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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Chernomyrdin named ambassador to Ukraine

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Russian President Vladimir Putin announced on May 10 that he would appoint former prime minister and business tycoon Viktor Chernomyrdin as the new ambassador to Ukraine.

Mr. Putin called the move a “political-diplomatic decision” and said the former head of the Russian gas giant Gazprom would have an additional designation as the Russian president’s special representative in charge of development of trade and economic relations with Ukraine.

“We would have difficulty finding a person who better knows the state of bilat-

eral relations between the two countries,” Mr. Putin explained, according to Interfax-Ukraine, and added that the appointment shows the importance placed on cooperation with Ukraine.

Mr. Chernomyrdin, who served as prime minister of Russia from 1992 to 1998 and is considered one of the country’s richest and most influential citizens, is expected to help Russian business interests secure Ukrainian plants and factories currently undergoing privatization.

He said on May 16, after the State Duma Committee for CIS supported his nomination, that the natural gas business would be his priority. Many Ukrainian politicians expect him to press for privatization and Russian co-ownership of the trans-Ukrainian pipeline, which Russia needs in order to move its natural gas to markets in Europe. Currently, transportation tariffs stipulated by Ukraine help the country to defray the huge costs of its near total energy dependence on its northern neighbor.

Ukraine’s Prime Minister Viktor Yushenko said on May 11 that he believes the appointment of Mr. Chernomyrdin is a signal of a new “pragmatic” political approach the Kremlin is taking with regard to Ukraine. He called the decision “a wonderful and reasonable

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Ukraine’s officials claim murder of Heorhii Gongadze is solved

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – In explanations that do not necessarily jibe with one another, two high-ranking Ukrainian law enforcement officials said on May 15 and 16 that investigators have solved the mysterious disappearance and murder of Heorhii Gongadze. Unfortunately, as they explained, the murderers are dead as well.

Recently appointed Minister of Internal Affairs Yurii Smirnov and his first assistant Mykola Dzhyha made the pronouncement on concurrent days in different cities. Their statements, which vary in many key aspects, have only further added to the confusion that surrounds the case and caused more consternation regarding the seemingly unprofessional manner in which law enforcement officials have proceeded in the investigation of the disappearance and murder of the young journalist.

Adding to the confusion, the Procurator General’s Office, which handles all such investigations, quickly denounced the conclusions as being premature and outside the competency of the officials.

In their remarks the two officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs agreed that the persons who slew the journalist had them-

selves been murdered and that the motive was exclusively criminal and not political.

Since the discovery of digital recordings seemingly implicating President Leonid Kuchma in the disappearance of Mr. Gongadze, who had often criticized the president and his political cronies, a strident if not necessarily united oppositionist force has actively demonstrated, at times violently, for the president’s resignation. They have called the murder of Mr. Gongadze a political killing ordered by high government officials who wanted to rid themselves of an irritating journalist fighting the corruption of which they are part and parcel.

Minister of Internal Affairs Smirnov was the first to state that the Gongadze case had been solved when he told Interfax-Ukraine in Kyiv on May 15 that two bodies discovered in a common grave were those of the murderers of the young journalist. While explaining that he could not reveal details because the investigation was the responsibility of the Procurator General’s Office, he said investigators made the connection between the two corpses and the Gongadze case when they discovered a map of the burial site of the body of the slain journalist in the common grave.

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Kyiv signs gas deal with Turkmenistan

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – The presidents of Ukraine and Turkmenistan signed an agreement on May 14 that will diversify Ukraine’s natural gas supplies and lessen its energy dependence on Russia.

The historic document, one of nine signed in Kyiv by Ukraine’s Leonid Kuchma and Turkmenistan’s Saparmurad Niyazov during the latter’s two-day state visit, calls for the Ashkabat government to assure the delivery of 250 billion cubic meters of natural gas to Ukraine in 2002-2006.

An obviously satisfied Ukrainian president told journalists after the signing ceremony in Mariinsky Palace not to underestimate the meaning of the accord.

“Everyone should well understand the importance of natural gas to the Ukrainian economy,” said Mr. Kuchma. “Natural gas is not only the economy, it is politics and it is energy security.”

He said the new agreement fully satisfies Ukraine’s energy needs.

Ukraine has been almost 100 percent dependent on Russia for its oil and natural gas since independence nearly 10 years ago – and often at the mercy of Moscow’s pricing whims.

The agreement came several days after Moscow announced it had appointed former Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, a natural gas tycoon who once headed the Russian gas monopoly Gazprom, ambassador to Ukraine and special envoy for trade and energy relations.

Turkmenistan will provide Ukraine 40 billion cubic meters of natural gas in 2002, which will rise to 50 billion cubic meters per year in 2003. Ukraine will continue to purchase the gas at the same price of \$42 per thousand cubic meters that was agreed by President Kuchma in Ashkabat last

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Site of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic cathedral in Kyiv is consecrated

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Cardinal Lubomyr Husar said on May 13 that the headquarters and spiritual center of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church that he was recently elected to lead would soon move from Lviv to Kyiv. The new archbishop major of 5 million Catholic faithful made his remarks prior to consecrating the grounds of the future site of the Church’s first cathedral in Kyiv.

The blessing ceremony took place after Cardinal Husar served his first Divine Liturgy in Ukraine’s capital city since his enthronement as archbishop major of the UGCC on January 28 and his elevation to cardinal, or prince of the Catholic Church, by Pope John Paul II on February 21.

Cardinal Husar told journalists prior to the church service that the cathedral, to be called the Sobor of the Resurrection of Christ, would become the new home of the UGCC. St. George’s Cathedral in Lviv has been the center of the Church for centuries.

The primate of the Church said the move was logical and necessary.

“This is the capital. Lviv became the capital because Kyiv was strangled (by Mongol hordes). But now, thank God, we have our free Kyiv, our free country, and we must be where the center is – I believe this is a very normal thing, just as all the other Church centers are in Kyiv,” explained Cardinal Husar.

Thousands of faithful attended archiepiscopal liturgical services at St. Nicholas Church, located at the Askold’s Tomb Rotunda on the slopes of the Dnipro River, before many traveled the three kilometers across the river to the future site of

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Artist’s rendering of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic cathedral to be erected in Kyiv.

ANALYSIS

Ukraine after Yuschenko

by Taras Kuzio

On April 26, by an overwhelming margin, the Verkhovna Rada passed a vote of no confidence in Prime Minister Yuschenko's government, thereby bringing down the most successful administration in the country's post-independence period.

The vote confirmed the country's division into three political forces: Communists; center-right national democrats; and an ideologically amorphous group that represents oligarchic interests and is aligned with President Kuchma.

Mr. Yuschenko was brought down by a coalition in the Rada between Communists and the oligarchic group.

The Communists were adamantly opposed to Mr. Yuschenko's pro-Western foreign policy. Domestically, they were alarmed that their support, which has averaged 20 to 30 percent during the 1990s, could be undercut by a successful government that increased GDP and paid back wage and pension arrears.

The oligarchs had for several months been concerned that the erosion of their economic power caused by the Yuschenko government's energy sector reforms. These had been led by former vice prime minister Yulia Tymoshenko, who was selected because of her experience as a member of the oligarchic group that ran United Energy Systems in the mid-1990s.

Ms. Tymoshenko and former Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko are the only oligarchs to have opposed President Kuchma; both are currently facing criminal indictments. Oligarchic groups voted with the Communists after Mr. Yuschenko refused to allow oligarchic representatives into the government.

Aside from the tension between Mr. Yuschenko and the oligarchs over energy sector reforms, the prime minister's perceived successes caused tension with President Kuchma. The president was unhappy that his long-standing ally, Valerii Pustovoitenko, who served as prime minister between 1997 and 1999, was denied credit for the advances made last year.

Indeed, Mr. Yuschenko regularly accused the previous government of incompetence, in particular over the build-up of nearly \$2 billion worth of pension and wage arrears. President Kuchma-controlled state television responded by attacking Mr. Yuschenko and questioning his achievements. The attack was intensified after the United States granted asylum to Mykola

Taras Kuzio is a visiting fellow at the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. The article above originally appeared in the East Europe Daily Brief of Oxford Analytica; it is reprinted with permission from the author.

Quotable notes

"Today the post [of prime minister] should be assumed by a horse that is able to pull a plow. And I will try to hold the handles of that plow."

— President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine, speaking on May 8, as quoted by Interfax and cited by RFE/RL Poland, Belarus and Ukraine Report.

Melnychenko, a security service officer who had leaked tapes which appeared to implicate Mr. Kuchma in the abduction and murder of journalist Heorhii Gongadze.

This media assault marked the country's first large-scale anti-U.S. campaign. Washington was accused of having used Mr. Melnychenko as a tool in an attempt to bring down President Kuchma and replace him with Mr. Yuschenko; the prime minister was also implicated in this, and attacked for having a U.S.-born wife.

Despite the rivalry between Messrs. Kuchma and Yuschenko, the country's most popular politician, the prime minister was useful to the president. These benefits have now been lost.

Mr. Yuschenko encouraged an impression in the West that Kyiv remained committed to reform, which was essential to secure the resumption of international lending. Washington's decision to grant asylum to Mr. Melnychenko underlines Ukraine's diminished standing; less aid will now be forthcoming.

Mr. Yuschenko also ensured that the parliamentary non-left majority held together, which was essential for President Kuchma to secure constitutional changes in line with the April 2000 referendum to strengthen the presidency. Implementation of these changes is now impossible.

The ousted prime minister divided the anti-Kuchma factions, as some opposition remained passive while Mr. Yuschenko continued in office. This division among the anti-Kuchma camp has now been removed.

Prime ministerial vacancy

President Kuchma will struggle to have a new prime minister confirmed. The oligarchs and Communists who joined forces to dismiss Mr. Yuschenko are not united and cannot agree on a new candidate.

The oligarchs do not have the 226 votes required to elect their own prime minister; at the most they command the loyalty of 140 deputies. The Communists hold 120 seats and party leader Petro Symonenko said on May 1 that his party would nominate four candidates. Perhaps more likely, the party will demand positions within the government in return for supporting an oligarch-backed prime ministerial candidate. The 100 center-right (anti-Kuchma) deputies will be hostile to any candidate from either camp.

There are three broad scenarios:

1. The country will be left in political paralysis, unable to form a government before the parliamentary election due in March next year. According to the constitution, Mr. Yuschenko will remain prime minister for 60 days after the no confidence vote. It had been rumored that Mr. Kuchma would ask him to stay on for longer, but Mr. Yuschenko has ruled that out. Moreover, he has indicated his strong preference to vacate the post as soon as possible.

2. The oligarchs, who are deeply divided and compete fiercely among themselves, will unite and buy support from elsewhere to install one of their own as prime minister. For the oligarchs, victory in the parliamentary election is essential for their business interests, and their poll prospects would be boosted by the numerous advantages of incumbency in the run-up to the election. Thus, it is possible that either the Rada chairman, United Social Democrat leader Viktor

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NEWSBRIEFS

Appointment of PM 'very complicated'

KYIV – Roman Bezsmertnyi, the presidential permanent representative in the Verkhovna Rada, told Interfax on May 14 that the process of nomination of a new prime minister will be "very complicated." According to Mr. Bezsmertnyi, there will be several variants for tackling this problem, which will be "contradictory to a significant extent." President Leonid Kuchma earlier pledged to propose a candidate for the post of prime minister by the end of May. Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko noted that the Parliament can approve a new prime minister no earlier than in June. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Patriarch condemns pope's visit

MOSCOW – Russian Patriarch Aleksei II and visiting Greek Archbishop Christodoulos on May 11 issued a joint statement saying that Pope John Paul II should have secured the approval of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine before planning to go there, Russian and Western agencies reported. In other comments, they said that "the future will show whether the pope was sincere" in his apology for past Roman Catholic actions against the Orthodox, and they criticized efforts by Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople to involve himself in what they called the internal affairs of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine and Estonia. On May 12 some 1,500 people in Moscow assembled to protest the papal visit to Ukraine, Interfax reported. One of the organizers was arrested, the news agency said. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Do authorities know who killed Gongadze?

KYIV – "As far as I am informed, [investigators] have practically traced the assassins [of journalist Heorhii Gongadze]," the Ukrainska Pravda website quoted President Leonid Kuchma as saying on Russia's ORT television channel on May 14. Mr. Kuchma did not elaborate. The same day the Left Center parliamentary group addressed the Procurator General's Office with a long list of unanswered questions regarding the Gongadze case and the eavesdropping on President Kuchma's office by former bodyguard Mykola Melnychenko. Left Center noted that eight months after Mr. Gongadze's death the public still does not know who killed Gongadze and for what reasons. Meanwhile, Myroslava Gongadze has said the body of her husband can finally be buried, since there are no reasons to distrust the recent findings of U.S. experts who confirmed that the beheaded corpse found near Kyiv last year is that of Mr. Gongadze. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Presidents satisfied with accords

KYIV – Presidents Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine and Saparmurat Niyazov of Turkmenistan expressed satisfaction over nine cooperation accords they signed in Kyiv on May 14, Interfax reported. Apart from an agreement on Turkmen gas supplies in 2001-2006, both sides signed an accord on mutual economic cooperation in 2001-2010, as well as a number of intergovernmental agreements. Mr. Kuchma said the signing of the accord on Turkmen gas deliveries to Ukraine in 2001-2006 is a "historic" event. "Everybody perfectly understands what gas means for Ukraine's economy: it means not only economy but also politics and energy security," he added. "There is no area that we dropped out of our cooperation," President Niyazov said of the bilateral accords he signed with President Kuchma. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Putin taps Chernomyrdin for Kyiv

MOSCOW – Announcing on May 10 that he has appointed former Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to be the ambassador to Ukraine, President Vladimir Putin said that "the time has come to approach seriously the development of relations with one of our basic partners – Ukraine, and for this we must create the necessary preconditions, including in personnel." Russian commentators and political figures generally praised the move and suggested that the naming of this political "heavyweight" will help resolve problems in bilateral ties between the two countries. Nezavisimaya Gazeta on May 11 said that President Putin has given the newly appointed ambassador "unprecedented" powers to resolve the economic and political ties between the two countries. Vremia MN said on the same day that Mr. Chernomyrdin will undoubtedly focus on gas debts. But Kommersant-Daily described the appointment as meaning that Mr. Chernomyrdin "has again become prime minister but now the Ukrainian one." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Moscow to step up pressure on Kyiv?

KYIV – "This is an attempt to establish an even stronger diktat of the Russian economy over the Ukrainian one," Rukh leader Yurii Kostenko commented on May 10 on Russian President Vladimir Putin's announcement to appoint former Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin as Moscow's ambassador to Kyiv. "Chernomyrdin's appointment [means] that Ukraine has lost some part of its sovereignty," Kyiv-based political scientist Volodymyr Polokhalo said. According to

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Senate, House appoint Helsinki commissioners

WASHINGTON – The United States Congress has filled its mandated slate of members to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, commonly called the Helsinki Commission as origins stem from the agreement to the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

The Senate Republican leadership has appointed Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.) as Chairman of the Commission for the 107th Congress, a position that rotates between the House and Senate with each new Congress. House of Representatives Republican leaders appointed Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-N.J.) as co-chairman of the Commission. The appointment comes after Rep. Smith completed a two-year term as chairman in the 106th Congress.

Chairman Campbell, the only Native American in the U.S. Senate, acknowledged the appointment as commission chairman as an opportunity to encourage stability throughout Europe's emerging democracies.

"Combating corruption and protecting the rights of minorities will certainly be on my list of priorities as chairman of the Helsinki Commission," Sen. Campbell said.

"I look forward to building upon the commission's tradition of bipartisan cooperation in speaking out on behalf of individuals being denied their fundamental freedoms and basic human rights," said Sen. Campbell. Instrumental in raising the growing problem of corruption and international crime within the framework of the 55-state Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Sen. Campbell said he plans to build upon this initiative during his chairmanship.

Co-Chairman Smith expressed gratitude for the opportunity to continue his leadership in monitoring human rights developments among OSCE countries.

"I am grateful that the House leadership has entrusted me with the task of leading the Helsinki Commission in its efforts to improve human rights throughout Europe," Rep. Smith said. "When we see abuses like the car-bomb murder of Rosemary Nelson, a Northern Ireland human rights attorney and advocate, it is humbling to discover the price people pay for the sake of human dignity."

The Helsinki Commission, created by Congress in 1976, consists of nine members from the U.S. Senate, nine members from the U.S. House of Representatives, and one member each from the departments of State, Defense and Commerce. The executive branch commissioners are expected to be appointed in the near future.

In addition to the commission chairman Senate appointment include: Kay Bailey Hutchison, Texas; Sam Brownback, Kansas; Gordon H. Smith, Oregon; George V. Voinovich, Ohio; Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut; Bob Graham, Florida; Russell D. Feingold, Wisconsin; and Hillary Rodham Clinton, New York.

House of Representatives appointments, in addition to the co-chairman, include: Frank R. Wolf, Virginia; Joseph R. Pitts, Pennsylvania; Zach Wamp, Tennessee; Robert B. Aderholt, Alabama; Steny H. Hoyer, Maryland; Benjamin L. Cardin, Maryland; Louise McIntosh Slaughter, New York; and Alcee L. Hastings, Florida.

The commission convenes public hearings and briefings with expert witnesses on OSCE-related issues; issues

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Helsinki Commission examines Ukraine 10 years after independence

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON – The U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe recently took a long, hard look at how democracy and human rights are developing in Ukraine, 10 years after the country gained independence.

While the subject of the May 2 hearing of the so-called "Helsinki Commission" was broad – covering also the past and future of the U.S.-Ukrainian political, economic and assistance relationships – commission members focused especially on Ukraine's current political problems, including the so-called "tape scandal," which allegedly links President Leonid Kuchma to the murder of a young journalist, Heorhii Gongadze, as well as to some high-level corruption; the ousting of the Western-oriented, reformist Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko; and the perceived recent shift of Ukraine's strategic orientation from the West back to Moscow.

The discussion of these issues by a U.S. government body was seen to be important enough by Ukraine to have its position presented by President Kuchma's top national security advisor, Yevhen Marchuk – a last-minute upgrade from the originally scheduled appearance by Ukraine's ambassador to Washington.

And it was judged to be important enough by Helsinki Commission Chairman Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.), who scheduled the hearing at this time in the legislative calendar, despite the politically intense budget process evolving on Capitol Hill, and by five of his congressional colleagues who took the time from other hearings to participate in at least part of the hearing.

In addition to Mr. Marchuk, the panel heard from Jon Purnell, deputy special

advisor to the U.S. secretary of state for the new independent states, Freedom House President Adrian Karatnycky and Ariel Cohen of The Heritage Foundation. It was the first hearing in Congress devoted exclusively to Ukrainian issues in recent memory.

Sen. Campbell set the tone at the outset of the hearing, expressing the commission's concern about developments in Ukraine, including "pervasive high-level corruption," the Gongadze affair and other human rights problems.

"Given the importance of our relationship with Ukraine – and let there be no doubt that it is a very important relationship – the commission has become increasingly concerned about the direction in which Ukraine appears to be heading," he said.

The chairman's concern and assessment of the importance of the U.S.-Ukrainian relationship was echoed by his co-chairman, Rep. Christopher H. Smith.

"Despite the forces hostile to reform, it is clear that the United States must not abandon Ukraine," the New Jersey Republican said. "Whether through political support or through concrete assistance to strengthen democracy, it is incumbent upon us to work with the Ukrainian people so that the promise for a better future for which so many sacrifices were made will, at long last, become a reality."

Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.), who chaired the Helsinki Commission in the late 1980s, spoke about the high hopes many people had for Ukraine when it became independent. Some of them were realized, he said, as evidenced by the dismantling of its nuclear arsenal, the way it treated its minorities and the constructive relations it built with neighboring states.

But he, too, expressed concern about recent developments, which, he said "were only amplified by last week's dis-

missal of Prime Minister Yushchenko, a reformer who was not only the most trusted politician in Ukraine, but under whose stewardship Ukraine was enjoying economic growth for the first time in over a decade."

As the lead-off witness, the State Department's Mr. Purnell presented a subdued but diplomatic view of the situation in Ukraine in his testimony: "For now, I can say that the present situation is mixed, but that the potential is unlimited." And judging by headlines over the past few months, he added, "they have not been positive, and some of the news has been downright ugly."

He described the evolving events of the Gongadze-tape scandal, which developed further into a government crisis with opposition calls for the removal of the president. The crisis expanded further after the arrest of Vice Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and the break-up of the reform-minded majority in the Verkhovna Rada and, ultimately, the no-confidence vote on April 26 that brought down the Yushchenko government.

"All of this is very disturbing, and the United States has urged Ukrainian authorities to deal effectively with these issues," Mr. Purnell said.

The State Department official said it was too early to assess the effect of Mr. Yushchenko's ouster. It will depend on the ability of the president, the parliament and the new government to rebuild the political consensus that worked so well last year, he added.

In the area of human rights, Mr. Purnell said, the United States has "pulled no punches" in describing Ukraine's problems in such areas as media freedom and the independence of the judiciary.

"These facts, however, should not

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Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell



Rep. Steny Hoyer



Jon Purnell



Adrian Karatnycky



Ariel Cohen



Yevhen Marchuk

PACE awards journalism prize to Gongadze and Spanish reporter

COPENHAGEN – The Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has decided to split the 2001 OSCE Prize for Journalism and Democracy between Spanish journalist Jose Luis Lopez De Lacalle and Ukrainian journalist Heorhii Gongadze. The Prize – consisting of \$20,000 – is awarded annually by the Assembly to journalists who, through their work have promoted OSCE principles on human rights, democracy and unimpeded flow of information.

Mr. Lopez de Lacalle, a reporter for the Spanish daily newspaper *El Mundo*, was killed in May 2000 by Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), an armed Basque separatist group, in northern Spain for his writings against the use of violence for political ends.

Mr. Gongadze, editor of the Internet publication *Pravda Ukrainy*, disappeared on September 16, 2000, after a distinguished career in investigative journalism, uncovering critical circumstances in a secretive political environment.

In recommending the two journalists for the award, the chairman of the OSCE PA General Committee on Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Questions, Gert Weisskirchen, a member of the German Parliament, stated: "These were outstanding journalists who tried to further the values of the OSCE by intervening in conflicts and secretive political environments through their writing ... By awarding this prize we will be sending a signal against the unfortunate growing international trend of censorship by threats and killings."

The prize will be presented on the opening day of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's 10th annual session in Paris, which is scheduled for July 6-10.

The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly established the Prize for Journalism and Democracy in 1996, at the initiative of Freimut Duve, former member of the German Bundestag and now OSCE rep-



Heorhii Gongadze

resentative on freedom of the media. The purpose of the prize is to promote the principles of free journalism as laid down in the OSCE Budapest Declaration in 1994.

The Prize was previously awarded to Adam Michnik in 1996, Reporters sans Frontieres (Reporters without Borders) in 1997, Timothy Garton Ash in 1998, Christiane Amanpour in 1999 and Andrei Babitsky in 2000.

The Annual Prize for Journalism and Democracy has been made possible by the dedicated and generous assistance of the following donors: Bertelsmann AG, Germany; Bonnier Group, Sweden; Den Berlingske Fond, Denmark; the George and Thelma Paraskevaidis Foundation, Cyprus; Southam Inc., Canada; and Shipsted ASA, Norway.

OSCE countries voice concern about regional media situation

VIENNA – On the occasion of World Press Freedom Day, May 3, the Organization for Security and Co-operation (OSCE) Representative on freedom of the media, Freimut Duve, issued a statement expressing his deep concern about the media situation in the OSCE region.

"We all must reaffirm the principles of free, independent and pluralistic press and speak out against their violations. The right of journalists and others in the media means that they are free to practice their profession without coercion or hindrance. We all have to remember those who paid with their lives for reporting the news and to mobilize the international community in support of press freedom everywhere," he stated.

He noted his deep concern about the media situation in the OSCE region: "Eleven journalists were killed during 2000, many were assaulted, harassed and even imprisoned. Media outlets were put under pressure."

"Therefore, I have issued on several occasions a call for OSCE participating States to do more to put an end to pressure on media, to investigate promptly all pending cases of censorship by killing and bring to justice those involved in these crimes," Mr. Duve continued. "I reiterate that the murder of journalists in the OSCE region, an organization of declared democracies, must become a matter of the past. It would be cynical to believe we should not all be concerned. To kill journalists is a very serious attack against the freedom in our democracies."

Throughout his work, the Office of the Representative on Freedom of the Media has identified a whole set of new forms of indirect pressure on media freedom, so-called structural censorship: for example, governments' monopoly on newsprint, arbitrary tax inspections, or withdrawal of licences. Structural censorship may not be as dramatic as violence

or heavy-handed government repression, but can be just as effective in killing journalistic freedom.

Another serious problem is government officials who avail themselves of libel laws, the OSCE office has noted. Often their handling of public criticism as personal insults means nothing more than to destroy the corrective function of the media through the personal misuse of libel laws, both civil and criminal.

Mr. Duve reminds the Governments of their commitments undertaken in 1999 at the OSCE Istanbul Summit "to ensuring the freedom of the media as a basic condition for pluralistic and democratic societies."

Quotable notes

"It so happened that I was brought up [to accept] the stereotype that Radio Liberty was a hostile voice, a voice of the world imperialism. At that time, the radio station was being jammed and its programs could be rarely heard. ... Time has passed. Now – with the rigorous censorship of all media as well as the [state] control over the press and journalists in Ukraine – Radio Liberty is acquiring a new meaning. The station is pursuing a really powerful and necessary policy. One may disagree with some [opinions] in its programs, but the station presents a wide range of opinions and provides people with the possibility to make a choice [of their own]. [RFE/RL] is a model for democratic broadcasting, which should be established in every state as a rule, not as an exception."

– *Socialist Party of Ukraine leader Oleksander Moroz, former chairman of the Verkhovna Rada, in an interview with RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service on May 4.*

RFE/RL REPORT: Melnychenko speaks on the record

RFE/RL Poland, Belarus and Ukraine Report

RFE/RL correspondent Askold Krushelnycky and two other journalists met with Mykola Melnychenko, a former bodyguard of Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma while he was still in hiding at an undisclosed location in Central Europe. Below is Mr. Krushelnycky's account of the meeting.

Melnychenko's motivations

The audiotapes secretly made by former Ukrainian presidential bodyguard Mr. Melnychenko have fueled the biggest demonstrations in Ukraine since the country gained independence 10 years ago. Thousands of demonstrators took to the streets of the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, accusing President Kuchma of involvement in the disappearance, and presumed murder, of opposition journalist Heorhii Gongadze.

Mr. Kuchma has denied any involvement in Mr. Gongadze's disappearance. But in late November some excerpts from recordings of President Kuchma's conversations made by Mr. Melnychenko were released. The tapes purported to show that Mr. Kuchma had ordered that Mr. Gongadze be kidnapped. They also were said to reveal a foul-mouthed president discussing a range of corrupt deals for his personal enrichment.

Mr. Melnychenko said he left Ukraine with his wife and daughter two days before the first excerpts from the tapes were published on November 28.

Two journalists from RFE/RL and one from a U.S. newspaper were the first to meet with Mr. Melnychenko outside of Ukraine. They conducted an

interview in a private room at an inn near the Hungarian border with Slovakia.

Mr. Melnychenko arrived in disguise. During a six-hour interview, the 34-year-old former security officer carefully measured his answers, as he explained why he made the recordings.

Mr. Melnychenko, who was born in Vasylkiv in the Kyiv region, said his childhood dream was to be in the army. After being refused admittance to the Kyiv military academy at the age of 16, Mr. Melnychenko joined the army. During his military service, he was asked to join the KGB. He eventually worked in the KGB's Ninth Directorate, which guarded VIPs. He said that for a time he was one of former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's bodyguards.

After Ukraine attained independence, Mr. Melnychenko said he returned home and rejoined the army, where he received electronic surveillance training. He first became part of Mr. Kuchma's bodyguard team when he was prime minister. He continued in the job when Mr. Kuchma was first elected president in 1994.

Mr. Melnychenko said that at first he thought that Mr. Kuchma would be a good leader. He was often present during President Kuchma's meetings with senior officials and gradually, as he heard their conversations, he became disenchanted.

"The material that I've got ready clearly shows Mr. Kuchma is a criminal, that he gave illegal orders and oversaw their execution. These are various orders having to do with financial machinations, the political repression of opposition leaders and how he influenced individuals such as directors [of state enterpris-

es], heads of government agencies and the like," Mr. Melnychenko said.

Mr. Melnychenko said he routinely overheard conversations between President Kuchma and others which showed how corrupt Mr. Kuchma was. He said he saw what he ironically called "gifts" of millions of dollars in cash being delivered to the president. He also talked with people who had dealings with Mr. Kuchma or who wanted access to him and thought that they could obtain it via Mr. Melnychenko.

All these elements, Mr. Melnychenko said, convinced him that President Kuchma and his closest cronies were thoroughly corrupt, out for their own personal gain with little or no concern for Ukraine's well-being.

Mr. Melnychenko said that what disgusted him most was that President Kuchma, in his words, "has ruined lots of businesses that could have provided work for ordinary people and could have brought economic benefit to Ukraine."

According to Mr. Melnychenko, if businesses were not paying for a "roof," President Kuchma would ask: "How can this be?" He said the president wanted everyone to pay protection money and, if they didn't, he sought to put them out of business.

Mr. Melnychenko summed up his view of the president in these words: "There is no greater criminal in the country than Mr. Kuchma. He has turned Ukraine into one big protection racket."

He said he decided to make secret recordings of President Kuchma's conversations because "every per-

(Continued on page 16)

Petryshyn Lecture covers Ukraine's role in European history in 1905-1956

by Serge Cipko

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. – "It is impossible to understand the history of the Soviet Union without acknowledging the role of Ukraine," says Andrea Graziosi, a professor of contemporary history at the University of Naples (Federico II). In fact, in Prof. Graziosi's opinion, it is essential to recognize the central role played by Ukraine and Poland in the critical events of Europe in the 20th century.

Prof. Graziosi spoke at Harvard University on April 2 at the invitation of the Ukrainian Research Institute to deliver the Vasyl and Maria Petryshyn Memorial Lecture.

In explaining the title of his presentation, "The Ukrainian Experience in the European War/Revolution of 1905-1956," Prof. Graziosi remarked that he recently wrote a book that bears the working title "What Happened in Europe in 1905-1956?" The book reflects on the years 1905-1956, a period of war and revolution that entailed the attempt of Soviet state-building of "a peculiar nature."

Why the year 1905 as the starting point? Because, explains Prof. Graziosi, it marked the defeat of Russia by Japan, a setback that shook all the major colonial powers. It was the year of the Russian Revolution that simultaneously had its responses in Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania and elsewhere.

The processes that then ensued unfolded in World War I and the Revolution of 1917. In Ukraine the period 1917-1921 is characterized by a number of state-building efforts and not only is the region a battleground, but also a site of competing ideologies. The upheaval in Ukraine, according to Prof. Graziosi, forced Lenin to think in national terms – thus the creation of a "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" as

opposed to Ukraine becoming an autonomous part of an all-Russian federation.

Another period of Ukrainian state-building followed in the context of the Soviet Union, in which Marxism was used as a tool for building national states. This latest example of Ukrainian state-building was not allowed to develop beyond the 1920s: it was challenged by Stalin, who ultimately induced the horrendous famine of 1932-1933 to impose his will.

Ukraine had shown the strongest resistance (in absolute terms) to collectivization and to Soviet rule more generally, Prof. Graziosi stated, adding that Stalin decided to resolve the peasant question once and for all. In the Great Peasant War fought between peasants and the state, millions died. This "war" exposed the real lack of control and fear of the new state. "It was a peculiar state," remarked Prof. Graziosi, "one in which its elite knew it was not accepted by the majority of the population." A turning point came in World War II, when there was no government between Berlin and the eastern reaches of Ukraine, only a military occupation, which allowed for the movement of people. Ukraine, reconstituted from different parts, was rebuilt after World War II and a new phase in state-building began. In swallowing new territories the Stalinist regime swallowed new problems. The war may have ended in Western Europe in 1945, Prof. Graziosi noted, but in Eastern Europe it really continued until 1953.

Although 1956 is the year with which Prof. Graziosi chose to conclude his narrative, he acknowledged that it is not fixed. Prof. Richard Pipes had asked him just prior to the lecture why he chose that particular end point. During the lecture, Prof. Graziosi answered that any year in the mid-

1950s could do, but 1956 had its share of defining moments, for example, Khrushchev's speech denouncing Stalin, the Suez Canal Crisis, the beginnings of the negotiations for the Treaty of Rome and the Hungarian Uprising. On the other hand, one could also have selected 1953 – the year of Stalin's death, the end of the war against the resistance in western Ukraine and the Baltic states, and the uprising of Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) veterans in the gulags, among other events.

According to Prof. Graziosi, Ukraine is capable of revealing many of the trends of European and even world history. Ukraine was a site where land-based empires met and thus was "a prototype of Eastern Europe." Moreover, the evolution of Ukraine in the 20th century shows that it is wrong to assess East European history in terms of "war versus revolution" or "ethnicity versus class," instead historians should rather "see them as intertwined and reinforcing each other."

What happened in Ukraine had its echoes or later parallels elsewhere. For example, the use of the peasantry as a base for nation-building, methods of "resolving questions," and the effort at homogenization which, in Europe, is now being reversed to diversity. In particular, the greatest modern catastrophe suffered by the Ukrainian people, according to Prof. Graziosi, the Great Famine of 1932-1933, deserves more attention from historians. "I am convinced that contemporary historians will not understand our century until they are able to internalize what happened in Ukraine in 1932-1933," he underscored.

During his welcoming remarks, Prof. Roman Szporluk, the director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI), emphasized the significance of Prof. Graziosi's scholarship. His approach,

said Prof. Szporluk, was to assess the USSR and communism in an all-European setting rather than as an isolated phenomenon. Moreover, he continued, his views and insights are thought-provoking and do not fit any ready schema. It was Graziosi's research in Soviet archives during the 1990s that gradually led him to understand the importance of Ukraine not only in Soviet history but also in the wider history of the European continent and beyond. In particular, his study of the 1932-1933 famine in Ukraine led to a new view of the peasant question.

Prof. Graziosi's recent scholarly contributions include the following: "The Great Soviet Peasant War: Peasants and Bolsheviks, 1918-1934," which was published by HURI in 1996, and his more recent "A New, Peculiar State: Explorations in Soviet History, 1917-1937" (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000), which includes an essay that originally appeared in the HURI journal *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

Prof. Graziosi is also the compiler and editor of the collection of Italian government documents on the 1932-1933 famine in Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus titled "Lettere da Kharkov: la carestia in Ucraina e nel Caucaso del Nord nei rapporti dei diplomatici italiani, 1932-33" (Torino: Einaudi, 1991).

Prof. Graziosi's lecture was heard by approximately 75 individuals in the Thompson Room of Harvard's Barker Center for the Humanities. The annual Vasyl and Maria Petryshyn Memorial Lecture was established at HURI in 1994 by Dr. Wolodymyr Petryshyn and his family. Dr. Petryshyn, a distinguished mathematician who established the endowment in memory of his parents, was in attendance.

UCC announces date of congress

WINNIPEG – The Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) announced that Sophia Kachor of Winnipeg will serve as chair of the National Organizing Committee for the 20th Triennial Congress of Ukrainian Canadians to take place in Winnipeg on October 5-8.

In making the announcement, UCC President Eugene Czolij thanked Ms. Kachor for once again assuming the responsibility. "Sophia Kachor's strong leadership abilities have served the UCC well," he said. "Throughout her years of dedicated service to the UCC, she has demonstrated her ability to organize and ensure successful events such as the con-

gress," he said.

The Organizing Committee members are: Michael Ilnycky of Winnipeg; Lesia Luciuk of Halifax, Nova Scotia; Nadia Kostyshyn-Bailey of Winnipeg; Oksana Rozumna of Winnipeg; and Michael Wawryshyn of Toronto.

"This team of dedicated individuals will ensure that the 20th Congress assists in positioning the UCC in becoming a stronger representative for the Ukrainian Canadian community," said Mr. Czolij. "I would like to thank each of these individuals for giving their time and sharing with the community their talent in ensuring a successful Congress."

Site of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic...

(Continued from page 1)

what will not only be the largest UGCC church in Ukraine but one of the largest for any faith.

There Cardinal Husar led hundreds of priests, nuns and faithful, as well as several national deputies, Papal Nuncio Mykola Eterovic and UGCC Bishop Vasyl of the Kyiv-Vyshhorod eparchy and nine other UGCC bishops, in a prayer ceremony that concluded with the blessing of the 1.7 hectare tract. Among those on hand were five busloads of faithful from the western oblasts of Ukraine.

The new cathedral, which is scheduled for completion in 2003 if funding and donations suffice, will be a five-domed structure 49 meters wide, 56 meters long and 61 meters high. It will incorporate traditional design with contemporary features. Four of the gilded domes, representing the four evangelists, will surround a larger, central dome, representing the fig-

ure of Christ. The building will be elevated with access to the church from all sides via steps that will surround it. The church will have room for some 1,500 faithful.

The territory of the new cathedral, which sits abreast a channel of the Dnipro River, will include a wooded recreation area as well as a small parking lot. There will be a special alleyway constructed to allow for processions to the banks of the Rusanivka Channel for Epiphany celebrations.

Actual construction on the site has yet to begin, but the land has been cleared and the area encircled with a wooden construction barricade.

Noted Ukrainian architect Mykola Levchuk designed the structure, which took the top prize for contemporary building designs for religious structures at a recent architectural design contest in Moscow.

Mr. Levchuk, 62, of Kyiv, is the director of the architectural firm Kyivproyekt and a member of the Ukrainian Architects Association. He has more than 50 projects to his credit.

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Something's rotten in Kyiv

This newspaper does not make a habit of questioning the outright veracity of statements by government officials and will not do so here, but the recent assertions by Ukraine's Minister of Internal Affairs Yurii Smirnov and his first assistant, Mykola Dzhyha, just do not smell right.

There is a lack of evidence and explanation as given by the two state militia officials to believe that the young journalist Heorhii Gongadze (who would have been 33 years old on May 21) was killed by gangland thugs for an unpaid debt or by drug addicts in a robbery gone awry.

The presentation of two very different fact patterns a day apart in any other case but the Gongadze affair would probably have been laughed at as more evidence of the fumbling and stumbling "Keystone Kops" methods of Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs. But the comments made by Messrs. Smirnov and Dzhyha are now the official explanations of what happened to Mr. Gongadze, which is that his murder has no political underpinnings.

Such an assertion, without solid, well-presented, fact-based substantiation to support it, after all that has occurred over the last eight months, only casts a darker shadow over Ukrainian authorities and their involvement in the mysterious disappearance and ostensible murder of the Ukrainian journalist. And this is regardless of whether the Procurator General's Office does or does not accept their soundings, which it has indicated it does not.

It is the presentation of the results of this extremely critical and internationally sensitive murder case in such a matter-of-fact manner that is the cause for the concern.

Mr. Smirnov and Mr. Dzhyha did not attempt to lay out the investigation's conclusions based on a logical and convincing set of facts. Instead, they simply threw together certain assertions - the most emphasized being that the murder was not politically motivated, but merely a series of tragic events by criminal elements which ended with the murder of an energetic and promising Ukrainian journalist, one who just happened to be extremely critical of President Leonid Kuchma and working on a series of stories illuminating the corrupt practices of many of Ukraine's political elite.

Only a few weeks ago the Procurator General's Office had said the case was still wide open. On April 18 Minister Smirnov said the investigation had hit a dead end. Even on the day of the sudden announcement that the Gongadze murder had been solved, the prime investigator for the state militia was telling the attorney for Mr. Gongadze's mother that there were no suspects in the case as of yet. And now the case is solved.

The Procurator General's Office, which has final authority over the investigation and is supported by the two other central law enforcement bodies, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the State Security Service, has called the revelations premature and outside the competency of Internal Affairs Ministry officials.

But were the two "Keystone Kops" only playing a role when they made their dissonant announcements? Perhaps they were testing the waters to see whether they could effectively float such a determination as official. If repercussions, both domestic and international, were too strong, they could fall silent and the Procurator General's Office could rightly assert that the Ministry of Internal Affairs had acted out of bounds and out of step. If the reaction turned out to be relatively benign, voilà: case closed.

National Deputy Serhii Holovatyi, who has charged that law enforcement officials have been intimately involved in covering up the truth, also expressed doubt during a press conference on May 16 that law enforcement officials had divulged the facts as they know them. He said he believes the objective of the law enforcement officials in this case continues to be to obscure and confuse.

Mr. Holovatyi said he had predicted that the law enforcement officials would conveniently come to the conclusion they now have back in December when the case was still much fresher.

Meanwhile, Council of Europe rapporteur to Ukraine Hanne Severinsen said in Copenhagen that the announcements by the ministry officials were simply "strange."

In reality, neither of the two explanations of how Mr. Gongadze was eliminated makes much sense and leaves several unanswered questions. In Mr. Smirnov's accounting of the facts, the most obvious riddle is why the map of the location of Mr. Gongadze's grave would be so conveniently thrown in with the bodies.

And Mr. Dzhyha's account is full of ponderables, including why drug addicts in need of money to make a purchase to quench their addiction would have the time or inclination to murder someone and dispose of the body in an orderly manner.

Ukrainian law enforcement officials continue to deepen the hole that it seems they are digging for themselves in this very reckless rush to conclude the Gongadze case. There are those in Ukraine stating that this is just another example of the scorn and cynicism with which the current state leadership looks upon its citizens. Some say authorities have lost touch with the populace to the extent that they believe they can effectively explain away anything in the most primitive manner and society will passively accept it. The problem is that Ukrainian society seems to be doing just that.

We hope that the Ministry of Internal Affairs will give further details to explain its currently rather dubious conclusions on the Gongadze case and expect that the Procurator General's Office will clear the matter up when it finally comments on the current state of the case.

The Gongadze affair is still shrouded in uncertainty and confusion. Until the investigation becomes more transparent and the steps more understandable, the world will continue to view Ukraine's leadership with mistrust and that will bring no good to Ukraine. The nation, as well as the family of Mr. Gongadze, deserves honest resolution of this case so that both can move on.

CPJ questions account of murder

NEW YORK - The Committee to Protect Journalists announced on May 16 that it is "highly skeptical" of Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Smirnov's recent statement that journalist Heorhii Gongadze's death was "a purely criminal matter."

"We challenge Smirnov to release evidence in support of this claim," said the CPJ's statement.

On May 15 Internal Affairs Minister Smirnov announced that two criminals, both subsequently killed in their turn, had murdered Mr. Gongadze. Mr. Smirnov claimed that Ukrainian officials had found the bodies of the men who allegedly killed Mr. Gongadze and apprehended the killers.

"The two perpetrators have died and there were no organizers because this action was spontaneous and sudden," Mr. Smirnov said, according to the Interfax

news agency. He added that a mafia boss nicknamed Cyclops was linked to the murder. "Knowing the situation in full, I can state that the crime has been resolved and that it has no political grounds," Mr. Smirnov emphasized. "This is purely a criminal matter."

Alex Lupis, CPJ Europe and Central Asia program coordinator, said: "The Ukrainian government's explanation that Gongadze's murder was 'a purely criminal matter' is very suspicious because it conveniently absolves them of all responsibility in a case where they have been lacking in credibility and impartiality."

"We call on the authorities to make a full disclosure of their evidence so that the public can judge for themselves," he added.

For more information contact Mr. Lupis by telephone at (212) 465-1004, ext. 101, or by e-mail at alupis@cpj.org.



Five years ago on May 23, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin left Kyiv, leaving many questioning the status of Ukrainian-Russian relations. Following are excerpts from a story filed by Marta Kolomayets, then our correspondent at the Kyiv Press Bureau.

... Despite announcing that he was "highly satisfied" with the outcome of meetings with President Leonid Kuchma and Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk, Mr. Chernomyrdin departed empty-handed from Kyiv on Thursday evening, May 23. ...

Mr. Chernomyrdin's hasty one-day visit to Ukraine - announced on May 22 was described by government officials here as one designed to further discuss details pertaining to the on-again-off-again state visit of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin to Ukraine, as well as to iron out various details regarding the bilateral treaty of friendship and cooperation and a trade-economic agreement.

Interfax-Ukraine reported that among the top issues that had been scheduled to be discussed was the division of the Black Sea Fleet, the main obstacle blocking Mr. Yeltsin's visit to Ukraine. Other issues were touched upon during meetings of the two prime ministers and their delegations, including the issue of compensation for the tactical nuclear weapons withdrawn from Ukraine to Russia in 1992 and restructuring Ukraine's gas debt to its northern neighbor.

The third issue examined by a group of experts pertained to trade and economic cooperation between Ukraine and Russia; and the fourth issue was one regarding ownership of Soviet property in foreign countries, i.e. foreign missions and embassies.

Ukrainian officials expected the Chernomyrdin visit to be groundbreaking. Both President Kuchma and Prime Minister Marchuk cut short their trips around the country, rushing back to Kyiv to meet with the Russian prime minister. ...

During a CIS summit in Moscow on May 17, President Yeltsin said he would go to Kyiv only if disputed issues between the two countries are resolved.

"I will not go on a sightseeing trip to Kyiv. I have repeatedly visited Ukraine. I am not interested in sightseeing, but in a political, full-scale visit with the signing of a full-scale treaty between Russia and Ukraine, which does not exist so far," said Mr. Yeltsin in Moscow last week.

It was also in Moscow that Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and President Kuchma reached agreement on compensation for tactical nuclear weapons withdrawn from Ukraine in 1992. Russia had agreed, in principle, to pay \$450 million (U.S.) for the tactical weapons, and Ukraine's debt to Russia was to be cut by that sum.

It was expected that Mr. Chernomyrdin had come to Kyiv to sign this agreement on compensation. Although he told reporters on May 23 that it was "99.9 percent ready to be signed," he left Ukraine only with promises that the agreement will be signed "as soon as the opportunity presents itself."

There was hope that some headway could have been made in the settling of the Black Sea Fleet issue, but one Ukrainian government source told The Weekly that matters have remained the same, with Ukraine sticking to its position, which includes the leasing of bases to the Russian fleet in Sevastopol for no more than three to five years.

The Russian side has agreed to leasing, but for 10 to 25 years; and it has not specified how much it is willing to pay for the rental of the bases. ...

Source: "Russian PM leaves Kyiv empty-handed; status of bilateral relations is questioned" by Marta Kolomayets, Kyiv Press Bureau, The Ukrainian Weekly, May 26, 1996, Vol. LXIV, No. 21.

Correction

It has come to our attention that the "Turning the pages back..." feature in the May 13 issue repeated an error that appeared in the source cited for the item. In fact, it was on May 19 (not May 15 as noted in the 2000 Annual Report of the Self Reliance New York Federal Credit Union) in 1951 that this credit union was founded.

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

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

More on statements by Mikhail Deliagin

Dear Editor:

The headline of a newsbrief published in *The Weekly* (May 6) reads: "Russian says U.S. behind Ukrainian events." The Russian in question is no lesser figure than Mikhail Deliagin, the head of the Russian Institute on Globalization and a frequent voice of the Kremlin on international issues. "The United States benefits from instability in various parts of the world and appears to be behind the current problems in Ukraine," says Mr. Deliagin, according to the newsbrief based on the report in the *Rossiiskaya Gazeta* (April 28). Mr. Deliagin also underscores that Moscow must do everything in its power to prevent this from happening.

Intrigued by this news item, I read excerpts of the Deliagin interview as reported in the *Financial Times*. According to this source it appears that there is quite a bit more to the Deliagin story. As a matter of fact, Mr. Deliagin appears to be proposing a "forward to the future, while going back to the past" concept for the resurrected imperial Russia.

To quote him from the *Financial Times*: "Therefore, Russia should act as flexibly and tenaciously as possible in order to retain and ideally even reclaim its political, economic and military positions and, moreover, not only on the whole post-Soviet territory. It is not an

easy task, but it is solvable."

Here I am inclined to agree with Mr. Deliagin that for Russia, with the national budget smaller than that of K-Mart stores, the task of restoring the Russian Empire will not be easy. Well, maybe Mr. Deliagin in his grandiose, messianic view of the world will simply ignore such mundane issue as economics and budgets, and march ahead. And why not? Yesterday Belarus, today Moldova, tomorrow Ukraine and next week the whole world.

Pronouncements such as those quoted above, of course, do not go unnoticed in the West, especially in the Central European countries that were liberated from Russian occupation not so long ago.

"Ukraine is the key country in the whole new European security structure," said Victor Orban, the prime minister of Hungary in a story in *The New York Times* (April 30). He described the situation in Ukraine as uppermost on his mind as he prepared to meet President George W. Bush and Vice-President Dick Cheney. "Without the guaranteed independence of Ukraine, the whole post-Cold War security architecture of Europe is in danger. For Ukraine to maintain its independence, in all senses, especially in political and security terms, is vital for all of Europe," Mr. Orban said.

So, in spite of what Mr. Deliagin says and President Kuchma does, maybe there is hope for Ukraine after all.

Ihor Lysyj
Austin, Texas

NEWS AND VIEWS

Budgets and wedding day: What about the church?

by the Rev. Bohdan Lukie

As a pastor for over 33 years, I have had the privilege and the joy of preparing hundreds of young couples for the beautiful Sacrament of Holy Matrimony. It is exciting to personally experience the happiness of a young couple as they anticipate the wonderful day of their marriage commitment to each other.

And it is understandable that as the young people excitedly prepare for this glorious and holy day in their lives, they may become swept up and even overwhelmed by the preparation for their wedding day – so many things to do, so many details, so many unexpected "issues"...

Often I remind the young couple in love not to prepare for their wedding at the cost of their marriage. As I have often shared, I can prepare for the most beautiful ceremony in the course of an hour. However, my most major concern is their marriage, in other words, the day and years after the wedding.

A wedding is but a day, your marriage is a lifetime.

And yes, maybe I've even become a little cynical about the pressures and the demands on young couples by today's commercial society. I am convinced that the "Wedding Bells, etc." catalogues and books and definitely the bridal shows can often be very negative and even destructive to a healthy and lasting marriage.

The Rev. Bohdan Lukie CSsR describes himself as a "seasoned pastor responsible for over 400 marriages." He is pastor at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church in Newark, N.J.

The phrase that "this is the most special day of your life" and therefore, you, of course, must have the very "best," can leave couples very vulnerable.

The wedding budget they so carefully planned can suddenly "go off the wall." Couples have shared with me that they "got swept away" and suddenly discovered the cost of their wedding had doubled and even tripled in cost. They had hoped to host the wedding themselves and now they would have to borrow thousands of dollars to pay for it. Reality is a rude awakening.

The following figures, provided by some couples, approximate the average wedding costs in 2001: rehearsal dinner, \$1,500-\$2,000; gifts for attendants, \$1,500 Wedding Dress, \$400-\$1,000; tuxedo, \$150-\$300; beauty salon, \$300-\$500; flowers, \$2,000-\$3,000; photographer, \$1,500-\$3,000; video, \$1,500-\$2,500; limos, \$1,000-\$2,100; reception at (\$95-\$125 per person, minimum of 125 persons), \$11,875 - \$15,625; orchestra, \$2,000-\$4,000; favors, \$750; honeymoon, \$5,000-\$7,000.

Total cost (without tips): \$30,000 to \$45,000.

Notice that in the above figures the cost of the many sessions with the Pastor, the rehearsal time, the use of the church, the cantor or choir, the celebrant of the marriage are not even factored in.

In fact, often it is taken for granted that the church and the priest are just there to be used. No thought has been given to the upkeep of the church, the heating, the air conditioning, the cleaning, the cost of maintaining it. The maintenance of your house and property costs

(Continued on page 13)

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Ukraine and the "Red Mafiya"

It was 1985. I was returning to the U.S. on an El-Al flight from Tel Aviv. I had just experienced a spectacular tour of Israel. Seated next to me was my late friend, David Roth.

An article in *The Jerusalem Post* about a diamond smuggling ring caught my eye. I was shocked. "This is awful," I said, turning to David. "Jewish criminals!"

David looked at me with amusement. "What did you think, Myron, Jews can't be criminals?"

I thought for a moment. "No," I said. "It's not that. It's just that a Jewish mob doesn't quite fit with what I had just experienced in Israel."

In his book "Tough Jews: Fathers, Sons, and Gangster Dreams," Rich Cohen describes, with no small amount of romantic nostalgia, infamous Jewish American gangsters from the 1930s and 1940s.

The first truly famous one was Monk Eastman who was followed by Arnold Rothstein, "the Moses of the underworld," Big Maxie Greenberg, Irving (Waxy) Gordon, Abe "Kid Twist" Reles (who looked like a mama's boy but once buried a rival alive), Bugsy Siegel, Meyer Lansky, Dutch Schultz, Red Levine (the Orthodox hit man who refused to kill on the Sabbath) and Louis Lepke, who masterminded Murder Inc. and died in the electric chair.

"I don't want to glamorize what these men did," writes Mr. Cohen. "They were killers ... And yet, looking at how Jews were everywhere being treated, the abuse they took and would continue to take, I cannot help but admire some part of their story. Here were men who had no idea Jews were supposed to be weak, so they weren't."

Jewish American mobsters, however, were boy scouts compared to the Jewish Russian and Ukrainian mob which dominates an international crime syndicate known as the "Red Mafiya." As Robert Friedman points out in his book "Red Mafiya: How the Russian Mob Has Invaded America," today's Jewish crime coalition is neither red nor a mafia in the Italian sense of the word. This Jewish crime alliance is much more sophisticated, more ruthless, more cunning and more merciless than any of its predecessors. Even the real Mafia is fearful. "We Italians will kill you," a John Gotti associate remarked, but they "will kill your whole family."

The boss of the so-called "Red Mafiya" today is Semion Mogilevich, a Ukrainian-born Jew living in Budapest who holds an economics degree from the University of Lviv. Another alleged Ukrainian Jewish Mafiyoso is Vadym Rabinovich, an oligarch and a close friend of President Leonid Kuchma. Like other oligarchs, he works closely with the former KGB and the Communist Party of Ukraine. According to *The Washington Times*, Mr. Rabinovich also had close ties to the Clinton administration.

Unlike other Jews who helped establish the Soviet Union – Trotsky, Kamenev, Sverdlov, Zinoviev and Kaganovich come to mind – none of the new gangsters were loyal to the USSR; few served in the armed forces during World War II. Most spent time in the gulag for thievery, murder and extortion.

Others were right at home in the USSR where corruption was the business of the state. According to David Remnick, author of "Lenin's Tomb," "It was as if the entire Soviet Union were ruled by a gigantic mob family ..." Compared to the loathsome apparatchiks, criminals were held in high regard by many Soviets. Criminals had beaten the system.

America's gates were opened to Jewish mobsters by the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which withheld most-favored-nation status from Marxist countries that restricted Jewish emigration. According to Mr. Friedman, the Soviets were happy to oblige during the 1970s by "emptying their jails of thousands of hard-core criminals, dumping vast numbers of undesirables" on an unsuspecting United States. More than 40,000 Soviet Jews settled in Brighton Beach which soon became the seat of the "Organisatsiya," the new Jewish mob. Initially assisted by the Genovese crime family and the politically astute and well-connected Jewish rabbi Ronald Greenwald, the Jewish mobsters, some of whom have Ph.D.s in mathematics, physics and engineering, as well as MBAs, quickly expanded their operations to include bank fraud, money laundering, Medicare and insurance fraud, counterfeiting, drug dealing, natural gas bootlegging – scams which netted billions of dollars. The mob has even infiltrated the National Hockey League through its intimidation of Russian and Ukrainian players.

Today the old Jewish criminals of the past have been replaced by mobsters such as Efim Laskin, the Goldberg Gang, the Zilber Brothers, Monya Elson, Evsei Agron, Marat Balagula, the Nayfeld brothers, Emile Puzyretski, Yurkin Brokhin and Leo Liebowitz.

Given the extent of Jewish criminal activity, why haven't the authorities stepped in? Since most Jewish refugees were being resettled by Jewish welfare agencies, investigations of Jewish mobsters "came under considerable criticism from the Jewish establishment, which complained that the adverse publicity generated in the hunt for Russian Jewish criminals would foster anti-Semitism and jeopardize the continued emigration of Russian Jews to Israel and the West," writes Mr. Friedman. When the FBI attempted to step in, "Jewish organizations continued to lobby the Justice Department to downsize the threat posed by the Russian mob."

The Russian Jewish press also provided protection. Valery Weinberg's *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* "is unique among the dozens of Russian publications in the United States for its routine glorification of the Russian mob and its vilification of U.S. law enforcement," writes Mr. Friedman. In March 1999, Mr. Weinberg received an "outstanding leadership" award for his work on behalf of Soviet Jewry from United Jewish Appeal.

As Ukraine's woes continue to multiply, it is increasingly apparent that the same mob family of thieving thugs that controlled Ukraine during Soviet times is back in business. Is there anyone out there who still believes that Leonid Kuchma is good for Ukraine?

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

TV news journalist offers glimpse of life in Lviv region

by Andrew Nynka

NEW YORK – Adrianna Skoryk, moderator of the Lviv-based TV news program “Chas Reform” (Time for Reform) gave an insightful look at the social, ecological and economic hardships Lviv’s citizens have faced since Ukraine gained independence in 1991.

Born and raised in Lviv, Mrs. Skoryk graduated from Lviv National University in 1987 with a degree in journalism and literature. She is married to renowned composer Myroslav Skoryk.

Mrs. Skoryk began her career in journalism by working at an in-house newspaper for the state-owned women’s clothing manufacturer Mayak. She explains: “This was a publication by Mayak, for Mayak.” Mrs. Skoryk commented that, because of the limitations on topics in a state-owned newspaper, she was not satisfied with her work.

Following the birth of her son in 1990, Mrs. Skoryk was introduced to the TV industry, where she began to work with various economic issues affecting Ukraine.

Commenting on the difference between the in-house newspaper and the TV program “Chas Reform,” Mrs. Skoryk explained: “When I came to work in the TV industry my vision needed to be expanded. I needed to know as much as I could about all of the things going on around me.” Mrs. Skoryk added, “I began to find my niche, my voice” working in the TV industry.

Mrs. Skoryk began anchoring the Channel 12 TV news program in 1994. She described the program, which airs in Lviv every Friday afternoon, as “analytical-it strives to look at not just the economics and social issues of the area but to help educate the viewers on the issues that directly affect them.”

Viewers are able to call in to the program, which features a panel of guest experts from various industries, including the energy, water, and business sectors, in order to ask the panelists questions regarding local issues.

“This is a program intended not just to inform but to offer suggestions and teach people to take information relevant to them and apply it in a productive manner,” Ms. Skoryk underlined.

She elaborated: “Our goal is to provide the people of this region with an understanding that change will happen, but it will take time.” She continued, “the difference between another station, like UT-1 (a national station controlled by the state) and our program is that other stations don’t always understand that Ukraine has been independent for only 10 years.” None the less, Mrs. Skoryk stressed that now is the time for change, saying that Ukraine “has the resources and great potential, but must continue on the path of reform.”

Commenting on the state of Lviv’s society, Mrs. Skoryk seemed to echo Western concerns about child-rearing, saying “I’m

very worried that our current situation is decreasing the ability of our people to care for their children.” Mrs. Skoryk added, “It deeply worries me that, as both parents begin working, they are leaving their children to be raised by TV, music or friends.” She also noted that, although the influence of friends can be positive, “families are losing touch with their children and I hope that people can get through these challenges in order to raise strong families.”

Continuing on the topic of Lviv’s children, Mrs. Skoryk said: “I recently had the chance to look into the economic state of Lviv’s orphanages, and each time I feel terribly saddened. The buildings are falling into disrepair and need lots of work.”

“I can’t help crying every time I enter an orphanage. These children are the future of our country and we need to do a better job caring for them,” she stated.

Commenting on Lviv’s economy, Mrs. Skoryk said she recognizes that “the world is requiring better quality in manufactured products,” and she highlighted several bus and truck manufacturing plants that she believes are up to world standards. She also pointed to world-class mineral springs in Ukraine, specifically in the town of Truskavets.

But Mrs. Skoryk also said she recognizes that a good portion of Lviv Oblast is behind world standards and noted that, “unless we develop our manufacturing plants, we will not be able to compete



Andrew Nynka

Adrianna Skoryk

with international products.”

Citing tourism as a new form of increasing revenue, Mrs. Skoryk said “Money in Lviv lays beneath your feet. The Lviv Oblast’s possibilities to expand tourism are great and will continually develop.” She sounded an optimistic note, observing: “I believe we still have many untapped

(Continued on page 13)

The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: April 2001

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Self Reliance New York: service and a social venue for 50 years

by Deanna Yurchuk

NEW YORK – Have you ever noticed how clients seem to linger while making transactions at Self Reliance New York Federal Credit Union? It's not because the service is slow (on the contrary, there are usually about six tellers at the windows). It's not because of long lines (those go rather quickly). It's because Self-Reliance is not only a credit union, but a social venue as well.

When you walk into the credit union, you will most probably bump into at least a few people you know, or who know your parents, or know your kids, or remember you when you were so young that you yourself can't remember. Or, while waiting on line, you start talking to a perfect stranger, and by the time your turn comes, you start waving to the people behind you to go in front, because you want to finish this conversation with your new friend. Or, you wander in, and then linger, carefully analyzing the paintings on the wall as you listen in on conversations of others in line.

It will be 50 years on May 19 since the original 48 members of the *Tovarystvo Samopomich* (Self Reliance Association) founded the first credit union in the United States that established the credit union as an essential part of the Ukrainian community. Five decades later, Self Reliance New York still serves its members, ranks high among national credit unions and has a steadily increasing membership, which currently stands at 12,430.

Much has changed at Self-Reliance through the years. The location of the credit union has changed three times, membership has grown about 250 times its original size, and modern technology has made banking much more convenient. However, the dedication to serve the Ukrainian community and to support Ukrainian causes has remained the same since 1951.

Perhaps what makes Self Reliance so unique is the wide variety of individuals within the community it serves. It doesn't matter which parish, youth group or educational institution one belongs to, the need to borrow and save money is universal.

Consequently, over the years, Self Reliance New York has generously given back to the community, donating money to various academic, scientific, cultural and youth organizations, as well as publications such as *The Ukrainian Weekly* and *SVOBODA*. In all, Self Reliance has contributed over \$4.2 million for educational and community activities and public outreach.

In 1951 the office of the credit union –



Dr. Bohdan Kekish



A photo from 1960 shows Self Reliance activists in front of the credit union's offices on Second Avenue.

which was originally located on Seventh Street in New York City – was only open once a week (on Thursdays 6-8). By the end of 1951, the membership savings grew from the initial \$314.25 deposited by 37 members – the basis upon which the credit union was founded – to \$1800. By 1958 grew to \$1 million, and currently Self Reliance holds \$264.5 million in membership savings.

Although in the beginning people were mostly attracted to Self-Reliance because it was a Ukrainian institution, today Ukrainians are drawn to it also because of its great rankings vis-a-vis other national credit unions. For example, according to the *Financial Handbook of Credit Unions*, in the year 2000 Self Reliance New York was fourth out of 11,000 credit unions in the capital-to-assets ratio and fifth in the average share balance.

The employees of Self Reliance realize that the credit union owes its success to the pioneers and dedicated leaders who have worked and continue to work for the welfare of the institution. These leaders are honored daily, as visitors pass by a wall filled with the portraits of the prominent people in Self Reliance history. One such face is that of Bohdan Kekish, the current president and CEO of Self Reliance.

According to Dr. Kekish, when the founding fathers began this credit union they had two purposes in mind. The first was to create a forum in which individuals and the community could help each other, and the other was to revive the Ukrainian credit union movement that was liquidated in Ukraine in 1944 by the Soviet regime. "Today our mission is to serve our clients and to foster communication within the community," Dr. Kekish added.

Dr. Kekish believes that the key to this successful credit union has been its viability. When asked about future plans of the credit union, he explained, "The largest responsibility of Self Reliance today is to continue to adapt to the needs of the people. Fifty years ago we did not have a clear vision for the future, because there

were so many unknown factors. Today we have created a dynamic model with a long-range vision."

Trends within the Ukrainian American community seem to be recurring. Just like 50 years ago, when the first immigrants started saving their money and placing it in accounts at Self Reliance, today the newest immigrants, who comprise approximately 10 percent of the credit union's membership, are also entrusting the credit union with their hard-earned money. And they, too, take advantage of this social/financial institution, where they receive sound financial advice, take comfort in the familiar faces and network for jobs among

members.

With membership increasing each year, Dr. Kekish is hopeful about the future. "Financial service is here to stay, and we have found our niche: we are ethnically based and offer competitive service to the community," he said.

In the future, Dr. Kekish revealed, Self Reliance plans to adopt the latest technology which will enable members to bank from home. Although more convenient and much faster, there is no doubt that many will still stop by the bank in order to enjoy the Ukrainian atmosphere and the social aspect of the Self Reliance experience.

UCC officers announce deadline for Shevchenko Medal nominations

WINNIPEG – UCC President Eugene Czolij and chair of the National Organizing Committee of the 20th Congress of Ukrainian Canadians, Sophia Kachor, announced that the deadline for receiving nominations for the Shevchenko Medal is June 30.

"Shevchenko Medals are awarded to individuals of Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian descent, as well as to organizations, for their outstanding national contribution towards the development of Ukrainian life in Canada," said Mr. Czolij. "This award by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress recognizes the important role leadership and commitment play in maintaining a viable community," he added.

The Shevchenko Medals will be awarded in four categories: community development, culture and the arts, education and sport. Up to three medals will be awarded in each category. Nomination forms and criteria for the medal can be obtained from the National Office of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (456 Main St., Winnipeg, MB R2B 1B6). Nomination forms can also be downloaded from the

UCC website at www.ucc.ca.

The Shevchenko medals will be presented during the 20th Triennial Congress of Ukrainian Canadians to be held in Winnipeg on October 5-8.

The Ukrainian Canadian Youth Leadership Awards also will be presented during congress.

"The Ukrainian Canadian Youth Leadership Awards are presented to any young adult of Ukrainian descent, between the ages of 18 and 29, who has made a significant contribution to the broader Ukrainian community and for the betterment of Canada," explained Mr. Czolij. "Leadership can be expressed as excellence in communication, initiative, teamwork and consensus-building, as well as establishing a positive profile for the Ukrainian Canadian community," he added.

Any two individuals or any organization can nominate someone for the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Leadership Award. Nomination forms and criteria for the award can be obtained from the UCC's National Office or the UCC website. Deadline for nominations: June 30.

BOOK REVIEW

Children's author releases new book on Great Famine of 1932-1933

"Enough," by Marsha Forchuk Skrypuch, illustrated by Michael Martchenko. Canada: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, ISBN 1550415093, cloth, 32 pages, \$19.95 (Canadian); *"Dosyt,"* Edmonton: Ukrainian Language Education Center, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. ISBN 1895380294, \$19.95 [Both editions published in Canada in December 2000; the English edition was released in the United States in March 2001.]

by Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk

I do not normally read, or even glance, at what's to be found in the children's book section of any bookstore that I patronize. Probably most of you don't either. Why bother? There's far too much in the other areas that I linger over – politics, history, geography, travel – to capture my eye and imagination for me to spend any time thinking about what kids might be reading. And I say that even if I am the proud father of a 10-year-old, a little girl who certainly loves to read, and for whom I love to buy books that she or others tell me she would like.

I should know better, of course, for, especially in recent years, books have started appearing in English and Ukrainian that have a lot to offer not only my daughter but anyone in North America of Ukrainian heritage. And the credit for that has everything to do with the remarkable creativity and productivity, of Canadian Ukrainian author Marsha Forchuk Skrypuch. Just a few years ago she crafted "Silver Threads," a wonderful tale about pioneer settlers in western Canada and their struggle to overcome not only the hardships of homesteading but the injustice of the internment operations of the first world war, when Ukrainians and other Europeans were needlessly imprisoned as "enemy aliens." My daughter and, in fact, her grandmother both loved that story. So did I.

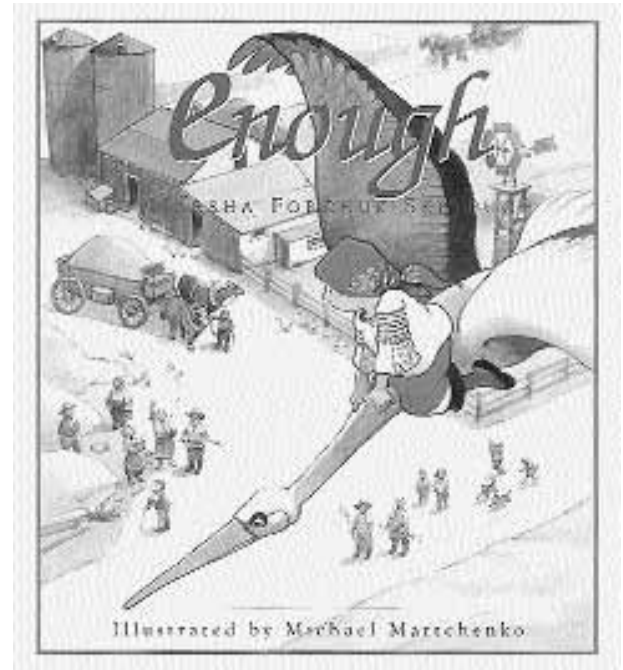
Now, Ms. Skrypuch has come out with an even more compelling story, at least in my humble opinion (although I admit to already having had debates over this very point

Prof. Lubomyr Luciuk teaches at The Royal Military College of Canada and is author of the recently published book, "Searching For Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory" (University of Toronto Press, 2000), which has just been reprinted.

with supporters of "Silver Threads"). Her most recent book, available in English and in Ukrainian, is simply titled "Enough." It describes how a young girl, a heroine, rescues her village from starvation and the predations of the great Dictator who has tried to extort all of their food. The child's faith and goodness triumph in the face of Evil. While this may not be historically accurate, for few villages in Soviet Ukraine were spared the genocidal fury of Stalinism during the politically engineered Great Famine of 1932-1933, what better way to introduce our children and grandchildren, and those of our neighbors, to the unparalleled catastrophe that befell Ukrainians in the 20th century than by means of this subtle yet evocative folk tale?

That it is available in both English and Ukrainian, allowing for anyone in our community, from recent arrival to fourth-generation Ukrainian Canadian or Ukrainian American, to read and learn and remember, is all the more exciting. Few will walk away from reading this story, or from pondering the book's marvelous illustrations by Michael Martchenko, without a shudder or a sigh. This book makes it very easy for anyone to appreciate why Ukrainians in the emigration, or in Ukraine, must never forget what befell them or their ancestors, and who was responsible.

I have been fortunate in my life to have met many Ukrainians who fought for Ukraine's independence, who struggled to survive under Nazi and Soviet tyranny, who endured this terrible man-made famine, who never gave up hope even when all around them everything they believed in looked to be lost. I have, in my own scholarly works and writings, tried to capture and pass along some of the insights and memories that I have heard for posterity. While what small body of work that I have completed is considered important by some, I publicly bow my head to Ms. Skrypuch for reminding me, and I hope all of us, that the future lies with our children and grandchildren and those of



today's Ukraine. They are the ones who must not only inherit the memories of what Ukraine's freedom cost but remember those truths and pass them along to their own children. I can think of no better way of reaching them now than through the children's books that Ms. Skrypuch has laid before us.

"Enough" is a book that needs to be bought and read to our children by every Ukrainian parent, then read again out loud by every grandparent, and not only in North America but throughout our diaspora and, perhaps even more importantly, in Ukraine. If you can I urge you to buy not just one copy of this book, but two. Send the second copy to a family, friends or a library in Ukraine. I did that just this week, for in Ukraine they are even more in need of remembering what once happened and of reading a story that will shore up their will to act today to ensure that such tragedies never befall them again.

Shevchenko Scientific Society hosts program honoring Taras Hunczak

by Dr. Orest Popovych

NEW YORK – Russian imperialism and the Halychyna Division are topics bound to attract a crowd wherever Ukrainians gather, and on April 21 the home of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York City was no exception.

There the society hosted a program honoring Dr. Taras Hunczak, a professor of history and political science at Rutgers University, for his latest major scholarly works "Russian Imperialism from Ivan the Great to the Revolution" and "On the Horns of a Dilemma" – the story of the Ukrainian Halychyna Division. The first is a collection of original essays by nine authors in a volume edited and co-authored by Dr. Hunczak; the second is his monograph. Both were published in 2000 by the University Press of America Inc.

The presentation was organized and emceed by Dr. Anna Procyk, a vice-president of the Shevchenko Society, who introduced the first speaker, Prof. Wolodymyr Stojko, a historian. Dr. Stojko applauded the author for his monumental and timely effort to elucidate the history of Russian imperialism for the Western audience. This subject matter is particularly relevant today, when Russia has ceased to be an empire while remaining ambivalent about abandoning its imperial ways.

Dr. Hunczak managed to enlist the collaboration of eight outstanding historians from the United States and Europe, who provided separate articles on the history of the relations between Russia and Ukraine, Poland, the Baltic states, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Far East.

Dr. Hunczak's own article in the volume deals with "Pan-Slavism or Pan-Russianism." An introduction to the volume was written by the world-renowned historian Hans Kohn.

In great detail, Dr. Stojko outlined the structure of Dr. Hunczak's book on the Halychyna Division: the division's formation and command structure, the battle of Brody, the rebuilding of the division, the battles against Communist partisans in Slovakia and Yugoslavia, the division's transformation into the 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army, its surrender to the British, life in the prisoner-of-war camps and, finally, its com-

plete exoneration by the British of any wrongdoing during the war.

While praising Dr. Hunczak's book as the best on the Halychyna Division, Dr. Stojko said he would have preferred to see the story placed in a more expanded historical and political context. He then elaborated on the political situation and the controversial views surrounding the formation of the division.

When the author took to the podium, he highlighted the topics with some revealing and memorable numbers. It turns out that from 1462 and through the next 400 years, the state of Muscovy (renamed "Russia" in the 18th century) was expanding at a rate of 50 square miles a day. His volume on Russian imperialism was well received, as attested by 31 favorable reviews.

Dr. Hunczak's interest in the Ukrainian Division was sparked by controversial and often ill-informed references

to it that have persisted to this day in the United States, Canada and Great Britain.

He said he had decided to undertake this study "not to prove anything," but to tell the true story of the division based on documentary evidence. The dilemma in which Ukrainians found themselves during World War II stemmed from the geopolitical fact that Ukraine was being crushed from two directions by two monsters: the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. Nothing reveals the tragedy more convincingly than the horrendous losses in Ukraine's population in the 20th century – in World War II alone Ukraine lost an estimated 14.5 million people. Dr. Hunczak has calculated that in the absence of the two world wars and the genocides that devastated Ukraine in the last century, there would be 84.6 million Ukrainians living today.

Prof. Hunczak is the chairman of the history section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.



Prof. Anna Procyk introduces Prof. Taras Hunczak; seated is Prof. Wolodymyr Stojko.

NEWS ANALYSIS: Plast and its struggle for recognition by world scouting movement

by Oksana Zakydalsky

KYIV – When the scouting organization Plast was reborn in Ukraine in 1990, it was assumed that, for the first time in history, Ukraine would become part of the worldwide scouting movement, a member of the World Organization of Scouting Movements (WOSM).

Plast grew in terms of members (today it has a membership of 10,000); embraced every region in Ukraine (by 1999, when the last oblast, Sumy, reported a Plast group, there were Plast groups in every one of the 25 oblasts and Crimea); registered as a national organization and in 2000 received the coveted “national” designation; sent large groups to two world scout jamborees (1995 and 1999-2000); developed a leadership training program that has been acknowledged to be among the best in Ukraine (according to the Canadian Bureau of International Education which has used Plast in several of its CIDA funded civil society programs funded by the Canadian International Development Agency). And yet, the prize of membership in the WOSM has remained out of reach.

The biggest blow in that respect came in October 1999 when the WOSM Committee sent a letter to Plast saying that it was favoring another organization, Scouts of Ukraine (SU), as the potential WOSM member for the country.

At the time, Scouts of Ukraine was not even a legally registered national organization but a loose confederation of several scouting organizations – the largest being Sich and the Association of Scouts of Ukraine (ASU). Sich subsequently left the SU and to this day SU has not been legally registered.

Since its establishment in 1998, the SU has been advised by Oleksander Bondar, director of the Eurasia Region of the World Scout Bureau, and Jean Cassaigneau, former director of relationships and special events for the bureau and, since the beginning of 2000, director of world events.

[Note: In order to be a legal national organization and have its own bank account, every organization in Ukraine has to register with the Ministry of Justice, provide a copy of its constitution, report procedures followed at its founding meeting and show that it has branches in at least 14 regions.]

On April 20-21 of this year, the Scouts of Ukraine held a meeting in Puscha Vodytsia, a few miles outside Kyiv, the genesis and procedures of which so infuriated some of the participants and people involved in scouting in Ukraine that they wanted to make the facts public, since one of the possible consequences of this meeting might be a decision by the WOSM about who will represent Ukraine in the international scouting movement.

I met with Nadia Melnychuk, president of Scouts of Dnipropetrovsk, or Skif (a regional scouting organization); Denys Masmaj, who heads the SU branch in Kerch and is a member of the SU national council; and Volodymyr Dovbyshchenko, former head of SU.

Ms. Melnychuk confirmed that both Oleksander Bondar and Jean Cassaigneau of the World Scout Bureau were in Puscha Vodytsia, although they did not attend the meeting itself.

I asked Nadia to relate how she came to be in Puscha Vodytsia. She explained:

“We received an invitation from Scouts of Ukraine to their meeting to be held in Kyiv on April 20-21. Although we are not members of the SU, we are in contact with Mr. Oleksander Bondar, who has been promoting SU as the group around which scouting in Ukraine should be organized. We received the invitation by e-mail; it

included the date of the meeting and said that all costs would be covered by the organizers. The invitation was signed by Oleksander Kuzmenko, the national secretary of SU. To find out about the meeting program, I called the telephone numbers provided but was told that the program was not yet ready and would be given out at registration. Our organization chose me and Uliana Ryzhko to go to the meeting,” she said.

“When we arrived at Puscha Vodytsia we were told that our work would begin not at a SU meeting but at a conference dealing with the human rights of children. We would work on a resolution that was to be presented at a Special Session on Children of the U.N. General Assembly [planned for September 19-21]. This conference was part of a worldwide UNICEF project in preparation for that session. Booklets with the resolution (about 10 pages of tiny print in Russian) were distributed and we were told to analyze the text and provide some input. I asked why we had not been provided with copies of the resolution beforehand, but received no answer. We were then gathered together in a large room and told to sign up for one of four groups, Youth and Health, Youth and Education, Youth and Initiative and Youth and Family, and to go and work on the resolution document,” she related.

I asked Mr. Masmaj how he had come to be at the meeting. He said that he was a member of the SU national council and received notification by e-mail to take part in a meeting of the national council to discuss SU’s registration. He had no idea there would be a UNICEF-sponsored conference.

Ms. Melnychuk said that, when they broke up into groups, there were about 50 people at the conference and that they had come in response to various invitations and notifications. Some had invitations to the UNICEF conference – these were mostly people who had come under the auspices of the Centers of Youth Social Services, government centers that exist throughout Ukraine and fall under the ministry responsible for youth. The youth centers had received telegrams from the Kyiv Center of Youth Social Services, whose director is SU National Secretary Kuzmenko. They were asked to send people who would be able to take part in a meeting of Scouts of Ukraine.

Mr. Kuzmenko also heads an organization called SPOK (Spilka Pionerskykh Orhanizatsii Kyeva which lately has been calling itself Spilka Dytiachykh Orhanizatsii Kyeva). SPOK is a volunteer (hromadska) organization and a member of SU. Other organizations – Skifs from Dnipropetrovsk, and groups which belong to another scouting organization, the Association of Scouts of Ukraine (ASU) from Luhansk, Sumy, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhia received invitations to a meeting of SU and did not know about the conference.

The UNICEF conference lasted from 4 p.m. through the evening; comments on the UNICEF resolution were discussed and gathered from the four groups and representatives from the groups wrote up a revised version of the resolution. The following day this version was read out to all the participants of the conference, who were then asked to vote on it. But it was read out that the resolution was being submitted by the SU organization. Ms. Melnychuk said that she stood up and corrected this point, saying that the resolution was being submitted not only by the SU but also by representatives of the youth centers and scouting organizations that were not members of SU. A correction to the final version of the resolution was promised and this was recorded in the minutes of the conference. The UNICEF

conference ended at 10:30 a.m. and at 11 a.m. the SU meeting was due to start.

However, Ms. Melnychuk said, the SU had already been discussed the previous evening. One representative from each region had been invited to the organizers’ room for an informal gathering. On seeing them, Volodymyr Vovk, a government official from the Cabinet of Ministers, expressed pleasure that 22 regions were represented whereas, he said, only 14 were needed to register a national organization.

Ms. Melnychuk continued: “At this point I asked for an explanation of where we were – we had been invited to a meeting of SU, arrived at a UNICEF conference and were now being informed that we were at a founding meeting of a new organization. No explanation was provided. Instead, we were told that those who did not want to take part could leave. One boy left and the atmosphere in the room became very strained. The organizers tried to explain the importance of setting up a single scouting organization in Ukraine so that it could lobby scouting interests with the authorities. They maintained that scouting was entitled to government funding and referred to the fact that there were important people associat-

ing at the request of Oleksander Bondar and added: ‘try and guess why.’ I didn’t want to play their games and asked why they had insisted, in front of everyone, that I had never been issued an invitation. They laughed that off and repeated that I was there only because Oleksander Bondar had wanted me to be there. Then they tried to find out the Skif position with respect to SU. I answered that I had no position as I didn’t even know what the SU was supposed to be,” Ms. Melnychuk said.

She continued: “I said that we were very interested in the creation of a single scouting organization in Ukraine and were ready to work with such an organization – if it was set up for the sake of children and young people whose interests this organization would serve. They answered that, first of all, it was important to have an organization which would lobby scouting interests. I replied that I did not consider that a priority and pointed out that they wanted to set up a united scouting organization and apply for WOSM membership and yet had not included Plast, which had thousands of members in Ukraine and was an organization of genuine scouts. I asked, ‘how

Plast grew in terms of members; embraced every region in Ukraine; registered as a national organization and in 2000 received the coveted “national” designation; sent large groups to two world scout jamborees; developed a leadership training program that has been acknowledged to be among the best in Ukraine. And yet, the prize of membership in the World Organization of Scouting Movements has remained out of reach.

ed with Scouts of Ukraine such as Volodymyr Vovk and Rostyslav Kandeyev – a Kyiv municipal deputy. Volodymyr Vovk added – and I particularly remember his words: ‘I am a government employee and am not allowed to join any commercial structures in order to make money but, on the other hand, a volunteer (hromadska) organization...’ He did not finish the sentence.”

Ms. Melnychuk related that at the evening gathering a girl from Ternopil, who was a member of Plast, said that when the local youth center had asked her to go as a representative, they told her not to mention the fact that she belonged to Plast. The Ternopil Youth Center had received instructions from Kyiv that no Plast members were to be sent to the meeting in Kyiv, Ms. Melnychuk added.

“When I continued to press for an answer as to what kind of meeting this was turning out to be, Oleksander Kuzmenko told me I could not have received an invitation to an SU meeting; I could only have been invited to the UNICEF conference. I said a copy of the e-mail could be faxed to Kyiv the next day,” she related. “But he continued to insist that I could not have been invited to an SU meeting and added that the SU meeting that would begin the next day would be open only to those who supported the idea of SU or were already members. No guests would be allowed.”

“Then Oleksander Kuzmenko asked me to step out ‘for a smoke.’ The two of us were joined by Serhiy Kapustin, an employee of the Kyiv Youth Center, and Mykola (assistant director of the Kyiv Youth Center - I can’t remember the surname) in another room. Kuzmenko told me that I had been invited to the SU meet-

could you honestly claim to be working for scouting interests when you made sure that Plast wasn’t even here.’”

The next day, when registration for the SU meeting began – the Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia and Donetsk ASU groups didn’t even show up. But Ms. Melnychuk, Plast members from Kirovohrad and Rivne oblasts, tried to find out how they could gain entrance to the meeting to which they had been invited. When Nadia asked to be registered as a guest, she was refused and again told she did not receive any invitation to the meeting (in spite of the fact that the previous evening Mr. Kuzmenko had admitted that such an invitation had been sent at the request of Mr. Bondar). She was also told that the decision not to admit guests had been made by the national council, a fact that Mr. Masmaj denied, then and there. Ms. Melnychuk then made a request to have the participants of the meeting vote on whether to admit guests.

Asked how many people were at the meeting, Ms. Melnychuk answered: “As six oblasts had refused to accept the conditions set out to be admitted, 16 regions were left. This meant 32 people plus eight from the national council, which would make it about 40 people total ... Those refused entry waited at the guarded door. There was no answer from the meeting, so I proposed that we put our request in writing and hand it over to the meeting. As we began to write up the statement, we were told that the meeting was over. It had lasted about one hour – one and a half maximum.”

It became obvious that the whole meeting had been scripted. Mr. Kuzmenko

(Continued on page 19)

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Irene Zabytko receives fellowship for new book

MIDLAND, Mich. – Northwood University here recently announced the four new recipients of the Alden B. Dow Creativity Center Fellowships for this year, among them was Irene Zabytko, author of "The Sky Unwashed."

Ms. Zabytko is a Ukrainian American born and raised in Chicago who has spent much time abroad in Ukraine teaching English and visiting friends who live near Chernobyl. Her Ukrainian background is reflected in most of her work.

In addition to the successful "The Sky Unwashed." Ms. Zabytko is working on a few other books. Her next one is a collection of short stories based on her ethnic Chicago neighborhood (tentatively titled "Displaced Persons") and is ready for publication.

As a Creativity Fellow, Ms. Zabytko will be working on a project to write an updated version of Chaucer's "The

Canterbury Tales" set in post-soviet Ukraine. The book is tentatively called "The Days of Miracle and Wonder" and the stories will portray Americans and post-Soviets who try to understand each other's different lives and histories.

The Alden B. Dow Creativity Center Fellowship Program, named for the late Michigan architect laureate, was established in 1979 and is designed to spread Dow's philosophy of encouraging people to think creatively. Each year fellowships are offered to individuals in varied fields who wish to pursue a creative or innovative idea. The award includes round-trip transportation to the university, room and board for the summer and a stipend.

The fellows' projects will be presented at the end of the summer, on August 16 at the Griswold Communications Center on Northwood's campus in Midland and will be open to the public.

Budgets and wedding...

(Continued from page 7)

much; the daily upkeep of a church costs considerably much more.

Yes, it does bother me that often the limosine in front of the church, or the flowers in church – the props – have taken on more value, judging by the cost, than the church and the whole wedding ceremony. Without the priest, without the church there is no wedding. Don't families or couples take for granted the most important aspect of the day? Sadly, I think so!

Many times at the last minute the priest is asked how much the church costs. Once upon a time I gave a figure. Am I being unreasonable when I now suggest a donation (the only item that is tax-deductible) for the support of the church to equal 5 percent of the cost of the wedding? A \$1,000 wedding means a donation of \$50; a \$10,000 wedding would merit \$500, a \$20,000 wed-

ding means \$1,000 and so forth... Notice that this is still less than the cost of the white limo, or the videographer, or...

Please don't take the church for granted!! Again, I repeat, without the church, there is no Christian wedding. Nothing else on wedding day, be it flowers, limos, outfits, the cocktail hour, the wedding banquet, etc. will ensure that the marriage will be happier, and lasting and blessed. The church and the priest, on the other hand, provide the blessing of God and continue to intercede before God for the young couple.

Thank you for reflecting upon these thoughts. Please consider all of the above in your plans for the greatest commitment of your life or your children's lives.

P.S. How sad that it now appears that people only value things that cost. The church is the cheapest thing at the wedding. How is it valued or is it at all? Is this meant to be provocative? Is this meant to make you question and think? Hopefully, the answer is: "Yes"!

TV news journalist...

(Continued from page 8)

resources" for Lviv's future economic growth.

But with economic growth come various ecological problems. Mrs. Skoryk attributes these problems to "a plundering of forests, which have caused deforestation and erosion, poor mining procedures that have led to the destruction of houses by way of sinkholes, as well as mining catastrophes such as the recent explosion in Krasnodon."

Many of these ecological problems, Mrs. Skoryk said, "seem to be a result of the government, lack of concern for the consequences of its actions." Mrs. Skoryk also noted that "the Lviv Oblast does not have the financial ability to care for the victims of ecological disasters. Caring for these victims can only happen through national government funding."

Mrs. Skoryk also elaborated on Lviv's current water shortage due to the city's inadequate, old pipes, as well as the government's financial inability to fix these problems. Mrs. Skoryk commented that: "We're coming up with creative solutions, but these will not last. We need to fix the problem. Currently the government cannot come up with a viable solution."

She also cited her own personal solution: "I've created a catch for rainwater on the top of my building which I funnel down to my apartment."

When asked about the people's morale, the current situation and hopes for the future, Mrs. Skoryk offered: "Immediately following independence the people were

filled with hope and joy for the future. It was such a new time with great potential. Many people wanted the wealth and well-being now." But Mrs. Skoryk is careful to note that the people of the Lviv Oblast are "some of the most patient people in the world" and although their wealth has not come over the past 10 years they still are filled with optimism and hope for the future. Mrs. Skoryk added, "the people are caring for their possessions – they're caring for their houses, yards and gardens – they have not given up hope."

Mrs. Skoryk believes much of the people's optimism lies in the potential of Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko. "This is an individual who can bring great things to our country by means of a rational and thought-through approach," something she said is severely lacking in a country that is "dominated by chaos not rationality." Although recent developments have resulted in the ouster of Prime Minister Yushchenko and his government, "the people still have faith in Mr. Yushchenko and look forward to his return to government," Mrs. Skoryk added.

Mrs. Skoryk's outlook for the future is optimistic. She has the confidence to say that, although there has been little noticeable change since independence, she believes the people of Lviv Oblast are patient and certain that better times are ahead of them. "These are people who have great ability and have continually shown they can overcome hardship." Embodying Ukraine's sense of optimism in the face of adversity, Mrs. Skoryk ended by saying: "We have our country, our bread and a touch of butter. Everything will be good."



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Two Ukrainian basses, Szkafarowsky and Kulish, perform in Montreal

by Olga Rudyk

MONTREAL – Two Ukrainian bass opera singers have major roles in Giuseppe Verdi's famed opera "Aida" at Salle Wilfred-Pelletier Place des Arts in Montreal. Stefan Szkafarowsky, a native of New York, is performing the major part of Ramfis, High Priest and Taras Kulish, native of Montreal, will sing the part of the King of Egypt. Filled with pageantry, ballet and dramatic situations, "Aida" was Verdi's most ambitious work.



Stefan Szkafarowsky



Taras Kulish

The action takes place in Memphis and Thebes during the reign of the Pharaohs.

Mr. Szkafarowsky is no stranger to Canadian opera audiences. Past performances have included such prominent roles as the Grand Inquisitor in "Don Carlos," Ferrando in "Il Trovatore," and Prince Gremin in "Eugene Onegin" with L'Opera de Montreal, Daland in "The Flying Dutchman" at the Vancouver Opera, Beethoven 9th with the Vancouver Symphony and at the Festival Lanaudiere in Montreal as Pimen in "Boris Godunov." As an international artist, Mr. Szkafarowsky has traveled extensively throughout the United States, Caribbean, South America and the Far East.

Upon return from Montreal, Mr. Szkafarowsky is contracted to sing the role of Crespel in "Tales of Hoffmann" with the Washington Opera during the fall season of 2001 and in February and March of 2002 at The Metropolitan Opera House, New York City in the production of "War and Peace" by Sergey Prokofiev.

Mr. Kulish is quickly making a name for himself having already sung in all the major opera houses of Canada. He completed his musical studies at McGill University and the University of Toronto. In the United States, Mr. Kulish has sung at many American summer festivals such as Ravinia's Steans Institute, the Aspen Music Festival and the Tanglewood Music Center. He has performed such roles as Leporello in "Don Giovanni," Nick Bottom in "A Midsummer Night's Dream," Figaro in "Le Nozze di Figaro" and Ferrando in "Il Trovatore."

In addition, Mr. Kulish has been busy performing with symphonies in Edmonton, Calgary, Montreal, Vancouver, Victoria and Minneapolis. Upcoming engagements include the title role in "Le Nozze di Figaro" with Vancouver Opera, Colline in "La Bohème" with Opera Saskatchewan and the Lyra Ottawa.

Messrs. Szkafarowsky and Kulish are sharing the stage in the opera "Aida" for the third time. Previously, they performed together at the Calgary Opera and also in Edmonton, where a large portion of the chorus is made up of Ukrainian singers. Scheduled performances of Aida in Montreal are May 26, 28 and 31 and June 2, 6 and 9. All performances begin at 8 p.m.

Yuri Andrukhovych addresses University of Pittsburgh audience

by Oksana Doroshkevich

PITTSBURGH – "To be a Ukrainian poet is to be hidden from the rest of the world." With this quote by Victor Neborak, Prof. Michael Naydan introduced Yuri Andrukhovych to the audience gathered recently in Posvar Hall at the University of Pittsburgh.

Mr. Andrukhovych is quite the opposite of hidden. Besides being a poet, prose writer and essayist, he is also active as a translator, a literary critic, scriptwriter and a literary activist. Taking time out of his demanding schedule, he captivated the Pittsburgh audience with readings from his literature and performances of his works by a professional actor.

The evening opened with introductions of Prof. Naydan of the Slavic Department at Penn State, Michael Bernosky, a professional actor who presented Mr. Andrukhovych's works in English and the special visitor, Mr. Andrukhovych. Prof. Naydan gave brief background information on Mr. Andrukhovych and proceeded on to his novels. Born in 1960, this Ivano-Frankivsk native has become one of the most prominent writers whose literature reacts against earlier modernist principles. Mr. Naydan commented on the novels that have influenced readers both in Ukraine and abroad: "Recreations," "Moscoviada" and "Perversion."

Mr. Andrukhovych's first novel, "Recreations," is a controversial satirical story that plays on the Ukrainian cultural rebirth that occurred as a result of the country's independence in the early 1990's. The story unfolds in 1991, when Khomsky, a poet, is returning to Ukraine to attend a restoration of the long-forgotten "Festival of the Resurrecting Spirit." The book portrays the festival as a time of rejoicing when "Emancipated souls celebrated their renewal, Free Laughter and Untrammelled Poetry ascended to waft over the sinful earth, and the Dastardly Skeletal One retreated before the implacable blows of Human immoral-

Oksana Doroshkevich is a freshman at the University of Pittsburgh whose goal is to major in business/international affairs. She was born in Ukraine in 1982, but moved to the United States at the age of 7.



Yuri Andrukhovych

ity." As the characters stumble into increasingly dreamlike surroundings the reader is transported into the episodes with them. First published in 1992, "Recreations" marked Mr. Andrukhovych as a stylish, yet lucid writer.

"Perversion" is a post-modern philosophical novel that uses verbal play and multi-leveled tones, where the protagonist, Stanislav Perfetsky, is recreated to lead an anti-saint's life. Mr. Perfetsky was Mr. Andrukhovych's hero and close friend who disappeared in March of 1993 – no one knows what really happened to him and his corpse was never found.

Mr. Perfetsky once said, "I broke nine out of 10 of God's commandments, except one. Thou shall not kill." This is the best description of the hero's inner world of the hero. As this mysterious whirlwind of events continues to twirl, Mr. Perfetsky meets the woman of his dreams, Ada Zitrona, and realizes that he cannot live without her. Within minutes he falls in love, endangering his life, nevertheless, he has to give a speech at the conference organized apparently by the Devil himself, but at the end he disappears.

According to Prof. Naydan, "Perversion" is the reconstruction of reality – actually several versions of the same reality. Mr. Andrukhovych mentioned that his collection of information came

(Continued on page 23)

Hurko conducts Chornobyl commemorative concert in Kyiv

by Oksana Zakydalsky

KYIV – Canadian composer and opera director Roman Hurko conducted a choral presentation of two of his own works – Panakhya and Liturgia – at the Mykhailivskiy Sobor in Kyiv. The Kyivan Frescoes choir sang the Panakhya to accompany a memorial service celebrated by the clergy of the Church, while the Liturgy was sung as a choral concert.

The works were presented on April 26 to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Chornobyl nuclear tragedy. Mr. Hurko said that the venue of the concert was very appropriate as St. Michael's Golden-Domed Sobor, destroyed in 1937 and recently rebuilt, served as a symbol of both death and rebirth – the themes of the two choral works.

Mr. Hurko said he initiated the concert by contacting Oleksander Bondarenko, the artistic director of the Kyivan Frescoes choir, and sent him the score of the music. The choir, which is made up of professional singers and which specializes in religious

music, agreed to perform his works. Mr. Bondarenko arranged the venue; the concert itself was open to all.

Mr. Hurko said he was very pleased with the concert – he found the acoustics to be good and the appearance of the church itself was inspirational for both him and the choir. The icons and the music created a religious and spiritual atmosphere for all who were there.

"But most important for me," Mr. Hurko said, "was not to have my compositions sung but to commemorate that tragic event – not only remember it, but to remind people and the whole world that help is still needed both by those who suffered from the tragedy and by the Ukrainian government, which is still trying to cope with its consequences."

Financing for the concert was provided mostly by Mr. Hurko himself, but some assistance was received from the International Renaissance Foundation, the Shevchenko Foundation, the Embassy of Canada in Kyiv and Ukrainian credit unions in Toronto.



Oksana Zakydalsky

The Kyivan Frescoes choir sings Roman Hurko's Liturgia in front of the iconostasis in the Mykhailivskiy Sobor.

INTERVIEW: Canadian film maker Paskievich speaks on "My Mother's Village"

MONTREAL – Well-known Canadian film maker, John Paskievich is just completing the final touches on a film titled "My Mother's Village." Born in 1947 in a displaced persons camp in Linz, Austria, Mr. Paskievich immigrated to Canada with his family as a young child. He graduated from the University of Winnipeg, and later studied film and photography at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto.

Mr. Paskievich's work includes such award-winning documentaries as "Ted Baryluk's Grocery," "The Old Believers," "The Actor," "If Only I Were an Indian," "Sedna: The Making of a Myth" and "The Gypsies of Svinia."

Mr. Paskievich has also published several critically acclaimed books of photographs, among them "A Voiceless Song" and "A Place Not Our Own." He was recently in Montreal working on his film, and this interview was conducted at that time by Fran Ponomarenko.

Prof. Ponomarenko teaches in the English department at Vanier College, Montreal.

This past year we saw the publication of Lubomyr Luciuk's "Searching for Place," a study that deals with the migration of memory, examines the social and political conditions in which displaced persons found themselves after the war, and outlines their difficult trek to Canada and the United States. Now you have just finished a film that also touches on the subject of DPs. What aspect of the DP experience does your film, "My Mother's Village," address?

My film addresses, or attempts to address, the experiences not of the adult parents who immigrated to Canada but the experiences of their children and what it meant to grow up with one foot in the world of their parents – an East European world – and one foot in a North American world. I wanted to look at what it meant going back and forth between worlds, and the tensions that it may have caused or the special oblique ways of looking at things that a lot of the DP children, who are now adults, have.

Why do you feel it is important to document this?

I think it is important because it has never been documented. This experience of growing up in two worlds is a dramatic one; it's filled with all kinds of crises, humor, anecdotes. It's a fascinating journey to explore two worlds simultaneously, it is a gift and a burden in a way because you are always looking at things from two sides, either consciously or unconsciously. It's always happening.

How did you go about selecting the people you interviewed in the film? After all, there are thousands of DP children who are now adults.

Yes, there are thousands of them. They range in psychologies, too. And so I was looking for individuals who would be able to articulate their experience. I found that people who were artists were ideal for what I wanted to do. Whether it's a writer or a photographer, artists work from an interior life and are continuously confronting an exterior life that has or doesn't have an echo with their interior one.

I am not trying to negate the experiences of other people, say someone who is involved in volunteer work or some other work. They are valuable for what they do. Neither do I want to negate those who have cut themselves off from the Ukrainian community.

It's true that to a certain degree I found

individuals who echoed my own experiences.

The subjects you touch on – identity, memory and personal history – require people to reveal intimate aspects of themselves. What was your experience with interviewees in this connection?

I found that to be the hardest thing about the whole project because any question that I would ask would always have a personal note. You grow up in a family and all the experiences are related to that family, so a lot of people who were excellent declined to be interviewed because they wished to keep their family experiences private. Many of their stories I have heard before, or I experienced similar ones in my family, or in the families of my friends.

You know, I do talk about the Ukrainian notion of 'styd' or "What will people think?" in my film. This preoccupation is common amongst Ukrainians: "Oh, what will people say? Movchy. Liudy budut hovoryty." But people know everything anyway; we live in a village. I don't want to belabor this point, this isn't what the film is about.

The setting for your film is both Ukraine and Canada. Why did you need to go to Ukraine – the DPs are in the diaspora?

I went to Ukraine because this film is about memory, and as Faulkner said: "There is no such thing as was, there is only is." What happened over there, either at the hands of the Bolsheviks, the Nazis or the Poles carries on happening for us DPs and remains with us our whole lives. History is always with us. The more your parents experience history the more it is happening in the now.

I agree, our parents could never eradicate what they experienced, but we their children did not physically live through those Stalinist and Hitlerite nightmares even though we lived with these traumatized parents. And so their agony became transmitted to us psychologically and we are, therefore, also marked. But could you comment on some specific ways or in what sense you see our history active in the present?

In all senses, you just have to look at the DPs, and here I mean the parents, talk to them, observe how they behave and live their lives, how they react to situations and to institutions. The DPs, the parents, have all kinds of behaviors, such as weeping and crying, which are the result of trauma, nightmares, fears and anxieties.

If you grow up with this you wonder where this is coming from, and you feel that you want to find out and this takes a long time. Living with traumatized parents means that you are always anticipating their odd behavior, or trying to understand them, or being ashamed of them, or rejecting them. The whole thing only has any meaning once you put it into a context and that means examining the history.

That is why I went to Ukraine and filmed over there. I interviewed people in Ukraine who had the exact same experiences as the DPs. I talked to people about the Famine-Genocide, about the Polish occupation, as well as the Nazi and Communist ones, all those things. They lived it over there, and our parents lived it over there and then they came here. Speaking to folks over there was like speaking to people here; it was all a shared and common history.

What were the differences, if any, in the way our parents' generation here in the West and there in Ukraine approach the memory of our history?

In Ukraine I felt much more fatalism, over here, how can I describe it? Because the people in Ukraine stayed at home they still have a sense of rootedness, continuity and extended family, but here the DPs were disconnected, severed from their home and thus left with a wound. And if the wound is not open anymore, there is still a scar of being separated forcibly from your home, your language, your family members and your whole life.

What was the reaction of folks in the Ukrainian village where you stayed to the film crew? Did you have any hardships while filming?

People in Ukraine were very open. They wanted the world to know that they existed and that what happened to them really did take place. They weren't at all shy; they felt they had a voice now. We were there Christmas before last, in 1999, and we spent three weeks filming. It was a cold snowy winter that year. Our crew went back and forth on sleighs across fields, and once our sleigh tipped over and we almost wrecked our gear and almost got hurt. It's a hard life there.

I understand that the people on the crew had some Ukrainian connections. Is that correct? What were their reactions to life in Ukraine?

They were third-generation Ukrainians, and each had one grandparent who was Ukrainian. Well, they were very shocked at the bad economic conditions – the roads, the lack of proper heating, the sewers which are all in a state of disrepair. Ukraine is in Europe, they thought, so how can it be that bad? But when they actually got there, I am talking about the rural areas, they were shocked.

For instance, in the town of Rava Ruska there is a stretch of road that has thousands of meter-wide pot holes, and all the vehicles go round and round these pot holes at five miles an hour. These types of situations can be multiplied hundreds of times over. Rava Ruska has approximately the same population as Oshawa, but the buildings are heated mostly with wood, a little coal but coal is too expensive. There is no running water in town, it's all well water. Of course, in the villages there are only outhouses, and no running water whatsoever.

From the title of the film, 'My Mother's Village,' is it fair to say that most of the Ukrainian footage is from your mother's place of birth?

The filming was done in the area of my mother's village. In the actual village, in a neighboring village because that is where the main church is. We also filmed in Rava Ruska, which is where all the people go to market.

What are the chances of showing this film in Ukraine, and are you going to be doing subtitles in Ukrainian?

I need money to do that, so I am working on that now. I have talked to some people in Ukraine who have contacts with the TV and film industry in Lviv. They think it would be a good idea to show it on TV or else in a theatre, but you know how much market there is for documentaries. So, I don't know. Perhaps it could be shown in a university. Culture there is not a priority, economics is. Therefore, everything takes longer and very often you still have to follow a very circuitous path because old ways die hard.

The making of a film like the writing of a novel often provides unexpected insights. Have you come to any conclusions or ideas about the whole DP



John Paskievich

condition that you did not have at the outset?

Yes, I am a lot more accepting and at peace with the whole experience of growing up the son of DPs and being a DP myself. I have been back in Ukraine about six times, it was always a very intensive experience. I read a lot on this subject, I interviewed in one way or another about 100 people, perhaps more, and after a while certain perceptions and thoughts took a real and concrete form. I no longer find things as frightening or anxiety-provoking.

What you are talking about has to do with the excessive abuse that our parents had to endure, and the immigration experience must be added into all this too. The cataclysm of genocide, deportation, execution and later world war resulted in the disintegration of the physical and psychological world of millions of Ukrainians. Many could never reassemble that shattering, many suffered all kinds of post-traumatic disorders. With abuse that is so deep, so intense, how could the DPs and their children be any other way? Our parents were very injured and very hurt people. All things considered, don't you think it is a miracle that we Ukrainians manage as well as we do?

Yes, absolutely.

Where will the premiere of your film be held?

It's hard to say. If it is accepted at a major festival like Toronto, then there, or maybe Montreal. It's too early to say; a lot depends on what the critical reception will be. One hopes that it will be shown in as many venues as possible, ranging from film festivals to TV.

I understand that you have already screened the film at the National Film Board in front of a diverse group of about 50 people, primarily non Ukrainians. What was their reception?

In general, the audience at our test screening responded very well to the film. There was a segment of the audience, however, those on the political left, who continue to act as apologists for communism. They refuse to believe that what happened in the Soviet Union was a crime against humanity on a par with the crimes of the Nazis.

To criticize communism forces these apologists to examine their dearly held "progressive" notions and this they are reluctant to do. But I have heard all this cant and denial many times before and over the years, so it came as no big surprise.

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Melnychenko speaks...

(Continued from page 4)

son has to make a choice at some stage [and] I decided to try to stop this kind of corruption."

His army training had furnished Mr. Melnychenko with knowledge of the surveillance techniques needed. With access to the president's rooms, he said, he was able to plant a listening device in the sofa in the president's inner office. The position of the microphone, he said, often made the sound quality of the recordings poor and it could only record President Kuchma's side of telephone conversations.

Mr. Melnychenko would not provide any details of the surveillance equipment he installed or say when he began making the recordings. He did say that he had had time to listen to less than half the recordings he made and indicated that they totaled more than 1,000 hours.

Mr. Melnychenko said that he is spending his time going through the tapes and is seeking to obtain special equipment to eliminate some of the background noise that obscures the voices in some recordings.

"I'm not sure how much time I need to study and transcribe all these [recordings]. To do it even superficially, and say who met whom and when, would take about one or two months. But if it is done more carefully – by piecing together all of President Kuchma's illegal activities and eliminating some of the background noise – well, for this I don't know how much time is needed."

Mr. Melnychenko said that when the media began reporting Mr. Gongadze's disappearance, he remembered that he had heard President Kuchma talking about the journalist with Internal Affairs Minister Yuri Kravchenko. He said he took some vacation time and spent about two weeks sifting through the recordings. By the middle of October what he heard on the tapes, pieced together with other information he had, convinced him that the president was linked to Mr. Gongadze's disappearance.

Some of those recordings – which the president's office says have been edited to distort their meaning – have already been published. Purportedly, Kuchma is heard to say that he wished Mr. Gongadze could be kidnapped by Chechen bandits.

Once he was convinced that President

(Continued on page 17)

Senate, House appoint...

(Continued from page 3)

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Melnychenko speaks...

(Continued from page 16)

Kuchma was linked to Mr. Gongadze's disappearance, Mr. Melnychenko said, he looked around for someone to whom to funnel his information.

He told the journalists: "That's not an easy thing to do. You could draw up a list of 10 prominent politicians in Ukraine who you thought were honest, but I could show you such incriminating material about them that you wouldn't believe it. But there was nothing on Oleksander Moroz, the leader of the Socialist Party." Mr. Melnychenko approached Moroz, whom he trusted, and offered him copies of the recordings.

Mr. Melnychenko said he then had to get himself, his wife and child out of Ukraine before the recordings were made public by Mr. Moroz. He said he told his boss that he was resigning because he had been offered a lucrative job as head of security at a Ukrainian company and needed to leave Ukraine for a month of training in Britain and to get medical treatment for his daughter.

Despite his boss's suspicions, Mr. Melnychenko said he managed to leave Ukraine on November 26, 2000, two days before the first recordings were released to the public.

Mr. Melnychenko said he had saved \$2,000, which he thought would be enough for him, his wife and child (who is not ill) to live for a few weeks abroad. He said he thought Mr. Kuchma would be forced to resign within a few weeks.

Mr. Melnychenko had been living with the help of friends in a Central European country; on February 25, his legal status in that country expired.

Mr. Melnychenko said he needs two to three months to complete his work and then wants to return to Ukraine. But Mr. Melnychenko said: "I do need protection. I want my wife and daughter to be safe. Not only are the Ukrainian intelligence services trying to find me, but professional killers are also trying to find me. I can't feel totally safe anywhere. I use disguises and am very careful about my movements."

Mr. Melnychenko said he is not afraid to return to Ukraine and is willing to take any test to prove he is telling the truth. But he wants President Kuchma to submit to the same tests.

"I'm not frightened to return to Ukraine because there is nothing more precious to me than my Ukraine. I'm a soldier of Ukraine, and I'm ready to do anything that's necessary for its independence and democracy. I'm also truly willing to give my life so that there is democracy in Ukraine and ordinary people can begin to live better and not in the way they have been driven to live today by Mr. Kuchma's policies," Mr. Melnychenko noted.

But Mr. Melnychenko said that he is worried for his family. "I am frightened for my wife and for my child because I am familiar with the forces – not just Ukrainian but from elsewhere – that want to change what I've done and would try to influence me through [endangering] my wife. And they are capable of anything because they have no morals. They will protect themselves. I'm not just speaking about Mr. Kuchma or Mr. Kravchenko or their group but a much wider circle of people," Mr. Melnychenko said.

The Gongadze case

Mr. Melnychenko, who served as a presidential bodyguard for seven years, said he decided to publish excerpts of the secret tapes in the wake of last September's disappearance of Mr. Gongadze.

The debate over the authenticity of the tapes – which purportedly have President Kuchma saying he wished Gongadze

could be kidnapped by Chechen "bandits" – will not be resolved quickly.

President Kuchma's aides have said that the tapes, which have fueled recent protests in Ukraine calling the president's ouster, were manipulated to alter the meaning of his recorded remarks. Perhaps feeling the heat of mounting public pressure, President Kuchma himself wrote a letter published February 27 in Britain's Financial Times saying the attacks against him were politically motivated. He added that Mr. Gongadze's death, although tragic, was not grounds for a murder accusation, and called allegations of his involvement "completely untrue."

Mr. Gongadze's headless corpse was discovered in a wood outside the Ukrainian capital Kyiv weeks after his disappearance on September 16. Mr. Melnychenko said the still-unreleased excerpts indicate that Mr. Gongadze was meant to be "removed" even earlier. But he said the journalist unwittingly bought himself time by filing a complaint that he was being followed with Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Yuriy Opasenko.

According to the former bodyguard, Mr. Gongadze gave Mr. Opasenko the license plate numbers of the cars he said had been following them. The vice minister then caused delays by making official inquiries about the cars, which he traced back to the state security services.

Mr. Melnychenko said his recording captures Internal Minister Kravchenko telling President Kuchma that Mr. Opasenko was not trustworthy and that he regretted not firing him earlier.

On September 16, a Saturday, President Kuchma and Mr. Kravchenko were together on a hunting expedition. Four days later, when the press had already begun to ask questions about Mr. Gongadze's disappearance, Mr. Melnychenko says he recorded President Kuchma asking a security official whether the journalist was alive or dead. Mr. Kuchma went on to say that Mr. Gongadze should be found because the situation looked bad for the president.

Mr. Melnychenko said that at this stage President Kuchma already knew Mr. Gongadze was dead and was only feigning concern. The former bodyguard said of the Ukrainian president: "Kuchma can be a very good actor, and he is a very cunning man."

Since leaving his Ukraine, Mr. Melnychenko has been living in hiding with his wife and their 4-year-old daughter. Ukraine has issued a warrant for his arrest, and Mr. Melnychenko said he is aware of intelligence efforts to track him down.

He also said he is worried about his family's safety and is concerned that President Kuchma's allies may have hired professional killers to find him. But he said he has no plans to seek permanent asylum.

"Why should I ask for political asylum? Why should I be afraid? Of whom, Mr. Kuchma? He should be frightened of me. If I ask for political asylum in another country, that will immediately provoke a misleading reaction from Mr. Kuchma's people. They would say, 'Look, he's frightened, he's fleeing from justice.' But I'm not frightened. If these recordings were fake, then I would have sought political asylum straight after the first excerpts were published. But I am confident [of the tapes' authenticity] and Kuchma also knows that these recordings are accurate," Mr. Melnychenko said.

Mr. Melnychenko dismissed claims by the Kuchma administration that he is an employee of foreign intelligence agencies looking to destabilize Ukraine. He says frustration with the rampant corruption he saw in the presidential office is the only reason behind his decision to put his safety of himself and that of his family at risk.



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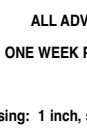
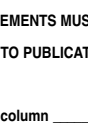
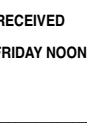

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Newsbriefs

(Continued from page 2)

political analyst Mykola Tomenko, Chernomyrdin supports "economic, not political, pragmatism" in Russian-Ukrainian relations and will promote Russian economic interests in Ukraine "more vigorously." Ousted Prime Minister Viktor Yuschenko said Mr. Chernomyrdin's appointment is Moscow's "wonderful and reasonable step," adding that the latter's mission in Kyiv will boost economic cooperation between both countries. Citing "an informed source," Interfax reported on May 10 that the appointment of Viktor Chernomyrdin as ambassador to Ukraine reflects the Kremlin's desire to make use of former officials who have immense experience and who have "not lost their political weight and personal connections." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Russian-Ukrainian crew arrested

SAN DIEGO – The U.S. attorney in San Diego announced on May 14 that the Coast Guard had completed the largest seizure of cocaine ever made at sea aboard a 52-foot ship registered in Belize. Twelve tons of cocaine were seized, and the 10-member crew of Russians and Ukrainians was arrested. The Coast Guard made the seizure some 500 miles south of Acapulco, Mexico, and then brought the ship and its crew to San Diego. (The New York Times)

Yuschenko urges calm, consolidation

KYIV – Viktor Yuschenko told journalists in Kyiv on May 9 that the main problem for Ukrainian politicians this year is to find a "model that would not revolt society [and] could secure control over the socioeconomic situation," Interfax reported. Asked about what would happen if he were once again approved as prime minister, he said Ukrainians would see "a different Yuschenko." The ousted prime minister noted that only the consolidation of political forces that are ready to assume responsibility for the country "could force" him to go into politics "in a different quality." He added that the achievement of this consolidation is "much more difficult than to take out a placard and go to the opposition." The previous day, Mr. Yuschenko said it is possible to keep Ukraine's economy on track, adding that "the ball [now] is in the political rather than the governmental court," the Eastern Economist Daily reported. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kuchma signs decree on armed forces

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma on April 9 signed a decree "On the Concept of Ukrainian Armed Forces' Transition to Manning by Professional Servicemen for the Period until 2015." The first of the three transition stages aims to increase the number of professional servicemen to 30,000 by 2005 reaching almost 30 percent of the Ukrainian armed forces personnel. At the same time, the ministry will consider reducing the term of active duty service to 12 months and the term of junior specialists training in educational establishments to three or four months. The decree is the first document in a series of legal and regulatory acts that will be elaborated and approved in order to establish a professional military service system. (GUUAM News)

Modernization of AN-225 is completed

KYIV – Ukrainian aviators completed modernization of the world's largest airplane and its first test flight is to take place shortly. The AN-225 Mria is currently undergoing ground tests. The project was implemented by the Kyiv-based Antonov Aviation Design Bureau and Ukraine's Motor-Sich company. The project's cost was approximately \$20 million. The six-

engine plane, which has a wingspan of 291 feet, first flew in 1988 and was intended to transport the Soviet Buran space shuttle. The modernized AN-225 is capable of carrying 291 tons of cargo for a distance of 2,790 miles. (GUUAM News)

Moscow Helsinki Group marks 25th

MOSCOW – Yurii Orlov, Natan Sharansky, Lyudmila Alekseeva and other Soviet-era dissidents assembled in Moscow on May 12 to mark the 25th anniversary of the formation of the Moscow Helsinki Group, Russian and Western agencies reported. Speakers noted both the progress that had been made over that period and the problems still remaining, with Ms. Alekseeva stressing the need to work with the government in order to defend human rights. (RFE/RL Newsline)

U.S. at construction trade show

KYIV – The U.S. Commercial Attaché in Ukraine, David Hunter, opened a Product Literature Center at the Cottage 2001 trade show on April 26 at the Palace of Sport. The center features catalogues and promotional materials from 27 American companies involved in construction, repair, high-tech building materials, design and architecture. It is organized by the U.S. Department of Commerce's Business Information Service for the Newly Independent States (BISNIS), together with the U.S. Embassy's Foreign Commercial Service (FCS) in Kyiv. The Cottage 2001 trade show is a prestigious annual exhibition organized by JSC Arcada under the auspices of Ukraine's State Committee for Building and Architecture. It is the largest show of its kind in Ukraine. Featuring construction, repair and building materials, the exhibition traditionally launches the business year in the Ukrainian construction industry. (U.S. Embassy in Ukraine)

Kyiv hopes to raise real incomes

KYIV – The Ukrainian government is facing the task of ensuring the growth of real incomes by no less than 4.4 percent in 2001, and of increasing wages in budget-financed sectors by at least 25 percent, reported the BBC on April 25. Aside from this, the government hopes the level of minimal social allowances and average pensions will rise no less than 20 percent. President Leonid Kuchma told the government to pay compensation to those people who have lost part of their incomes due to disruptions in the schedule of wage payments to public sector employees. As well, no less than 600,000 new jobs should be created in Ukraine, and 230,000 unemployed should take part in public work projects. (Eastern Economist)

Bulgaria stops Ukrainian plane

SOFIA – Bulgarian officials are holding a Ukrainian jumbo airplane carrying 30 tons of arms bound for the east African country of Eritrea, which is under a United Nations embargo on military supplies, Agence France Presse reported. The plane, which was flying from an unnamed airport in the Czech Republic, landed in the eastern Bulgarian city of Burgas to refuel. It reportedly is loaded with Kalashnikov submachine guns and other ammunition and weapons. The plane is reportedly owned by the Ukrainian company Volare. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kerensky may be rehabilitated

MOSCOW – Aleksandr Yakovlev, the chairman of the Presidential Commission for the Rehabilitation of the Victims of Political Repressions, told Interfax on May 10 that Moscow may rehabilitate Aleksandr Kerensky and other members of the 1917 Provisional Government before the November 7 holiday. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Plast and its struggle...

(Continued from page 11)

proposed Mr. Vovk, who was elected head of Scouts of Ukraine. A new position of chief scout (holovnyi skaut) was created and Mr. Kandeyev, the municipal deputy who has never been a member of any scouting organization, was named to the post. The constitution was accepted, although copies of it were not distributed. All those present received declarations of membership in the Scouts of Ukraine and were asked to put down how many people from their region they represented, as if they had been delegated by them.

"I talked to several of the regional representatives – the boy from Poltava had told me that morning that he had just come along for the ride and had no idea what the meeting was for. But at the meeting he signed a declaration saying he had been delegated by 24 people," Ms. Melnychuk said.

Why did the people at the meeting go along with the proposals of the organizers?

Ms. Melnychuk explained: "People had no idea about what was happening. Those who worked for the Youth Centers were intimidated and feared they might lose their jobs if they did not cooperate. I would estimate about half of the people present were sent by the centers. The people who had come were mostly very young; for example, the representative from Kharkiv was a Grade 8 student. What kind of decisions can a child like that make?"

Asked for her explanation of what had taken place at Puscha Vodytsia, she answered: "It is my personal opinion that it was an attempt of state employees to create a state scouting organization. They are very interested in the international contacts that scouting can provide. Also, they would be able to control the organization because they have the means to channel state money into it. They get funding from the state for social projects which can then be called scouting projects. Because SU is to be led by state employees like Kuzmenko and Kapustin, the state programs and scouting programs can be meshed together. I think their talk about the need to lobby for scouting means that their ultimate goal is to have scouting financed through the state budget."

What was the point of the UNICEF conference before the meeting? According to Ms. Melnychuk, it was organized "to take advantage of the funds available under the UNICEF program to hold a meeting of SU using UNICEF funds. I am sure that they will only report the conference to UNICEF, not the fact the funds were also used to hold the SU meeting."

What did she think would be the next step? Ms. Melnychuk responded: "I think that the new leaders of the SU will try to register this organization as soon as possible. They collected membership declarations from people which said that founding meetings had been held in the regions – their hurry tells me that they want to register quickly in order to demonstrate to WOSM that they exist, knowing that they already have the backing of the World Scout Bureau. The process of their registration has been dragging on since 1998."

Mr. Masmai explained that, although the first meeting of SU had been held in 1998, since then some documents which were needed for registration had been lost. For example, he said that the original membership declaration from Kerch was missing.

Volodymyr Dovbyschenko, a member of the Sich scouting organization, was elected head of SU in October 2000. At that meeting he took on the responsibility of registering SU as a national organization by the end of March 2001 in order to apply to WOSM in April 2001. Mr.

Kuzmenko, the SU national secretary, was to be responsible for the technical aspects of the registration. When the registration process was going nowhere and it became obvious to Mr. Dovbyschenko that it would not be completed on time, on March 16, 2001, he resigned his position as head of SU. Although he had not been present at the April 20-21 meeting (he had not been invited) he was very concerned about what had occurred.

He explained: "The meeting which took place was against the rules of the SU constitution, which I wrote, and which was passed by the general meeting in October 2000. The constitution says that SU meetings must be called by the national council. How this meeting was organized and the procedures that were followed there make it unlawful both with respect to the SU constitution and the rules of the state. As a scout and as a Ukrainian citizen, I would like to express my objection to what took place. Although they were not present at the meeting, I know that Oleksander Bondar and Jean Cassaigneau were there, but I believe that neither Mr. Bondar nor Mr. Cassaigneau were informed about how the meeting was called or about the procedures that were followed.

"The organization created at Puscha Vodytsia was set up by a government structure. The meeting was an event organized by the Kyiv Youth Center and Mr. Kuzmenko, its director, was there as a government employee. The UNICEF funding proves that the meeting was not a scouting event – only an event of the centers of youth social services. They have created an organization that will be run by government employees and officials, and it will reflect their kind of scouting. The inclusion of the government in the actual creation of a scouting organization is against the essence of scouting."

Formal letters informing the Ministry of Justice of the true nature of the events surrounding the SU meeting have been sent by some of the participants in the event that SU applies for registration.

The absence of the rules of a civil society in Ukraine has derailed many attempts to set up truly independent national non-governmental organizations. In this respect, Plast has been one of the exceptions – its 10-year history as a volunteer organization and expansion into all regions of independent Ukraine proves both its relevance and its sustainability as a scouting organization.

Is it not time that the WOSM and the World Scout Bureau, instead of promoting dubious initiatives which seem to have their own agendas, gave Plast the attention it deserves?

Dr. Marko Andrew Harmaty,

son of Dr. and Mrs. Myron and Margaritha Harmaty, graduated with honors from UNC Medical School of Chapel Hill.

During his years in medical school he was class treasurer, class president. He gave a commencement speech at graduation on May 20, 2001.

Dr. Marko Harmaty will begin his plastic surgery training at Mt. Sinai School of Medicine on July 1, 2001.



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Helsinki Commission...

(Continued from page 3)

blind us to some equally valid general observations such as that Ukraine has made a commitment to democracy and respect for human rights,” he added, citing the sensitive treatment of its minorities, the holding of free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections, protection of religious freedom and the existence of a diverse press. “The problems concerning media freedom mar this last statement; they do not negate it,” he said.

Mr. Purnell said that Ukraine faces some major challenges and that, as it takes the necessary steps, the United States and its European allies are prepared to assist “in a substantial way.”

The appearance as a witness before the Helsinki Commission by such a high-ranking foreign government official as Mr. Marchuk was “unusual but not unprecedented,” according to a commission source. The former head of the KGB in Ukraine who served as prime minister for a year in the mid-1990s dropped his opposition to President Kuchma’s reelection and was subsequently appointed by him to the National Security and Defense Council.

Over the past nine years, Mr. Marchuk told the commission, “Ukraine has proven to the world community its ability to implement undertaken commitments and shown a consistency in realizing its non-bloc foreign policy course.”

He cited as examples the elimination of its nuclear stockpile, its adherence to international arms control and non-prolif-

eration regimes and the closure of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

In its foreign policy, Ukraine remains oriented toward Europe, he said, noting that this position was restated by President Kuchma following the Yushchenko no-confidence vote. Ukraine cooperates with NATO and participates in its peacekeeping operations.

“We have demonstrated to the world that Ukraine is a predictable, consistent and responsible partner,” he said. “We speak the same language with Moscow, Brussels and Washington. It is the language of our national interest.”

He said the recent “activization” of Ukraine’s high-level dialogue with Russia was the result of the necessity to solve some past and present “complex problems.”

As for the recent tape-scandal and the Gongadze affair, Mr. Marchuk said that they “complicated the political process” and “were used to instigate the political crisis in Ukraine.” But he pointed to a silver lining in the crisis: the existence of conflicts in a society, he said, is a “natural component of a complex process of the maturing of the young Ukrainian democracy.”

The Ukrainian official stressed the continued importance of the U.S.-Ukrainian relationship and called on the U.S. Congress to abandon the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which is holding back the development of full bilateral trade ties.

The commission’s newest member,

(Continued on page 21)

Ukraine after Yushchenko

(Continued from page 2)

Medvedchuk, or Labor Ukraine leader Serhiy Tyhyhko could become prime minister. Mr. Tyhyhko worked in the Pustovoitenko government, and briefly in the Yushchenko government, and has some support in the United States as a “reformer.” Mr. Medvedchuk has no such track record, and his presidential ambitions threaten other oligarchic groups.

3. President Kuchma could propose a compromise candidate acceptable to the Communists and the oligarchic interests. While it is possible that a political unknown could be selected, the two leading contenders are Mykola Azarov, head of the newly formed Regions of Ukraine faction, and Kyiv Mayor Hryhorii Omelchenko. Mr. Azarov could have difficulties being accepted, because his position as head of the widely feared State Tax Administration would mean that, as prime minister, he would be in a position to influence the 2002 election. He would be most unlikely to win oligarch support, although his Donbas background would appease the Communists.

Clear choices

As a consequence of the dismissal of the Mr. Yushchenko government, the Verkhovna Rada’s non-left majority – the cornerstone of economic progress in the last year – has been swept away. This has made clear the following choices facing the electorate at next year’s general election.

1. Communists: Communist parties (of which there are several) seek to gain power through elections as their counterparts have done recently in Moldova and offer a similar policy program – constitutional reform to create a parliamentary republic, the adoption of Russian as a state language, and reintegration with the Slavic former Soviet states on a basis similar to the Russia-Belarus Union.

2. Center-right: Mr. Yushchenko has now joined the center-right national

democrats, including Rukh and Ms. Tymoshenko’s Fatherland Party. These entities form the basis of the anti-Kuchma movement. This has gained prominence since the Gongadze case became public and includes the Front for National Salvation, Ukraine Without President Kuchma, and the student movement For Truth. Mr. Yushchenko will attempt to unite these disparate forces into one “democratic bloc” for the March 2002 parliamentary election. Mr. Yushchenko has denied that this bloc will be opposed to anybody, but it is clear that its support will derive from those who are hostile to Mr. Kuchma and the oligarchs, and also to the Communists.

3. Oligarchic corporatists. The third group is the most amorphous and includes parties with names that do not reflect their programs or ideologies, such as the United Social Democrats, the Greens, the Democratic Union, Regions of Ukraine, Labor Ukraine and Yabluko. All of these voted with the Communists against Mr. Yushchenko. Although the oligarchs and President Kuchma officially support “reform” – particularly when dealing with Western governments and international financial institutions – they prefer a political-economic model that lies between the Soviet command-administrative system and a market economy, where business interests have a clientelistic and rent-seeking relationship with the authorities. This corporatist model implies dominance of the political sphere by means of controlling and manipulating the media, civil society and political parties.

It is not clear what form of government Ukraine will have leading up to the 2002 general election, but it will certainly be less pro-reform than the outgoing administration. While the non-left majority in the Parliament has been irrevocably broken, the electorate now faces a clear choice for 2002: Soviet-style reintegration, oligarchic corporatism, or pro-market policies.

Helsinki Commission...

(Continued from page 20)

Rep. Alcee Hastings (D-Fla.), pressed Mr. Marchuk on why President Kuchma apparently would not support Prime Minister Yushenko in his battle with the Verkhovna Rada.

Mr. Marchuk admitted that Mr. Yushenko's ouster was a "bad event," but not necessarily a "tragedy." He said that the president did speak up for Mr. Yushenko, albeit without success, and suggested that the prime minister's demise resulted more from his political inexperience, overconfidence and an inability to work together with the Parliament rather than a lack of presidential support.

Rep. Hastings said that he has always backed U.S. assistance to Ukraine, but he, too, is deeply troubled by the prevalent corruption and obstacles to foreign investment in Ukraine.

While corruption is known to exist at various levels in the United States, he said, it is not universally ignored here by the government, as it seems to be in Ukraine, where "certain things cannot happen ... but for certain officials knowing about them and failing to do anything about it, or knowing about it and participating, or knowing about it and not caring."

"You say that Ukraine has met certain standards for normal trade relations," he went on. "I say to you that if I had a mil-

lion dollars to invest today – and I don't – I'm not so sure I would invest it in Ukraine, any more than I know doggone well I wouldn't invest it in the Congo, and I wouldn't invest it in Indonesia."

Also participating in the hearing were U.S. representatives Benjamin Cardin (D-Md.) and Zach Wamp (R-Tenn.).

Freedom House President Adrian Karatnycky, who in the latest issue of Foreign Affairs magazine flatly stated that Ukraine has the worst reputation in the world today, added before the commission that "even the most neutral and objective observers would have to say that in its first decade of independence, the state of freedom in Ukraine and Ukraine's record of progress toward a competitive market economy and an open, democratic society has been disappointing."

It is now widely believed that President Kuchma "sits at the top of a corrupt, perhaps criminal structure of power," which he either directs or is unable to reform, Mr. Karatnycky said. And it was corruption that was behind the recent removal of the reformist prime minister, he said.

Mr. Yushenko's re-assertion of control over the corruption-riddled energy sector resulted in an estimated annual loss of up to \$2 billion of ill-gotten gains for a small group of "economic magnates." He explained that these magnates, who control political parties with more than a quarter of the seats in the

Verkhovna Rada, broke away from the reform bloc in Parliament and sided with the Communist Party to topple Mr. Yushenko.

Mr. Karatnycky pointed out that the Ukrainian system of government is full of contradictions, citing the example of the head of the government tax authority being allowed to continue as the head of a political party. This, he said, is not considered a conflict of interest under Ukrainian law.

Despite Mr. Kuchma's many well-deserved criticisms, Mr. Karatnycky said, the West should not mistake him for a tyrant, "a Mr. [Alyaksandr] Lukashenka." He stressed that there is a systemic problem in the government that places an "excessive concentration of power in the presidency."

Mr. Karatnycky also recommended that some way be found to bring back into the legal economy those who made large amounts of money in the early years of the gray market. Many of Ukraine's so-called oligarchs, who once were wedded to corruption, now thrive in the open market and could "be reconfigured," he said.

In conclusion, the Freedom House president stated that the billions of dollars of U.S. and other foreign aid to Ukraine "have not all been in vain."

Dr. Ariel Cohen, a research fellow with The Heritage Foundation, devoted some of his remarks to the mystery of the secret tapes, which were reportedly made

by a presidential bodyguard, Maj. Mykola Melnychenko, who has subsequently received asylum in the United States.

It is still not clear who was behind this extensive taping, he said. What is clear is that the Ukrainian presidency suffered a serious blow to its legitimacy, he explained.

"Ukraine as a nation has been weakened by all that," Mr. Cohen said. And, as the West has distanced itself from Ukraine, Kyiv "seems to be drifting into Russia's orbit," he added, noting that under Moscow's pressure, President Kuchma fired pro-Western Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk, slowed down its cooperation within the regional organization of non-Russian former Soviet republics called GUUAM, and signed a number of bilateral military cooperation agreements.

Dr. Cohen suggested that the 1,000 hours of the secret Melnychenko tape recordings may contain "important information that goes beyond the Gongadze affair."

Sitting in the audience throughout the hearing was Myroslava Gongadze, Heorhii Gongadze's widow, and their two young daughters. Commenting on the hearing afterwards, she said it was important for Ukraine to have the world realize "how difficult the situation is in Ukraine."

"I hope that such things as this hearing will help bring about a change," she said.



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University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1992, 346 pp., \$18

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Translated from the Ukrainian by Adam Hnidj, big format,
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Kyiv signs gas deal...

(Continued from page 1)

year when he negotiated the purchase of 30 billion cubic meters of natural gas for Ukraine for this year.

The accord with Turkmenistan will also make it easier for Ukraine to control its energy debt. President Niyazov offered Kyiv an attractive payment plan in which it will be able to pay for 50 percent of the energy it purchases in the form of goods and services, including Ukrainian investment projects in Turkmenistan that should reach a value of \$412 million.

In addition Turkmenistan's president expressed interest in having Ukraine become involved in a program his country is developing to create a national fleet of oil carriers, which will carry crude oil from the fields it is developing to ports on the Caspian Sea. He said Turkmenistan would like to buy five tankers initially.

Mr. Niyazov also stated his interest in receiving agricultural machinery from Ukraine, including combines, tractors and cultivators.

President Niyazov said he was in no hurry to obtain cash repayments for current debts owed by Ukraine and was willing to wait until after Kyiv settles its balance of payments accounts with the Paris Club.

"Ukraine still needs time," explained Mr. Niyazov. "Two, three months is no problem for us."

Currently Ukraine owes Turkmenistan some \$420 million for past energy purchases, \$40 million of that amount in trade commodities, and the rest in cash.

Even staunch critics of President Kuchma and his policies applauded the

natural gas deal as an important strategic move by Ukraine. Yulia Tymoshenko, the former vice prime minister of the energy sector and a staunch opponent of the president, said it was an important deal.

"This is a victory for Ukraine," said Ms. Tymoshenko, who was a major player in the oil and gas market in the mid 1990s as chairman of United Energy Systems.

But the Russian natural gas giant, Gazprom, which currently ships about 50 percent of its supplies to Ukraine, reacted with some derision. A spokesman for the company, in which Russia has a controlling interest, called Turkmenistan a potentially unreliable partner and emphasized that relations between Turkmenistan and Ukraine have been strained historically.

"Not everything is as simple as you may want to think," said a representative of the firm's press office, according to the Kyiv newspaper Den. "Remember how it was earlier. There were constant surprises. The Turkmenbash [Turkmen leader] becomes dissatisfied and shuts down ..."

He also suggested that one should not forget that Turkmenistan's gas must traverse the territory of Russia to get to Ukraine.

However, President Niyazov was optimistic that the natural gas deal, along with the other agreements, would be the beginning of a rich, new friendship between the two countries.

"There is no area today that could not be included in our cooperation," said Mr. Niyazov, who added his country would be ready to work on a 10-year natural gas agreement beginning in 2003 that would secure Ukraine's energy needs through 2016.

Yuri Andrukhovych...

(Continued from page 14)

from assorted sources, including Mr. Perfesky's own notes and audiotapes, newspapers, eyewitness interviews and other various sources.

In both the "Recreations" and "Perversion" Mr. Andrukhovych builds up tension in devious augmentations and finishes off each novel with a climactic end that leaves the reader wanting more.

Prof. Naydan, who translates Mr. Andrukhovych's literature into English, praised Mr. Andrukhovych's writing, which has been translated into English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Polish and Russian. His poetry has also been set to music. Although some may find his literature to be offensive, because of the profanity and sexual content, he is after all, a connoisseur of detail and expression. Mr. Andrukhovych pointed out that he rejects Ukrainian realism and nationalism; he simply rejects having a force above himself. As he writes, he keeps these rejections in mind and writes with a focus on the stylish usage of language.

Although his prose is full of comic disposition, he disagrees that his literature is humorous. His writing is filled with pre-war phrases and words, thanks to his grandmother who influenced his usage of this particular language. Mr. Andrukhovych recalled that when he was about 5 years old his grandmother used such words when she spoke with her acquaintances and now 30 years later these words pop into his mind and seep

into his writings. Besides focusing on language, the writer includes plenty of cultural and historical information.

Mr. Andrukhovych's works were read in Ukrainian by the writer himself and performed in English by Mr. Bernosky. Included among the poetry read and performed were "Clarnets of the Sun," "My Soul," "Italian Madonna," "Midnight Flight down High Castle Hill," "Circle" and other various excerpts.

When asked to comment on his knowledge of many languages, Mr. Andrukhovych's reply was similar to something that his alter-ego, Mr. Perfesky, would have said. "I only know many words from a lot of languages." Mr. Andrukhovych also stated that post-modernism is not very serious in Ukraine, although it is the newest type of post-modernism in the world.

The evening concluded with a dinner at the University Club. Mr. Andrukhovych's visit was made possible through the University of Pittsburgh's Center for Russian and East European Studies, the Ukrainian Student Organization and the department of Slavic languages and Literature.

Mr. Andrukhovych is currently a visiting Fulbright scholar at Penn State University, where he is working on a project to translate poetry of the Beats and the New York School into Ukrainian. Besides novels, short stories and articles, three collections of Mr. Andrukhovych's poetry had been published and translated into English, German and Polish. Among those are "Sky and Plazas," "In Town," and "Exotic Birds and Plants."



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Two cathedrals unite in prayer on Good Friday



PARMA, Ohio – Last May, to commemorate the 2000th anniversary of the birth of Jesus Christ, Parma's Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic cathedrals, with their respective hierarchs, Metropolitan Constantine and Bishop Robert Moskal, celebrated a Vesper service together. This past Good Friday, April 13, the clergy and faithful of the Catholic and Orthodox cathedrals once again united in prayer. On that day, at 3 p.m., the clergy and faithful of St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral participated in the Good Friday Vespers at St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, celebrated by Bishop Moskal and his clergy. At 7 p.m., a few blocks away on the same street, clergy and faithful participated in the Vesper service at St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral (photo above). Both Vesper services brought together nine priests, two deacons, over 40 altar boys and approximately 700 faithful.

Floridians participate in Earth Day celebration



OSPREY, Fla. – During an Earth Day celebration on April 22 here at the Oscar Scherer State Park, Dr. Karen Bapst, president of the Ukrainian American Club of Southwest Florida, Northport, Fla., arranged to have exhibits about the Chernobyl nuclear catastrophe be a part of this commemoration. Members of the Ukrainian American Club and the Ukrainian Language Society (seen above) provided many visitors with publications, photographs, postcards and other materials related to Chernobyl's aftermath, as well as information where to mail contributions to help the victims.

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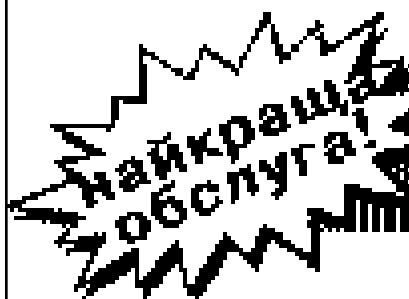
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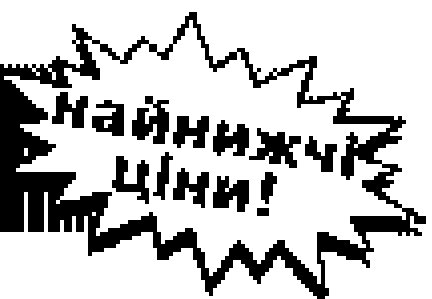
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Ukraine's officials...

(Continued from page 1)

He said the investigation of the two discovered bodies, whom he refused to identify, led to the arrest of at least one individual and the investigation of others, including a leader of a mafia clan who goes by the nickname Cyclops. The information gathered has led law enforcement officials to believe that the murder of Mr. Gongadze was a simple case of banditry with no political underpinnings, explained the minister of internal affairs.

"The executors are dead, and there are no organizers because the series of events was spontaneous and impulsive," said Mr. Smirnov.

He added that he considers the case closed.

A day later his assistant, Mykola Dzhyha, who was attending an Interpol conference in Tbilisi, Georgia, repeated his boss's assertions to a Russian press service that the murder of Mr. Gongadze was a simple case of banditry. However, in Mr. Dzhyha's recounting of the facts, Mr. Gongadze, who had hitchhiked a ride home after leaving the apartment of a colleague the evening of his disappearance, had the bad luck to climb in with a bunch of drug addicts in need of a fix. When Mr. Gongadze could not come up with the cash they were demanding and instead tussled with them, they murdered him.

Mr. Dzhyha went on to explain that the journalist's body was first buried in the Kyiv area, and then moved to Tarascha. A body believed to be the remains of Mr. Gongadze was discovered in a shallow grave outside of the town of Tarascha, about 75 miles outside of Kyiv, on November 2.

Comments by representatives of the Procurator General's Office and various individuals close to the case have been critical of the manner in which the information has been disclosed and of the content itself. Only President Kuchma has indicated that he may be satisfied with the disclosures. On May 14 he told the Russian government-controlled television station ORT: "As far as I am informed [investigators] practically

have tracked down the killers of journalist Heorhii Gongadze." He added however, that the case is "delicate and needs careful handling."

The next day, however, the Procurator General's Office expressed its displeasure with the statement by Minister of Internal Affairs Smirnov, which it called premature. It also questioned his competency to comment on the case.

"A person should only speak on the things he knows about," said Assistant Procurator General Mykola Obikhod. He added that the Procurator General's Office would not comment further on the matter until the person heading the investigation, Assistant Procurator General Oleksii Bahanets, returns from vacation at the end of May.

The attorney representing the mother of the slain journalist, while more direct in his criticism of the revelations, also said he was confused by them. Andrii Fedur told Studio 1+1 Television, which has followed the case closely, that the Internal Affairs Ministry's lead investigator in the case, Oleh Vasylenko, had told him on May 15, the day Minister Smirnov made his comments, that the case is still very much open, and there are no concrete leads.

In an on-air interview on May 16, Mr. Fedur asked sardonically when it was that the two murdered individuals had told Mr. Smirnov that they had killed Mr. Gongadze and why they had done so.

He explained that not a single court procedure had taken place to ascertain the facts in the Gongadze case, and therefore no law enforcement official had the right to say the case was closed.

National Deputy Oleksander Lavrynovych, the head of the ad hoc parliamentary committee investigating the Gongadze case, said in a separate interview that he fully supported Mr. Fedur's opinion. Mr. Lavrynovych said that in Ukrainian law a case is considered closed when all investigative procedures are completed and the matter has been turned over to the courts. He noted that the Procurator General's Office is the only law enforcement agency mandated to do so, and that the statements by the Ministry of Internal Affairs officials were not proper.

Chernomyrdin named...

(Continued from page 1)

step" that would "strengthen specific cooperation, especially in the economic field."

Many Russian political observers speculated that the unorthodox diplomatic move by the Kremlin may have been designed by President Putin to get one of Russia's most powerful men and a member of the old guard of former President Boris Yeltsin out of Moscow and the center of power.

However, certain Ukrainian political analysts called the unusual appointment of a person of stature and influence beyond the diplomatic rank he will hold and who has close personal ties with President Kuchma (and a Ukrainian wife), the beginning of a policy of strong economic influence by Moscow over Ukraine.

Television commentator Vyacheslav Pikhovshek observed on May 13 that many Ukrainians were calling the move "the appointment of a new prime minister for Ukraine by President Putin."

Mykola Tomenko, head of the Institute of Politics, said the move shows that Moscow is developing a plan of economic rather than political influence over Ukraine.

"The fact that one of the most economically influential figures in Russia appears in Ukraine means that Russia's economic interest will be actively developed on the territory of our country," said Mr. Tomenko, who added that Ukraine must counter the move by better protecting its economic interests.

Meanwhile, Mykhailo Pohrebynskyi, another leading Ukrainian political analyst, said he believes that Mr. Chernomyrdin will bring nothing more than extensive experience and understanding to his post. Mr. Pohrebynskyi explained that Mr. Chernomyrdin's role would be no more significant than that played by Carlos Pascual, the highly visible and influential current U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, and probably less so.

The two countries, once the most important republics of the now defunct Soviet Union, have cozied up in the last six months after years of keeping a respectful distance centered on Ukraine's mistrust over Moscow's intentions and colonialist past and Ukraine's desire to join the West.

After the onset of the political crisis in Ukraine over the possible involvement of President Kuchma in the death of a Ukrainian journalist left the president politically weakened, the two countries seemed to move closer. Many political experts here believe the beleaguered president had no alternative but to turn to Moscow for support, a situation President Putin is believed to have taken in obtaining beneficial economic agreements for his country.

However, relations between the two presidents have been close for well over a year. In 2000 Messers. Kuchma and Putin had eight face-to-face encounters. In February in Dnipropetrovsk the two sides signed a series of agreements that effectively gave Russia a portion of Ukraine's power grid. They also agreed to joint development of aerospace and military technology.

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Friday, May 18

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Art and Literary Club and Mayana Gallery invite the public to the opening of "Sacred Spring," an exhibit featuring original artwork and reproductions which reflect themes from the Ukrainian rite of spring. The exhibit runs through June 10. Gallery hours: Friday, 6-8 p.m.; Saturday-Sunday, 1-5 p.m. Mayana Gallery is located at 136 Second Ave., fourth floor. For more information call (212) 260-4490 or (212) 777-8144. Website: <http://www.brama.com/mayana>; e-mail: ukrartlitclub@aol.com.

WASHINGTON: An art exhibit, titled "Color and Light," featuring original works by Ukrainian artist Yuri Khymych will be presented by the Alla Rogers Gallery, 1054 31st St. NW. The exhibit which opens May 18 will run through June 13. An architect by training, Mr. Khymych has taught drawing at the Ukrainian Academy of Art in Kyiv for over a generation. His art was the subject of a recent book, titled "Masterpieces of Ukrainian Architecture in the Artwork of Yuri Khymych." The exhibit is being sponsored by Ihor Figlus and Natalie Jaresko. For further information call the gallery, (202) 333-8595.

Saturday, May 19

NEW YORK: Members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society are invited to the society's annual meeting to be held at the society's building on 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 2 p.m. At 5 p.m. the society will hold a roundtable discussion on the topic "The Role of Scholarship in the Nation-Building Process in Ukraine, 1991-2001." For more information call (212) 254-5130.

Tuesday, May 22

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) and the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council invite the public to attend a community meeting with Myroslawa Gongadze, wife of the late internet journalist Heorhiy Gongadze. The meeting will take place at the Ukrainian National Home, 136 Second Ave., at 6:30 p.m. For additional information call the UCCA office, (212) 228-6840.

PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:

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

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

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

Saturday, May 26

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society is holding a lecture by Dr. Eleonora Solovey, Institute of Literature, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and currently, with the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute on the topic "The Unknown Guest: The Fate and Legacy of the Poet Volodymyr Svidzinsky." The presentation will be held at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For more information call (212) 254-5130.

Saturday, June 2

TORONTO: The Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus, conducted by Oleh Mahlay, will present a "Concert of Sacred Music" at Our Lady of Sorrows Church at 8 p.m. (The church is located at 3055 Bloor St. W., one block west of Royal York Road and at the Royal York Subway Station.) Part of a sacred music series the concert will feature the mystical sounds of Eastern Europe's finest church music, including works by Berezovsky, Dyletsky and Bortniansky, along with the sounds of the bandura. Admission: free-will offering. For more information call (905) 206-9963 or visit the website www.bandura.org.

Monday, June 4

SHREWSBURY, N.J.: Holmdel/Middletown-based Branch 98 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America is sponsoring a panel discussion titled "Trafficking in Women In Our Backyard" to be held at Monmouth County Library, Eastern Branch, 1001 State Highway 35 (North), at 6 p.m. NBC's "Dateline" video, with Maria Shriver as commentator, will be shown. Guest panelists will be Luba Bilowchchuk, Bozhena Olshaniwsky and Walter Zalisko, with Anna Krawczuk, moderator. For more information call Ms. Jacus, (732) 264-8820, or Ms. Mischenko (732) 671-1914.

CORRECTION

The Sunday, June 10, event in Chicago's SUM Hall featuring Maria Pyskir, author of "Thousands of Roads," a memoir of life in the Ukrainian underground during World War II, is scheduled for 1 p.m., not 6 p.m. as had appeared in Preview of Events (May 13). For more information contact Roman Golash, (847) 910-3532.

Notice to publishers and authors

It is The Ukrainian Weekly's policy to run news items and/or reviews of newly published books, booklets and reprints, as well as records and premiere issues of periodicals only after receipt by the editorial offices of a copy of the material in question.

News items sent without a copy of the new release will not be published.

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