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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Ukrainian Independence Day



Eighteen years ago, on August 24, 1991, this was the scene outside the Ukrainian Parliament building as Ukraine's independence was declared. This historic photo was taken from a window inside the Parliament building by Chrystyna Lapychak, who was assigned at the time to The Ukrainian Weekly's Kyiv Press Bureau.

On the 18th anniversary of independence Ukraine on the geopolitical sidelines

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Ukraine is stuck in a gray buffer zone between two systems of collective security, in the view of Valeriy Chaly, the deputy director of Kyiv's Razumkov Center, and the nation's permanent internal conflict has forced it to the geopolitical sidelines with the threat that only global powers will decide its fate.

Though the nation elected a firmly pro-NATO president in Viktor Yushchenko, Ukraine lost its chance at deeper Euro-Atlantic integration "because of the non-consolidation of political elites and the inadequate understanding of national interests and priority tasks," Mr. Chaly said.

"We are practically locked in a zone, which in my view is a rather dangerous situation for Ukraine," Mr. Chaly noted during a mid-July press conference he said was intended to raise awareness and spark discussion on Ukraine's geopolitical future. "Our definitive place and role are undefined. It's this transitional state of a buffer transit zone which is threatening, in my view."

Mr. Chaly is among Ukraine's foremost foreign policy experts, directing international programs for 12 years at the

Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Research, a leading Kyiv think-tank financed by scores of international funds and institutions.

The Vinnytsia native served on the National Security and Defense Council between 1997 and 1999, and attends the annual Yalta European Strategy conference, where Ukraine's elite gathers to discuss the nation's future.

Ukraine's NATO entry isn't relevant at the moment, Mr. Chaly said, as the Verkhovna Rada lacks a critical majority that would cardinally change Ukraine's foreign policy priorities and orientations.

"NATO is not ready, Ukraine is not ready. And, unfortunately, politicization is continuing and it's possible that this ping-pong game with NATO will be a subject for the presidential campaign," he said.

While it's often suggested that Ukraine's leadership ought to opt for a neutral, non-aligned status between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Russian Federation, foreign policy specialists know that's not a viable option, he said.

Ukraine is already failing to finance its armed forces according to legislative

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Yatsenyuk presidential campaign: Change, or politics as usual?

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – What initially sparked hopes for change is turning into politics as usual.

As Arseniy Yatsenyuk's campaigners ignite scandals and post billboards claiming the rather nerdy-looking 35-year-old will "save the country," mounting evidence reveals his presidential campaign has little potential to change much of anything, observers said.

His financers are the same old oligarchs, and his campaign advisers are recycled from the campaigns of Viktor Yanukovych and Leonid Kuchma, according to reports.

Meanwhile in his bid to appeal to the broadest electorate, Mr. Yatsenyuk is avoiding taking positions on key issues or proposing specific reforms or programs he would pursue as president.

"He's like generic beer, trying to appeal to the biggest amount of voters by having the least content and taste," Kyiv political expert Ivan Lozowy said. "But from the point of view of election technology, it's probably the right way to go."

Indeed, Mr. Yatsenyuk has succeeded in keeping his third-place position in the

presidential race.

About 11 percent of voters said they would vote for Mr. Yatsenyuk, and more than 13 percent of those certain to vote on January 17, 2010, said they will choose him, according to a poll of 2,006 respondents conducted between July 20 and 28 by the Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Research in Kyiv.

Meanwhile, 13.3 percent of respondents said they fully support Mr. Yatsenyuk's current political activity, compared with 16.7 percent full support for opposition leader Viktor Yanukovych, 12.7 percent for Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and 5.7 percent for President Viktor Yushchenko.

A good part of Mr. Yatsenyuk's success is based on being a new face amidst a field of candidates that largely repulses Ukrainian voters, who have seen them all before, experts said.

"His platform comes down to: I'm a better choice than these jerks you're used to, who you're not happy with," Mr. Lozowy said. "In this configuration, the last thing he wants is to take a position on any issue. The bottom line is he doesn't want to tackle these issues."

(Continued on page 9)

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

LVIV – Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko impressed the Ukrainian World Congress (UWC) at its August 20 annual meeting here not only with a supportive address, but also with her decision

to lead the Cabinet of Ministers the prior evening in passing a resolution to restore government financing for diaspora programs.

The prime minister's sudden embrace of the Ukrainian diaspora arrives before

(Continued on page 9)



At the Ukrainian World Congress annual meeting on August 20 at Lviv Polytechnical University (from left) are: Ukraine's Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, UWC President Eugene Czolij and UWC Vice-President Maria Shkambara.

ANALYSIS

Documents shed light on Soviets' suppression of Ukrainian Catholic Church

by Brian Whitmore

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Patriarch Kirill's recent high-profile visit to Ukraine was interrupted by an unwanted visitor from the past: Joseph Stalin's ghost.

A five-decade-old letter from the Soviet Communist Party archives, made available to RFE/RL's Russian Service as Patriarch Kirill was wrapping up his 10-day visit to Ukraine, illustrates the extent to which the patriarch's predecessors were involved in Stalin's efforts to wipe out the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the 1940s.

The letter, from then-Russian Orthodox Patriarch Aleksy I to the head of the Soviet Council on Religious Affairs, Georgy Karpov, was dated December 7, 1945, when the Kremlin was consolidating control over territories in heavily Catholic western Ukraine after World War II. Karpov was a colonel in the NKVD, a predecessor to the Soviet KGB.

In the letter, Aleksy informs Karpov of an "initiative group" that was being formed in Greek-Catholic dioceses in western Ukraine that would pressure clergy to agree to disband their Church and convert to Orthodoxy.

"More than 800 priests have already joined the initiative group, and it is expected that by the New Year the entire clergy will have done so with the exception of a small number of diehards," Aleksy wrote.

At the time of the letter, all of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church's bishops had been either imprisoned or exiled, making the clergy especially vulnerable to pressure as Stalin sought to eradicate the Vatican's influence.

"What strikes me most about that letter is that, within the context of the particular power relationships that were in place, [Patriarch Aleksy I] really sounds like he was trying to give a semblance of ecclesiastical credibility to what was otherwise

clearly a blatant act of state intervention in Church affairs," said Andrii Krawchuk, the former president of the University of Sudbury in Ontario, and the author of the book "Christian Social Ethics in Ukraine."

In another letter, published in early August by the Austrian Catholic news agency Kathpress, Nikita Khrushchev, then a member of the Soviet Politburo and a high-ranking official of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR, informed Stalin of "work undertaken to dismember the [Ukrainian Greek-Catholic] Church and transfer the... clergy to the Orthodox Church." That letter was dated December 17, 1945, just 10 days after Aleksy's correspondence.

The Rev. Ihor Yatsiv, press secretary for the head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, Lubomyr Husar, told RFE/RL's Russian Service that the documents shed important light on efforts by Soviet authorities to liquidate Catholicism in western Ukraine.

"The most important thing this letter illustrates is that these initiative groups were not established by the Greek-Catholic dioceses themselves, as had been previously claimed, but rather that they were inspired by the Soviet authorities," the Rev. Yatsiv notes.

Echoes of the past

Stalin allowed the Russian Orthodox Church, which had been suppressed following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, to operate officially again from 1943 – albeit under tight Soviet supervision – in an effort to intensify patriotic support for the authorities during World War II and after.

"In Stalin's regime the idea was to subsume everything into one centralized aegis, namely the Russian Orthodox Church, which itself was subject to strict controls and even repression by the state," the Rev.

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Moscow Patriarch's visit to Ukraine

by Pavel Korduban

Eurasia Daily Monitor

Russian Orthodox Patriarch Kirill visited Ukraine from July 27 to August 5 in order to suppress the pro-independence mood among the local clergy and more broadly, to assert Russian religious and cultural domination. The patriarch made it clear that he would oppose plans, backed by Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko, to create a local Orthodox Church fully independent of Russia more energetically than his predecessor, Aleksy II.

Patriarch Kirill also allowed Party of

Regions of Ukraine leader Viktor Yanukovych to use his visit to benefit his presidential election campaign, which indicates that Moscow will probably back his bid as it did in 2004.

During his visit Patriarch Kirill ostentatiously ignored the rival Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP), although UOC-KP Patriarch Filaret wanted to meet him. Adding insult to injury, the Russian patriarch acted as if the UOC-KP did not exist at all. Strictly speaking, this is the case from the point of view of the Moscow Church as Patriarch Filaret was excommunicated after he split from the Moscow Church in 1992. The UOC-KP is still not officially recognized by the rest of the Orthodox world.

President Yushchenko supports the UOC-KP, viewing it as the basis for establishing a single Ukrainian Orthodox Church independent from Moscow patriarchs and Russian cultural influences. This would perfectly fit his idealistic model of a monolingual and monocultural Ukraine distanced from Russia as much as possible, which he has pursued since his election as president in 2004. This ideal is impossible to achieve in the modern world, and the same is probably true of Mr. Yushchenko's dream of a nationwide independent Church.

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Correction

In "Film Clips: Kimjongilia, documentary about North Korean regime" (August 9) by Thaya Salamacha, an editor's correction was incorrectly rendered, changing the word plight to flight, instead of fight. The sentence should read: "As an American of Ukrainian descent, and having lived through a time when human rights abuses in Ukraine were invisible to the world, I am deeply moved by the North Koreans' fight for freedom and for recognition before the world of their painful history."

NEWSBRIEFS

Protest against Medvedev letter

KYIV – Dozens of activists from the Ukrainian People's Party held a demonstration in front of the Russian Embassy in Kyiv, RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service reported on August 14. They were protesting Russian President Dmitry Medvedev's August 11 letter to Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko criticizing Kyiv's foreign policy towards Russia, which he called Mr. Yushchenko's "anti-Russian course." Protesters demanded that Mr. Medvedev withdraw his statement and apologize to Ukraine. They also warned that similar protests would be held in front of Russian Consulates in other Ukrainian cities if their demands are ignored. (RFE/RL)

Reaction to Medvedev's accusations

KYIV – A newly released poll showed that Ukrainians perceive Russian President Dmitry Medvedev's recent accusations about Kyiv's anti-Russian behavior in different ways, RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service reported on August 19. In Lviv and Kyiv people reacted negatively to Mr. Medvedev's accusations. But in the southern and eastern Ukrainian cities of Mykolayiv and Donetsk, respectively, respondents were not so critical of Mr. Medvedev's charges against Ukraine. The findings were made by the Razumkov Center, which on August 12-18 conducted a telephone poll of 3,040 residents of Kyiv, Lviv, Mykolayiv, Donetsk and Symferopol. Valeriy Chaly, the international program director at the Razumkov Center, said the findings also show that a significant part of the Ukrainian population is not even aware of President Medvedev's open letter to his Ukrainian counterpart, Viktor Yushchenko. However, Ukrainians in all cities perceived Moscow's decision to hold off on dispatching a new ambassador to Ukraine as an unfriendly act. (RFE/RL)

Explosion rocks Donetsk plant

KYIV – A powerful explosion thundered on August 16 in the northern part of Donetsk. According to the local Internet publication Ostrov, a private pyrotechnic

plant blew up. According to eyewitnesses, the explosion was so strong that windows were broken in the nearby houses. The Emergencies Ministry in the Donetsk region refrained from comments on the cause of the accident, but did report that there were no fatalities or injuries. Some 100 tons of pyrotechnics were stored at the facility, which is located in the Yakovlivka settlement. (Ukrinform)

Russia sees victory on NATO issue

KYIV – The Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry considers it a victory of common sense that Georgia's and Ukraine's NATO memberships are no longer on the international political agenda, said a high-ranking Russian diplomat, according to news reports released on August 15. "Russia and NATO bear common responsibility for security on the Euro-Atlantic area. The fact that the theme of these two countries' membership in NATO is no longer on the political agenda is above all a victory of common sense," Russian Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Grushko said in an interview with Interfax. "Everybody now has another chance to think about strengthening cooperation on real security problems rather than deal with the consequences of political projects that were inherited from the past," Mr. Grushko said. (Interfax-Ukraine)

Kyiv protests pollution of Sevastopol Bay

KYIV – Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) sent a note of protest to Russia over the pollution of Sevastopol Bay by the Russian Black Sea Fleet, acting First Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Yurii Kostenko said on August 17. "Following Russian President Dmitry Medvedev's address, the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry has sent another note of protest over the pollution of the Sevastopol Bay waters," he said. Mr. Kostenko said that an agreement between Ukraine and Russia foresees that in such cases Russia should immediately allow a Ukrainian environmental service to take a water sample, however, this had been ignored. He said

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FOR THE RECORD: Yushchenko's letter to Medvedev

Following is the English translation provided by the Embassy of Ukraine, of President Viktor Yushchenko's August 13 letter to President Dmitry Medvedev of Russia. The English text of the Ukrainian president's letter was released on August 14.

Respected Dmitry Anatolyevich:

I have perused your letter of 6 August 2009. Straightforwardly speaking, I am very disappointed with its unfriendly nature.

I agree that there are serious problems in the relations between our countries, but your absolute denial of Russia's responsibility for them surprises me.

Our state has never betrayed the principles of friendship and partnership fixed in the Agreement of 1997 [and] was doing its best to ensure fruitful and mutually beneficial development of bilateral relations. Moreover, in accordance with the abovementioned agreement our countries were to build up relations with each other based on principles of mutual respect and sovereign equality.

Yet, I would like to set aside the emotions and proceed to the objective analysis of the state of bilateral relations.

Ukraine's position on last year's events in Georgia is well-known and coincides with positions of almost all other countries of the world. Its core is indisputable respect towards sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders of Georgia or any other sovereign state.

The accusations of supplies of weapons to Georgia are groundless. It's a shame that, despite numerous clear and comprehensible explanations of the legality of its activity on the arms market from the Ukrainian side, the Russian side continues the consecutive campaign aimed at shaping the image of Ukraine as a state

that does not obey international regulations and regimes in the sphere of military technical cooperation. In this regard I would like to remind that Georgia has never been and is still not a subject to any international sanctions or embargo on supplies of arms, military equipment and dual-use goods imposed by either the U.N. Security Council, the OSCE, the European Union or other international organizations. Moreover, the proposition to impose such restrictions within the framework of the OSCE, made by Russia after the Russian-Georgian conflict, found no support.

Ukraine's NATO integration course may not be subject to Russia's political criticism either. It forces us to again repeat the common truth that the right to choose international means of ensuring one's national security, including the participation in military-political alliances, is an integral part of the national sovereignty of any state and Russia has to respect that. I would like to remind you that the Law of Ukraine "On Foundations of National Security of Ukraine" approved by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in 2003 with support from the leadership of the current opposition provides for integration of Ukraine with NATO up to full-fledged membership. The president of Ukraine follows that.

Also [I] would like to once again emphasize that the desire of our country to gain membership in NATO is in no way aimed against Russia and that the final decision on accession of Ukraine to NATO will be made only after a national referendum.

I would like to point out separately that Article 17 of the Constitution of Ukraine prohibits deployment of foreign states' military bases on Ukrainian territory. Yet, our state keeps to its international treaty

obligations on the temporary deployment of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Ukraine until May 28, 2017, and fully complies with provisions of the relevant basic agreements of 1997. On the other hand, I am forced to admit serious problems in compliance of the Russian side with the basic agreements regarding use of land, real estate, radio frequencies, navigation equipment, etc. Throughout the period of deployment of the Black Sea Fleet of Russia in Ukraine, its command has been rudely and systematically violating the bilateral agreements and legislation of Ukraine, and the Ukrainian side has been constantly informing the Russian side about that.

Ukraine consistently supports the development of pragmatic economic relations with Russia, especially in the energy field. Ukraine has started a program of modernization of its gas transport system to bring it to the highest international standards and is ready to invite the potential of European countries and of other parties to the process. Our country has many times proved in practice its reliability as a partner in the transportation of energy resources: gas, oil and nuclear energy fuel. Ukraine was one of the few countries in the world which in June this year welcomed the initiative of the Russian Federation to start a multilateral dialogue on improving the international legal framework in energy security that in our opinion should be based upon the Energy Charter and other relevant documents.

Your letter also repeats regular and well-known accusations aimed at depriving Ukraine of its view of its own history, our own national interests, foreign policy priorities. I am convinced that such questions as history, along with native language, culture and family ethics are fun-

damental principles for development of the state and identification of the Ukrainian nation.

By raising the question of recognition of the Holodomor in Ukraine of 1932-1933 at the international scene the Ukrainian people also pay tribute to millions of Russians, Belarusians, Kazakhs and representatives of other nationalities who died of starvation in the Volga region, the Northern Caucasus, Kazakhstan and other parts of the former USSR. It is known that during the "Light the Candle" campaign dedicated to the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor in Ukraine, burning candles in hundreds of cities worldwide, including in Russia, proved multi-ethnic solidarity with Ukraine in recognition of the fact.

In no way I can agree with the allegation about the ousting of the Russian language from public life in Ukraine. Elementary impartial evaluations of the language situation in Ukraine and Russia show completely opposite facts. It is in the Russian Federation where members of the Ukrainian minority have virtually no ability to realize the right to fulfill their national and cultural needs. The well-known findings of international organizations prove that.

Responding to concerns about the alleged intervention of the Ukrainian government in the affairs of the Orthodox Church, I would like to note the following. The Ukrainian leadership respects the canons and traditions of Churches and religious organizations. The Church in Ukraine is separated from the state; each citizen has the right to profess any religion. However, no one may prohibit the citizens to freely express their position on any issues, including those religious.

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ANALYSIS: Russian military weakness could delay conflict with Ukraine

by Pavel Felgenhauer

Eurasia Daily Monitor

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev has publicly attacked his Ukrainian counterpart Viktor Yushchenko and called his administration's policies deliberately anti-Russian.

In an open letter and in a video posting on his official Kremlin blog, Mr. Medvedev accused Ukraine of supporting "barbaric attacks" by the pro-Western regime of President Mikheil Saakashvili during the Russian invasion of Georgia in August of last year. Mr. Medvedev alleged that "civilians and Russian peacekeepers were killed by Ukrainian weapons," while Kyiv is continuing to supply the Georgian military with more arms and "shares responsibility for the crimes committed."

Mr. Medvedev accused the Ukrainian leadership of conspiring with the European Union on natural gas trade issues against Russian interests, blocking the activities of its Black Sea Fleet in Crimea, suppressing the use of the Russian language and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church element that is subordinate to Moscow. Mr. Medvedev castigated Ukraine for aspiring to join NATO, "falsifying history" by emphasizing the crimes of totalitarian Communist rule and promoting nationalist leaders who collaborated with the Nazis as well as disrupting economic ties (www.kremlin.ru, August 11).

The Russian president expressed his disgust with Ukraine in a highly aggressive tone, implying that the Kremlin is fed up in dealing with Kyiv. Tension between Russia and Ukraine, according to Mr. Medvedev, is very high. A number of recent tit-for-tat diplomatic expulsions

were described as outrageous. After listing the negative Ukrainian actions, Mr. Medvedev announced that Moscow will not send the newly appointed Ambassador Mikhail Zurabov to Kyiv until Ukrainian policies change, in effect downgrading diplomatic relations.

Mr. Medvedev emphasized that the Kremlin's disgust is not against "brotherly Ukrainian people," but President Yushchenko and his government. Commentators in Moscow believe that the Kremlin will refuse to have any dealings with Kyiv until there is a regime change and Mr. Yushchenko is ousted. The Russian policy in dealing with Mr. Yushchenko seems to be in essence the same as with Mr. Saakashvili. The hope apparently is that the coming Ukrainian presidential election on January 17, 2010, will oust Mr. Yushchenko and a pro-Moscow administration will be elected (*Kommersant*, August 12).

Last year Moscow announced that it had invaded Georgia to defend Russian citizens. Ukraine has the largest Russian and Russian-speaking population outside of Russia itself. Soon after the Russo-Georgian war, French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner suggested that Russia might next move against Ukraine or Moldova under the same pretext (*Reuters*, August 27, 2008).

Former Ukrainian Ambassador in the United States Yuri Shcherbak said he believes that Moscow might be contemplating a possible invasion of Ukraine to partition its territory, arguing that Ukraine is a "failed and ungovernable state" (www.newsru.com, May 21).

After Mr. Medvedev's anti-Yushchenko broadside, the leader of the Eurasian

Movement (a Kremlin-connected nationalist think-tank), Alexander Dugin, told reporters, that "The downgrading of diplomatic relations has created a pre-war situation" and that, "Russia is preparing to cease to recognize Ukrainian territorial integrity, as it did with Georgia. An armed conflict may soon begin in Crimea and eastern Ukraine that will result in these territories becoming a Russian protectorate."

According to Mr. Dugin, "war has been declared not against Ukraine, but America," that is attacking Russian influence within the post-Soviet space. Mr. Yushchenko is not important, stated Mr. Dugin, – it is merely "a sick blister," while the real foe is the United States (*RIA Novi Region*, August 11).

The Kremlin insists its conflict is with the regimes in Kyiv and Tbilisi, but not with "our longtime Orthodox brothers" – the people of Georgia and Ukraine. A recent

public opinion poll by the independent Levada Center showed a strong dislike of Ukraine, with 47 percent of Russia's population having a negative attitude and 44 percent positive, while Georgia scores even worse, with 63 percent negative and 25 percent positive. The U.S. scored slightly better, with 40 percent negative and 47 percent positive. The pollsters believe these public attitudes are the direct result of state policies and propaganda (*Kommersant*, August 12).

Mr. Medvedev has introduced legislation to legalize the use of Russian forces abroad "to defend Russian soldiers and citizens, fight piracy and defend foreign nations against threats." He announced during a meeting with leaders of Parliament that the legislation is connected with the Georgia war, "so that in the future these questions will be clearly regulated." Duma leaders

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Quotable notes

Question: Do you have anything to say about a rather scathing attack by the Russian president in a blog yesterday about Ukraine, among other things, saying that their efforts to get into NATO were anti-Russian and that he basically – [Dmitry] Medvedev said he looks forward to a new government in Ukraine?

Philip J. Crowley: Well, first of all, on the subject of Ukraine, it is a sovereign country. It has the right to pursue its interests in any way that it chooses. I think Vice-President [Joe] Biden made that clear during his recent visit to Ukraine.

It is important for Ukraine and Russia to have a constructive relationship. I'm not sure that these comments are necessarily in that vein. But going forward, Ukraine has a right to make its own choices, and we feel that it has a right to join NATO if it chooses. And, obviously, we support that right.

– Philip J. Crowley, assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of State, speaking during the daily press briefing on August 12.

NEWS ANALYSIS: Ukrainian-Russian diplomatic war intensifies

by Taras Kuzio
Eurasia Daily Monitor

On August 10 President Dmitry Medvedev accused President Viktor Yushchenko of taking Ukraine on an “anti-Russian course” (www.blog.kremlin.ru, August 10). Moscow also recently engaged in tit-for-tat diplomatic expulsions (Eurasia Daily Monitor, July 31).

The two Ukrainian diplomats expelled were Ukraine’s Consul General in St. Petersburg Natalia Prokopovich and Oleh Voloshyn, a senior adviser to the Ukrainian ambassador in Moscow. Russia claimed that this was in response to the “unfriendly actions of the Ukrainian authorities” toward two Russian diplomats. It regarded Kyiv’s actions as an “openly anti-Russian step that harms the development of relations between Russia and Ukraine” (www.mid.ru, July 29).

Ukraine’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and National Security and Defense Council (NSDC) both expressed their surprise over the Russian response. “We are very surprised at such a severe and unfortunate reaction by the Russian side,” the MFA stated (www.mfa.gov.ua, July 29). The MFA had provided to its Russian counterparts a dossier of documents outlining the undiplomatic activities of the two expelled Russian diplomats. “On the question of the Russian ambassador’s adviser it was tied to his openly anti-Ukrainian statements as well as the Odesa consul general and his de facto support for radical political forces” (www.mfa.gov.ua, July 29).

The two expelled Ukrainian diplomats had never been involved in undiplomatic activities and were not warned at any stage by Moscow. The MFA claimed that the two expelled Russian diplomats breached the

1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations and had intervened in Ukraine’s internal affairs. Volodymyr Ohryzko, first deputy chair of the NSDC and former foreign affairs minister, described the Russian response as a return to “the tried and tested reactionary Soviet mentality of the Homo Sovieticus in responding to absolutely lawful actions by [the Ukrainian] state” (*Ukrayinska Pravda*, July 30).

On July 31 *Ukrayinska Pravda* was told by unofficial sources that the two “so-called diplomats,” as Mr. Ohryzko described them, were involved in espionage and subversive activities. Odesa Consul General Oleksandr Grachev financed and sought to cooperate with local political leaders by drawing on funds generated by illegal hard currency operations undertaken through shadow economic structures. This “illegal espionage activity in support of Russia’s political steps,” sought to recruit “agents of influence” to advance Russian interests in Ukraine.

One of these controlled political groups was the Odesa-based Rodina Party, whose members were accused of the murder of a Ukrainian nationalist in Odesa in April (EDM, June 16). Mr. Grachev was directly subordinated to the Federal Security Service (known by its Russian acronym as FSB) leadership, who passed his reports directly to Prime Minister Vladimir Putin (*Ukrayinska Pravda*, July 31). Mr. Grachev’s apartment, purchased with these illegally earned funds, was located in the same building in Odesa as Rodina Party leader Igor Markov’s office.

Expelled Senior Adviser Vladimir Lysenko undertook “active espionage and subversive activities in Ukraine,” the same sources told *Ukrayinska Pravda* (July 31). “Lysenko established unofficial contacts

with representatives of local organs of power with the aim of obtaining confidential information on Ukraine’s position in negotiations over the Black Sea Fleet” (*Ukrayinska Pravda*, July 31).

Mr. Lysenko also sought to recruit agents of influence among the Crimean Tatar community with the aim of replacing the leadership of the Mejlis (the Tatar’s unofficial parliament) with individuals of a more pro-Russian orientation. The Crimean Tatars have long been pro-Ukrainian in their orientation and Mejlis leaders were elected to the Verkhovna Rada within Rukh (1998) and the Our Ukraine bloc (2002, 2006, 2007).

A third area – long suspected of Russian diplomats – was their subversive activities with the FSB based in the Black Sea Fleet to sponsor “public protest actions.” When, for example, NATO vessels arrived in Sevastopol they organized protests in support of the Russian navy. Anti-NATO and anti-American protests began in earnest in Crimea in summer 2005, immediately after Viktor Yushchenko was elected president. They were organized against Ukraine’s joint exercises within the framework of NATO’s Partnership for Peace (PfP). Moscow had not mobilized similar protests in Crimea against these exercises in 1995-2004 under President Leonid Kuchma.

Russian leaders, Crimean Communists and Crimean Russian nationalists have repeatedly warned that if Ukraine moved toward NATO membership it would do so without Crimea. This threat of using separatism to undermine a country’s trans-Atlantic integration was implemented in Georgia in August 2008. Crimea has never been regarded, unlike Abkhazia or South Ossetia, as a frozen conflict. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian authorities are preparing for future conflict scenarios and, not coincidentally after the

expulsion of Russian diplomats, a large-scale “anti-terrorist” exercise was held in Crimea on August 3-7 organized by the Anti-Terrorist Center of the Security Service of Ukraine (known by its Ukrainian acronym as SBU).

The SBU Alpha unit, units from the Ministry of Emergency Situations, Internal Affairs Ministry special forces and the Ukrainian navy’s marines worked together with the authorities during the planned exercises. The twofold aim of the exercises was to ascertain the level of cooperation between the Ukrainian security forces and the authorities in the event of a “state of emergency” or “undertaking anti-terrorist operations” (www.sbu.gov.ua, July 28). Both scenarios involved countering hypothetical threats from “terrorists” (in this case, a euphemism for separatists).

Leaked information about Mr. Lysenko’s work with the FSB explains why the SBU last month demanded the withdrawal of the FSB from the Black Sea Fleet by December (EDM, July 14). The ostensible reason for the FSB being in Sevastopol is to provide security for the Black Sea Fleet. Judging from Ukrainian sources, this should be secondary to working with Russian diplomats in the fields of espionage or subversion.

However, it remains unclear if Ukraine’s tougher line toward Russian espionage and subversion is a product of the election campaign to increase Mr. Yushchenko’s nationalistic credentials in western Ukraine or growing Russian intelligence activities against Ukraine, or a combination of both.

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NEWS ANALYSIS: Ukraine’s SBU challenges Russia’s FSB in Crimea

by Taras Kuzio
Eurasia Daily Monitor

In line with implementing stricter security policies in Sevastopol and Crimea, the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) is adopting tougher policies towards Russian intelligence activities in the peninsula. These follow the August 2008 decrees restricting the movement of Russian Black Sea Fleet vessels in and out of Sevastopol without Ukrainian consent.

The SBU has officially given its Russian equivalent, the Federal Security Service (FSB), until December 13 to remove itself from Ukraine. SBU chief Valentyn Nalyvaichenko warned that if the FSB has not left by that date, “then they would bear criminal responsibility,” adding “The criminal code contains an article on ‘espionage.’” (www.pravda.com.ua, June 28).

The FSB officers also operate in counter-intelligence matters. Russia utilizes its domestic intelligence agency (the FSB) in its dealings with the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), because it is regarded as the “near abroad” (the Foreign Intelligence Service, or SVR is used in the “far abroad”). This is the equivalent of the FBI rather than the CIA operating in Central and Latin America.

Mr. Nalyvaichenko explained that he had consulted the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry before advising Moscow of the cancellation of the protocol permitting the FSB to operate in Sevastopol. Nineteen FSB officers currently operate in Sevastopol. Russian intelligence has always been thought to support separatist, anti-NATO and anti-American groups and parties, even providing Black Sea Fleet personnel who wear civilian clothes to participate in protests.

Mr. Nalyvaichenko revealed that one

factor behind the decision to terminate the right of the FSB to maintain its presence in Sevastopol was that they did not restrict themselves to the naval base. “Foreign special services operate in the city of Sevastopol. And this is against Ukrainian law,” he said (www.bbc.co.uk/ukrainian, June 18).

One member of the Verkhovna Rada’s Committee on National Security and Defense, Oleksander Skybinetskyi, said that most Ukrainian experts in security affairs are concerned that Russian intelligence orchestrates various groups and protest movements that are hostile to Ukrainian sovereignty. The SBU has instituted criminal charges against separatists and brought in political leaders for interrogation. The leader of the Progressive Socialist Party faction in the Sevastopol City Council, Yevhen Dubovik, was recently questioned after he threatened radical steps to unite Sevastopol and Crimea with Russia (*Ukrayinskyi Tyzhden*, June 12).

A second factor of concern to the SBU is the possible recruitment of Ukrainian citizens who comprise the majority of the 20,000 workforce in the fleet and military-industrial enterprises that provide services to it. Financial inducements are hard to resist when pay in the fleet and its ancillary industries is twice that in other Russian naval units and many times higher than the average pay in Ukraine.

Why the FSB needs to be involved in the security of the Black Sea Fleet is puzzling, since this would more normally be the task of military intelligence. Ukrainian military intelligence operates in Sevastopol, and it is assumed by Kyiv that Russian military intelligence maintains a presence within the fleet.

The ostensible reason the Black Sea Fleet claims it needs Russian intelligence

units is to safeguard the security of the fleet on foreign territory. The question is against whom? The SBU has offered to provide full security for the fleet. Mr. Nalyvaichenko revealed that the SBU had established a new “powerful counter-intelligence unit in Symferopol, Sevastopol and other cities of Crimea.” This unit would be ideally suited to protect the fleet, he added (*Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, June 15). As soon as this unit was established, Mr. Nalyvaichenko advised his Russian counterparts that the FSB was no longer required in Crimea.

The SBU could deal with law and order and terrorist issues. “We do not need assistance or the physical presence of foreign secret services,” Mr. Nalyvaichenko said (*Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, June 15). The Russian reaction was predictably negative and similar to President Viktor Yushchenko’s August 2008 decrees. The Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry reiterated that the FSB was in Ukraine based on earlier agreements in relation to the fleet; they could only be removed through mutual agreement (www.pravda.com.ua, June 18).

Anatoliy Tsyganok, the head of the Russian Center for Military Forecasting, believes that the FSB will ignore the Ukrainian demand (www.pravda.com.ua, June 17). Kiril Frolov, a representative of the Institute for the CIS, warned of an “asymmetrical response” from Russia for this “unfriendly Ukrainian act against the Russian state” (www.bbc.co.uk/ukrainian, June 18). It remains unclear how Russia can retaliate, since Ukraine has no military base on its territory and the SBU only has a minimal presence in its diplomatic representations within Russia.

The old and technologically obsolete vessels in the fleet are not a threat to the four NATO member-countries on the Black Sea. The only occasion they have been used

is in the August 2008 invasion of non-NATO member Georgia. NATO has long known everything it needed to know about the fleet. In December 1991, this author faxed to Ukrainian members of Parliament, after they had held a successful referendum on independence, copies of the pages pertaining to the Black Sea Fleet in the International Institute for Strategic Studies’ Military Balance. Open source IISS publications were purchased by the Soviet Embassy, which then classified them as “confidential” and they were subsequently placed in the restricted areas (“spetsfond”) of Soviet libraries.

Sevastopol has been neglected by Kyiv since independence. The city has few memorials dedicated to Ukrainian history, but is full of Russian and Soviet symbols tying the twice “hero city” to Russia. The city’s youth is “educated exclusively on Russian history, Russian patriotism and loyalty to Russian statehood.” The fleet plays an important role in this process, which transcends its military function, “especially in the areas of education, propaganda, information and culture” (*Ukrayinskyi Tyzhden*, June 12).

On June 12 Ukrayinskyi Tyzhden asked: “What about official Kyiv?” “Well, it undertakes a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Ukraine.” Russian policies towards Sevastopol are conducted within the context of “great power politics.” Ukrainian policies, in contrast, are “the private affair of individual patriotically inclined persons who have become accustomed to disinterest from official Kyiv” (*Ukrayinskyi Tyzhden*, June 12).

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

COMMENTARY: Europe's share in the Ukrainian malaise

by Andreas Umland

Much can be heard from Western visitors to Ukraine or observers analyzing the post-Soviet region that Kyiv politics today is a "mess." Hardly anybody (least of all, Ukrainians themselves) will disagree. Even lowbrow citizens of the European Union may come up with an opinion on current Ukrainian affairs, and criticize the ensuing political chaos in Kyiv.

Sometimes, Western ignorance mixes with European arrogance to re-produce stereotypes about Ukraine eerily similar to the way in which former KGB officers in Moscow would like to portray Europe's largest new democracy.

Worse, what mostly remains unmentioned in Western European assessments of current Ukrainian affairs is that the foremost Western organization dealing with Ukraine, the European Union, bears responsibility for the current political disarray in Kyiv. Most analysts would readily agree that the EU perspective played a considerable role in, or even was a necessary precondition for, the quick stabilization and democratization of post-communist Central Europe. Many political scientists would admit that, in Western Europe too, peace, stability and affluence during the last 60 years have been closely linked to European integration.

However, few EU politicians and bureaucrats are prepared to state in public what would seem to logically follow from these observations concerning the Ukrainian case. If EU prospects and membership had a clearly beneficial effect from Tallinn to Dublin, then the absence of a European perspective for a manifestly European country means also the absence of that effect in the case of Ukraine.

The post-war notion of "Europe" is intimately linked to the economic, social and political dynamism of increasing pan-continental cooperation. When we say "European" today we often mean the EU and the largely positive repercussions which the integration process had and has on securing economic, political and social progress across borders.

Dr Andreas Umland is a lecturer in contemporary East European history at The Catholic University of Eichstaett-Ingolstadt in Upper Bavaria general editor of the book series "Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society" and co-editor of the German-Russian journal "Forum for the Ideas and History of Contemporary Eastern Europe." This article appeared, in Russian and Ukrainian, first in Zerkalo nedeli/Dzerkalo Tyzhnia, and, in English, on the "Open Democracy" website. Dr. Umland submitted it on August 13 for publication in The Ukrainian Weekly.

In the light of these historically recent achievements, some, however, forget about the state of Europe in general, and of some European countries in particular, before integration. Much of pre-war European history was, by contemporary standards, far "messier" than Ukrainian politics. Remember the League of Nations, the Weimar Republic or the Spanish Civil War?

Enlightened Eastern European intellectuals too might admit that, without the prospect of EU membership, their countries could today look more like Belarus or Georgia rather than Portugal or Ireland. Both Western and Eastern European political elites and governmental apparatuses needed a road map toward a better and common future. Only when European integration, whether after World War II or the Cold War, provided such a vision was it that politicians, bureaucrats and intellectuals of many EU member-states got their act together, and made their countries more politically and economically successful..

If one admits the relevance of the prospect of, preparation for and eventual attainment of EU membership for the internal development of many European states, one should also acknowledge the effects that an explicit denial of such a vision has on Ukraine's elites. Kyiv finds itself left in the "old Europe" of the pre-war period.

Unlike politicians in most other European countries, Ukraine's leaders still have to navigate through a world of competing nation-states, shifting international alliances, introverted political camps, and harsh zero-sum games where the win of one national or international actor is the loss of the other. That is how domestic and European politics functioned across Europe before (and eventually resulted in) the two world wars. East of the EU's current borders these incentive structures are still largely intact and led to, among numerous other negative repercussions, the recent wars in the Balkans and Caucasus.

Most Ukrainians themselves would be the first to admit that Ukraine today is not ready for EU membership or even for candidacy status.

However, many pro-European Ukrainians find it difficult to understand EU policies and rhetoric concerning these issues: Why, on the one hand, is Turkey an official candidate for EU membership, and Romania or Bulgaria already full members, when Ukraine, on the other hand, is not even provided with the tentative prospect of a future candidacy? Is Turkey more European, and are Romania or Bulgaria really that much higher developed than Ukraine? Didn't the Orange Revolution and two subsequent parliamentary elections – all approved by the Organization

The EU commits a mistake of historical dimensions denying Kyiv a membership perspective.

for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe and the EU – show the adherence of Ukrainians to democratic rules and values? Hasn't Ukraine been more successful than other post-communist countries in averting interethnic strife and in integrating national minorities? Didn't the elites and population of Ukraine show restraint when tensions were building up between conflicting political camps in Kyiv, or as a result of provocative Russian behavior in Crimea?

Of course, there are also recent developments in Ukraine that point in the opposite direction. They include continuing governmental corruption, increasing political stalemate, stagnating public administration reform, and halting industrial restructuring.

However, with every passing year since the Orange Revolution, one asks oneself more and more: Are the various setbacks in Ukraine's recent political and economic transition the reasons for, or rather a result of, the EU's continuing unwillingness to offer a European perspective for Kyiv? May it be that one cause for Ukraine's frustrating domestic conflicts and halting economic transformation is the indeterminacy of the country's foreign orientation? Could it be that the EU's demonstrative scepticism with regard to Ukraine's ability to integrate into Europe is becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy? Aren't the leaders of the EU themselves, to some degree, becoming responsible for Ukraine's continuing failure to meet "European standards"?

As a result of EU introvertedness, Kyiv is left in a geopolitical nowhere land. Lacking a credible long-term vision of its own, Ukraine becomes the unofficial battlefield in a political proxy war between pro-Western and pro-Russian governmental and non-governmental organizations fighting for the future of this key, yet unconsolidated European country. Without the disciplining effect that a credible EU membership perspective provides, there is no commonly accepted yardstick against which the elite's behavior could be measured.

Ukrainian politicians, bureaucrats and intellectuals lack a focal point in the con-

duct of their domestic and international behavior. They are left to guess what the West's and Russia's "real" intentions with regard to Ukraine are, and how they should behave in order to secure economic development and political independence, for their country.

The stabilization of Ukraine is not only in the interests of the citizens of this young democracy, but should be also a key political concern for Brussels, Paris and Berlin. An economically weakened, politically divided and socially crisis-riden Ukrainian state could destabilize and exhibit disintegrative tendencies.

Ukraine's population could polarize along linguistic lines with the Ukrainianophone west and center put against the Russophone south and east. Such a development, in turn, could serve as a pretext for Russian intervention – with grave repercussions not only for Eastern European politics, but also Russian-Western relations.

In a worst-case scenario, the entire post-Cold War European security structure could be called into question.

The EU membership perspective constitutes a key instrument for the West to influence Ukrainian domestic affairs. The prospect of future European integration would reconfigure political discourse and restructure party conflicts in Kyiv. Neither the Ukrainian common man nor Russia's political leadership are, in distinction to their stance on Ukraine's possible NATO membership, principally opposed to the idea of a Ukrainian future entry into the EU.

Even an entirely official statement by the EU on the possible admission of Ukraine to the EU some day would oblige the EU and member-states to do little during the next years. The delegation of the European Commission in Kyiv is already engaged in a wide range of cooperation projects with the Ukrainian government. Offering Ukraine a European perspective would require only few practical changes in the current conduct of EU policies toward Kyiv. Yet, such an announcement would have a benevolent impact on the behavior of Ukraine's elites and make a deep impression on the population of this young democracy (as well as in Russia).

The EU's leaders should try to see the larger picture, remember the recent past of their own countries and stop their unhistorical cognitive dissonance. They should try to understand Ukraine's current issues against the background of the Western and Central European states' experience of instability before their participation in European integration. In the interest of the entire continent and all its peoples, they should offer Ukraine a European perspective sooner rather than later.

RFE/RL celebrates 55 years of news broadcasts to Ukraine

PRAGUE – On Sunday, August 16, RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service, known locally as Radio Svoboda, marked 55 years of broadcasting uncensored news and information to the people of Ukraine.

In 1954, when the station started broadcasting to what was then known as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, people caught listening to Radio Svoboda's messages of freedom and democracy were subject to arrest. Nearly half a century later, in 2002, Radio Svoboda hosted Ukraine's first ever presidential debate.

"When communism fell, many thought our mission was over, but for our journalists, it was just the beginning," said Radio Svoboda Director Irena Chalupa. "In this period of democratic transition, we are now Ukraine's most popular and trusted interna-

tional news source."

Radio Svoboda has received many messages of congratulations from leading U.S. policy-makers, members of the Broadcasting Board of Governors and a former RFE/RL president.

"During the period of Soviet domination, your service was a lifeline to Ukrainians struggling for their basic human rights and freedom. Since the restoration of Ukraine's independence, the Ukrainian Service has continued to provide objective, quality broadcasting as Ukraine consolidates democracy," wrote Sen. Benjamin Cardin (D-Md.), chairman, U.S. Helsinki Commission.

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, former U.S. national security advisor, wrote: "By keeping open for so many years the

access of Ukrainians to the world at large, the Ukrainian Service of RFE/RL has contributed directly to the emergence of a free Ukraine in a free Europe."

"Freedom's light burns brightly thanks to the dedication of all who have contributed through the years to this wonderful service," Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), co-chair, U.S.-Ukraine Congressional Caucus:

Tom Dine, former president of RFE/RL noted; "For 55 years, RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service has provided the Ukrainian nation and state a critical ser-

vice in the peoples' pursuit of separate identity, an open society, national independence and sovereignty. The radio's directors, journalists, engineers, assistants in Kyiv, throughout the country, in neighboring countries and in Prague have assembled high-quality and pertinent daily reports of accurate and relevant news, information and commentary including about Ukraine's unique classical music over the generations. This reporting has contributed to the evolution of a free and democratic Ukraine."

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

The 18th anniversary

Last year's anniversary celebrations of Ukraine's independence were marred by Russia's invasion, just over two weeks earlier, of Georgia. It was a dangerous time and the situation was seen as threatening to Ukraine. Many commentators opined at the time that "Ukraine could be next." Reacting to the events in Georgia, President Viktor Yushchenko underscored: "A threat to anyone's territorial sovereignty is a threat to our own sovereignty." And he gave this expression of solidarity even more substance by traveling, along with the presidents of Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, to Tbilisi, where they stood in a central square to tell the people of Georgia: We are with you.

Soon afterwards, speaking at the 2008 Ukrainian Independence Day commemorations in Kyiv, President Viktor Yushchenko said: "We, the Ukrainian people, are the master (hospodar) of our dear land. No one will ever decide for us what language to speak and what church to pray in. No one will ever tell us what road to follow." He also spoke of Ukraine's "complete return to a single European home" as "a matter of the nearest, already achieved prospect" and noted that joining the European security system (he did not use the word "NATO") was the most effective way to defend Ukraine and Ukrainians.

Now, a year later, as Ukraine prepares to mark the 18th anniversary of its independence, there are new threats from Russia, expressed in the exceedingly arrogant letter from Russian President Dmitry Medvedev to President Yushchenko (see last week's editorial) that alleged Ukraine has an "anti-Russian stance" and accused the Ukrainian president and his administration of a litany of wrongs that harmed relations with Russia. "Ignoring the views of Ukrainian citizens as well as Russia's well-known position, the political leadership of Ukraine stubbornly continues to pursue accession to NATO," Mr. Medvedev wrote. (Imagine, Ukraine had the gall to ignore Russia's position!) In addition, Russia is once again asserting its "special interest" in Ukraine and inserting itself into Ukraine's democratic elections, with Mr. Medvedev "hoping" for a new political leadership and declaring that he sees no prospects for improved relations under the current administration.

At about the same time, the patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, while visiting Ukraine, declared that the Russians and Ukrainians are one and the same people, and held the first-ever Kyiv sitting of the Russian Orthodox Church's synod. (He also offered that he could become a citizen of Ukraine and spend more time there to maintain his religious influence. How helpful!) Observers in Ukraine saw Patriarch Kirill's visit as an assertion of Russian religious and cultural domination, as well as a Kremlin-backed exertion of Moscow's authority in Ukraine. And, lest we forget, there was an overtly political component to the patriarch's visit as well: he was met in Kyiv and accompanied to Donetsk by Viktor Yanukovych, leader of the Party of the Regions of Ukraine and a candidate for president.

Thus, as Ukraine gets set to celebrate its most important national holiday, Ukrainian Independence Day, on August 24, there surely is trouble on the horizon. Much of it emanates from a neighbor that is hardly neighborly, but there are difficulties also within Ukraine.

Political infighting in the country has halted progress on all fronts – political, economic, social, cultural, etc. Indeed, one could say this is a new post-Soviet period of stagnation. With the presidential election season soon to begin, there is precious little hope that any significant progress will be made on those fronts. And, of course, the stagnation at home affects Ukraine's standing on the international scene.

Hardly anyone speaks these days of Ukraine's prospects for membership in NATO, and even the more likely accession of Ukraine to the European Union seems to be on the back burner. The primary reason cited is the political disarray in Kyiv. Mr. Yushchenko's talk last year of Ukraine soon returning to its European home now seems a far-off vision as Western European leaders have chosen to basically ignore Ukraine.

Historian and political analyst Dr. Andreas Umland writes in this issue that the European Union bears some responsibility for the chaos in Ukraine, arguing that what the EU did in helping to stabilize and democratize Central Europe it most certainly did not do in Ukraine. The prospects of EU membership, he underscores, made those countries more successful both politically and economically. The EU, however, has not offered Ukraine "a European perspective," he notes, adding, "May it be that one cause for Ukraine's frustrating domestic conflicts and halting economic transformation is the indeterminacy of the country's foreign orientation?" As a result of the EU's inaction, Dr. Umland writes, Ukraine today finds itself in "a geopolitical nowhere land."

We strongly concur. While the new Obama administration deserves kudos for its attention to Ukraine – most notably the visit to Kyiv of Vice-President Joe Biden – the European Union deserves a reprimand. As the EU dithers in offering Ukraine a membership perspective, Russia attempts to reassert itself as a "great power." The EU's inaction may ultimately turn out to be a detriment not only to Ukraine – area-wise the largest country in Europe – but to the members of the European Union themselves.

IN THE PRESS

Biden speaks the truth

"Speaking the truth: Biden on Russia," analysis and commentary by David J. Kramer, The Weekly Standard, August 1:

"...In an interview with the Wall Street Journal on July 23, [U.S. Vice-President Joe] Biden described a Russia with a looming demographic crisis, a 'withering economy,' and a banking sector in trouble. He noted Russia's interest in negotiating further cuts in nuclear weapons because they cannot afford to maintain even current levels. Russia is having difficulty adjusting to 'loss of empire,' Biden said, adding that it is 'clinging to something in the past that is not sustainable.'

"In a separate interview over the weekend with Reuters, [the outgoing European Union Ambassador to Russia Marc] Franco cited Russia's insufficiently developed civil society and lack of freedom of the press. 'I do believe,' Franco said, 'that you cannot have rule of law without the basic elements of democracy, implying free elections and a vibrant civil society supported by a free press.'

"In their descriptions of current Russia, both Biden and Franco were on the mark. ..."

"In an appearance on Sunday's Meet the Press, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton described Russia as a 'great power' and reiterated President [Barack]

Obama's hope to see a 'strong, peaceful, and prosperous' Russia. White House press secretary Robert Gibbs said in a statement Saturday evening, 'The president and vice-president believe Russia will work with us not out of weakness but out of national interest.'

"Alas, that is wishful thinking. Contrary to Biden's description of Russia's leaders as 'pretty pragmatic in the end' and likely to cooperate with the U.S. out of national interest on issues such as Iran, the very problems he identified are likely to make Russia a more difficult country with which to engage. We and Russian leaders simply do not share many national interests, to say nothing of common values."

"A Russia facing the kinds of problems Biden and Franco described is more apt to deflect its population's attention from the growing number of difficulties at home by projecting onto others like neighboring Georgia or Ukraine. There's nothing like a 'threat' from Tbilisi or Kyiv – or from NATO enlargement – to drum up popular support and take everyone's minds off the problems at home, at least temporarily."

"...A Russian leadership facing the kinds of problems Biden and Franco describe is less, not more, likely to work together with us on a whole host of issues."

(Continued on page 10)

A letter from the editor

On August 3, Brama (www.brama.com) posted what it labeled "Op-ed: Prime Minister Tymoshenko is denounced by the Ukrainian National Association Press in the USA." On August 4, the editor-in-chief of The Ukrainian Weekly e-mailed a letter to the editor of Brama reacting to the headline and the allegations made in the op-ed written by Boris Danik.

Receiving no response, she inquired on August 10 about the fate of the letter. Max Pyziur, CEO of Brama, replied on August 11: "This particular letter will not be published on Brama. Responsibility for this decision is mine."

Due to that decision, The Weekly feels it has no other choice than to publish its editor-in-chief's letter in order to counter the impression created by the op-ed on Brama. Below is the text of the letter.

Danik's misleading headline, unfounded accusations

"Prime Minister Tymoshenko is denounced by the Ukrainian National Association Press in the USA," screams the highly misleading headline over the op-ed by Borys Danik (Brama, August 3).

Mr. Danik is, of course, entitled to his opinion of Yulia Tymoshenko (highly positive) and of the Ukrainian diaspora (highly negative), but he is not entitled to misrepresent the Ukrainian National Association and its publications.

Seeing the sensational headline to the op-ed, readers get the impression that the UNA's publications, and by extension the UNA, truly have "denounced" the prime minister of Ukraine, a leading candidate for president. And, readers would assume that the piece is about those publications. However, Mr. Danik's op-ed is actually a commentary on recent events in Ukraine, plus a criticism of what he sees as the diaspora's position on Ms. Tymoshenko, with a vilification of the UNA's two newspapers thrown in for good measure.

(Why Mr. Danik feels the entire diaspora is against Ms. Tymoshenko is a mystery. In fact, from the letters we receive here at Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, it is clear that the diaspora is mostly split between supporters of Ms. Tymoshenko and Viktor Yushchenko.)

As to the substance of the accusation against the UNA's publications, it must be stated that Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly have published editorials and

commentaries criticizing President Yushchenko, Prime Minister Tymoshenko, Viktor Yanukovych of the Party of Regions of Ukraine and other leaders in Ukraine as warranted by their actions and words. It cannot be stated that the publications have taken a concerted stand against Ms. Tymoshenko in particular.

The editorial cited by the op-ed writer in question (published in Svoboda on July 24) comments on a strategic course outlined by a member of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc, not Ms. Tymoshenko herself, and warns about the results of such a course should it be adopted by Ms. Tymoshenko. Furthermore, Mr. Danik presents the words of a Kyiv journalist quoted in that editorial as the words of the editorial itself. Thus, what the op-ed writer presents as Svoboda's position is not the newspaper's position at all.

Finally, a comment: reaction to editorial material usually should be printed in the publication in which it appeared, as readers are familiar with the original piece and can then evaluate a letter-writer's reaction for themselves. Publishing such reaction elsewhere does not afford readers the opportunity to read the original article being commented on. Oftentimes, as in this case, it also creates an unfounded and skewed perception.

Roma Hadzewycz

Editor-in-chief

Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly

August 4, 2009

August
24
2008

Turning the pages back...

Last year, on August 24, 2008, the government of Ukraine commemorated its independence from the Soviet Union with a military parade, complete with scores of tanks, missile launchers, 30 aircraft and other heavy artillery. The event took place soon after the Russian Federation's invasion of Georgia, however, the decision to hold a military parade was made well before the invasion.

It was the first military parade to commemorate independence in seven years; the 40,000 attendees of the spectacle could only gain access with government passes or invitations. Ukraine's Defense Minister Yurii Yekhanurov led the display down Kyiv's

(Continued on page 12)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**A perspective from Canada, U.K.**

Dear Editor:

It was interesting to see that Myron Kuropas, in his column (August 9) has joined the entire country in participating in the national debate on health care, which, upon witnessing some of the televised town hall meetings, could also be termed "Searching for the socialist bogeyman under the hospital bed."

Health care, of course, is a very complicated and vital issue, and deserves to be well debated. I venture to share my opinion only because I have lived in Canada and the United Kingdom, which have government-subsidized health care programs, and the United States, which does not, and I have had the opportunity to avail myself of medical care in all three countries.

In my personal experience I have noticed very little difference in the level of care I have received. In all three countries I have found that medical care, when I needed it or requested it, was prompt, efficiently delivered and of a very high quality.

The only difference is that here in the United States, unlike Canada and the U.K., I am often called upon to pay hefty out-of-pocket costs for portions of medical procedures that are not covered by my health insurance plan, despite the astronomical and ever-escalating premiums that I pay.

Given the choice, I'll take the bogeyman any day.

The Most Rev. Paul Chomnycky, OSBM
Stamford, Conn.

The letter-writer is bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic eparchy in Stamford.

Why does Kuropas parrot party lies?

Dear Editor:

I was deeply disheartened to read Myron Kuropas' column of August 9. Why would a man who clearly cares about his community conspire to spread absurdities about our desperately needed health care reforms by parroting party lies suggesting the government wants to pull the plug on Baba? He knows better than that.

The New York Times of Wednesday, August 12, quotes the AARP on exactly this point and says "The rumors out there are flat-out lies." The House bill would provide Medicare coverage for optional consultations with doctors who advise patients on life-sustaining treatment and 'end-of-life services,' including hospice care."

Why does Dr. Kuropas (in sync with countless other party warriors) deploy such scare tactics in defense of bloated insurance companies and their ruthless, greedy execs who have grown rich from the suffering and misery of the needy?

What would Taras Shevchenko say?

Askold Melnyczuk
Medford, Mass.

Joseph Stalin and FDR's priorities

Dear Editor:

Kudos to Dr. Myron Kuropas for his excellent column "Lost without a trace" (July 26). Of special interest was his book review of "The Forsaken – American Tragedy in Stalin's Russia" by Tim Tzouliadis.

The Depression of 1929 and blatant misinformation by our State Department misled many Americans to seek better fortunes in Stalin's "Soviet paradise." Yet, once these misguided immigrants were relieved of their passports, they soon became trapped in the USSR without any legal recourse of return or exit.

Appeals to our government for help were ignored since FDR surrounded himself with Soviet apologists like Joseph Davies and Walter Duranty and whose Cabinet consisted of quite a few "socialist progressives" like Harry Hopkins, Alger Hiss, Henry Wallace, H.D. White and others.

Thus, in his mind and heart, FDR soon became Stalin's most famous and ardent apologist himself.

FDR knew and ignored the Ukrainian Famine of 1933, his urgent priority at that time being recognition of the USSR.

He similarly ignored Stalin's brazen Nazi collaboration in 1939. So much so, that he assured an audience in 1944 that "the Russians were perfectly friendly and not trying to gobble up the rest of Europe or the world."

So much so that FDR even "talked about giving Stalin the blueprints of the A-bomb – and talking about this repeatedly."

Later, when Stalin replaced the Rumanian government with Communists, even Churchill couldn't persuade Roosevelt to sign a letter of protest.

Notre Dame historian Wilson Miscombe (in his "From Roosevelt to Truman") finds it extremely difficult to fault the most idolized president of the 20th century; yet it is undeniable that FDR all but invited the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe. Yalta was merely "another way station on a course FDR had charted long ago."

Finally FDR campaigned to keep America out of war but knew war was inevitable. We were, after all, already fighting the Japanese with our Chenault Flying Tiger volunteers from China and embargoed Japan's Middle East energy resources. We were forcing Japan to strike but supposedly didn't know where.

Yet a perennial test question asked of Japanese military officer cadets during the 1930s was: Where would hostilities begin if the enemy was America? The obvious answer was Pearl Harbor due to its location, isolation and harbor structure.

Whether Pearl Harbor was an intentional or unintentional sacrifice will probably never be known. But it is incomprehensible that the base would have been so poorly prepared for invasion or why three aircraft carriers mysteriously left the base prior to December 7, 1941.

In any case, Pearl Harbor accomplished all of FDR's objectives: united Americans for war and resolved the Depression by providing jobs.

Andrew M. Senkowsky, D.D.S.
Van Etten, N.Y.

We welcome your opinion

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

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

Please note: THE LENGTH OF LETTERS CANNOT EXCEED 500 WORDS.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas

**Yo, Mykola, waz up?**

So, Mykola Hohol, what've you got say for yourself on this, the 200th anniversary of your birth? Who were you? A Ukrainian? A Russian? Time to fess up, buddy!

In her well-documented 2007 book "Nikolai Gogol: Between Ukrainian and Russian Nationalism," Edyta M. Bojanowska, an assistant professor of Russian literature at Rutgers University, provides a nuanced answer.

Gogol, writes Dr. Bojanowska, was not a Russian nationalist. "Despite public assurances of his personal commitment to Russian nationalism, Gogol proved incapable of delivering his message as an artist," she writes. "Gogol's Russian nationalism was not a deeply and sincerely held conviction but a rather contrived aspect of his public service."

Russian and French critics had suspected Gogol's "contrived" Russian persona earlier. Critic Semyon Vengerov, Dr. Bojanowska informs us, "claimed that Gogol 'had not a drop of love for Russia' which appeared in his works as 'a dead kingdom of dead souls' yet had inexhaustible reserves of love for Ukraine..."

Critic Faddei Bulgarin believed, according to Dr. Bojanowska, "that Gogol did not know Russia, the Russian language, or Russian ideas, that he notoriously lied about Russia, failed to show a single instance of nobility in Russian life..." Gogol's contemporary French reviewers were shocked by his portrayal of Russia. "Jules Barbery d'Aurevilly was struck by Gogol's merciless satire of Russia's entire national and social organism. To the extent that Gogol's Russia was a colossus, d'Aurevilly wrote, it was 'a colossus of stupidity and triviality'".

Dr. Bojanowska agrees. "Gogol's fiction on Russia," she writes, "offers a national rebuke rather apotheosis... While folkloric stylization and historicity, the hallmarks of his nationalism, distinguish Gogol's image of Ukraine, his image of Russia has no such layering. Only contemporaneity existed in Gogol's fiction on Russia, its principal theme being a huge and corrupt government bureaucracy." Even in his novel "Dead Souls," Gogol "presents Russian uniqueness as a catalog of faults and vices".

Stung by critiques of his classic work and concerned, no doubt, with his career, Gogol tried to make amends but even then he wasn't contrite enough. "He replaced his former condemnation of Russia as a nation with the idea that Russia had not yet attained true nationhood, though he claimed it was imminent."

"Gogol's relation to Ukraine was less conflicted, though it too evolved over time," writes Dr. Bojanowska. "In his 'Evenings on a Farm [Near Dikanka]' Gogol celebrates Ukraine as a nation... united by organic culture, historical memory and language... The stories themselves depict an absolute separation between the Russian and Ukrainian worlds." The political dimension of the stories "generates a powerful message of the irremediable fractures in the Russo-Ukrainian body politic and a celebration of Ukraine's viability as a nation."

Gogol's Ukrainian nationalism peaked while he was researching Ukrainian history, explains Dr. Bojanowska, who reviewed many of his manuscripts. "Gogol's unpublished fragment 'Mazepa's Meditations' shows best the author's politically risky exploration of Ukrainian history in that it

validates Ukraine's historic right to independence." So fascinated was Gogol with Ukrainian history that he once hoped to move to Kyiv and to devote himself to ethnographic and historic research on Ukraine as a professor at the university. His plans never materialized.

Born in the Ukrainian Kozak village of Sorochyntsi in the Poltava region of the Russian empire in 1809, Gogol was a contemporary of Taras Shevchenko, a painter/poet born in 1814. Both lived for a time in St. Petersburg, where their budding genius was recognized by Russians, Gogol's by Aleksander Pushkin, Shevchenko's by Karl Briullov, a painter. Both wrote plays. Gogol authored "The Inspector General" (made into a Hollywood movie starring Danny Kaye in 1949). Shevchenko penned "Nazar Stodolya." Both died in their 40s. Today, Gogol is recognized as a great Russian writer. Shevchenko is heralded as the poet laureate of Ukraine.

Was Gogol less of a Ukrainian than Shevchenko? I think not. During the Ukrainian phase of his literary career, Gogol published "Evenings on a Farm" (1831) and "Taras Bulba" (1835), his classic work about the Zaporozhian Cossacks (made into a Hollywood movie starring Yul Brynner in 1965). As Jeffrey Meyers points out in his introduction to the Barnes and Noble edition of the satiric novel "Dead Souls," "The [sic] Ukraine was then part of Russia and Gogol had been educated in the Russian language. If he wanted to establish a serious (as opposed to a merely provincial) reputation, he had to write in Russian rather than Ukrainian."

"Dead Souls" and "The Overcoat" were published in 1842, as was a second, Russified version of "Taras Bulba." "While he Russified his Cossacks," writes Dr. Bojanowska, "Gogol also Ukrainianized the idea of Russia. The cradle and treasury of Slavdom in Gogol's view, Ukraine could reorient Russia towards its Slavic roots... When trying to create a sympathetic image of Russianness, Gogol kept reaching for his Ukrainian particulars that he held dear: folk songs, love of revelry, Cossack abandon, variegated southern culture."

According to Dr. Bojanowska, it was in 1836 that Gogol "made his transition from amateur Ukrainian to professional Russian writer. Analyzing Gogol's fiction in the 1903 Russian journal Questions of Philosophy and Psychology, Dr. V. Chizh concluded that Gogol was mentally deranged. "The difference between Gogol's portrayal of Ukraine before 1836, and his portrayal of Russia after this date, the former exuberantly favorable and the latter harshly critical," writes Dr. Bojanowska, "represents for Chizh a clear and indisputable symptom of Gogol's deep psychiatric problem." Remember the Soviets? They too believed that detractors were deranged because only crazy people could possibly dislike Russia.

So who were you, Mykola baby? I believe you were a writer with a true Ukrainian heart, an irrepressible talent, forced to write in Russian in a repressive Russocentric empire, and the world recognized you as a literary giant. And, my dear cheeky fellow, you did it all while mocking the Russians. I love you, man. Rest in peace.

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

NEWS AND VIEWS

Black knight in a White general's saddle: Putin, Denikin and Ukraine

by Anna Procyk

On May 24 Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin paid homage to Anton Ivanovich Denikin, a prominent leader of the White movement, by placing a wreath on the tsarist general's grave in Moscow. For many years viewed as one of the vilest enemies of the Soviet regime, fighting the Bolsheviks as well as the armies of independent Georgia and Ukraine under the banner of "Russia One and Indivisible," Denikin has now been fully rehabilitated and properly reburied in his native soil. After the solemn consecration of the general's tombstone, celebrated by the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, Mr. Putin responded to questions of the somewhat bewildered reporters covering the ceremony by urging them to read Denikin's memoirs.

A bit earlier, while chatting with Archimandrite Tikhon Shevkunov, known as the leader of the most conservative nationalist wing within the Russian Orthodox Church, Mr. Putin confided that a perusal of the general's memoirs had completely changed "his perception of Denikin in history." What Mr. Putin found especially inspiring was the fact that for the leader of the White movement "even thinking about splitting Russia was considered a crime," in particular when such thoughts were applied

to Ukraine. The Russian Prime Minister was also impressed by Denikin's firm assertions that no one had the right to meddle in what were considered Russia's internal affairs.

Mr. Putin would be even more impressed with the thoughts and deeds of the tsarist general if he had time to examine the documents and papers of the White movement deposited at the Hoover Institution Archives in Stanford, Calif., and at the Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European History at Columbia University.

From these carefully preserved records he would learn that for the White movement – even before Denikin became the supreme commander – the preservation of the Russian empire was an objective of utmost importance. The British and French diplomats viewed this preoccupation as an obsession that was constantly interfering with rational thought and sound military action on the part of the White political and military leadership. It is this obsession with the empire's indivisibility that has been considered the main reason for the horrors of the civil war and the ultimate defeat of the White cause.

This preoccupation can be detected already in the first letter written by the founder of the White movement, Gen. Mikhail Alekseev, when the tsarist officers were just beginning to congregate in the Don after the Bolshevik coup in Petrograd. In this note the general focused not on the events in the Russian capital, but almost exclusively on the political developments in Ukraine. Because he considered the White forces that eventually became the Volunteer Army still too weak to interfere militarily in the political affairs of Ukraine, Alekseev urged that an intelligence service be imme-

dately established in Kyiv to monitor the activities of the Ukrainian government.

From this time on, the Volunteer Army continually meddled in the politics of Ukraine by endeavoring to discredit its leaders in the eyes of the Entente and by minimizing Ukraine's fighting potential in conversations with foreign diplomats.

When, in spite of these efforts, the French and British agents in Ukraine – whose dispatches the Volunteer Army's secret service was skillfully intercepting – began reporting to their governments in the beginning of 1919 that the Ukrainian army was much stronger than White leaders cared to admit and when Ukrainian foreign emissaries scored some notable successes in the diplomatic field, the White movement, now under Denikin's guidance, decided that it was time to adopt new, more aggressive tactics.

First, orders were given to search for ways and means to weaken the Ukrainian military by weaning the well-organized, disciplined units from western Ukraine, the Ukrainian Galician Army, away from the central command. Denikin's intelligence agents succeeded in this endeavor by bringing about an agreement between the Volunteer Army and the Galicians by the end of 1919.

Secondly, it was decided that steps had to be taken to deprive the Ukrainian diplomatic apparatus of some of its most skillful emissaries, especially those who were of Jewish background. Thus, it could be considered hardly a coincidence that in 1919 there was a sudden surge in acts of violence against the Jewish inhabitants of Ukraine. The news of these events must have been greeted with a degree of congratulatory satisfaction in Denikin's milieu, especially when a

Volunteer Army agent planted in the Ukrainian headquarters began reporting about the atmosphere of utter confusion and dismay among the Ukrainians. In dispatches sent almost daily with the signature of a certain Capt. Marinovich, it was reported that the head of the Ukrainian Directory, Symon Petliura, appeared to be on the verge of losing his mind because his orders categorically forbidding his men from participating in acts of violence against Jews went unheeded.

The immediate consequence of these unfortunate events was the resignation of one of the Directory's ablest diplomats, Arnold Margolin. In an explanatory note this prominent Jewish jurist and civic leader wrote that even though he was fully aware that the Ukrainian Directory was not responsible for inciting these heinous incidents, the pressure of public opinion did not permit him to act otherwise.

These devious acts perpetrated by the White leaders most likely would not unduly shock the sensibilities of Putin, a former agent of the KGB himself. But from the documents in the archives as well as from information in Denikin's multi-volume history of the civil war, Putin could also learn that at the end of the struggle for "Russia One and Indivisible," some of the former tsarist officers in the White movement chose to join the Red Army because by that time, as they explained, it was evident that the Bolsheviks were "reuniting Russia."

This choice was considered morally unacceptable by Denikin. During his years as an emigré in France and the United States he never missed an opportunity to condemn the Bolshevik regime. He viewed as betrayal

(Continued on page 14)

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Yatsenyuk...

(Continued from page 1)

His carefully tailored campaigning is a factor as well. The candidate's campaign leaflets so far largely focus on his criticism of government, what he's against and what he wants to avoid.

A current campaign newsletter bears the headline, "Against Nazism," in an attempt to capitalize on the alleged beating of his campaigner in Uzhhorod by Mayor Serhii Ratushniak, who subsequently made offensive anti-Jewish comments.

While Nazism has yet to become a legitimate political threat in post-Soviet Ukraine, being "against Nazism" is something that resonates with many voters, experts said.

"He uses this word, this stamp, this sacred word in the Soviet system among the Homo Sovieticus, and the red light immediately lights up - 'He's against Nazism! This is our man!'" said Oleh Soskin, director of the Center of Society Transformation in Kyiv.

Mr. Yatsenyuk declares in another newsletter headline, "I can't forgive the current government for the chaos that dominates the country," without subsequently offering any suggestions to counter it.

Furthermore, Mr. Yatsenyuk now believes NATO accession is "not relevant," in sudden contrast to his support for NATO integration in early 2008 when he signed the controversial "Letter of Three," requesting Ukraine's entry into the Membership Action Plan along with Ms. Tymoshenko and President Yushchenko.

"He's playing on populism, relying on pensioners and society's marginal members," Dr. Soskin said.

The new NATO spin is also aimed at attracting more votes in the regions of Ukraine where he is less popular, experts said.

Mr. Yatsenyuk's stronghold is western Ukraine, where about 20.1 percent of the electorate said they would vote for him, according to the Razumkov poll, the most of all candidates. Ms. Tymoshenko would receive 19.1 percent of the votes from that region.

About 11.6 percent of central Ukrainians would vote for Mr. Yatsenyuk, compared with 7.2 of southern Ukrainians and 6.1 percent of eastern Ukrainians.

While the Donbas doesn't support Mr. Yatsenyuk, reports revealed the region's oligarchs do.

Among the biggest bombshells in the Yatsenyuk campaign was delivered by Mustafa Nayem, an investigative reporter who published a series of articles for the Ukrainska Pravda website.

A key Yatsenyuk financer is Leonid Yurushev, a Donbas native and Austrian national who engaged in so-called "currency operations," scooped up large industrial properties, launched banks and most recently invested in Kyiv real estate projects, Mr. Nayem reported. His wealth was estimated at \$426 million in 2006 by the annual Dragon Capital-Korrespondent magazine survey.

Mr. Yureshev has close ties with Donbas kingpin Rinat Akhmetov, who met with Mr. Yatsenyuk numerous times to discuss financing, Mr. Nayem reported.

The presidential contender turned down Mr. Akhmetov's support because of his alleged attempts to control the political project, requesting that his right-hand woman, National Security and Defense Council Secretary Raisa Bohatyriva, be given the top slot on the electoral list in the next parliamentary election.

Dnipropetrovsk oligarchs Victor Pinchuk and Igor Kolomoisky are also widely suspected within Kyiv political circles of providing financial support to Mr. Yatsenyuk.

That he's being supported by eastern



Armeni Yatsenyuk in a photo from November 2008.

Ukrainian oligarchs should come as no surprise since his candidacy is targeted toward siphoning votes from Ms. Tymoshenko, the main rival of Mr. Yanukovich, Dr. Soskin said.

Even more controversial than drawing upon Ukraine's oligarchs for his cause, which was largely expected, Mr. Yatsenyuk has recruited political experts with unflattering pasts.

As a condition for the Inter television network's heavy promotion of Mr. Yatsenyuk's counter-candidacy to Ms. Tymoshenko, Dmytro Firtash (of RosUkrEnergo), who controls Inter, allegedly stipulated that Volodymyr Hranovskyi, a former network executive, become a lead consultant.

In turn, Mr. Hranovskyi recruited three Moscow political scientists to the Yatsenyuk campaign who actively served the Kuchma and Yanukovich presidential runs: Tymofei Sergeitsev, Dmytry Kulykov and Iskander Valitov. All three Moscow political scientists also worked with Mr. Pinchuk, the son-in-law of former President Kuchma.

Mr. Sergeitsev acknowledged his key role in both the 1999 Kuchma campaign and the 2004 Yanukovich run. He is also the author behind the provocative "Three Sorts" campaign ad of 2004, Mr. Nayem reported, which was a blatant attempt by the Yanukovich campaign to inflame hostilities by dividing Ukrainians into three types - with western Ukrainians being the highest and easterners the lowest.

Meanwhile, Mr. Hranovskyi went from serving as the campaign's main media consultant to its top political technologist.

Another Yatsenyuk campaign staff leader, Oleksander Blank, has a history of working with notorious politicians with alleged criminal involvement, such as Lev Myrymskyi and Ihor Bakai.

Mr. Yatsenyuk neither confirmed nor refuted Mr. Nayem's reports of the Russian political scientists and other seedy campaign staffers.

Mr. Yatsenyuk is the most dangerous of the top four contenders because he is most beholden to Ukraine's Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk oligarchic clans, Dr. Soskin commented. "If he ends up in the second round of elections, the Donetsk crowd will make arrangements with him," he said. "He's not independent, since they supported him."

While Mr. Nayem's reports are credible, claims made by former Presidential Secretariat Chair Viktor Baloha that First Lady of Ukraine Kateryna Yushchenko is actively supporting Mr. Yatsenyuk's campaign are not, Mr. Lozowy said.

"In the context that he said it, it's clear that he had an axe to grind with her," he said, referring to the June interview Mr. Baloha gave to the Dyelo daily newspaper in Kyiv. "He's very mean-spirited and low. I could see Baloha trying to get back at her now."

Yulia Tymoshenko...

(Continued from page 1)

what observers predict will be a nasty presidential election that will likely result in a second-round face-off between Ms. Tymoshenko and opposition leader Viktor Yanukovich, who enjoys a comfortable lead in most polls.

"There's no question she's looking to shore up her position in western Ukraine and she knows the diaspora's influence on relatives and friends," said Ivan Lozowy, president of the Institute of Statehood and Democracy in Kyiv.

Newcomer Arseniy Yatsenyuk is slightly more popular in western Ukraine, according to a poll conducted on July 20-28 by the Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Research, which reported that 20.9 percent of western Ukrainians would vote for him compared with 19.1 percent for Ms. Tymoshenko.

Of the 47 million hrv (\$5.7 million U.S.) allocated from the government's Stabilization Fund, 20 million hrv (\$2.4 million) was earmarked for Culture and Tourism Ministry programs, 15 million hrv (\$1.8 million) for Foreign Affairs Ministry programs, 5 million hrv (\$606,000) for Education and Science Ministry programs, 4 million hrv (\$485,000) for the State Nationalities and

Religious Committee and 3 million hrv (\$364,000) for the State Radio and Television Committee, according to the Cabinet resolution.

"The government has basically said we've resurrected 47 million hrv for a program that practically had zero," said Stefan Romaniw, the UWC secretary general. "In 2008, it had 100,000 hrv and zero was planned for the 2010 budget."

Ms. Tymoshenko set aside significant time for UWC leaders during her August 20 visit to Lviv, privately meeting with its leadership for about 30 minutes on the morning of her arrival and then joining the UWC board of directors for a closed-door, 90-minute evening buffet.

More than 150 attendees, including about 55 delegates of UWC member-organizations, attended Ms. Tymoshenko's speech during the organization's annual meeting, which took place at Lviv Polytechnical University and was hosted by the International Institute of Education, Culture and Diaspora Relations.

"The diaspora will be important in shaping attitudes in western Ukraine in the elections," said Taras Kuzio, research fellow at the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto. "I believe the diaspora will come to the conclusion that only Tymoshenko can halt the election of a Russian fifth columnist."

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Ukraine on...

(Continued from page 1)

standards and it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for the country to do so in a non-aligned status, Mr. Chaly said.

Additionally, Ukraine already has international and legal agreements to integrate with the European Union (EU) and NATO. Meanwhile, Russia has failed to honor its agreement that it wouldn't pressure Ukraine after it agreed to surrender its nuclear arsenal entirely.

"Neutrality is simply unrealistic in my view," he said.

The Russian government is currently pursuing a foreign policy strategy of real-politik with the goal of creating its own sphere of influence within the post-Soviet sphere, whether informal or agreed upon, and ultimately changing the balance of power, Mr. Chaly said.

Most notably, Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Sergei Lavrov proposed a European Security Treaty, or a new security architecture, during informal meetings in late June with NATO foreign ministers in Corfu, Greece, as part of the highest-level talks between NATO and Russian leaders since the South Ossetian War.

The proposals for the new security architecture addressed arms control, the deadlock in the implementation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and the post-2008 crisis in the Caucasus, Mr. Lavrov said in a statement.

Mr. Chaly said Germany, France, Italy and Finland are willing to consider Russia's proposal, while that's not an option for the U.S., Great Britain, the Baltic nations and most Eastern European states.

"Ukraine isn't even following these processes in the appropriate way," Mr. Chaly said. "Only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is involved, in which diplomats are keeping track through their own efforts, without a minister." The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been without a minister since Parliament voted on March 3 to dismiss Volodymyr Ohryzko.

The Ukrainian news media have largely overlooked Russia's proposals in Corfu, which have gotten adequate attention in the West. In the meantime, the Defense Ministry is only partly involved and Ukrainian discussions within Ukrainian foreign policy circles are sluggish, he said.

"I think this is absolutely wrong," Mr. Chaly said. "If we don't want to remain further in this gray buffer zone, if we

don't want our fate to be decided by other sides, of course we are supposed to resolve our internal problems, consolidate the actions of the political establishment, I'm not saying the 'elite,' and consolidate the position of the Ukrainian people on the issues."

NATO and Russian agreements on cooperation with regard to Afghanistan, Iran and other issues threaten to come at the expense of the interests of states that don't have geopolitical leverage, such as Ukraine.

"We must constantly state our view here because very dangerous phrases are currently being uttered about how it's necessary to depart from the traditional system of international law, that it's ineffective and we need to act pragmatically," Mr. Chaly said, referring to Russia's new security architecture proposals.

Meanwhile, the situation with the Russian Black Sea Fleet remains unacceptable, he said. Ukraine is responsible for its maritime borders and territory, but de facto doesn't have the instruments to do so because the Black Sea Fleet possesses the necessary navigation equipment, a situation which doesn't conform to international regulations and documents.

"It's unacceptable when a country doesn't control its maritime waters," Mr. Chaly said, also pointing out another recent scandal in which Russia ignored Ukrainian arms inspections and requirements for permits to transfer arms within Sevastopol.

Yet, Ukraine doesn't face a direct military threat from Russia despite the tensions, he said.

"The main threats to the country are from within, not from outside," Mr. Chaly said. "It's not the type of threat that destabilizes the situation, but if the effectiveness of state institutions becomes a victim to this political struggle, then there could be processes of fragmentation within the country itself."

Russia is trying to maintain the status quo in maintaining its sphere of influence but the scenario won't work, he said. "Western countries will hardly go for such an exchange at the expense of countries in the regions, including Ukraine," he said.

The more realistic scenario is a temporary condition which will consolidate the situation from one side and, on the other hand, leave open a window of opportunity for Euro-Atlantic integration in the



Zenon Zawada

Valeriy Chaly, deputy director of the Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Research in Kyiv, said at a July 17 press conference that Ukraine is currently stuck in a dangerous geopolitical position.

future.

Political observers are beginning to compare Ukraine to a feudal state, where local princes decide matters in their regions amidst the erosion of legal mechanisms and a functioning court system, Mr. Chaly said.

"These are threatening moments," he said. "I don't see any positive scenario regarding the division of territory or the country's decomposition." Such scenarios are unrealistic and it won't be allowed to happen, he added.

Ukraine is at a crossroads in which it faces a full spectrum of possibilities that range from a worst-case scenario – what Mr. Chaly called a "sovereignty default" resulting from the concurrence of Russian pressure, internal disorder and weak state institutions – to full membership in Euro-Atlantic structures.

The key issue is that other states, namely Russia, may resolve their national interests at Ukraine's expense, Mr. Chaly said.

"That's what the problem is and I stress that we should very carefully watch that our national interests don't become a bargaining chip behind the scenes," he underscored.

the vice-president."

David J. Kramer is a Senior Trans-Atlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States and served as assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights and labor and as deputy assistant secretary of state responsible for Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova in the administration of President George W. Bush.

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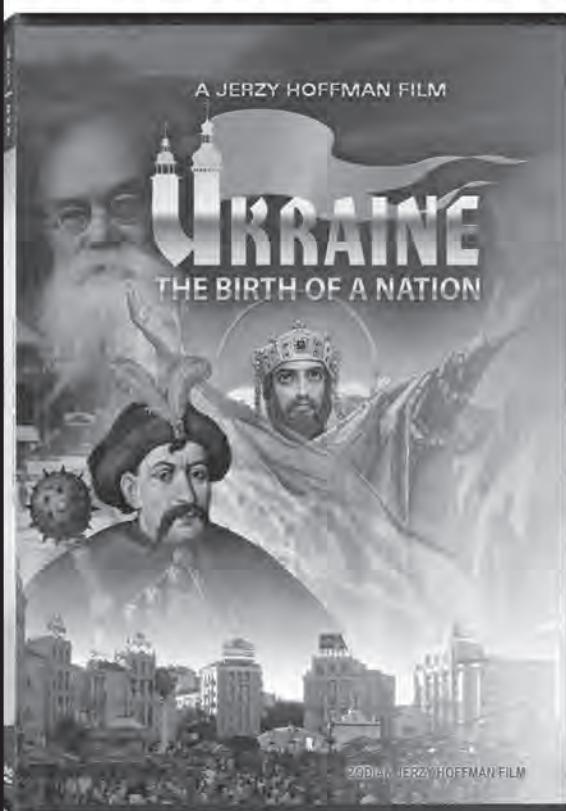
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UMANA holds 2009 biennial convention in Vancouver

by George Hrycelak

VANCOUVER, British Columbia – The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) held its 40th biennial scientific conference and 33rd Assembly of Delegates here on July 1-5.

Over 60 members, family and guests of the association traveled to the West Coast Canadian port city to hear colleagues review issues in patient safety, medical ethics and disaster management, as well as projects in Ukraine. The UMANA Assembly of Delegates reviewed the association's last two years of work, and elected a new board of directors for the upcoming term.

Members gathered at a welcome reception on Wednesday evening at the Marriott Pinnacle Downtown Vancouver Hotel, meeting with arriving attendees in a relaxed atmosphere and familiarizing themselves with the conference schedule.

Thursday and Friday mornings were dedicated to scientific sessions. Scientific coordinator Dr. Luba Komar (Toronto), arranged for a panel of speakers in a range of specialties to cover the program material. The University of Alberta certified the program for 10 Category I continuing medical education credits.

Speakers were: Dr. Borys Buniak, ("Feeding Tube Dilemma: To PEG or Not to PEG"); Christine Czoli ("The Ethics of Biobanks: Challenges and Proposed Solution"); Dr. Michelle Hladunewich ("Remembering SARS: The Toronto Experience"); Dr. Daniel Hryhorczuk ("The Family and Children of Ukraine Longitudinal Study"); Dr. Luba Komar ("To Err is Human: Fostering a Culture of Safety" and "Pandemic Influenza"); Dr. Alice Lytwyn ("Surgical Pathology: Under the Microscope"); Dr. Andrew Melnyk ("Lead Poisoning in Children in Ukraine" and "Cystic Fibrosis Mutation Genotyping in Ukraine"); Dr. Roman Petryshyn ("New Health Endowment

Established for Projects in Ukraine and North America"); Dr. Liza Pilch ("ER Disaster Management"); Dr. Catherine Popadiuk ("Physician Crisis Management Education: A Review of Physician Preparedness in Response to a Systemic Crisis"); Dr. Sonia Prokopetz ("Children of Chornobyl Canadian Fund: Projects in Ukraine – What Have We Learned?"); and Dr. Christine Sapka ("Reducing Errors in Diagnosis of Cervical Radiculopathy").

Audience participation in the ensuing discussions was active and spirited, with an exchange of opinions between Canadian and American colleagues leading to a better understanding of issues common to health care professionals on both sides of the border, as well as internationally in Ukraine.

On Friday evening, the group met for an UMANA reunion and awards presentation dinner. Following a tradition started years ago, UMANA Archivist Dr. Maria Hrycelak delivered the "outgoing president roast," lightheartedly reviewing the work of Dr. Ariadna Holynskyj for the last two years, and awarding Dr. Holynskyj a plaque in recognition of her two years of volunteer service to the association.

Andrea Zelisko, a medical student at the University of Wisconsin, was welcomed as a new member of UMANA participating in the conference. The remainder of the evening was spent networking, reminiscing and enjoying the company of colleagues and friends.

Saturday morning was devoted to the 33rd Assembly of Delegates, the highest governing body of UMANA. The entire two-year term was reviewed, with a detailed examination of financial reports, as well as the state of the organization and activity in participating chapters. Thirty-five new members were formally inducted into the association, with nearly half of the group being medical students. These numbers reaffirm UMANA's via-



The board of directors of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America for 2009-2011 (from left): Drs. Maria Hrycelak, Liza Pilch, Borys Buniak, Wayne Tymchak, Andrew Dzul, Andrew Melnyk, Roxolana Horbowyj and George Hrycelak.

bility as the largest Ukrainian American professional organization in North America.

The biennial assembly reviewed the slate of officers submitted by the nominating committee. Unanimously elected for two years were: President Dr. Wayne Tymchak (Edmonton), Vice-President Dr. Andrew Dzul (Michigan), President-elect Dr. Andrew Melnyk (Illinois), Secretary Dr. Borys Buniak (Syracuse) and treasurer Dr. Liza Pilch (Illinois).

The assembly further approved the three elected members to the UMANA Foundation, Dr. Maria Hrycelak, Dr. Yarko Maryniuk and Dr. Ihor Voyevidka. Elected to the ethics committee were Dr. Adrian Kesala, Dr. Wolodymyr Medwidsky and Dr. Ihor Voyevidka.

Heads of standing committees were approved, with Dr. Roxolana Horbowyj (Maryland-D.C. Metro) as editor-in-chief of the Journal of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America, and Dr. Andrew Iwach (northern California) as editor-in-chief of the newsletter UMANA

News.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, newly elected president Dr. Tymchak greeted the assembly. Speaking as the first president of the national office from a Canadian branch, he thanked the participants for the confidence extended to him and his leadership team, and shared his vision of the upcoming two years. The newly elected board of directors then held a brief initial meeting to set an agenda for the next several months.

On Saturday evening, the attendees enjoyed a memorable twilight harbor cruise with dinner while viewing the dramatic Vancouver skyline. This cruise served as a fitting conclusion to the conference, with discussions revolving around the new information learned at the conference. Members were heard actively planning events for 2011, exploring possible locations for the next UMANA scientific conference and Assembly of Delegates, and looking forward to continuing a long-standing custom of informational and social exchange.



Conference attendees absorb lecture material.



UMANA members enjoy the social hour at the Vancouver Pinnacle Hotel.

International conference to focus on Eastern Christians

EDMONTON, Alberta – An international conference on Eastern Christians in the Habsburg Monarchy to be held in Edmonton, Alberta, on September 11-12 will offer extensive coverage of Ukrainian religious life in Halychyna, Bukovyna and Zakarpattia and in the North American emigré community from 1772 to 1918.

The Research Program on Religion and Culture of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and the Wirth Institute of Austrian and Central European Studies, both at the University of Alberta, have joined forces to organize this scholarly symposium. Participants are coming from Britain, Canada, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine and the United States.

Prof. Paul R. Magocsi of the University

of Toronto will deliver the opening address, surveying the history of Eastern Christians in the Habsburg Empire. Roksolana Kosiv of the Lviv Academy of Art will speak on Ukrainian banners (khoruhvy), which is also the topic of her recent book. Natalia Dmytryshyn, also of Lviv, will talk about sacral embroidery in Galicia. The Rev. Peter Galadza of the Sheptytsky Institute at St. Paul University in Ottawa will discuss Aleksander Bachynsky's translation of the psalter.

Prof. Andriy Zayarnyuk of the University of Winnipeg will examine references to Eastern Christianity in Lviv's public space at the turn of the 20th century. Olesia Semchyshyn-Huzner of the Lviv Academy of Art will present the sacral painting of Modest Sosenko.

Joel Brady, a graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh, will reveal the connections between Ukrainian immigration to America and Greek-Catholic conversions to Orthodoxy in Austria-Hungary, and Prof. Frances Swyryda of the University of Alberta will describe how wayside shrines were transplanted from Europe to the Canadian prairies.

One session will be entirely in the Ukrainian language. Bernadett Puskás of the Nyíregyháza Institute in Hungary will discuss Ukrainian sacral art in Eastern Slovakia. Hannah Skoreyko of Chernivtsi National University will speak about difficult relations between Orthodox and Catholics and between Romanians and Ukrainians in Bukovyna.

In addition to the scholarly papers,

other Ukrainian-related events planned for the conference are: a showing of Dani Stodilka's film, "A Kingdom Reborn: Treasures from Ukrainian Galicia"; the presentation of John-Paul Himka's new book, "Last Judgment Iconography in the Carpathians" (University of Toronto Press), by Prof. Franz Szabo, director of the Wirth Institute; and a concert of liturgical music performed by St. George's Parish Choir, under the direction of Irena Tarnawsky.

For further information on the conference, readers may contact Prof. Himka, director of the Research Program on Religion and Culture of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, at jhimka@ualberta.ca, or the Wirth Institute at 780-492-2716.

Plast sorority donates proceeds of reunion to Vovcha Tropa camp

EAST CHATHAM, N.Y. – During morning ceremonies at the Vovcha Tropa campground of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization on Sunday, July 19, the New Jersey branch of the Ti Scho Hrebl Rvut Plast sorority (known as "Hrebl") presented the administration of Vovcha Tropa with a donation of \$2,000.

The money donated to the campground was from the proceeds of the first reunion of those who had camped at Vovcha Tropa between the years 1965 and 1975. In the style of a vintage "vechirka" (dance), the reunion had taken place at the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey in Whipppany, N.J., on April 25. The event was organized by the New Jersey branch, Bystrytsia, of the Hrebl and was attended by approximately 150 individuals, who came from as far away as California, Arizona, Quebec and Washington, D.C.

When asked why the reunion was focused on the years 1965 to 1975, the organizers noted that all the campers of Vovcha Tropa wouldn't fit inside the center's hall. They also noted that they felt the music from those years was especially great. But the primary reason for the selection of the 1965-1975 time period was that the organizers themselves were campers at Vovcha Tropa at that time.

During the reunion, in order to evoke the feeling of being at camp, all attendees had to pass under a "brama," or gateway, made of logs. The table centerpieces

were signposts, pointing toward such places at the Vovcha Tropa campground as the dining hall, the first aid station and, of course, the latrine. Other décor included multiple photos from 1965-1975 plastered on the walls and also projected by computer throughout the evening, as well as menus recalling the camp cuisine.

The program included short skits by Nestor Holynsky and Roman Juzeniv, with appearances by Vovcha Tropa luminaries, including the ghost known as "Bila Pani" (White Lady).

However, the highlight of the evening was the hilarious performance by comedian/Plast activist Panteleimon Pupchyk, who made a special trip from Hollywood (Arizona actually) to regale the audience with snippets from his selection of available-for-purchase Plast-themed books and CDs. (In real life, Paneteleimon Pupchyk was Andriy Chirovsky – today the Rt. Rev. Dr. Chirovsky.)

Finally, Kinderhook Creek, a band that took its name from a stream near Vovcha Tropa, reunited especially for this occasion to complete the trip down memory lane and get everyone dancing.

During the reunion, attendees signed a guest book and had their pictures taken. These assembled signatures and photos were presented, along with the \$2,000 check, to the administrators of Vovcha Tropa on Sunday, July 19, during the "Den Plastuna" festivities when parents visit their children who are at camp.



George Wirt

Panteleimon Pupchyk performs during the fund-raising reunion of Plast's Vovcha Tropa campers of the years 1965-1975.

Ruslana pays a visit to Chicago

CHICAGO – The Kyiv Committee of Chicago Sister Cities International presented Ukrainian superstar Ruslana – 2004 Eurovision winner, World Music Award winner and MTV Europe Music Award nominee – at the Skydeck in Chicago's Willis Tower. Ruslana, in Chicago for the North American tour for her album "Wild Dances," performed on Saturday, July 26, at the Venue at the Horseshoe Casino Hammond. Ruslana's

"Wild Dances," which features collaborations with American R&B superstars T-Pain and Missy Elliott, has dominated 14 European charts for 97 weeks. Ruslana, originally from Kyiv, one of Chicago's 28 sister cities, visited Chicago and New York state during her most recent visit to the United States, which included a performance at Soyuzivka, the heritage center of the Ukrainian National Association.



Skydeck Chicago

Ruslana on the Skydeck in Chicago's Willis Tower.

play capped off the event's festivities. Odesa and Kharkiv held their own military parades to commemorate Ukraine's Independence Day.

Notably absent from the Independence Day parade was Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, who marked Independence Day with leaders of her political bloc by placing flowers and singing the Ukrainian national anthem at the monuments to Vyacheslav Chornovil and Taras Shevchenko.

Also absent was opposition leader Viktor Yanukovych of the Party of Regions of Ukraine, who participated in a prayer service at the Kyivan Caves Monastery.

An evening concert featuring a performance by Ruslana and a fireworks dis-

Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

main boulevard, the Khreschatyk.

In his Independence Day remarks, President Viktor Yushchenko said, "we, the Ukrainian people, are the master (hos-podar) of our dear land."

"No one will ever decide for us what language to speak and what church to pray in," Mr. Yushchenko said. "No one will ever tell us what road to follow. No one will ever measure our borders, islands and peninsulas."

Joined on the dais by Gen. Serhii Kyrychenko, head commander of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, Mr. Yushchenko said that Ukraine is not indifferent to the

war in Georgia. On the contrary, "I express the deepest condolences from everyone, without exception, to the victimized people of the undivided Georgian lands [...] Your pain is in our hearts."

Reiterating the need for Ukraine to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Mr. Yushchenko noted that joining the alliance was the "single, complete way to defend the lives and wealth of Ukrainians." And, regarding European integration, he said, "Our complete return to a single European home is a matter of the nearest, already achieved prospect."

Mr. Yushchenko explained that a proposed package of legislation called "The Nation's Health" was supposed to foster cooperation between the warring Presidential Secretariat and the Parliament.

COMMUNITY CHRONICLE

Chicago branch of women's association to celebrate its 25th anniversary

by Ivanka Bryan

CHICAGO – In 1967 Ukrainian political activist Ulana Celewycz-Steciuk founded the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine (WADFFU). Headquartered in New York, its mission was supporting Ukraine in its struggle to gain independence from the Communist stronghold of the Soviet Union and to defend four basic freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear and freedom from want. To help achieve this goal, they raised awareness of the plight of Ukrainian citizens on their own soil.

In the fall of 1967 the Oksana Meshko branch was firmly planted in Chicago by Mrs. Celewycz and 30 devoted women. Their daughters, as well as other young girls of Ukrainian descent, watched and learned as WADFFU took on political and cultural activities for the benefit of their homeland by disseminating information about Ukraine to all of America and beyond.

On June 15, 1984, these same girls, who were now young women with their own families, formed a new branch of WADFFU. Twenty-five dedicated, educated and professional young women named their branch in memory of Alla Horska, a devoted Ukrainian activist and artist who was murdered by the Soviet regime because of her battle against the injustices in her beloved homeland.

Throughout the 1980s the Alla Horska branch dove into the political and cultural activity in the Ukrainian community, bringing awareness of Ukraine into the American communities in and around Chicago, and making their voices heard with various actions and protests.

With the declaration of an independent Ukraine, the organization focused on supporting Ukraine in its fledgling years and continued their philanthropic work. Most

recently, extraordinarily successful benefits such as "Wheelchairs for Ukraine" for the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC) raised over \$25,000 for disabled children and adults in Ukraine.

Previously, the benefit "One Heart to Another" for the "Gift of Life" program under the auspices of the Ukrainian American Freedom Foundation resulted in over \$32,000 for children's heart surgeries in Ukraine. In 2007 the multi-media event "Ukrainian Woman – Guardian of the Nation" focused on important Ukrainian women in history. Proceeds were donated to the "Adopt a Grandparent" program in Ukraine run by UUARC.

The branch organized and participated in various clothing drives for disadvantaged Ukrainians around the world. Its members have participated in various ethnic events hosted by the city of Chicago. For example, they decorate the annual Ukrainian Christmas tree in the name of Chicago's Consul General of Ukraine at Chicago's Navy Pier Winter Wonderfest, which is viewed by tens of thousands of visitors each year.

In 2004 the branch together with Chicago's Branch 29 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) co-hosted a 50th anniversary memorial event for the "500 Heroines of Kingir." In 2006 the WADFFU branch funded and coordinated the renovation of the Kingir monument on the grounds of the Ukrainian American Youth Association campground in Baraboo, Wis.

There is also time set aside for fun or educational events like Bingo Sundays, art exhibits, baking classes and "Mind, Body and Soul" Wellness Day for Women.

The Alla Horska branch has worked tirelessly during its 25 years of existence. And, it continues to grow in its responsibilities and efforts.



Members of the Chicago-based Alla Horska branch of the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine.

In October 2008 the headquarters of WADFFU's national executive board moved from New York to Chicago. Several confident members of the Alla Horska branch agreed to take on the responsibility of the top leadership positions of the organization.

On October 3 the Alla Horska branch will host a banquet and dance in celebration of its 25th anniversary. Attending this silver

anniversary event will be various important guests, among them Maria Shkambara, president of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations.

In this anniversary year, members of the Alla Horska branch of WADFFU extend their heartfelt thanks to the Ukrainian community at large for their trust and support over the past 25 years.

Parma community to celebrate dedication of "Ukrainian Village"

PARMA, Ohio – In October of 2007 the clergy and board of trustees of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Parma, Ohio, requested that Mayor Dean De Piero of Parma designate State Road as "Ukrainian Village."

As stated in the letter to Mayor De Piero, since the independence of Ukraine, thousands of Ukrainians have moved into the Greater Cleveland area. This is most noticeable in Parma where, on State Road, there are two Ukrainian cathedrals, two credit unions, numerous businesses and professional offices.

The city responded immediately and began plans to develop the area as the "Ukrainian Village." The dedication of this area will take place on Saturday, September 19.

Most recently, St. Vladimir Cathedral requested to add the special designation of St. Vladimir Drive to Marioncliff Drive on the occasion of the parish's 85th anniversary.

This was passed by the Parma City Council on July 6 and signed by the mayor on July 7. The sign was erected in front of St. Vladimir Cathedral on July 28 – the very day that the Church commemorates St. Vladimir.

As part of the festivities for the 85th anniversary, a Ukrainian Festival will be held in the parish center on Saturday, August 29.

On Saturday, September 26, parishioners will walk down memory lane by returning to the site of the first church building on West 11th Street in Cleveland, which is currently being used by a Protestant congregation. Following the tour of the church, a picnic, especially arranged for the younger generation of parishioners, will be held in the immediate vicinity – at Lincoln Park – across from the Ukrainian Museum.

The parish will conclude the anniversary celebrations on Saturday and Sunday, October 17-18. The celebration will be led by Metropolitan Constantine.



Children from the Vacation Church School of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Parma, Ohio, stand below the sign for the newly names St. Vladimir Drive.

North Dakota Ukrainians celebrate 1890s homesteaders

by Agnes Palaniuk

DICKINSON, N.D. – Leaving a known life in a known land for an unknown life in an unknown land took tremendous courage. The newcomers were drawn by the dream of land that awaited them in the farmers' last frontier in the state of North Dakota. This was the theme of the 2009 Ukrainian Festival sponsored by the Ukrainian Cultural Institute on July 17-19.

Beginning in 1897, thousands of Ukrainian peasants immigrated to North Dakota. Immigrants from the villages of Boryskivtsi, Trubchyn and Vyhoda claimed land in western North Dakota. Immigrants from the villages of Tovste and Zalishchyky landed in the central part of the state. Ukrainian Evangelical Baptists found religious freedom and filed for land in north-central North Dakota.

Thousands of Ukrainians met the five-year requirement to build a residence on their quarter section of land and turn over the sod to build homes; they turned the prairie into farmland.

As the United States commemorated the 200th anniversary of the birth of President Abraham Lincoln, North Dakotans honored him for signing the Homestead Act, which gave the new settlers 160 acres of free land and a promise

of a better life for themselves and their children.

The Ukrainian Cultural Institute chose the historic signing to honor the homesteaders. The burial sites of the homesteaders were identified on the six cemeteries of local Ukrainian parishes. A "panakhida," or memorial service, was celebrated on these cemeteries by Bishop Daniel (Zelinsky) of the Chicago Eparchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and the Rev. Taras Miles, pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic parishes in the state. The grandchildren of the homesteaders placed wreaths on their progenitors' graves as part of the "History Alive" program.

A program at Dickinson State University's Beck Auditorium presented interpretations of the reasons for emigration. The text was based on interviews with the first immigrants who claimed land beginning in 1897. In the 1970s grants from the North Dakota Humanities Council and a Dickinson State University Foundation Grant supported interviews with immigrants throughout the state.

A demonstration by third- and fourth-generation young people reaffirmed the preservation of Ukrainian arts, history and language sponsored by the Ukrainian Cultural Institute and the North Dakota Ukrainian Dance Association.

NOTES ON PEOPLE

Three sisters mark 60 years of ministry

FOX CHASE MANOR, Pa. – On June 28 the Sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great celebrated the lives and achievements to date of three women: Sister Laura Palka, Sister Mary Michael Bayda and Sister Theodosia Lukiw.

By answering a call by God to minister to the world, all three sisters have journeyed and experienced more than they could have imagined 60 years ago as late teenagers and early 20-somethings in 1949.

Sister Laura, the current provincial superior, has ministered across the country in various capacities. Most prominently, she has shared her gift of music through teaching, directing, composing and performing. As the music teacher at St. Basil Academy and Manor College, Sister Laura was the impetus behind the numerous musicals performed by the students.

Her most notable composition, the magnificent cantata from Bohdan Lepky's poem "In the Cathedral of St. George," has been featured at various venues, the most recent being the 2003 music tour of the Basilians Sisters' combined choir from Ukraine and



Celebrating their 60th jubilees are: (from left) Sister Mary Michael, Sister Laura and Sister Theodosia.

the United States.

Sister Laura has also served as the house superior for the Fox Chase convent, ensuring that the many daily functions were coordinated and ran smoothly.

with orphans. She spent time in Brazil establishing a foundation, then assisted the formation process. She also served in Rome at the Generalate, the sisters' worldwide headquarters, as general bursar and general councilor.

When she wasn't called to various parts of the world, she became a licensed practical nurse (LPN), working at Holy Redeemer Hospital in Philadelphia.

Sister Theodosia has also taught in numerous parishes: Watervliet, N.Y., New York, Hamtramck, Mich., and Philadelphia, and at St. Basil Academy in Fox Chase Manor, Pa. She is currently in her second term as principal at St. George School in New York. Sister Theodosia has also traveled the world to teach; as the academic dean at the Pedagogical-Catechetical School in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, she worked with the training of catechists.

During the second half of the 1970s into the mid '80s she served as provincial superior for the Fox Chase Province.

In their 60 years of ministry these three women have touched more lives than anyone could possibly count. They have served as a visible symbol of the love of God, and have inspired many to follow the divine example of Jesus Christ.

Veterinarian named Healthcare Hero

CHARLOTTE, N.C. – The July 17 edition of The Mecklenburg Times, a newspaper in Charlotte, N.C., recognized Dr. Maria Syska as a 2009 Healthcare Hero for her exceptional work as a veterinarian.

According to Tanya Mathis, the news-



Dr. Maria Syska with one of her patients.

paper's publisher, the 17 individuals selected as Healthcare Heroes "are committed individuals who are not only making a difference in the healthcare industry, but are also committed to our community as a whole."

In describing her dedication to her chosen field, Dr. Syska told The Mecklenburg Times that she has "always felt called to veterinary medicine." She also stated, "When I am caring for companion animals, I am improving not only their quality of life, but the quality of life of their human families as well."

In addition to her work as an intern at the Animal Medical Hospital in Charlotte, Dr. Syska has volunteered as a veterinarian in remote villages in Nicaragua, as well as various spay-neuter clinics and at the Humane Society's Rural Area Veterinary Services.

Readers may be familiar with Dr. Syska, whose graduation from the University of Pennsylvania School of Veterinary Medicine was noted in the June 22, 2008, edition of The Weekly.

Upon completing her internship at the Animal Medical Hospital this summer, Dr. Syska will move on to share her talents at the Stoney Creek Animal Hospital in Charlotte as an associate veterinarian.

Dr. Syska is the daughter of William and Loressa Syska of West Chester, Pa., and the granddaughter of Eva Uzych of Wallingford, Pa., and the late Dr. Walter Uzych, and of the late Olga and Otto Syska.

Receives promotion in N.Y. Guard



CORTLAND MANOR, N.Y. – Newly promoted to the rank of sergeant major, Taras Szczur (right) of the New York Guard, shakes hands with Command Sgt. Maj. James Harter; both are former Marines. On the left is Sgt. Maj. Szczur's fiancée, Yvonne Roque-Iannelli. Sgt. Maj. Szczur was promoted by Maj. Gen. Fergal Foley on Saturday, July 25, at Camp Smith in Cortland Manor, N.Y. The newly promoted guardsman has been serving as a personnel sergeant major since 2005.

Black knight...

(Continued from page 8)

of Russia even the meager concessions that the Soviet government was forced to make to the Ukrainians, Georgians and other nationalities in order to stay in power. To the end of his life Denikin remained convinced – and he frequently stressed this point in his writings – that the "basic vicious ailment" of the Bolshevik leadership was the fact that it consisted of non-Russians. He did not trust the Soviets, whom he viewed as a band of aliens and traitors, to guard the interests of Mother Russia.

Would Denikin trust Putin? The Russian

prime minister has no reason for doubt. After all, just last year he dazzled the world with Russia's might in his confrontation with Georgia, and as a former agent of the KGB, he is well-equipped to bring into play the divisive tactics the tsarist general used so skillfully in Ukraine during the civil war. He even appears ready to quote Denikin in order to warn Western leaders, President Barack Obama among them, that it is a crime to meddle in what he considers "Russia's internal affairs." Could this obsessive preoccupation with Georgia and Ukraine on the part of an imperially driven Russian leader once again thrust the country into the whirlwind of a disastrous war?

An open invitation to local community activists

Would you like fellow Ukrainians to know about events in your community? Would you like to become one of The Ukrainian Weekly's correspondents? Then what are you waiting for?

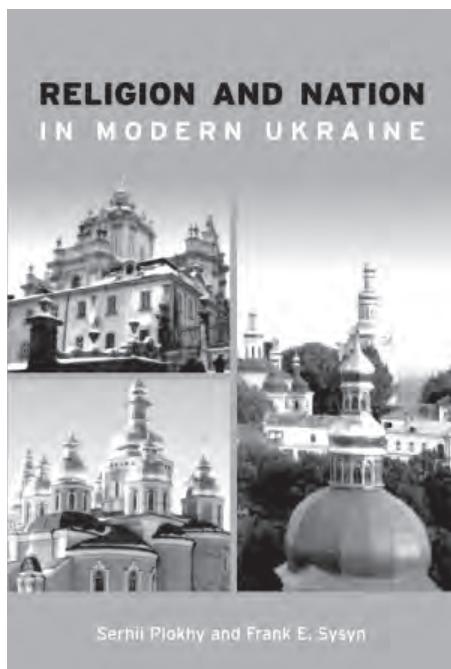
The Ukrainian Weekly welcomes submissions from local community activists. You may reach The Weekly by phone, (973) 292-9800; fax, (973) 644-9510; e-mail, staff@ukrweekly.com; or mail, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

"Religion and Nation in Modern Ukraine" reissued by CIUS Press

EDMONTON, Alberta – Since Ukraine's renewed independence, the religious situation and religious relations in that country have been the focus of international attention. The rebirth of Churches and religious institutions has been accompanied by vigorous competition for the loyalty of Ukraine's believers. The visit of Pope John Paul II to Ukraine in 2001 and the most recent visit of the newly elected patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, Kirill, testify to the centrality of Ukraine both in the Catholic and Orthodox worlds. Ecclesiastical affairs, above all the allegiance of Orthodox believers, have greatly influenced the processes of state-building and nation-building in Ukraine.

CIUS Press has published a number of monographs and collections of essays on problems of religious history by authors and editors such as Ihor Sevchenko, Yaroslav Isaevych, Geoffrey Hosking, Andrij Krawczuk, Paul R. Magocsi, Bohdan Bociurkiw and David Goa. To those interested in the current religious situation in Ukraine, the volume of essays by Serhii Plokhy and Frank E. Sysyn, titled "Religion and Nation in Modern Ukraine," has been especially welcome. The over 15 reviews of the volume have praised this edition as a greatly needed authoritative work on modern religious affairs in Ukraine.

The internationally renowned specialist on religious affairs Michael Bourdeaux evaluated the volume in the Slavic Review: "Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine has been called the 'sleeping giant' of Europe – one of the continent's most populous nations, but one that has so far had minimal impact on



international affairs. Far too little is being published, whether in the realm of scholarly studies or in the press, about this vast new independent country. 'Religion and Nation in Modern Ukraine' is, therefore, not only a welcome addition to the literature, but an excellent book in its own right. As scholars conversant with Ukraine will know, the names of Serhii Plokhy and Frank E. Sysyn guarantee the quality of the work. Each has a profound insight into the complex issues facing the country today."

A specialist on religious groups in contemporary Ukraine, above all the Protestants, Catherine Wanner, characterized the topic and volume thusly: "It was not until the late 1980s that many schol-

ars from a plethora of disciplines were forced to concede that they had underestimated the importance of nationality issues, and especially of religion, as forces shaping Soviet history. Few scholars engaged the dynamic interaction of nationality and religion as they played out historically in politics and the daily life of Soviet citizens. The two authors of this book went against this trend and have over the years amassed a distinguished record of scholarship in the fields of Ukrainian history and of religious life over the centuries in this strategically important borderland."

These and over 10 other reviews of this book can be read on the CIUS Press website at www.utoronto.ca/cius/publications/books/religionnation.htm.

CIUS Press has decided to respond to the ongoing demand for this book by scholars and a wider public interested in religious affairs in Ukraine and the Eastern Christian world by reissuing "Religion and Nation in Modern Ukraine." The book is available in a

paperback edition for \$29.95 and in hardcover for \$39.95 (plus taxes and shipping; outside Canada prices are in U.S. dollars).

Readers interested in matters of Ukrainian religious life can also take advantage of a limited-time opportunity to purchase Bohdan R. Bociurkiw's authoritative scholarly study of the process of dissolution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine by the Soviet authorities: "The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939-1950)," hardcover edition; discounted price: \$23.97 (reg. \$39.95). Twenty reviews of this book can be found at <http://tinyurl.com/mcd5e3>.

Orders for both books can be placed via the secure online ordering system of CIUS Press at www.utoronto.ca/cius or by contacting CIUS Press, 430 Pembina Hall, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, T6G 2H8; telephone, 780-492-2973; e-mail, cious@ualberta.ca.

— Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

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UIMA: The jewel of Chicago's Ukrainian Village

by Myron B. Kuropas

CHICAGO – The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art in Chicago (UIMA) is called "the jewel of the Ukrainian Village." Rightfully so. Since its founding in 1971, the UIMA has featured countless art exhibits, music recitals and public events enriching the cultural life of Chicago.

The current exhibition, on view August 2-30, features works by Vasyl Fedorouk, a sculptor, and Alexander Dubovyk, a painter.

Born in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, in 1950, Mr. Fedorouk studied at the Lviv and Kosiv art schools, where he perfected sculpting in geometric abstraction. A master of his chosen media of granite, stone, marble and ceramic, his artworks can be found in permanent museum collections in Ukraine and Russia, and private collections throughout the world. Mr. Fedorouk lives in Illinois.

Mr. Fedorouk's sculptures are reminiscent of the works of the late Alexander Archipenko, the world-famous Ukrainian sculptor who brought Ukrainian art to the world stage. Avant-garde in his day, Archipenko is considered the father of cubist sculpture featuring "negative form," by which holes emerged as more than simple voids. Archipenko's works were exhibited at the UIMA on May 25-August 10, 2008.

Mr. Dubovyk was born in Kyiv in 1931; he studied and later taught in prestigious art schools in his home town. A master of cubism and geometric abstraction, Mr. Dubovyk has works in museums throughout the world, as well as in private collections. Many of the works displayed here are from the private collection of Adrian Sonevitsky. Mr. Dubovyk continues his art career in Ukraine.

Mr. Dubovyk's abstract art could not be openly exhibited in Ukraine until the collapse of the Soviet Union. During Soviet times, artists had to hew to the official artistic line. An idea, known as "Proletkult," emerged soon after the Bolshevik coup d'état in Russia; it demanded that all arts serve the dictatorship of the proletariat. In painting, the goal was "socialist realism," portraying the state and its leaders in heroic terms. The death of Stalin led to a temporary thaw, but the idea of art as a servant of the Soviet state was never dropped.

The UIMA was founded in 1971 by Dr. Achilles Chreptowsky, Wasyl Kacurovsky, Konstantin Milonadis and Mychajlo Urban. They were committed to freeing Ukrainian art from the shackles of Ukraine's Soviet repression and to providing Ukrainian artists a world stage on which to exhibit their work.

The current exhibition at the UIMA comes on the heels of an exhibition that featured the work of Olga Antonenko, another abstract artist from Kyiv, whose colorful paintings, tapestries and batiks were on display from June 14 to July 26. Her mural "Springtime in Chicago" is on permanent exhibit at O'Hare Airport in Chicago.

The next UIMA exhibit, featuring the art of two local Ukrainian artists, Mr. Kacurovsky, painter, and Alexandra Kowerko, sculptor and printmaker, will run from September 13 through October 25. The late Mr. Kacurovsky was the UIMA curator for many years. Ms. Kowerko's monoprints – nudes, woodland nymphs, goddesses – are eulogies to the human figure.

The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art is located at 2320 W. Chicago Ave. For exhibit hours readers may call 773-227-5522 or contact Stanislav Grezdo at stano@uima-chicago.org.



Lesia Kuropas
A view of the gallery at the Ukrainian National Museum in Chicago.



"Fire Dance" by Vasily Fedorouk.



"Sun" by Vasily Fedorouk.



"Call of the Steppe" by Vasily Fedorouk.



"Melody" by Vasily Fedorouk.



"Trinity," "Cosmos," "Cosmical Harp" by Vasily Fedorouk.



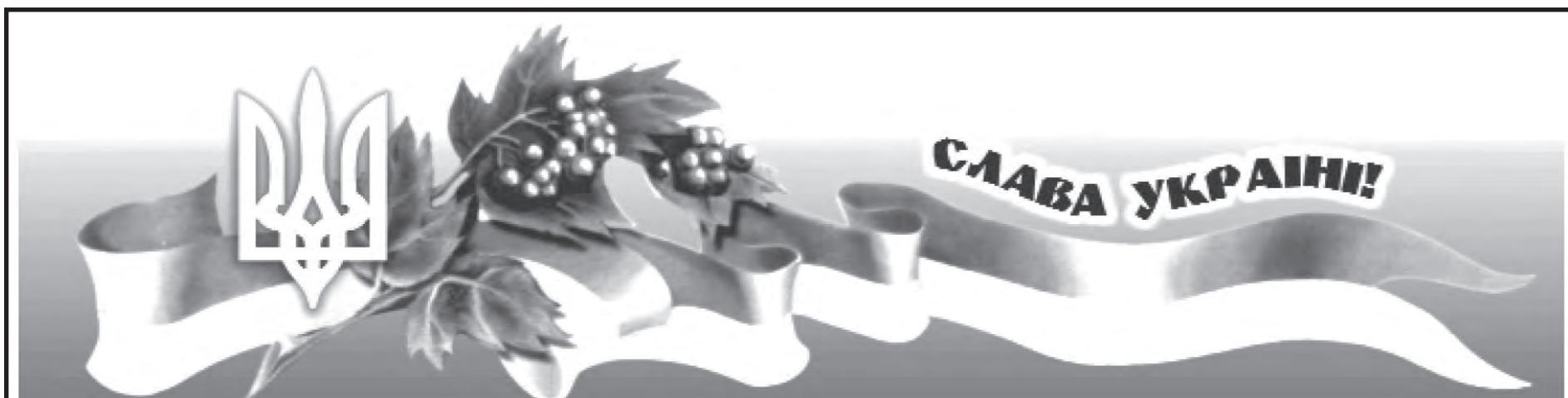
"Dialogue" by Alexander Dubovyk.



"Sight" by Alexander Dubovyk.



"Melancholy" by Alexander Dubovyk.



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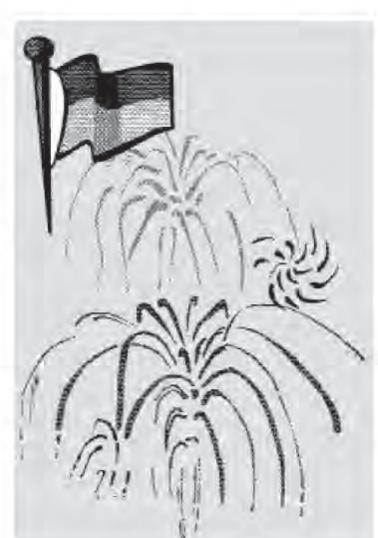
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Russian military...

(Continued from page 3)

promised to pass the amendments as soon as possible (www.kremlin.ru, August 10).

Thus, Mr. Medvedev, in effect, acknowledged that the invasion of Georgia was illegal. Under present legislation, Russia did not have the legal right to invade Georgia, since its territorial integrity was not under threat and it did not have any defense treaties with South Ossetia or Abkhazia. The upper house of Parliament did not decide to send troops into battle within Georgia, as the Constitution demands (Kommersant, August 11).

The legislation that may legalize a possible future invasion of Crimea "to defend Russian soldiers and citizens" could be passed soon and Mr. Medvedev's rhetoric sounds warlike, but the Russian military at present is clearly not ready to take on

an offensive "liberation" campaign deep within Ukraine. The Ukrainian armed forces are ineffective, but the territory of the possible theater of conflict is vast and densely populated, requiring a massive deployment of well-prepared troops. Russia needs at least three more years of radical military modernization and some rearmament, before it may contemplate a Crimea and Ukraine mission. Now a new bitter gas war with Kyiv is on the horizon, which might once more cut supplies to Europe.

While further Russian attempts to influence domestic politics in Ukraine continue, the military threat will linger in the background.

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Yushchenko's letter...

(Continued from page 3)

Regarding the visit of the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Cyril [Kirill] to Ukraine, it is worth mentioning that he expressed words of gratitude to the leadership of our nation for the high level of organization of his stay in Ukraine. And, of course, the Russian Orthodox Church prior [primate] did not make any negative or critical remarks similar to those contained in your letter and discrediting the very spirit of the visit. Generally speaking, we consider the connections between the visit of Patriarch Cyril and bilateral political relations to be wiredrawn and irrelevant [irrelevant].

Speaking about the forced decision of the Ukrainian side regarding the two diplomatic representatives of Russia, it should be emphasized that before making such a step we have three times officially argued to the Russian side about the wrongful actions of the abovementioned senior diplomats. The Ukrainian party has provided sufficient evidence of their activities in Ukraine, which harmed the national interests of Ukraine. On the other hand, the responsive actions of the Russian side against the Ukrainian diplomat were totally unjustified and baseless. I hope that in the future our two countries will manage to avoid recurrence of such

unfortunate situations, which cast a shadow over bilateral relations.

Summarizing the listed, I would like to express my conviction that solving current problems in Ukrainian-Russian bilateral relations requires intensive work. Therefore, the decision to postpone the arrival of the new Russian ambassador to Ukraine will certainly not contribute to constructive development of our relations.

Ukraine remains a supporter of broad cooperation with the Russian Federation based upon mutual respect and equality, by means of maintaining constructive dialogue, including that at the highest level. At least three times last year I have proved my willingness to engage in dialogue at the negotiating table in my letters to you. Today this call still applies. Unfortunately, in response to that I only received invitations to take part in the race for the prize of the president of Russia or other multilateral arrangements. I hope that this time your response will be constructive.

I believe in the good future of Ukrainian-Russian relations, which are based on the deep tradition of friendship and neighborliness between the peoples of our two countries that are stronger than the interests of certain political circles and not influenced by situational conditions of the political moment.

Sincerely,

Viktor Yushchenko

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Ukrainian pro basketball update

by Ihor Stelmach

Three different welcomes for a trio of Ukrainian hoopsters

Ukrainian basketball fans have not exactly been hooping it up the past few roundball seasons. Indeed, the Ukrainian contingent in the National Basketball Association has dramatically declined since notable players Vitaly Potapenko and Slava Medvedenko quietly left the league, while part-timer Viktor Khryapa was waived away. Granted there was hope when youngsters Oleksiy Pecherov and Kyrylo Fesenko emigrated from Ukraine a couple of years back, drafted by Washington and Utah, respectively. Then there was Wally Szczerbiak, once a prolific scorer, more recently assigned to a second-team position by the 2009 semi-finalist Cleveland Cavaliers. Not too much to get excited about...

Well, a two-week span in late June jolted us out of our Ukrainian pro basketball doldrums, when a huge draft-week deal landed the aforementioned Pecherov in a potentially promising new home (Minnesota), a future-planning Utah Jazz re-upped the promising Fesenko and an unknown Sergiy Gladyr was selected as Atlanta's No. 2 pick in the 2009 NBA Draft. Yikes! This was enough to motivate some to pump up their outdoor balls and hike over to the local high school for some full court action! Here are some details on the major moves pertaining to our three Ukrainian b-ballers.

Hawks to Gladyr: Welcome to the NBA

Since the NBA draft is only a two-round affair, it is imperative a club selects wisely with its top pick. The second round affords more of a chance to opt for a player with more long-term potential. The Atlanta Hawks came away from the draft convinced they had their guy in Sergiy Gladyr, who per game averaged 15.4 points, 4.3 rebounds, 2.4 assists and 1.5 steals in 29 minutes for MBC Mykolayiv in the Ukrainian Super League.

Here's what Hawks international scout Mark Crow, who scouted Gladyr extensively in Europe, had to say about Atlanta's second-round selection (as per Basket Blog of the Atlanta Hawks):

"Gladyr is a 6-foot-5-inch, 19-year-old kid with tremendous shooting ability. I saw him hit 11 three-pointers in a game against Lithuania for the Ukrainian National Team last year. He's got great form, and he's a very good athlete as well."

In official press releases after the draft, the Hawks proudly boasted getting players right at the top of their draft board for each of their two picks. Atlanta selected Wake Forest point guard Jeff Teague as their No. 1 pick.

Gladyr scouting report

A shooting guard with strong athletic ability, Gladyr could have been a first-round pick if he had more exposure. Not too many talent scouts saw him play in the Ukrainian League. The attraction to this 19-year-old is his shooting ability – one of the better pure shooters anywhere. His shooting percents didn't overwhelm anyone (36 percent from three-point range), yet scouts were enamored with his sweet-shooting stroke. He's very adept at getting his legs into the shot with a strong sense of balance.

For his age, Gladyr is smooth at drilling jumpers coming off screens. He's not intimidated by a defender being up in his face, as he employs a quick release and exudes self-confidence in his shooting

abilities.

Getting back to his athleticism, he's shown he can handle the ball, likes using his left hand and has developed an effective crossover dribble – skills necessary to disprove any label that he's strictly a shooter. He can just as easily score playing off the dribble, showcasing a strong ability to finish when going to the hoop.

Gladyr was rated a pretty good athlete by Ukrainian League standards, but questions remain about how he will rate as a future NBA'er. Again his overall athleticism plays into effect here, and he earned good reviews at the pre-draft Euro Reebok Camp. The overall consensus had Gladyr having the second most polished offensive skill-set of any 2-guard (shooting guard) after James Harden.

Gladyr was born on October 17, 1989, in Mykolayiv, Ukraine, and standing at 6-foot-5 and weighing 190 pounds, he was contracted with MBC Mykolayiv in the Ukrainian Super League. The 2008-2009 Ukrainian season saw him showcase some showman skills when in the league's April All-Star game he scored a game-high 24 points, while dishing out nine assists. He also won the three-point shootout title, besting BC Kyiv's Manuchar Markoishvili in the final. His season high was 36 points against Khimik Youzhny, a game in which he attempted 19 free-throws. MBC Mykolayiv finished in fifth place in 2008-2009.

T'wolves to Pecherov: Welcome to Minnesota

On June 24, 2009, one day prior to the 2009 NBA Draft, the Minnesota Timberwolves acquired the No. 5 pick in the draft, center Etan Thomas and forwards Darius Songaila and Oleksiy Pecherov from the Washington Wizards for guards Randy Foye and Mike Miller.

"This draft offers us an opportunity to begin transforming the Timberwolves into a team poised for long-term success, and the prospect of acquiring an additional asset in the No.5 pick, along with some added depth in our frontcourt, was very attractive," said David Kahn, Timberwolves president of basketball operations, in an official press release.

In two seasons in Washington, Pecherov has posted career averages of 3.6 points (0.367 three-point percentage, 0.733 free-throw percentage), 2.1 rebounds and 8.9 minutes per game in 67 contests. The 7-foot-tall center/forward was originally drafted No. 18 overall by Washington in the 2006 NBA Draft.

Dishing on Pecherov

Hopefully with all of the personnel changes going on in Minnesota, Pecherov will get more of an opportunity for playing time. The problem in Washington was Pecherov did not improve from year to year. Some of the blame falls on the poor Wizards' player development and coaching change. Some must be placed on the player's shoulders. If the Ukrainian had engaged in more spirited practice sessions and shown more of a dedicated work ethic, more minutes on the court would have found him, especially in the Wizards' injury-plagued 2008-2009 campaign. The embarrassment of having a shot blocked by 6-foot-2-inch Daniel Gibson in a Cavaliers matchup left more of an impression than any few positive moments Pecherov experienced last season. Playing behind Antawn Jamison, JaVale McGee, Darius Songaila, Andray

Blatche and Etan Thomas, the Ukrainian dubbed "Big Oily" was already in a position where working extra hard was a definite prerequisite for more playing time.

There was a brief time this past season when "Pech" expressed a desire to rebound the basketball, a rare oddity for most European big men possessing an outside shooting touch. However, the urge to 'bound didn't last – as the hustle on the glass decreased, hovering around the three-point arc increased, resulting in less minutes on the court and more on the bench.

Yet the potential remains, especially if Pecherov were to start using the three-point shot as a threat and not as a crutch. He has the ability to master the pick and pop as a big man – a strategy which would then open up the lane for penetration to the hoop. If the Minnesota coaching staff could teach him some defensive techniques, Pecherov with a high defensive IQ would be a valuable asset. If Pecherov himself decided to emulate a new teammate (Al Jefferson) or even an ex-Wizards teammate (Songaila) who both play with tremendous heart, what an asset he might become to the T'wolves franchise. Any of these ifs turning into reality means Pecherov finally becomes an NBA player.

Jazz to Fesenko: Welcome back

On June 12, 2009, Utah Jazz general manager Kevin O'Connor announced the team exercised its option on center Kyrylo Fesenko for the 2009-2010 season. Financial terms were not disclosed, as per team policy. The 7-foot-1-inch, 290-pound, 22-year-old Ukraine native has appeared in 30 games over the past two seasons with the Jazz, per game averaging 2.1 points, 2.1 rebounds and 0.6 blocks, while shooting 0.519 percent in 7.5 minutes. In 2008-2009, he saw action in 21 games (one start), averaging per game 2.3 points, 1.8 rebounds and .71 blocks, hitting 0.583 percent of his field goals in 7.4 minutes. Fesenko's best game came against 7-foot-6-inch Yao Ming of the Rockets in a December 27, 2008, game at Houston where he posted career highs of 12 points (six to eight points from the field) and 11 rebounds along with three blocked shots in 34 minutes of play.

Fesenko has played in 51 games (35 starts) while assigned to the NBA Development League's Utah Flash over the past two seasons, averaging 10.6 points, 7.9 rebounds and 1.82 blocks in 25.5 minutes per game. He earned a 2008 D-League All-Star Game berth.

Originally selected by the Philadelphia 76ers in the second round (38th overall) of the 2007 NBA Draft, the Jazz acquired Fesenko's rights in a draft night trade.

Fesenko still a work in progress

When Jazz GM Kevin O'Connor

acquired Fesenko in 2007 he declared the Ukrainian center a "work in progress." What was true back then certainly holds true to this very day.

"I think it's been a roller coaster with him," O'Connor said in a March 2009 interview with The Salt Lake Tribune's Ross Siler. "We've seen some spots where he's certainly been significant in a couple of games. I think he continues to improve, and I think we've got to evaluate where he's at."

The Jazz made a nearly \$3 million investment in Fesenko, having paid some \$500,000 to buy out his Ukrainian club contract, then inking him to a three-year, \$2.4 million deal themselves. At this point the club option for 2009-2010 kicked in, with the team holding an \$870,000 clause to bring Fesenko back for another year. Utah had until June 15, 10 days before this year's draft and two weeks before the start of free agency, to make its decision.

Several factors came into play while the Jazz decided Fesenko's fate. One was the economics of the option year – \$850,000 per year is quite modest for an NBA back-up center, especially with an expected drop in the league's salary cap with the deepening recession.

In addition, the Jazz could no longer send Fesenko to the NBA Development League since he would be a third-year player. Bringing him back means he's pretty much guaranteed a roster spot.

Fesenko had his moments in 2008-2009, helping the Jazz to an upset win over the eventual-champion L.A. Lakers when both Carlos Boozer and Mehmet Okur were out injured. All in all, it was a season of major ups and downs. The summer of 2008 saw him part ways with his private coach, show up with blond hair for the start of summer league and finish scoreless with four fouls and seven turnovers in his first Rocky Mountain Revue game.

GM O'Connor said Fesenko "wasted some time in his improvement curve," but also said the comparison from 2007-2008 to 2008-2009 was favorable. The two main areas of opportunity are his focus and his weight.

Last season saw continued improvement in his post moves and counter moves, getting closer to knowing who and what he is on the court. Some in the organization say he's come a long way and still has a long way to go. He's still quite young, adapting to a new environment with a wad of cash in his pocket. More maturity combined with a more serious approach to his daily routine would be a big step forward.

Perhaps the clinching factor in bringing Fesenko back to Utah for at least one more year was the fear of losing him to western foe Sacramento, where his former agent, Jason Levien, is now the Kings' assistant general manager.

Attention, Students!

Throughout the year Ukrainian student clubs plan and hold activities. The Ukrainian Weekly urges students to let us and the Ukrainian community know about upcoming events. The Weekly will be happy to help you publicize them. We will also be glad to print timely news stories about events that have already taken place. Photos also will be accepted.

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(Continued from page 2)

that the MFA had not released this information earlier in order not to "aggravate the situation" linked to Russian President Medvedev's open letter to Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko. He said that since the start of the year Ukraine has sent 14 notes of protest to Russia over the violation of Ukrainian laws by the Russian Black Sea Fleet. (Ukrinform)

Georgia to withdraw from CIS

TBILISI – Georgia will officially end its membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as of August 18, RFE/RL's Russian Service reported on August 17. Officials in Georgia's State Chancellery told RFE/RL that Tbilisi plans to sign bilateral agreements with CIS member-countries on visa-free travel, special customs taxes and other issues previously defined by the CIS. Tbilisi's main priority will be its further cooperation with its more active economic partners, Kazakhstan and Ukraine, the officials said. Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili announced his country was quitting the CIS on August 12, 2008, after Russian forces entered Georgia's breakaway republics of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. (RFE/RL)

Tymoshenko reacts to Medvedev letter

KYIV – Ukraine will decide on its domestic and foreign policies independently, Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko said in reaction to Russian President Dmitry Medvedev's open letter addressed to Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko. "Notwithstanding the fact that the foreign policy is the constitutional prerogative of the president, I cannot keep silent on the latest developments in Ukrainian-Russian relations. Taking into account their importance, I'm concerned about the extremely high level of public polemics on this subject," she said in a statement posted on the official website of the government on August 14. "As prime minister, I have always done my best to deepen mutually beneficial cooperation between Ukraine and Russia, first and foremost in the economic sector controlled by the government. I will continue doing this in any post to which the Ukrainian people entrust me," she said. Ms. Tymoshenko also vowed to build "equal relations with Russia, based on national interests, mutual benefit, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity." She stated that "Ukraine will independently decide on its domestic and foreign policies, including in the humanitarian sphere. We will independently study our past, deal with our present and build our future." The prime minister added, "We have always been ready to hear and heed the opinion of our partners in the East and in the West, taking into account their interests, but any interference in our internal affairs is unacceptable." Ms. Tymoshenko expressed hope that Ukrainian and Russian diplomats would resolve all of the problems not by means of confrontation and public polemics, but at the negotiating table. "I think that any halt in the development of cooperation between Ukraine and Russia is unacceptable. Our government will act in line with this [principle]," Ms. Tymoshenko said. (Ukrinform)

Kravchuk comments on Medvedev letter

KYIV – Ukraine's first president, Leonid Kravchuk, said on August 14 that Russian President Dmitry Medvedev's letter addressed to his Ukrainian counterpart Viktor Yushchenko is aimed at influencing the presidential election in Ukraine. "Russia is trying to give guidelines to the Ukrainian political elite and voters so that we maintain friendly rela-

tions with Russia and set acceptable prices for energy resources, and [to make us] think whom we should elect," he said in an interview with the newspaper Den (Day). "I have come to the conclusion that Russia has reached a [critical point] by deciding to use aggressive and attacking diplomatic and political actions in respect to Ukraine," Mr. Kravchuk said. "I cannot say there were no facts presented by Medvedev. Perhaps, they were presented very emotionally, very emphatically and sometimes exaggeratedly, but they exist. These facts are divided into two parts," he said. The first, he said, includes "our domestic issues (language, the gas pipeline and NATO)." "These are our problems that should and will be resolved only by the Ukrainian people and the authorities. Nobody else," Mr. Kravchuk said. "The same situation is with the election. A person who is supported by a majority of the Ukrainian people will become president. Our president, thank God, won't be elected in Russia," he said. The second part, he said, concerns the basing of the Russian Black Sea Fleet. "There's a bilateral agreement that should be specified, interpreted and implemented. But the problem lies in the fact that Russia doesn't want to divide this into two parts, and it presents everything in the same context – from the position of the state that heads the CIS," Mr. Kravchuk commented. (Ukrinform)

Medvedev: no further comment

KYIV – Russia's President Dmitry Medvedev said he does not want to comment on the reply of Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko to his message, it was reported on August 14. Speaking at a news conference after negotiations with German Chancellor Angela Merkel in Germany, he said: "I said all I wanted to say to the Ukrainian president. If I will explain now why I do so, and bring any additional arguments, I am afraid that this will be more rough. And I would not like to engage in controversy on these issues," the Russian president noted. At the same time, he said that today he sees no prospects for revival of normal Ukraine-Russia relations at this stage, nor does he see any fault on Russia's part for the bad state of bilateral cooperation. According to Mr. Medvedev, normal relations with the incumbent leaders are impossible, but, he believes the situation might improve. He said he hopes that Ukraine's new leadership will have enough possibilities to improve bilateral relations significantly. "Russia is striving for that. This is our most important foreign policy priority," Mr. Medvedev underscored. (Ukrinform)

Over 20,000 receive citizenship

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko signed a decree granting Ukrainian citizenship to 251 people, including 14 minors. The Presidential Secretariat's service for citizenship issues said that Ukrainian citizenship has been granted to representatives of 33 nationalities, most of them being Russians (30 percent), Armenians (16 percent), Georgians (16 percent), Moldovans (7 percent) and Azerbaijanis (6 percent). A total of 2,272 people have received Ukrainian citizenship since the start of the year under presidential decrees. In the first half of 2009, 20,952 people became citizens of Ukraine and 3,239 people gave up their Ukrainian citizenship. (Ukrinform)

Bronze Age settlement in Rivne region

KYIV – Archeologists found a Bronze Age settlement dating back to 3000 B.C. in the Rivne region of western Ukraine. They have excavated crockery fragments, silicon cutters and other objects characteristic of that period. Research has been

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carried out there since 1993. Over this time, an encampment of the Goths of the third-fourth centuries A.D. was found, as was a Slavic dwelling from the 10th century. Scientists also found a third century depiction of the head of the ancient deity Sarapis made of a nonferrous metal alloy – the only one of its kind made from this material. (Ukrinform)

Trypillian epoch to be recreated

KYIV – A Trypillian cultural museum complex continues to be constructed in the Cherkasy region of central Ukraine. Work is under way, but organizers are waiting for support on the part of UNESCO. The Trypillian culture reserve was founded three years ago within the state project Golden Horseshoe of the Cherkasy Oblast. Nevertheless, the state has not allocated funds for the project. Museum workers say that if not for philanthropists the project would not be implemented. The Trypillian culture is a Neolithic (late Stone Age) archeological culture of the seventh to third centuries B.C. that arose between the Danube and Dnipro rivers. (Ukrinform)

Pole to head NATO Liaison Office

KYIV – Polish representative Marcin Koziel has been appointed as the new head of the NATO Liaison Office in Ukraine, the Polish Permanent Delegation to NATO reported on August 5. Polish military expert and former Deputy Defense Minister Stanislaw Koziej said in an exclusive interview that Mr. Koziel is a “highly qualified military analyst.” He said that the appointment of a Polish representative as head of the NATO Liaison Office in Ukraine was a good choice for NATO, because “Poland in NATO is viewed as an advocate for Ukraine, as the country is trying to help Kyiv qualitatively prepare for its possible membership in the organization.” Mr. Koziel will replace James Green of the United States, who has headed the office since February 2004. (Ukrinform)

SBU uncovers criminal group

KYIV – The Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) said on August 5 that it has uncovered an organized criminal group that transferred non-cash funds to offshore zones in South America and ensured payments were made for the importation of smuggled industrial and food products. In August-September of this year the criminals were planning to illegally transfer 250 million hrv to the accounts of offshore companies on the Cayman Islands. Four residents of Kyiv set up the network of around 100 fictitious firms. (Ukrinform)

Obolon to bottle Bitburger beer

KYIV – One of Ukraine’s largest breweries, CJSC Obolon, has brokered a deal with Germany-based Bitburger Braugruppe on bottling and selling Bitburger beer in Ukraine. Bitburger TM light beer will be sold in Ukraine at 7.5 hrv per half-liter, the Kommersant Ukraine newspaper reported on August 5. Obolon’s share in total beer production in Ukraine was 35.4 percent overall and 30.4 percent on the domestic market in

2008. (Ukrinform)

Ukraine’s VIP-plane for Qaddafi

KYIV – The AN-74 TK-300D executive-class aircraft has been produced at Kharkiv State Aircraft Manufacturing Company (KSAMC) for Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi. KSAMC press secretary Andrii Platonov reported that, at the Libyan leader’s request, the cabs of the first passenger and attendants were exchanged. “The Libyan leader expressed a desire to sit at the tail of the plane, as there is a better view from a viewing port and this section is considered to be relatively safe,” the press secretary said. The cabin is decorated in light and pastel shades, using only environmentally sound and natural materials – leather and chamois, as well as precious wood, stones and gold. The aircraft is fully outfitted with multimedia accessories so that Mr. Qaddafi can enjoy music or watch his favorite TV programs during a flight. It was reported on July 31 that the plane has already been delivered to Tripoli. (Ukrinform)

AN-225 plane gets into Guinness

KYIV – The Ukrainian AN-225 Mriya aircraft received a certificate from the Guinness Book of World Records for transportation of the heaviest freight in the history of aviation, the press service of the Antonov Aviation Scientific-Technical Complex reported on August 17. The aircraft delivered a generator and a special frame weighting 187.6 tons from Frankfurt, Germany, to Yerevan, Armenia, for a new electric station. The Mriya also holds the record on transportation of the maximum commercial freight – 247 tons, as well as the record for absolute carrying capacity – 253.8 tons. (Ukrinform)

Ukraine simplifies visa regime for priests

KYIV – Ukrainian authorities have simplified the visa regime for priests and monks, the State Committee on Nationalities and Religions reported on August 10. Under a Cabinet resolution, foreign clergy who receive a one-year multi-entry visa for ministry in Ukraine will be able to stay in the country not for merely 180 days but for an entire year. Moreover, the new document provides for the issuance of visas for a period of three years upon agreement with the State Committee on Nationalities and Religions. Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko had earlier decided to solve the issue of visas for priests and monks during a personal meeting on July 29 with the head of the Conference of Catholic Bishops of Ukraine, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Lviv Mieczyslaw Mokrzycki. Archbishop Mokrzycki expressed satisfaction with this prompt solution to the one of the most important problems in providing pastoral care for Ukraine’s Catholics. (Ukrinform)

Baltia Air Lines to fly New York-Kyiv

KYIV – U.S.-based Baltia Air Lines on August 10 announced plans to open a regular passenger flight route from New York to Kyiv by the end of 2009. Baltia Air Lines intends to fly the Boeing-747 from the New York’s John F. Kennedy International Airport. Baltia Air Lines was established in 1989 to ensure regular communication between the United States

and countries of the former USSR. (Ukrinform)

AeroSvit moves ahead on non-stop flights

KYIV – Kostadin Botev, executive director of AeroSvit Ukrainian Airlines in Kyiv, confirmed on August 4 that it is moving full-speed ahead with AeroSvit’s non-stop New York-Kyiv service. AeroSvit’s executive director said, “AeroSvit will continue to fly four times a week in the winter season and five times a week in the summer season. AeroSvit is ready to fly more flights to the U.S.A., but additional flights are presently limited by the U.S. government’s Federal Aviation Administration (FAA).” Mr. Botev added that “AeroSvit is a member of the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council (USUBC) and is working with USUBC to resolve the issues raised by the U.S. government regarding Ukraine which are now restricting the approval of any additional flights to the U.S.A. such as to New York, Chicago or other destinations of interest to AeroSvit.” (U.S.-Ukraine Business Council)

Delta reduces New York-Kyiv flights

WASHINGTON – Delta Air Lines, seeking to cut its costs in the current economic crisis, won permission from federal regulators to reduce flights, including the routes Atlanta-Moscow and New York-Kyiv, from year-round service to seasonal. The flights will be reduced from early September until the summer season of 2010. Delta needed the waiver so that it would not lose the permission to fly to those cities, which it won under international agreements. Delta said in a filing with the Transportation Department that it is reducing capacity “primarily through frequency reductions, changes to seasonal service patterns and by serving certain international cities through fewer hubs.” (U.S.-Ukraine Business Council)

Top names: Maksym, Anastasia

KYIV – Maksym and Anastasia are the most popular names for infants in Ukraine this year, Justice Minister Mykola Onischuk said on July 24. More than 20 names are considered popular in Ukraine, and the majority of them remain so for many years. Newborn girls are most frequently named Anastasia, Sofia, Hanna, Daryna, Valeria, Maria, Yelyzaveta, Oleksandra and Polya. The most popular boys’ names are Maksym, Viktor, Oleksander, Kyrylo, Denys, Danylo, Andrii, Artem, Dmytro, Vladyslav, Yaroslav, Mykyta and Yehor. Some unusual names were registered in Ukraine this year: Kvita, Tsvytana, Melisa, Sohdiana, Valensia, Olimpiada, Kleopatra and Afina for girls; and Tykhmur, Islyam, Alladin, Krishna, Platon, Neron and Milan for boys. Among the extraordinary names that are sometimes used are: Khana-Fanni, Maria-Svitozar, Zhuzha, Zabava, Milionera, Almaza, Radist, Richka, Milyna for girls; and Teo, Malkolm, Samiddulo, Dobromysl, Volodar and Samara for boys. Foreign names continue to be popular among Ukrainians, the Justice Ministry noted. (Ukrinform)

WW I torpedo boat found in Black Sea

KYIV – The Lieutenant Zatsarenyy torpedo-boat destroyer of the Black Sea Fleet, which sank in 1917 during World War I, has been found near Serpents Island in the Black Sea, it was reported on August 14. The torpedo boat had been hit by a German mine and sank. During World War I the destroyer participated in raids against enemy communications, served in a blockade near Turkey, fired on coastal fortifications and harbor installations, landed reconnaissance and sabotage groups, and convoyed troopers carrying soldiers of the Caucasian Front.



Глибоко засмучені повідомляємо, що в
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ПОХОРОННІ ВІДПРАВИ відбулися 13 липня 2009 р. у церкві Святої Тройці у Сілвер Спрінг, Мд. У Мюнхені була відправлена Заупокійна Служба Божа 20 липня. Покійна буде похована на Національному кладовищі в Арлінгтоні (Arlington National Cemetery) 24 серпня 2009 р.

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	Микола Грабарчук
	д-р Мирослава Кушлик
	Ірина Комарницька з родиною
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UAYA comedy troupe to perform in Ellenville, N.Y.

by Oksana Bartkiv

NEW YORK – The Ukrainian American Youth Association's (UAYA) comedy troupe Spalenyj Theater is a group of 20-something-year-old actors who poke fun at everything from Ukrainian school to television commercials during a hilarious two-hour show.

Those who haven't yet seen the Spalenyj Theater will have a chance to see the troupe in action this Labor Day at the UAYA resort in Ellenville, N.Y., on Saturday, September 5, at 5 p.m. The show is sure to delight Ukrainians of all ages. Rumor has it that Prof. Marmalyga of the renowned group Tyazhko na Emigratsiyi will make a special guest appearance, so this should prove to be a performance not to be missed.

The Spalenyj Theater originated in 1990 under the direction of Oleh Kulas, a graduate of the Second City Training Center in Chicago. The Ukrainian community in Chicago had long been without a comedy troupe, since Tyazhko na Emigratsiyi had

folded a number of years earlier.

Realizing the void, Mr. Kulas decided to create a Ukrainian comedy group of his own. The Spalenyj Theater group performed at various local venues, including both the Chicago UAYA branch and the area's annual debutante ball. The troupe gained much notoriety and success, but because more often than not getting all of the members in the same place at the same time proved to be a challenge, it bid adieu to the community in 1993.

With the passing of time and with the appearance of a new, younger generation eager to embrace its heritage and community, Spalenyj Theater resurfaced in 2005 under the direction of its original director, Mr. Kulas. Today the show incorporates improvisation into the majority of the group's performances, as well as audience participation.

Recent performances have brought the troupe to Whippany, N.J., Minneapolis and Hamilton, Ontario. Current members of the troupe include Paul Abramuk, Jaro



The Spalenyj Theater comedy troupe.

Chylak, Mark Czerniuk, Olena Drozd, Andrew Glubisz, Natalia Kolody, Mr. Kulas, Kristin Matusiak, Irena Owerko and Bohdan Vasiliuk.

For more information about Spalenyj Theater's Labor Day performance, readers may contact the UAYA in Ellenville at 845-647-7230 or ellenville@cym.org.

Moscow patriarch's...

(Continued from page 2)

Mr. Yushchenko failed to persuade Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew to recognize the UOC-KP last year as this would have spoiled relations between Patriarch Bartholomew and the world's largest Orthodox Church in Russia, and Patriarch Kirill flatly dismissed Mr. Yushchenko's arguments.

When the Ukrainian president told Patriarch Kirill that it is important to establish a single Orthodox Church in Ukraine as this is also an issue of national sovereignty, the patriarch said that such a Church already exists: the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate (Ukrayinska Pravda, July 25). Patriarch Kirill also said he was a patriarch for all the Eastern Orthodox Christians, regardless of their nationality or party affiliation (UNIAN, July 27).

In line with Moscow's official rhetoric, Patriarch Kirill spoke a lot about the common roots of Russia and Ukraine dating back to the medieval Kyivan Rus'. One of his chief ideologists, Andrey Kuraev, was more outspoken, threatening Ukraine with a civil war should a single Church fully independent from Moscow ever be established (Eko Moskvy, July 27).

In order to support the claim that he controls a single Ukrainian Church rather than the Church of the eastern and southern parts of the country where the Russian language and culture dominates, Patriarch Kirill challenged the UOC-KP in its stronghold, nationally minded western Ukraine, visiting the regions of Rivne and Lutsk. The Presidential Secretariat reportedly warned him against the visit as UOC-KP supporters planned protests there. Patriarch Kirill used the warning to give an impression among believers with the help of the mass media that he was not welcome by Ukrainian officials, although the Ukrainian police and security service hurried to say that they did not advise the Russian patriarch against the visit (Interfax-Ukraine, August 2-3).

Once Patriarch Kirill eventually arrived in western Ukraine, the pro-Kremlin mass media in Russia and Ukraine's most popular TV channel, Inter, which also openly backs Mr. Yanukovych's election campaign, presented this as Patriarch Kirill's moral victory.

Mr. Yushchenko's dream of an independent Church may be achieved only if the UOC-KP unites with the more numerous UOC-MP. Patriarch Kirill did everything possible during his visit to put an end to discussions about a possible unification

with Patriarch Filaret's Church among UOC-MP clergy in Ukraine. He asserted that the Russian Church should remain single "here and in the whole world." "We should be united around a common idea and the idea of autocephaly [independence] is not a common idea," he said in Kyiv (Interfax-Ukraine, July 29).

Patriarch Kirill made it clear that he would reduce the role of the UOC-MP's aging head, Metropolitan Volodymyr, in order to increase his own control of the local Church. The Zerkalo Nedeli weekly said that the patriarch promoted two Ukrainian regional archbishops to metropolitans, demonstratively breaking the tradition according to which such promotions were the responsibility of Volodymyr (Zerkalo Nedeli, August 8). UOC-MP spokesman Archbishop Mitrofan said after Patriarch Kirill's departure for Moscow that discussions about the Church's autocephaly were over (UNIAN, August 6).

Demonstrating that he views Ukraine as part of the Russian space, Patriarch Kirill ostentatiously refused to discuss local Ukrainian issues at the first ever sitting of the Russian Orthodox Church's synod in Kyiv. At the same time, he reported on a recent meeting of Russian religious leaders with President Dmitry Medvedev (UNIAN, July 27). Immediately upon returning from Kyiv, Patriarch Kirill met Mr. Medvedev to tell him that the "spiritual unity" existing between Russia and Ukraine "for millennia" "became a basic value that is not affected by political considerations" (Interfax-Ukraine, August 6).

Mr. Yanukovych used Patriarch Kirill's visit to the fullest extent. He met the Russian Orthodox patriarch in Kyiv and accompanied him on a visit to his stronghold of Donetsk. Mr. Yanukovych compared himself favorably to the government of President Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. Mr. Yanukovych alleged that they "interfere in the affairs of the Church, which is inadmissible, politicize religious matters and try to dictate to believers in which Church to pray" (Ukrayinska Pravda, August 3).

Ms. Tymoshenko's adviser Oleh Medvedev described Patriarch Kirill's tour as a visit of an imperialist who preached the neo-imperialist Russian world doctrine (Segodnya, August 6).

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

Documents shed...

(Continued from page 2)

Krawchuk explained.

The letters came to light as Patriarch Kirill was completing a visit to Ukraine amid criticism that the Russian Orthodox leader was carrying out the Kremlin's political agenda to bring Russia's southern neighbor back under Moscow's control.

In controversial remarks on Ukrainian television on July 28, Patriarch Kirill said Russians and Ukrainians were one and the same people. He also called on Ukrainians not to forsake their values in the pursuit of closer ties with Europe.

The Rev. Yatsiv was critical of Patriarch Kirill's conduct during his visit from July 12 through August 5, which he said "was more political than religious," and suggested that he saw echoes of Moscow's past attempts to dominate Ukraine.

"One would expect a politician from Russia or some other country that wants to establish a sphere of influence in Ukraine to use such a tone. If it is a spiritual person, the head of a Church, he should be addressing spiritual and moral issues," the Rev. Yatsiv said.

The Rev. Yatsiv said the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church had no role in leaking the Stalin-Khrushchev letter to Kathpress. He noted, however, that after the publication the Church discovered that it had a copy of the letter, which it has since posted on its website.

In a meeting with Russian President Dmitry Medvedev upon returning to Moscow, Patriarch Kirill called his visit to Ukraine "one of the most striking memories of my patriarchal service" and appealed for closer ties between Moscow and Kyiv.

"We must do everything we can to ensure that our people always feel a mutual closeness, while respecting the sovereignty of nations and taking into account the reality of modern politics," Patriarch Kirill said. "The people of Russia and Ukraine should feel comfortable in this common spiritual space, being a part of different nations and being the citizens of different states, but still being the sons and daughters of the Russian Orthodox Church."

President Medvedev responded that "in spite of what has happened and in spite of our division into separate states, the special brotherly relations between our peoples must remain, regardless of who is in power."

Underground seminaries

The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church,

which was formed by the Union of Brest in 1596, is under the authority of the Vatican but observes Byzantine rites similar to those of the Eastern Orthodox Church. It is considered an important component of national identity in western Ukraine.

According to documents from Ukrainian archives, obtained by RFE/RL's Russian Service, Stalin's security chief Lavrentiy Beria, the head of the NKVD, approved the decision to liquidate the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in January 1941.

Those plans, however, were delayed when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941. The Soviet Union regained control over western Ukraine in the summer of 1944.

Initially, Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops were asked by Soviet authorities to endorse a union with the Russian Orthodox Church, but all of them refused – and were subsequently arrested and sent into internal exile.

Under the supervision of Soviet authorities, new, more pliant, Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops were ordained, but this was never recognized by the Vatican.

In March 1946, just three months after the Aleksey-Karpov and Khrushchev-Stalin letters, the clergy who had joined the initiative group convened in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv to annul the Union of Brest, dissolve the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, merge its clergy with the Russian Orthodox Church and turn its property over to the Moscow Patriarchate.

Some clergy, however, went underground to keep the faith alive, conducting services in forests and in homes.

"The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church ceased to [officially] function in the Soviet Union, but it continued illegally, in the catacombs as we say," the Rev. Yatsiv said. "There were new bishops and underground seminaries."

The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church remained underground for more than four decades until December 1989, during Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's liberalization, when it was allowed again to function officially.

RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service and Vladimir Tolz of RFE/RL's Russian Service contributed to this report.

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OUT AND ABOUT

Current through September 4 Rocky River, OH	Art exhibit, "Art & Interiors" by Anizia Karmazyn, Kevin Steffanni Interior Design Group Studio, 440-333-3630	September 4-5 Chertsy, QC	Volleyball tournament weekend, Verkhovyna, WerchowynaVball@cym.org
August 28 Wildwood Crest, NJ	All-ages dance, Kmelnychenky Plast fraternity, Wildwood Crest Pier Recreation Center, Adrian@telligys.com	September 5-6 Kerhonkson, NY	Swim meet, Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S.A. and Canada, Soyuzivka Heritage Center, 908-851-0617
August 29 Hamilton, ON	Concert featuring Vasyl Popadiuk and Papa Duke, Hamilton Place Studio Theater, www.ticketmaster.ca or 905-527-7666	September 6 San Diego, CA	Ukrainian Festival, House of Ukraine, Balboa Park, housandiego@aol.com
August 29 Parma, OH	Ukrainian Festival, St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, 440-886-3223 or www.stvladimir.org	September 12 Ottawa	26th annual golf tournament, Ottawa Ukrainian Golf Association, The Meadows Golf and Country Club, 913-834-9935 or 613-599-5310
August 29 Jewett, NY	Alexander Slobodyanik memorial concert, featuring Larysa Krupa, Natalia Khoma, Volodymyr Vynnytsky and the Leontovych String Quartet, Grazhda Music and Art Center of Greene County, 518-989-6479	September 12 New Britain, CT	Family Day, featuring accordionist Mike Platosz, Department of Parks and Recreation, Walnut Hill Park, www.new-britain.net/liv-prksnrec.html
August 30 San Francisco	Ukrainian Day, Ukrainian American Coordinating Council of Northern California, Golden Gate Park, 650-363-1476	September 12-13 Baltimore, MD	Ukrainian Festival, Patterson Park, 410-967-0501
August 30 Jamaica Plain, MA	Ukrainian Independence Day picnic, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Christ the King Ukrainian Catholic Church, 781-322-7309	September 12-13 Chicago	Ukrainian Village Festival, Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Ukrainian Catholic Church, 312-829-5209
August 30 Toronto	Concert featuring Vasyl Popadiuk and Papa Duke, Assembly Hall Theater, 416-521-9555 or encore1@rogers.com	September 13 Dedham, MA	Pig roast and barbecue, Ukrainian American Educational Center of Boston, skostecki108@comcast.net
August 30 Edmonton, AB	Ukrainian Music Fest, Friends of the Ukrainian Village Society, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, www.ukrainianvillage.ca	September 13 Stamford, CT	Ukrainian Day Festival, Connecticut State Ukrainian Day Committee, St. Basil Seminary, 860-568-5445 or 203-269-5909

Entries in "Out and About" are listed free of charge. Priority is given to events advertised in The Ukrainian Weekly. However, we also welcome submissions from all our readers. Items will be published at the discretion of the editors and as space allows. Please send e-mail to mdubas@ukrweekly.com.

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Soyuzivka's Datebook

August 23-29 Joseph's School of Dance (Ballroom Dance)
Friday: recital, 8 pm

August 27-30 Church of Annunciation Weekend

August 29 Wedding weekend

August 31-September 7 Labor Day week
Weekend entertainment to be announced

September 11-13 Salzburg Reunion

September 14-17 Berchtesgaden, Karsfeld, Landshut, Regensburg, Bayreuth Reunions

September 18-19 Wedding weekend

September 25-27 Wedding weekend

September 28-30 Mittenwald Reunion



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- Back to Ukrainian school in September.
- "Morskyi Bal" in New Jersey in November.
- "Koliada" in December.
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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Wednesday, September 9

NEWARK, N.J.: St. John's Ukrainian Preschool will re-open its Ukrainian-language Montessori sessions each weekday morning from 9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Extended hours from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. are available to serve working parents. Children must be the age of 2 years, 6 months by September in order to be enrolled. The school emphasizes respect for the child, individualized learning and promotion of the child's independence. For information call Olenka Makarushka-Kolodiy, 973-763-1797.

Sunday, September 13

STAMFORD, Conn.: The 42nd Ukrainian Day Festival at St. Basil's Seminary, spon-

sored by the Connecticut State Ukrainian Day Committee, will begin at 9 a.m. with over 15 Ukrainian vendors, and coffee and donuts; priests will be available for confessions before liturgy. At 11 a.m. liturgy will be celebrated by Bishop Paul Chomnycky, eparch of Stamford. Afterwards there will be Ukrainian and picnic food and refreshments. The program begins at 2:45 p.m. (performers will be publicized at a later date). There will be a moonwalk and games for children. Admission for all age 12 and over: \$5 per person when purchased in advance; \$10 at the gate. For tickets call 860-568-5445. There is free parking. For more information, or to volunteer to help, call 203-269-5909.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

To have an event listed in Preview of Events please send information, in English, written in Preview format, i.e., in a brief paragraph that includes the date, place, type of event, sponsor, admission, full names of persons and/or organizations involved, and a phone number to be published for readers who may require additional information. Items should be **no more than 100 words long**; longer submissions are subject to editing.

Preview items must be received no later than one week before the desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Items will be published only once, unless otherwise indicated. Please include payment for each time the item is to appear. Also, senders are asked to include the phone number of a person who may be contacted by The Weekly during daytime hours, as well as their complete mailing address.

Information should be sent to: preview@ukrweekly.com or Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054; fax, 973-644-9510. **NB: If e-mailing, please do not send items as attachments; simply type the text into the body of the e-mail message.**

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