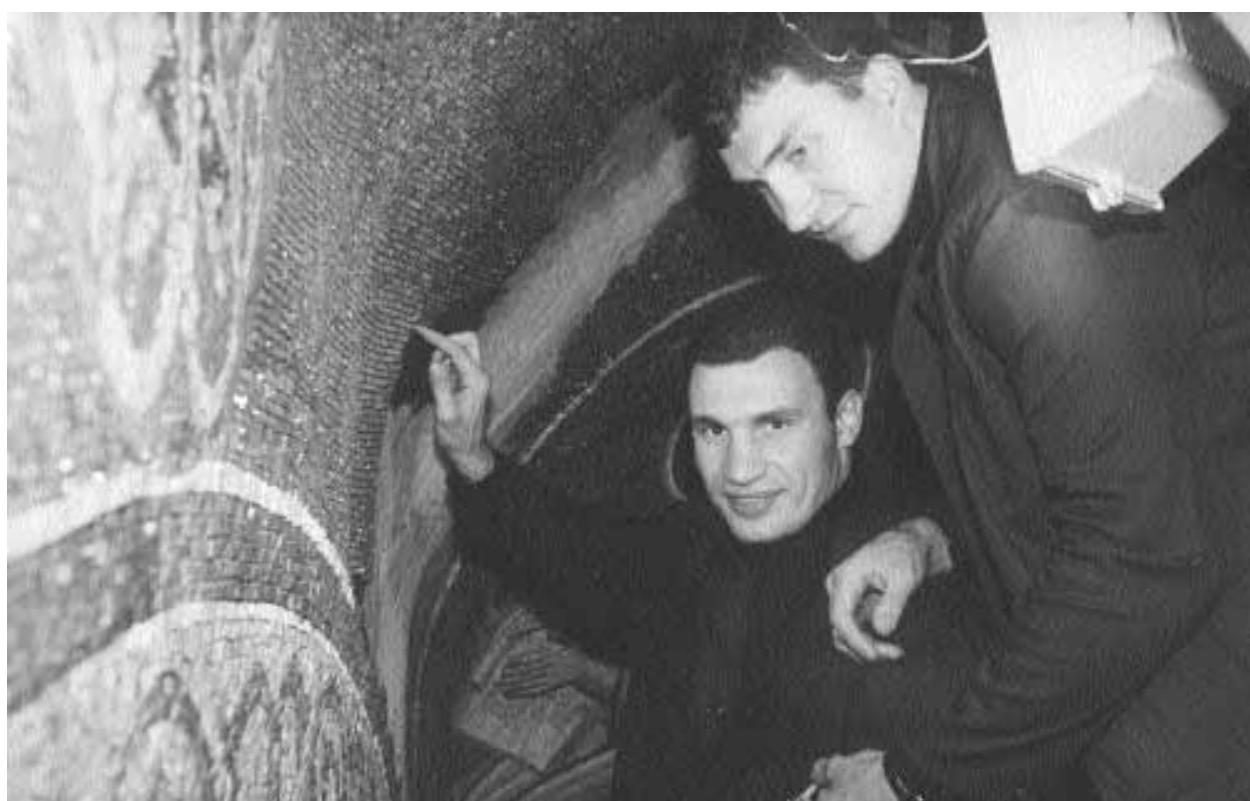
“When we can help our country we will be happy,” he said.

Given the current state of Ukraine’s internal affairs, however, promoting his homeland has not always been an easy job, Vitalii admitted.

(Continued on page 16)



The Klitschko brothers in the early 1980s. (Photos courtesy of Yuriy Nesterenko, the Klitschko brothers’ website director.)



Vitalii (left) kneels before a mosaic at St. Michael the Golden-Domed Cathedral in Kyiv, as his brother Volodymyr looks on. The brothers helped with both the physical labor and financial support for the rebirth of this historic treasure in Kyiv.

DATELINE NEW YORK: The heart and soul of Ukraine

by Helen Smindak

There's still about a week to go before New York enfolds Kyiv in its embrace, as the architectural highlights and history of Ukraine's capital city are unveiled in a multimedia exhibit at the Ukrainian Institute of America, and Ukrainian and American dignitaries join guests at the Plaza Hotel for the "Man of the Year" banquet.

But a goodly share of the heart and soul of Kyiv, indeed of Ukraine, is already here. It came to our shores in recent weeks through the impassioned music and songs of two Kyiv-based ensembles – pop stylists Taras Petrynenko and Tetiana Horobets, for one, and the unique vocal duet of sisters Halyna and Lesia Telnyuk, for the other.

One would expect luminous entertainers such as these, who draw capacity crowds in Ukraine, to appeal to thousands of souls who profess love for their ethnic heritage. Sad to say, the ardent recitals of these two groups were heard by only a few hundred New Yorkers.

The Telnyuk sisters' glorious, deeply introspective concert, alive with rhapsodic music and soulful Ukrainian lyrics that tugged at the heartstrings, was a dramatic contrast to the Petrynenko-Horobets concert, which combined loud pop music laced with elements of rock, flashing colored lights and audience participation ("Dateline," November 17).

Halyna and Lesia Telnyuk, natives of Kyiv, have been described as "the last bastion of true poetry and music in the domain of contemporary Ukrainian song." Their work is a synthesis of poetry and song – Lesia's heavenly music set to the poems of Ukrainian patriots (Vasyl Symonenko, Lesia Ukrainka, Ivan Drach, Bohdan-Ihor Antonych, Pavlo Tychyna and Taras Shevchenko), to verses authored by Halyna, and to the poetry of their father, poet, translator, author and literary critic Stanislav Telnyuk (1935-1990).

At a November 3 concert in downtown New York, listeners were spellbound during the sisters' 90-minute program of ballads, romances and delicate pieces that spoke of love and a sense of being, that explored the place of the poet in totalitarian society, internal freedom as a prerequisite for creativity, and the question of a search for oneself. Their genre is described as rock, with stylings of individual songs ranging through folk-rock, jazz-rock, adult alternative and world music.

A classic of Ukrainian literature, Lesia Ukrayinka's poem "Dosadonka" echoing the colors and rhythms of the Carpathian Mountain region, rang out with hope and faith. Wistful, brooding pieces included a song dedicated to their father "I Todi" (And Then...). There were joyful works whose quick tempo expressed exultant feelings, such as the étude "Pomaranche Sertse" (Orange Heart), the poem that brought Mr. Drach explosively onto the Ukrainian literary scene in the mid-1960s.

The singers were accompanied by Oleksiy Batkovsky, a graduate of the National Music Academy, playing violin, keyboard, percussion, flutes and jew's harp; he also contributed virtuoso violin solos and incredible flute work. Lesia played bandura; her soprano voice and Halyna's lower tones blending exquisitely on lyrics; for some selections Lesia handled the keyboard work, while singing along with her sister.

The esoteric feeling of the recital was carried through in modest costumes (long black gowns accessorized with narrow silver belts) and minimal make-up, while Mr. Batkovsky was in dark informal attire. Halyna's quiet, often pensive narration between songs was a sincere dialogue with listeners.

Meeting the two women in person several days after the concert brought a further



The Telnyuk sisters of Ukraine.

revelation of their personalities and convictions. Wide eyes lustrous as they discussed their work in quiet voices, they showed intense pride and love for their music and concert tours, even though international travel takes them away from their husbands and children for six months at a time.

Halyna, 36, a journalism graduate of Kyiv State University, took the lead in speaking of the work they have done since their inception as a performing unit in 1986. Lesya, 37, who has completed studies in orchestral conducting, chimed in with additional facts here and there. They talked about several successful tours in Canada, and tours to Russia, Poland and England. In Ireland, they said, audiences were moved to tears by their rendition of "Danny Boy," sung in English and Ukrainian. They were very happy with audience turnouts in Newton, Iowa, Chicago and Kingston, Ontario, during their current tour.

Here in New York, in addition to the concert I attended, they gave a concert at the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences and presented their songs at the Consulate General of Ukraine during a reception at which Irene Kurowycky, president of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, and Laryssa Kyj, president of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, received certificates of honor from Ukraine's president.

Among related artists whose work is similar to theirs, the sisters told me, are Joni Mitchell, Suzanne Vega, Pattie Smith, the Indigo Girls and Canada's Alexis Kochan. Their repertoire includes Ukrainian, Irish and English folk songs, songs by Bob Dylan and Oleksander Melnyk, and their own compositions. They once worked together on a song with Mick Jagger, whom they met at a festival.

Their success inspired them to write a satirical drama with music "U.B.N." (the

acronym for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism), which Halyna authored and for which Lesia wrote the score. With both women performing in the cast, "U.B.N." was first presented at the Maria Zankovetska Theater in Lviv in 2001 and later in various cities across Ukraine to public acclaim. Some officials in high places, however, rejected the drama because it ridiculed flaws in Ukrainian life that citizens did not expect to find after their country won its independence.

Currently, while Halyna is involved in researching their father's literary legacy, the sisters are making plans for more tours that will feature new songs and new costumes.

The Telnyuk Sisters took first prize at the New Names national competition in 1987, won prizes at the Chervona Ruta Festival in 1989 and 1991, and received the Vasyl Stus Award in 1998. Of their several recordings, the latest CD is "Zhar-Ptytsi" (Firebirds), the title of a poem written by their father (the song opens and closes the recording). "Firebirds" should be available soon in Ukrainian book stores, or look for it on the Internet at UMKA.com. Whether you purchase the CD or not, don't pass up a chance to hear the Telnyuk Sisters live next time they come our way.

In the media

The town of Drohobych, Ukraine, and a legendary wall painting discovered in Drohobych in February 2001 were the focus of a documentary film "Finding Pictures," screened at the Center for Jewish History on November 19. Presented on the 60th anniversary of the Gestapo shooting of Bruno Schulz, a Jewish writer and artist who lived in Drohobych, the film recounts the discovery of a Schulz mural on the wall of a children's nursery and the subsequent removal of five patches by a crew from Israel, which set off a furious international debate over where the pieces of Schulz's legacy would best be honored. (More patches have been found since and transferred to a Ukrainian museum.) Also presented were two recently translated books on the same subject, titled "Regions of the

(Continued on page 23)



Jack Palance as he appears in a new ad campaign for Lane Furniture.



FOCUS ON PHILATELY

by Ingerit Kuzych

The founding family of Kyivan-Rus'

This article is the third of three detailing the lives of medieval Kyivan Rus' first "First Family" Ihor, Olha and Sviatoslav. The articles in this monarch series are illustrated, where possible, with related philatelic issues.

Sviatoslav the Conqueror PART I

Sviatoslav is known by the epithet Khorobryi (The Brave) and there is no doubt that he was a daring, courageous and even gallant individual. He is also named Zavoyovnyk (The Conqueror), and he was that, too. Within the period of about a decade, he was able to carve out for himself the largest empire in Europe. He stands out in a century that had no shortage of such powerful and violent warlords.

A martial upbringing

Born about 942, Sviatoslav was raised from a very young age to be a warrior; among his teachers were his father and Ihor's troop commander, Sveneld. When Ihor was killed on a tribute gathering expedition to the Derevlians in 945, his wife Olha had a large force assembled under the leadership of Sveneld, which marched the following year against the Derevlians. Accompanying his mother on this expedition was the boy Sviatoslav. When the two armies met for battle, Sviatoslav was allowed to cast the symbolic first spear

against the enemy. Although the weapon barely cleared the ears of the horse he was riding, the action served as a rallying point and the Rus' army prevailed.¹

Following the defeat of the Derevlians, Olha spent many of the early years of her regency traveling through, inspecting and reorganizing her vast realm.² The raising of her son was left to a steward, Asmund, who served as a tutor. Military training was provided by the general Sveneld, who undoubtedly proved a major influence on the lad growing up.³

By the time he was 20 (around 962), Sviatoslav had fathered three sons: Yaropolk, Oleh and Volodymyr. Presumably the first two were by a wife, for the PVL distinguishes Volodymyr as being the son of Malusha (Malfrid), Olha's favorite handmaiden, who became Sviatoslav's concubine. Yaropolk was almost certainly older than Oleh for in 970, when Sviatoslav appointed his sons as vice-regents, it was Yaropolk who received the more prestigious Kyiv, while Oleh was assigned the Derevlianian land. The illegitimate Volodymyr was granted Novhorod only after a petition by its citizens.⁴ Even though Volodymyr's birth caused him a loss of status, he may well have been older than his brothers.

After Olha's conversion in 957, she tried unsuccessfully to win her son over to the new faith. Sviatoslav was already too much under the influence of his martial upbringing to consider such a move and felt the adoption of Christianity would only bring him ridicule. Nonetheless, he did not enjoin anyone else from being baptized.⁵

First campaigns

Around the year 960 Sviatoslav assumed the kingship in Kyiv. In 962 he began carefully to plan his initial military venture; it would be against the Khazar Empire in the east. Although this empire was no longer as vast as it had been some 250 years earlier at its greatest extent, it was still a formidable steppe power in the mid-10th century.

The motives for the move against the Khazars have been fairly well established. In 962 the Khazars attempted to subdue the Goths living in Crimea, an incident of which is related in a Greek document of the period, the "Report of a Gothic Toparch."⁶ Unable to withstand the Khazars on their own, the Goths decided

to invoke the protection of a "ruler north of the Danube who possessed a strong army and was proud of his military forces and from whose people they did not differ in customs or manner."⁷ Although the name of this ruler or his people is not specified in the document, there is little doubt that the reference is to Sviatoslav and the people of Kyivan Rus'.

A delegation was sent north to Kyiv and a treaty concluded whereby the Crimean Goths recognized Sviatoslav as their suzerain; he, in turn, promised to defend them against the Khazars. On their return trip, the delegates observed an unusual cosmologic phenomenon: "Saturn was at the beginning of its passage across Aquarius, while the sun was passing through the winter signs." According to astronomic calculations, the event could only have occurred at the outset of January 963. This is one of those rare occasions where a historic event can be firmly dated with the aid of astronomy.⁸

So it was in the spring of 963, not 965 as given in the PVL, that Sviatoslav first moved against the Khazars by taking Gothia (Figure 1). The larger campaign against the empire itself may have taken a year or two of planning and preparation, and the year of 965 may well be accurate for the main thrust against the Khazar heartland. Before undertaking the this decisive strike, Sviatoslav shrewdly enhanced his chances of success by forging a partnership with the Turkic Oghuz, a people centered east of the Aral Sea, near the estuary of the Syr Darya River, and thus on the other side of the Khazar Empire. The Arab histori-

an Ibn Miskawaihi records the Oghuz as attacking the Khazars in 965, so the allies most likely coordinated their attacks.⁹

The PVL records that in 965 "Sviatoslav sallied forth against the Khazars. When they heard of his approach, they went to meet him with their Prince, the Kagan and the armies came to blows. When the battle thus took place, Sviatoslav defeated the Khazars and took their city of Bila Vezha. He also conquered the Yasians and the Kasogians."¹⁰

From Arabic sources we know that Sviatoslav continued his operations eastward, capturing the Khazar cities of Semender (on the Caspian Sea) and Itil (at the mouth of the Volga). The Khazars were thus totally subdued, and their empire ceased to exist.

Moving up the Volga, Sviatoslav's forces overran Bolgary, the capital of the Volga Bulgars. In 966 they subjugated the Viaticians, former Khazar vassals, and made them tributaries of the Rus'.¹¹ All of the links between the Volga and Dniro rivers were now controlled by Sviatoslav.

These fast-moving and successful campaigns, following one after the other, were obviously carefully planned by Sviatoslav and reflect well on his military skills and strategic outlook. The chronicler of the PVL likens Sviatoslav to a leopard in the swiftness of his movements. "Upon his expeditions he carried with him neither wagons nor kettles, and boiled no meat, but cut off small strips of horseflesh, game or beef and ate it after

(Continued on page 14)

1 "Povist Vremennykh Lit" (The Tale of Bygone Years), English translation by Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, "The Russian Primary Chronicle," Laurentian Text (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1953), hereafter PVL. This reference p. 80.

2 PVL, pp. 81-82.

3 PVL, p. 78.

4 PVL, p. 87.

5 PVL, p. 83.

6 F. Westberg. "Zapiska Gotskogo Toparkha," Vizantiiskii Vremennik 15 (1908), pp. 71-132, 227-286.

7 The Khazars, on the other hand, were considered different in customs and manners since they had adopted Judaism some 150 years earlier.

8 A. A. Vasiliev, earlier "The Goths in the Crimea" (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936), pp. 121, 128-129.

9 Omeljan Pritsak, "The Origin of Rus'," Vol. I (Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1981) p. 446.

10 PVL, p. 84.

11 PVL, Notes, p. 240.

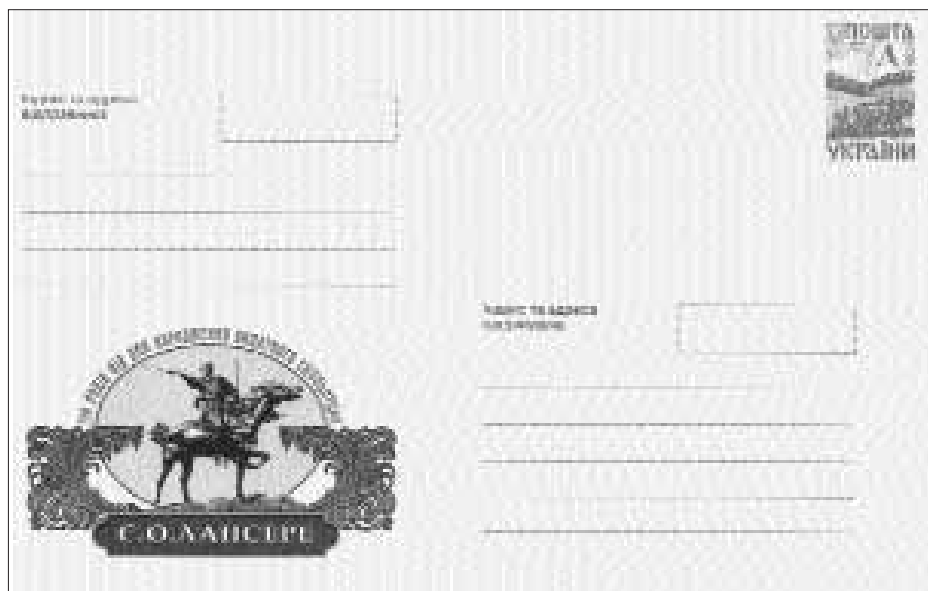
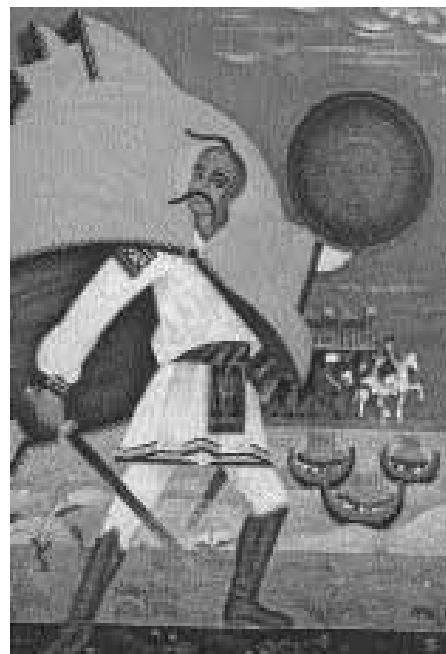


Figure 2. Ukraine's only depiction of Sviatoslav to date has been on a pre-stamped envelope honoring 19th century sculptor Yevhen Lansere. His 1886 work titled "Sviatoslav" appears on the cachet.

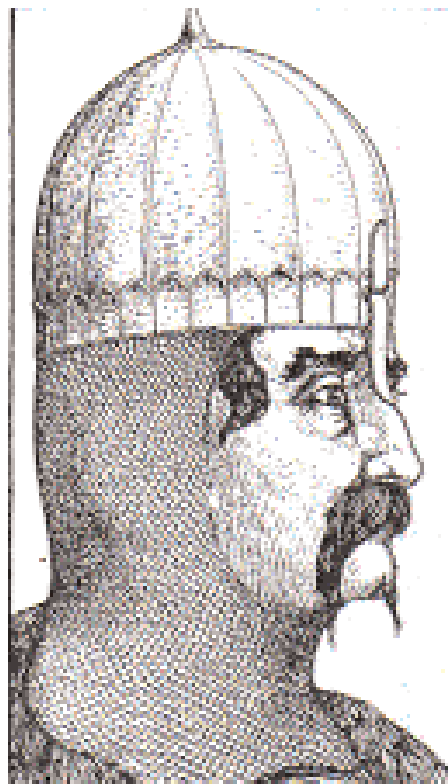


Figure 3. The first "stamp" depicting Sviatoslav dates from 1946; it was part of a set of 12 created by Ukrainian soldiers from the Galicia Division interned in Rimini, Italy. These POW "stamps" were used on intra-camp mails.

Figure 1. Sviatoslav has been depicted a number of times on postcards: from left, in 1917 (unattributed); in 1947 as part of a series showing Ukrainian monarchs by V. Diadnyuk; and by M. Mykhalevych (sometime in the 1940s).

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Teachers...

(Continued from page 7)

favorite subject. Roman Hrytsiv (Detroit), showed persuasively how the use of Internet and computer technology helps the teachers get their programs across to students, many of whom are "computer freaks." Ms. Chojnacka gave a presentation how to deal with discipline and problem students.

During supper various awards were given out to deserving teachers from the Cleveland area. Films were shown by Dr. Fedorenko which could be used in the teaching programs of Saturday schools. A substantial exhibition of educational materials from Ukraine, Canada and the United States was on view for the teachers' benefit; it was organized by the Cleveland school under the leadership of Mr. Kosc.

On Sunday, after gathering in the University Chapel for services, the teachers met for a plenary session chaired by Oleksander Luzhnytskyi (Philadelphia). Reports from the separate sessions were presented to the general public by Myroslava Melnyk for the lower classes and Ms. Chojnacka and Mr. Gajecky for the upper classes. The latter also read the proposed resolutions of the Teachers' Conference, which were accepted. Dr. Fedorenko thanked the organizers from the Cleveland School, Mr. Kosc and his daughters, Ms. Harmatii and Ms. Farmiga.

The conference was a stimulating event in the field of Ukrainian education in the United States. Several delegates from Canada contributed to its international aspect. Such conferences provide a useful forum for the exchange of ideas and methods, and allow teachers of Ukrainian schools to get to know one another, which leads to improved cooperation.

Self Reliance...

(Continued from page 1)

as several staffers of the branch, which is located near Soyuzivka.

The donation was the first infusion of funds to what has been dubbed "Soyuzivka Project Renaissance," which is aimed at renovating and revitalizing the UNA estate and thus ensuring its future.

The New York credit union also presented donations of \$5,000 each to the UNA's two newspapers, The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda, thus upping the total of its contributions presented on Saturday evening, November 23, to \$60,000.

Self Reliance (New York) Federal Credit Union, which celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2001, has assets approaching \$450 million. It is based in New York City and has three branches: Kerhonkson in upstate New York, Uniondale, Long Island, and Astoria, Queens.

The founding family...

(Continued from page 13)

roasting it on the coals (Figure 2). Nor did he have a tent, but he spread out a piece of saddle cloth under him, and set his saddle under his head."¹²

The chronicles also praise Sviatoslav as a heroic and chivalrous figure. It is pointed out that he always warned his enemies that he was coming to attack with the message: "Idu na vas (or Idu na vy)" meaning "I am coming against you" (Figure 3).

Ingerit Kuzych may be contacted at P.O. Box 3, Springfield VA 22150 or by e-mail at: ingert@starpower.net.

Ukrainian pro hockey update

by Ihor Stelmach

46 players of Ukrainian descent on 2002 training camp rosters

There's a bit of a chill in the morning air these days. Well manicured lawns have faded in color as they get covered with fallen leaves. The days get shorter, while the nights grow longer. Time to put on the favorite sweater or official team sweatshirt. Of course this also means it's time for yet another hockey season. Thirty National Hockey League clubs are well into the 2002-2003 regular season. Ukrainian representation has never been greater.

Twenty-two of the above 30 NHL squads boasted at least one player of Ukrainian descent in their September pre-season workouts. Carolina and Tampa Bay tied for most rostered Ukes with five each. St. Louis and Washington each listed four, while Florida and New Jersey chipped in with three apiece. By position there were four Ukrainian goaltenders, a whopping 17 defensemen, 13 left-wingers, five centermen and seven right-wingers. Some 20 of the 46 were assured of skating on their teams' opening day lineups, with most of the rest being assigned to top minor league affiliates for more seasoning.

Here is a brief scouting report or low-down on every team with an emphasis on Ukrainian hockey players plus their final 2001-2002 stats. If the pre-season parade to the penalty box continues unabated because of stricter obstruction enforcement, the next Stanley Cup should be won by a speedy club that plays four lines and can rely on three defensive pairs – someone like the Colorado Avalanche.

Below, the teams are listed from best to worst, as proposed by this columnist.

COLORADO AVALANCHE – A healthy Peter Forsberg makes everybody better. Patrick Roy with something to prove. Talent galore. **JORDAN KRESTANOVICH** (68-12-22-34-18) and **EVGENY LAZAREV** (50-11-11-22-56) playing in Hershey (AHL).

DETROIT RED WINGS – Watch youngsters Pavel Datsyuk and Zetterberg shine. Nicklas Lidstrom leads a strong blueline in front of new goalie Curtis Joseph. Skill on power play just plain scary.

PHILADELPHIA FLYERS – Jeremy Roenick and Keith Primeau outstanding down the middle. Good size and strength; will excel with new coach Ken Hitchcock. **TODD FEDORUK** (55-3-4-7-141) is muscle on the left side. Draftee **JEFF WOY-WITKA** (72-14-23-37-109 in Western juniors) is a top-four future defenseman.

DALLAS STARS – Another team with center ice force in Mike Modano, Pierre Turgeon and Jason Arnott. Sergei Zubov, Scott Young and Bill Guerin fortify power play. Veteran **RICHARD MATVICHUK** (82-9-12-21-52) still paired with captain Derian Hatcher on top defense duo.

SAN JOSE SHARKS – If super goalie Evgeni Nabakov signs a new contract, all will be well; if not, there could be trouble. Owen Nolan needs to bag 35+ goals. Sharks have increased their point total last seven consecutive years. **SEAMUS KOTYK** (24-981-6-3.73-893 in AHL) honing his skills on the farm.

NEW JERSEY DEVILS – Defense features excellent mobility and grit. Newcomer **OLEG TVERDOVSKY** (73-6-26-32-31) will flourish here. Expected to be paired with fellow Uke **KEN DANAYKO** (67-0-6-6-60). New coach Pat Burns will have these Devils contending. **STANISLAV GRON** (76-13-15-28-34 in AHL) is back in Albany.

OTTAWA SENATORS – Young, dynamic and can't quite get over a post-

season hump. No apparent weaknesses on offense or defense. Patrick Lalime up-and-comer in net. **CURTIS LESCHYSHYN** (79-1-9-10-44) a stalwart with Zdeno Chara, Wade Redden and Chris Phillips on back line.

LOS ANGELES KINGS – Stacked with forwards who can create and finish. Aaron Miller's injury and Philippe Boucher's departure hurt in front of net. Must keep up with other Western strongboys.

VANCOUVER CANUCKS – Todd Bertuzzi/Markus Naslund provide dazzling one-two punch. Ed Jovanoski becoming more dominant on blueline. Very few changes made on young team that overpowered down the stretch last season. **ZENITH KOMARNISKI** (77-5-20-25-153 in Manitoba) was one of last cuts out of training camp when switched to wing from defense. **RENE VYDARENY** (61-3-11-14-15) a defense prospect.

WASHINGTON CAPITALS – Rookie NHL coach Bruce Cassidy has talented players, but can he get them playing as a cohesive unit? Addition of Robert Lang should spark Jaromir Jagr. Olaf Kolzig must bounce back in goal. Ukrainian contingent here very key: **PETER BONDRA** (77-39-31-70-80) one of league's top snipers; **STEVE KONOWALCHUK** (28-2-12-14-23) fully recovered from shoulder woes is heart and soul of club; **GLEN METROPOLIT** (35-1-16-17-6) will tally power play points with Adam Oates gone; **ANDREI NIKOLISHIN** (80-13-23-36-40) still unsigned, yet fills multi-purpose forward role.

ST. LOUIS BLUES – Probably too many obstacles to overcome at start: best player Chris Pronger out first several months; heat is on goaltender Brent Johnson to prove he's No. 1; Doug Weight must get back on track. **KEITH TKACHUK** (73-38-37-75-117) had monster year for which he received a generous contract extension for reclaiming one of top power forward nominations in league. **SERGEI VARLAMOV** (52-5-7-12-26) has to start showing he belongs – didn't make the cut in camp. **CODY RUDKOWSKY** (33-1817-11-2.53-.911) and **DANIEL TKACZUK** (75-10-27-37-37) still highly thought of as potential future Blues.

CAROLINA HURRICANES – Surprise Stanley Cup finalists return intact, ready to prove last year was no fluke. Will be lucky to go half as far this season. Ukrainian reinforcements plentiful in Lowell (AHL), getting valuable playing time: goaltender **RANDY PETRUK** (51-3087-27-2.72-.912), defenseman **GREG KUZNIK** (58-3-8-11-40), centers **BRETT LYSAK** (69-8-15-23-16 in AHL and ECHL) and **DAMIAN SURMA** (55-28-27-55-68 in Ontario juniors), plus college star **RYAN BAYDA** (37-19-28-47-52), a left-winger in his first pro campaign.

PHOENIX COYOTES – Signing of free agent Tony Amonte and trade for No. 2 goaler Brian Boucher is managing partner **WAYNE GRETZKY'S** recipe for post-season success. Extra defenseman **DRAKE BEREHOWSKY** (57-2-6-8-60) on injured reserve in October; tough guy **DARCY HORDICHUK** (34-1-1-2-141) recalled to minors one game into new season.

NEW YORK RANGERS – Another off-season spending spree may have, this time, bought the right stuff: Bobby Holik and Darius Kasparaitis. Each free agent adds tremendous crunch with their pugnacious play. Watch Pavel Bure click with Eric Lindros.

TORONTO MAPLE LEAFS – Offense has little to like after Mats Sundin and Alexander Mogilny. Lack of depth hurts

defense. New netminder Ed Belfour could be on downside. Frustrating summer in free-agent market no cause for optimism. **WADE BELAK** (63-1-3-4-142) can fight, intimidate and fill in several positions. Ukrainian Olympian **ALEXEI PONIKAROVSKY** (71-21-27-48-74 in AHL with two goals in eight Maple Leaf games) is on the verge of a full-time job with the big club.

NEW YORK ISLANDERS – Captain Michael Peca's knee injury (out until December) temporarily derails massive improvement shown in 2001-2002. After years of pratfalls, G.M. Mike Milbury has made lots of right moves.

EDMONTON OILERS – This is a young, hungry and defensive-minded club on the brink of making the playoffs. Set a team record last year by allowing only 182 goals – 30 better than previous standard. Six-foot-five, first-round draft choice in 2000, 17th overall pick **ALEXEI MIKHNOV** (25-2-1-3-2 in Russia) should start the next stage of his schooling in North America.

CHICAGO BLACKHAWKS – A team in need of goals overrides the concerns about signing the volatile Theo Fleury. Must continue success on home ice. Draftee **SCOTT BALAN** (22-1-10-11-40 in Western juniors) should join fellow defenseman **DMITRI TOLKUNOV** (51-18-19-20) in Norfolk of the American Hockey League.

BOSTON BRUINS – Let's wait and see what happens to this Eastern Conference champion after losing their top scorer/leader (Bill Guerin) and No. 1 netminder (Byron Dafeo). Coach Robbie Ftorek won't allow work ethic and hustle play to disappear from this young bunch.

MONTREAL CANADIENS – Thanks to league MVP/top goalie Jose Theodore, the most storied franchise has much playoff potential once again. Is there a more inspirational captain than cancer-beating Saku Koivu anywhere in all of pro sports?

PITTSBURGH PENGUINS – Prognosis is simple: as goes owner/captain Mario Lemieux, so go the Pens. New obstruction rules will very much assist free-skating team of Alexei Kovalev, Aleksey Morozov and Martin Straka. Ex-Washington top draft choice **ROSS LUPASCHUK** (72-9-20-29-91 in AHL) is a blueline hopeful for next year.

MINNESOTA WILD – Patience is a virtue for a promising club playing in a hockey-mad state. Greybeard Cliff Ronning joins youngster Marian Gaborik on this offensively challenged club. Jacques Lemaire a superb coach – needs more talent.

ANAHEIM DUCKS – An organizational overhaul finally results in help for star

wing Paul Kariya. Adam Oates and Petr Sykora will score. **VITALY VISHNEVSKI** (74-0-3-3-60) needs to rebound from an inconsistent last season.

CALGARY FLAMES – Obtaining Chris Drury in a trade prior to dropping the first puck means some help for 52-goal scorer Jarome Iginla. This young team has to learn to sustain its focus. Defenseman **RICK MROZIK** (55-2-5-7-27 at St. John) anchors the top farm club's blueline.

NASHVILLE PREDATORS – Undermanned organization will not see the post-season. Management slowly building a good product. Denis Arkhipov, Vladimir Orszgah and Martin Erat a fine young forward line.

FLORIDA PANTHERS – Talent-poor team is hurting even when it's healthy – which is not often. Top pick Jay Bouwmeester and goalie Curtis Luongo are foundation to build upon. **IVAN NOVOSELTSEV** (70-13-16-29-44) has to tap his vast potential. Ditto the oft-hurt **DENIS SHVIDKI** (8-1-2-3-2). Limited skilled, but big-hearted **JOEY TETARENKO** (38-1-0-1-123) will do anything to stay in NHL.

BUFFALO SABRES – The Expos of hockey face an uphill battle to fix their tarnished franchise after Adelphia Communications fiasco. Miroslav Satan and Martin Biron must lead the way. **ALEXEI ZHITNIK** (82-1-33-34-80) logs lots of minutes and mans the power play point.

COLUMBUS BLUE JACKETS – Draft day trade with Florida netted No. 1 overall Rick Nash. Together with building blocks Rostislav Klesla and goalie prospect Pascal Leclaire, the foundation is set. If Leclaire falters, **SHANE BENDERA** (50-3027-24-2.43-.911 in Western Hockey League juniors) lies in wait.

TAMPA BAY LIGHTNING – Could be the season Vincent Lecavalier breaks out. Goalie Nikolai Khabibulin hides teams' defensive deficiencies. **DAVE ANDREY-CHUK** (82-21-17-38-109) re-signed for one more year. **RUSLAN FEDOTENKO** (78-17-9-26-43) came over in a draft-day deal with Philly. Brad Lukowich (66-1-6-7-40) acquired from Dallas to bolster blueline, **NIKITA ALEXEEV** (44-4-4-8-8) may end up back in minors. Prospect **ANTON BUT** (47-13-11-24-10 in Russia) several years away from NHL.

ATLANTA THRASHERS – Dany Heatley and Ilya Kovalchuk are studs, while most of rest of offense are duds. These two are a cornerstone to build upon for league's worst team. Veteran **TONY HRKAC** (80-18-26-44-12) earned two-year contract with under-rated contribution last season.



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Can expanded NATO...

(Continued from page 2)

for this type of warfare?

Traditionally, European NATO members have been reluctant to give the alliance a "global" conflict-resolution role. It was and should remain, in the eyes of many members, a purely North Atlantic alliance. Even given this perception, NATO can still play a role in the changing world of international security. There is no evidence to suggest that terrorists have abandoned European targets. Targeting will shift according to the political goals of the Al-Qaeda affiliate cells around the world. One week it could be a French oil tanker off the coast of Yemen, the next a nightclub in Bali, while the third could be anywhere, for example, the metro in Paris or London or a theater in Moscow.

In such instances, NATO could complement law enforcement and intelligence agencies, whose missions are more geared to fighting this type of war. By implementing greater intelligence-sharing with law enforcement agencies such as Interpol, Europol, the FBI and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police – provided these agencies are ready to use this information wisely and not engage in "turf" fights – NATO could play a key role meeting new security challenges.

By being flexible in their approach to counterterrorism and by avoiding the mistakes made by the United States that created "walls" between police and intelligence services, America's NATO allies can develop a program for counterterrorism warfare. Writing in the summer 2002 issue of the Washington Quarterly, U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar proposed that the Prague summit "ought to focus on developing a comprehensive plan for restructuring European military capabilities, a task which could extend to rethinking completely the current Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI). ... More important now is the redirection of the capabilities initiative so as to create and harmonize counterterrorism and counterproliferation to serve both U.S. and European interests."

Following up on Sen. Lugar's views, NATO Secretary-General George Robertson told a meeting of NATO defense ministers in Brussels on June 7 that the Prague meeting "will see the emergence of a modernized, updated North Atlantic Treaty Organization equipped to face new and daunting challenges."

His words were put in perspective by U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, who declared the same day that: "[Terrorism] is not theoretical. It's real. It's dangerous. If we do not prepare completely to counter it, we could well experience attacks in our countries that could make the events of September 11 seem modest by comparison."

As a military alliance, NATO should first and foremost remain such in order to fight local conflicts. As Philip Gordon, a former director for European affairs at the National Security Council, writes in the summer

2002 issue of the Brookings Review: "Even with all the right reforms, NATO will not again become the central defensive organization it was during the Cold War or even during the Balkan wars of the 1990s. ... It remains an essential tool with which the United States and its key allies can coordinate their militaries ... and quite possibly fight major military operations anywhere in the world."

An expanded version of NATO however, can only be as good as its component parts. This has been one of the major problems facing NATO prior to the Prague summit, where alliance leaders on November 21 formally invited Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria to join. The armed forces of these countries are not up to par with NATO standards. At best, many of the new members are seen as allies only in the political sphere, with little if anything to offer in military or intelligence-gathering terms. Yet, they also might be needed as NATO's mission undergoes changes commensurate with the demands of regional security.

One factor often mentioned in the development of NATO's anti-terrorism mission will be Russia's role. Writing in the International Herald Tribune on November 21, 2001, a group of respected foreign policy analysts from Russia, Britain and Germany concluded that: "For these 21st century challenges, NATO is inadequate, since it is by definition European-centered. A further enlargement of NATO to include Russia represents a serious option to enhance stability and would be far superior to an alliance of Russia with NATO, building on the present NATO-Russia Council. Such an arrangement leaves Russia in a no man's land as a semi-partner and semi-adversary."

Russia did contribute intelligence to the United States and provided other real assistance during the campaign in Afghanistan. Yet, many foreign policy watchers fear the price for this help – a free hand to pacify Chechnya – might be too high for the United States to pay. In any case, neither the operation in Afghanistan nor U.S. silence about Russia's behavior in Chechnya solved the problems they were intended to solve: namely the elimination of Al-Qaeda or the end of the Chechen separatist movement.

The experience gained by U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies in combating such terrorist groups as Al-Qaeda indicates that massive military retaliation is not enough to destroy these groups. Some terrorists might be killed, but enough will survive to fight another day. So it remains to be seen how NATO will "update" itself to counter the possible threat of terrorists armed with weapons of mass destruction. However, most analysts agree this will not be a simple task. It is also difficult to predict if the North Atlantic alliance, even in its expanded and reformed version, will be capable of conducting the ruthless warfare many believe is the only way to root out terrorism.

Klitschko brothers...

(Continued from page 11)

Although their emphasis now is to break into the U.S. market, the Klitschkos are well aware that a boxer's sporting life is short. They have several undisclosed business interests in Ukraine. They can spend anywhere between one to three months a year in Ukraine when they're not traveling. They make a point to return to Ukraine after each bout.

Thanks to the Klitschkos and Mayor Omelchenko, Ukrainians are able to watch the brothers and other boxing matches live, something they would not be able to do otherwise. The Klitschkos are so popular here that millions of Ukrainians have

risen early in the morning, when it is still dark out, to watch them fight. Their matches are avidly discussed among friends and on public transport.

Even Mr. Omelchenko has become a well-known name in Germany, thanks in part because he makes it a point to be at Klitschko fights.

The Klitschko brothers have also become a bridge between Ukraine and Germany, an important trading partner. When Germany opened its new embassy in downtown Kyiv, the brothers made a special trip to the capital to be on hand.

Not surprisingly, they were the main attraction.

This article is the fifth in a series on the "Renaissance of Kyiv."

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

tem is supposed to have checks and balances, such checks were either not exercised or they were not documented, precluding a reconstruction of the events that surrounded the authorization of the sale of the Kolchuha system in 2000," Ambassador Pascual wrote. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kuchma: Great Famine was genocide

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma on November 23 addressed the nation on television with a speech devoted to the Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933, which, according to various estimates, claimed 7 million to 10 million lives, Ukrainian media reported. Mr. Kuchma said Ukraine should insist that the world recognize the Great Famine as an act of Bolshevik genocide against the Ukrainian people. "The Famine became a national catastrophe. In 1932-1933 alone, one-fifth of Ukraine's rural population was killed," the president said. "This [act of] terror through famine was a cynical response of the Bolshevik authorities to the resistance of the Ukrainian peasantry to total collectivization and to the policy of transforming free farmers into silent slaves." President Kuchma said a "grand memorial to the victims of famine" should be built in Kyiv and smaller monuments in other parts of Ukraine. (RFE/RL Newsline)

PM reveals his imprisonment as youth

KYIV – Newly approved Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich on November 20 disseminated a short autobiography among Ukrainian media in which he con-

fesses that in 1968 he was convicted and sent to a penal colony for juveniles. Mr. Yanukovich specified neither the nature of his conviction nor how long he was incarcerated. He also said that in 1970 he was convicted for "causing bodily injuries of a medium level [of harm]" but did not say whether he was imprisoned for the deed. Mr. Yanukovich also made public his income declaration, saying he earned about 17,500 hrv (\$3,300) in 2001 in his post as Donetsk Oblast chairman. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Baltic leaders rejoice at NATO invitations

PRAGUE – Leaders of all three Baltic states expressed satisfaction at moving closer to their major foreign-policy goal of NATO membership when an official invitation was extended at the alliance's Prague summit on November 21, BNS reported. Latvian President Vaira Vike-Freiberga said in a Latvian television interview from Prague that she had tears of joy in her eyes when Latvia was named among the seven candidates invited to join. "This is a great day for Latvia," Ms. Vike-Freiberga was quoted by the Associated Press as saying. "For us, it means the righting of the injustices of history ... [and] rejoining the family of free, democratic and independent nations." Estonian Ambassador to NATO Sulev Kannike declared that "Estonia's security has never been more protected than after receiving the invitation." Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus said he is happy his campaign pledge to gain NATO membership is already partially fulfilled before the end of his current term. U.S. President Bush flew to Vilnius on November 22 to meet with the Baltic presidents the next day. (RFE/RL

Newsline)

Belarus lashes out against travel ban

MIENSK – Belarusian Foreign Ministry spokesman Pavel Latushka said on November 20 that the decision of 14 EU states to impose a travel ban on President Alyaksandr Lukashenka and seven other Belarusian officials is "an act of undisguised pressure on a sovereign state aimed at resurrecting the dangerous practice of solving political problems with force," Belarusian Television reported. According to Miensk, the travel ban contradicts a recommendation by a group of observers from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe of the 2001 presidential elections in Belarus asserting that isolating Belarus in the international arena is counterproductive. Meanwhile, the opposition United Civic Party said in a statement the same day that the EU travel ban and the Czech visa denial to President Lukashenka were "well-grounded and justified" decisions, Belapan reported. The party added that the travel ban applies "to [a] few people who have de facto usurped the right to represent Belarus and its citizens." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Polish president urges open-door policy

PRAGUE – President Aleksander Kwasniewski called on NATO leaders at the session of the North Atlantic Council in Prague on November 21 to continue their "open-door policy" with regard to all countries wanting to join the alliance. "I repeat the proposal I presented in Riga to cooperate with all the countries that wish to join NATO in the future, including the countries that defined clearly their intentions a long time ago," Mr. Kwasniewski said minutes

after the alliance approved a motion to invite seven new post-Communist members into NATO. (RFE/RL Newsline)

New Polish-Ukrainian border crossing

WARSAW – Poland and Ukraine on November 20 opened a new border crossing in Kroszcienko-Smolnica in the Bieszczady Mountains, the PAP news agency reported, quoting a spokesman for the regional governor, Jan Koryl. "The crossing is international in character and is intended for cars and freight vehicles up to 3.5 tons in weight," Mr. Koryl said. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Belarusian president rebukes Russia

MIENSK – Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka met with Russian Duma Chairman Gennadii Seleznev in Miensk on November 18 and assured him that Belarus will not change its course toward rapprochement with Russia, Belarusian Television reported. "No matter how some, particularly in Russia, are trying to drive a wedge in our relations, they will achieve nothing," Mr. Lukashenka said. However, he expressed bitterness over what he sees as Russia's lack of support for him in his stand vis-à-vis the West. "Russia does not have the right to make compromises on Belarus. Belarus is a frontier where the Russian people should stand today to the death, despite any pressure from the West," President Lukashenka said. He also referred to a recent Russian-Belarusian gas row in which Gazprom reduced gas supplies to Belarus over payment for previous deliveries. "There are states that owe Russia billions of dollars, not \$165 million, but for some reasons no sanctions against them are taken," the Belarusian leader noted. (RFE/RL Newsline)

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Enlarged Europe's...

(Continued from page 2)

will soon expand its membership.

Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova – none of which is on the Western organizations' short lists – stand in stark contrast. EU President Romano Prodi offered precisely such a differentiated vision of Europe last month, affirming that the Balkans are “fated to join the European family,” while giving a much less generous appraisal of the three lands to the enlarged European Union's immediate east.

Belarus, a self-isolated state of 10 million people, has recently refused to extend the diplomatic accreditation of the last remaining member of the OSCE's Advisory and Monitoring Group (AMG), Alina Josan, thereby completing its emasculation of the OSCE representation in Miensk. That mission had been engaged in monitoring Belarus commitments on political and human rights issues, and Ms. Josan's expulsion at the end of October followed the expulsion by the Belarusian authorities of the AMG acting head in April, the deputy acting head in June, and its human-dimension officer in September.

In recent years, former Internal Affairs Minister Yury Zakharanka, opposition politician Viktor Hanchar, Mr. Hanchar's businessman friend Anatol Krasouski and journalist Dzmitry Zavadski, all have disappeared and are believed dead. Miensk is suspected of selling dual-use technology to Baghdad. The Belarusian leadership, not eager to build links to the West, has oriented itself toward a set of outlaw states around the globe.

Ukraine has dug itself into a particularly deep hole in its relations with the United States. Washington has said that

there is a “crisis of confidence” in bilateral relations and has suspended \$55 million in aid in the wake of Kyiv's reported \$100 million sale of a Kolchuha radar system to Iraq. A United Nations report issued in 2002 under the auspices of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) found that in 1999 Ukraine sent two helicopters and spare parts to Belgrade just before the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia began. And there is, of course, the horrifying case of journalist Heorhii Gongadze, in whose murder the Ukrainian president has been implicated.

By engaging in such behavior, these countries risk acquiring the image in Western public opinion of virtually unsalvageable cases. This is, however, only part of the equation. How Belarusians and Ukrainians view themselves remains an open question. Do they see a place for themselves in the West?

European prosperity and security are not divisible. Therefore, sooner or later, the European Union must find a coherent and cohesive policy approach to the unstable lands on its eastern flank, ideally in a coordination and cooperation with the United States.

Discussion of E.U. and NATO enlargement creating new dividing lines is frowned upon in Euro-Atlantic discourse. But the reality is that forward-looking countries in Central and Eastern Europe have dedicated themselves to joining the Western family of truly democratic states. The question is not really whether there will be a new dividing line. Instead, it is whether countries on the new Europe's margin – among them Belarus and Ukraine – will ultimately choose to take the difficult but very much needed steps to ensure that any new dividing line does not become permanent.

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Ukraine participates...

(Continued from page 3)

summit press conference to a meeting with Ukrainian journalists on November 26, said that NATO would continue to press Kyiv to settle unresolved issues regarding the alleged transfer of Kolchugas to Iraq. He declared that the issue would not be allowed to go away.

The Kolchuha report

On November 26, Kolchugas continued to play on center stage of Ukrainian relations with West when U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Carlos Pascual and his British colleague, Ambassador Robert Brinkley, made public the official report developed by the joint U.S.-British expert team as a result of an investigation they conducted in Ukraine on October 13-20 on illegal arms transfers to Iraq.

The 16-page report asserts that while 72 of 76 Kolchugas manufactured in Ukraine since 1987 had been tracked and accounted for, the sale of the final four to China raised questions that Kyiv officials had yet to answer satisfactorily.

Mr. Pascual said the unresolved issues revolved around the sales contract, a standardized international form, which Ukraine maintains China changed before the parties signed it.

According to the U.S. ambassador, U.S. and British experts had asked to see a missing clause of the contract, which demands that the purchaser identify to the seller all possible third parties involved in the transaction. While Ukrainian officials of the arms export control agency, Ukrspetseksport, initially explained that it had simply been moved to another location, they were not forthcoming in providing clear evidence that it was contained in the contract.

After some debate and insistence from the U.S. side that it see the original sales

document, Ukraine came back several days later, not with the contract, but with a blank piece of paper on which the clause was printed, according to Ambassador Pascal's version of events.

Responding to assertions that perhaps the United States or Britain needed to prove guilt and that Ukraine had the right to maintain its innocence until they produced conclusive evidence of the sale of a Kolchuha, Ambassador Brinkley reminded reporters that it was the Ukrainian side that had guaranteed there would be unfettered access to confidential and top secret documents.

"President Kuchma invited British and U.S. experts to Ukraine to look into the sale of Kolchugas," explained Mr. Brinkley. "It was he who guaranteed us there would be full access and transparency."

Ambassador Pascual also rejected insinuations made by President Kuchma's chief of staff, Viktor Medvedchuk, that the U.S. was manipulating Ukraine as a puppet to spy on China and determine the location of the four Kolchugas, which have the ability to track aircraft without being detected by pilots. The United States and Britain fear for the safety of their pilots patrolling no-fly zones in northern and southern Iraq should Baghdad have access to such a detection system.

The U.S. ambassador said his country had not addressed China on the issue, but had turned over information on Kolchuha sales to Beijing, as well as information on other sales to Russia, to the United Nations 661 Committee, which tracks the sales of arms and military supplies to Iraq.

On November 26 China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied any involvement in the transfer of Ukrainian Kolchuha missile defense systems to Iraq, reported Interfax-Ukraine. The Chinese Foreign Ministry said that its government strictly abides by U.N. sanctions against Iraq.



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Hrushevsky's history...

(Continued from page 9)

try to re envision their field in the aftermath of the collapse of the old Soviet empire. What is happening for historians is that they are forced to rethink the whole category of the nation, or at least the nation as the focus of what we study in the past. They are having to deal with the reality of real, independent republics like Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia and Belarus emerging from a history in which they had rarely, if ever, had independent status as a sovereign nation themselves. ... But historians have been used to writing history around the so-called winners in march of modern history, the nation-states and empires that exist now.

But if you envision your history as only the history of "Russia" or even of "Poland" or "Hungary," you miss a lot of other cultural experiences. You ignore the multi-ethnic reality of most European states, in the past and today; you quickly skip over the presence of non-dominant peoples in a state - Ukrainians in the Polish-Lithuanian state or in the Hungarian state for that matter, or Jews in the interstices of all these nation-states. You miss the many different cultural and religious communities when you're focusing only on the dominant one. And you miss the fascinating historical process of how a people can develop a sense of cohesion and separate identity, can become a nation, without having a state of their own. The example of Ukraine is a perfect case study in those processes of nation-building ...

Now this plays right into Hrushevsky's hands. In Volume 8, and elsewhere, he demonstrates his belief that the state isn't the unit that shaped Ukrainian history as much as it is the people, the culture, distinct social groups and institutions such as the Kozaks, the brotherhoods and the Church. In this book he devotes a great deal of attention to religion as a shaper of culture and of politics, and he situates the events in a broad geopolitical world encompassing the Polish-Lithuanian state, the Russians, the Turks and Tatars, the Moldavians and even the Swedes. He puts into action the agenda that historians are now talking about, which is trying to see the many overlapping and intersecting layers of connections that simultaneously structured a historical moment. ...

Now, turning to teaching, I want to say a bit about how useful this book will be in teaching undergraduates about Ukrainian, East European and Russian history across the board. Let me give you an example from my course called "Aristocracies and Absolutisms," which is greatly informed by the study I did at Harvard with Ihor Sevcenko, Frank Sysyn and Orest Subtelny who all taught while I was there. The course includes East Central Europe broadly defined Polish-Lithuanian state, Ukraine, Belarus, Czech lands and Hungary and the story of the course is basically to show how these lands all started out with similar situations and diverged historically. That is, they started out with monarchies, nobilities, parliaments; agrarian, peasant based economies, Christian cultural systems, primarily Catholic but Orthodox in the east. We then track how absolutism-the Habsburgs in the Czech and Hungarian lands, Russia in the east, Prussia in the north challenged the parliamentary and noble political systems indigenous to the area, and how the counterforce of national consciousness emerged to challenge absolutism.

Now to present this story, Ukrainian history is absolutely essential because it is the best example of two trends that

transformed society in this part of the world and that catapulted Eastern Europe into what we might call modernity. Those two are confessionalization and national consciousness. These are the trends that are right at the center of Hrushevsky's Volume 8. Confessionalization is that process that took place all across Europe in the wake of the Protestant Reformation, whereby political entities were identified by exclusive religious entities, national churches were founded and tolerance of other creeds fell to the wayside.

In Hrushevsky's Volume 8, students can get in great detail the story of how Metropolitan Petro Mohyla modernized Orthodoxy in the wake of the Union of Brest, and how bitterly the two Ukrainian Christian communities struggled to establish themselves after the union, and how these religious communities then played into political struggles for independence. The other theme of Volume 8 is national consciousness, which Hrushevsky rightly sees emerging out of the Kozak rebellions of the first half of the 17th century, coming to fruition in the Khmelnytsky rebellion.

Nowhere in East Central Europe in the early modern period are these themes better illustrated than in Ukraine. ... what happened in Ukraine in the 17th century changed the face of East Central Europe and marks a decisive turn into what we might call "modern" political and cultural formations. The Ukrainian 17th century changed the chessboard of European politics, severely weakening the Polish-Lithuanian experiment in electoral monarchy, it opened the door for absolutist powers like the Habsburgs and the Russians to meddle in East European affairs. In the Hetmanate it established for a brief but significant time a new sovereign state founded on national consciousness and Orthodox religious confession. It asserted the independence of Ukrainian culture, and started the process of creating a historical memory in new works of history, art, panegyrics and literature, and preserving those that had been preserved from Kyivan and earlier centuries.

... With this book in hand I can help transform students' understanding not only of how important and independent the Ukrainian heritage was in the past, but how crucial the history of Ukraine is in the transformations of modern European and East European history.

I hope that my remarks have made it clear how influential Hrushevsky as a historian has been on me as a scholar. Because I had the good fortune of studying at Harvard, where I went because I wanted to work with the Russian historians, I was exposed to the importance of Ukrainian history. Both my Russian scholar mentors [Richard] Pipes and [Edward] Keenan stressed that you can't understand Russian history without knowing Ukrainian history, and there was the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute to provide courses, inspiring mentors in people like Omeljan Pritsak and Ihor Sevcenko and fellow graduate students who are now leaders of the field [Frank] Sysyn and [Zenon] Kohut, [Paul] Magosci, [Orest] Subtelny. And Hrushevsky was a staple in my learning about Ukraine. I always found great satisfaction in introducing to my fellow Russian graduate students Hrushevsky's essay in which he argues that Ukraine has a separate path from Russian history and that Russian history shouldn't include Kyiv Rus'. It is very heartening to see that more people can be introduced to this great historian by these volumes in English. I congratulate the editorial team for a tremendous achievement. Thank you.



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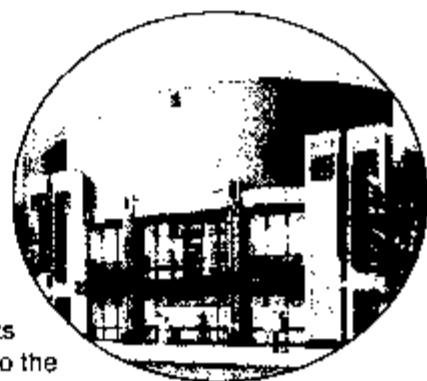
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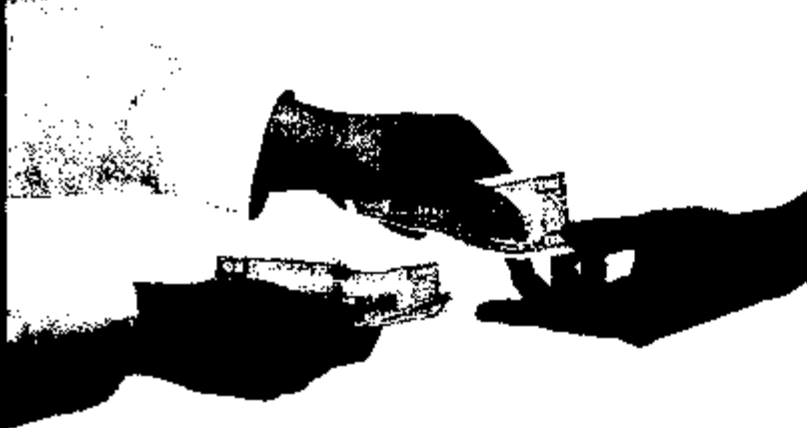
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Dateline...

(Continued from page 12)

Great Heresy" (W.W. Norton) and "Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories" (Penguin).

Actor Jack Palance is back in the saddle again, or so it would seem from the commercial he's made for Lane Furniture. In cowboy gear and hat, Mr. Palance falls back in a Lane leather sofa and draws out a comment to the effect that "this leather sofa will last as long as I have - and you know how long I've been around." The commercial is expected to air through the end of the year.

Around town

Performing in American Ballet Theater's "Offenbach in the Underworld" at City Center, Irina Dvorovenko had a terrific opportunity to show a comic dazzle that contrasts with her ballerina manner in the 19th century classics. She was "always vibrant in a scintillating performance" as the operetta star. The New York Times critic Anna Kisselgoff said in her review. Ms. Kisselgoff also admired the work of Olga Dvorovenko, a ballet teacher who is Irina's mother, for her sprightly guest appearance in "Offenbach" as the mother of the young daughter portrayed by dancer Ashley Ellis.

New York-based sculptor Ursula von Rydingsvard, who creates massive abstract sculptures of scored and chiseled wood, has a Ukrainian connection. She is the daughter of a Ukrainian farmer from rural Poland (named Karoliszyn) who was removed with his Polish wife to Germany and forced to work for the Nazis.

Ms. von Rydingsvard's sculpture "Krasawica II" (krasawica-krasavitsia is Ukrainian for beautiful young woman) was exhibited earlier this year at the Neuberger Museum of Art in Purchase, N.Y. Her work has been shown in hundreds of solo and group exhibitions and in numerous publications, but her first public-art commission, an enormous sculpture titled "Katul Katul," is just being installed in the atrium of the Queens Family Courthouse in Jamaica, Queens.

At the United Nations staff day, marked by U.N. employees on October 25 with a parade in ethnic costumes in the General Assembly hall, Russian-born Yulia Neprina represented Ukraine. Ms. Neprina, who works for the World Association of the United Nations and has a Ukrainian grandmother, attempted to find a Ukrainian performing group for the occasion. She managed to contact Daria Genza, a kindergarten teacher at St. George Ukrainian Catholic School, two days before the event - not quite enough advance for Ms. Genza's young charges. There are great hopes on both sides for close cooperation next year.

Boris Mikhailov's photographs, shot in 1986 near the Ukrainian town of Slaviansk on the Donets River ("Dateline," August 18), have been published in a book "Salt Lake" (Steidl/D.A.P.), showing workers frolicking in a lagoon where foaming sodium waste flows from broken concrete ducts. Reviewing the book in The New York Times, D.J.R. Bruckner notes there are no captions - "we make up stories as we turn the unnumbered pages, not about joy among these revelers but their satisfaction with defying a hard history and a monstrous state. But now the Soviet Union is dead along with three centuries of Russian stranglehold on Ukraine. The era captured

here is as distant as Pompeii - a recognition that leaves us bereft. And that feeling is Mikhailov's tribute."

Postscripts

• Two works by woodcut and linocut artist Jacques Hnizdovsky were inspired by animals at the Bronx Zoo's Children's Farm. Mr. Hnizdovsky drew sketches there that became his "Sheep" and "Ram" woodcuts. The "Sheep" woodcut recently found a new life as the illustration on black cotton canvas tote bags sold at the Museum of Fine Arts gift shop in Boston (so popular they immediately sold out). The tote bags may be purchased via the website www.mfa.org/shop.

• Here's an update on the "fusion food" served at the Ukrainian Institute of America's cocktail party (original info given to me was not entirely correct). The actual hors d'oeuvres included kobyasa quesadillas, mini Hudson Valley pumpkin varenyky (in shumai wraps), mini curried chicken stuffed cabbage, spiced apple and currant blintzes (natysnyky), and cold beet consommé. Chef Andriy Sonevynsky was assisted with food preparation by volunteers Lucietta Derkach, Svitlana Jahlonska and Svitlana Mysuk. Gourmet breads, focaccia and other baked goods were graciously donated by Mark Tasker of Balthazar Bakery. Wines came from Georgia and Hungary (not Bulgaria), sparkling wines were from Crimea, and the beers and vodkas were exclusively Ukrainian.

• The ethnic identity of opera singer Anna Netrebko, questioned in "Dateline" last August, has been settled. Ms. Netrebko is not Ukrainian, according to word from Weekly reader Joseph Levitzky. Mr. Levitzky and Svoboda music critic Bohdan Markiw met Ms. Netrebko and Ukrainian tenor Misha Dilyk at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia following a performance of Bellini's opera "The Capulets and the Montagues." Ms. Netrebko told them quite firmly she was Russian - from Krasnodar, Russia.

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, December 7

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society is holding a presentation by Prof. Volodymyr Mezentsev, visiting professor, University of Toronto, on “New Archaeological and Architectural Findings at Baturyn, Capital of the Kozak Hetman State” (17th-18th centuries.)” The lecture, which will be illustrated with slides and a video, will be held at the Shevchenko Scientific Society, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For more information call (212) 254-5130. Prof. Mezentsev will give his presentation at the society’s Philadelphia Branch on December 10 at 6:30 p.m.

Sunday, December 8

SILVER SPRING, Md.: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, Washington Branch, and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences group present a lecture (in Ukrainian) by Dr. Volodymyr Mezentsev, visiting professor, University of Toronto department of Slavic languages and literatures on “New Archaeological and Architectural Findings at Baturyn, Capital of the Kozak Hetman State” (17th-18th centuries). The lecture will be held at 1:30 p.m. at Holy Trinity Particular Ukrainian Catholic Church, 16631 New Hampshire Ave. Admission free; contributions accepted. For further information call Andrew Sorokowski, (301) 230-2149.

PASSAIC, N.J.: Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, Passaic Branch, invites all children, young and old, to a Christmas play, followed by a visit from St. Nicholas at noon at St. Nicholas School Hall, 212 President St. The heavenly office will open at 10 a.m.; (please mark packages clearly).

PHILADELPHIA: A “Christmas Bazaar

and Meeting with St. Nicholas,” sponsored by the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM), Philadelphia Branch, will be held in the church hall of Annunciation Ukrainian Catholic Church, Old York Road and Cheltenham Avenue in Melrose Park, Pa., starting at 9:30 a.m. Throughout the day there will be plenty of delicious food, games and entertainment for children, a “Wheel of Fortune” for adults and Christmas items for sale, including cards, ingredients for “kutia” and more. St. Nicholas will pay a visit at 3 p.m.; the heavenly office will be open from 1 p.m. For more information call Helen Midzak, (215) 745-9838.

Sunday, December 15

CHICAGO: The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art presents the second concert of its 2002-2003 classical music series (12th season), featuring Oleh Krysa, violin, and Tatiana Tchekina, piano, in a program of works by Brahms, Bach, Debussy, Wieniawski and Karabys. The concert will take place at the institute, 2320 W. Chicago Ave., at 2 p.m.

WASHINGTON: “Melodii Ukrainy” in cooperation with the Embassy of Ukraine, the Association of Washington Metropolitan Area, The Washington Group, AC Painting, Accurate Taxes, Charchalis & Co., CPA and Selfreliance Baltimore FCU present a live concert featuring leading Ukrainian popular music stars Taras Petrynenko and Tetiana Horobetz at the parish center of the Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family, 4250 Harewood Ave., at 2 p.m. Tickets: \$15 in advance; \$20 at the door; \$12 for students and children age 12-17; children under 12, free. For reservations call (410) 747-7279 or (202) 269-0522, or e-mail ukrainianradio@yahoo.com.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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