

**INSIDE:**

• Part I of "2010: The Year in Review" – pages 5-35

# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a fraternal non-profit association

Vol. LXXIX

No. 3

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

SUNDAY, JANUARY 16, 2011

\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## EU official cautions Ukraine over prosecution of ex-PM



Official Website of Ukraine's President

**President Viktor Yanukovich welcomes European Union Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fuele to Kyiv on January 11.**

RFE/RL

KYIV – A senior European Union official has warned Ukraine not to use criminal law for political ends, a seeming reference to the prosecution of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko.

Ms. Tymoshenko has been charged with abuse of office during her time as prime minister in 2007-2010. She has been questioned by prosecutors on several occasions in December 2010, including on December 30, when the interrogation took more than 10 hours.

The opposition leader emerged from that session saying she thought she could not receive a fair hearing and adding that Ukraine's judicial system does not work "in the interests of the country and citizens."

Ms. Tymoshenko was due to appear before the procurator general again on January 13 to hear the latest developments in the case against her.

"In the 21st century, democratic authority cannot be sustained without an independent judiciary and media. It is a question of moral leadership," EU Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fuele said, speaking after talks with President Viktor Yanukovich in Kyiv on January 11. "I would therefore like to recall the need to ensure that criminal law is not used for political ends and that the principles of a fair, impartial and independent legal process are fully respected."

Previously, the U.S. government had voiced concern regarding the investigations of Ukrainian opposition politicians. A statement released on December 30, 2010, noted: "Although as a rule the U.S. government does not comment on the

specifics of individual cases, we have raised with the Ukrainian government our concern that while corruption should be pursued, prosecution should not be selective or politically motivated. In that context, we also raised our concern that when, with few exceptions, the only senior officials being targeted are connected with the previous government, it gives the appearance of selective prosecution of political opponents."

The Financial Times reported that Mr. Fuele was asked during a press conference in Kyiv if the EU shared the concerns expressed by the U.S. He responded: "I certainly share the impression" and concerns that were raised by the US and "raised this issue in discussions, including with Ukraine's president."

Critics accuse Ukraine's pro-Moscow president of suppressing the rights of the free press and human rights groups, and of using allies in the judiciary to build a case against Ms. Tymoshenko.

Apart from the charges against the former prime minister, several members of her former Cabinet of Ministers have been detained.

Ukraine and the EU are negotiating an

(Continued on page 3)

## Prosecutors say destruction of Stalin statue was terrorist act



UNIAN

**Militia in Zaporizhia on January 1 examine the remnants of the statue of Joseph Stalin that was destroyed by an explosion on December 31, 2010. All that remains of the monument is its pedestal.**

KYIV – The Procurator's Office of the Zaporizhia Oblast on January 5 said the explosion that destroyed a monument to Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, which stood near the regional headquarters of the Communist Party, was a terrorist act.

According to the conclusions announced by the Zaporizhia Procurator's Office, the explosion on December 31, 2010, created a danger to human life and health, caused considerable damage to property, and was committed with the goal of threatening pub-

lic safety and intimidating the public. Therefore, the criminal case opened under the Criminal Code's article on the deliberate destruction of property was reclassified as terrorism.

The investigation department of the regional office of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) was ordered to conduct a pre-trial investigation.

Communist Party Chairman Petro Symonenko had accused "neo-nationalists" of a "vile crime" in Zaporizhia, and demanded that the authorities "in the strongest way stop the terrorism of nationalist gangs."

The monument was blown up on December 31, shortly before midnight. The leader of Zaporizhia's Communist Party called it an "act of terrorism," and assessed the damage at 270,000 hrv.

Reuters reported that prosecutors said "The First of January Movement" claimed responsibility for the blast, saying it was intended to mark the 102nd anniversary of Bandera's birth, and threatened to carry out further attacks on various targets.

Prior to that, police had detained two members of the Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union's Zaporizhia regional branch. Vitalii Podlobnikov and Yuriy Hudymenko denied involvement in the explosion. They were subsequently released.

According to a January 12 news story published on radiosvoboda.org, 10 members of patriotic organizations have been detained, many searches have been conducted and several persons have vanished without a trace. Prosecutors in Kyiv and Zaporizhia are not commenting on these reports.

(Continued on page 35)

## Queensland Ukrainian community affected by flooding in Australia

ESSENDON, Australia – The Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations (AFUO), the umbrella body for 24 Ukrainian organizations in Australia, reported on January 11 that the Ukrainian community in the state of Queensland is among those affected by the extensive flooding in eastern Australia.

The flooding has been unfolding since late November, according to the Associated Press. However, drenching rains in recent days have caused people to flee from Australia's third largest city, Brisbane, where waters reached the top of traffic lights in some parts of the city. The flash flood killed 12 people and 43 are missing as of January 12, according to Queensland authorities. Some 200,000 people in the state have been affected by the quickly rising floodwaters.

"Our prayers and thoughts are with the Queensland community, which is undergoing this horrific unforeseen event. Many have lost homes, property and memories as floods tear through different parts of the state," an AFUO statement noted. The organization extended "sympathy to the families who have lost loved ones in the current floods in Queensland."

The AFUO is based in Essendon, a suburb of Melbourne, in the Australian state of Victoria. It is a member-organization of the Ukrainian World Congress (UWC). Its chairman is Stefan Romaniw, who also is secretary-general of the UWC.

Contacted via e-mail by The Ukrainian Weekly, Mr. Romaniw com-

(Continued on page 46)

## ANALYSIS

## Belarusian regime resolutely dashes hopes for democratic liberalization

by Orest Deychakiwsky,  
Ronald McNamara and Josh Shapiro

Hints of any democratic progress in Belarus came to a screeching halt on December 19, 2010, in the aftermath of the country's most recent electoral exercise – the latest in a long line of fundamentally flawed elections.

The brutal and bloody election-night crackdown against political opposition supporters, including mass arrests of demonstrators, as well as candidates, who challenged the 16-year rule of Alyaksandr Lukashenka, was unprecedented. Even the prospects of inducements from the European Union and others failed to restrain a regime bent on maintaining power.

The strong-arm tactics employed on election night, and since, confirm the nature of Mr. Lukashenka's rule: one that perpetuates a pervasive, albeit subtle, climate of fear to squelch dissent.

The post-election statement issued on December 20, 2010, by the Election Observation Mission (EOM) of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) concluded that "Belarus still has a considerable way to go in meeting its OSCE commitments, although some specific improvements were made. Election night was marred by detentions of most presidential candidates, and hundreds of activists, journalists and civil society representatives."

The Helsinki Commission, the U.S. and European governments, as well as Western NGOs, condemned the regime's violent campaign of repression and called for the release of jailed opposition presidential candidates, hundreds of peaceful protesters, and some two dozen journalists covering the demonstrations. Moreover, cyber police shut down numerous Internet and social networking sites. Repressive actions have continued, including raids on opposition party offices, NGOs, individual residences of activists and journalists, and independent media outlets by police and the KGB.

Displaying his displeasure with the OSCE's negative assessment of the elections, President Lukashenka refused to extend the expiring mandate of the organization's office in Minsk, effectively ousting the OSCE. The only other leader to order such an expulsion was Slobodan Milosevic. The development comes as neighboring Lithuania assumes the chairmanship of the Vienna-based 56-nation organization.

Helsinki Commission staff were part of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's contingent to the EOM, headed by Tony Lloyd, a member of the British Parliament. We observed the balloting and vote count in Minsk, the capital, and Polotsk, a historic city located 120 miles north of the capital. Our election-day observations were consistent with those of the 450 other OSCE observers representing 44 participating states deployed throughout the country.

The voting process was assessed as good or very good in the vast majority of observed polling stations, while the critical vote count was judged as bad or very bad in nearly half of the precincts observed, giving fresh currency to an adage attribut-

ed to Soviet leader Joseph Stalin: "It is not the votes that count, but who counts the votes."

The vote count in Novopolotsk was decidedly non-transparent as both international and domestic observers (virtually all of the latter appeared to be so-called GONGOs, or government organized non-governmental organizations) were kept far enough away from the table on which the votes were being counted, making it impossible to see how the ballots were marked. When queried several times by commission staff as to the reason, the precinct chairman politely insisted that it was a decision that he and other members of the election commission had made on the pretext of preventing observers from "interfering" in the counting process.

Meanwhile, at a polling station in Minsk, staff were allowed closer access to the vote count, but were prevented from seeing what was written on each ballot. With an ambiguous way of counting votes, those in attendance had little clue as to how the chairman of the election commission counted ballots. An outspoken domestic observer was subsequently voted out of the polling station by election commissioners because he was a "nuisance to the vote count."

While the run-up to the election had shown some procedural improvements and an easing of restrictions on normal political activity, the electoral machinery at every level remained firmly under the regime's control. There were greater opportunities than in previous elections for candidates to speak on live television, and candidates were for the most part able to more freely meet with voters. This, however, did not translate into a level playing field for all candidates as the state-controlled media disproportionately favored Mr. Lukashenka.

Very telling was the fact that only 0.26 percent of all precinct electoral commission members and 0.7 percent of territorial election commission members were from opposition political parties.

Clearly, even the limited improvements did not lead to a free and fair outcome, with only the margin of Mr. Lukashenka's victory to be announced. A December 20, 2010, statement issued by the White House, citing the critical OSCE assessment, stressed: "The United States cannot accept as legitimate the results of the presidential election announced by the Belarusian Central Election Commission" issued earlier the day.

Even regime-sponsored exit polls contradicted the official CEC results, giving a lower percentage of the vote to Mr. Lukashenka and higher percentages to Andrei Sannikau and Uladzimir Nyaklyaeu, the leading opposition candidates who were victims of violence by the authorities and remain incarcerated along with several other contenders.

Independent pollsters and analysts also gave Mr. Lukashenka far less of the vote than the nearly 80 percent he officially garnered, with some giving him less than the 50 percent of votes needed to avoid a second round against a single opposition candidate.

Given the unconscionable crackdown and fraudulent elections, hopes and expectations for even limited progress with respect to democracy and human rights have been thwarted. Through his repressive and undemocratic actions, President Lukashenka has shown that he will not tol-

(Continued on page 3)

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Yanukovich's Christmas greetings

KYIV – Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich on January 6 addressed the nation on Christmas Eve, according to the Julian calendar. He said: "...The Lord bestowed his grace upon us to live and see this year and this Holy Night, when all the Orthodox Christians peer with hope into the sky, where the Christmas Star is rising. The Star, which signifies the birth of the Son of God. I am happy that this very moment we, the entire Orthodox world, are praising the Son of God and looking with faith and love at the prospect of the new year..." He repeated the reference to the "Orthodox world" during a Christmas visit to the Pochayiv Lavra (monastery), which is under the aegis of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate. The president neglected to extend Christmas wishes to faithful of other confessions, as well as to those who celebrate Christmas on December 25; thus, observers say, his Christmas greetings have offended other Christians. (Ukrinform, RFE/RL, Official Website of Ukraine's President)

### Batkivschyna defends UOC-KP

KYIV – The Batkivschyna Party has expressed its concern about oppression of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP) and the "irresponsible attitude towards the sphere of religion" by Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich. "Yanukovich violates the provisions of the Constitution on equal treatment of various religious organizations by the authorities. All officials in his structure of power have immediately assumed the same attitude and start acting in the regions in the way Yanukovich acts in the center: favoring one confession and humiliating and discriminating against the others," reads a January 11 posting on the party's official Web site. The party noted that the head of state "significantly differs from his predecessors, who despite having their own confessional preferences against the background of the lack of unity in Ukrainian Orthodoxy, pursued a more or less balanced policy and kept equal distance between the authorities and all religious jurisdictions." The Batkivschyna Party also expressed concern about reports

from regions regarding the complicity of the current authorities in attacks on UOC-KP churches and the ban on religious services by this confession on the territories of cemeteries and state and utility institutions. (Interfax-Ukraine)

### U.S., EU review ties with Belarus

WASHINGTON – The United States and the European Union say they are reviewing their relations with Belarus after police in Minsk cracked down on mass opposition protests against the weekend vote that President Alyaksandr Lukashenka says he won in a landslide. In their joint statement released on December 23, 2010, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and EU High Representative Catherine Ashton also called on Belarusian authorities to release the more than 600 demonstrators arrested during the December 19 protest. They say that "the elections and their aftermath represent an unfortunate step backwards in the development of democratic governance and respect for human rights in Belarus." Five former presidential candidates detained during the postelection protests, along with 14 other opposition activists, are facing possible charges of "organizing mass disorder," according to RFE/RL's Belarus Service, which has published a complete list of the 19 suspects. All of the suspects are in the custody of the country's notorious KGB and investigations are continuing, according to Minsk police. They could reportedly face up to 15 years in prison. (RFE/RL)

### Yanukovich video in top 10

PRAGUE – Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty reported on December 30, 2010, on the "Top 10 Viral Videos Of 2010." RFE/RL noted: "These video clips were catapulted into the global public consciousness and continued to find viewers through formal and informal channels." Among them was a video that the news agency labeled as "Ukrainian President Dances With Wreaths." The video shows Viktor Yanukovich paying his respects at Kyiv's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on May 17, 2010, a blustery day, when winds caused a wreath to topple onto him. Among others on

(Continued on page 42)

## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY FOUNDED 1933

An English-language newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a non-profit association, at 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.  
Yearly subscription rate: \$55; for UNA members \$45.

Periodicals postage paid at Caldwell, NJ 07006 and additional mailing offices.  
(ISSN 0273-9348)

The Weekly: UNA:  
Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 644-9510 Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 292-0900

Postmaster, send address changes to:

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

Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz  
Editors: Matthew Dubas  
Zenon Zawada (Kyiv)

The Ukrainian Weekly Archive: [www.ukrweekly.com](http://www.ukrweekly.com); e-mail: [staff@ukrweekly.com](mailto:staff@ukrweekly.com)

The Ukrainian Weekly, January 16, 2011, No. 3, Vol. LXXIX

Copyright © 2011 The Ukrainian Weekly

### ADMINISTRATION OF THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY AND SVOBODA

Walter Honcharyk, administrator

(973) 292-9800, ext. 3041

e-mail: [admin@ukrweekly.com](mailto:admin@ukrweekly.com)

Maria Oscislowski, advertising manager

(973) 292-9800, ext. 3040

fax: (973) 644-9510

e-mail: [adukr@optonline.net](mailto:adukr@optonline.net)

Mariyka Pendzola, subscriptions

(973) 292-9800, ext. 3042

e-mail: [subscription@ukrweekly.com](mailto:subscription@ukrweekly.com)

Orest Deychakiwsky, Ronald McNamara and Josh Shapiro are staffers of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission).

# NEWS ANALYSIS: Democratic countries confront creeping challenge of censorship

by Arch Puddington  
and Christopher Walker  
RFE/RL

The murders of journalists in Russia, the jailing of bloggers in China, and the crack-down on the media in Iran regularly remind us that freedom of expression is under duress, even in an era of expanding global communications.

However, considerably less attention has been paid to a new, more insidious threat to this fundamental human right. It involves campaigns by a variety of actors – from foreign governments and business moguls to the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) – to discourage journalists, scholars, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and others from speaking out or publishing material on certain subjects.

This creeping censorship is manifesting itself in venues including the United Nations, the judicial systems of established democracies and elsewhere. Often, the objective is to place restrictions on what people can say or publish about Islam. But the offensive is also being carried forward by others, including oligarchs in the former Soviet Union.

## Targeting democracies

The focus of the free-speech debate has traditionally been on societies where freedom was lacking. What really sets apart this contemporary strain of censorship, however, is that it is increasingly focused on restricting information and opinion in Europe, North America and other bastions of free expression. Today, standards in democracies are the target.

Consider the following developments of the past few years.

- Two units of the U.N. system, the General Assembly and the Human Rights Council, passed resolutions that call for restrictions on what people can say or write about religions, especially Islam. The principal targets of the resolutions were clearly the democracies of Europe rather than autocracies where both free speech and religious liberty are already heavily constrained.

- The American author of a book on ter-

*Arch Puddington is director of research and Christopher Walker is director of studies at Freedom House. This article is adapted from a longer essay published in "World Affairs: A Journal of Ideas and Debate." The views expressed in this commentary are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect those of RFE/RL*

rorist financing was successfully sued for libel in a British court, even though her book was effectively unavailable on the British market.

- The Chinese authorities – in addition to their recent offensive against the Nobel committee – have exerted pressure on book fairs, film festivals and academic gatherings to squelch discussion of its treatment of minority groups, censorship of the media and artistic works, and other human rights issues in venues outside its borders. Australia, Germany, Taiwan and the United States have been among the targets.

- The Index on Censorship, a leading voice for free expression, was forced to jettison a study on the phenomenon of "libel tourism" after a subject of the study threatened to cripple the publication financially through legal action.

## Steady erosion

The new threats to free expression are not occurring in a vacuum. Over the past decade, the impressive gains that accompanied the end of the Cold War have experienced steady and worrying erosion.

"Freedom of the Press," Freedom House's annual survey of media independence, has identified a number of factors that have contributed to this global decline, including increased levels of violence and physical harassment directed at journalists by both government and non-state actors, restrictive new laws and consolidation of domestic media sectors by authoritarian governments.

This measure surely qualifies as an Orwellian inversion, whereby an entity established to defend free speech is given responsibility for policing its alleged excesses.

One dimension of this problem is libel tourism. To get around America's strong First Amendment protections, plaintiffs have been suing both British and U.S. writers in London, where defamation standards essentially assume that offending speech is false and the author must prove the contrary to fend off the suit. As a result, British law has been turned into a weapon to silence free speech. In the Internet age, libel tourism can be used to enforce censorship on a global level.

Britain has therefore become the destination of choice for Russian and Ukrainian oligarchs, Saudi bankers and others interested in muzzling free inquiry. And libel tourism has become lucrative business for firms such as Schillings and Carter-Ruck, which are counted among London's most feared defamation firms.

will lead to the long-awaited conclusion of negotiations on the Association Agreement and free trade area," Mr. Yanukovych said.

*Compiled with information from Reuters, as well as information released by the Embassy of the United States in Ukraine.*

termed "mindless democracy" while boldly declaring his lack of fear. Despite his bravado, clearly the Belarusian leader fears the prospect of submitting to a vote in a genuinely free and fair electoral contest.

Against the backdrop of a decade of rigged presidential and parliamentary elections and an illegal referendum, Belarus is regrettably no closer to restoring legitimacy to executive and legislative structures, and the prospects for meaningful change appear remote. To the detriment of the Belarusian people, the Lukashenka regime has, yet again, chosen the path of self-imposed isolation.

***Thanks to "libel tourism," Britain has become the destination of choice for Russian and Ukrainian oligarchs, Saudi bankers and others interested in muzzling free inquiry.***

## Chilling effect

The enormous cost of litigation – in the tens of thousands of dollars – exerts a deep chilling effect on open debate. Economically strapped publications and NGOs, unable to afford such costs and defend themselves, often wave a white flag. Self-censorship becomes the preferred course.

It is thus especially important that the United States has taken a stand against libel tourism by enacting the Speech Act, a measure that will make it more difficult to enforce libel judgments against U.S. journalists or scholars handed down in foreign courts.

Those who seek to export censorship from authoritarian to democratic settings have been emboldened by a trend toward capitulation in the democratic media. The Washington Post is the latest in a lengthening list of publications that have withdrawn cartoons, some thoroughly innocuous, with Islamic themes. Likewise, Conde Nast not only decided against publishing an article in GQ on Vladimir Putin's rise in its Russian edition, but removed the piece, which had been published in its U.S. edition, from its website and refused to publicize it.

Last March, the U.N. Human Rights Council adopted a resolution that essentially called for the universal embrace of anti-blasphemy laws prescribing penalties for those who criticize particular religions. Such laws exist in a number of countries, including some European democracies, but they

are more widespread and far more likely to be enforced in Muslim societies.

The resolution, sponsored principally by Pakistan on behalf of the OIC, is the latest iteration of a document that has been circulating at the United Nations, with minor changes, for several years.

In a related move, the OIC has pushed through the adoption of a measure that instructs the council's rapporteur on freedom of expression to include in his reports "abuses of the right of freedom of expression" – in other words, criticism of Muslims or Islam. This measure surely qualifies as an Orwellian inversion, whereby an entity established to defend free speech is given responsibility for policing its alleged excesses.

## Sophisticated authoritarianism

In pursuing its anti-blasphemy objectives, the OIC has remained unified despite the geographical diversity and political differences of its members. But it could not achieve majorities in international forums without the support of the world's authoritarians: Pakistan's co-sponsors in the Human Rights Council were Belarus and Venezuela, both of whose governments have earned reputations as adversaries of free speech and press freedom.

The growth of transnational censorship reflects the sophistication of modern authoritarianism. Those who want to create intellectual "no-go areas" sometimes use violence to encourage self-censorship, as in the cartoon wars. They can raise the specter of diplomatic pushback, a technique favored by China, or seek to achieve restrictive measures in supranational bodies, such as the United Nations. Or they can take advantage of the legal systems of free societies, as with libel tourism.

The stakes for established democracies in the battle to limit free expression are dwarfed by the risks for those who already live under the authoritarian thumb. But if democratic societies choose to tolerate the threats to freedom where it currently prevails, they will forfeit the moral right to demand freedom where it is systematically denied.

*Copyright 2011, RFE/RL Inc. Reprinted with the permission of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 1201 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington DC 20036; www.rferl.org. (See [http://www.rferl.org/content/creeping\\_censorship\\_freedom\\_of\\_expression/2267651.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/creeping_censorship_freedom_of_expression/2267651.html).)*

## EU cautions...

(Continued from page 1)

association agreement, including a free-trade zone. Welcoming Mr. Fuele in Kyiv, Mr. Yanukovych pointed to the fact that his first international meeting in 2011 year was with the EU representative. "I hope that development of our relations

## Belarusian regime...

(Continued from page 2)

erate meaningful reform and that he will do whatever it takes to maintain absolute power. This overarching imperative clearly trumps improved relations with the United States, and especially the European Union, that were in the offing prior to election day and could have resulted in badly needed financial assistance.

In a rambling two-and-a-half hour televised press conference the day after the election, Mr. Lukashenka belittled what he

## American Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine elects board of directors

KYIV – The American Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine conducted the annual board of directors elections on December 15, 2010, at the InterContinental Kyiv.

The 2011 annual meeting was opened by a special guest, Iryna Akimova, first deputy head of the Presidential Administration of Ukraine, who highlighted President Viktor Yanukovych's economic reform agenda in 2010 and plans for 2011 before the gathered business leaders and diplomats.

The meeting was hosted by the chairman of the board, Boris Krasnyansky, managing partner of PricewaterhouseCoopers, and the American Chamber of Commerce President, Jorge Zukoski, who presented the annual report that highlighted important achievements in the implementation of the organization's advocacy and policy agenda.

According to the results of the voting, the 2011 American Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine board of directors will include: Jacquot Boelen, Metro Cash & Carry Ukraine; Ian Borden, McDonald's Ukraine;

Didier Casimiro, TNK-BP; Peter Chernyshov, Slavutych, Carlsberg Group; Steven Fisher, Citibank; Walter Gordon, Coca-Cola Ukraine; Mr. Krasnyansky, PricewaterhouseCoopers; Andre Kuusvek, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development; George Logush, Kraft Foods Ukraine; Yuri Miroshnikov, Ukraine International Airlines; Jacques Mounier, CIB Credit Agricole; Jason Murphy, British American Tobacco; Alexander Rodionov, Procter & Gamble Ukraine; Andrzej Rozycki, Cargill AT CJSC; Floris Schuring, Kpmg Ukraine; and Dmitry Shymkiv, Microsoft Ukraine LLC.

The American Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine is among the most active and effective non-government, non-profit business organizations operating in Ukraine. The Chamber's diverse membership base unites companies from a variety of regions and countries, including North America, Europe, Asia, Russia and Ukraine.

## NEWS AND VIEWS

# The Yanukovich gang rides into Europe

by Sviatoslav Karavansky

On December 16, 2010, European observers of the events in Ukraine might have been persuaded, after watching on television the bloody battle in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, that the ruling Party of Regions of Ukraine is not a party in the civilized sense of the word. The deputies of this pseudo-party, wielding chairs as weapons, committed assault and bloody battery on their opponents. Such actions by these so-called democrats reflect their political "credo."

Only the European pseudo-liberals, brought up in the countries of the Warsaw Pact, could call this bunch of people, confessing such a gangster mentality, a political party. My memory associates such congregations with some other labels that better reflect their essence.

The leaders and members of this "party" consider the hooligan use of physical strength the best way to practice and promote their criminal "democracy" – not only in Ukraine, but in Europe also.

Some Europeans will protest: "In Europe? Never!"

But I say: "Never say 'never.'"

Encouraged by the adoption in the European Parliament (thanks to the efforts of the speaker Jerzy Buzek) of a resolution on the situation in Ukraine, where the total falsification of people's will was depicted as a mere violation of electoral law, the chair-armed group in Ukraine feels itself on a horse that will ride them into Europe. The resolution also noted the desire of President

*Sviatoslav Karavansky, a human and national rights activist, is a former Soviet political prisoner. He was also a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.*

Viktor Yanukovich and the Verkhovna Rada for Ukraine to become a member of the European Union (EU). The resolution supported that desire.

Let's study this "desire" thoroughly.

As is clear from the news filed daily by the Ukrainian and world media, there is not a single day in Ukraine when the authorities don't attack democratic institutions, for instance, the Institute of National Memory.

Over the centuries, Ukraine has been occupied by a series of nations. This fact requires the existence of an institution that will study and interpret the past, distorted during the centuries, from the position of an independent state. But President Yanukovich transferred the management of the institute to the guidance of former collaborators with the occupiers. The staff of the institute was abridged to the minimum, and finally it was transferred into a research institute with a very limited budget and responsibilities.

In the educational system, there continues to be a limitation of the civilized norms adopted by European educational institutions and a turning back to the Soviet-style dictate of the state over the educational system.

Dr. Serhiy Kvit, the rector of one of Ukraine's leading universities, the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, says about his conflict with the ministry of education: "The Minister [Dmytro Tabachnyk] wants to cancel in our statutes and rights precisely that which in Western Europe is the foundation of the Bologna Process and the European Higher Education Area (EHEA)."

Dr. Kvit says Mr. Tabachnyk's efforts are aimed at authoritarian centralization of management of scholarship and education in Ukraine and their degradation.

Neither President Yanukovich nor the

Parliament is doing anything to stop the antidemocratic – and totalitarian in its essence – activity of Minister Tabachnyk, despite mass protests by students and professors.

The persecution of the free press continues in Ukraine. The Odesa Ukrainian-language newspaper Chornomorski novyny, now in its ninth decade, has been denied the state subsidy granted to all other newspapers. Post offices refuse to accept subscriptions to the newspaper from citizens. The newspaper faces bankruptcy.

The secret services of Ukraine have begun to play an important role in the political, scholarly and social life of Ukraine. These services pressure some politicians (in particular, national deputies) by threatening them with discharge from their posts and by opening spurious judicial persecution against them. Unfounded criminal cases were opened against almost many opposition leaders.

As regards the economy, the state leads attacks against free enterprise, adopting a tax law intended to liquidate small and medium-size businesses in order to strengthen the position of the big oligarchs. For example, the state prohibits small businesses from dealing with companies abroad. This is a direct limitation of free enterprise.

All of these facts prove that the policies implemented by President Yanukovich are anti-democratic and a copy of former Soviet standards. In all spheres of the life, dictatorship prevail interference the secret services interfere, and democratic institutions are weakened. Corruption increases, as does hostility between the people and the authorities.

In such a situation, it is hard to say that Ukraine's membership in the EU will help the Ukrainian people promote democracy. As we see from the events that occurred

during the first year of the Yanukovich presidency, the EU by no means influenced the situation in Ukraine. The statements and resolutions of the EU had no effect on Ukraine.

Mr. Yanukovich, in his statements, expresses acceptance of the course of democracy, while in fact democracy is under permanent attack in Ukraine.

The presence of Yanukovich janissaries in the European Parliament will strengthen Ukraine's criminalized democracy for many years to come. How can Yanukovich be criticized then? Europe considers Yanukovich to be Democrat No. 1. To criticize him will mean to criticize Europe.

But Ukrainians, as Europeans, should ponder one more question: Will Europe, as a citadel of democracy, become stronger for the presence in its bosom of a bunch of criminal democrats with chairs in their hands, whose activity in the European Parliament will be directed toward establishing in Europe the model of the democracy that they introduced in Ukraine?

World democracy will lose its status if these janissaries appear in the European Union.

There is no doubt that among the deputies of the European Parliament there is a certain element looking to borrow the experience of Ukraine's criminal democrat element. Someday, these elements could unite to gain the leadership of the EU.

Then the events that today are happening in Ukraine could occur in Europe. The presence of Yanukovich supporters in the European Union will be harmful for Europe, for Ukraine and for world democracy as well.

Rescuing Europe, Ukraine and world democracy requires that the Yanukovich crowd be stopped from entering into the heart of Europe.

## Difficult but exciting challenges, opportunities ahead for Ukraine

by Morgan Williams

There are many extremely difficult but exciting challenges and opportunities ahead for Ukraine in 2011. There will be many opportunities in 2011 for the citizens of Ukraine to work together with the government, Parliament, the domestic and international private business community, the legal system, civil society organizations, educational and cultural institutions, and other key institutions and organizations, to rapidly move Ukraine forward.

The key question is whether concrete actions that produce real results will be taken and implemented. Will Ukraine in reality move forward, tread water or move backwards in 2011? What will be accomplished? What and where will Ukraine be at

*Morgan Williams is director of government affairs, Washington Office, SigmaBleyzer Private Equity Investment Management Group, and serves as president of the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council (USUBC). (See [www.USUBC.org](http://www.USUBC.org).)*

the end of 2011?

### Improving business

Ukraine must continue its work to pull out of the severe economic crisis; to significantly improve the private business and investment climate, to strengthen private financial institutions and to increase its wealth creation capacity. After almost 20 years of independence Ukraine needs to finally get itself fully open for domestic and international private business and investment especially in the energy sector.

These actions are critical so the private sector can obtain and invest the funds necessary to create tens of thousands of new jobs needed by the people of Ukraine and to move the economy forward. The new tax code should be implemented fairly, transparently and amended quickly, as needed, to be fair to large and small businesses.

### Government interference

The unnecessary actions taken by the government in 2010 that crippled and dis-

rupted grain export markets and caused heavy losses for agribusinesses and farmers need to be eliminated early in 2011. Many government-owned and -operated businesses should be privatized and sold to the private sector in a fully open and transparent way that maximizes the flow of revenue to the government and the citizens of Ukraine.

New Ukraine government-owned and -run businesses are not needed and plans to create many such new government-owned businesses in 2011 need to be scrapped. Everyone in business knows the government of Ukraine needs to increase its support of and belief in the private business sector and finally get serious about decreasing the very high level of government interference and the endless number of unnecessary bureaucratic rules, licenses, stamps and regulations.

### Democratic structures

The citizens of Ukraine know that democratic structures and institutions need to be strengthened and not weakened. Ukraine should support the further development of private and independent institutions of higher learning and to increase the level of business and economic educational programs.

The Verkhovna Rada should pass laws which provide more power to local governments to finance and provide local services. Everything does not need to be run and financed out of Kyiv. The government of Ukraine is extremely top-heavy and monopolistic. Considerable power needs to be moved to local and regional governments.

Better laws and tax regulations are needed that enable stronger and larger civil soci-

ety non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to work effectively so the citizens of Ukraine can organize to handle their own issues and problems.

The law and tax regulations in Ukraine today cripple the operations of local NGOs and do not meet international standards. A large number of NGOs (and PVOs – private voluntary organization) at all levels of society are a main and essential component of any effective civil and democratic society in the modern world.

### Rule of law

Ukraine must make sure the rule of law applies to everyone. Ukraine needs to move forward to protect intellectual property and other private property rights. Ukraine needs to stop private and government-sponsored corporate raidership attacks.

Real action needs to be taken to significantly reduce massive and petty corruption by government officials and members of Parliament, many of whom operate or participate in corruption schemes both in the public and private sectors, normally at great expense to the government treasury, in order to build the size of their own private treasuries, most of which are quite adequate already.

\*\*\*

The 150 members, executive committee and management of the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council (USUBC) send best wishes for a most prosperous and productive New Year and look forward to working together to move Ukraine forward in 2011.

## MAY WE HELP YOU?

To reach The Ukrainian Weekly call (973) 292-9800, and dial the appropriate extension (as listed below).

Editorial – 3049, 3088 • Production – 3063, 3069

Administration – 3041 • Advertising – 3040

Subscriptions – 3042

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

### For Ukraine, a new regime

The year 2010 brought dramatic changes to Ukrainian life and society. The policies of President Viktor Yanukovich, who was elected on February 7, placed Ukrainian independence under threat before an imperialist Russian government, restricted the individual rights of Ukrainians, decimated the rule of law in favor of authoritarian rule and introduced unprecedented cultural Russification policies not seen since Soviet era.

Indeed Mr. Yanukovich's approach to governing is often described as neo-Soviet, reviving old practices such as selective persecution, framing innocent suspects in crimes and using threats of dismissal or revocation of business licenses to make people comply.

The sweeping changes introduced by the Yanukovich administration were ironic to many political observers, who expected the same pace of reform from President Viktor Yushchenko when he took power in 2005. While the former president failed to implement even a small portion of the reforms he claimed in his campaign, Mr. Yanukovich wasted no time in implementing his program. Whereas former President Yushchenko failed to make much progress in integration with the European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), President Yanukovich signed the now famous Kharkiv agreements that extended the presence of the Russian Black Sea Fleet through 2042.

Whereas former President Yushchenko did little to protect the Ukrainian language on a legal, official basis, President Yanukovich appointed ministers who were intent on expanding Russification. And whereas President Yushchenko failed to fulfill his famous campaign promise of "putting the bandits in prison," the Yanukovich administration jailed more than a dozen members of the government of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. The incarcerations weren't a policy of implementing law and order in Ukraine, but rather a selective persecution campaign that targeted the opposition.

#### Presidential election

The year began with the former president intensifying his campaign for re-election in the first-round presidential vote on January 17, assuring voters that he was a viable candidate. "We won't turn back. We believe in our strength. We believe in ourselves. There isn't any doubt. We will be sure that 2010 will bring us victory," President Yushchenko confidently told the Ukrainian public in his new year's address. Not only did the new year not bring victory, but Ukrainians did "turn back" to Soviet ways under the leadership of President Yanukovich.

And rather than setting his sights on the pro-Russian opposition, Mr. Yushchenko spent his campaign viciously attacking Ms. Tymoshenko. In the last remaining weeks, he dug up criminal cases brought against her and her allies in decades past and used them to smear her. Any illusions of victory harbored by President Yushchenko were dashed by the first-round vote on January 17, in which he received 1.3 million votes, or a mere 5 percent of the total. He finished in fifth place, behind Mr. Yanukovich (35 percent), Ms. Tymoshenko (25 percent), mega-millionaire oligarch Sergey Tigipko (13 percent) and political upstart Arseniy Yatsenyuk (7 percent).

The first-round vote demonstrated significant progress from the falsified elections of 2004, showing respect for civil and political rights and offering a genuine choice among candidates representing diverse political views, reported the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

President Yushchenko's defeat didn't stop him from trying to undermine Ms. Tymoshenko, as he instead intensified his efforts leading up to the second-round presidential vote on February 7.

He surprised Ukrainians throughout the world when he unexpectedly held a ceremony on January 22 to present the Hero of Ukraine award to Stepan Bandera, the controversial Ukrainian nationalist leader who led the liberation struggle in the 1930s before his capture by German Nazis in 1941. It was accepted posthumously by his Canadian-born grandson Stephen Bandera, 39. Numerous Ukrainian patriotic and nationalist leaders had pleaded with Mr. Yushchenko to bestow the award, knowing that it wouldn't be granted for at least the next five to 10 years, and perhaps never.



Newly inaugurated President Viktor Yanukovich holds aloft a "bulava," one of the symbols of his office, on February 25.

Yet the timing of the event led some observers to believe Mr. Yushchenko had exploited the Ukrainian hero's name in order to inflame the feelings of the Russophile electorate in southern and eastern Ukraine on the eve of the second-round vote, thus mobilizing them against Ms. Tymoshenko's candidacy. "It was the height of cynicism to do it after the loss of the first round, not when he was turned to," Askold Lozynskyj, the former president of the Ukrainian World Congress, said afterwards. "It had the effect of activating people in Donetsk."

Ukrainians throughout the world wondered why he waited until the last weeks of his presidency to bestow the honor, when it could have been done anytime throughout his five-year term and with better public preparation and increased public awareness of Bandera's role in Ukrainian history.

On the evening he granted the Hero of Ukraine award, Mr. Yushchenko told the Inter television network that he would cast his vote as "don't support anyone" in the second round. Arseniy Yatsenyuk of the Front of Change followed suit. The president's supporters urged others to do the same, claiming there was little difference between a Yanukovich and a Tymoshenko presidency.

Mr. Yushchenko resorted to even more direct and

vicious political maneuvers to undermine Ms. Tymoshenko's campaign. On January 26 Mr. Yushchenko nominated Oleksander Osadchuk, a bureaucrat loyal to the Volodymyr Lytvyn Bloc, to replace a Tymoshenko ally, Anatolii Pysarenko, on the Central Election Commission (CEC), giving the Party of Regions and 8-to-4 advantage. Parliament confirmed Mr. Osadchuk's nomination on February 2, with support from groups within the pro-presidential Our Ukraine – People's Self-Defense (OU-PSD) parliamentary faction.

A January 28 parliamentary vote to dismiss Yuriy Lutsenko as internal affairs minister was supported by the president's brother, National Deputy Petro Yushchenko, as well as the Single Center group within the OU-PSD faction, which is led by Viktor Baloha, the head of the Presidential Secretariat at the time. The Yanukovich campaign was intent on dismissing the former police chief because of his strong loyalty to Ms. Tymoshenko and his ability to protect against potential raids on government organs by the Party of Regions. He also had the ability to ensure the national police force acted diligently against incidents of vote falsification. Opposition leaders and political observers expected the Party of Regions to engage in vote fraud, particularly in its strongholds of Donbas and Crimea.

The period between the first and second rounds of the 2010 presidential vote was especially tense and mired with violence as the Yanukovich and Tymoshenko campaigns jockeyed for influence on the election. They attempted sacking officials in key government posts and launched raids to install their loyalists. At 6 a.m. on January 25, about 300 privately hired enforcers, escorted by police, stormed the Ukrayina Polygraphic Plant where election ballots were printed in order to install a director loyal to Ms. Tymoshenko, Volodymyr Khomko, who was appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers a week earlier. They released tear gas and shattered the front glass façade. Mr. Yushchenko dispatched Internal Affairs Ministry troops the day of the raid to guard the plant as it began printing election ballots that day.

Mr. Lutsenko said it was the Party of Regions that provoked the raid, having prevented Mr. Khomko from assuming his post three days earlier with the help of 20 private enforcers. The raid led to the January 28 parliamentary vote to oust Mr. Lutsenko, whose central role became the last straw for his opponents. It wasn't clear who was Ukraine's police chief on February 7. The Party of Regions claimed it was the First Vice-Minister, Mykhailo Kliuyev, while the Tymoshenko Bloc said it was still Mr. Lutsenko, because he was re-appointed within hours of his dismissal by the Cabinet of Ministers.

"When the director accompanied by the plant security – I stress not the police, but the plant security service – attempted to enter his office, smoke bombs were used against them," Mr. Lutsenko explained. "The challenge of an emergency situation emerged. What were the police supposed to do in this situation? The police arrived and arrested everyone involved in the conflict."

Two days after the raid, several Party of Regions deputies burst into the office of Kyiv Administrative Appellate Chief Judge Anatolii Denysov and allegedly



Former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, leader of the Batkivschyna party, waves to supporters on December 20 before she enters the Procurator General's Office, which opened a criminal case against her.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



Official Website of Ukraine's President

President Viktor Yushchenko delivers his New Year's greetings to the Ukrainian nation on December 31, 2009.

broke into his computers' database, claiming to investigate whether the court was lobbying Ms. Tymoshenko's interests. Mr. Denysov filed a complaint against the Party of Regions with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) the next week, claiming its deputies were waging a campaign of intimidation that included 11 judges and 33 employees.

Another parliamentary vote, on February 3, approved last-minute changes to election rules to allow commissions to hold meetings and count votes without a two-thirds quorum and accept same-day replacements of commission members appointed by local authorities. The Party of Regions – which drew upon the support of most of the parliament's factions – claimed the last-minute changes were necessary to prevent Ms. Tymoshenko from disrupting the vote. Tymoshenko Bloc commissioners began to abstain from participating in local election commission meetings in Donetsk and Crimea, thereby disrupting preparations by failing to fulfill quorum. In turn, Ms. Tymoshenko pointed out that any last-minute changes violate worldwide election norms and undermined the legitimacy of the second-round run-off.

Oleksander Chernenko of the Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU) compared the legislation to “shootings sparrows with a cannon,” and warned the changes would lead to “total chaos and disorder at commissions.” The

Tymoshenko Bloc said the changes buttressed the ability the Party of Regions to commit falsifications, particularly after Mr. Lutsenko as internal affairs minister. For instance, those commissions dominated by the Party of Regions could dismiss other members without any formal investigation or court ruling.

“You can't change the rules of the game before the final contest at the whims of the sides for whom it's convenient,” said Dr. Oleh Soskin, director of the Institute of Society Transformation in Kyiv. “These are bandit methods that are worth thwarting.”

Ignoring such complaints, former President Yushchenko signed the bill into law, eliminating any doubts that he conspired with the Party of Regions against Ms. Tymoshenko. She tried convincing the diplomatic community in Kyiv the elections should be canceled as a result of the changes, but to no avail.

Indeed, the elections of February 7 were ultimately recognized by the international community as fair and legitimate. Ms. Tymoshenko overcame her first-round gap of 10 percent – as well as public opinion polls that predicted defeat by 10 percent – to come within 3.5 percent of Mr. Yanukovich's final result. The leader of the Party of Regions gained 12.5 million votes, or 49.0 percent, compared to Ms. Tymoshenko's 11.6 million votes, or 45.5 percent. The gap between the two candidates amounted to 887,928 votes, the CEC reported. Yet the deciding factor in the race was the 1.1 million voters, or 4.4 percent of the electorate, who followed the advice of Messrs. Yushchenko and Yatsenyuk and cast their ballots for, “don't support anyone.”

“The results clearly show that if it weren't for the call by Yushchenko and Yatsenyuk, who speak to the Orange electorate, to vote ‘against all,’ Tymoshenko probably would have won,” said Oleksiy Haran, a political science professor at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

The Tymoshenko campaign refused to acknowledge Mr. Yanukovich's victory, insisting the vote was falsified. Numerous leading political observers in Ukraine agreed that fraud had occurred. Andrii Senchenko, leader of the Tymoshenko campaign in Crimea, alleged the State Registry of Voters had distributed additional voter lists within two days of the run-off and the lists included voters missing from original registers. As much as 30 percent of the lists consisted of names not on the originals, he said, creating an avenue for fraud. He estimated as many as 200,000 votes were falsified on Mr. Yanukovich's behalf in Crimea.

About 1.5 million Ukrainians were reported to have voted at home, but calculations prove that less than a third of them, or about 459,000 voters, could have done so based on the limited number of homes local elections commissioners could have physically visited, said Dr. Grigoriy Perepelytsia, a professor of international relations at Shevchenko National University in Kyiv.

Serhii Vlasenko, a lawyer with the Tymoshenko Bloc, estimated the Yanukovich campaign had systemically falsified 10 to 12 percent of its vote, or 1.25 million to

1.5 million votes.

“The issue is Donetsk and Luhansk, where falsifications occurred with the help of organs compiling the state register,” he said. “State registers are compiled by local government organs, which are entirely controlled by the Party of Regions in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions.”

Yet the international community didn't pay much attention to Ms. Tymoshenko's complaints. As soon as the afternoon after election day, a press conference called by the OSCE, the European Parliament, the Council of Europe and NATO declared the elections transparent, valid and a model for post-Soviet countries. Joao Soares of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and Matyas Eorsi of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe came as close as possible to urging Ms. Tymoshenko to concede defeat without saying so outright. Last-minute changes to the election law didn't affect the vote, Mr. Soares added.

The Tymoshenko campaign filed its appeal two days after the Central Election Commission (CEC) established its official results, but it was expected to fail for several reasons, the main factor being Oleksander Paseniuk of the Higher Administrative Court, who enjoyed close ties to the Party of Regions. As the Court's chief justice, he was ultimately the final arbiter in her appeal.

Indeed signs kept cropping up that Ms. Tymoshenko would lose on the first day of the appellate court hearing on February 19. Her legal team noticed that its two loyal judges on the Higher Administrative Court were absent from the hearing. The court wouldn't allow the hearing to be broadcast on television, and denied requests to review original election documents, including ballots from six election districts where falsification was suspected. It also declined to hear witness testimony by district election commissioners and six oblast police chiefs.

The next morning, Ms. Tymoshenko declared she was recalling her complaint because the court “practically denied the [opportunity] to review and research the evidence upon which the complaint is grounded.” In doing so, Ms. Tymoshenko sought to prevent Mr. Yanukovich's victory from being affirmed by a Ukrainian court, political observers said.

Political pundits and advisors blamed the Tymoshenko campaign for failing to prepare an aggressive campaign to immediately contest the election results. Ms. Tymoshenko shocked the public by remaining silent and not offering any press conferences for four days following the vote. She offered only brief remarks on the night of elections before going silent. After postponing press conferences several times and not appearing in public for three days, Prime Minister Tymoshenko addressed her weekly Cabinet of Ministers meeting on February 11 without mentioning the elections or giving a press conference.

The Tymoshenko campaign should have been prepared to immediately offer video and documentary evidence to the public and international observers, said Ivan Lozowy, president of the Institute of Statehood and



Zenon Zawada

Presidential candidates Arseniy Yatsenyuk...



Official Website of Sergey Tigipko

... and Sergey Tigipko.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

Democracy. Instead the campaign declared its first reports of fraud only on February 9, two days after election day, when observers had already approved the elections and public opinion was formed that Mr. Yanukovich was the victor.

Meanwhile, the celebration at the Yanukovich campaign headquarters in Kyiv offered a good idea of whose interests he was going to serve as president. Some of Ukraine's biggest oligarchs were in attendance and made their presence known to the media, including Rinat Akhmetov of Donetsk, Victor Pinchuk of Dnipropetrovsk and Ivan Fursin of RosUkrEnergo. They all supported the Yanukovich campaign financially and with their television networks. Russian oligarchs attended as well, including Konstantin Grigorishin and Viktor Vekselberg.

Another wild card turned the tide quickly in Mr. Yanukovich's favor. Leaders of the Western world decided to congratulate him with victory three days before the CEC established its official results on February 14. First to offer congratulations was U.S. President Barack Obama, followed by EU President Herman van Rompuy and NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen. The gesture surprised the Tymoshenko campaign and some of Ukraine's diplomats, who expected Western governments to stand aside until court appeals were exhausted – or at last until official results were established by the CEC.

The night of President Obama's announcement, former Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk said the gesture was "unethical" since official results hadn't yet been established. "In the majority of cases, leaders avoid congratulations on election victories and congratulate 'success' [of the elections], as demonstrated by [Russian] President Dmitry Medvedev, who was careful in these elections."

Indeed Mr. Medvedev on February 9 became one of the first leaders to congratulate Mr. Yanukovich, limiting his praise to the completion of the election campaign, which received a high evaluation from international observers.

In his final press conference on February 16, former President Yushchenko acknowledged that Mr. Yanukovich would steer Ukraine's course away from the West, but he didn't express any regrets over his five-year battle with Ms. Tymoshenko, insisting her policies as president would be no different than those of Mr. Yanukovich. "Tymoshenko and Yanukovich are the same eggs, presented differently," he said.

When The Ukrainian Weekly asked President Yushchenko why he battled with Ms. Tymoshenko instead of working towards Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration goals, he responded that The Weekly would be making a mistake in thinking Ms. Tymoshenko is a leader of Euro-Atlantic integration.

Oleksander Mikhelson, a reporter with the Glavred magazine, pointed out that Mr. Yushchenko criticized Ms. Tymoshenko 11 more times than Mr. Yanukovich during the presidential campaign. In turn, the president acknowledged that he viewed Ms. Tymoshenko as his main enemy.

"It makes no sense, to a large extent, who wins the second round," the president insisted, hammering on the same theme. "That is to say, there are nuances which could have harmed even more our process, or less – that's already details. I am convinced the entrance of Tymoshenko and Yanukovich into the second round is the best Russian project since 1991."

Towards the press conference's end, he was forced to acknowledge, almost in the form of a confession, that it was his inability to work with Ms. Tymoshenko that ruined his presidency.

"If to speak of the biggest mistake of the last five years, I'll name it. I didn't name it until now, but I now have the moral right today," the former president said. "My biggest mistake of the last five years was Tymoshenko. If we had in this position a constructive person, those people who represented the 'maidan' from the view of conducting, ensuring, organizing, holding a dialogue, I am convinced we would have had a second five-year term in politics. And this ideology, worldview, undoubtedly would have been secured."

Most pitiful in his conflict with Ms. Tymoshenko, the president confessed further, was that "our children will have to start everything from the beginning." He then quoted the Ukrainian philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda: "The biggest loss in life is the loss of time."

### The new regime

Viktor Yanukovich was inaugurated on February 25 as the fourth president of Ukraine since its re-establishment of independence in 1991. He immediately set the



Election commissioners at an Ivano-Frankivsk polling station count the ballots cast during the January 17 first round of the presidential election.

tone for his presidency when becoming the first president – Russian or Ukrainian – to attend a Russian Orthodox moleben ceremony on the morning of inauguration day. At the ceremony held at the Kyivan Caves Monastery, Russian Orthodox Church Patriarch Kirill I offered the newly elected president his personal blessing. The patriarch of Moscow offered a foreshadowing of Mr. Yanukovich's foreign and cultural policies when he called for peace and unity between Russia and Ukraine under a "single, holy Rus." Patriarch Kirill declared, "May God protect Rus'-Ukraine, may God protect the sacred inheritance of Holy Rus'."

The morning moleben breached a 2002 presidential decree creating the State Ceremonial Protocol of Ukraine, which established that the country's religious leaders perform an inaugural benediction for the president-elect in St. Sophia Cathedral, a UNESCO World Heritage Site that belongs to the state.

Changes were immediate. Mr. Yanukovich renamed the Presidential Secretariat the Presidential Administration, removed the links and sections of the presidential website referring to the Holodomor, and allegedly cut his salary in half, as well as trimming the paychecks of other administration employees. He instructed the Cabinet of Ministers to raise wage and



Prime Minister Mykola Azarov addresses the Verkhovna Rada on March 11.

pension payments and created an economic reforms committee that would draw upon the studies and proposals of scholars and experts to deal with poverty. Mr. Yanukovich also created a National Anti-Corruption Committee on February 26.

Ukraine's Parliament voted on March 3 to dismiss Ms. Tymoshenko's government, which was supported by 172 national deputies of the Party of Regions, 27 Communists, 19 from the Volodymyr Lytvyn Bloc, 15 from the Our Ukraine – People's Self-Defense (OU-PSD) and even seven from the Tymoshenko Bloc itself.

A week later, pro-Russian forces formed the parliamentary coalition by cobbling together 235 deputies in a way that violated the Constitution of Ukraine. Rather than abiding by the law and forming the coalition based on factions elected to the Verkhovna Rada, the Party of Regions recruited four rogue deputies – those expelled from their respective parliamentary factions – as well as 17 defecting deputies from the Tymoshenko and OU-PSD blocs to gain the majority needed, or at least 226 votes. The participation of the factions of the Party of Regions, Communists and Lytvyn Bloc was not enough to gain that majority. Their deputies admitted that they had to find a way to avoid dealing with the OU-PSD bloc, which consisted of 15 separate groups that were negotiating separately and making their own demands. President Yanukovich signed legislation on March 10 to allow for individual national deputies to form coalitions.

Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Yushchenko immediately criticized the government for forming the coalition and the Cabinet of Ministers illegitimately and illegally. With the ruling, the government began a descent into legal nihilism which began with a February 16 parliamentary vote to cancel local elections, an illegal act. A month after Parliament formed the illegal coalition, the Constitutional Court of Ukraine ruled that the new coalition government was formed legally, which confirmed to Ukraine's legal experts that the institution had lost all objectivity and had become a rubber stamp for President Yanukovich. The court thus reversed its own ruling that came as recently as September 2008, in which it declared that only parliamentary factions – reflecting the parties and blocs that competed in elections – can form the parliamentary coalition.

After Verkhovna Rada Chair Volodymyr Lytvyn announced the new Stability and Reforms Coalition, its members voted to approve the new Cabinet of Ministers, mustering 242 votes to elect the geologist-turned-accountant Mykola Azarov as prime minister. Mr. Azarov spent more than half his life in the Russian Federation, where he was born, and hadn't learned to speak Ukrainian in the country's 18 years of independence.

The Azarov government was stacked with Donbas oligarchs such as First Vice Prime Minister Andriy Kliuyev, Fuel and Energy Minister Yurii Boiko and vice prime

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



Official Website of Ukraine's President

**Presidents Dmitry Medvedev of Russia and Viktor Yanukovich of Ukraine during their meetings in Kyiv on May 17-18.**

ministers Borys Kolesnikov, Viktor Slauta and Viktor Tikhonov. Another Vice Prime Minister, Volodymyr Sivkovich, is an admitted KGB agent who led a nasty smear campaign against former First Lady of Ukraine Kateryna Yushchenko that was exposed as a fraud.

Many of the 29 ministers served in the authoritarian regime of former President Leonid Kuchma, and the majority were members of the Party of Regions. Not a single female was appointed. Almost a third of the ministers were Donetsk Oblast natives, while several others built their careers in the Donbas, Ukraine's industrial hub. Ukraine's new police chief, Internal Affairs Minister Anatolii Mohyliov, was recruited from the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, where he earned a reputation of persecuting the region's Crimean Tatar population.

Yet no ministerial selection sparked as much national outrage as that of Dmytro Tabachnyk, the outspoken Ukrainophobe who was tapped as minister of education and science. Progressive universities such as the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy and the Ukrainian Catholic University immediately voiced their opposition to Mr. Tabachnyk, who called for developing Ukrainian education standards and curricula in tandem with the Russian government and making Ukrainian-language testing optional. He also called for reducing standardized testing in university admissions, which was considered by some experts as the only significant reform of the Orange era that succeeded in integrating Ukraine with Western standards. Additionally, Mr. Tabachnyk made repeated offensive and disparaging comments about the Ukrainian people and culture, and desecrated the memory of the Holodomor by denying it was genocide and referring to such claims as "brediatina," the English equivalent of "drivel."

Mr. Tabachnyk's appointment sparked nationwide protests that culminated in outside the Education Ministry in Kyiv and the Lviv Oblast Council on March 17, after which appeals were submitted to the Cabinet of Ministers and Parliament to dismiss him. The appeals were ignored and numerous students reported either pressure from university administrators or being expelled as a result of their activity.

Some of Mr. Tabachnyk's proposals were immediately endorsed by Volodymyr Semynozhenko, the former vice prime minister for humanitarian affairs. Among them was the decision to conduct Ukraine's standardized testing for university admissions in several languages and not allowing standardized testing to become the single determining factor in college admissions, as it had been the two prior years. Out of a 1,000-point scale system of evaluation for admissions, standardized testing account for 600 points, school grades 200 points and a university's own exam and interview 200 points, Mr. Semynozhenko said on March 17. The next day, the rectors of Ukraine's leading state universities signed a statement voicing full support for Mr. Tabachnyk, including Leonid Huberskyi of Shevchenko National University in Kyiv and Mykhailo Zhurovskyi of the Kyiv Polytechnic

Institute.

Mr. Yanukovich's first foreign visit was symbolically selected as Brussels, where he and his entourage on March 1 met with European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso, European Parliament President Jerzy Buzek, EU Council President Herman van Rompuy and EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Catherine Ashton.

The Ukrainian president assured his European counterparts that European integration was a top priority for him, and said his goal was to conclude the Association Agreement by the end of the year. As part of the Association Agreement, a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area and visa-free travel agreements could be signed by 2011, conditional on Ukraine's performance on internal reforms. Mr. Yanukovich asked for a road map setting conditions and deadlines for securing visa-free travel for Ukrainians to the EU by the end of the year.

In Moscow four days later, the Ukrainian president all-but apologized for visiting Brussels first – declaring that "all roads lead to Moscow – and then offered generous concessions, such as offering to re-negotiate the Russian government's lease on its Sevastopol naval base, ignoring the Ukrainian Constitution which required the Russian Black Sea Fleet's withdrawal by 2017. He assured Russian President Medvedev that Ukraine would not align itself with NATO, ignoring Ukraine's national security policy stating that entry into NATO is a goal of

Ukrainian national security.

"His statements in Russia cross out the whole road that Ukraine underwent towards NATO," said Dr. Soskin of the Institute of Socicky Transformation. "It's unprecedented and unacceptable for a president to say such things. He took authority in Russia that is not granted by the Constitution."

Meanwhile, the parliamentary coalition agreement called for "securing Ukraine's non-aligned status on a legislative level, meaning non-participation of Ukraine in the military-political alliances of other states."

"[Former President Leonid] Kuchma never even dared to legally secure Ukraine's non-aligned status, which is what the Regions are proposing now," said Alyona Hetmanchuk, director of the Institute of World Policy in Kyiv, which advocates Ukraine's integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. "Legally ensuring the non-aligned status is so much the royal gift for the Kremlin, and possibly the most desired at the given stage, that a whole lot could have been traded for only this single potential possibility. The Regions aren't stingy – they're giving away everything left and right for free."

On March 31, Prime Minister Azarov issued a Cabinet decree liquidating the European and Euro-Atlantic Coordination Bureau, creating in its place a Euro-Integration Bureau within the Cabinet of Ministers. The move was widely interpreted as the latest step in the new government's intent to cease any NATO integration efforts.

Ukraine's NATO experts and supporters of the alliance on March 15 presented proposals for the country's New Strategic Concept being developed by NATO member-states and partners. Among the priorities suggested by experts were developing a system of confidence-building measures in the post-Soviet spheres, as well as obtaining certain dividends in return for the active participation of Ukrainian soldiers in NATO military operations.

"Ukraine is the single partner of the alliance that participates in all its current operations," said Oleksii Melnyk, the military programs expert at the Razumkov Center in Kyiv, who coordinated the work and authored the proposal. "We propose and put forward our right – as a country that is a partner and active participant in the alliance's operations – to expect dividends from the system of collective security."

James Greene, the head of NATO's Liaison Office in Ukraine between February 2004 and July 2009, offered The Weekly an exclusive interview on February 10 in which he revealed that NATO integration was more of a political symbol for former President Yushchenko rather than a practical tool for implementing structural reforms. "There were also many people around him who believed that Euro-Atlantic integration was all geopolitical, that it wasn't about reform, and that Ukraine could actually enter the alliance without changing," he said. "This attitude was a holdover from the Kuchma period."

Mr. Yushchenko did more to block Ukraine's aspirations for a Membership Action Plan (MAP) than any opposition dealt by the Russians, Germans or French, Mr. Greene said. The former president's political maneuvers eroded confidence among NATO leaders, which



Victor Glasko

**Supporters of presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko hold a sign, "Democracy will triumph," outside the Higher Administrative Court in Kyiv on February 19.**



## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

included abusing the nation's courts, misusing the National Security and Defense Council and using NATO as a political weapon against Ms. Tymoshenko.

Yet it wasn't a total disaster, Mr. Greene he said. Despite then-Prime Minister Yanukovich's opposition to the MAP, practical cooperation continued under his leadership, Mr. Greene told *The Weekly*. Ukraine's first national security strategy was drafted in February 2007 under close consultation with NATO experts.

Although the coalition government promised stability and law and order, Ukrainian society saw nothing of the sort. In April *The Weekly* reported on the fierce battles occurring in central Kyiv between real estate developers and local residents and activists, who were waging battles against construction projects that they consider illegal, and were being pursued without the necessary permits or conformity to structural standards. *The Weekly's* correspondent was a firsthand witness to a brawl that erupted between protesters and police officers who attempted to stop the activists from activating a megaphone for speakers to enable their protests to be heard within the Cabinet building, where ministers were meeting.

"The illegal steps [brawls] are taken out of desperation," said Volodymyr Yavorsky, executive director of the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union in Kyiv. "In a civilized society, they could file a complaint in court and block illegal construction. In our legal system, that's practically impossible. It's rare that these conflicts can be decided in court."

### The Kharkiv agreement

The biggest Ukrainian foreign policy event of 2010 occurred on April 21, when an agreement was reached between the Russian and Ukrainian governments to extend the lease of the Russian Black Sea Fleet for its Sevastopol naval base for another 25 years until 2042, in exchange for discounted prices on natural gas price provided by Gazprom, the Russian state monopoly. The Kharkiv Agreements, also referred to as the Medvedev-Yanukovich Pact, offered Ukraine a \$100 discount on the price of gas if it's higher than \$330 per 1,000 cubic meters, or a 30 percent discount if the price is lower than \$330 per 1,000 cubic meters. President Yanukovich claimed the deal would result in \$40 billion in savings, boasting of its "unprecedented" contribution to Russian-Ukrainian relations.

The Yanukovich government desperately needed a Russian gas discount to secure the continuation of a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), yet political observers agreed that it offered the Russian government too much for too little. Andriy Novak, chair of the Economists Committee of Ukraine, told *The Weekly* that the reduced natural gas price would only benefit Ukrainian industry and the oligarchs that control it. Average Ukrainian households consume natural gas that is obtained from Ukraine's own domestic reserves, and those prices would increase. And, the Ukrainian government lost the opportunity to charge Russian market prices for the real estate.

The Kharkiv agreements are an "unprecedented, asymmetrical political-economic barter – an exchange of conditional Russian economic preferences for strategic, geopolitical concessions from Ukraine," stated a reported released on June 17 by the Razumkov Center, the Institute of Economic Research and the Center for Political and Legal Reforms in Kyiv.

"Yanukovich manifestly failed to negotiate on Ukraine's behalf," wrote Dr. David Marples of the University of Alberta, evaluating the treaty. "It is inconceivable why his starting point was not a five-year extension of the existing lease, which was stipulated as an option according to the 1997 (Black Sea Fleet) agreement."

Ukraine's Parliament ratified the Kharkiv agreements during a violent April 27 session, in which lawmakers traded fists amidst smoke bombs and flying eggs that rained upon Mr. Lytvyn, who hid behind umbrellas. The circus-like scene of deputies pulling hair and smashing noses was broadcast throughout the global media, demonstrating the fierce divide in Ukrainian society between its Russian-oriented and Western-oriented segments.

The historic vote – drawing 236 deputies in favor – wouldn't have succeeded without the support of nine Tymoshenko Bloc deputies and seven from the pro-Western OU-PSD faction. The coalition also gained votes from absent deputies – industrial magnate Mr. Akhmetov and Vice Prime Minister Kolesnikov – and deputies who were abroad on that day, including Serhii Kivalov, Serhii Holovatyi and Yurii Ivaniushchenko, who lives in Monaco.



Ukrainian youths hold a banner reading "Holodomor – Genocide, we didn't forget, we remember," at the November 27 commemoration in Kyiv organized by a citizens' committee of 30 civic and cultural leaders.

Pro-Russian forces insisted their opponents were exaggerating the deal's alleged threats to sovereignty as part of political fear-mongering, while Ukraine's pro-Western forces characterized it as "criminal" (Ms. Tymoshenko), a "national betrayal" (People's Rukh of Ukraine Chair Tarasyuk) and a "political Chornobyl" (Ukrainian People's Party Chair Yurii Kostenko).

The biggest scuffles in more than five years erupted outside Parliament on Hrushevsky Street, which was blocked entirely for the first time since the Orange Revolution. Supporters of the Party of Regions took a defensive position by surrounding the front entrance with its backers and lining the east side of Hrushevsky Street with party tents as a barrier against protesters. The presence of more than 1,000 police officers, including helmeted Berkut (Golden Eagle) and Bars (Snow Leopard) special forces, defended the Party of Regions supporters from attempts to break through barriers and into the Parliament building. The pushing and shoving that ensued between protesters and police escalated into aggressive measures from the latter, including demonstrators being beaten on their legs with batons and sporadic use of tear gas. Those protesters who broke through the police cordons were swarmed upon and captured by helmeted officers, who reportedly made a few dozen arrests.

### Negating genocide

President Yanukovich added insult to injury the same day during his visit to Strasbourg, France. On April 27 he told the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) that the Holodomor of 1932-1933 was not genocide committed against the Ukrainian people by the Stalin regime, but a "shared tragedy" of all the nations that were part of the Soviet Union. "It would be incorrect and unjust to recognize the Holodomor as genocide of any specific nation," Mr. Yanukovich said. Mr. Yanukovich repeated the official position on the Holodomor held by the Russian government, which insists that it can't be considered genocide against any particular ethnic group, especially when Soviet citizens died from famine in several regions of Russia, as well as Belarus and Kazakhstan.

The next day, PACE adopted a resolution that didn't recognize the Holodomor as genocide. Only 21 PACE members voted for recognizing the Holodomor was genocide against the Ukrainian people, while 55 people voted against corresponding amendments to the draft resolution.

Mr. Yanukovich's position on the Holodomor was a 180-degree reversal of his predecessor's view. President Yushchenko, had made gaining global recognition of the genocide a central part of his humanitarian policy. The Yanukovich policy also contradicts overwhelming academic research performed throughout the world – over many decades – which concluded that the government of

Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin had intended to destroy Ukrainian ethnic consciousness via an artificially created famine. The Belarus-born lawyer of Jewish descent who helped coin the term "genocide," Raphael Lemkin, himself characterized the Holodomor as genocide of the Ukrainian people.

With his remarks in Strasbourg, Mr. Yanukovich opened the floodgates for Stalin apologists to promote their twisted views of history. *The Weekly* traveled to Zaporizhia for the May 5 unveiling of the city's first monument to the Soviet dictator, who killed tens of millions of his own people. More than 1,500 admirers attended, mostly destitute pensioners and Russian chauvinists nostalgic for the Soviet Union. The monument was financed by the Zaporizhia Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which erecting it atop the red granite front porch of its headquarters on Komunarska Street in the city center. The monument was more than 10 feet tall, consisting of a silver-colored statue depicting the Soviet dictator from the waist up with his famous pipe in his right hand. It was perched atop a five-foot red granite pedestal.

Those attending eagerly accepted Stalin portraits, plastic bags and books handed out by the party leadership. Supporters hoisted up the portraits and held banners with the Soviet slogans, "For the motherland! For Stalin! For our victory!"

*The Weekly* reported that Zaporizhia's Stalin monument was the first in Ukraine. However four other statues were in fact established before Ukraine gained independence – two of which were removed – while a Donetsk district court judge put a Stalin bust in his own home in 2009, according to a Russian-language Wikipedia site dedicated to Stalin monuments.

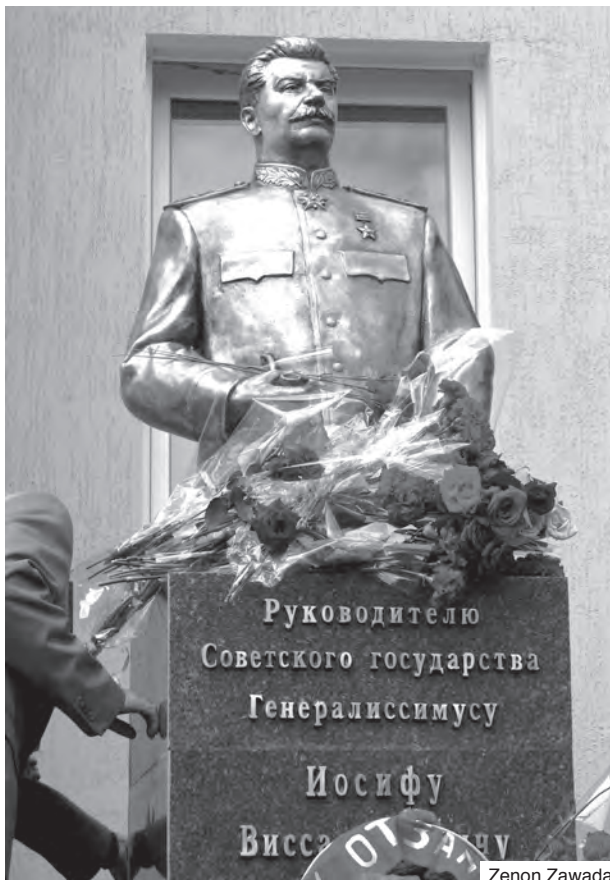
### Repressing the opposition

Authoritarian practices in repressing the opposition emerged within two months of Mr. Yanukovich's inauguration. The government threatened and arrested opposition leaders censored the media, eliminated citizens' oversight of government organs, hid critical information from leading journalists, restricted public gatherings and protests, and reinforced the supremacy of the Russian language and culture.

Photo correspondents Olena Bilozerska and Oleksii Furman in March became targets of police home searches during in which their property was illegally confiscated. Reporters from the newspaper *Ekspres* reported being beaten on April 12 in the Lviv Oblast town of Horodok by local police officers for exposing local corruption. Reporters at the 1+1 TV network on May 7 released a statement that included a list of specific incidents showing a consistent patterns in which their editors and news directors directly censored or skewed their news reports to unreasonable degrees.

Most notably, 1+1 correspondent Myroslav Otkovych

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



Zenon Zawada

**Communists in Zaporizhia unveiled a monument to Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin on May 5 at their party headquarters. Upon the granite pedestal is the inscription "To the leader of the Soviet government, Generalissimo Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin."**

went public with an article published on the Ukrayinska Pravda website on May 7, revealing that his supervisors had censored his news report in which he attempted to offer a legal analysis of President Yanukovich's April 27 PACE statement denying the Holodomor was genocide of the Ukrainian people. His editors informed him, ahead of the May 10 news program, that legal commentary about Mr. Yanukovich's statement would be removed. "In this manner, the Holodomor theme was censored," Mr. Otkovych wrote. "It was then that, for me, this theme became the Rubicon after which silence is impermissible. Selling your people's memory, pain and suffering for a salary is a crime!"

Ukrainian media expert Otar Dovzhenko of the Telekrytyka website declared on May 7 that censorship had returned to Ukraine, the source of which was the nation's media moguls who "attempt to build up or maintain good relations with the government and gain benefit from them."

Additionally, freedom of assembly was significantly curtailed as the national police force began employing tactics not seen since the authoritarian reign of former President Leonid Kuchma.

"Employees of the Internal Affairs Ministry violated the freedom to peaceful assembly, using force against participants of peaceful events," said an April 22 statement issued by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union on Human Rights. "In Kyiv alone, such violations were observed on March 14, 25 and 27, and April 8, 9 and 13. On March 25 the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine ordered the Kyiv City Administration 'to use exhaustive measures to organize work with citizens and their groupings, including precluding and forbidding further acts of protest near the Presidential Administration and Cabinet of Ministers.' Such 'orders' are brutal violations to the freedom of peaceful assembly and several articles of the Constitution."

Police and traffic officers began employing the Kuchma-era tactic of preventing buses with protesters from traveling to Kyiv for both the April 27 and May 11 protests. The Svoboda nationalist party reported that State Traffic Inspection (DAI) officials in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast threatened private bus companies that provided the party with transportation for the April 27 protests. "Carriers said they were threatened by people who claim to be traffic officers and demand that they cease to offer transportation services to Svoboda supporters," the party reported in a May 7 press release. "In another case, they were threatened with numerous inspections and denial of licenses for transportation."

On May 10, on the eve of the protest, bus companies hired by the Tymoshenko Bloc in the Chernihiv Oblast told their clients they had to decline their business because they were threatened with having their licenses confiscated.

Internal Affairs Minister Mohylov signed a decree on March 18 cutting 27 of his ministry's regional human rights monitors, after which three citizens remained to keep track of a 250,000-plus police force. The Human Rights Monitoring Administration had been established in 2008 with the goal of ensuring a policy of openness and transparency within Ukraine's police force. "Hundreds of common citizens who complained of the police's illegal actions received help from the administration's aides," stated a March 18 letter signed by 32 leading human rights organizations. "With their help, serious police abuses were uncovered."

The police under Mr. Mohylov's leadership were reported to have grown significantly more aggressive. A drunk university student in Kyiv, Ihor Indylo, was celebrating his 20th birthday when he was sent to a local police station on May 17 and died in custody. The Internal Affairs Ministry claimed the student "fell several times, from which he suffered hemorrhaging and traumas to his brain and skull." The 1+1 TV network reported that an ambulance was called four times to the police station, but paramedics declined to take Mr. Indylo each time. Students also claimed that police pressured them to state that Mr. Indylo had suffered a broken skull from fighting, prior to his arrest.

The Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) stepped up its aggressive behavior as well, dispatching one of its officers to visit the rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University, the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, on May 18 in order to gain his compliance in a government effort to dissuade students from participating in political protests. The Rev. Gudziak was offered a letter to sign, which he didn't bother to read and did not sign. "Such precedents have no known precedent in independent Ukraine in the experience of UCU and of the Lviv National University, whose longtime rector [and former Minister of Education] Ivan Vakarchuk I consulted immediately after the meeting. Those methods were well-known in Soviet times," the Rev. Gudziak wrote in a May 19 letter that was well-publicized throughout the mainstream media.

Since only two of the approximately 170 universities of Ukraine have been voicing their protest regarding recent political and educational developments and many rectors have been pressured to express their support regarding the turn of events, it is clear that in recent months fear and accommodation are returning to higher education at a rapid pace, the Rev. Gudziak wrote. Speaking and writing openly about these issues is the most peaceful and effective manner of countering efforts to secretly control and intimidate students and citizens, he noted.

### A neo-Soviet course

The Yanukovich administration has led Ukraine not only toward Russian integration but onto what would be better described as a neo-Soviet course, in the view of experts. Its neo-Soviet humanitarian policy erodes any national meaning for Ukraine, and its neo-Soviet method of governing avoids any public discussion and employs authoritarian methods of governing, said Volodymyr Viatrovych, a senior visiting scholar at the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University.

"Today's government doesn't have an understanding of the state as an entire spiritual and humanitarian identification complex, rather than an instrument of violence and a vehicle for making money," said Volodymyr Tsybulko, a leader in the People's Committee to Rescue Ukraine formed on May 5. "In essence, Yanukovich and his team haven't come to lead a state, but to expand the Donetsk Oblast to the boundaries of the Ukrainian state."

No other single event during the first 100 days of the Yanukovich administration more epitomized its cultural policies than the May 9 Victory Day celebrations held in conjunction with the Russian and Belarusian governments. Leaders of the three states coordinated synchronized parades in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, including the Hero Cities of Kyiv, Odesa, Kerch and Sevastopol. In an unprecedented move, Russian soldiers marched alongside their Ukrainian counterparts along the Khreschatyk, the main boulevard in Kyiv, while Sevastopol hosted a joint parade between Ukrainian sailors and those of the Russian Black Sea Fleet. In all, 75 Russian troops marched in each of the four Hero Cities that day. In turn, President Yanukovich took with him 75 Ukrainian soldiers to commemorate the event in Moscow alongside the Kremlin leadership and Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka.

Government buildings throughout Ukraine, and even metro train cars, were covered with the Communist hammer-and-sickle symbol. For the first time ever, the Soviet symbol was draped in the orange-and-black St. George



Oleksander Prokopenko/UNIAN

**Volodymyr Podriezov, a deputy of the Kyiv Oblast Council, leads a hunger strike outside the Central Election Committee. Batkivschyna party activists were demanding that election commissions register the real candidates of Batkivschyna instead of the "clone candidates" that were officially registered.**

Ribbon, an old tsarist war order re-tooled by the Kremlin to foster a neo-Soviet identity among the citizens of Belarus, Ukraine and the Russian Federation.

Education and Science Minister Tabachnyk signed several orders removing government protection for the Ukrainian language, including canceling the Ukrainian-language exam for all bachelor's degree candidates and allowing university courses to be taught in the Russian language. He openly admitted that removing Ukrainian as the mandatory language of instruction in universities caters to foreign students. "When we introduced Ukrainian-only classes in universities, an immense outflow began of students from Arab and Asian countries. The state and universities began to lose out," he said. For elementary schools, he ordered that Russian literature constitute three-quarters of the materials taught in the "world literature" course, largely at the expense of Western literature. On May 13 Mr. Tabachnyk announced the Russian government would offer university scholarships to 300 Ukrainian students to study in Russia. The same day, he said the Russian and Ukrainian governments would develop a common manual for history teachers.

These plans couldn't please the Russian government more, as demonstrated with the first visit in six years to Kyiv by Russian President Medvedev. In his seventh meeting with Mr. Yanukovich as president, on May 17 they signed three agreements. On security in the Black Sea region, improving systems of European security and resolving problems in the Transdnier region. Messrs. Medvedev and Yanukovich also presided over the signing of a series of bilateral agreements that involved demarcation of the Russian-Ukrainian border, cooperating in using and developing the Russian global satellite navigation system GLONASS, cooperation between the Russian and Ukrainian ministries of culture in 2010-2014, and cooperation between UkrExImBank and Russia's VTB Bank.

While the leaders achieved much of what they planned for the two-day official visit, Mr. Medvedev assured the public that "this was only the beginning" as the leaders plan many more agreements for more extensive cooperation. "No one expects that we will resolve all problems immediately, but the main thing is not to lower the pressure and not to shift to a lower gear," Mr. Medvedev told the Ukraine-Russia Interstate Commission on May 17. He lamented that the commission had met for only the third time in the last five years, insisting that it ought to convene at least twice a year. At the meeting, the presidents gave their governments 14 orders on which to prepare future bilateral agreements between the governments and ministries.

Yet, Mr. Yanukovich indicated he did want to slow the pace down. "We reached the conclusion that we can't work this way, in which we've conducted seven meetings in such a short period of time and driven the leaders of our working groups into a situation where they are supposed to prepare various decisions in accelerated tempos," he said at a joint press conference. To which Mr. Medvedev responded, "Viktor Fedorovych said we can't work this way, but I would like to add that we're led to work this way" in light of how time was lost during the last five years.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

### What foreign policy?

The Yanukovich administration has no coherent foreign policy strategy, in the view of top experts attending a June 11 roundtable organized by Mr. Yatsenyuk's Open Ukraine Foundation. As a result, the president has leaned heavily on integration with Russia as a reliable comfort zone with proven electoral returns, experts said. "Some people said Ukraine has no foreign policy strategy, and everyone agreed, and I agree with that," Volodymyr Horbach, a political analyst at the Institute of Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, told *The Weekly*. "But there is, in fact, a foreign policy strategy. The problem is it's in Russia, not Ukraine."

The president has allowed the Russians unacceptable influence in Ukrainian affairs, said Ukraine's former Ambassador to the U.S. Yuri Scherbak, referring to not only the Black Sea Fleet lease extension, but also to wide-scale plans for Russian enterprises – state-owned and state-financed – to buy up Ukrainian counterparts. "Who counted what percent of an economy's industry, when in the hands of another country, poses a danger to our security?" he asked his fellow experts during the discussion. "Do we know this? Does 80 percent need to be given to another country before we'll be asking what's next?"

### Russians go shopping

With the encouragement of their government, Russian businessmen launched attempts to acquire three large, strategic Ukrainian factories in the late spring through deals that shut out Ukrainian oligarchs, lacked basic Western standards of transparency and faced lengthy legal battles. Most of the deals were financed through loans offered by Russian Vneshekonombank (VEB), the state-owned bank controlled by Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, who sits as its chairman. On June 15, Ukraine's State Property Fund announced it sold a controlling stake of the LuhanskTeploVoz plant, the nation's largest manufacturer of diesel and electronic locomotives, to the Briansk Machine-Building Plant, a subsidiary of TransMashHolding, Russia's largest maker of locomotives and railway equipment. The 76 percent stake was sold in a closed auction that was open to only two bidders.

When *The Weekly* confronted President Yanukovich at a June 4 press conference about the opaque way that Russian investors are buying Ukrainian assets, falling short of Western standards, he avoided the question and offered only vague, sometimes contradictory information about other assets under purchase.

During his Washington visit, Mr. Yanukovich told American businessmen at an April 13 luncheon that his administration would ensure that privatizations would be "absolutely transparent," naming LuhanskTeploVoz as among the enterprises for sale and inviting Americans to participate.

In late May, anonymous Russian investors claimed to have acquired Ukraine's second-largest steel factory, the Ilich Mariupol Metallurgical Plant, and the fifth-largest steel producer, Zaporizhstal. Both deals occurred under the opaque, controversial conditions that are being contested by Ukrainian competitors in fierce legal and political battles. Russian investors reportedly outbid Donbas tycoon Mr. Akhmetov in the Zaporizhstal contest. In both deals, the buyer was an anonymous Russian entity, as was the case with the purchase in January of two Ukrainian plants belonging to the Industrial Union of the Donbas (IUD), also financed by VEB. The IUD buyer is the same as the Mariupol buyer, the representatives confirmed. VEB declined comment on the deals. Responding to *The Weekly*, Mr. Yanukovich confirmed news reporters that Mr. Akhmetov had filed an appeal in the London courts to stop the sale of Zaporizhstal. "It won't be sold for at least a year, insofar as I'm aware," he said. As it turned out, Mr. Akhmetov ended up striking a deal with Volodymyr Boiko, chief executive officer of the Ilich Mariupol plant, to acquire 75 percent of the company shares.

Mr. Akhmetov got another return on his investment in the Party of Regions when the Cabinet of Ministers on May 12 proposed renewing business with Vanco Prykerchenska Ltd., a Black Sea shelf oil and gas exploration company controlled by Mr. Akhmetov and Russian state monopoly Gazprom.

The Yanukovich administration demonstrated no strategy to improve the Ukrainian economy, economists said after the first 100 days. He revealed only a policy of enriching oligarchs and business clans that support the Party of Regions, coupled with preferences given to the Russian Federation. On June 3 Mr. Yanukovich announced he would privatize all of Ukraine's remaining state properties within five years. Observers assumed that



Prime Ministers Mykola Azarov of Ukraine (left) and Vladimir Putin of Russia during their meeting in Moscow on March 25.

they would be conducted without transparency, giving first dibs to representatives of the Donbas and RosUkrEnergobusiness clans.

"The government has no economic strategy and is only concerned with the present day," said Andriy Novak, an economist and author of the book, "How to Lift the Ukrainian Economy." "It's working along the principle that, while in government, we should do as much as we can for our own financial-industrial groups."

Among those groups is RosUkrEnergobusiness led by Dmytro Firtash, who offered hefty support for the Yanukovich presidential campaign. His reward was the June 8 ruling delivered by the Stockholm Arbitrage Tribunal, which ordered state-owned Naftohaz Ukraine to return 11 billion cubic meters of natural gas that was confiscated by the Prime Minister Tymoshenko, plus 1.1 billion cubic meters in compensation. Ms. Tymoshenko said the Yanukovich administration had intentionally sabotaged Naftohaz's defense in the Stockholm Court in order to produce a ruling favorable to Mr. Firtash. "They recalled all the lawyers that were there and all the international lawyers that were hired by our government," Ms. Tymoshenko said on June 9. "They completely decimated the entire defense, not representing and recalling all arguments which were to the country's advantage."

Russian-Ukrainian joint enterprises emerged as an economic trend under President Yanukovich. Russia's United Aviation Construction Corp. formed a company to engage in joint projects with Kyiv's Antonov Co., while Russia's United Shipbuilding Corp. (USC) said it planned to create such enterprises with Ukrainian firms like the Black Sea Shipbuilding Factory in Mykolaiv. The company said it's also considering acquiring a dozen Ukrainian shipbuilding companies that would fit in the production chains of Russian shipbuilders, reported Andrey Kurasov, the deputy chair of the shipbuilding department of the Ministry of Industry and Trade. Russian Prime Minister Putin in early May urged USC Chairman Roman Trotsenko to begin pursuing the acquisitions of the two Ukrainian plants – More Shipbuilding Co. in Feodosiya and Zoria-MashProyekt in Mykolaiv, which builds the world's largest gas-turbine engines for shipbuilding. At the same time, Russians acquired the Alchevsk Metallurgical Plant and the Dzerzhinsky Metallurgical Plant in Dniprodzerzhinsk.

### Questions about Euro-integration

All the while, Prime Minister Azarov made audacious claims about Euro-integration throughout the year. He told Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt in April that his government was aiming to have an EU Association Agreement and Free Trade Agreement drafted by the year's end. In June, he said Ukrainians would have visa-free travel to Europe as early as 2011.

Most experts view these as empty words, considering that signing such extensive agreements with the EU would require significant reforms from the Yanukovich administration, most notably in reducing corruption, which doesn't interest those in power, said Dr. Oleh Soskin of the Institute of Society Transformation. Their entire political careers are based on abusing government posts to enrich themselves, he said.

While President Yanukovich is able to reject NATO

integration and remain popular with the electorate, he can't outright dismiss EU integration, which is supported by at least two-thirds of Ukrainians, Dr. Soskin said. So a process has begun of discrediting EU integration in stages. "There won't be an Association Agreement because they don't need it," he said. "The gradual integration into the EU means corruption will be removed, and that would destroy them. A Kremlin-controlled mafia has come to power and it has a clear plan of surrendering Ukraine to Moscow."

The Yanukovich administration rejected NATO integration in favor of cooperation in legislation approved on June 1 by the National Security and Defense Council, titled on "On the Bases of Domestic and Foreign Policy," which excluded NATO integration from among its priorities. Ukraine will maintain its involvement in the NATO Response Force – the only non-member to actively participate in the program, as well as in NATO Active Endeavor, conducted in the Mediterranean Sea, said Kostiantyn Yelisyeyev, a vice-minister of foreign affairs. Meanwhile, Parliament voted on May 18 to permit NATO training exercises in Ukraine, including the once controversial U.S.-Ukraine Sea Breeze operation targeted by pro-Russian supporters.

Among the government's biggest public relations failures – besides the SBU visit to UCU Rector Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak – was the June detention of Niko Lange, the Kyiv director of the Konrad Adenauer Fund, who was held at Kyiv Boryspil airport for 10 hours after criticizing the administration of President Yanukovich. Both he, and fellow countryman and former German Ambassador to Ukraine Ditmar Studemann, warned the Yanukovich administration that Euro-integration wouldn't be possible for Ukraine if its government pursued authoritarian policies such as repressing the opposition, abusing the law for political ends and imposing police state measures on a peaceful population. Ironically, the Yanukovich administration reacted with the same neo-Soviet tactics of intimidation against Mr. Lange that he had warned against.

The incident reflected the Yanukovich's authoritarian approach to governing that repeatedly flaunted laws and procedures.

"These politicians repeatedly demonstrated their readiness to fit legislative norms to their needs and legalize them post-factum with other laws or Constitutional Court rulings," said Ihor Koliushko, director of the Kyiv-based Center for Political-Legal Reforms. Subsequent constitutional violations included postponing the elections of city and oblast councils (which were supposed to be held May 30), holding the April 27 parliamentary session without a quorum, casting votes on behalf of absentee national deputies, extending the Black Sea Fleet lease by 25 years, and transferring the authority of appointing judges nationwide to a newly established government-controlled Higher Justice Council.

The attitude of the coalition government was best demonstrated when Mr. Yanukovich was accused by critics of violating Ukrainian law when he denied in Strasbourg that the Holodomor was genocide against the Ukrainian people. When confronted with that, presidential advisor Mykhailo Chechetov offered his pragmatic solution to the problem: change the law.

"He absolutely wasn't concerned that the president's

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

speech clearly violated the law," Mr. Koliushko said. "The new government perceives laws exclusively as some kind of tribute, not as something they're supposed to be guided by ... The government thinks that laws can always be passed and adjust them to its needs."

Yanukovich authoritarianism involves selectively enforcing the law and granting individual rights. So while a Kyiv district court ruled on May 7 to forbid protests against Russian soldiers marching in Kyiv on May 9, those supporting the soldiers were more than welcome to exercise their right to publicly support them. While police surrounded nationalist protesters and allegedly beat them on May 27, Party of Regions supporters were allowed to gather at Lviv Polytechnic University, where President Yanukovich was scheduled to speak, and voice their support.

Prime Minister Azarov created the most centralized state financing apparatus in the last decade, Mr. Novak said. In the 2010 budget, the Azarov government allocated only 20 percent of state revenues for oblast and city governments to manage and use, compared to 22 percent during former Prime Minister Tymoshenko and 28 percent under Mr. Yanukovich's 2002-2004 tenure as prime minister. "Rather than worrying about the regions, the Party of Regions has begun intensively seizing resources from them," he said.

### U.S. ambassador in Ukraine

U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Tefft was largely silent and remained out of the public eye in the first six months since being appointed to his post in December 2009. He held his first press conference on June 24 at the Institute of World Policy in Kyiv to discuss U.S.-Ukraine relations and Ukrainian politics. Mr. Tefft acknowledged troubling reports of government pressure and censorship in Ukraine, yet demonstrated the cautious approach taken by U.S. foreign policy leaders towards the Yanukovich administration. He abstained from any criticism of its authoritarian policies and constitutional violations apparently as part of the U.S. approach to achieve pragmatic goals and maintain dialogue.

"We have concerns about democracy and freedoms," said Ambassador Tefft, responding to *The Weekly's* question about whether the Ukrainian government is pursuing authoritarian policies. "Some of those things, when we investigate them – we do investigate very carefully the allegations – don't turn out to be actually what they're billed as. Some of them do, and we've raised aggressively with the government."

U.S. foreign policy toward the Yanukovich administration consists of five priorities: economic reform, trade and energy, defense and security, fighting corruption, and strengthening democracy and freedom of the press, the ambassador said. He offered the Yanukovich administration compliments for statements that had yet to show any concrete results, such as claims about lowering taxes and reducing red tape. "We've noted with great hope the new government's statements that fighting corruption is a top priority," Mr. Tefft said. "However, actions speak louder than words."

The Yanukovich administration's plans to fight corruption were just that – statements. In late March, the president decided to postpone the introduction of anti-corruption laws until January 1, 2011. The decision came after repeated statements about the urgency of fighting corruption.

Ambassador Tefft's careful remarks, in which he avoided using the term "authoritarian" or voicing criticism of the Yanukovich administration, drew questions from concerned civil society and media leaders wanting to know what the U.S. government was doing to prevent authoritarianism.

That question was posed by Viktor Shlinchak, the chairman of the board of directors of the Institute of World Policy in Kyiv, to whom Ambassador Tefft responded: "When we see problems, we ask questions. When we see violations, we raise the questions."

The *Weekly* asked whether the rise of authoritarianism in Ukraine was a concern and whether there are indications the government is pursuing an authoritarian policy. "You're trying to put words in my mouth," the ambassador said. "I've said it quite clearly I think in my speech that we have concerns about democracy and freedoms."

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton met with Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich and his foreign policy team during a one-day visit to Kyiv on July 2 in which they discussed security and defense cooperation, including fulfilling the nuclear security agreements reached on April 12-13 in Washington. Ms. Clinton offered much praise for the Yanukovich administration and refrained from criticism, despite evidence that the

government is pursuing authoritarian policies in monopolizing power, abusing the rule of law and restricting individual rights. They discussed economic and energy reform, and followed up on Ukraine's "historic decision to get rid of its stocks of highly enriched uranium by 2012," which was announced at the Nuclear Security Summit.

She raised concerns about threats to freedom of speech and assembly with Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, while at the same time stating that the U.S. is "encouraged by your government's commitment to support freedom of the press and to take concrete steps to ensure the independence of Ukraine's vibrant media." Secretary Clinton's foreign policy team also met with leaders of Ukrainian civil society, who reported on the Yanukovich administration's increasing restrictions on rights and freedoms. Ms. Clinton also met with opposition leader Ms. Tymoshenko, who told her of rising authoritarianism.

Ms. Clinton expressed support for a relationship with Russia "that is in Ukraine's interest, that helps to further what President [Barack] Obama has called the resetting of relations with Russia."

"Some have tried to force Ukrainians into a choice between aligning your country with Russia or with the West. We believe that is a false choice," Ms. Clinton said. "Ukraine is an independent nation, and we hope Ukraine will have good relations with its neighbors – including Russia – and that Ukraine will pursue close, constructive relationships with the United States and countries of the European Union."

### The local elections

With such support, the Yanukovich pressed on with its authoritarian bulldozer, submitting more local governments to its direct control, gaining legislation to manipulate the country's judiciary and drafting rules that tilted the October 31 local elections in favor of the Party of Regions. The new rules forbade the participation of any parties formed less than a year from the election date – a tactic aimed at eliminating the Front for Change, the party formed by former Verkhovna Rada Chair Yatsenyuk. In addition, blocs of several parties were forbidden, a move designed to hurt Ms. Tymoshenko.

"These are anti-democratic, unconstitutional norms with the single political goal of eliminating competitors," said Oleksander Chernenko, the board chairman of the Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU). The election legislation, which passed a second parliamentary reading on July 10, was aimed at ensuring that the Party of Regions dominates political life in Ukraine both nationally and locally, observers said. Among the most criticized provision of the local elections bill was the new requirement that candidates must belong to a political party in order to compete. "This is another anti-democratic norm that violates the Constitution, which guarantees the right of any citizen to choose or to be chosen," Mr. Chernenko said.

The mayors of Ukraine's biggest cities were elected as independent candidates in the 2006 local elections, including Lviv Mayor (City Council Chair) Andrii Sadovyi, Odesa Mayor Eduard Hurvits, Dnipropetrovsk Mayor Ivan Kulichenko and Zaporizhia Mayor Yevhen Kartashov. After the new requirement, Messrs. Kulichenko and Kartashov both got their party cards.

The elections were supposed to be held on May 30, but Parliament canceled the vote, alleging a lack of funds, in a decision that violated the Ukrainian Constitution. The real motive observers said, they said, was to change the election rules to ensure the Party of Regions gained widespread and wide-margin victories. Rules were changed and made contradictory so that the party's interests would prevail in the ensuing chaos, observers said. Fulfilling one norm automatically violates another, Mr. Chernenko said. Moreover, the campaign season was limited to 50 days, home-voting was allowed without a medical document, and election commissions were allowed to operate without a quorum. President Yanukovich signed the regional elections law on July 27, drawing further criticism.

"Ukraine is being thrown back not even to the Kuchma era, but even further as if into the Soviet past, when elections were held in name only," said Maryna Stavniychuk, a member of Ukraine's delegation to the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe. She pointed out the CEC was granted the authority to disqualify candidates, even of the eve of the vote when no appeals could be pursued. "I have the impression that the authors of the legislation specifically hired people and assigned them the task of analyzing the previous election law and selecting all the worst that Ukraine renounced in recent

years," Ms. Stavniychuk said. "Job well done. The green light has been given to political raiding in Ukraine on a legislative level."

The Party of Regions launched a new falsification technology of creating clone parties, in which it recruited a member of the Batkivschyna party to create a group of supporters that would be loyal to the Party of Regions. The cloned Batkivschyna party, with the Regions-loyal leader, then gets recognized by local election commissions and courts, and competes in the election in place of the true opposition candidate. The first such reported cases emerged in the Lviv and Kyiv oblasts. The Kyiv Oblast Organization of the Batkivschyna party fought to resist the cloning attempt by electing its genuine leader – Kostiantyn Bodariiev – at its June 25 party conference. Even then, Judge Serhii Vovk of the Pechersk District Court in Kyiv declared the election null and void, recognizing the Regions-affiliated candidate, Volodymyr Maibozhenko, as the legitimate chair of the Kyiv Oblast Organization of the Batkivschyna party. "There haven't been any similar rulings during all the years of independence," Mr. Bondariiev said at a July 26 press conference. As a result, the Batkivschyna party was unable to compete for the Kyiv Oblast Council. Judge Vovk issued a similar ruling canceling the decision of the Lviv Oblast Organization of the Batkivschyna party to remove National Deputy Ivan Denkovych from its leadership after he demonstrated a newfound loyalty to the Party of Regions. (In Ukraine's court system, a judge in one oblast can rule on a case affecting citizens in another oblast.)

Opposition persecutions escalated. In early July, the *Vysokyi Zamok* newspaper reported that the Lviv State Administration led by oligarch Vasyl Horbach had begun gathering information about political allegiances of leading Lviv businessmen. Mr. Horbal allegedly ordered district state administrations to gather the information, which included enterprise owners' party allegiance, political beliefs and "degree of influence on the electorate," the newspaper reported. Mr. Horbal denied that he ordered the surveys.

The Party of Regions even pressured some of Ukraine's biggest oligarchs to abandon the Tymoshenko Bloc and join its ranks. Most notably, the Tymoshenko Bloc lost a top financier, mega-millionaire Andrii Verevskyi, who sought to protect his giant agro-business by joining the Party of Regions on June 1.

Government employees not submitting to the plans of the Party of Regions to hijack the October elections were subject to dismissal as well. Minister of Education and Science Tabachnyk visited Donetsk National University Rector Volodymyr Shevchenko in Donetsk on July 29 and demanded that he write a resignation letter, which the rector refused to do. He was subsequently dismissed by the minister, in violation of procedures which require the rector to remain in place until another is elected. His illegal dismissal was protested by labor unions, university staff and the ministry's human resources committee, said Lesia Orobets, assistant chair of the Single Center party. While Mr. Shevchenko didn't state the reason for his dismissal, observers said it's because he's always been independent of political parties and refused to join the Party of Regions.

President Yanukovich gained control of Ukraine's judiciary after the Verkhovna Rada on July 7 approved the second reading of the bill "On the Judicial System and Status of Judges" without waiting for the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe to review it and offer recommendations. That review would have likely rejected the change to Ukraine's judiciary, critics said, which is why the parliamentary coalition rushed to have it approved.

The legislation created a High Specialized Court of Ukraine to review civil and criminal cases, reducing the membership and authority of the Supreme Court of Ukraine – led by Tymoshenko Bloc supporter Chief Justice Vasyl Onopenko – and empowering the Higher Justice Council to appoint judges. About three-quarters of the judges on the Higher Justice Council are controlled by President Yanukovich, observers said. At least 20 provisions of the law, which took effect on July 15, contradict the Constitution, Ms. Tymoshenko said.

### Moscow Patriarchate's crusade

Besides usurping Ukraine's political institutions, the Yanukovich administration threw open the doors for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church–Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP) to launch a religious crusade to take over the holiest sites and churches in Ukraine that it didn't yet control. The first battleground became the Kyivan Caves Monastery, widely viewed as Ukraine's holiest site,

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

which is also referred to as the Kyiv-Pechersk Historical-Cultural Reserve. Ukraine's pro-Russian forces apparently aren't satisfied with the UOC-MP controlling 41 percent of the territory's structures. On July 27 Prime Minister Azarov announced an order to evict "all institutions and organizations that don't have any relation to the reserve and monastery within the course of a year."

Immediately targeted were the reserve's five museums, its famous artist studio, a hospital that treats HIV/AIDS patients, the National Historic Library and government offices, such as the State Service of National Cultural Inheritance.

Serhii Krolevets, who served as the chair of the reserve for 15 years, told *The Weekly* that it's the politicians who are provoking the conflicts between the territory's laity and clergy, encouraging the latter to take advantage of the current window and seize as much property as possible. Considerable concessions were offered for Patriarch Kirill's third visit to Kyiv in July, which included re-naming the stretch of Ivan Mazepa Street adjacent to the monastery as Lavra Street. Then the Kyiv City Council voted on July 15 to transfer ownership of the monastery to the government led by Prime Minister Azarov. In Odesa, the City Council voted to transfer to UOC-MP ownership of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration of Our Savior, the oblast's largest cathedral situated at Cathedral Square in the city center. Odesa Mayor Hurvits presented the deed to the church on July 21 to Odesa and Izmail Metropolitan Agafangel.

Kirill's eight-day visit included trips to Odesa, Dnipropetrovsk and Kyiv, during which the Russian patriarch awarded President Yanukovich one of the church's highest honors, the Order of Prince St. Vladimir. Patriarch Kirill's overt political speeches and involvement in Ukrainian politics drew nationwide protests. More than 10,000 followers of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP), led by Patriarch Filaret, participated in a moleben and marched through central Kyiv on July 28 to commemorate the Baptism of Kyivan Rus' in 988. The Church's press service reported that police prevented hundreds of its faithful from traveling to Kyiv to participate in the ceremonies.

"They threatened to confiscate transport licenses and create other 'unpleasantries,'" the July 28 statement said. "We saw mass refusals of transporters from fulfilling trips, which were secured in advance. Local government officials insistently 'didn't recommend' that clergy of the UOC-KP travel to Kyiv on July 28."

Two days before the arrival of Patriarch Kirill, two arsonists reportedly set ablaze the first wooden church of the UOC-KP in Luhansk. Almost the entire church burned and its security guard was hospitalized.

### Educational "reform"

President Yanukovich signed legislation on July 22, approved by Parliament two weeks earlier, that immediately canceled Ukraine's 12-grade system of elementary education and replaced it with 11 grades. The law also introduced mandatory kindergarten for 5-year-olds (previously, school attendance was required of 6-year-olds). The legislation was produced by the Education Ministry led by Mr. Tabachnyk, who has led an intense campaign to integrate Ukraine educational system with the Russian model. Mr. Tabachnyk's plans radically subverted Ukraine's path towards the 12-grade system – employed throughout Western states – that had been introduced in 2002 and was set to produce the first graduating 12th grade class in 2013. The changes demanded rewriting the nation's entire curriculum and publishing new textbooks.

"Radical changes of direction every year can't be called reform," Olha Aivazovska, board chairman of the Opora citizens network, said at a July 22 press conference in Kyiv. "Reform in education is a process which goes towards some direction. What is proposed today and being called reform is truly a return to the conditions that preceded the reforms of 2002" that launched 12-grade education, she noted. The regressive measures will significantly hurt the ability of Ukrainian students to compete with their European counterparts and gain admission into European universities, Ms. Aivazovska said.

"Twelve-year schooling was a guarantee that a Ukrainian [high school] diploma would be recognized in European countries, as well as the possibility of gaining admission to the world's universities absolutely calmly, without any additional measures," she explained. Instead the measures serve the interests of the Kremlin, which wants to keep Ukraine's next generation oriented towards Moscow rather than gravitating towards Europe, observers noted.

"Canceling the 12-year [system] hurts Ukraine's image, showing it to be an extremely inconsistent state



Illya M. Labunka

**Pickers gathered in front of the Kyiv headquarters of the Security Service of Ukraine on September 15 protest the SBU's actions against historian Ruslan Zabilyi and the National Memorial Museum Prison on Lontsky in Lviv. The banner reads "Freedom for historians."**

that is taking actions which contradict the Bologna Process just five years after joining it," said Maksym Pobokin, an analyst at the Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Fund in Kyiv. "The international community won't recognize diplomas since they violate UNESCO recommendations on a minimum of 12 years in education," he added.

Mr. Tabachnyk gained other advantages with the legislation. Adopting Russia's 11-grade system will make it easier to pursue previously announced plans to publish new Ukrainian textbooks in tandem with the Russian government that promise a Russocentric view of history.

Toward the end of the year, there were more disturbing developments in the realm of education as the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy reported that Education Minister Tabachnyk had begun a campaign to restrict its autonomy and halt its progressive reforms in higher education.

Serhiy Kvit, NUKMA president, said at a December 9 press conference that the ministry wants to eliminate the university's English language requirement, its pioneering Ph.D. programs, and unique admission standards for its master's degree programs, which require passing five exams, he said. Minister Tabachnyk even seeks to forbid students from freely attending lectures. "The minister wants to cancel in our statutes and rights precisely that which in Western Europe is the foundation of the Bologna Process and the European Higher Education Area (EHEA)," Dr. Kvit stated. It is precisely because of the university's spirit of independence and its fight against corruption that Kyiv Mohyla Academy is being targeted by the ministry, said Dr. Kvit, whose statements were a reaction to the ministry's recent legislative proposals and its reassessment of the university's charter.

### Political persecution

The summer concluded with a new wave of political persecutions, which returned to Ukraine with a fervor unseen since 2001, when former President Leonid Kuchma arrested and incarcerated a series of opposition leaders. The top targets included officials who served the government of former Prime Minister Tymoshenko, leaders of the Svoboda nationalist party, officials who served Kyiv Mayor Leonid Chernovetskyi, and independent activists critical of the Kremlin and the pro-Russian policies of the Yanukovich administration.

The Yanukovich administration's tactics involved surprise inspections of offices, illegal searches, alleged wiretapping, arrests and prosecution for alleged crimes. These incidents are then well-publicized in the media controlled by the Party of Regions, such as the Inter television network and the *Segodnya* daily newspaper.

Former National Deputy Oleksander Hudyma, a leading activist against illegal construction in central Kyiv, was arrested on March 14 for allegedly assaulting a security guard during a conflict with residents. Prosecutors added the charge of resistance to police in July, which Mr. Hudyma said happened because the authorities couldn't find evidence of assault. He faces a sentence of

up to five years in prison if convicted. Former Economy Minister Bohdan Danylyshyn was accused by the Procurator General's office (PGO) of incurring \$570,000 in losses to the state when selecting a contractor rather than conducting an open tender on the construction of a parking garage at Kyiv Boryspil Airport. He's also accused of buying diesel fuel, also without a tender, that cost the state \$1.8 million. Mr. Danylyshyn fled to the Czech Republic, where he was arrested by local authorities. He filed for political asylum in November.

Authorities arrested several top-ranking officials in the government of former Prime Minister Tymoshenko for their involvement in confiscating 11 billion cubic meters of natural gas from RosUkrEnergo. Former State Customs Service Chair Anatolii Makarenko was arrested and incarcerated in June; the same fate met former Naftohaz Ukraine First Deputy Chair Ihor Didenko the next month. Both men remain imprisoned.

National Deputy Roman Zvarych said he and his wife, Svitlana, are under intense pressure from the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) because he chairs the temporary parliamentary committee to review the Stockholm Arbitration Court's decision in favor of RosUkrEnergo. Mr. Zvarych was loyal to Ms. Tymoshenko in recent years and is likely to share the view that the government sabotaged the case so that RosUkrEnergo could recover its natural gas from Naftohaz Ukraine. Party of Regions National Deputy Viktor Korzh alleged Ms. Zvarych stole \$12.7 million from the state budget through her firm and claimed to have evidence that the Zvaryches engaged in laundering value-added tax money from the state. Ms. Zvarych said those accusations are lies.

The PGO is prosecuting 38-year-old nationalist Mykola Kokhanivskyi for hooliganism and vandalizing monuments of cultural inheritance following his deed on the night of June 30, 2009, when he and four cohorts chiseled and deformed the face of the Vladimir Lenin statue in central Kyiv. He is also being prosecuted for assaulting on March 17 Viktor Voronin, an assistant to Education Minister Tabachnyk, who held a sign during a demonstration that said, "Ukrainian Nazis – Hands off Tabachnyk."

The SBU crossed the line from political reprisals to repressing academic freedom when on September 8 it detained Ruslan Zabilyi, director of the National Memorial Museum of the Victims of the Occupation Regimes, Prison on Lontsky. The next day, the SBU announced it launched criminal investigations against him for allegedly revealing state secrets. Mr. Zabilyi told a September 9 press conference in Kyiv that he was told the goal of his detention was to hinder his work with declassified Soviet documents and prevent their dissemination. He insisted that as a historian and museum director, he had access only to declassified historical documents. He was asked by the SBU why he was interested in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and was advised to get a job as a teacher and to cease contacts with foreign scholars. He was asked about his position on historical memory, lustration and the Holodomor.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

"SBU personnel are not only trying to conceal the crimes of Stalinism, they are also using its methods today, as if it was not 2010 but 1937," said Volodymyr Viatrovysh, a fellow Lviv historian who had extensive access to SBU documents. Staff members of the Prison on Lontsky Museum, the property of which is owned by the SBU, weren't allowed to access their offices beginning September 9. On September 10 several hundred people in Lviv gathered in front of the SBU's Lviv Oblast headquarters to protest the treatment of Mr. Zabilyi, among them former Soviet prisoners Iryna Kalynets, Ivan Hel and Yurii Shukhevych, all of whom were at one time held at the Lontsky Prison.

A Kyiv appellate court on August 30 upheld a controversial lower court ruling that denied broadcast licenses to Ukraine's last two remaining TV networks that are committed to reporting news independently. As a result, the TVi network lost its television frequencies and can only be viewed on cable or satellite television. Channel 5 is still broadcasting on the frequencies it owned prior to the January tender, yet it will reportedly lose half its viewers as a result of losing its current frequency.

The courts fulfilled the government's goals of eliminating influential critical media, critics said. The ruling came on the day that President Yanukovich was in Germany claiming to be "the person most interested in democratization processes in Ukraine not only not stopping, but developing."

"I view this day as the introduction of official censorship in Ukraine," TVi General Director Mykola Kniazhytskyi told the UNIAN news service on August 30. "I think they intentionally waited for the day when our president would be in Europe in order to show the West that Ukraine won't be in Europe. I think this is a provocation against our country."

### Legal nihilism

Ukraine descended deeper into the depths of legal nihilism when the nation's Constitutional Court ruled on October 1 to overturn the constitutional changes approved in December 2004 during the Orange Revolution – dividing authority among Ukraine's president, prime minister and Parliament – and to restore full executive authority to President Yanukovich. Observers said he ordered the ruling because he wasn't able to make the changes the proper way, which would have required a constitutional majority of 300 votes in Parliament to amend the Constitution. Ukraine's Constitutional Court is led by Chief Justice Anatolii Holovin, a Donbas native and longtime colleague to the president.

"All the government's activity under President Yanukovich involves setting a goal and achieving it by any means necessary," Ihor Zhdanov, president of the Open Politics Analytical Center in Kyiv, told an October 6 press conference. "That's the government's credo. Relations between the government and citizens aren't built on equality, but the government of the subjected. We make a decision and the people swallow it. This is done with pseudo-legal methods."

As a result of the politically motivated ruling President Yanukovich gained the ability to appoint and dismiss Cabinet ministers, including the prime minister. The president will again play the key role in forming the parliamentary coalition, avoiding the troubles faced by former President Yushchenko, who was opposed by his own prime minister and Parliament. In a national address on the day of the court ruling, President Yanukovich announced the country would rely on the 1996 version of the Constitution of Ukraine that functioned until January 1, 2006, when the new constitutional amendments took effect requiring parliamentary factions to form the coalition, rather than the president.

"We've returned to the Constitution which Europe and the world recognized as among the best," Mr. Yanukovich declared. "This Constitution allowed Ukraine to affirm itself as an independent state, determine its unchanging course towards democracy, rule of law, defense of rights and freedom of citizens."

However it quickly became apparent that Mr. Yanukovich would only abide by those provisions of the 1996 Constitution that he preferred, while ignoring those that worked against him. Canceling the 2006 Constitution would require parliamentary elections in March 2011 (the last Sunday in March four years after the last election, according to the 1996 Constitution), an idea that the Presidential Administration flatly rejected.

"Addressing these issues, the Justice Ministry said everyone should execute their authority based on the 1996 edition, but not the terms of authority," said Ihor Koliushko, the chair of the Center for Political and Legal

Reforms in Kyiv. "They're playing games now. Either we stand on the position that the authorities and their terms are active according to the new edition of the Constitution, or the old one. But this can't be split," he added.

The leaders of Ukraine's opposition forces on September 28 sent a letter to leaders of European bodies, heads of state, leaders of foreign diplomatic missions to Ukraine and heads of international funds and institutions to warn that the upcoming elections in Ukraine wouldn't be fair if the Yanukovich administration is allowed to continue abusing its powers. The leaders of opposition parties charged that the Ukrainian government is "implementing a number of measures aimed at the creation of a wide-scale system for vote-rigging and the significant distortion of election results in their favor."

Indeed the Party of Regions led Parliament on August 30 in tweaking its scandalous local election rules legislation, but mostly for the worse. The changes enabled its members to determine most, if not all, the members of the territorial and district election commissions, even those representing opposition parties. Local party organizations were denied the right to nominate commissioners, which opposition leaders said ensured falsification.

"The Stalinist norm is in effect – it's not important who votes, but who count the votes," said Viacheslav Kyrylenko, a national deputy and chair of the For Ukraine party. "Local citizens are denied the opportunity to influence this process. The law enables the Regions and Communists to select their representatives to election commissions first, followed by all other political forces."

The amendments give priority to the Party of Regions and the Communist Party of Ukraine in selecting their three representatives (per party) to the 18-member territorial election commission, enabling them to choose and recruit the most influential commissions members ahead of the three other parliamentary factions. Then the CEC, loyal to the Party of Regions, will have authority in determining which three commissioners will represent each of the three remaining parliamentary factions. Opposition parties were given a single day, September 11, to fill out forms nominating their candidates to election commissions, said Serhii Podhorneyi, a national deputy of the Tymoshenko Bloc. Only the Party of Regions was able to submit its nominations in a timely manner, having the ability to receive such forms days ahead of the deadline.

Besides expanding territorial election commissions to 18 members (three commissioners per parliamentary faction, plus three from parties not in Parliament), the amendments removed the July 10 prohibition on parties whose local organizations were formed within a year of election day. The leadership of the Party of Regions boasted that the amendments enhanced democracy in Ukraine by allowing more parties to run. Yet, observers said the measure was truly intended to increase competition and dilute the results of the leading opposition force, the Batkivshchyna party led by Ms. Tymoshenko.

"It's a half-step towards democracy," said Mr. Chernenko, board chairman of the Kyiv-based CVU. "It came about not with the desire to improve elections, but the desire to complicate them for the competitors to the ruling party."

The main benefactors were the Strong Ukraine party led by mega-millionaire banker Mr. Tigipko and the Front For Change party led by 36-year-old banker and National Deputy Yatsenyuk.

In the week prior to the October 31 elections, Ms. Tymoshenko said she would not recognize the results of the Kyiv Oblast, Lviv Oblast and Ternopil City Council elections, where the Batkivshchyna local organizations were hijacked by clones, or fake parties created by members loyal to the Party of Regions. Election commissions controlled by the Party of Regions recognized the clones and not the real Batkivshchyna organizations, resulting in conflicts and hunger strikes that left several Batkivshchyna party activists hospitalized.

"Political and criminal responsibility lies personally with President Yanukovich for the falsification of elections, which are in full gear," she told an October 25 press conference.

### Another election day

By the time October 31 rolled around, the parliamentary coalition controlled an estimated 66 percent of territorial election commission seats and 68 percent of its executives, according to estimates offered by Opora, Ukraine's leading independent election monitor. So it came as no surprise that the October 31 local elections in Ukraine were held amidst evidence of systemic viola-

tions and vote falsifications. Most of the major political forces involved, including the Communist Party of Ukraine, a coalition partner, refused to recognize them as legitimate. Only the Party of Regions said the elections were conducted transparently and honestly, and conformed to international standards.

"The elections were conducted in complete chaos and confusion," Tymoshenko Bloc National Deputy Andrii Kozhemiakin said from the parliamentary tribune. "Now the government is doing everything to bide its time and falsify the results for certain election districts."

Svoboda nationalists alleged total falsification in the Kyiv Oblast vote and demanded arrests and prosecution of those involved. Meanwhile the Communists called for nationwide protests.

The Western-financed Opora citizen's network, issued one of the most disapproving statements on the elections on November 4, based on reports made by its 1,550 election observers: "The local elections in Ukraine occurred with violations of international standards and failure to uphold the appropriate practices of organization and conducting elections."

On election day itself, Opora received scores of reports of election commissioners rewriting election protocols after they had been completed and submitted. In the Cherkasy, Kyiv and Vinnytsia oblasts, hundreds of candidates arrived at polling stations to find stamps next to their names – placed the night before – that indicated their expulsion from the contest, Mr. Hnap said. Scores, if not hundreds of journalists, party-affiliated observers and international election observers were either forbidden to enter polling stations, or expelled either in the day or during the overnight vote count.

The Weekly's correspondent was expelled from Precinct Election Commission No. 11005 in the village of Bondari, Poltava Oblast, at about 5:30 a.m. on November 1, accused of interference after its reporter made a second attempt to draw closer to the counting of ballots that was occurring on the far end of the table.

Thousands of voters were denied their right to cast votes because of poor organization and a remarkable lack of voting booths to accommodate the number of voters, said Opora's Dmytro Hnap said, referring to this technique as "managed chaos," which was created by the poor election law.

The chaotic, often brutal way in which the elections were conducted should put to rest any remaining misconceptions – largely held by Western governments and officials not closely monitoring Ukraine – that the administration of President Yanukovich is committed to building democratic institutions and Western values in Ukraine, particularly the rule of law, said Ivan Lozowy, a Kyiv lawyer and veteran political observer.

"We haven't seen this type of violence since 2004," said Mr. Lozowy, president of the Institute of Statehood and Democracy. In the weeks leading up to the vote, intense fighting erupted throughout the cities and towns of the battleground central regions of Kyiv, Cherkasy, Poltava and Vinnytsia. The fighting extended into election day itself.

Meanwhile several observers of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) said thousands of ballots went missing at Cherkasy Oblast polling stations. They also noticed missing ballot box seals in the Poltava and Cherkasy Oblasts.

"The number and frequency of reported violations presents a spike as compared to previous elections. That in itself is sufficiently worrisome. These elections were significantly worse and reversed a general trend towards a slow improvement," Mr. Lozowy added.

The U.S. State Department issued a carefully worded statement on November 3 that declared the October 31 elections "did not meet standards for openness and fairness set by the presidential elections earlier this year." The biggest violations it cited were abuse of government resources, unbalanced election commissions and complicated registration and voting procedures. All that European leaders could offer was deafening silence in the four days after. The European Parliament decided to delay its resolution on the election.

The elections gained little notice beyond Ukraine because the Yanukovich administration decided to hold them, for the first time, separate from the major elections for president and Parliament. Only about 500 international observers arrived, with Poland dispatching the most at 36, Opora reported. The Russian Federation sent the second most, 29, and 28 observers arrived from the U.S., most of whom represented the UCCA.

A lengthy joint statement was issued on November 2 by 10 opposition parties – led by Batkivshchyna and the People's Rukh of Ukraine – containing extensive exam-

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

ples and evidence of systemic violations and vote fraud. "The local elections that took place on October 31 were neither democratic nor free," the statement began. "They do not conform to generally accepted European standards, and their results are deliberately disfigured. Today it's already obvious that the official election results will have nothing to do with the real mood of the people, nor reflect their real choice. The vote-rigging in Ukraine has been a long process that has embraced every stage of the election campaign."

Among the election's low points was a statement by CVU Chair Cherenko, who declared the elections were conducted in a "free atmosphere" as early as three hours before the 10 p.m. closing time for polling stations. The elections had no more violations than the presidential campaign and not of a "systemic character." He also said, again before the polls closed, that the election results couldn't be rejected at any level except that of election commissions.

Protests and conflict continued for weeks after the elections. More than 5,000 Kharkiv residents gathered on the city's Freedom Square on November 9 for its "For Honest Elections" rally demanding victory for Arsen Avakov, the Batkivshchyna candidate for Kharkiv City Council chair who competed against the Party of Regions candidate, Gennady Kernes. At least 200 Svoboda nationalists stormed the Ivano-Frankivsk State Oblast Administration building on November 9 to protest mass falsifications that occurred in the oblast. They were repelled by Berkut special forces, who inflicted injuries against several party activists, including the chairman Oleh Tiahnybok. "Several Berkut officers threw themselves at me, nearly tearing my clothes," Mr. Tiahnybok said afterwards, according to the party website. "When several supporters attempted to defend me against this lawlessness, they were thrown to the ground in an instant and brutally kicked by law enforcement officers."

President Yanukovich worked to resolve some of the conflicts, among the biggest being in the city of Luhansk, where Communists alleged mass falsifications deprived their candidate, Spiridon Kilinkarov, of victory in the race for City Council chair (mayor). The president on November 10 dismissed Luhansk State Oblast Administration Chair Valerii Holenko for failing to resolve the conflict and appointed a replacement, Volodymyr Prytsiuk, who found a compromise. In back-room dealings, the Party of Regions offered the Communists the Luhansk City Council secretary's post, as well as six council committee chair positions, including the chairmanship of the lucrative Budget and Finances Committee, reported Opora. Meanwhile Party of Regions candidate Serhii Kravchenko was allowed to open the November 11 session of the Luhansk City Council as its newly elected chairman.

In Kharkiv, the 46-year-old Avakov was widely believed to have defeated Mr. Kernes, who has close ties to Mikhail Dobkin, the notorious mayor who was tapped by Mr. Yanukovich to chair the Kharkiv State Oblast Administration. Mr. Avakov won 35 percent of the votes, compared to 31 percent for Mr. Kernes, according to an exit poll conducted by GfK. The official results announced on November 5 by the Kharkiv City Election Commission gave Mr. Kernes 30.1 percent of the vote, compared to 29.5 percent for Mr. Avakov. Much evidence of falsifications surfaced, particularly forged election protocols that misrepresented the true tally of votes.

### Tax code protests

The largest protest against the government of Prime Minister Mykola Azarov erupted on November 16 as more than 30,000 small-business people descended upon Kyiv from all corners of Ukraine to voice their opposition to a new tax code they claimed would ruin business in Ukraine and devastate the economy. The proposed tax code would impose new layers of unaffordable regulations and new mounds of unaffordable accounting paperwork, and would reduce transparency – all of which will enable authorities to demand exorbitant bribes, entrepreneurs said. Protests were held throughout Ukraine, including Kharkiv, Khmelnytskyi and Poltava.

"Our oligarchs and their servants, the national deputies, divided up all the country's property and Ukraine into personal estates," Oleksander Dudko, president of the Union of Entrepreneurs and Employers of Crimea, said at a November 16 press conference in Kyiv. "We won't let them ruin small business and turn the people into obedient slaves, dividing them up like serfs between each other," he underscored.

The tax protests gained momentum in western Ukraine as well. More than 30,000 entrepreneurs gath-



More than 30,000 people march in central Kyiv on November 16 against the tax code drafted by the government of Prime Minister Mykola Azarov which they argued would devastate small businesses in Ukraine.

ered at shopping destinations in the Podillia region. The city's 30 markets were closed as a result. More than 4,000 entrepreneurs protested at the Khmelnytskyi State Oblast Administration building. Just two days earlier, more than 10,000 protesters gathered at the same venue.

Nationwide tax protests by Ukraine's small businessmen extended into their third consecutive week, even after President Viktor Yanukovich vetoed the controversial tax code approved by Parliament on November 18. Unsatisfied with the president's amendment proposals, protest leaders demanded a complete rewrite of the tax code with the participation of small businessmen, a process they said should take at least six months if done properly. It was all for naught, however, as the Verkhovna Rada on December 2 approved a new version of the tax code that included the president's recommended amendments, and the president signed the bill into law the next day. Meanwhile police in Kyiv launched an investigation into alleged destruction of city property by the tax protesters.

### Holodomor commemoration

A citizens' committee was officially launched at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy on November 17 to organize and make sure that the Victims of the Holodomor and Political Repressions Remembrance Day would be commemorated in Kyiv on the last Saturday of November as per annual tradition. The committee recruited many of Ukraine's leading intellectuals, performers, philanthropists and spiritual leaders in planning the day's events, which had been previously organized by the Presidential Secretariat under President Yushchenko.

On November 27 commemoration by the Ukrainian government was marked by far less ceremony than prior years. President Yanukovich and Prime Minister Azarov led a delegation in attending a simple morning prayer at Kyiv's Holodomor Victims memorial led by Metropolitan Volodymyr, the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church–Moscow Patriarchate. In his official statement released on the commemoration's eve, Mr. Yanukovich referred to the Holodomor as "Armageddon" instead of genocide, toeing the line set by the Russian Federation government, which has fought to prevent that designation on an international level.

The government organized its separate commemoration only after a citizens committee of 30 civic and cultural leaders organized a ceremony that afternoon at the same location, attended by former Presidents Leonid Kravchuk and Yushchenko, Ms. Tymoshenko and several thousand ethnically conscious Ukrainians. The committee invited the Yanukovich administration to its event, which bore the slogan, "Holodomor Genocide – 32-33." Naturally the government declined, having adopted the Kremlin policy that the Holodomor wasn't genocide.

The Yanukovich administration abandoned the national "Light a Candle" tradition initiated by the Yushchenko government, which instead was performed at the unofficial ceremony at which glass candles were distributed and placed at the memorial and St. Michael's Square, the site of the first Holodomor monument.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kyiv Patriarch Filaret and Major Archbishop and Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, led the panakhida, which was also attended by Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders. Pro-Western politicians and diaspora leaders also attended.

### Institute of National Memory

Among the last projects of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory – before its overhaul by Soviet apologist Valerii Soldatenko – was the printing of a historical map, "Holodomor 1932-1933," which shows graphically the genocide's devastation wrought upon the Ukrainian people. The double-sided cartographical issue was published jointly by the Ukraine Institute of National Memory (UINM) and the state-subsidized publisher, "Kartohrafiya." The UINM, led by its former chair Dr. Ihor Yukhnovskiy, provided the map's photos and images, as well as statistical information.

The map marks what's likely to be the last government-sponsored project, for as long as Viktor Yanukovich remains president, to raise public consciousness about the Holodomor, a famine engineered by the Soviet government. Its main feature is a 38-inch by-26-inch map of Ukraine signifying those blacklisted villages targeted for annihilation (the so-called "chorni doshky"), as well as markers for the nation's monuments and memorials, which number several hundred. The most were established in the Cherkasy and Kyiv oblasts. "Getting blacklisted meant armed detachments surrounding a population center, which was practically isolated from the outside world and condemned to death," Dr. Yukhnovskiy said at the June 30 presentation of the map.

The publication also includes two smaller, subject-related maps, the first of which pinpoints the peasant uprisings of 1930. Before the Holodomor, scores of Ukrainian villages rebelled against the forced collectivization imposed by Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin in villages such as Pavlohrad in the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, Chudniv in the Zhytomyr Oblast and Mala Rusava in the Vinnytsia Oblast. The second smaller map provides outlines the demographic losses caused by the Holodomor, comparing the 1933 mortality rate to the death rate in 1927 based on geography. It also indicates routes and final destinations of the massive resettlement of ethnic Russians and Belarusians in 1933 to territories cleansed of ethnic Ukrainians – an act that was carried out in five waves, numbering 329 dispatched groups (echelons) and totaling 117,100 resettled people. "Southern Ukraine suffered most from Holodomor, where entire villages died and replaced with new families," Dr. Yukhnovskiy explained.

On the map's flip side, Ukrainian text explains the reasons behind the Holodomor, the mechanisms employed by the genocidal Soviet government, its anti-Ukrainian nature and demographic losses, and offers a legal analysis. These texts are supplemented by 76 miniature color photos of contemporary monuments erected throughout Ukraine; 23 black-and-white archival photos documenting the confiscation of grain and starving victims, including information on where the photos were taken; and seven images of Soviet-era propaganda posters promot-

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

ing agricultural prosperity during collectivization.

It had been reported back in April that Ukraine's Vice Prime Minister for Humanitarian Affairs Volodymyr Semynozhenko said on April 14 he had not yet made a decision on the future of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory or if it should continue to exist at all. Established in 2006 by President Viktor Yushchenko, the institute was at the forefront of shaping information about Ukraine's history – particularly chapters in that history which were denied or suppressed for decades by the Soviet authorities.

Discussions over the institute's future began in late March, when Mr. Semynozhenko ordered Ukraine's Justice and Education ministries to review "the future functioning" of the institute. Critics had said they feared the move was the first step in its liquidation and a roll-back of democracy in Ukraine under the new administration of President Yanukovich and the Cabinet led by Prime Minister Azarov. "The new authorities are rolling back all the important national gains that have been achieved over the last years," Viacheslav Kyrylenko, leader of the For Ukraine parliamentary faction, told a television audience on March 30. "For four years the Institute of National Memory has existed, and now they will liquidate it." The next day in Parliament he demanded that the government stop its "persecution" of the institute.

The Institute of National Memory focused on Ukraine's Holodomor, studied World War II events skewed or ignored in Soviet history books, and highlighted the country's 20th century struggle for independence. The institute also promoted Ukraine's Kozak era, remembered victims of political repressions and developed concepts of historical education.

At the end of July, it was reported that the new director of the Institute of National Memory, Valery Soldatenko told RFE/RL that the 1932-1933 Famine in Ukraine was "the result of difficult circumstances" and was not artificially created. Mr. Soldatenko also said at the time that he had not revised his view about the Famine since January 1990 when he drafted a resolution on the Famine that was adopted by the Communist Party of Ukraine. That resolution formally criticized the policies of the Soviet leadership, but it stressed that the Communist Party did all it could to help the Famine's victims.

At year's end, the Institute of National Memory was downgraded by President Viktor Yanukovich, as part of a government reorganization, to a scientific research institute within the Cabinets of Ministers.

### Government reorganization

President Yanukovich signed decrees on the night of December 9 reorganizing his government by eliminating half of state organs and reducing ministries by a fifth.



Vitalii Kokhan

**Former Internal Affairs Minister Yuriy Lutsenko sits in a holding cell opposite his wife, Iryna, during a December 27 court hearing.**

The result was a concentration of more authority into a tight inner circle consisting of Prime Minister Mykola Azarov and three colleagues.

Donbas oligarch Borys Kolesnikov gained the leadership of the newly created Infrastructure Ministry, which includes transportation and tourism. Another Donbas oligarch, Andrii Kliuyev, was tapped to lead a newly created Ministry of Economic Development and Trade. The reorganization showed that President Yanukovich will continue to rely on two business clans to govern – the Donetsk industrial clan led by Messrs. Kolesnikov and Kliuyev, and the RosUkrEnergo group led by Yuriy Boiko, whose Fuel and Energy Ministry was expanded to the Energy and Coal Industry Ministry.

"A real powerful cluster is being formed, a brilliant group of five, the general secretary of which is the prime minister, who will ensure communication between the president, Cabinet of Ministers and its three leading super ministers," political scientist Viktor Nebozhenko told UNIAN in an interview published on December 11. Mr. Yanukovich also showed his commitment to pursuing a Russocentric, anti-Western humanitarian policy in rewarding the controversial Education and Science Minister Tabachnyk by enhancing his authority as leader of the newly created Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Sports.

Among the only essential reforms was re-organizing the executive government along three functions: ministries are responsible for forming state policy, or its strategic function; state services fulfill the regulatory function; and control organs or agencies manage state property, said Volodymyr Fesenko, director of the Gorshenin Institute in Kyiv.

President Yanukovich also ordered a reduction in the number of government employees by no less than 30 percent and Cabinet staff by no less than 50 percent. The Presidential Administration also intends to reduce its own staff by as much as 50 percent.

The Yanukovich administration executed the government restructuring in time for a December 22 meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Washington, Oleh Ustenko, an economist and executive director of the Bleyzer Foundation, told a December 16 press conference in Kyiv.

### Yanukovich vs. the opposition

As 2010 came to a close, the Yanukovich administration was clearly targeting members of the opposition. Former Prime Minister Tymoshenko was called in for questioning on several occasions in December and a criminal case was opened against her for alleged abuse of office. To protest the action against their leader, national deputies from the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc-Batkivschyna faction blocked the work of the Verkhovna Rada. On the evening of December 16, about 40 Party of Regions deputies tried to forcibly remove them, storming the presidium, throwing punches and swinging chairs in what became a bloody brawl then sent several deputies to the hospital. On December 22, Deputy Procurator General Yevhen Blazhkovskyi announced that criminal charges were filed against the opposition deputies for their daylong blockage of the Rada. The violence inflicted by the Regions deputies was ignored.

Former Internal Affairs Minister Yuriy Lutsenko was arrested on December 26, former Transportation and Communications Minister Viktor Bondar was arrested on December 24, and former Environmental Protection Minister Heorhii Filipchuk was arrested on December 14. Still other Tymoshenko allies were arrested earlier in the year. In fact, at least 13 high-ranking officials who served in the Tymoshenko government were arrested or face criminal charges, in what observers called a persecution campaign intended on decimating the leading opposition force, the Batkivschyna party. Seven of them are imprisoned.

"The main goal is to gain control over political opponents," said Ivan Lozowy, president of the Institute of Statehood and Democracy in Kyiv. "They're doing it using illegitimate force – demoralizing them, breaking them up and physically hampering what they're doing."

The U.S. government issued the following statement on December 30 via its Embassy in Kyiv: "Although as a rule the U.S. government does not comment on the specifics of individual cases, we have raised with the Ukrainian government our concern that while corruption should be pursued, prosecution should not be selective or politically motivated. In that context, we also raised our concern that when, with few exceptions, the only senior officials being targeted are connected with the previous government, it gives the appearance of selective prosecution of political opponents."

## U.S.-Ukraine: the focus shifts

The development of U.S.-Ukraine relations in 2010, as in the previous year, began with a change in one of the top leaderships, this time in Ukraine. In 2009 Barack Obama replaced President George W. Bush in the White House. Early last year, Viktor Yanukovich, considered a pro-Russian candidate, won the presidential election in Ukraine, replacing his Western-leaning predecessor Viktor Yushchenko. And this change was reflected in the further development of that relationship.

President Obama did not hesitate in greeting and congratulating Mr. Yanukovich on his victory. Indeed, he telephoned him on February 11, four days after the preliminary results of the February 7 run-off election in Ukraine became known – but six days before the Central Election Committee's scheduled official announcement of the victor. The White House press release noted that President Obama commended the Ukrainian people on the conduct of the election, noting that "this peaceful expression of the political will of Ukrainian voters is another positive step in strengthening democracy in Ukraine."

The White House said the two leaders agreed on the importance of continuing cooperation on nuclear non-proliferation. The statement also noted that the strategic partnership between the two countries was based on shared interests and values, including "expanding democracy and prosperity, protecting security and territorial integrity, strengthening the rule of law, promoting non-proliferation, and supporting reform in Ukraine's economic and energy sectors."

A similar reaction to the election was echoed March 4 by the U.S. Senate in a resolution introduced by the chairman (John Kerry, D-Mass.) and ranking member (Richard Lugar, R-Ind.) of the Foreign Relations Committee. It noted Ukraine's adherence "to democratic, transparent and fair election standards," its "reform of election laws and regulations, the development of a pluralistic and independent press, and the establishment of public institutions that respect human rights and the rule of law." The Senate also called on all parties "to respect the independence and territorial sovereignty of Ukraine, as well as the full integration of Ukraine into the international democratic community."

The U.S. presidential delegation sent to attend President Yanukovich's inauguration in Kyiv February 25 was headed by President Obama's national security advisor James L. Jones, and included Ukrainian American Melanne Verveer, the Obama administration's ambassador at large for global women's issues.

### Yanukovich in Washington

Six weeks after his inauguration, President Yanukovich was in Washington, participating in a two-day Nuclear Security Summit with leaders of 46 other countries and, in an April 12 meeting with President Obama, reaffirming their nations' strategic partnership.

A joint statement following the Obama-Yanukovich meeting described the many positive aspects of the U.S.-Ukrainian relationship and announced Ukraine's decision to get rid of all of its stocks of highly enriched uranium before the next Nuclear Security Summit, scheduled for 2012 in South Korea.

There was no formal announcement about where Ukraine's estimated 70 kilograms of highly-enriched uranium would be shipped – to Russia or the United States. But in a press interview during the visit, President Yanukovich reportedly said it would be returned to Russia. Indeed, in December Ukraine delivered a shipment for secure disposal to Russia. And in a statement issued by the White House on December 31, President Obama congratulated the Ukrainian president, noting that this move represents "continued Ukrainian leadership in making sure that nuclear weapons never fall into the hands of a terrorist, and working toward a world without nuclear weapons," which, he added, is also a top priority of his administration.

A joint U.S.-Ukrainian statement following the April Obama-Yanukovich talks noted that the two countries have "common interests and shared values," among them "democracy, economic freedom and prosperity, security and territorial integrity, energy security," as well as cooperation in the area of defense.

While in Washington, President Yanukovich also discussed in more detail Ukraine's economic issues and expanding U.S.-Ukraine economic ties during a luncheon hosted by the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council, whose membership includes 115 companies and other enterprises already economically involved in Ukraine or interested in establishing a presence there. He presented his assessment



## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



Official Website of Ukraine's President

**Presidents Viktor Yanukovich of Ukraine and Barack Obama of the U.S. during their April 12 meeting on the sidelines of the Nuclear Security Summit in Washington.**

of the current economic situation in Ukraine and expressed his hope that order and political stability will prevail in his country. "We chose for ourselves the road to reform," he said.

The Ukrainian president also made the traditional pilgrimage to Washington's Taras Shevchenko monument, where he placed a large bouquet in the presence of a gathering of Washington-area Ukrainian Americans, which included priests from the local Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic churches and a small community choir.

President Yanukovich's visit received almost exclusively positive press coverage in the media, except for a half-page advertisement in *The Washington Post* consisting of an open letter signed by 17 journalists of the Ukrainian television station TBi calling on him to guarantee freedom of speech in Ukraine. It was being trampled, they said, by the head of the Security Services of Ukraine (SBU), Valeriy Khoroshkovskiy.

### Clinton visit, other talks

Nuclear, security, economic, human rights and other issues were discussed during subsequent senior-level bilateral meetings during 2010, among them Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's one-day stopover in Kyiv during a trip to the region in early July. There, she met with President Yanukovich and his foreign policy team, as well as with opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko, who raised the issue of rising authoritarianism in Ukraine.

After her meeting with Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, Secretary Clinton said she expressed her concerns about threats to freedom of speech and assembly with him, but noted that the United States was "encouraged" by his government's commitment to support freedom of the press and "to take concrete steps to ensure the independence of Ukraine's vibrant media."

U.S. Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs William Burns paid a visit to Kyiv, where he met with President



Anders  
lund

U.S. Helsinki Commission

**Dr. Anders Aslund speaks at the Helsinki Commission's March 16 hearing on Ukraine.**

Yanukovich, as well as Prime Minister Mykola Azarov and senior government officials. The third-ranking official in the U.S. State Department also spoke at a media roundtable on September 9, underscoring "the very high priority that President Obama attaches to the strategic partnership between our two countries." His visit was a follow-up on the April meeting in Washington of the two countries' presidents and Secretary Clinton's July trip to Ukraine.

This topic was also raised by Vice-President Joe Biden in a telephone conversation with President Yanukovich in October, two weeks before Ukraine's local elections. As indicated in a press release from his White House office, the vice-president "underscored the importance of free and fair elections on October 31 and media freedom as signs of Ukraine's commitment to democracy and European integration, and emphasized the Obama administration's support for these goals."

The U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, John Tefft, touched on this subject as part of a wide range of bilateral issues he raised during a June 24 press conference in Kyiv, his first meeting with the press since coming to Kyiv in December 2009. His previous assignment was ambassador to Georgia. While not criticizing the Yanukovich administration directly, he noted that "We have concerns about democracy and freedoms."

Ambassador Tefft indicated that U.S. foreign policy towards the Yanukovich administration had five priorities: economic reform, trade and energy, defense and security, fighting corruption and strengthening democracy and freedom of the press.

### Ambassadorial change

Last year also saw a change in the leadership of Ukraine's Embassy in Washington. Dr. Oleh Shamshur, a career diplomat appointed to this position in 2006 by President Yushchenko, was relieved of his assignment in May. On June 11, President Yanukovich appointed Olexander Motsyk as the new ambassador. Also a career diplomat, Mr. Motsyk previously served for five years as Ukraine's ambassador to Poland and held several high-level positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Before departing on May 30, Ambassador Shamshur spent his last week in Washington as the guest of honor in a weeklong series of farewell receptions and meetings with representatives of private organizations and institutions and government officials with whom he had worked in building the Ukraine-U.S. bilateral relationship.

Ukrainian American organizations honored the ambassador and bid him farewell at a special reception organized by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, The Washington Group, the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council and the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, and attended by a large group of representatives of these and other local Ukrainian organizations. Among those expressing their gratitude for what he did to improve the U.S.-Ukraine relationship was William Green Miller, who served as the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine in the mid-1990s and is still actively involved in advancing that bilateral relationship.

"Ukraine will be a great democratic nation because of people like Oleh Shamshur and his wife" (Ukraine's ambassador to the Vatican), he said. "It's people like him that will make the difference."

In subsequent days, Ambassador Shamshur was also



Yaro Bihun

**Dr. Oleh Shamshur, Ukraine's ambassador to the U.S. at the time, addresses The Washington Group's February 13 conference assessing Ukraine's presidential election.**

honored at receptions hosted by the State Department and the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council (USUBC), and attended by representatives of corporations, think-tanks, government agencies, Congress, Ukrainian American organizations and other groups.



U.S. State Department

**U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko visit the Holodomor memorial in Kyiv on July 2.**

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



During a September 29 meeting of Ukraine 2020 task force chairs with Ukraine's ambassador to the United States (from left) are: David Rigsby, Nadia K. McConnell, Nadia Diuk, Ambassador Olexander Motsyk, William B. Taylor, Steven Pifer and Keith Smith.

### Conferences, hearings

As is evident from the list of organizers and participants of these farewell events, there are a number of groups with an interest in how U.S.-Ukraine relations develop and operate in the nation's capital. The Washington Group, an association of Ukrainian American professionals, has been active in this area since 1985. This year, in its annual Leadership Conference in Washington a week after the presidential election in Ukraine, it brought together an illustrious group to discuss the results: current and former U.S. government officials, former U.S. ambassadors, experts from Washington's research institutions and representatives of leading Ukrainian American organizations. Some of them had just returned from Ukraine, where they served as official election monitors.

While some divergent views were expressed in their analyses of the Yanukovich victory, for the most part all agreed that the presidential election was yet another indication that democracy is developing in Ukraine. Most thought that it was not necessarily a victory for Moscow, which backed the victor, and a turn away from Europe and the United States, which were seen as backing Yulia Tymoshenko, his opponent in the run-off. And it did not spell an end to the ideals of the Orange Revolution, whose political leadership went down in defeat.

Similar analysis followed on Capitol Hill March 16, during a hearing held by the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the Helsinki Commission. The session, titled "Ukraine: Moving Beyond Stalemate?" examined the scope of new challenges Ukraine faces and their implications for U.S. policy. Testifying before the panel were Daniel A. Russell, deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian Affairs; Damon Wilson, vice-president and director of the International Security Program at the Atlantic Council; and Anders Aslund, senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics.

Among the recommendations they put forth were: the Yanukovich administration should concentrate on conducting some basic domestic reforms if it wants to succeed as an independent state and continue expanding its relationship with the West, and the U.S. government should continue to help Ukraine in this effort.

Ambassador Shamshur, was scheduled to appear at the hearing but could not attend because of illness. In a written statement forwarded to the commission, he noted that Ukraine's new leadership will focus "substantial attention" on developing "friendly, mutually beneficial and pragmatic relations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation in all spheres, including the sphere of energy."

He added, however, that "there is no doubt that relations with the United States will remain in the center of the foreign policy of Ukraine" and that Ukraine "is ready to enhance the positive dynamic acquired by bilateral cooperation" between the two countries in the past.

### Rights, freedoms

The Helsinki Commission, which over the years has paid particular attention to the development of human rights, on September 17 marked the 10th anniversary of the kidnapping and murder of Ukrainian journalist Heorhii

Gongadze and expressed its concern about recent reversals of media and other freedoms in Ukraine. Expressing his concern, Sen. Benjamin L. Cardin (D-Md.), the committee chairman, said: "I am disturbed that 10 years after Mr. Gongadze's murder, and five years after the Orange Revolution sparked democratic progress in Ukraine, we now see backsliding with respect to media freedoms there."

Another Congressional grouping concerned with developments in Ukraine is the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, whose co-chairmen in mid-June wrote letters to the U.S. and Ukrainian presidents expressing their concern about "what appears to be a serious deterioration of basic freedoms in Ukraine."

The letters — signed by Reps. Jim Gerlach (R-Pa.) Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), Roscoe Bartlett (R-Md.) and Sander Levin (D-Mich.) — pointed to the provocative May 18 confrontation of Ukrainian Catholic University Rector Father Borys Gudziak by an agent of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), who threatened him with possible action to punish "illegal activities" by university students during protests against the government. The members of Congress urged both presidents to look into this and other questionable SBU actions.

A former chief of the SBU and now leader of the Our Ukraine opposition party, Valentyn Nalyvaichenko, visited Washington in mid-October, seeking to convey the opposition's perspective on the current political dynamic in Ukraine on the eve of the local elections to be held there on October 31. He had meetings with staff members of the Senate and House foreign affairs committees, officials at the State Department and National Security Council, members of some of Washington's prominent think-tanks and leading Ukrainian American organizations.

### Judicial reforms

Also on the eve of the local elections in Ukraine, the need for judicial reforms in that country was at the subject of a roundtable discussion on October 26-27 organized in Kyiv by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Ukraine Rule of Law Project, where Ambassador Tefft pledged continued U.S. government support for such reform in Ukraine and emphasized that it is in the United States' and Ukraine's interests to bring Ukrainian judicial reform legislation into line with European and international standards.

Addressing the more than 100 top Ukrainian judges, government officials, civil society representatives and international experts, he stressed that "the United States is deeply committed to Ukraine's democratic and economic development. We recognize the importance of strengthening the rule of law in this process." Among the speakers was Judge Bohdan Futey of the U.S. Court of Federal Claims.

### New programs

During the course of 2010 a few prominent Ukrainian American institutions launched new programs aimed at improving relations between the two countries.

The U.S.-Ukraine Foundation on September 27 announced the start-up of Ukraine 2020, a program supporting Ukraine's European integration. Announcing the new program, USUF President Nadia Komarnyckyj McConnell said this was a "new strategy of engagement with Ukraine" and called on friends and supporters of Ukraine to join in the effort.

### American Library

The year 2010 also witnessed the re-opening of the newly renovated American Library at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy (NUKMA) in Kyiv on February 18.

Established more than a decade ago, the library strives to provide current and reliable information on U.S. government, history, culture, society and values, its educational system and the economy. It offers readers up-to-date English-language resources, free Internet access and film showings. Its holdings include more than 10,000 items, a multi-media collection and various Internet services, including access to more than 50,000 electronic publications.

The library is named in memory of Victor Kytasty, a Ukrainian American who dedicated himself to the development and growth of NUKMA and was instrumental in developing the American Library.

There are seven other libraries operating at the NUKMA: the Omelan and Tetiana Antonovych Library, the Research Library, the Philology Library, the Library of the School of Public Health, the Library of Pre-University Studies, the Omeljan Pritsak Library and Archives of Oriental Studies, and the forthcoming Library of Fine Arts.

The library collections contain more than 650,000 printed books, 50,000 electronic titles, 85 donated archival collections and more than 50 private printed books collections. These libraries hosts close to 2,000 visitors daily.



John F. Tefft (left), U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, with Dr. Serhiy Kvit, president of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, during the February 18 opening of the renovated American Library at the university.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

### Many milestones for U.S. Ukrainians

Ukrainians in the United States marked many milestones during 2010, as many organizations and parishes celebrated significant anniversaries, and Ukrainian American communities around the country continued to make their influence felt within their localities.

The Ukrainian National Women's League of America celebrated its 85th anniversary during 2010. At the beginning of the year, the largest and oldest Ukrainian women's organization in the United States announced a new initiative to help needy elderly in Ukraine, thus continuing one of its long-standing missions as a charitable and cultural organization. Dubbed "Assistance and Caring for the Elderly," the project aims to help selected nursing homes in various regions of Ukraine, with each of the UNWLA's nine regional councils and a 10th group comprising branches at large being assigned a geriatric home.

Later in the year, the UNWLA celebrated its milestone at a special board meeting in New York City over the weekend of October 8-10. Coincidentally, The Ukrainian Museum in New York City – established by the UNWLA in 1976 – was also celebrating a milestone "Five Years of Excellence" in its new impressive building. The museum venue was a natural for the UNWLA anniversary. In attendance, in addition to board members were regional council presidents, representatives of UNWLA branches, local community leaders and Bishop Paul Chomnycky of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Stamford, who offered the invocation. Representatives of Self Reliance New York Federal Credit Union, Board Chairman Lubomyr Zielyk and President/CEO Bohdan Kurczak, presented a check for \$50,000 to support the UNWLA's worthwhile work.

The evening offered highlights of the organization's 85 years of service and an entertainment program prepared by members of UNWLA Branch 125. The event also provided an occasion for the presentation of "Svichka Pamiati," or "Candle in Remembrance," a book authored by Prof. Valentyna Borysenko and published in 2007 in Ukraine, which gives the nameless and faceless farmers and victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 a voice. The author joined the evening's celebrants.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America celebrated a major anniversary during the year: its 70th. The inaugural jubilee event was a congressional reception in Washington on May 19 that was attended by nearly 100 community activists and leaders, as well as members of the U.S. Congress – among them members of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus. Archbishop-Metropolitan Stefan Soroka of the Ukrainian Catholic Church began the proceedings with a prayer of thanksgiving. Ukraine's ambassador to the United States, Dr. Oleh Shamshur, was among the speakers, as were the first U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, Roman Popadiuk, and his successor, William Green Miller. UCCA President Tamara Gallo Olexy paid homage to the UCCA forefathers who, "upon losing themselves in their cause – freedom and justice for Ukraine – found the strength and determination to call the first Congress of Ukrainians in America. Because of their passion and perseverance, they were able to gather all Ukrainian American organizations in our nation's capital and establish the Ukrainian Congress Committee of



The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America organized Ukrainian Days in Washington on May 17-18. Participants are seen in front of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Capitol.

America."

Greetings were received from a host of organizations, as well as from Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, who saluted the UCCA for its steadfast support of Ukraine's independence and democratic development. A special citation was issued for the 70th anniversary by New York Gov. David A. Patterson.

Special acknowledgement was given to long-time UCCA President Dr. Lev Dobriansky, who passed away in January 2008. Paula Dobriansky, former U.S. undersecretary of state for global affairs, spoke of her father's strong dedication and resolve to bring Ukraine and others enslaved by communism in Central and East Europe into the world community of free and democratic nations.

The anniversary celebrations are to culminate this year in May, with a gala banquet in New York.

The oldest continuously active Ukrainian American charitable organization, the Philadelphia-based United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, marked its 65th anniversary in 2010. The UUARC has assisted Ukrainians around the globe, from Ukraine to Yugoslavia, from Brazil to Romania, and other countries. The organization was founded as a result of the second congress of the UCCA, which was held in 1944. The UUARC's first task was a huge one: it helped resettle more than 70,000 post-World War II Ukrainian refugees who found themselves in displaced persons camps.

Branches of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization in the United States, which were founded soon after the post-World War II emigration, in recent years began marking their 60th anniversaries. Among those celebrating this year was Cleveland, whose May 8 celebration was in the form of

an indoor "campfire." The Plast camp Novyi Sokil, located in North Collins, N.Y., not far from Buffalo, also observed an anniversary – the 60th of Plast camps held on its premises. That celebration took place during the summer camping season on July 17 and was attended by current campers and their families, as well as many former campers.

2010 was a golden anniversary – 50 years – for the House of Ukraine, which is central to the Ukrainian community of the San Diego area. The House of Ukraine is one of 32 international cottages that comprise the House of Pacific Relations in Balboa Park. And that, incidentally, is where San Diego's Ukrainian community holds its annual Ukrainian Festival every Labor Day weekend. The 2010 festival not only marked the 50th anniversary of the House of Ukraine, but the 35th anniversary of the festival itself, a major Ukrainian event on the West Coast.

Back in the Eastern U.S., the Philadelphia area's Ukrainian Education and Cultural Center, which is located in Jenkintown, Pa., held a grand celebration of its 30th anniversary on September 25. The fete took place in the newly renovated center and featured the renaming of the grand hall to honor Borys Zacharczuk for his accomplishments as UECC president for 13 years, as well as a slide show of photos from the UECC's 30 years of activity. Orysia Hewka, the UECC's executive director for 30 years, who announced her retirement in 2010, was presented an award by the center's current president, Borys Pawluk.

Continuing our countdown of anniversaries, we must remember the anniversary of the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund, which was founded 20 years ago as the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund. The



The proposed design for the Holodomor Memorial in Washington by Ukrainian American architect Larysa Kurylas. Titled "Field of Wheat," it was one of five projects chosen as finalists in a design competition announced by Ukraine. Though the finalists were chosen in December 2009, there was no official announcement and the Ukrainian American community learned of the finalists only in late 2010. A centerfold in The Ukrainian Weekly on December 5 showed all five finalists' designs.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



The executive board of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee and part of its board of directors for the 2007-2010 term. Sitting in the middle (fourth from left) is UUARC President Dr. Larissa Kyj.

fund, which is based in Whippany, N.J., held its celebration on April 24 in Kyiv, where its Ukraine office is located. The event at the InterContinental Hotel was attended by diplomats, the business elite and other members of Kyiv's international community, as well as physicians from the CCRDF's partner hospitals in Ukraine. Among the guests was U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Tefft.

CCRDF paid tribute to individuals who had played a major role in its works through the years, among them Ukrainian National Deputy Volodymyr Yavorivsky, who received the CCRDF Humanitarian Award. The recipients of Distinguished Achievement Awards were Ukrainian American actress Vera Farmiga (who was unable to attend, but who addressed guests via video) and Elena Khomenko, managing director of Philip Morris Ukraine, Caucasus and Moldova. A special surprise was the presentation of a Lifetime Achievement Award to the founders of the charitable organization, Dr. Zenon and Nadia Matkiwsky.

At the end of 2010, as a major anniversary was approaching for Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization worldwide, Self Reliance New York Federal Credit Union presented a check for \$100,000 – in recognition of a century of activity – to the U.S. leaders of Plast. Credit union leaders, including President and CEO Kurczak, Board of Directors Chairman Zielyk, Treasurer and CFO Bohdan S. Sawycky and Board Member Stefan Kaczaraj, emphasized that the munificent donation was an “investment” in Plast and its members – potential new leaders for the Ukrainian community.

Accepting the check were Peter R. Stawnychy, chairman, and Marta Liscynsky-Kelleher, vice-president and corporate secretary, of the National Executive Board of Plast U.S.A. Mr. Stawnychy said the funds would be used to help finance capital improvements at Plast's campgrounds in the United States and to create a fund to help cover expenses connected to the centennial jamboree to be held in the U.S. during the summer of 2011. Plast, it should be noted, was founded in 1911 in Lviv, Ukraine. Centennial celebrations of the organization will be held around the globe in 2011-2012.

### Communities far and wide

Ukrainian communities from west to east and north to south exhibited myriad forms of activity during 2010. Some notable examples follow.

In Seattle, Ukrainians were in the spotlight during Memorial Day weekend at the 2010 Northwest Folklife Festival, the city's pre-eminent art and cultural event, which attracts some 250,000 visitors. The Ukrainian community was one of the festival's “Cultural Focus” groups and was selected to present a Ukrainian Showcase at the main venue, the Charlotte Martin Theater. The Ukrainian Showcase was rich with performances by: Olya Herasymenko and Bandura Ensemble from California, complemented with local bandura talent from Seattle; the Barvinok Ukrainian Dancers; the Ukrainian folk-singing duo of Brandon Vance and Nadia Tarnawsky; the vocal ensemble Dva Kolyory; bandurist Dmytro Hubiak from Ukraine, and the Coin of the Realm Orchestra. Many of the performers, along with the bandura/folk ensemble North of the Black Sea from Portland and the Ukrainian Prairie Band, performed and led workshops at various venues of the festival throughout the four-day event.

Also on the West Coast, the California Association to Aid Ukraine continued its exemplary activity, reporting that in collaboration with the Los Angeles-based Wheels for Humanity, in September it had completed the distribution of a shipment of wheelchairs and other rehabilitation equipment, valued at over \$500,000, in Lviv, Ukraine. CAAU has worked with Wheels for Humanity for more than 10 years; their joint project is known as Wheels for Ukraine.

In Houston, the Ukrainian community served as the host group for the 2010 Ss. Cyril and Methodius Slavic Heritage Festival on September 26. The festival, which brings together representatives of the Czech, Polish, Croatian and Ukrainian communities, was founded 47 years ago under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Dmytro Blazejowsky, then pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Houston. Among the performers at the festival were the Zhuravli Ukrainian Dancers of Houston and children of the local School of Ukrainian Studies, who sang folk songs.

In North Dakota, local Ukrainians on July 23 presented a symposium on the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, with a key-

note speech by Ukraine's Ambassador to the U.S. Olexander Motsyk, at Dickinson State University (DSU). The symposium coincided with the North Dakota Ukrainian Festival. Both the festival and the symposium were co-sponsored by the DSU and the Ukrainian Cultural Institute.

In Parma, Ohio, a groundbreaking ceremony was held on August 22 during which a piece of land across from St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church was blessed. The nearly 10,000-square-foot lot, allocated by the city of Parma, is to be the future home of the Ukrainian Village's new Heritage Park. The event was organized by the United Ukrainian Organizations of Ohio, which represents over 50 organizations throughout the state. Ukrainian community leaders noted that the city of Parma continues to recognize the economic impact that Ukrainian residents, including the new wave of immigrants, have made on the city. Ukrainians are Parma's largest new immigrant demographic.

At the beginning of 2010, The Weekly reported that the outgoing governor of New Jersey, Jon S. Corzine, on January 11 had signed an executive order creating an Eastern European Heritage Commission in the Department of State. “New Jersey is home to over 1 million Americans of Eastern European ancestry, including Americans of Polish, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Slovak, Czech and Lithuanian ancestry,” said Mr. Corzine, who lost his bid for re-election. “This commission will ensure that there are opportunities for all of New Jersey to share and celebrate their rich history.” The commission was created eight days before Mr. Corzine's successor, Chris Christie, was inaugurated.

The two Ukrainian Americans appointed to the commission, Michael Koziupa and Roma Lisovich, are, respectively, first vice-president and treasurer of the Ukrainian National Association. Also on the commission ex officio is Cami Huk-Masier, of the Governor's Ethnic Advisory Council. According to its members, the commission met several times during 2010.

Also in the Garden State, the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey (UACCNJ) held its inaugural Ukrainian Festival on October 2, with over 1,000 people – Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike – in attendance. The festival put the UACCNJ on the map in Morris County, as many local residents visited the UACCNJ for the first time, accepting the festival organizers' invitation to “Be Ukrainian for a Day!” The festival included entertainment by dancers, musicians and singers, Ukrainian and American food, a vendor's market, an international beer garden, volleyball and soccer competitions, a varenyky-eating contest, games for children and a dance. The UACCNJ is affiliated with St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, which is planning to build a new church next door to the center. Groundbreaking is expected in 2011.

### Other activities

At the beginning of 2010, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America announced it would be sending a delegation of international election observers to monitor the February 7 run-off in Ukraine's president election. The UCCA registered 115 observers with Ukraine's Central Election Commission and sent observers to various regions throughout the country. In addition, UCCA monitors observed the balloting at polling sites in the United States, where Ukrainian citizens could vote. The UCCA coordinated its activity with other observer groups, including the Canada Ukraine Foundation, the Ukrainian Canadian



At the 20th anniversary celebration of the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund held in Kyiv on April 24 (from left) are: Ukrainian National Deputy Volodymyr Yavorivsky; CCRDF President Dr. Zenon Matkiwsky; Philip Morris Ukraine, Caucasus and Moldova Director Elena Khomenko; Nadia Matkiwsky; and Dr. Oleg Korniyuchuk, chief of the Neonatal Intensive Care Department of Kyiv City Children's Hospital No. 2.



Seen at the Capitol Hill reception marking the 70th anniversary of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America are members of the Pennsylvania Ukrainian American community with members of Congress: second from left is former Rep. Don Ritter; fourth from right is Rep. Jim Gerlach, co-chair of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus; third from right is Rep. Allyson Schwartz.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



M. Orysia Jacus

**Ukrainian American Veterans at the site of the future UAV National Monument at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J.**

Congress and the Ukrainian World Congress.

A group of 28 UCCA observers traveled to Ukraine for the October 31 local elections and observed the highly flawed elections in the Cherkasy, Odesa, Poltava, Kyiv and Lviv oblasts, as well as Crimea. The UCCA issued a statement on the eve of the elections to express its concern that democracy in Ukraine was in danger. The statement cited the stacking of local election commissions with members of the ruling party; the removal and refusal to register opposition candidates; the use of administrative resources; and the printing of excess ballots, which could be conducive to fraudulent vote counts. After the election, the UCCA reported a lack of voting booths and ballot boxes, ballot boxes with missing seals, unstamped ballots, pre-signed election protocols and the illegal exclusion of many candidates from election lists. Several of the UCCA's monitors were threatened, intimidated or not allowed into polling sites to monitor the election process.

The UCCA also continued its contacts with U.S. government officials.

In order to help promote closer relations between the Ukrainian American community and their members of Congress, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and its Washington bureau, the Ukrainian National Information Service, organized Ukrainian Days in Washington on March 17-18. Representatives of the Ukrainian communities in California, Massachusetts, Illinois, Virginia, Maryland, Connecticut, New Jersey and New York came to interact with their fellow community leaders and discuss their role as community advocates of U.S.-Ukraine relations.

On July 21, Ms. Olexy, president of the UCCA; Andrew Futey, executive vice-president; Roksolana Lozynskyj, chair of the External Affairs Committee; and Michael Sawkiw Jr.,

director of the UCCA's Washington Bureau, the Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS); attended a briefing session with Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Dan Russell. The session included a brief overview of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's visit to Ukraine earlier that month, and a discussion about the dynamics of the U.S.-Ukraine strategic partnership and the Ukrainian American community's concerns about U.S. policy in Ukraine.

Ukraine's new ambassador to the U.S., Olexander Motsyk, who presented his credentials to President Barack Obama on June 28, held two meetings with representatives of the Ukrainian community. The first, on July 16, was a "getting to know you" session to discuss recent developments in Ukraine and the diaspora's concerns about them, as well as how to improve the relationship between Ukraine's leaders and Ukrainians abroad. Ukrainian community leaders pointed to a number of disturbing developments under the administration of President Viktor Yanukovich that suggested a reversal of Ukraine's democratization. Ambassador Motsyk, on the other hand, described President Yanukovich's domestic policies as continuing the democratization process, as well as reforming the economy and restoring political stability.

At the second meeting, held on December 9, Ambassador Motsyk underscored that a top priority for Ukraine is improving the U.S.-Ukraine strategic partnership and noted that Ukrainian Americans can help Ukraine build a better relationship with the U.S. He focused on plans for 2011, including commemorations of the 20th anniversary of Ukraine's independence and the 25th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, as well as building closer ties between Ukraine and Ukrainian communities in the U.S. Ukrainian community representatives presented some of their plans for the future and outlined their continuing con-

cerns about Ukraine's course.

It was a banner year for Ukrainian American Veterans as a plot of land at St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J., where the UAV National Monument will be erected, was blessed on April 11 by Archbishop Antony and Bishop Daniel of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. The monument will honor all Ukrainian American men and women who served in the U.S. military. The UAV also continued its Veterans Registration Project, whose goal is to compile a definitive list of all veterans of Ukrainian descent who served in U.S. armed forces through the years. The UAV held its 63rd annual national convention on October 1-3 at Soyuzivka, re-electing Leonid Kondratiuk as national commander.

The Ukrainian National Credit Union Association (UNCUA) – which unites 16 credit unions with assets of over \$2.5 billion – held its 29th annual meeting on June 11-12 in Yonkers, N.Y. In addition to reviewing the status of the credit union movement in the United States, the delegates of credit unions heard a keynote address by Eugene Czolij, president of the Ukrainian World Congress. The UNCUA reported that 105,211 individuals belong to Ukrainian American credit unions and that these credit unions had contributed some \$4 million in support of community organizations during 2009.

The annual commemoration of the Holodomor, Ukraine's Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, took place at the landmark St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City on November 20. To no one's surprise, this year the "g" word – genocide – was not uttered by Ukraine's diplomats inside the cathedral. Furthermore, there was no statement from President Viktor Yanukovich, only a message from Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko (read by Ambassador Olexander Motsyk) which described the



Christine Syzonenko

**The Iskra Ukrainian Dance Ensemble at the inaugural Ukrainian Festival of the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey on October 2. Over 1,000 people – Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike – attended.**



Stephen Fartuszok

**Marusia Kolodij, chair of the Ukrainian Self Reliance Federal Credit Union board of directors, presents Borys Pawluk, president of the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, with a donation of \$50,000 during the UECC's 30th anniversary celebration on September 25.**

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



UNCUA

Delegates representing 15 Ukrainian American credit unions at the conference and annual meeting of the Ukrainian National Credit Union Association in Yonkers, N.Y., on June 11-12.



Yaro Bihun

Alexander Motsyk (right), Ukraine's new ambassador to Washington, discusses the Yanukovich administration's foreign and domestic policies during a meeting with representatives of Ukrainian American organizations at the Embassy of Ukraine on July 16.



At the August 22 groundbreaking ceremony for Heritage Park in Parma, Ohio (from left) are: Ihor Diaczun, president of the United Ukrainian Organizations of Ohio (UOOO); Marusia Kvit-Flynn; Eric Tollerup, director of economic development for Parma; Roman Fedkiw; Vasyl Liscynesky, vice-president of UOOO; Mykola Grissiths and Evhen Palka.

Holodomor as "one of the largest humanitarian catastrophes of humanity" and said it was the Stalin regime's "cynical response to the nation's resistance against forced collectivization."

Sadly, the United States too seemed to have downgraded the significance of the Holodomor. In 1998, when the first Holodomor memorial service was held at St. Patrick's, President Bill Clinton sent a message; he sent a belated one in 2000. First Lady Hillary Clinton sent one in 1999. President George W. Bush sent a message in time for the commemorations at St. Patrick's every year from 2001 through 2008. In 2009, a statement by President Barack Obama was released by the White House Office of the Press Secretary and read at St. Patrick's. The statement was a nice follow-up to the comments made by Mr. Obama, while still a candidate for president, who noted in an October 14, 2008, letter to the 20th Congress of Ukrainians in America (the UCCA's biennial conclave): "...I would like to assure you that Michelle and I are personally aware of the historic importance and meaning of the Holodomor. The tragic famine that took so many lives must never be forgotten. An entire era was shaped by this horrendous crime. For the sake of our common humanity, we must never forget the famine and must always ensure that future generations know this painful history so that it will never be repeated." In 2010, the White House statement came from the spokesman for the National Security Council, Mike Hammer – not from the president. The Ukrainian Weekly's editorial on this topic asked: "So, what are we Ukrainian Americans to think? Has President Obama forgotten the Holodomor that he said we must never forget?"

Questions swirled around the planned Holodomor Memorial in Washington, as in late 2010 it was revealed that, following a competition announced in October 2009 by the government of Ukraine, five finalists had been chosen from among the 52 proposed designs submitted. Curiously, the December 2009 decision on the finalists was never officially announced and the first we heard of it was 11 months later. (A story about the design competition, featuring the five finalists' proposals, appeared in The Weekly on December 5.) Readers will recall that the U.S. Congress passed a bill that was signed into law by President George W. Bush in 2006, which authorized the government of Ukraine "to establish a memorial on federal land in the District of Columbia to honor the victims of the Ukrainian famine-genocide of 1932-1933." As of the end of 2010, the question remained: When and how will the final design for the memorial be chosen? Time is of the essence as the memorial is to be erected in time for the 80th anniversary of the Holodomor in 2013.

A Ukrainian American was among those elected to the U.S. Congress during the 2010 mid-term elections. Dr. Andy Harris, of Maryland's 1st Congressional District, traces his roots to Ukraine as his mother was born and raised in Ivano-Frankivsk. Other members of Congress who have cited Ukrainian ancestry are: Rep. Maurice Hinchey of New York and former Reps. David Bonior of Michigan and Bob Schaffer of Colorado.

### Community protests

Also notable in 2010, were a number of protests organized by the Ukrainian American community, which feared that Ukraine was losing its sovereignty under the administration of President Viktor Yanukovich. The deal signed by Mr. Yanukovich and Russia's President Dmitri Medvedev that extended the basing of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Crimea for an additional 25 years sparked a number of major protests in several cities, including New York (May 3), Chicago (May 9), Washington (June 24, coinciding with a visit by the Russian president). Their message: "Russia, hands off Ukraine!"

Later in the year, when President Yanukovich visited the United Nations headquarters, Ukrainian community members gathered on September 22 in New York and Chicago to protest his policies, which had resulted in violations of human rights, the abuse and disappearance of journalists, the persecution of historians and the rewriting of Ukrainian history, and the reversal of gains in democracy and independent statehood made since Ukraine declared independence in 1991.

The Ukrainian president, through Ukraine's diplomatic corps in the U.S., had extended an invitation to community representatives to meet with him earlier that day in New York. He wrote: "I have always advocated broad consolidation of all the constructive forces in Ukraine and abroad. I am for constructive dialogue with the Ukrainian diaspora. I am ready to explain, reason and clarify our every step. I would like that Ukrainians of the world helped [sic] their Motherland to come out of the difficult situation, rather than hindering it. I wish that we all stood up together to protect the interests of our country. And that you, here in America,

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



Vasyl Lopukh

**Ukrainian American protesters on May 3 near Ukraine's Mission to the United Nations demonstrate against the policies of President Viktor Yanukovich.**

came out with slogans of support for your native land, with slogans of support for Ukraine. Not the contrary."

The invitation was declined, however, and the UCCA wrote in a letter to Mr. Yanukovich: "Our united Ukrainian community in the U.S.A. – the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, the Ukrainian National Association, the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America and the New Ukrainian Wave – will gladly meet with you for a constructive dialogue when we detect from you a genuine concern about the Ukrainian nation and its problems."

That response was a reaction to the fact the Mr. Yanukovich had opted to disregard earlier letters of concern sent to him by both the Ukrainian World Congress and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and to the president's letter to the UCCA, which sidestepped many painful issues and presented a, to put it politely, distorted picture of the situation in Ukraine and his administration's policies.

In related news, several opposition leaders from Ukraine – Dr. Yuri Shcherbak, a former ambassador of Ukraine to the United States, former Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk and former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Valeriy Chaly – visited the United States and spoke before the Ukrainian community to give their assessments of recent political changes in Ukraine. Speaking in Whippany, N.J., New York, Philadelphia and Washington, the three men all held unfavorable views of developments in their homeland.

Ukrainian Americans also were among those protesting the dedication on June 6 of a bust of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin at the National D-Day Memorial in Bedford, Va. The

statue was unveiled despite the fact that many, including Ukrainian Americans, had protested when they first learned about the plan in late 2009. This year, the UCCA joined groups like the Joint Baltic American National Committee and the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation in encouraging Americans to express their outrage about the placement of the Stalin's likeness at the D-Day memorial, next to busts of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. The UCCA initiated a letter-writing campaign to members of Congress, urging them to act to have the Stalin statue removed. A group on Facebook set up by Lara Chelak and administered by Andriy Dobriansky was named "Josef Stalin Must Not Be Honored at the National D-Day Memorial"; it allowed users to post their opinions and links to related websites and newspaper articles.

In September the Stalin bust was removed from its pedestal, but only temporarily. The News & Advance, a newspaper in Lynchburg, Va., reported: "The ouster is not permanent and the Stalin statue – along with other sculptures of World War II Allied world leaders – will return at an unspecified time when they can be placed in a 'more appropriate venue' for interpretation at the memorial, the foundation that operates the Bedford site announced."

The National D-Day Memorial Foundation said it intends to move Stalin and three other Allied leaders from a circle on the main grounds to another location on the 88-acre site, and that an advisory committee would be created to plan on how best to present the message of the National D-Day Memorial. Opponents argued that Stalin had to be removed permanently.

## Canada-Ukraine: PM's significant visit

Hallmarks of the year 2010 for the Ukrainian community in Canada were the activist agenda of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC), culminating in its triennial congress, and the visit of Prime Minister Stephen Harper to Ukraine in which the prime minister was able to both give attention to Canada-Ukraine bilateral relations and convey concern about the current situation in Ukraine.

The official announcement of the visit of Prime Minister Stephen Harper to Ukraine on October 25-26, to include both Kyiv and Lviv, was preceded by meetings and discussions with the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. The UCC expressed concerns to the prime minister over the erosion of democracy and human rights in Ukraine and called attention to the fact that Canada had an opportunity to take a leadership position in response to the current situation. The fact that the concerns had registered with the prime minister became immediately obvious on Mr. Harper's arrival in Kyiv. During a joint press conference with President Viktor Yanukovich, Mr. Harper stated: "Canada will continue to support Ukraine whenever it moves forward for freedom, democracy and justice."

In addition to President Yanukovich, the Canadian prime minister met with other political leaders. Prime Minister Mykola Azarov spoke of the potential of a higher level of trade between the two countries, while Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn called for



Official Website of Ukraine's President

**Prime Minister Stephen Harper of Canada and President Viktor Yanukovich of Ukraine during their joint press conference in Kyiv on October 25.**

strengthening interparliamentary bilateral relations and praised the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) for providing an opportunity for the young generation to work in the offices of Canadian parliamentarians. Mr. Harper also met with opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko, who thanked Canada for supporting democracy in Ukraine and commended the Ukrainian diaspora "which does a lot for our country's democratic development."

In Kyiv, Mr. Harper visited the memorial to the Holodomor, where he mentioned that the Famine had 10 million victims. This figure was immediately challenged in some Canadian newspapers and resulted in a media conflict about the Holodomor. Mr. Harper also visited the World War II memorial and Babyn Yar. Mr. Harper's retinue included UCC President Paul Grod, parliamentarians and representatives of Ukrainian community organizations.

During the visit, delegations from Ukraine and Canada met to discuss trade and economic relations, humanitarian issues and cooperation in international organizations. Both countries are interested in a free trade agreement from which both expect to improve commercial relations and gain access to additional new markets. A memorandum of understanding on youth exchange programs was signed; the agreement will create opportunities for youth between ages 18 and 35 to travel, live and work in Ukraine and Canada. A sum of

(Continued on page 26)



**Mayor Dean DePiero of Parma, Ohio, lights a torch with the flame from the Holodomor Candle of Memory from Kyiv during commemorations on November 14.**

# 2010: THE YEAR IN PHOTOS



Yaro Bihun

**November 27:** Ukraine's Ambassador to the U.S. Olexander Motsyk and his wife, Natalia, join in a moment of silence at the Embassy of Ukraine in memory of the millions of victims of the Holodomor.



Zenon Zawada

**March 17:** University students in Lviv – with a banner reading “Out with Tabachnyk!” – march through the city center to demand the dismissal of newly appointed Education Minister Dmytro Tabachnyk.



Ihor Lukiw

**February 27:** Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen drops the puck to begin the fund-raising hockey match between the New Jersey Devils alumni and the New York Ukrainian Kozaks held in West Orange, N.J., by the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund in conjunction with the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey.



UNIAN

**April 27:** Opposition deputies in the Verkhovna Rada carried in a huge Ukrainian flag bearing the words “No to state betrayal.” The action was in protest to the Parliament's approval of the Medvedev-Yanukovych pact that extended the Russian Black Sea Fleet's lease in Sevastopol for another 25 years.



U.S. State Department

**July 2:** U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Ukraine's President Viktor Yanukovych hold a joint press conference in Kyiv.



Roma Lisovich

**September 22:** Young demonstrators in New York, (from left) Yuriy Symczyk, Olexa Casanova, Lesyk Myskiw and Danylo Szyhulsky, reveal their opinion of Ukraine's new president.



# 2010: THE YEAR IN PHOTOS



Christina Jancew Iwanik

**July 19:** The Haydamaky perform for the Ukrainian American Youth Association in Ellenville, N.Y., the day after they headlined the Ukrainian Cultural Festival at Soyuzivka. Their surprise visit with the campers was made possible by the Ukrainian National Association.



Vsevolod Petriv

**August 24:** Olga Shevchenko holds a Ukrainian flag during the Ukrainian Independence Day celebration at Boston City Hall Plaza.



Ivanka Bryan

**May 9:** Chicago-area Ukrainians gather in front of Ukraine's Consulate General to protest the policies of the Yanukovich administration.



Office of the Prime Minister of Canada

**September 25:** Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper pays his respects at the Holodomor Memorial in Kyiv before the statue "Sad Memory of Childhood."



**May 8:** Members of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization in Cleveland gathered to celebrate the 60th anniversary of their branch.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



Louise Beaudoin (front row, center), member of the National Assembly of Quebec, with representatives of the province's Ukrainian community on June 2 after the legislature passed a bill recognizing the Holodomor as genocide.



Alumni of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program who are now studying or working in North America participate in the "Model Ukraine" conference held on February 12-13 in Washington.

### Canada-Ukraine...

(Continued from page 23)

\$36 million in aid for projects to improve Ukraine's customs service, job training, municipal economic development, regional governance and juvenile justice reform was announced. The prime minister's office noted that "Ukraine has been identified as a priority country for Canada in the provision of development assistance."

In Lviv, the prime minister visited the Ukrainian Catholic University where he addressed the students. This visit was seen as a gesture of solidarity with the university's rector, the Rev. Dr. Gudziak, faculty and students of the university, who have faced intimidation by the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU). On a tour of the National Memorial Museum Prison on Lonsky, Mr. Harper was guided by the director, historian Ruslan Zabilii, who had recently been detained by the authorities and put under criminal investigation.

Commenting on the visit's agenda, program Prof. Frank Sysyn told The Globe and Mail that the visit was crucial because President Yanukovich is attempting to see how far he can go in controlling the media, the judiciary, the political opposition and the academic world. Prof. Sysyn stated, "I think Harper hit exactly the right note."

After the visit, the UCC congratulated the prime minister on a successful trip to Ukraine and for his commitment to human rights, democratic development, and free and fair elections in Ukraine. As the UCC has advocated for a strategy by the government of Canada to engage Ukraine, the UCC saw the visit of the prime minister as an important step in that process.

#### Congress of Ukrainian Canadians

Two weeks after the Harper visit, on November 5, the XXIII Congress of Ukrainian Canadians opened for the first time in Edmonton with the theme "Honoring the Past, Inspiring the Future." It attracted nearly 300 delegates from across Canada representing every aspect of community life and demographic.

President Grod highlighted the key accomplishments of the UCC over the past three years, including:

- recognition and restitution of Canada's first national internment operations, including the funding of a \$10 million endowment by the government of Canada to the Shevchenko Foundation;
- recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people by the legislatures of Canada, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec;
- suspension of Canada's harmful war crimes policy and the introduction of changes to the Citizenship Act;
- establishment of a government relations office in Ottawa.

The congress included several keynote speakers: Dr. Olenka Bilash, Member of the Legislative Assembly Gene Zwozdesky, James Temerty, Volodymyr Viatrovych, Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk and Member of

Parliament Rob Merrifield. The delegates were also able to engage current and former ambassadors to Ukraine, Daniel Caron and Derek Fraser, and Ukrainian ambassadors to Canada, Dr. Ihor Ostash and Dr. Yuri Shcherbak.

Sixteen Shevchenko Medal recipients and four recipients of the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Leadership Award of Excellence were honored at the Saturday evening gala that celebrated the 70th anniversary of the UCC. Shevchenko Medals, UCC's highest award, are given in the categories of community development, culture and the arts, education, sports, and public service. The Ukrainian Canadian Youth Leadership Awards give recognition to young adult Ukrainian Canadians for outstanding leadership that significantly contribute to the broader Ukrainian community and the betterment of Canada.

It was announced by the UCC that the year 2011 would be celebrated as the 120th Anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada.

The UCC welcomed the announcement by Minister Rob Merrifield that the government of Canada will provide support for the Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta to the tune of \$6.25 million. The joint federal-provincial funding will allow for a better display of artifacts, create a permanent exhibit space, develop public programming and expand the Ukrainian collection.

The resolutions of the congress included, among others, the need for an information and resource center in Ottawa and a declaration that the UCC must shift its focus toward community development through capacity building, leadership training and the promotion of Ukrainian culture, the arts and language education.

The UCC executive elected at the congress included:

Mr. Grod, national president; Alexandra Chyczij, first vice-president; Daria Luciuk, second vice-president; Ann Szyptur, secretary; and Volodymyr Dlugosh, treasurer. Mr. Grod announced the UCC Board of Directors for the 2010-2013 term: the five members of the executive committee, six representatives of UCC branches and 27 representatives of the organizations belonging to UCC.

#### Other UCC activities

Some of the other issues that were addressed by the UCC during 2010 included the following.

In January the UCC, in cooperation with the National Olympic Committee of Ukraine, the Ukrainian World Congress, and the Embassy of Ukraine in Canada, hosted Ukraine House at the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Ukraine House was the official home of Ukraine's Olympic team and was host to a number of events and initiatives aimed to support and promote Ukraine's presence at the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. It was made possible by the work of volunteers and donations from the Ukrainian Canadian community.

In January-February an Election Observation Mission (EOM) of the Canada Ukraine Foundation (CUF), in association with the UCC, deployed 65 Canadian election observers to Ukraine in six oblasts for the first round of the presidential election. A further 50 observers for the second round of the elections were deployed in cooperation with the CANADEM Observer Group, so that 24 of the 25 oblasts were covered by Canadian international observers. The UCC was instrumental in ensuring that the government of Canada funded 200 election observers in addition to the 115 observers CUF sent to Ukraine's presidential election.

On May 4 UCC President Grod announced the



The XXIII Congress of Ukrainian Canadians was held on November 5-7. Seen above is the new board of directors of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress; National President Paul Grod is seated in the middle.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



Marco Levytsky

Mad Heads XL on stage at the Toronto Ukrainian Festival, held on September 17-19.



The chair of the Mejlis of Crimean Tatars, Mustafa Dzhemilev (left), and Canadian Member of Parliament Borys Wrzesnewskyj meet in Symferopol on August 10

appointment of businessman and philanthropist James Temerty as chairman of the newly established UCC Advisory Council, which will provide strategic advice to the president and board of the UCC. Mr. Temerty has been an active community leader beginning with his chairmanship of the Ukrainian Centennial Fund-Raising Campaign. He chaired the Ukrainian Election Observers campaign, which sent 500 election observers to the Orange Revolution elections, and he is the recipient of many honors, including the Shevchenko Medal and the Order of Canada.

In May the UCC hired Taras Zalusky as executive director for the UCC Ottawa office.

The UCC expressed its dismay regarding the Canadian government's decision to eliminate the mandatory filing of the long form census. (The Canadian census consists of two parts: the short form, which every household has to fill out, and the long form, which is filled out by 20 percent of households, but which, up to now, has also been mandatory.) The UCC added its voice to those of many professionals and communities in opposing the decision to make the mandatory long form survey optional in 2011.

The census long form asks more than 50 questions on subjects such as ethnic origin, disability, educational status, household work, income and housing and it is considered the key basis upon which governments and community groups can design and build programs. UCC cited some activities that could be affected by downgrading the census: implementation of bilingual school programs, conducting fund-raising, integration of immigrants, and delivering programs and services that support the needs of the community. The UCC strongly urged the government to reinstate the mandatory long form for the 2011 census.

Eugene Roman, chief technology officer with Open Text Corp., will be spearheading the UCC's new fund-raising campaign dubbed "Just Ask." The campaign includes three levels of sponsorship: those who make a commitment of an annual donation of \$1,000 to the UCC, will join the President's Club; those who will

make an annual donation commitment of as little as \$100 will be recognized as Friends of the UCC while those who will commit to annual donations of \$5,000 or more will become members of the President's Circle. The campaign got its name from a statement by Alberta Minister Gene Zwozdesky that, when support is needed from the community, he said, "just ask."

The UCC prepared a report titled "The Canadian Museum of Human Rights (CMHR) – A Call for Inclusiveness, Equity and Fairness," which was sent to Canadian Heritage Minister James Moore, Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Minister Jason Kenney and the Prime Minister's Office as well as The Globe and Mail. The UCC report highlighted three human rights issues in which Ukrainians have a particular interest: internment of Ukrainians in Canada in 1914-1920, the Holodomor of 1932-1933 and the Nazi occupation of Ukraine during World War II.

In 2007, the Harper government had announced that the CMHR, originally a private initiative of the late media mogul Israel Asper, would be a national museum, and committed \$100 million for its construction, plus \$22 million annually for operations. The Content Advisory Committee of the CMHR released its final report on September 22. In the report, there is no real mention of the experience of Ukrainians in Canada or in Ukraine. The current vision of the Advisory Committee is to include only two permanent galleries in the museum: one devoted to aboriginal issues and another to the Holocaust. Any other experiences and issues will be addressed thematically in the remaining galleries.

The UCC considers this unacceptable because this vision of the CMHR is not reflective of the experience of all Canadians. Furthermore Canada needs to ensure that the actions which it has recognized as genocide or as contraventions of human rights – the Internment of Persons of Ukrainian Origin Recognition Act and Canada's recognition of the Holodomor as genocide through the adoption of An Act to Establish a Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (Holodomor) Memorial Day – be appropriately addressed in the CMHR.

Representatives of the UCC met on November 30 with the Minister of International Trade Peter Van Loan to discuss the negotiations of a Canada-Ukraine Free Trade Agreement, increasing bilateral trade and person-to-person contact between Canada and Ukraine, and the implementation of the Canada-Ukraine Youth Mobility Agreement in 2011. The Ukrainian delegation also raised the issue that the Canadian Museum of Human Rights had not confirmed a permanent and prominent exhibit on the Holodomor.

Most of the issues of Canada-Ukraine relations were addressed during the planning of the prime minister's visit to Ukraine and discussed in Ukraine were ones where there was commitment to work together. There were other issues, where the unhappiness and frustration of the Ukrainian Canadian community with the situation in Ukraine became the focus.

### Concerns about Ukraine

On August 10, in Symferopol, Crimea, Canadian Member of Parliament Borys Wrzesnewskyj met with Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev, chairman of the Mejlis (Parliament) of the Crimean Tatar people, a member of the Verkhovna Rada and a former political prisoner who served 18 years in the Soviet gulag. Increased activities by Russian security forces in Crimea, who, it is alleged, are arming and training militias, and the high-profile visits by Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and Moscow Patriarch Kirill threaten the policy of peaceful co-existence of the Crimean Tatars within Ukraine for which Mr. Dzhemilev has worked consistently.

Mr. Wrzesnewskyj, who is the founder of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Friendship Group, said that by meeting with Mr. Dzhemilev he wanted to demonstrate solidarity with the Tatars of Crimea, the rights of indigenous peoples, non-violence and democracy. Mr. Wrzesnewskyj also arranged a visit for Mr. Dzhemilev to Canada in December when Mr. Dzemilev met with the speakers of both houses of Parliament and other parliamentarians. Later, in Toronto, Mr. Dzhemilev spoke at



The new Plast building in Toronto, purchased on June 23 for \$5 million as a donation from entrepreneur and philanthropist Erast Huculak.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

the Canadian Ukrainian Art Foundation gallery about the geopolitical situation in Crimea, particularly as the potential location of the next post-Soviet conflict.

The Toronto chapter of the Ukrainian Journalists of North America, perturbed by the deteriorating state of freedom of speech in Ukraine, organized, on September 12, a roundtable discussion focusing on the dangers to journalists in Ukraine. It was moderated by Jurij Klufas, producer of the Kontakt Ukrainian TV network. Some of the points raised in the discussion were: physical and psychological aggression by government officials has created an atmosphere of self-censorship in the journalist community; government in Ukraine is an occupational force that is following the orders of an external force; Ukraine is a direct victim of the current political gamesmanship between the U.S. and Russia; there is massive public opposition to the events in Ukraine; both the U.S. and Russia now have laws in place that can shut down the Internet at the discretion of either country's president. Mr. Klufas ended the discussion with a call to "get back to work" – to develop support for the resistance and leverage potential world interest in Ukraine.

A vigil before the Embassy of Ukraine in Ottawa was organized on September 22 by a newly created grouping of organizations calling itself the Canadian Conference in Support of Ukraine (CCSU) and composed of organizations ideologically close to the League of Ukrainian Canadians (LUC). The purpose of the vigil was to defend historian Ruslan Zabila and show concern about the policies of Ukrainian President Yanukovich. The participants displayed placards calling for the removal of Minister of Education Dmytro Tabachnyk; the head of the Institute of National Memory, Valeriy Soldatenko; and the head of the Security Service of Ukraine, Valeriy Khoroshkovsky.

The chargé d'affaires of the Embassy was presented with a statement from the CCSU, and a few participants were invited into the embassy. The statement included many criticisms of the current Ukrainian government, such as the treatment of Mr. Zabila and the facilitation of re-Russification, and called upon the Canadian government "to serve notice upon the Ukrainian government that abuse of democracy and human rights will not be tolerated." The Ottawa vigil was held in solidarity with similar protests on the same day in New York City at Ukraine's Mission to the United Nations, in Chicago and elsewhere.

### Holodomor remembrance

On June 11, joined by local survivors of the Holodomor, Manitoba Premier Greg Selinger unveiled a permanent installation in the Manitoba legislative building of a work of art representing the Holodomor. The acrylic painting was created by artist Orysia Sinitowich-Gorski, a third-generation Ukrainian Canadian. It was originally purchased by Manitoba for the provincial art collection in 2008 to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor. Ms. Gorski chose a young child as the central figure of the painting, symbolizing the vulnerability of the human condition and the promise of a better future.

Members of the National Assembly of Quebec on June 2 unanimously passed Bill 390 – An Act to Proclaim Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (Holodomor) Memorial Day. The bill was introduced in November 2009 by Member of the National Assembly (MNA) Louise Beaudoin and received unanimous approval at its first reading. The legislation recognizes the Holodomor

as "the famine and genocide that occurred in Ukraine in 1932 and 1933 where millions of Ukrainians perished..." and designates the fourth Saturday in November as Day of Remembrance for Holodomor victims. By this legislation, Quebec became the sixth jurisdiction in Canada to recognize the Holodomor as genocide.

On the 77th anniversary of the Holodomor, the UCC launched a Holodomor awareness campaign with several initiatives: an information and advocacy campaign targeting deputies of Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada; participation in the Ukrainian World Congress "Svichka Molinnia" (Remembrance Candle), which will travel from Ukraine around the world; the launch of the third annual National Awareness Week on November 22-28; completion of the documentation of Holodomor survivor testimonies; and support for the documentary film "Genocide Revealed" by Yuriy Luhovy.

The 77th anniversary of the Holodomor was commemorated on November 30 on Parliament Hill in Ottawa with the participation of the UCC, the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Friendship Group, the Embassy of Ukraine, parliamentarians, clergy, foreign diplomats and over 200 guests. The event was organized by MP Mark Warwar and Ambassador Ostash of Ukraine. Speakers included Minister Jason Kenney, Leader of the Opposition Michael Ignatieff and President of the NDP Peggy Nash. UCC President Grod congratulated Prime Minister Harper for bringing the issue of Holodomor recognition to the forefront during his October visit to Ukraine.

The UCC marked Holodomor Commemoration Week by calling on President Yanukovich to respect the law and declare the Holodomor a genocide against the Ukrainian people. It was emphasized that Canada and five of its provinces have all recognized the genocidal nature of the Holodomor. The UCC also wrote a letter to inform all members of the Verkhovna Rada of the international support for Ukraine in acknowledging the Holodomor as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people.

### Internment of 1914-1920

The issue of reparations for World War I internment finally reached a resolution in 2009 with the creation of the Canadian First World War Internment Recognition Fund – an endowment valued at \$10 million – to be held in trust and managed by the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko in Winnipeg. The discussions around internment have now gone to the next level: how to embed the issue in the Canadian consciousness.

The First World War Internment Recognition Fund's Endowment Council sponsored a weekend-long symposium at Queen's University on June 17-20, bringing together some 50 community activists, scholars, archivists, museum curators, internee descendants and artists to develop initiatives that will commemorate and educate all Canadians about what happened during Canada's first national internment operations in 1914-1920.

The symposium schedule revolved around four major themes: the affected communities, repositories of memory, educating the educators and creators. The keynote address was delivered by Prof. Roger Daniels of the University of Cincinnati, who spoke on "Bringing Governments to Justice." The local organizer of the symposium, Prof. Lubomyr Luciuk, president of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, said that he saw the symposium as one which would lay the groundwork for helping the endowment council to ensure that Canada's first internment operation becomes

part of all educational curricula and is recalled through film, artwork and historical markers across Canada.

James Slobodian, president of the Camp Spirit Lake Corporation, on July 8 presided over a ceremony to launch the construction of the Spirit Lake Quebec Internment Interpretive Center in La Ferme, in northern Quebec. Spirit Lake was the second largest of 24 internment camps established 1914-1920 during Canada's first internment operations. The opening ceremony in La Ferme was attended by municipal representatives, as well as Andriy Hladyshch, president of the Shevchenko Foundation and board member of the First World War Internment Recognition Fund. UCC Quebec Provincial Council and Montreal Branch President Zorianna Hrycenko-Luhova emphasized the importance of educating future generations about the internment operations. The interpretive center has been 12 years in the making and has bought the La Ferme church for the historic center. Denis Lebel, minister of state for Canada's economic development, announced a grant of \$152,120 towards the internment camp center.

The Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association held its annual conclave on October 1-3 in Montreal, where it drew up a plan of its activities for the next year. These included: advising Parks Canada on developing an internment museum at Banff National Park; collecting archival materials dealing with the Ukrainian Canadian redress campaign; approving funding for an informational commercial to combat Ukrainophobia in the Greater Toronto Area and initiating a postcard campaign to the government to remove all veterans of the Soviet secret police, the NKVD/KGB, from Canada. As the date of the conclave coincided with the 40th anniversary of the War Measures Act being deployed during the "Quebec Crisis," the UCCLA held a memorial service at City Hall near the site where, almost 100 years previously, the War Measures Act was first used for the national internment operations of 1914-1920. In September 1914 Montreal's Immigration Building served as a receiving station, processing Ukrainians and other Europeans branded as "enemy aliens." The UCCLA plans to work with the city and other stakeholders to ensure that a trilingual plaque is erected on city property where the Immigration Building once stood.

### Ukrainian-Jewish relations

Because of the publication of new books and the emergence of new research on the Holocaust in Ukraine, mostly due to new documentation which has emerged as a result of the demise of the USSR, Ukrainian-Jewish relations are now undergoing revision and several initiatives dealing with this issue have emerged in the Ukrainian community.

The Ukrainian Jewish Encounter Initiative (UJEI) is an independent initiative whose goal is to deepen understanding of Ukrainian-Jewish relations. It was conceived in 2008 and consists of three main components: the development of a shared history narrative; traveling exhibits, multi-media products, lectures and seminars, films and theatrical performances; advocacy for the protection and consecration of mass graves; and honoring righteous Ukrainians who hid or saved Jews during World War II. The co-directors of UJEI are historian Alti Rodal and U.S. Atlantic Council Senior Fellow Adrian Karatnycky. It is supported by businessman and philanthropist Mr. Temerty.

The UJEI held its first public session – a symposium on "Imagining 'the Other' in Jewish and Ukrainian



Participants at the symposium held on June 17-20 in Kingston, Ontario, on the topic of Canada's national internment operations of 1914-1920.



At an April 8 discussion in Toronto about Ukrainian-Jewish relations (from left) are: Meylakh Sheykhet, Paul Grod, Mark Freiman, Ukrainian Orthodox Bishop (now Metropolitan) Yuriy Kalishchuk, Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Stephen Chmiliar and Member of Parliament Borys Wrzesnewskij.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

Literatures” – on January 10 at the University of Toronto’s Munk Center for International Studies. Prof. Paul Robert Magocsi of the University of Toronto chaired the symposium, and presentations were given by well-known scholars and teachers of both Ukrainian and Jewish literatures from several universities. Myroslav Shkandrij (University of Manitoba) characterized the Ukrainian-Jewish encounter in literature as one of two solitudes; Leonid Livak (University of Toronto) spoke on Nikolai Gogol’s Jews as portrayed in “Taras Bulba”; Taras Koznarsky (University of Toronto) described the representations of Jews as depicted in accounts of Russian travellers in early 19th century Ukraine; Maxim Tarnawsky (University of Toronto) focused on images of Jewish conspiracy and the evils of capitalism in the works of Ivan Nechui-Levytsky and Ivan Franko; Sharon Green (University of Toronto) pointed out that there were not too many Ukrainian characters in Hebrew literature; and Yohann Petrovsky-Shtern (Northwestern University) spoke on the image of “the other” in post-1991 Ukrainian literature.

The erasing of the Jewish past in Ukraine has recently been the subject of several books and various Jewish organizations, and initiatives around the world have been set up to recover and restore Ukraine’s Jewish legacy. One such organization is the Union of Councils for Jews of the former Soviet Union, whose office in Ukraine is headed by Meylakh Sheykhet. Mr. Sheykhet was in Toronto as a special guest of Member of Parliament Wrzesnewskyj and on April 8 spoke at the Canadian Ukrainian Art Foundation. Originally from Odesa, Mr. Sheykhet’s family were observant Jews, albeit behind closed doors. In 1970 Mr. Sheykhet went to Moscow to join the Jewish refusenik movement but, unlike most, did not leave for the West. For the past 20 years he has worked through his office in Lviv to locate and restore Jewish cemeteries that were destroyed or forgotten under Soviet rule, have fallen victim to neglect or have been vandalized. He also works in locating and marking mass graves – burial sites of Jews which are found throughout Ukraine in the areas that bore the brunt of the Nazi occupation.

Mr. Sheykhet told of one particular instance where his office has run into local obstinacy – the town of Sambir, whose population until the war had been one-half Jewish. By 1943, almost all of the town’s Jews had been murdered. A 100-year-old Jewish cemetery is now atop a mass grave. After a Canadian-born Jew put up a Star of David memorial stone at the site, it was dug up and two 30-foot crosses erected. Mr. Sheykhet’s efforts to designate the site a Jewish cemetery were rejected by the courts. Mr. Wrzesnewskyj supports Mr. Sheykhet’s efforts for the designation of the cemetery and in 2009 accompanied him to Sambir to speak to the municipal authorities. UCC President Grod, of the UCC, agreed that the case presents an opportunity for the Jewish and Ukrainian communities to partner and build bridges between them.

The Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center (UCRDC) launched a new project whose goal is to identify and recognize Ukrainians who took great personal risks in hiding or otherwise helping Jews to survive during the years of World War II. This project was initiated by Leonid Finberg of the Center for Studies of the History and Culture of East European Jews, National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, under the title “I Am My Brother’s Keeper.” It has the support of the UJEI, which has provided some funding. The project will build on existing research and cases that have already been documented in Ukraine, at Yad Vashem and the Shoa Foundation, but will also conduct research to identify cases not known or publicized to date, focusing on those that have a Canadian connection. Researcher Orest Zakydalsky will work on the project, while archivist Iroida Wynnycka will oversee it.

The Rev. Patrick Desbois, a Roman Catholic priest from France involved in locating Jewish burial sites in Ukraine, visited Canada in October and spoke at the University of Toronto, Beth Tzedec Synagogue in Toronto and Centre Mount Royal in Montreal. He is the author of “Holocaust by Bullets,” which documents his efforts since 2002 to find extermination sites of some 1.5 million Jews who were shot in occupied Soviet territory, mostly Ukraine, by German killing squads. He has identified more than 800 such sites and interviewed 1,550 witnesses to the killings on the territory of Ukraine. Particularly informative about the killings were what the Rev. Desbois calls “requisitioned” witnesses – women, children and adolescents who were at the site of the crime and were forced to participate. “Most of them were forced to act as gunpoint. They had no choice,” he said. Although protecting a Jew led to capital punishment, he writes that during

his research he met individuals or families who saved Jews and who suffered torture or were killed for this. Rev. Desbois said that he was very interested in meeting and discussing possibilities for cooperation with the Ukrainian diaspora in North America.

### Miscellany

- **Ukrainian Voice is 100:** The Winnipeg-based newspaper Ukrainian Voice celebrated its 100th anniversary on March 14 at a banquet attended by 175 people, over 100 of whom are current subscribers. The newspaper came to life on March 16, 1910, during the period of the first wave of Ukrainian settlement in Canada thanks to a group of progressive teachers and community leaders. Today its content is in two languages – Ukrainian and English – and it is published under the auspices of the Self-Reliance League (SUS). The keynote address at the celebrations was delivered by Winnipeg educator Valentina Noseworthy who provided a historical review of the newspaper and its role in the history of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

- **CUPP conference:** Alumni of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) gathered on February 12-13 for a conference at George Washington University. CUPP offers students from Ukraine an opportunity to serve as interns in the Canadian House of Commons. The conference gave CUPP alumni from various years, who are now working or studying in North America, a forum to share their ideas on the individual, identity, rights and responsibilities in a “Model Ukraine.” Participants spoke on the following themes: Ukrainian identity, how language can be made a common value rather than something that divides Ukrainians, how to tackle official recognition of individuals in Ukrainian history, and is Ukraine a post-colonial state or should it share responsibility for its history. Regarding the idea that a democratic society must have three constituents: a strong opposition, a free mass media and a developed civil society – there was agreement on the fact that, although Ukraine had the first two, it still lacked the last. CUPP Director Ihor Bardyn expressed the hope that the conference would be a small step in the building such a civil society in Ukraine.

- **Toronto Plast:** Ukrainian Canadian pharmacist and entrepreneur Erast Huculak donated a \$5 million building to Plast in Toronto. Mr. Huculak, who has been an active community leader and a Plast president, recognized the specific needs of the organization. The new building was purchased on June 23 from the United Church of Canada and houses a church that accommodates 500 people, a private elementary school, a day care center, a regular sized gymnasium and a full commercial kitchen. It will have to be reconfigured to accommodate the new occupants. Mr. Huculak stressed that the new Plast building could evolve to become a dynamic center for the whole Ukrainian community. He has a long and noted history of philanthropy and was awarded the Order of Canada in 2007 for “the spirit of sharing his good fortune as he develops the best qualities in others through encouragement and example.”

- **Leo Mol sculpture:** A statue by Ukrainian sculptor Leo Mol – the 44-inch tall 150-pound bronze “Bather” – was recovered on July 1 with only minor scratches after being stolen a few days earlier from the Leo Mol Sculpture Garden in Assiniboine Park in Winnipeg. “Bather” was last appraised at \$18,000, although the price is expected to have increased since the artist’s death in 2009. The Assiniboine Park Conservatory houses 300 bronzes, ceramics, paintings and drawings by Mol which he donated to the city of Winnipeg in 1992.

- **Paul Yuzyk Award:** On June 27 Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Jason Kenney presented the 2010 Paul Yuzyk Award for Multiculturalism to Paul Nguyen from the Canadian Vietnamese community, who uses social media and film to promote understanding, especially in troubled communities. The award commemorates the late Sen. Paul Yuzyk’s legacy in establishing multiculturalism as one of the characteristics of the Canadian identity. Mr. Kenney stated that it was no accident that the father of the idea of multiculturalism came from the Ukrainian community which, he said, “set an example for other immigrant and ethnocultural communities about being faithful to their roots, their faith but fully taking advantage of Canada’s freedom and embracing the Canadian identity.”

- **Hip-Hop Hopak fund-raiser:** On June 19 McGill University student Marta Cybulska presented a check in the amount of \$3,000 on behalf of members of Concordia Ukrainian University Students’ Union, McGill Ukrainian Students’ Association and the Ukrainian National Youth Federation to Ruslana



**Myroslaw Trutiak (left) of MST Bronze Art Foundry and Lubomyr Luciuk of the Ukrainian Canadian Club of Kingston, Ontario, in March with the Gaskin Lion. The local Ukrainian community restored the century-old statue as part of its own centennial celebration.**

Wrzesnewska, chairperson of Help Us Help the Children (HUHTC) in aid of orphan children in Ukraine. The funds were raised by Montreal’s Ukrainian university students who organized the very successful “Hip-Hop Hopak” – the first ever dance competition between Ukrainian dancers and break dancers.

- **Credit union merger:** The boards of directors of So-Use Credit Union Ltd. and Ukrainian Credit Union Ltd. announced in mid-July that they had signed a letter of intent to merge. The completion of formal negotiations will bring together the two financial cooperatives into a single full-service financial institution to serve the Ukrainian community across Ontario. The merged credit union will have more than 25,000 members and assets in excess of \$470 million.

- **Ukrainian Festival:** In its 14th year, the Toronto Ukrainian Festival held during the weekend of September 17-19, attracted a record-breaking audience of 516,441 from Canada, the U.S. and other countries. The headline band from Ukraine, Mad Heads XL, as well as a very strong performer line-up, helped to bring in the crowds. The festival has enjoyed long-term financial support from Eugene Melnyk, Mr. Temerty and Ihor Ihnatowycz, which helps to present non-stop programming of Ukrainian music, song and dance. The support of the Ukrainian Credit Union, the Four Points Sheraton by the Lakeshore Hotel and Aerosvit Airlines helped bring in one of Ukraine’s top bands. The festival’s mission is to present Ukrainian heritage and culture to the mainstream Canadian public. The importance of the largest Ukrainian festival in North America ensures that politicians show up. MP Warwara from British Columbia, and chair of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Friendship Group, brought greetings on behalf of the prime minister; Gerard Kennedy, Liberal MP, and Jack Layton, leader of the NDP, praised the Ukrainian Canadian community’s contribution to the building of Canada.

- **Kingston centennial:** The Ukrainian community of Kingston celebrated the 100th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in one of Canada’s oldest cities by restoring a century-old iron lion, originally donated by the family of former mayor Capt. John Gaskin in 1909. Dr. Luciuk, president of the Ukrainian Canadian Club of Kingston, said the community had decided to give back to the city and partnered with the city of Kingston and MST Bronze Art Foundry of Toronto to restore the lion to its original splendor. The community also added a trilingual plaque recalling the contributions Kingston’s Ukrainians have made to the city in the past 100 years. The plaque has text in English, French and Ukrainian, as well as English and French Braille. The sculpture is located in a park of the Kingston Fortifications, part of a UNESCO World Heritage site.

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

### Major headlines about our Churches

**N**ews about our Churches during 2010 included memorable visits, exhibits and anniversaries, as well as protests.

Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, archbishop emeritus of Washington and former head of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops Office to Aid the Church in Central and Eastern Europe, visited the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv on March 6. During his visit, the cardinal stopped at Holy Spirit Seminary of the Lviv Archeparchy.

The Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv opened the 120-icon exhibit "From the Last Supper to the Resurrection" on March 30. The museum's collection houses some 4,000 pieces, and some on display are signed by iconographers Ivan Rudkovich and Ilya Kulchynskiy. The museum has been in existence since 1905, and nearly 10,000 icons were spared from destruction by Metropolitan Sheptytsky (1901-1944), and he gifted the collection to the Ukrainian people. The exhibit closed on May 18.

The Transfiguration of Our Lord Ukrainian Catholic Church in Shamokin, Pa., celebrated its 125th anniversary on April 24 with a divine liturgy celebrated by Archbishop-Metropolitan Stefan Soroka of the Philadelphia Archeparchy. The metropolitan was joined by area clergy, the church's former pastor, the Rev. Daniel Troyan, and the parish's current pastor, the Rev. Stephen Bilyk. Ukrainian National Association President Stefan Kaczaraj attended the festivities, as parishioners from this church formed the UNA in 1894. An icon of St. Mary the Protectress (Pokrova), known as the Protection of the Theotokos (birth-giver of God) icon, by iconographer Vincent Chesney was created for the occasion.

Disturbing news from Ukraine came on May 18 when the Ukrainian Catholic University's rector, the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, was asked to sign a letter presented by the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) that would bind the rector to inform Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs of any planned student actions or unrest. The rector declined and instead went public about the pressure being brought to bear by Ukraine's authorities. Public attention was brought by magazines such as *The Economist*, which began comparing Ukraine's SBU to Russia's FSB, both successors of the KGB. Similar attempts were made by the SBU in 2001 during the Kuchma regime.



**The Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, blesses the choir singing during the May 30 unveiling of a plaque honoring UCU benefactors, both local and international.**

A roundtable discussion titled "Between Ethnocentrism and Assimilation: the Eastern Churches in North America" was held on May 1 at The Ukrainian Museum in New York and attracted 50 participants. The discussion, which focused on approaches to Ukrainian Church identity and its preservation and decay, was led by the Revs. Peter Galadza and Ivan Kaszczak and Dr. Lubomyr Hajda and was moderated by Dr. Andrew Sorokowski.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., in conjunction with the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund (CCRDF), organized a late spring-

time trip to Ukraine for eight college-age students to the Puhachiv (Zhytomyr region) and Znamianka (Kirovohrad region) orphanages in Ukraine. The students were joined by Bishop Daniel, western eparch of the UOC-U.S.A., Carol Skocypiec and Angelina Samsonova (CCRDF). The trip concluded on June 20.

The Ukrainian Catholic University honored its major local and international donors on March 29-30 in Lviv with a charity ball and unveiled a plaque recognizing its donors from 1994 through 2009. More than 150 people attended the ball, and the event raised more than \$32,000. Lubomyr Zielyk, chairman of the board of



**Hierarchs, clergy and faithful on October 6 in South Bound Brook, N.J., during a celebration of Archbishop Antony's 25 years of service as a bishop.**

**2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW**



Petro Chasto/Svoboda

**Patriarch Filaret of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate on November 6 blesses the Holodomor memorial erected on the grounds of Holy Ascension Church in Clifton, N.J.**

directors for Self Reliance New York Federal Credit Union, presented a gift of \$25,000 for UCU, and the Self Reliance Foundation of the Chicago-based Self Reliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union, presented a gift of \$10,000.

Hundreds gathered at St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Parma, Ohio, on May 23 for the dedication of Our Lady of Pochaiv Shrine. A divine liturgy was cel-

ebrated by Bishop John Bura, apostolic administrator of the Eparchy of St. Josaphat in Parma, who also led the procession around the cathedral and the blessing of the shrine. A vision of Our Lady of Pochaiv appeared to a monk and shepherds on Mount Pochaiv in western Ukraine on April 17, 1198, and the icon is credited with miracles in 1675 and the 1780s.

A visit to Ukraine by Russia's Orthodox Patriarch



UOCC.ca

**Metropolitan Yurij of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada during his enthronement on November 21 at Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Winnipeg, Manitoba.**

Kirill I on July 28 was met with protests during his eight-day visit to Odesa, Dnipropetrovsk and Kyiv. The patriarch awarded President Viktor Yanukovich the Church's highest award, the Prince St. Vladimir Order, and the patriarch received an honorary degree from Odesa National Legal Academy, owned by Serhii Kivalov, known for his role in falsifying the presidential election in 2004. More than 10,000 followers of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate, led by Patriarch Filaret I, participated in a moleben and march through central Kyiv to commemorate the Baptism of Kyivan-Rus' Ukraine in 988. However, there were reports that Ukrainians from eastern and western parts of the country were prevented from traveling to Kyiv.



**Thirty-two bishops and the primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Major Archbishop and Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, on September 5 attend the placing of a time capsule into the cornerstone of a new dormitory on the campus of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv.**

## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



Transfiguration of Our Lord Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Shamokin, Pa., celebrated its 125th anniversary on April 24. Seen above (from left) with the Protection of the Theotokos icon written for the occasion by parishioner Vincent Chesney are: Alexa Yonkovig-Zmudzin, Michael M. Yonkovig, Dr. Michael J. Yonkovig, Vincent Chesney, Claudia Yonkovig-Chesney, President Stefan Kaczaraj of the Ukrainian National Association (which was founded in Shamokin in 1894) and Robert Chesney.

Archbishop Yuriy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada was elected as the Church's primate at its 22nd General Sobor, held on July 12-18. He is replacing Metropolitan John, who announced his retirement at the start of the Sobor. The election was approved by the Synod of Bishops appointed by Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I. The new metropolitan will serve as

Archbishop of Winnipeg and the Central Eparchy of the UOCC. He was enthroned on November 21.

Cardinal Lubomyr Husar of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, along with 32 bishops from Ukraine, Western Europe, the Americas and Australia, attended a September 5 cornerstone-laying for a new dormitory at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. A moleben service was held at the Church of the Blessed Martyrs, followed by a procession to the construction site, which was blessed by Pope John Paul II in 2001. A time capsule was placed in the foundation by the primate and the presiding bishops.

Archbishop Antony of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was feted for 25 years of episcopal service on October 6 in South Bound Brook, N.J., with a divine liturgy concelebrated by Bishop Daniel with 20 clergy members, followed by a luncheon held at St. Sophia Theological Seminary. An official celebration is to be held on January 22, 2011, in Silver Spring, Md., at St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, where the archbishop serves as archpastor.

Patriarch Filaret of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate visited the United States on November 6-10. The patriarch visited Holy Ascension Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Clifton, N.J., for a Holodomor monument dedication on the church grounds on November 6. While in Washington for three days, he prayed at the site of the future Holodomor monument, visited the Taras Shevchenko monument and held talks on a variety of topics affecting the Church. The patriarch met with leaders of the Washington Ukrainian community to discuss the state of the Church in Ukraine and its relations with the UOC – Moscow Patriarchate. Patriarch Filaret also gave an interview on the Voice of America program "Chas-Time."

More than 200 people gathered in South Bound Brook, N.J., for the Church's 19th Sobor, which brought clergy and laity together on October 27-31. The Sobor, which is the Church's highest decision-making gathering, featured panel discussions, committee meetings and a banquet for the delegates. Archbishop Demetrios of the Greek Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., who is exarch of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and chairman of the Episcopal Assembly of Bishops in the U.S.A., was a special guest of the Sobor.

## Our diaspora: active worldwide

Ukrainian diaspora organizations got their start on an Olympic note, with the Ukrainian Youth Association (UYA) hosting the eighth World Zlet for 56 young adults ("druzhynnyky") from Canada, Australia, the United States and Germany on February 12-21 in Vancouver, British Columbia, during the 21st Winter Olympic Games. Participants exchanged ideas for the future of the UYA, and attended Olympic events and presentations by guest speakers, including Olga Kotenko, a 90-year-old Olympic torch bearer with 600 medals to her credit, and Stefan Pelycky, a Ukrainian survivor of the Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz.

A Ukrainian delegation, invited by Ukraine's representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Yuriy Sergeyev, that included five women from Ukraine and three representatives from the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO) and other diaspora organizations met at the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the United Nations on March 5. Discussions during the meeting covered recent legislative and government efforts to achieve gender equality in Ukraine. Reforms in the areas of sexual harassment in the workplace and paternity leave for fathers, showed evidence of progress. Ambassador Sergeyev expressed hope that coordinating efforts between the diaspora and Ukraine's mission to the U.N. could quicken the pace of reform.

A documentary on Ukrainians in Brazil, "Made in Ukraine: Os Ucrainianos no Parana," was screened in Edmonton, Alberta, on February 27 at the Ukrainian National Federation hall. The film is in Portuguese and Ukrainian, with English subtitles, and was produced in 2006 by Guto Pasko, who is of Ukrainian descent. Parana is the region of Brazil with the largest concentration of Ukrainians, who emigrated in three waves from the 1890s to the 1940s. Scholars compared the Ukrainian experience in Brazil to that of western Canada.

The Ukrainian World Congress continued its crusade to seek recognition by the United Nations of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 as genocide against the Ukrainian people, in a statement by UWC Secretary-General Stefan Romaniw on May 28. The lack of support from the Ukrainian government in this effort has not daunted the leaders of this campaign, but has strengthened their resolve to inform the world of the nature of this Soviet-orchestrated Famine. Current Ukrainian government leaders played down the nature of the Holodomor, depicting it as a tragedy shared by all Soviet peoples.

President Viktor Yanukovich asked the Ukrainian diaspora to help improve Ukraine's international image at a meeting on June 21 in Kyiv with Eugene Czolij, president



"The Resurrection," a 16th century icon, was the showpiece of an exhibit of rare icons held at the Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv on March 30.



The liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is celebrated on May 26 in Singapore by the Rt. Rev. Olexander Kenez of Melbourne, Australia.



## 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



In the photo on the left, the opening of the VIII World Zlet of the Ukrainian Youth Association held in Vancouver, British Columbia, on February 12-21. In the photo on the right, Ukraine's Minister of Youth and Sports Yuriy Pavlenko (center) with Zlet participants (from left) Andrew Duma, Stephen Duma, Olyana Grod and Lidia Jendzjowsky.

of the Ukrainian World Congress, and Mr. Romaniw, secretary-general. Mr. Yanukovich said that he welcomed suggestions from the Ukrainian diaspora's representatives on life of modern Ukraine and offered to answer any questions. Mr. Czolij delivered a memorandum to Mr. Yanukovich on important issues that concern the Ukrainian diaspora, including the threat of listing control of Ukraine's strategically important industries, the Russian Black Sea Fleet leasing extension, Ukraine joining the European Union and NATO, the introduction of Russian as Ukraine's second state language, reports of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Ukraine, the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, the installation of Stalin monuments in Ukraine, violations of the rights of Ukrainians in Russia, and unfounded accusations against the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera in a resolution to the European Parliament. Mr. Yanukovich said he would respond to the memorandum, but that remains to be done.

Ukrainian diaspora leaders of the UWC were at a crossroads in dealing with President Yanukovich and his pro-Russian government. This was in contrast to President

Viktor Yushchenko's term, when the diaspora and the Ukrainian government collaborated on numerous international projects with access for high-level cooperation and coordination of efforts. And although the current UWC leadership is still willing to work with the Ukrainian government, it is getting no assurances that Ukraine's interests are being considered. Many diaspora organizations that used to have offices in Ukraine have lost funding and have left Ukraine, including the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

The Croatian town of Lipik unveiled a monument to Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko on October 4, the Day of Lipik. There was discussion of linking Croatia's Lipik with Ukraine's Drohobych and the possibility of establishing cooperation in areas of the economy and tourism.

The World Council of Ukrainian Cooperatives (WCUC) held a conference in Kyiv on May 27 with the focus on expanding representation, membership and involvement of all Ukrainian credit unions in the WCUC. The conference was attended by 75 delegates and guests from the U.S.-based Ukrainian National Credit Union Association, the Council of Ukrainian Cooperatives in Canada and the

Council of Ukrainian Cooperatives in Australia.

Ukraine's government allocated \$500,000 to strengthen ties with Ukrainians abroad, for joint cultural, educational, scientific and practical activities, based on an August 11 decree. The funds are administered by the State Committee for Nationalities and Religions of Ukraine.

On May 26 the Rt. Rev. Oleksander Kenez celebrated a rare divine liturgy for 35 of Singapore's Greek-Catholics, which brought Ukrainians, Chinese and Indians to worship together. The liturgy was celebrated in English, Mandarin and Old Slavonic. During the visit, he blessed the home of Natalie Olynech, who has been living in Singapore with her husband, Henirk Mikkelsen, and their three daughters for 10 years. The Singapore Greek-Catholic community hopes to build ties with the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy in Australia.

President Viktor Yanukovich sent greetings to the annual meeting of the Ukrainian World Congress held in Poland. In the statement, released on August 21 on the president's website, the president assured the participants that he was ready to cooperate on "the continued development of the independent, democratic and law-abiding Ukrainian state ... defending the interests of Ukrainians worldwide ...



Participants of the conference of the World Council of Ukrainian Cooperatives held in Kyiv on May 27.

# 2010: THE YEAR IN REVIEW



The delegation of the Ukrainian World Congress at the military cemetery in Pikulychi, Poland, at a memorial to soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The delegation visited the memorial during the annual general meeting of the UWC held in Przemysl (Peremyshl) on August 22-23.



Ukrainian World Congress President Eugene Czolij (left) and Secretary-General Stefan Romaniw during a visit to Kyiv in June, when they met with President Viktor Yanukovich of Ukraine.

safeguard[ing] the Ukrainian distinctiveness, language, culture, national traditions and social achievements.”

A plaque to Ukrainian poetess Lesia Ukrainka was unveiled in Berlin on August 30 by Ukraine’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Kostyantyn Gryshchenko. The plaque was placed at a residence where the poetess lived and underwent medical treatment in 1889. The initiative came from the Ukrainian community in Berlin and the Ukrainian Embassy in Germany, and was unveiled as part of President Yanukovich’s official visit to Germany.

The Ukrainian World Congress held its annual meeting on August 22-23 in Przemysl, Poland (Peremyshl in Ukrainian). This was the world umbrella body’s first meeting held outside of Ukraine on European soil. More than 60 participants from around the world attended the event, which aimed to strengthen the Ukrainian community in Poland and secure the return of the Narodnyi Dim (People’s Home) built by the Ukrainian community in 1904. Ideas for the future discussed during the meeting included a world registry of Ukrainian monuments and the opening of a UWC branch office in Kyiv. The mayor of Przemysl said that the municipal government intends to assist with repairs to the Narodnyi Dim building and work toward returning the building to the Ukrainian community, as well as rename of streets in the town in honor of prominent Ukrainians.

Commemorations of the 77th anniversary of the Holodomor were held on November 27 in Ukraine, Hungary, Russia and Germany. In Ukraine, the commemorative event is named “Day of Remembrance of Victims of Famines and Political Oppressions,” in accordance with a 1998 presidential decree. In Budapest, Hungary, events were organized by the local Ukrainian community under the auspices of the International Institute of Education, Culture and Relations with the Diaspora of the Lviv Polytechnic National University. In Moscow, the Embassy of Ukraine hosted a candlelight vigil with a requiem service at the Cathedral of the Savior on the Sands. Events in Berlin were coordinated by the Central Union of Ukrainians in Germany and included a memorial service at a local Ukrainian Catholic church in Munich.

The World Federation of Ukrainian Women’s Organizations, led by its president, Mary Szkambara, delivered a statement on December 3 at the Holodomor commemorations held at the United Nations, under the theme, “Food Security for All Generations, Lessons of the Past.” The statement described the use of food as a weapon throughout history, including in Zimbabwe, Nazi Germany, Ethiopia and Ukraine. The statement went into further detail about the Holodomor in Ukraine, the starving children, first-person accounts and the lack of historical reverence in Ukraine and Russia for this horrific human loss.

## But wait, there’s more!

Yes, Dear Readers, you read that right. You have just completed reading only Part I of “2010: The Year in Review.”

Next week, look for a review of major developments under the rubrics of academia, culture and the arts, sports, the Ukrainian National Association, the noteworthy, deaths, and The Ukrainian Weekly.

Log on to **www.ukrweekly.com**

**1933 - 2011**

Read and search The Ukrainian Weekly online. Discover our shared past and present.

The Ukrainian Weekly archive (1933-2009) is open to the public. The current year's issues, however, are reserved for online subscribers.

# 2011 Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute begins taking applications

by Peter T. Woloschuk

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. – Applications for the 41st Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute (HUSI) will be available online at [huri@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:huri@fas.harvard.edu) beginning on January 19.

The program is run jointly by the Harvard University Summer School and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI). It is the only program of its kind in North America that offers an intensive seven-week curriculum of accredited university instruction in Ukrainian studies. This annual summer session will run from Monday, June 27, through Friday, August 12.

HUSI, which has offered courses since 1971, this summer will present three courses, all taught by full-time Harvard faculty associated with the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

In response to requests from the academic and professional sectors, a new language course, “Ukrainian for Reading Knowledge” (8 units), will be offered, and Volodymyr Dibrova, preceptor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, will be the course instructor.

“Ukrainian for Reading Knowledge” is designed for students who wish to develop their reading mastery of Ukrainian. The course will include annotated articles on contemporary issues in business, economics, politics, and culture, and will employ Harvard’s extensive library of recorded material, video films and programs. Students will have access to Ukrainian radio and TV news. In addition to reading assignments, students will prepare short written reports and give oral presentations. Classes will be conducted largely in Ukrainian.

By the end of the course, students will be able to discuss a wide range of general interest topics and some special fields of interest, hypothesize, support opinions and deal with linguistically unfamiliar situations.

“Ukraine as Linguistic Battleground” (4 units) will be taught by Michael S. Flier, Oleksandr Potebnja Professor of Ukrainian Philology, Harvard University. The course will offer an exploration of the Ukrainian language in linguistic, historical, sociolinguistic, anthropological and political terms.

Topics will include the historical emergence of Ukrainian on East Slavic territory, its varied relationships to Russian, the status of Rusyn within the Ukrainian language sphere, the typology and function of Ukrainian linguistic hybrids (“surzhyk”), current problems of Ukrainian standardization and Ukrainian language politics.

The third course, “Frontiers of Europe: Ukraine since 1500” (4 units), will be offered by Serhii Plokhii, Mykhailo S. Hrushevskyi Professor of Ukrainian History.

It will look at the history of Ukrainian territory and its people within a broad context of political, social and cultural changes in Eastern Europe in the course of the past 500 years.

Special emphasis will be placed on the role of Ukraine as a cultural frontier of Europe, positioned on the border between settled areas and the Eurasian steppes, Christianity and Islam, Orthodoxy and Catholicism, as well as the fact that it has been a battleground of major imperial and national projects in the modern era.

HUSI students will be encouraged to employ Harvard’s many instructional facilities, such as its language resource center, and to take advantage of its resources, including the largest Ukrainian library collection outside of Eastern Europe. An extensive evening program of presentations will also be offered throughout the summer session. In addition, students will have ample opportunity to explore the many resources of greater Boston and eastern New England.

The Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute provides a unique, intensive Ukrainian experience where students are taught by internationally renowned professors and will gain a valuable broad perspective on Ukraine, its history, traditions and culture.

Launched in 1970 by Prof. Omeljan Pritsak, a co-founder of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, HUSI was intended to open Harvard’s offerings in Ukrainian studies to college students not enrolled at the university. For the first 20 years HUSI students were primarily a mix of “heritage students” – children and grandchildren of the Ukrainian diaspora – and students studying Ukrainian language, culture or history as part of their own academic pursuits.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1990 and the re-establishment of Ukraine’s independence, students from Ukraine have been able to attend, adding a third component to the mix. The program has benefited immensely from their presence. Most of the Ukrainian students who come are outstanding young and future academics and professionals of Ukraine.

As a result, HUSI’s mission has expanded. While still promoting Ukrainian studies in the West, HUSI continues to break down the barriers isolating Ukrainian studies in Ukraine from the rest of the world. This has benefited the advancement of true scholarship on both sides.

Many American and Ukrainian HUSI students have developed lifelong contacts and become academic collaborators. Ukrainian HUSI alumni have gone on to pursue greater academic achievement or and to promote reform in their home country.

For example, Iryna Starovoyt, director of

the Lviv National University’s Center for Master’s Program Development in Sociology and Cultural Studies, is a HUSI alumna, and many of the center’s faculty are also HUSI alumni. The center supports some of the most sophisticated and up-to-date graduate education and research in Ukraine, and is instituting a reformed doctoral curriculum that will hopefully serve as a model for other academic departments and institutions in Ukraine.

In its 41-year history HUSI has welcomed nearly 2,000 students, including undergraduate and graduate students and professionals from North and South America, Asia, Africa, Australia and Europe. It boasts some outstanding alumni including the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv; Timothy Snyder, professor of history at Yale University; Kateryna Yushchenko, the former first lady of Ukraine; Kazuo Nakai, a prominent specialist in Ukrainian studies at the University of Tokyo; and Frederigo Argentieri, professor of history at John Cabot University in Rome, who was instrumental in having Dr. Robert Conquest’s “Harvest of Sorrow” published in Italian.

To apply, students must be 19 years old or have completed one year of college. Exceptional high school students may be considered through Harvard’s Secondary School Program. Those seeking financial aid must apply by March 4. International students in no need of financial aid but requesting visas must submit all materials by April 1. All other applications to the program will be accepted until May 23.

The application process to HUSI is a two-step process. Students wishing to apply should begin by either downloading a copy of the HUSI application from the HUSI website or contacting the Institute to obtain

a hard copy by mail. After completing the form along with the required essay, they should forward it, along with a college transcript (a copy issued to the student is acceptable), and a recommendation from a college instructor to: Tamara Nary, Programs Administrator, Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute, 34 Kirkland St., Cambridge, MA 02138. Foreign students should include their most recent TOEFL scores and all students who are seeking financial aid should include a statement of request for fee reduction and supporting documentation.

Once students have been notified by HUSI that they have been accepted into the program, they must then register with the Harvard Summer School. Online registration is strongly recommended.

Graduate and undergraduate students who are either U.S. citizens or permanent residents and who are interested studying the Ukrainian language are encouraged to apply for summer FLAS (Foreign Language Area Studies) funding through their home institutions. They may contact Mrs. Nary for further information.

Tuition for the Harvard Summer School is \$2,640 for every four-unit course. International students with a student visa must register for eight units. On-campus housing and a meal plan cost \$4,590 for the summer session. In addition applicants pay a \$50 registration fee. Students with demonstrated financial need may qualify for fee reductions but must have submitted the first part on the application along with all required material by March 4 for consideration. Admission to the program is based on an applicant’s academic record, a letter of recommendation and an essay.

For further information and application materials, readers may call Mrs. Nary at 617-495-3549. The e-mail is [huri@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:huri@fas.harvard.edu). The fax number is 617-495-8097.

## Prosecutors say...

(Continued from page 1)  
Earlier damage to statue

Earlier, on December 28, the Stalin monument was damaged when its head was removed. The right-wing organization Tryzub claimed responsibility for the act and said the deed was done in tribute to Bandera.

Tryzub posted a video on its website saying that the head of the statue was removed by unnamed activists. Tryzub referred to Stalin as “the executioner of the Ukrainian people and an international terrorist.”

Internal Affairs Ministry officials said on January 11 that nine members of Tryzub were arrested in the Ivano-Frankivsk region of western Ukraine and that they were armed. According to the ministry, an AK-47 assault rifle, three pistols, ammunition, knives, two grenades, two sniper rifles and a pump-action rifle were among the items confiscated from the group.

## Opposition suspects provocation

Rights activists and members of the opposition in Ukraine have told the news media that the explosion in Zaporizhia was a provocation intended to discredit right-wing groups.

National Deputy Andrii Parubii (Our Ukraine-People’s Self-Defense) told RFE/RL: “This is a vulgar provocation in the spirit of the Stalin regime of the 1930s. The explosion is not an act by Tryzub, because they acknowledged their previous act against the statue. So would there be any reason for them to detonate it and then keep silent? This is a provocation by foreign special services aimed at destroying the most active right-wing citizens’ organizations who are doing something.”

Zaporizhia Communists had unveiled the monument to Stalin in May 2010, despite protests from the public.

(Sources: Ukrinform, RFE/RL, Reuters)

## THE UKRAINIAN MUSEUM

and Plast sororities

Pershi Stezhi and Verkhovynky

invite the public to the opening of the exhibition of works by

OPANAS ZALYVAKHA

and the presentation of the book

*The Voice of an Era*

by

IVAN SVITLYCHNYI

The event will commemorate the

Dissident Movement of the 1960’s

with the participation of Raisa Moroz, Larysa Zaleska-Onyshkevych and Sofika Zielyk

Sunday  
January 23, 2011  
at 2 p.m.

Admission (includes reception):  
\$15; members & seniors  
\$10; students \$5

Museum hours:  
Wednesday – Sunday  
11:30 – 5:00



The Ukrainian Museum  
222 East 6<sup>th</sup> Street, New York, NY 10003  
t:212.228.0110 • [info@ukrainianmuseum.org](mailto:info@ukrainianmuseum.org)  
[www.ukrainianmuseum.org](http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org)

OPANAS  
ZALYVAKHA

THE ROAD TO TRUTH

January 23 – April 3, 2011



## Columbia's Ukrainian Studies Program offers seven courses in spring 2011

NEW YORK – The Ukrainian Studies Program at the Harriman Institute, Columbia University, is offering seven courses for the spring 2011 semester focusing on various aspects of Ukraine. Continuing its tradition of working with leading scholars from Ukraine, this semester the program will be hosting Dr. Volodymyr Kulyk.

Dr. Kulyk is a senior research fellow at the Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Kyiv. Dr. Kulyk has a B.S. (1987) in nuclear physics from Kyiv Shevchenko University and a Ph.D. (1999) in political science, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. He is the author of "Dyskurs Ukrainskykh medii" (The Ukrainian Media Discourse, 2010) and many other key publications on Ukrainian media, language issues and identity.

At Columbia, Dr. Kulyk will be teaching a new course, "Politics of Identity in Post-Communist Europe" (Wednesdays, 4:10-6 p.m.). The course examines the complex relations between policies and identities in various countries of post-Communist Eastern, Central and Southern Europe. It deals with various aspects of identity politics, including language, ethnicity, religion and memory, in an array of social domains encompassing education, public administration, citizenship, foreign policy, the media, churches, toponymy, and public monuments.

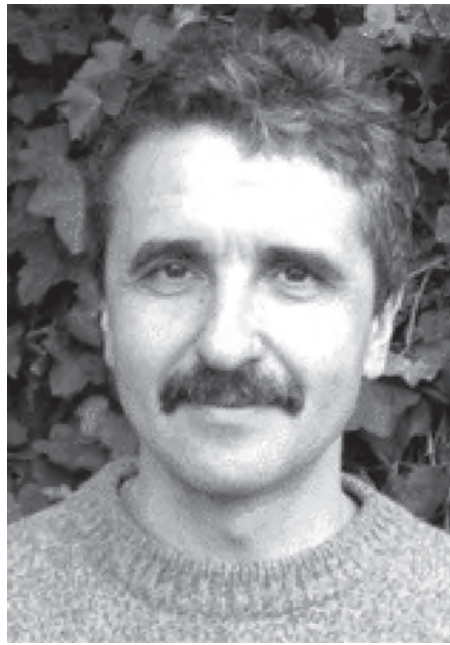
It seeks to describe post-Communist processes in these domains as both grounded in the ideologies and practices of the Communist and pre-Communist past and shaped by general sociopolitical situation in the countries under consideration and external (geo)political contexts

in which they were choosing their transformation strategies.

Another new course to be taught at Columbia will be "The Aura of Soviet Ukrainian Modernism." (Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:10-2:25 p.m.) Taught at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures by Dr. Mark Andryczyk, the course studies the renaissance in Ukrainian culture of the 1920s – a period of revolution, experimentation, vibrant expression and polemics. Focusing on the most important developments in literature, as well as on the intellectual debates they inspired, the course will also examine the major achievements in Ukrainian theater, visual art and film as integral components of the cultural spirit that defined the era.

Additionally, the course also looks at the subsequent implementation of socialist realism and its impact on Ukrainian culture and on the cultural leaders of the renaissance. The course treats one of the most important periods of Ukrainian culture and examines its lasting impact on today's Ukraine.

The current political situation in Ukraine will be addressed in a course titled "Today's Ukraine: Power, Politics and Diplomacy" (Tuesdays, 11a.m.-12:50 p.m.). Delivered by a career diplomat, Ambassador Valeriy Kuchynsky, this course provides historical perspectives on the development of today's Ukraine and analyzes the evolution of its politics since independence in 1991. While providing an assessment of political, social and economic transformations and their impact on domestic and foreign policy, the course examines major causes of ongoing turmoil in the country, specifically the remaining legacy of the Soviet Union.



Dr. Volodymyr Kulyk

The current political situation in Ukraine will be thoroughly investigated. The class will also be able to examine Ukraine's relationship with its major partners: Russia, Europe and the United States, its membership in the United Nations, its quest for Euro-Atlantic integration and the renunciation of its nuclear arsenal.

Dr. Yuri Shevchuk (Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures) will continue to teach three levels of Ukrainian language at Columbia this spring: Elementary Ukrainian (Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, 9:10-10:25 a.m.), Intermediate Ukrainian (Mondays and Wednesdays, 10:35-11:50 a.m.) and Advanced Ukrainian (Mondays and Wednesday, 12:10-1:25 p.m.).

Dr. Shevchuk will also teach a course

titled "Soviet and Post-Soviet, Colonial and Post-Colonial Film." (Tuesdays, 6:10-10 p.m.) The course will discuss how filmmaking has been used as a vehicle of power and control in the Soviet Union and on post-Soviet space since 1991. The course will also focus on the often overlooked work of Ukrainian, Georgian, Belarusian, Armenian, Latvian, Estonian and other national film schools of the former USSR.

It will look at how these films participated in the Communist project of fostering a "new historic community of the Soviet people" and also how they resisted it by generating hidden and, since 1991, overt and increasingly assertive ways, their own counter-narratives.

Courses at Columbia are open to students from other universities in the New York metropolitan area seeking credit. Students are advised to contact the university at which they enrolled to determine whether it participates in this manner with Columbia University. Some courses are also open to outside individuals interested in non-credit continuing studies. Additionally, through the Lifelong Learners program, individuals over age 65 who are interested in auditing courses, may enroll at a discount rate as Lifelong Learners. For more information readers may visit the Columbia University School of Continuing Education website (<http://www.ce.columbia.edu/auditing/?PID=28>)

January 18 is the first day of classes and January 28 is the final day to register for a class. For more information about courses or the Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University, readers may contact Dr. Andryczyk at [ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu](mailto:ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu) or 212-854-4697.

## Contemporary Ukrainian Literature Series guest wins top book prize

NEW YORK – On the afternoon of Friday, December 10, 2010, the Congregation Hall of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was the site for the presentation of this year's BBC Ukrainian Service Book of the Year Competition for Best Book Prize.

Five books were finalists in this competition: Anatolii Dnistroyi's "Drozofila Nad Tomom Kanta" (A Fruit Fly Over a Volume of Kant), Volodymyr Lys's "Stolittia Yakova" (Yakiv's Century), Yuri Vynnychuk's "Hrushi v Tisti" (Pear Turnover), Oksana Zabuzhko's "Muzei Pokynutykh Sekretiv" (Museum of Forsaken Secrets) and Serhiy Zhadan's "Voroshylohrad." The award was presented by Leigh Turner, British ambassador to Ukraine.

This year's winner was "Voroshylohrad." The book's author, however, was only able to be present at the Kyiv ceremony through the help of a projection screen and Skype because Mr. Zhadan was in a hotel in Washington, where, the night before, he was the featured guest for an event at the Kennan Institute. That event was part of the Contemporary Ukrainian Literature Series co-sponsored by the Ukrainian Studies Program at the Harriman Institute, Columbia University and the Kennan Institute.

Mr. Zhadan was the eighth guest in the series, which has been ongoing since 2008. Other guests in the series have been Andrei Kurkov, Taras Chubai, Mar'ana Savka, Viktor Neborak, Andriy Bondar, Yuri Andrukhovych and Taras Prokhaso. The Series offers audiences in New York City and Washington the opportunity to meet with Ukraine's leading writers in evenings that combine authors' readings and a discussion.

At both the New York and Washington events, Mr. Zhadan, who resides in Kharkiv, Ukraine, recited poems from several of his poetry collections and also read a selection of his prose writing. As is the case at all the events of the series, those in the audience that don't know Ukrainian were provided with a handout of the featured works in English translation.

Also during both events, Mr. Zhadan and the event's host, Dr. Mark Andryczyk, discussed, among other issues, Kharkiv's position as a center of contemporary Ukrainian (and Russian) culture, Mr. Zhadan's relationship with writers of the "Visimdesiatnyky" generation (The 80s generation), his musical project "Sobaky v Kosmosi" (Dogs in Space) and his play "Chervonyi Elvis" (Red Elvis), which is currently being staged in Ukraine. The discussion was



Serhiy Zhadan at Columbia University.

conducted in both Ukrainian and English with the help of interpreters Dr. Yuri Shevchuk (New York) and Oles' Berezhnyi (Washington).

The standing-room-only audience at the Columbia event on December 1, 2010, was provided with a special treat as Virlana Tkacz and Wanda Phipps of the Yara Arts Group read several of their

translations of Mr. Zhadan's poems alongside the author. The Washington crowd, just hours before the BBC awards ceremony were to take place in Kyiv, prophetically posed many questions about "Voroshylohrad."

The next installment of the Contemporary Ukrainian Literature Series is scheduled for spring 2011.

### Job opening at

### THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Full-time layout artist based at our office in Parsippany, N.J.

Position requires knowledge of InDesign, QuarkXpress, Adobe Photoshop, Microsoft Office, etc. for Macintosh systems. Experience with web design and computer troubleshooting desired. Bilingual (English/ Ukrainian) skills a definite plus.

Those interested in an opportunity to join The Ukrainian Weekly's production team are encouraged to send a resume and a cover letter explaining their interest in the position, along with salary requirements, to: Editor-in-Chief, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054; or to [staff@ukrweekly.com](mailto:staff@ukrweekly.com).

# Tryzub marks 60 years of memories and community service

by Eugene A. Luciw

Every milestone provides its celebrants an opportunity to review past achievements and to set goals for a bright and prosperous future.

The year 2010 marks the Ukrainian American Sport Center – Tryzub’s 60th anniversary. The club’s accomplishments in the spheres of community service and sports are quite remarkable, while its plans for the future continue to exemplify leadership and insight into the ever-changing needs and demographics of the Ukrainian American community.

## Ukrainian sport finds a home

Initially organized in 1949 as a branch of the Self-Reliance Association, the Ukrainian Sports Club played a number of interesting exhibition soccer matches against local professional teams. The club also formed a junior division team. The Philadelphia Soccer League (PSL), in short order, sanctioned both teams for league play.

Consequently, in March 1950, Tryzub’s pioneers called a general organizational meeting. The assembly resolved to charter the Ukrainian Sport Center (eventually renamed Ukrainian American Sport Center) – Tryzub and elected its first board of directors and executive committee. They registered Tryzub’s soccer teams in the PSL as Ukrainian American Sport Club and elected to play ball under the colors red and black that continue to adorn its players’ uniforms to this very day.

Distinguished Ukrainian athletes and sports enthusiasts who had been active in their homeland and in various refugee camps in Europe began to flock to Philadelphia. By 1955, Tryzub had 10 fully sanctioned teams that competed not only in soccer but also in such varied sports as volleyball, track and field, basketball and chess. The club carried 112 registered athletes.

Tryzub’s fledgling teams competed with distinction through their first five years. The volleyball team was Philadelphia Recreation Center champion twice, while the chess team captured the Philadelphia Cup an equal number of times. Meanwhile, the soccer team captured the America Ukrainian newspaper cup and became champion of a tournament held in New Brunswick, N.J.

## Soccer triumphs

Tryzub’s eventual accomplishments in the sport of soccer can only be styled as legendary.

The road to success began in 1956, when its amateur Majors Division team was the finalist for the coveted national

U.S. Amateur Cup, losing a hotly contested championship game in St. Louis. The following year, under the team name Philadelphia Ukrainian Nationals, Tryzub entered the American Soccer League as a professional franchise and captured second place, losing only its matches against the powerful Uhrik Truckers.

In 1960, a revitalized Ukrainian Nationals team took the U.S. soccer world by a six-year storm that rained championships and fame onto the city of Philadelphia and its Ukrainian American community. In that time, “nasha družyna” (our team) captured four U.S. Open Cup Championships (1960, 1961, 1963, and 1966) and lost in the finals once; they were crowned American Soccer League professional champions all six years.

In the words of Philadelphia Inquirer sports journalist, Melvin Dursloy, “The best soccer team in the country, obviously suppressing some strong emotion, are the Philadelphia Ukrainian Nationals.” In fact, this number of professional championships also elevates the Ukrainian Nationals to the status of the most successful professional franchise in all of Philadelphia sports history.

Tryzub’s was the first soccer team in the United States to have home games televised and played in the first indoor regulation soccer game in Convention Hall, Atlantic City, N.J. Soccer teams from around the world visited Philadelphia to play the team: Manchester United, England; Manchester City, England; Dundee, Scotland; Stuttgart, West Germany; Vienna, Austria; and many others. In 1967 the Ukrainian Nationals, the reigning national champions, represented the United States in international competition before 102,000 fans in El Salvador.

All of America read and reads about the Ukrainian Nationals. Tryzub’s soccer achievements are well-documented in the broadcast media, newspapers, sports magazines, soccer websites, The U.S. Soccer Hall of Fame (which houses a fabulous display) and even in the Encyclopedia Britannica.

Above it all, however, the Ukrainian Nationals brought joy, pride and self-esteem to Ukrainians throughout America and even the entire world. At a time when the Bolshevik overlord was trying his best to eclipse Ukraine and all aspects of Ukrainian heritage and culture, the incredible news kept streaming about these “Ukrainian Nationals” (a constant source of “agita” for the Politburo, no doubt). Undeniably, Tryzub was a significant factor in keeping alive not only the flame of Ukrainian sport, but also the very Ukrainian name and identity.



The Ukrainian Nationals were U.S. champions in the years 1960, 1961, 1963 and 1966. Team members were: (first row from left) Mike Noha, Ricardo Mangini, Ismael Ferreyra, Walt Chyzowych (U.S. Soccer Hall of Fame), I. Scott, E. Tatoyan; (second row) Alex Elay (U.S. Soccer Hall of Fame), Ivan Borodjak, Nazar Warwariuk, Gene Krawetz, O. Ferreyra, Andy Racz, L. Oliver, K. Yakovino, O. Switch and Vistyslav Glisovic (coach and manager).



The Tryzub volleyball team of the 1960s: (first row, from left) N. Kudenko, O. Mycholajiwka, L. Siletska, M. Kasian; (second row) I. Szumska-Moroz, M. Bak-Boychuk, D. Zawadowycz and E. Nowakiwska.

## Tryzub priorities

From the very beginning, Tryzub placed high priorities on establishing and maintaining a home base and on active participation in the broader Ukrainian community. On North Broad Street in the Logan section of Philadelphia, it purchased a parcel of property upon which it developed a modern clubhouse and hall. Club Tryzub became a popular place for Ukrainians to gather socially. It was a venue for cultural, artistic and theatrical events. The Ukrainian community used it frequently to mark personal and community celebrations, commemorations and milestone events.

Tryzub’s programming consisted of three divisions (“lanky”): housekeeping and social, heritage and cultural activities,

professional soccer and amateur sports (soccer, volleyball, table tennis, golf, chess, track and field and swimming). Although many adults have participated in these amateur sports activities, developing young athletes was the primary focus of the third of these three divisions.

The late 1960s saw the collapse of the American Soccer League in the wake of the heavily funded North American Soccer League. Despite a few years of success and a championship in the highly competitive German American League of New York, Tryzub decided to abandon its professional sports franchise in favor of a sharper focus on amateur sports. Since that time, Tryzub’s Majors Division soccer team, a perennial Pennsylvania State

(Continued on page 38)



Finalists for the U.S. Amateur National Cup in St. Louis, 1956 (from left): Walter Kudenko, Walt Chyzowych, P. Switenko, S. Czerniawskij, Ivan Pawlichka, Jaroslaw Kozak, B. Senyk, Ihor Chyzowych, W. Wolaniuk, Gene Chyzowych, W. Marczuk, Nazar Warwariuk and Walter Harasym.



Tryzub’s chess masters (from left): J. Koltun (director), S. Nowakiwskyj, R. Sawczak (director), M. Subtelnyj and N. Romanec (missing – B. Bachynskij).

## Tryzub marks...

(Continued from page 37)

Champion in either the U.S. Amateur or the U.S. Open Cup, or both, and its other amateur teams, both youth and adult, have captured numerous championships and awards.

Tryzub also rapidly realized that owning its own sports facility was an absolute necessity for further growth and development. In 1978 it purchased a nearly 40-acre tract of land in Horsham, Pa. Countless volunteer hours by many Philadelphia-area Ukrainians developed this farm of corn fields into a modern sports and social facility that includes six soccer fields, four tennis courts, volleyball courts, a clubhouse, a social club and hall, parkland and a multi-pavilion forested festival stage and grove.

Once completed, Tryzubivka became home to nine soccer teams, two volleyball teams, a chess team, a ping-pong team and a golf league. Soon a swimming and a tennis team joined the roster. The highly lauded adult U.S. Majors Division team became the heart and soul of the Ukrainian Nationals and continued, in most years, to march through their competition at the local league and Pennsylvania State Cup levels.

In 1988, Tryzubivka hosted the first of three Ukrainian Diaspora Olympiads and Youth Rallies. It was an absolutely perfect celebration of the Millennium of Ukraine's Baptism into Christianity. Close to 800 athletes and 12,000 spectators from throughout the free world participated. The athletes proudly represented 10 Ukrainian sports and youth organizations. This international



Tryzub's future – the youth teams of 2010.

extravaganza gave Ukrainians, young and old, men and women, an opportunity not only to compete, but also to socialize and to develop lasting friendships. Despite social and logistical challenges that would overwhelm others, Tryzub planned and executed the event with the precision of a Swiss watch.

A contemporaneous thaw in Soviet autocracy gave Tryzub an opportunity to re-establish direct contacts and communications with sports associations in Ukraine.

In 1990, well before Ukraine's declaration of independence, Tryzub arranged for the famed Lviv Karpaty soccer team to tour the United States for a series of exhibition matches. A year later, Tryzub representatives, as part of a delegation sponsored by the Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S.A. and Canada, joined other Ukrainian diaspora sportsmen in a memorable tour of Ukraine. Meetings and celebrations with numerous teams and sports associations highlighted this very emotional reunion with our ancestral homeland.

### Tryzub in the new millennium

Tryzub's 50th anniversary, in the year 2000, witnessed mon-

umental improvements to the facilities, in the guise of a grand addition to its clubhouse and social hall, and a dramatic expansion and modernization of its kitchen. Tryzub also hosted its second highly successful Olympiad and Youth Rally in that year.

Tryzub recently also upgraded its electrical service and attached to municipal water and sewerage systems. Plans are set to develop an fully lighted artificial turf soccer field to handle training and play in the winter and in inclement weather. Numerous other landscaping upgrades are under way.

In the new millennium, Tryzub also refreshed its approach to governance and development by seating younger activists onto its board and executive committee. This initiative produced almost immediate and lasting results. Tryzubivka is now home to no less than 29 youth teams in age brackets from U-9 through U-20, both boys and girls. And, of course, Tryzub's pride and joy, its Ukrainian Nationals Majors Division team, continues to be the premiere torchbearer.

A great number of Ukrainian boys and girls have graduated Tryzub's extremely challenging program and have gone on to excel, with scholarships in hand, in the soccer programs at their respective colleges and universities.

Tryzub has also had the foresight to weave its way into the fabric of its local community. The Township of Horsham and many other communities that surround Tryzubivka have expressed great gratitude to Tryzub for its work and dedication to youth sports and cultural and artistic programming. Tryzub has become a distinct, uniquely colorful and yet inseparable Ukrainian piece of its broader community.

As in the days of old, the Ukrainian Nationals keep the name and idea of Ukraine alive in the minds of many non-Ukrainians.

In the year 2008, Tryzub hosted its third extremely successful Olympiad that attracted over 500 athletes from throughout North America.

Moreover, the decade saw Tryzub establish a Memorial Day Weekend annual youth soccer tournament that hosts nearly 200 teams at Tryzubivka and four other nearby venues. The tournament has a national and even an international reputation (teams from as far away as Canada and Bermuda have participated) for excellence and a high caliber of play.

On a social and community level, Tryzub and its membership continue to be active in the Ukrainian community. Tryzubivka is the place to which Ukrainian Americans flock to mark milestones in their own lives and in the life of their community. Tryzub's Ukrainian Folk Festival (scheduled this year for Sunday, August 21), for instance, annually marks the anniversary of Ukraine's independence. Nearly 2,000 people attend this fun-filled and entertaining cultural event.

\*\*\*

One of the greatest baseball hitters of all time, Ted Williams, once told an admiring public that success in sports, not unlike success in all aspects of life, is not a matter of simple good luck, but a matter of hard work and preparation meeting opportunity. There can be but little doubt that Tryzub's record of excellence stems from this baseball great's philosophy.

Happy Birthday, Tryzub, and best wishes for a bright and prosperous future!



President Jimmy Carter congratulates Walter Chyzowych, America's MVP soccer player in the years 1976-1980.



UASC Tryzub representatives Ihor Chyzowych and Jaroslaw Kozak greet the reigning champions of Ukraine, Dnipropetrovsk Dnipro, at a friendly match against Team U.S.A. held at Franklin Field in Philadelphia in 1989. Attendance was over 44,000.

## Alex E. Kyj

Financial Advisor  
Financial Planning Specialist

One Liberty Place  
1650 Market Street, 42nd Floor  
Philadelphia, PA 19103  
(215) 854-6284 (800) 233-1414

[www.fa.smithbarney.com/robertskyj](http://www.fa.smithbarney.com/robertskyj)  
[alex.e.kyj@mssb.com](mailto:alex.e.kyj@mssb.com)

MorganStanley  
SmithBarney

## Basilian Sisters begin celebrations of 100 years in America

JENKINTOWN, Pa. – Many friends, relatives, representatives of various organization and special invited guests joined the hierarchy, clergy and sisters for the grand opening of the centennial year celebrating the arrival in America of the Sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great.

The kick-off event began with a divine liturgy of thanksgiving celebrated in Holy Trinity Chapel and a reception at the Motherhouse of the Basilian Sisters on November 21, 2010.

Metropolitan-Archbishop Stefan Soroka presided at the divine liturgy. Bishop emeritus Basil Losten, the Very Rev. Archpriest Daniel Troyan, and numerous clergy from the Philadelphia and New Jersey area concelebrated. Sister Germaine Senita, directed the Sisters' Choir and St. Basil Academy Madrigal singers as they sang the responses, their voices blending with those of many of the congregants who filled the chapel.

The Very Rev. Archpriest Ivan Kaszczak delivered a humorous yet most touching homily in tribute to the foremothers of the province and to all the sisters who eventually followed them as a praying, healing, life-giving presence. In the midst of his contemporary references to camels and GPS systems he spoke of the sisters who came from Ukraine to America a century ago, who walked a difficult path without modern conveniences, but who nonetheless had a deep trust in God and the direction in which God was leading them.

After the divine liturgy all proceeded to the sister's dining room for a social. Provincial Superior Sister Dorothy Ann Busowski, OSBM, welcomed them: "All of you and all of those whose lives we have touched and have been touched by are part of this celebration. I welcome each and every one of you who have come today to be with us and to begin this year-long cele-



Metropolitan-Archbishop Stefan Soroka, Bishop Basil Losten, clergy and the Basilian Sisters' Provincial Council at the opening of the religious order's centennial celebrations.

bration. You are here because you are important to us and to our history."

She further expressed gratitude to the province foundresses, "those brave women – Mother Helena Langewych, Sisters Paphnutia, Euphemia and Jeremiah – who surrendered themselves to the call of God and left their homeland to brave the broad expanse of the ocean; who opened themselves to the vastness of a new language and immersed themselves into a strange culture."

Sister Miriam Claire Kowal, the general superior, who had traveled from Rome to participate in the celebratory event, lauded the history and longevity of the sister's province in the U.S. as well as the work and value of the sisters who continue to build on the solid foundation created by their predecessors. After a blessing by the sisters' chaplain, the Very Rev. Troyan, Metropolitan Soroka offered a toast, wishing the Sisters "many blessed and happy years."

This gathering was a fitting beginning

to a year-long celebration that promises to bring together the various men and women who have been touched by the sisters and have likewise touched the sisters. Many events are being planned for this year and the celebration will end on Franklin Street, where the Basilian Sisters first settled. A divine liturgy will be celebrated on November 6 at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral followed by a banquet at Savoy's in Pennsauken, N.J.



The Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Institute of America cordially invites you to meet the artist and view the exhibition

### Form and Metaphors

by Georgian and Ukrainian artist

## TEMO SVIRELY

Artist's reception on Friday, January 21, 6 - 8 PM

The exhibition continues through February 20, 2011

Exhibition hours are Tuesday - Sunday, 12 - 6 PM

"Art at the Institute" is presented by the

Ukrainian Institute of America

2 East 79th Street, New York, NY 10075

T 212.288.8660 • F 212.288.2918

Programs@UkrainianInstitute.org • www.UkrainianInstitute.org

# NEW BRITAIN MALANKA

ONE OF THE BEST UKRAINIAN NEW YEAR'S CELEBRATIONS IN THE COUNTRY

Featuring

Zolota Bulava from Montreal, Quebec, CANADA  
&  
HRIM

Saturday, January 29, 2011

9:00 pm

St. George's Hall  
301 West Main Street  
New Britain, CT

Adults- \$35 Today or \$40 at the Door  
Students- \$30 Today or \$35 at the Door

Raffle - Food - Table Setups  
ALCOHOL WILL NOT BE SOLD-BYOB

Tickets & Table Reservations: Contact Bohdanka Szafran at 860-452-4023

Visit [www.danceukraine.com](http://www.danceukraine.com) for more information

Sponsored by Zolotyj Promin Ukrainian Dance Ensemble

PUB NIGHT  
FRIDAY, 28 JAN 2011  
UKRAINIAN NATIONAL  
HOME HARTFORD  
21 & OVER

## Mother church of Ukrainians in Cleveland celebrates 100 years



Jaroslav Zawadiwsky

The September 19, 2010, pontifical liturgy, with clergy and parishioners in front of the church.

by Marusia Antoniw  
and Marusia Strus

CLEVELAND – Centennial celebrations commemorating the 100th anniversary of the founding of Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church in Cleveland were held during 2010 and culminated on the weekend of September 18-19, 2010, with a centennial banquet and dance.

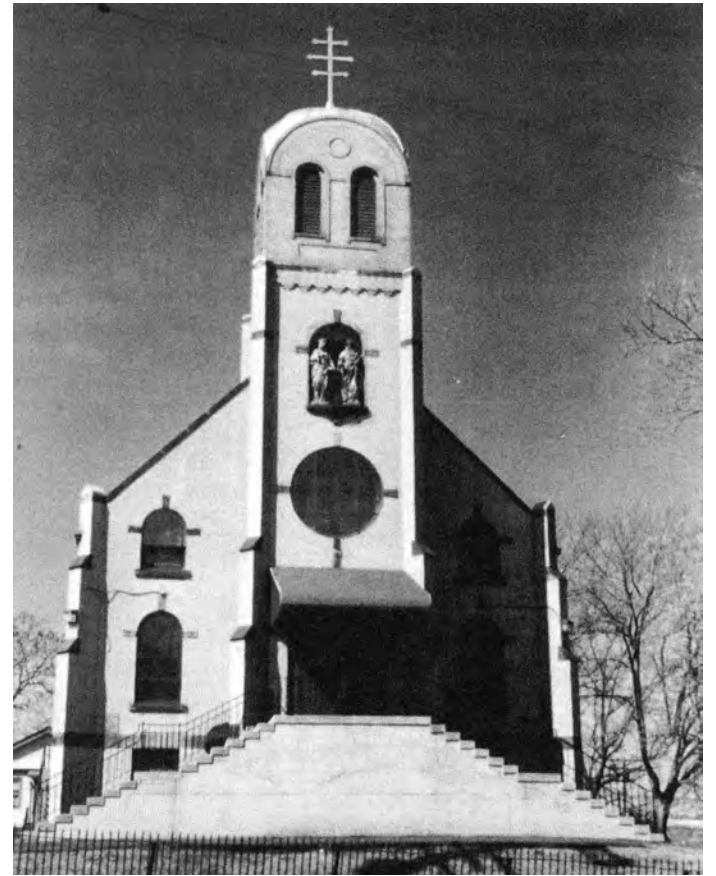
Organized by the Banquet Committee headed by Lisa Shyjka-Shrubowich and hosted by Dr. Taras Napora and Dr. Maria Strus, the event was held at the St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral Astrodome in Parma, Ohio, with over 480 parishioners and friends in attendance.

Elected officials present at this event included U.S. Rep. Dennis Kucinich. Speeches were delivered by Bishop John Bura, the Rt. Rev. Michael Rewtiuk and Eugene Sadowsky.

Performances of dance and song were given by the Ukrainian Dance Ensemble Kashtan from Cleveland, the Dnipro Choir under the direction of Oksana Bodnarchuk and St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Choir under the direction of Markian Komichak. Vechirka, a Ukrainian band from New York, provided festive dance music for the large crowd after the banquet.

On September 19, 2010, Bishop John Bura presided over a Pontifical divine liturgy at Ss. Peter and Paul Church. A hospitality service was provided in the church hall for participants following the liturgy; it was the final gathering of parishioners and friends after a year of numerous celebrations.

Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church has stood in the historic Tremont area of Cleveland on the south side of the city at 2280 W. Seventh St. for 100 years. Once Bishop Soter Ortynsky granted permission to organize the Ukrainian Catholic parish, Ss. Peter and Paul Church became the pride and joy of its laborers and parishioners. It became their "kind mother," the source of their enlightenment, and the key to



The original Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church was built in 1910 in a form of a basilica. (left). The original church building had three domes. During remodeling in 1956, the domes were removed. (right).

their ethnic identity and consciousness. Tremont, once an enclave for Ukrainian immigrants and their children, flourished around its mother church.

The first liturgy was held at this newly founded church on September 21, 1910. Metropolitan Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky of Lviv, primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, visited the completed structure shortly thereafter.

During its 100 year existence, the parish of Ss. Peter and Paul has been served by 14 pastors, 17 administrators and 21 assistants. From this mother parish was formed a school, a convent, an orphanage, two cathedrals and three parishes. The parish has pro-

vided a religious and secular haven to generations of Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants so they could practice their religious and cultural traditions.

Many people still have ties to Ss. Peter and Paul and proudly speak about their relatives who were baptized, married, and buried from the church. Others talk about their memories as children of the overflowing crowds of faithful that attended the services. A few can even trace their origins to the founders of the parish – the hard-working immigrants who founded and sustained this parish as they carved out a Ukrainian community in a new land and whose names are remembered on a marble plaque built into the wall of the vestibule of the church.

During 2010, faithful from near and far marked the parish's founding by renovating the church and through a series of religious and community events.

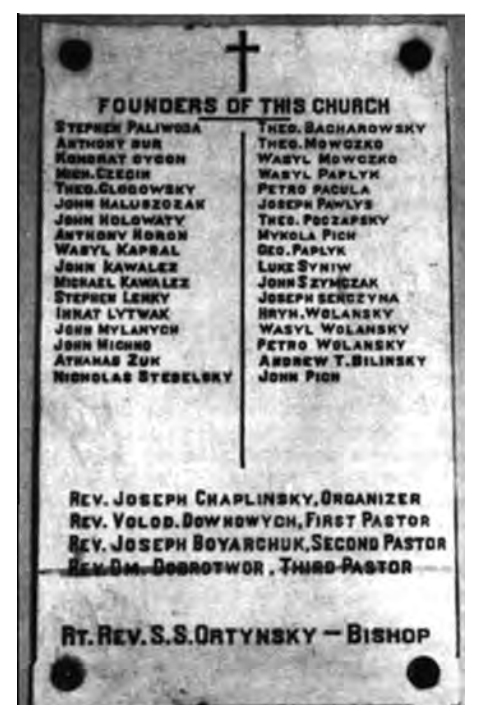
The centennial celebration and fund-raising planning began in 2009. Committee leaders and volunteers worked hard to organize noteworthy commemorations and to raise funds for the needed renovations.

The downstairs hall of Ss. Peter and Paul Church was filled for the first centennial fund-raiser, held in October 2009 and organized by Lisa Shyjka-Shrubowich, Nadia Johnson and Lesia Buckingham. The wine and cheese evening was attended by young and young at heart. The entertainment included an ensemble of female bandurists under the direction of Irene Zawadiwsky, the girls' choir under the direction of Maria Ivankiv and a special appearance by the tal-



Jaroslav Zawadiwsky

Celebrants of the pontifical divine liturgy.



The marble plate with the names of the founders of the church.

ented operatic singer Marichka Kowcz.

Under the management of the 14th pastor of Ss. Peter and Paul, the Very Rev. Canon Andrew G. Hanovsky, repairs were completed on the rectory roof, new windows were installed on the second floor of the rectory, and the church rectory was restored and repainted.

(Continued on page 46)



*With a checking account and online banking  
paying bills has never been easier!*

- . No checks to write***
- . No envelopes to lick***
- . No stamps to stick...***

*Just a click!*

***Sign up for e-statements too!***

**[www.selfreliancenyc.org](http://www.selfreliancenyc.org)**

# **SELF RELIANCE NEW YORK**

## **Federal Credit Union**

A full service financial institution serving the Ukrainian American community since 1951.

**MAIN OFFICE:** 108 Second Avenue New York, NY 10003 Phone: 212 473-7310 Fax: 212 473-3251

**KERHONKSON :**

6325 Route 209  
Kerhonkson, NY 12446  
Tel: 845-626-2938  
Fax: 845 626-8636

**UNIONDALE:**

226 Uniondale Ave,  
Uniondale, NY 11553  
Tel: 516 565-2393  
Fax: 516 565-2097

**ASTORIA:**

32-01 31st Ave.  
Astoria, NY 11106  
TEL: 718 626-0506  
Fax: 718 626-0458

**LINDENHURST:**

225 N. 4th Street  
Lindenhurst, NY 11757  
Tel: 631 867-5990  
Fax: 631 867-5989

Your savings federally insured to at least \$250,000 and backed by the full faith and credit of the United States government

**NCUA**

National Credit Union Administration, a U.S. Government Agency



## САМОПОМІЧ (Н.Дж.) Федеральна Кредитна Спілка



**SELF RELIANCE (NJ)  
FEDERAL CREDIT UNION**

**Our Passaic Office is relocating to Botany Village  
in Clifton at 237 Dayton Avenue  
January 14, 2011**

**New extended business hours:**

<b>Monday: 12PM - 7PM</b>	<b>Thursday: 9AM - 4PM</b>
<b>Tuesday: 9AM - 4PM</b>	<b>Friday: 12PM - 7PM</b>
<b>Wednesday: Closed</b>	<b>Saturday: 9AM - 1PM</b>

**PRINCIPAL OFFICE  
851 ALLWOOD ROAD  
CLIFTON, NJ 07012  
(973) 471-0700**

**BOTANY VILLAGE OFFICE  
237 DAYTON AVE.  
CLIFTON, NJ 07011  
(973) 772-0620**

**Toll Free: 1-888-BANK UKE  
www.bankuke.com**

## CLASSIFIEDS

**TO PLACE YOUR AD CALL MARIA OSCISLAWSKI (973) 292-9800 x 3040  
OR E-MAIL ADUKR@OPTONLINE.NET**

### SERVICES

**FIRST QUALITY  
UKRAINIAN TRADITIONAL-STYLE  
MONUMENTS**  
SERVING NY/NJ/CT REGION CEMETERIES  
**OBLAST  
MEMORIALS**  
P.O. BOX 746  
Chester, NY 10918  
**845-469-4247**  
BILINGUAL HOME APPOINTMENTS

### Personal and Commercial Printing

**TRIDENT Associates Printing  
Українська Друкарня ТРИЗУБ**

Calendars	Books
Annual Reports	Magazines
Brochures	Newsletters
Posters	Program books
Flyers	Year Books
Folders	Sales Literature

*We specialize in Unique Engraved,  
Foil Stamped and Letterpress Printed  
Invitations with Ukrainian Designs*

Please visit our web site:  
**www.trident-printing.com**  
call: **1-800-216-9136**  
or e-mail: **tridentprinting@hotmail.com**

### Karpaty Construction Company

All work, large or small: complete home renovations, bathrooms, basements, roofs, masonry work, exterior and interior painting. Call Vasili Cholak: 718-392-0138; cell 347-515-5437.

### PROFESSIONALS

Searching for a Lawyer?  
Click **UABA.ORG**  
Ukrainian American Bar Association

### MERCHANDISE

**Ukrainian Book Store**  
**History, art,  
architecture,  
photo albums**  
**50% off, January 1-31, 2011**  
**www.ukrainianbookstore.com**  
**Toll Free 1-866-422-4255**

### OPPORTUNITIES

Seeking a caring, warm live-in or out nanny to care for a 5 month old baby and housekeeping, Mon-Fri; Fairfield/Greenfield/Westport border; speak English and driving a plus. References required; \$500/wk; Call 917-301-0479

### FOR SALE

CONDO For Sale: 55+ Ukrainian Community. First floor end unit 4 rooms 1 bedroom. Quiet setting. Close to shopping and major highways. Central New Jersey location Call 908-227-6254

## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

the list: "Singing PM: 'Fats' Putin Over The Top Of 'Blueberry Hill' With Piano Solo," which shows Vladimir Putin taking the stage in St. Petersburg in December 2010 to sing an American classic, "Blueberry Hill." The performance was part of a benefit to raise money to fight childhood cancer. To view the top 10 viral videos, readers may log on to [http://www.rferl.org/content/top\\_10\\_viral\\_videos\\_2010/2263254.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/top_10_viral_videos_2010/2263254.html). (RFE/RL)

### Ukraine joins Energy Community

KYIV – President Viktor Yanukovich signed a law on ratification of the protocol on Ukraine's accession to the treaty establishing the Energy Community, the presidential press service reported on December 31, 2010. The bill was adopted by the Verkhovna Rada on December 15. The instrument provides for the entry into force of the protocol on Ukraine's accession to the treaty establishing the European Energy Community that was signed on September 24, 2010, in Skopje, Macedonia. Implementing regulations of European energy legislation will facilitate the access of Ukrainian exporters to energy markets in Europe, enable direct access to end-users, avoid mediation, create market conditions in the energy sector of the economy that will attract investment to expand capacity and improve existing energy infrastructure, and promote the further development and integration of Ukrainian energy networks into the European system. Ukraine's membership in the Energy Community provides for the payment of membership fees to the Energy Community. (Ukrinform)

### Kozak vessel raised from Dnipro

ZAPORIZHIA, Ukraine – Marine archeologists of the Khortytsia National Reserve in Zaporizhia have raised an 18th century Kozak warship, an oak vessel that had been lying beneath the waters of the reserve for some three centuries. The director of the Pivden-hydroarkheologia State Enterprise, Valerii Nefedov, told Interfax-Ukraine back in November 2010 that the 18-meter long Kozak vessel is a veteran of the Russian-Turkish war of 1735-1739. "The ancient vessel was discovered in waters near Khortytsia Island in 1999, but it was impossible to recover it due to the lack of funding. Over this time the unique archeological find, which remained lying at a depth of six meters in the waters of the Khortytsia beach zone, started decaying and needed to be urgently lifted from the bottom and preserved," he said. Some 80 percent of the historic warship was preserved for three centuries due to sand and mud covering it on the bottom of the Dnipro River. Mr. Nefedov also said that "the Zaporizhia oak" was lifted for the first time in Ukraine and "any museum of the world could only dream of such an exhibit." He added: "The Kozak oak vessel was constructed in the 18th century in keeping with the best traditions of Zaporozhian Kozak shipbuilding. Despite its hull being made of oak, it is light and maneuverable; it is thought to be a prototype of modern warships. Using such vessels, the Kozaks successfully countered the Ottoman navy in the Black Sea," he said. Mr. Nefedov explained that after preservation, the ship would be transferred to the Museum of Ancient Navigation at Khortytsia Island, which already exhibits several ancient Kozak ships found in the last 10 years in the water of the Kozak shipyard at Khortytsia. (Interfax-Ukraine)

### USUBC now has 150 members

WASHINGTON – The ISTIL Group/Kyiv Post has been approved as the 150th member of the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council (USUBC), the USUBC Executive Committee announced on December 9,

2010, on behalf of the entire USUBC membership of companies and organizations who have business operations, investments or other development programs in Ukraine. The official announcement of the 150th member, a new milestone for the USUBC, which had only eight members in January 2005 was made in Washington at the annual business meeting of the USUBC. Microsoft had been announced as the 100th member of USUBC in December 2008. The USUBC now has the largest membership and program of activities in the world for Ukraine that is headquartered outside of Ukraine; it notes that it has become a "strong international voice for business in Ukraine." (The complete list of USUBC members can be found at: <http://www.usubc.org/members.php>.) The ISTIL Group is a private equity investment company that focuses on projects in such diverse areas as media and entertainment, real estate, production of television content, production and distribution of films, energy and the environment, banking, the hotel business, and trade and production of consumer goods. The total volume of ISTIL's investment in Ukraine exceeded \$150 million by the end of 2010. In addition to the Kyiv Post, among the most interesting acquisitions by the ISTIL Group are the Leipzig Hotel building in Kyiv, business centers network in Kyiv, Odesa and Donetsk, and the production house ISTIL Studios. The Kyiv Post, Ukraine's leading English-language newspaper, was founded in October 1995. The newspaper was purchased by the ISTIL Group in July 2009. Dr. Mohammad Zahoor, a native of Pakistan, is the founder and main owner of the ISTIL Group. He created one of the most modern and efficient steel plants in the Commonwealth of Independent States, which he sold at the peak of its development in 2008. He first arrived in Ukraine in 1974, eventually to study metallurgy at Donetsk Technical University. He completed his doctorate from Donetsk Technical University in 2007. Dr. Zahoor formed MetalsRussia, his first business venture, in 1991. It was later renamed ISTIL. For five years the company entered the top 20 of the world's largest traders in metal, reaching an annual export volume of 2 million tons of steel. In 1997 the company acquired a controlling stake in the Donetsk Metallurgical Plant, which later became known as ISTIL Ukraine. (USUBC).

### Yanukovich on lack of political culture

KYIV – Ukrainian parliamentarians lack political culture, President Viktor Yanukovich told reporters on December 25, 2010. He noted that sometimes politicians both before elections and even in the Verkhovna Rada behave, to put it mildly, impolitely. The president called on journalists to conduct their own investigation into the recent brawl in Parliament and draw conclusions. According to Mr. Yanukovich, both sides are guilty. "All this must be stopped. I'm advocating that we put an end to this matter," he emphasized. He noted that the situation has two solutions: either during the investigation those guilty will be found and punished, or the sides publicly apologize to each other and promise not to allow such a thing happen again. The president said he believes the fights in Parliament have a negative impact on Ukraine's image. (Ukrinform)

### Probe launched into Rada brawl

KYIV – The Kyiv Procurator's Office has opened a criminal case on the infliction of bodily injuries to national deputies on December 16, 2010, Ukrinform learned from the Procurator General's Office on December 29, 2010. It was reported that, in the course of a criminal investigation regarding the incident that occurred in the Verkhovna Rada's session hall, a forensic

(Continued on page 43)

## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 42)

examination of national deputies who sought medical assistance was held. "According to the conclusions of these examinations, it was found that three of the deputies suffered slight injuries, which led to brief health impairment," the prosecutors said. (Ukrinform)

### 4 M Ukrainians work abroad

KYIV – Over 4 million Ukrainian citizens are currently working abroad, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov told a press conference on December 27, 2010. Over 2 million citizens are working in Russia and approximately the same number in Eastern Europe, Mr. Azarov said. (Ukrinform)

### Experts on EU associate membership

KYIV – A group of Ukrainian and European experts have drawn up proposals for a draft national program of Ukraine's preparations for associate membership in the European Union, it was reported on December 22, 2010. The press service of the Ukrainian League of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (ULIE) reported that the proposals were drawn up on the initiative of ULIE President Anatolii Kinakh and Member of the European Parliament and Vice-Chair of its Committee on International Trade, Pawel Zalewski. The proposals have been sent to Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich with a request to take them into account in the process of the country's movement toward associate membership and the creation of a free trade area with the European Union. The materials contain a specific algorithm for the introduction of European standards of life in Ukraine and are intended to facilitate the rapid achievement of Ukraine's EU integration aspirations. Mr. Kinakh said that Poland's support and assistance

in Ukraine's integration with the European Union was very important. "Ukraine needs the experience of its western neighbor on bringing its legislation into line with EU standards, strengthening the protection of the rights and interests of citizens and businessmen in the integration process, and expanding economic contacts and investment cooperation," he said. The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine will set up a working group that will assume the coordinating role in the context of bringing Ukrainian legislation into line with EU standards. (Ukrinform)

### Dnipro may open to foreign vessels

KYIV – By the beginning of the navigation season of 2011, the Dnipro River can be opened for foreign fleet transit, according to Oleksii Danylian, head of the Dnipropetrovsk technical area of waterways at the Ukrvodshliakh state-run company. Mr. Danylian said on December 29, 2010, that a regulatory framework is being prepared on the subject. "We need to develop a tariff policy and address the issue of environmental safety. But we hope that by the start of navigation 2011, these problems will be solved, and the Dnipro will open for foreign navies," he said. The official noted that a large number of ports and marinas on the Dnipro and its tributaries today are at no more than 20 percent of their capacity. The main problem of the efficiency of navigation on the Dnipro, according to Danylian, is that today the waterway is actually closed to foreign vessels. In addition, domestic cargo flows are limited, in particular, to the tonnage of the numerically small Ukrainian fleet. Mr. Danylian said the opening of the inland waterways of Ukraine for foreign vessels will allow river-sea ships to make direct deliveries of goods from the ports on the Dnipro to the ports of the Danube and Volga rivers, and

the Black, Azov, Mediterranean, Caspian, Baltic and other seas. Among the countries that may be attracted by the creation of this transport scheme, Mr. Danylian cited Russia and Belarus. (Ukrinform)

### Ukraine 69th in Human Development

KYIV – According to the Human Development Index for 2010, Ukraine ranks 69th among 169 countries. These are the results of the scientific research published by the United Nations at the beginning of 2011. The compilers of the Index said that all 169 countries were divided into four groups. The first, with the highest rankings on the index, includes 42 countries led by Norway, Australia and New Zealand. The second group, which has countries with a high ranking, including Ukraine, is led by the Bahamas, Lithuania and Chile. These countries number 43. Belarus and Russia rank, respectively, 61st and 65th. The third group, with a medium ranking, consists of 42 countries led by Fiji, Turkmenistan and the Dominican Republic. The fourth group of countries with low rankings on the Human Development Index includes 32 countries with Kenya, Bangladesh and Ghana at the head. In last place is Zimbabwe. The Human Development Index is the aggregate human development indicator of a country; sometimes it is used as a synonym for "quality of life." The index measures such key areas as the level of health and longevity, access to education and a decent standard of living, which is determined by the gross domestic product per capita in U.S. dollars. (Ukrinform)

### 250,000 articles on Ukrainian Wikipedia

KYIV – On December 21, 2010, a milestone article was published on Ukrainian Wikipedia, as the number of Ukrainian articles on the site reached 250,000.

Representatives of Ukrainian Wikipedia said the article is devoted to the Soviet pre-war trolley YATB-1. "User Anatoliiy-024 for 806 days from the date of registration on the site wrote 206 new articles and made more than 6,000 edits, due to which he took the 110th place among the most active users of Wikipedia," a press release noted. The last 50,000 articles on Ukrainian Wikipedia have been created in less than nine months, while the creation of the previous 100,000 took more than two years. Based on the number of articles it encompasses, Ukrainian Wikipedia is the 16th largest in the world, and in the past year reduced its gap with Finnish Wikipedia, which is in 15th place, by 7,000 articles (in 2009 this figure was 42,000). Over the past 30 days about 860,000 unique Internet users viewed almost 30 million pages in the Ukrainian Wikipedia; and 1,745 of them made at least one editorial remark. Earlier, Ukrainian Wikipedia was ranked third in the world in terms of the increase in the number of visited pages. (Ukrinform)

### ZAZ to produce Chevrolet Aveos

KYIV – Zaporizhia Automobile Building Plant (ZAZ), part of the UkrAVTO Corp., one of the largest players on Ukraine's automobile market, is planning to start full-scale production of Chevrolet Aveo cars in 2011, which are currently produced at the corporation's plant in Poland-FSO. The honorary president of the UkrAVTO Corp., Tarel Vasadze, said on December 22, 2010, that now the main task for the corporation is "not to allow ZAZ to disappear and to prepare for the production of modern car models that are in demand not only on the Ukrainian market." He added, "If our authorities are active in the creation of a free trade area with the EU, then we need to prepare respective products meeting European environmental standards." (Ukrinform)



Ділимося сумною вісткою з рідними, приятелями і знайомими,  
що 31 грудня 2010 року відійшла у вічність, після довгої і тяжкої  
недуги, з котрою хоробро боролася, наша улюблена  
Мама, Бабуся, Сестра і Тітка

св. п.

## Христина Райтарівська з Чубатих

Горем прибита родина :

дочка - Ліда Ашер з чоловіком Томою,  
дочка - Маруся Колодій з чоловіком Мироном,  
внучки Ніночки - улюблена Буся,  
син Олександр з дружиною Даною,

сестри: Оксана Фаріон з чоловіком Євгеном,  
Олександра Штрогм з чоловіком Івасем,  
двоюрідна сестра - Христина Ринасевич,  
племінники: Юрій Фаріон з дружиною Христиною і  
дітьми Христофором та Софійкою,

Зенко Фаріон з дружиною Тamarою і донечкою Лярискою,  
Таня Хархаліс з чоловіком Андрієм і дітьми  
Катрусею, Олесем та Адріаном.

Родини: Черників, Артимішинів,

а в Україні родина Кочанів і Прокоповичів.

ВІЧНА ЇЇ ПАМ'ЯТЬ !

Похоронні відправи відбулися 5 січня 2011 р.,  
з Української католицької церкви св. Михаїла у Дженкінтавні, ПА.



## Olha Tamara Palydowycz

Devoted wife of Erko Palydowycz for 52 years

Beloved Mother of Wolodymyra Ripnick and

Dr. Severin B. Palydowycz

Grandmother of

Olena and Tetiana Ripnick and

Severin A. and Kateryna Palydowycz

Sister of

Mary Wengryn and Dr. Teofil Kulyk

And cousin of Oleh Maksymiv

Was welcomed to Paradise

By the Blessed Virgin Mary.

# CUPP holds second "Model Ukraine" conference in Ottawa

by Oleksandr Pankiv

OTTAWA – Alumni of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) planned a series of conferences to create a newer model of Ukraine and its governance.

The conferences brought together scholars, diplomats, journalists and politicians, as well as CUPP alumni to address areas of culture, economy, education, elections, history, politics and current events in Ukraine.

The first "Model Ukraine" conference took place at the Elliott School of International Affairs of George Washington University in February 2010 and dealt with the issues of human rights, history, culture, law and politics of Ukraine.

The second such conference, "The Politics of Education and Elections in Ukraine," took place at the University of Ottawa on November 12-13, 2010. Speakers from Germany, Portugal, Ukraine, the United States and Canada met to address issues in the realms of education, elections, Ukrainian language and self-identification.

The conference was opened by Dominique Arel, the holder of the Chair of the Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa. Opening remarks were made by Ukraine's ambassador to Canada, Ihor Ostash, and CUPP Director Ihor Bardyn.

Canada's Ambassador to Ukraine G. Daniel Caron delivered the keynote address in which he outlined the difficulties in the areas of business and governance in contemporary Ukraine. He also spoke about

*Oleksandr Pankiv completed an M.A. in law in 2009 at the University of Lviv. He is a 2010 graduate of the Boston University School of Law and CUPP 2010 Coordinator.*

the future of Canada-Ukraine relations, negotiations of the Canada-Ukraine Free Trade Agreement, the recently announced Youth Mobility Agreement that allows for mobility of travel for youth to Canada and vice versa, as well as the recent visit of Prime Minister Stephen Harper to Ukraine and his statements of the concerning democracy, human rights and freedom of speech in Ukraine.

The first session of the Ottawa conference dealt with education in Ukraine, and the speakers were Vice Minister of Education and Science of Ukraine Iryna Zaytseva, Dr. Phylisse D. Mitchell from the University of Richmond, who lectured in Ukraine in 2008-2010, and Inna Viriasova from the University of Western Ontario.

Prof. Zaytseva reviewed the recent resolutions of the government on education issues and argued that the new law which is in the process of being drafted would grant greater autonomy to the universities in the areas of program planning and appointments. The Deputy Minister also stated that many of the components of the Bologna System would be implemented in Ukraine. She opined that possibly Ukraine's regions should be provided with the opportunity to set language priorities to be implemented by local governments. The vice-minister stated, "I want to stress that the state language is under no pressure and the necessity of state language is under no debate in Ukraine."

Dr. Mitchell was critical of Ukraine's authorities for the changes in the educational system, which appeared to be reverting to the practices of the Soviet Union, and their failure to implement the Bologna system standards in Ukraine.

A CUPP alumnus, Ms. Viriasova of the University of Western Ontario spoke about the incompatibility or non-acceptance of

foreign degrees in Ukraine due to bureaucratic policies and the quality of higher education in Ukraine.

In the second session, Roman Tashlitsky of the National University of Ostroh Academy commented that Ukrainian higher education needs serious reforms in order to survive. He was critical of the government's priorities, which focused on spending money on sports facilities ahead of education.

CUPP Alumnus Pavlo Shopin of the University of Luhansk spoke on whether Ukrainian universities need autonomy. He reviewed the constituent elements of the concept of autonomy and defined it through dialectical unity with accountability. He concluded by saying that University autonomy is as necessary as democracy in the public sphere for Ukraine.

Ayshe Memetova, a student at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, criticized the admissions system at Ukrainian universities. She proposed to combine in the admission process both aptitude and achievement tests, considering personal achievements and interests of the applicants, their motivation to pursue particular degrees, care goals, etc. She also stressed that Ukrainian education is in a deep crisis and there is an urgent need for reform of the education system as a whole.

Conference participants discussed the issues of language and identity in Ukraine during the third session. Oksana Tyshchenko-Monastyrka of the Potybnya Institute of Linguistics in Kyiv delivered an address about the Crimean Tatar language as an indicator of the existence of an ethno-cultural group in Ukraine.

CUPP Alumnus Andriy Olenyuk of Georgetown University Law Center characterized the constitutional framework for language policy in Ukraine. He stressed

that the Constitution of Ukraine provides for one official state language in the country, which is Ukrainian.

Maksym Klyuchar, Muskie Fellow at the University of Texas, advocated the implementation of a plurivocal approach to Ukrainian history. Such methodology would train Ukrainian students to think critically, analyze Ukrainian history and reach their own understanding and interpretation of the historical facts and not the version learned from the schoolbooks approved by the government. The discussants of the conference concluded that such an approach – known in the Western academia as Socratic method) where students are taught to think critically and illuminate ideas should be implemented not only with regard to history, but other academic disciplines and areas.

The fourth session of the conference dealt with elections and democracy in Ukraine.

Oleh Protsyk, senior research assistant at European Center for Minority Issues in Germany, put Ukraine's predicament in the context of global problems and came to the conclusion that Ukraine does not need regionalization, but rather has every reason to introduce policies towards national integration.

Yaroslav Kovalchuk, a Ph.D. student at the University of Algarve in Portugal, analyzed the evolution of the electoral system in Ukraine and concluded that the Ukrainian election system still needs to be reformed to reflect the contemporary situation in Ukraine.

Yaryna Kobel of the University of Lviv in her presentation addressed the problems of democratic governance in Ukraine in light of European and global principles.

Jeffrey Kuhner, a columnist at The

(Continued on page 46)

## SPECIAL HOLIDAYS OFFER!

In December – January open a **new account\***

in the **UKRAINIAN NATIONAL**

and get rewarded

with a **FREE**

**VISA® Gift Card**

for **\$25\***

'tis the Season of free gifts.

Indulge yourself. And your loved ones...

\* Offer available to new members only. Offer valid from December 1, 2010 through January 31, 2011. To qualify for a \$25.00 VISA® Gift Card you must open a new savings account in any branch of the Ukrainian National Federal Credit Union and make a minimum deposit of \$500.00 within the next 30 calendar days. The VISA® Gift Card will be issued free of charge upon receiving the above minimum deposit.  
Working hours: Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday from 9:00-4:00 p.m., Friday from 9:00-7:00 p.m., Saturday from 9:00-2:00 p.m. Closed Sundays and Mondays.  
For additional information call the Ukrainian National FCU in New York: (212) 533-2980, or the Branches in Brooklyn (718) 376-5057 or (866) 857-2464, S.Bound Brook, NJ (732) 469-9085, Carteret, NJ (732) 802-0480. www.UkrNatFCU.org

(866) 859-5848

**UKRAINIAN NATIONAL**  
FEDERAL CREDIT UNION

NCUA VISA

# Chicago organizations bring Christmas cheer to veterans



Lesia Drozd

**The choir of the Ukrainian American Youth Association – Pavlushkov Branch in Chicago sings carols for veterans and guests at the VA hospital.**

**Veterans at the Edward Hines Jr. VA Hospital enjoy the performance by the choir.**

by Taras and Lesia Drozd

CHICAGO – Holiday season is usually a time when we extend our thoughts and good deeds to those who are in need or in some way less fortunate. It is in this spirit that the Ukrainian American Veterans General John B. Turchin Post 32 partnered with the choir of the American Ukrainian Youth Association – Pavlushkov Branch in Chicago (Chicago UAYA) to bring some Christmas cheer to patients and staff of two veterans' hospitals in the Chicago area.

On Sunday, December 12, 2010 they visited the Jesse Brown VA Hospital on South Damen Avenue in Chicago and on Saturday, December 18, the Edward Hines Jr. VA Hospital on Fifth Avenue in Hines, Ill.

Preparations for these visits started months earlier, when the members of UAV Post 32 organized activities to collect food items, funds, clothing and other necessities to provide in Christmas "goodie bags" for residents of the Chicago-area veterans hospitals. In the meantime, the Chicago UAYA choir was beginning preparations for a holiday tradition that they've maintained for most of their 10-year existence: the singing of Christmas carols at local Ukrainian churches and institutions.

This year, however, choir director Wally Popovych had a different idea. He approached post commander John Steciw of the Chicago UAV post with a proposal to carry the joyous sounds of Christmas to those who have given so much for the cause of freedom and democracy in the U.S. and around the world – to the U.S. veterans, and specifically to those who are convalescing at the Chicago-area veterans hospitals.

However, in order to do this, Mr. Popovych had to prepare a repertoire of non-Ukrainian carols, a first for the UAYA-Chicago choir. In addition, he worked with a

number of Chicago-area Ukrainian musicians, adapting musical arrangements for them to provide musical accompaniment for the chorus.

Thanks to the efforts of the members of UAV Post 32, all of the arrangements for the visits were made in advance. These included

working with the hospital administrations to schedule the visits, advertising on-site and facility preparations on the days of the visits.

Many of the members of UAV Post 32 and their families attended the festivities, bringing additional cheer to the events.

In attendance also were representatives of

the U.S. Army Reserve training facility from Fort McCoy, Wis., including the second in command, Lt. Col. Michael Chyterbok, who grew up as member of the Pavlushkov branch of the UAYA.

During the choral performances, the

(Continued on page 46)




**Ukrainian American Veterans Post 32 commander John Steciw introduces members of the post and the choir.**

## SCOPE TRAVEL INC.

### 2011 Tours to Ukraine

**101 S. Centre St, South Orange, NJ 07079 • 973 378-8998 or Toll Free 877 357-0436**



Marijka Helbig

Tour name	Dates	Itinerary
<b>Two Capitals I</b> 9 days	May 11 - 19 \$2500	Kyiv and Lviv
<b>Mini Ukraine I</b> 12 Days	May 11 - 22 \$3200	Kyiv, Lviv, Yaremche, Kamianets Podilskyi plus: Iv. Frankivsk, Bukovel, Kolomyia, Chernivtsi, Zарvanytsia
<b>Podolanka I</b> 12 Days	May 13 - 24 \$3150	Lviv, <b>Music Festival</b> , Krakow and Budapest plus: Wieliczka Salt Mines, Auschwitz, Szentandre Artisan Village
Hosted by: Dr. Walter Karpinich		
<b>Slidamy Mazepy</b> 11 Days	June 24-July 04 \$3990	Kyiv, Cherkasy, Poltava, Nizhyn, Chernyiv, Lviv plus: Pereyaslav Khmelnytskyi, Kaniv, Chyhyryn, Subotiv, Kholodnyi Yar, Opishnia, Myrhorod, Lubny, Pryluky and Baturyn
In cooperation with the Ukrainian Museum of NYC Participating curator: Dr. Yuriy Savchuk, Senior Research Ass. Inst. of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine		
<b>Dnipro Cruise</b> 13 Days	June 16 - 28 \$2950	Kyiv, Zaporizhia, Kherson, Sevastopol, Vilko, Odessa <i>MS Dnipro Princess - Main deck</i>
<b>Two Capitals II</b> 9 days	June 29 - July 7 \$2950	Kyiv and Lviv
<b>Mini Ukraine II</b> 12 Days	June 29 - July 10 \$3600	Kyiv, Lviv, Yaremche, Kamianets Podilskyi plus: Iv. Frankivsk, Bukovel, Kolomyia, Chernivtsi, Zарvanytsia
<b>Podolanka II</b> 12 Days	July 01 - 12 \$3550	Lviv, Krakow and Budapest plus: Wieliczka Salt Mines, Auschwitz, Szentandre Artisan Village
<b>Best of Ukraine</b> 16 Days	July 24 - Aug 07 \$4600	<b>Crimea:</b> Yalta, Bakhchysarai, Chersonesus, Sevastopol, Kyiv, Lviv, Yaremche, Kamianets Podilskyi, plus: Iv. Frankivsk, Bukovel, Kolomyia, Chernivtsi, Zарvanytsia
<b>Two Capitals III</b> 9 days	July 27 - Aug 4 \$2950	Kyiv and Lviv
<b>Mini Ukraine III</b> 12 Days	July 27 - Aug 07 \$3600	Kyiv, Lviv, Yaremche, Kamianets Podilskyi plus: Iv. Frankivsk, Bukovel, Kolomyia, Chernivtsi, Zарvanytsia
<b>Ukraine Festival Tour</b> 15 Days	Aug 16 - 30 \$3950	Kyiv, Poltava – <b>Sorochynskyi Yarmarok</b> , Lviv, Yaremche, Kosiv – <b>Independence Day Celebrations and Hutsul Festival</b> plus: Opishnia, Reshetylivka, Iv. Frankivsk, Kolomyia, Bukovel, Chernivtsi and Zарvanytsia
<b>Two Capitals IV</b> 9 days	Sep 14 - 22 \$2500	Kyiv and Lviv
<b>Mini Ukraine IV</b> 12 Days	Sep 14 - 25 \$3200	Kyiv, Lviv, Yaremche, Kamianets Podilskyi plus: Iv. Frankivsk, Bukovel, Kolomyia, Chernivtsi, Zарvanytsia
<b>Podolanka III</b> 12 Days	Sep 16 - 27 \$3000	Lviv, Krakow and Budapest plus: Wieliczka Salt Mines, Auschwitz, Szentandre Artisan Village
<b>Bulgaria (Opera Tour)</b> 13 Days	Sep 18 - 30 \$3000	<b>Romania</b> - Bucharest George Enescu Music Festival Rami Kalif (Piano) and Romeo and Juliet (Opera by Gounod) <b>Bulgaria:</b> Veliko Tarnovo, Sozopol (Black Sea Beach Resort), Plovdiv, Sofia plus: Laskovets, Arbanassi, Ethura, Shipka, Nessebar and Rila Monastery
Hosted by: Marijka Helbig		

*All Inclusive Features: Trans Atlantic Air from Newark via Lufthansa Airline or LOT Polish Airline, Superior Firstclass AC Hotels, internal air, transfers, 2-3 meals daily, all sightseeing/entrance fees, bi-lingual tour manager and local guides. Not included: Airport Security Taxes (\$420), gratuities and off-shore excursions on Dnipro River Cruise. Prices are quoted in USA currency/twin occupancy. All rates are subject to EURO/US\$ exchange, fuel surcharge on and airfare class availability.*

www.scopetravel.com      Office hours: Mon-Tue-Wed 9:00AM-3:00PM      scope@scopetravel.com

### \$400 EARLY REGISTRATION BONUS

Per couple. Deposit must reach Scope Travel by January 30, 2011 – Not applicable on Slidamy Mazepy or Cruise tours. Direct bookings only

## Milwaukee dance groups perform at Holiday Folk Fair International

MILWAUKEE – During the weekend of November 19-21, 2010, three Milwaukee Ukrainian Dance Ensembles entertained audiences with lively and magnificent dancing at the Holiday Folk Fair International held at the Wisconsin Expo Center.

The theme of the sixth annual fair was “Celebrate the Culture of Peace” and it brought together more than 30 ethnic groups showcasing arts, crafts, music, dancing and traditional foods.

The director of the Dnipro (adult), Promin (teen), and Kalyna (children’s) is

Amy Mulhall. Assisting Ms. Mulhall are choreographers Ruslan Bachmaga, Savannah Saldana, Marianna Kit and Chris McAttee.

The adult group performs at various venues through Wisconsin practicing year-round. Past Dnipro performances have taken the group to Japan and Disney World.

The Holiday Folk Fair International produced by the International Institute of Wisconsin, a not-for-profit social service organization is dedicated to racial, cultural and ethnic understanding.



The Promin ensemble of teens.



The Dnipro troupe of adult dancers.



The Kalyna children’s dance group.

### Mother church...

(Continued from page 40)

In June 2010, the interior renovation of the church was completed. The restoration included the repainting of the main nave, choir, ceiling, sanctuary and the renovation of the “iconostas,” icons and gilding. Exterior renovations included repair of the walls and fence surrounding the parish property.

Centennial celebrations were held throughout 2010, beginning with the annual 2010 parish “Yalynka” traditionally held on the last Sunday of each January. The newly appointed apostolic administrator of St. Josaphat Eparchy in Parma, Bishop Bura, visited the parish and celebrated the liturgy prior to the event.

Throughout 2010, a series of molebens and a divine liturgy were held at Ukrainian cathedrals and churches in the area in the same order in which these parishes were formed from Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church – the mother church in the

Cleveland area.

These were held at St. Vladimir’s Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Parma on May 2; St. Mary’s Ukrainian Catholic Church in Solon on June 13; St. John The Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church in Lorain, Ohio on June 20; St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Parma on July 25; St. Andrew Ukrainian Catholic Church in Parma on August 8; and Pokrova Ukrainian Catholic Church in Parma on August 15.

In June 2010, the parish feast day liturgy and picnic hosted large crowds. Bishop Bura presided over the divine liturgy in the newly renovated church and was joined by clergy from several parishes in the eparchy.

A Ss. Peter and Paul Centennial Book, prepared under the leadership of Dr. Strus, was published in September 2010. The book contains the history of the church, details of the clergy and laypeople who served the parish, as well as numerous photographs of the church interior, recent parish events and photographs of both sentimental and historical value.

### Ukrainian...

(Continued from page 1)

mented: “The Queensland floods have created havoc with the loss of life and property. From all reports there are huge losses and the rebuilding process must commence quickly. From another aspect it has brought out the best in Australians. The feeling of unity, of supporting those in need, the feeling of being one is remarkable. People from all works of life pulling together to save lives, to comfort others, to support each other.”

“The Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations is in regular contact with Ukrainian clergy and community leaders to gauge the effect of the floods on Ukrainian

families and community facilities,” he added.

According to the AFUO website, today there is a vibrant albeit small Ukrainian community of between 30,000 and 50,000 people, predominantly living in Melbourne and Sydney. There are also large Ukrainian centers in Geelong, Brisbane, Perth, Adelaide and Canberra, as well as smaller communities in other parts of the country.

The AFUO said it has offered support to the community and, as the situation unfolds, the AFUO executive in cooperation with local leaders will discuss what assistance will be required to help people rebuild their lives. The AFUO called on community members to keep the Queensland community in their prayers.

### CUPP holds...

(Continued from page 44)

Washington Times, stood up to Russia and Russian leaders’ attacks on Ukraine and its independence. He stressed that Ukrainians need to protect their identity and the integrity of their country. He quoted Winston Churchill that “freedom is never free” and challenged young Ukrainians to choose between the western/democratic and pro-Russian/autocratic paths of development.

The third “Model Ukraine” conference is planned for the fall of 2011 in Kyiv. Program Director Ihor Bardyn announced the possibility of holding another Conference in the cycle of Model Ukraine Conferences, possibly in Western Europe.

\*\*\*

The Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program was established in 1991 in order to

assist the development of democratic governance in post-Soviet Ukraine.

There are only three official Internship programs in the Canadian House of Commons. The Canadian Program for students of Canadian universities, the Canada-U.S.A. Program for university students from the United States and the Canada-Ukraine Program for university students from Ukraine. Students of Ukrainian origin from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia are also eligible for the Program.

CUPP has for the past 20 years provided Ukraine’s students with a lifetime opportunity to work in the office of a Member of Parliament, observe Canadian democratic processes, meet with diplomats, cabinet ministers, senior government officials and ordinary Canadians.

Regrettably, due to the lack of funding, the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program may terminate its existence in 2011.

### Chicago organizations...

(Continued from page 45)

mood in the room became more cheerful. A few of the veterans joined in and sang along with their favorite songs; there was even a veteran who showed his talents by joining in with the band on his trumpet.

Included in UAYA choir’s set of songs specially prepared for the occasion were various English-language carols including “O Come, O Come, Emmanuel,” “God Rest Ye Merry Gentlemen” and “O Come All Ye Faithful”, as well as a special Christmas medley arranged by the choir director himself. The choir also sang the “Carol of the Bells” or (“Schedryk”) in the original Ukrainian language.

And, to show their gratitude for the sacrifices that the veterans have made for America, the choir sang a medley of patriot-

ic songs, including “God Bless America,” “Oh, Beautiful” and “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.”

Although it was just a small gesture, the visit from the choir was very well received and the veterans clapped heartily. They even requested that another carol be sung in Ukrainian – the language in which the choir typically sings. The choir graciously agreed, completing its performance by singing the Ukrainian carol “Hrayte Dzvony” (“Play, Bells”).

This collaboration between the Chicago UAV Post 32, the Chicago UAYA Branch choir, and the U.S. veterans hospitals succeeded in bringing the Christmas spirit of giving to the heroes who have given so much for freedom. The traditional holiday greeting of “Merry Christmas” was supplemented with the added sentiments of “God Bless America” and “God Bless the Veterans.”

# OUT AND ABOUT


- |                                |  |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---|
| January 22<br>Warren, MI       | Malanka, featuring music by Zahrava, Ukrainian Cultural Center, 586-757-8130 or 586-558-8508   | February 12<br>Perth Amboy, NJ | Valentine's Day dance, featuring music by Anna-Maria Entertainment, Assumption Ukrainian Catholic Church, 732-826-0767  |
| January 22<br>Montreal         | Malanka, featuring music by Veselka and DJ Evhen, Ukrainian Youth Association and Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, Ukrainian Youth Home, 514-984-8821 or www.cym.org   | February 19<br>Washington      | Winter ball, featuring music by Hrim, L'Enfant Plaza Hotel, zabavadc@gmail.com or 800-635-5056  |
| January 22<br>Carteret, NJ     | Malanka, St. Demetrius Banquet Hall, 609-655-4468 or 732-491-1826 (advance tickets only)   | February 26<br>Parsippany, NJ  | Debutante ball, featuring music by Hrim and Vorony, Ukrainian American Youth Association, Sheraton Hotel, <a href="http://cym.org/us/archives/Deb2011/2011Deb.asp">http://cym.org/us/archives/Deb2011/2011Deb.asp</a> |
| January 22<br>Warners, NY      | Malanka, featuring music by Vorony, St. Luke Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 315-468-1981   | March 5<br>Phoenix, AZ         | Wild West Ukie Fest, featuring the Syzokryli Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, bandurists from the Canadian Bandurist Capella, Paradise Valley High School Auditorium, 480-991-4656 or 602-882-1552                           |
| January 22<br>Philadelphia     | Malanka, featuring music by Hrim, Ukrainian American Youth Association, Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 267-736-5336 or 215-870-3408  | March 6<br>Phoenix, AZ         | Wild West Ukie Fest dance, featuring music by Svitankok, Sheraton Four Points Hotel, 480-991-4656 or 602-882-1552   |
| January 29<br>New York         | Concert, "Invitation to a Wedding," featuring Nadia Tarnawsky with the Ukrainian Women's Voices Collective and the New York Bandura Ensemble, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110   |                                |   |
| January 29<br>New Britain, CT  | Malanka, featuring music by Zolota Bulava and Hrim, St. George Greek Hall, 860-452-4023  |                                |   |
| January 29<br>Whippany, NJ     | Debutante ball, featuring music by Tempo, Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization - Newark Branch Parents' Committee, Marriott Hotel, 908-464-4830 or <a href="mailto:newarkdeb2011@comcast.net">newarkdeb2011@comcast.net</a>                   |                                |   |
| February 5<br>Randolph, MA     | Malanka, featuring music by Hrim, The Lantana, Ukrainian American Educational Center of Boston, <a href="mailto:Skostecki108@comcast.net">Skostecki108@comcast.net</a> or <a href="http://www.ukrainiancenter.org">www.ukrainiancenter.org</a> |                                |   |
| February 10-11<br>Stanford, CA | Film screenings, hosted by Yuri Shevchuk, "New Films and New Names from Ukraine," Stanford University, <a href="http://creees.stanford.edu">http://creees.stanford.edu</a>   |                                |   |

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](mailto:mdubas@ukrweekly.com).

**TO ALL MEMBERS OF UNA BRANCH 180**

Please be advised that Branch 180 has merged with Branch 112 as of January 1, 2011. All inquiries and requests for changes should be sent to Mrs. Alice Olenchuk.


Mrs. Alice Olenchuk  
2625 Bonny Blvd.  
Parma, OH 44134  
(440) 884-5126




*Plast Stanytsia Newark together with the Parents' Committee have the pleasure of inviting you to*


## DEBUTANTE BALL

**Saturday, January 29, 2011 at 6:00 p.m.**  
Hanover Marriott  
1401 Route 10 East, Whippany, NJ 07981  
Music provided by TEMPO  
Evening attire required  
6:00 Cocktails  
7:30 Presentation of Debutantes  
Banquet and Ball to follow  
Banquet and Ball - \$110.00 per person  
Ball - \$40.00 per person  
for youth up to age 25 - \$30.00 per person  
Please make checks payable to: PLAST USO  
Mail to: Maria Wolanskyj  
136 Southgate Road, New Providence, NJ 07974  
(908) 464-4830  
e-mail: [NewarkDeb2011@comcast.net](mailto:NewarkDeb2011@comcast.net)







Olesia Bilash  
escort: Damyam Kolomayets




Kalyna Dziadiw  
escort: Nicholas Siokalo




Natalie Carthy  
escort: Mark Kramarchuk




Katrina Kozak  
escort: Greg Olesnycky




Natalia Kuklich  
escort: Stefan Kolodij




Irena Mikhalyuk  
escort: Markian Boyko




Taissa Michel  
escort: Christian Patti




Lesia Olesnycky  
escort: Alexander Pilecky



Katarina Palydowycz  
escort: Adrian Iwaskiw



Ivanka Temnycky  
escort: Severin Palydowycz



Katria Tomko  
escort: Evan McIntyre

2011 Group  
Tours

Zenia's Travel Club



## Alaska

Voyage of the Glaciers Cruise  
Special 2 week sale!

Take advantage of sale!  
Deposit anytime January 10 - 25, 2011

8-Day Cruise: July 9-16, 2011

(or)

12-Day Cruise & Tour: July 9-20, 2011

Call Zenia: 732-928-3792

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, January 22

**WARREN, Mich.:** The Ukrainian youth organizations of the Detroit area – the Ukrainian American Youth Association, USC Chernyk, ODUM and Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization – invite the community to their annual Malanka at the Ukrainian Cultural Center. Live entertainment will be provided by Zahrava from Toronto. Cocktails are at 7 p.m., dinner at 7:30 p.m., dance at 9:30 p.m. Tickets are \$75 for the dinner and dance; dance only – \$40 for adults, \$20 for students to age 21. Tickets are available at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 586-757-8130. For table reservations contact Larysa Hnatiuk, 586-558-8508.

Sunday, January 23

**NEW YORK:** The Ukrainian Museum and the Plast sororities Verkhovynky and Pershi Stezhi invite the public to the opening of an exhibit of the work of artist Opanas Zalyvakha and a presentation of Ivan Svitlychny's book "Holos Doby."

Laryssa Onyshkevych and Raisa Moroz will speak during the program about these two famous Ukrainian political dissidents of the 1960s. The event begins at 2 p.m. at The Ukrainian Museum, 222 E. Sixth St., New York, NY 10003. For more information call 212-228-1001.

Saturday, January 29

**NEW YORK:** The Center for Traditional Music and Dance, The Ukrainian Museum and New York Bandura Ensemble/Bandura Downtown present "Invitation to a Wedding," at the museum, 222 E. Sixth St. (between Second and Third avenues). Ukrainian American singer Nadia Tarnawsky leads the Ukrainian Women's Voices Collective and other special guests in an evening of Ukrainian wedding songs, sung in traditional village singing style and Ukrainian folk polyphony. The concert begins at 7 p.m. with a reception to follow. Tickets are \$15 (\$10 for museum members and seniors; \$5 for students). To purchase tickets in advance online go to [www.ukrainianmuseum.org](http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org).

## 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.

Information should be sent to: [preview@ukrweekly.com](mailto: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.**

In this New Year resolve  
to give yourself a gift!



What better gift to give  
yourself than guaranteed  
income for life?

Call us today to discuss our range of  
**annuities** and **great interest rates**.  
You'll see how easy it is to give yourself a  
gift that continues giving throughout  
your lifetime.

Call: 800-253-9862

UNA, Inc., 2200 Route 10, Parsippany, NJ 07054  
[www.UkrainianNationalAssociation.org](http://www.UkrainianNationalAssociation.org)

