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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

100,000 Yushchenko supporters rally for free and fair election

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau



AP/Efrem Lukatsky

Supporters of Viktor Yushchenko with orange flags, banners and balloons are seen during a rally attended by 100,000 people on October 23 in Kyiv. The inscription on flags reads "Yes, Yushchenko."

KYIV – In the largest political rally since independence was declared 13 years ago, nearly 100,000 supporters of Viktor Yushchenko filled Lesia Ukrainka Square on October 23 – turning the plaza into a sea of orange banners and bandanas – to urge the Central Election Committee (CEC) to ensure that a transparent and honest vote count takes place on Election Day.

That evening the CEC, whose offices are located on the square, buckled to the demands of pro-Yushchenko lawmakers and agreed to reduce the number of voting precincts for Ukrainians in Russia from the proposed 420 to 41. [During Ukraine's parliamentary elections in 2002 there were only four polling stations in Russia.]

"We achieved our first major victory in the war against falsification of the vote," explained Mr. Yushchenko's campaign chief, National Deputy Oleksander Zinchenko, during a press conference held two days later, alluding to the successful effort to get 90 percent of the proposed voting precincts in Russia eliminated.

That success, however, came only after young thugs beat, slashed and bloodied up to 11 individuals as they ran amuck through a group of several hundred Yushchenko supporters who had remained outside the build-

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Ambassadors of EU member-states warn Kyiv about pre-election abuses

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – The 25 ambassadors of the European Union countries who have representations in Kyiv gathered in the local office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe on October 27 to issue a declaration warning Ukrainian state officials to stop abuses of recognized democratic campaign standards and allow a free and fair vote in the October 31 presidential election.

The declaration, read by Ambassador Marie Florence van Es of the Netherlands, which currently holds the rotating presidency of the EU, came five days after Ukrainian law enforcement and intelligence service officers searched the offices of several student civic organizations in Kyiv, temporarily detaining workers while investigators rummaged about and rifled through computers and file cabinets.

In the EU statement, Dutch Ambassador van Es said that Ukraine had thus far failed to meet compliance requirements for all relevant international election standards.

"The disruption of opposition rallies, problems for independent media, harassment of grass-roots organizations, misuse

of 'administrative resources' and other serious violations cast doubt on the Ukrainian government's commitment to its democratic obligations towards the European Union," stated Ambassador van Es.

She called on Ukrainians to exercise their right to vote and utilize the opportunity presented by the election to deepen Ukrainian democracy.

"You deserve the right to be allowed to choose freely – and have your choice respected," added the ambassador.

An interim OSCE report on the election process in Ukraine, cited as the basis for the EU statement, noted widespread concern that an effort was being made to falsify, invalidate or even cancel the election by declaring a state of emergency in the country.

It noted that among other factors raising political tension in the country recently was the "detention of pro-opposition civic activists on various charges, including possessing explosives."

The arrest of several members of the student organization Pora on October 15, two of them in the group's Kyiv office, came after militia investigators said they had discovered an explosive device there.

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Town hall meetings in Ukraine proceed despite less than welcoming atmosphere

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America who organized a series of town hall meetings with the Ukrainian presidential candidates through the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine remained undaunted when their announcements were torn down in several cities. They often got the message that they weren't wanted, especially after the group from UCCA was summarily denied use of any sort of venue in Sumy, which forced them to cancel their stop in that city. They battled on when local radio stations and newspapers in several cities refused to run their paid advertising.

They became more concerned when attendance began to dwindle and they heard that some voters were scared to attend their town hall meetings believing they could suffer from the repercussions. But they carried on to their last stop, in Kyiv, where more than 100 people heard nine presidential candidates explain their positions and why Ukrainian voters should support their candidacy.

In short, while trying to contribute to

the democratic development of Ukraine by holding a dozen town hall meetings in which presidential candidates could meet with voters and get to know their positions, the UCCA got an up-close look at just how difficult it was to perform one of the most elemental democratic tasks during an election season that was sticking to no recognized democratic rules.

"The authorities impeded our work, but we do not fully understand why. We tried to make our project and our intentions fully open and transparent," explained Anatolii Yakovets, a faculty member at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy who was the moderator of the town hall meetings. Mr. Yakovets was speaking at a press conference in Kyiv on October 23, a day after the completion of the Kyiv meeting, the last one in the series.

The UCCA project, while new to Ukraine is not a novel idea. The League of Women Voters in the United States for years organized effective meetings and debates between U.S. presidential candidates in a town-hall format to allow the average American to see and hear the candidates. However, the League of Women Voters never had to con-

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ANALYSIS

Front-runners battle it out in Ukraine's last presidential polls

by Taras Kuzio

Eurasia Daily Monitor

Ukrainian media have published the last opinion polls allowed prior to election day (Ukrainska Pravda, October 15 and 18). Although the results vary among different polling organizations, some show Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko neck-and-neck. Four factors explain Mr. Yanukovich's popularity surge in the last month of the campaign.

First, the mysterious poisoning of Mr. Yushchenko took him out of the race for three weeks during the crucial last two months of the elections. Mr. Yushchenko twice visited a clinic in Vienna for treatments. Pro-presidential media outlets took advantage of his absences, alleging that Mr. Yushchenko had not been poisoned but is actually too unhealthy to be president. Pro-presidential parliamentary factions took the issue one step further by proposing changes to the election law that would require candidates to prove their physical fitness.

Second, the Yanukovich government has again raised pensions, student stipends and wages, which correspondingly increased his support among pensioners. Democratic Initiatives sociologist Iryna Bekeshkina calculated that this additional boost from pensioners was 6.8 percent (Ukrainska Pravda, October 15). Voters who have received an increase of at least 70 (\$35) will back Mr.

Yanukovich, she believes.

Third, under the influence of Russian political advisors working with the Yanukovich camp, and in a repeat of then-opposition candidate Leonid Kuchma's strategy in the 1994 presidential elections, new programmatic statements have added an additional 3 percent margin (Ukrainska Pravda, October 15). These policy additions include granting Russian the status of a state (or official) language and dual citizenship.

Fourth, Mr. Yanukovich has come out against NATO membership and for a return to an ill-defined "non-bloc status." Articles seeking NATO and EU membership were removed from Ukraine's new military doctrine in July. Two months later, pro-NATO Defense Minister Yevhen Marchuk was sacked.

Both candidates now have very different constituencies. Mr. Yanukovich's new supporters are Communist pensioners, while younger and more educated voters tend to back Mr. Yushchenko. Support for Communist leader and candidate Petro Symonenko has plummeted from its regular 20 percent level to only 5 percent. This means that nearly half of Mr. Yanukovich's voters are Communists.

However, Socialist voters have tended to stay loyal to their candidate, Oleksander Moroz. In a run-off, three-quarters of Mr. Moroz's supporters are likely to transfer their allegiance to Mr.

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Ukrainian authorities target youth election-monitoring groups

by Taras Kuzio

Eurasia Daily Monitor

As Ukraine's presidential election approach, the authorities are increasingly nervous about the increased visibility of youth NGOs monitoring the election. October has seen an especially large number of intimidation tactics and violence targeted against these groups.

On October 4, Tetiana and Oleksander Batrak, Donetsk-based activists from Student Wave, a youth election-monitoring initiative linked to candidate Viktor Yushchenko's Our Ukraine group, were kidnapped by skinheads, locked in a basement and interrogated about their planned activities. The Mr. Batraks were whisked away in an automobile with no license plates. As leaders of Student Wave noted, "It is nonsense when cars without [license] numbers can travel throughout the city and take away people and not be halted by the DAI [State Automobile Inspectorate] posts" (razom.org.ua, October 6).

The skinheads demanded information that would suggest that Ukrainian youth groups might launch a Georgian-style popular revolution. They were particularly interested in how the students would react if the election results were falsified. When the kidnapped students replied that

they would indeed organize students to protest fraud, the interrogators became "very agitated" (Ukrainska Pravda, October 6). They also openly admitted to the kidnapped students that they were "criminal bandits who are not afraid of anything" (razom.org.ua, October 5).

It was no surprise that these tactics were used in Donetsk. According to Ukraina Moloda (September 23), local businessmen, the state administration and organized crime groups are planning to engineer widespread election fraud in Donetsk. Massive election fraud occurred in Donetsk during the 1999 and 2002 elections, when Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich was still oblast chairman in that region.

The skinhead enforcers are well-prepared, suggesting they are working on behalf of the authorities. The Donetsk thugs sought specific details about Student Wave's finances, membership, leaders and objectives. They had files on each of the Student Wave leaders containing personal data that had to have come from university administrators or the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU). Different youth groups have noted that the SBU has questioned their members regarding an alleged coup by the opposition.

Ukraine's youth election-monitoring groups have organized two coalitions. The New Choice group brings together many well-known youth and election monitoring NGOs and is supported by the Europe XXI Foundation (europexxi.org.ua). New Choice grew out of the Civic Monitoring Committee active in the 2002 election, which saw the first large-scale youth mobilization. The Freedom of Choice coalition

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Taras Kuzio is visiting professor at the Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University. The articles above, which originally appeared in The Jamestown Foundation's Eurasia Daily Monitor, are reprinted here with permission from the foundation (www.jamestown.org).

NEWSBRIEFS

Russian president to visit Ukraine

KYIV – Russian President Vladimir Putin started a visit to Ukraine on October 26, five days ahead of the presidential election scheduled for October 31, Ukrainian media reported. At 8 p.m. local time Mr. Putin was scheduled to take part in a question-and-answer session that will be broadcast live on Ukraine's three television channels, UT-1, 1+1, and Inter. Mr. Putin and other CIS leaders are expected on October 28 to participate in official celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Ukraine from Nazism. The military parade will be the final main event in Viktor Yanukovich's election campaign and Mr. Putin's presence is considered by Russian and Ukrainian commentators as the culmination of the Kremlin's open support for Mr. Yanukovich. Meanwhile, Russia's ambassador to Ukraine, Viktor Chernomyrdin, said on October 24 that Russia "is not intervening in Ukraine's elections, but only worries about its results," utro.ru reported. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yushchenko warns Putin of 'provocations'

KYIV – Opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko said in an open letter to Russian President Vladimir Putin that the Ukrainian authorities are planning "provocations" against Mr. Putin during his current visit to Ukraine, the Ukrainska Pravda website reported on October 27. "According to our information, [Ukraine's] ruling team wants to transform your visit into a dirty and dangerous show and attribute responsibility for its own provocative actions to the opposition," Mr. Yushchenko said. Mr. Yushchenko assured President Putin that Power of the People, the coalition of forces that back his presidential bid, is in favor of mutually advantageous, friendly and stable relations with Russia. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Experts cite Russia's sphere of interests...

MOSCOW – Speaking on Vladimir Pozner's ORT talk show "Vremena" on October 24, Duma CIS Committee Chairman Andrei Kokoshin (Unified Russia) said that Moscow is very interested in Ukraine's presidential election "because Russia's foreign policy doctrine defines the CIS and Ukraine as spheres of Russian strategic and vital interest in all areas: political, economic and military." Another reason Moscow would like to have a "friendly president" in Kyiv is the importance of the Ukrainian military-industrial complex for the development of Russia's own defense sector, especially the

aerospace industry, Kokoshin added. Effective Politics Foundation head Gleb Pavlovsky said on the same program that Russia's goal is to prevent a situation in which "Ukraine can be used by the West for an anti-Russian game or can block Russia's drive for integration into Europe." He added: "Since 1914 Europe is split and it cannot be reintegrated only from one end, Brussels. To be united, Europe should have at least two centers of unification – Moscow and Brussels." Federation Council International Relations Committee Chairman Mikhail Margelov commented on the same program that there is nothing wrong with Russia openly backing Viktor Yanukovich. "The West no less actively supports [opposition leader] Viktor Yushchenko," he said. (RFE/RL Newsline)

... warn about 'Chestnut Revolution'

MOSCOW – On the same ORT program on October 24, Gleb Pavlovsky said he believes that two options are most likely in Ukraine: a Yanukovich victory or a "Chestnut Revolution" by Viktor Yushchenko's supporters. Viktor Yanukovich's supporters are "hypnotized" by their candidate's rising poll ratings, while the Ukrainian opposition is not inclined to trust the official electoral system and suspects the government will rig the election, he said. "I am afraid that events in Ukraine could go toward the Yugoslav variant [where President Slobodan Milosevic was overthrown by popular protests] or the Georgian 'Rose Revolution' that overthrew Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze," Mr. Pavlovsky said. Speaking on "Vremena," Mykhail Pogrebynsky, the director of the Kyiv Center for Political and Conflict Studies, said that he shares Mr. Pavlovsky's concern. However, Serhii Tyhypko, Mr. Yanukovich's campaign manager, said on the program that the situation in Ukraine is very different from that in Yugoslavia and Georgia. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, Ukraine has been a pocket of stability within the CIS, he said, with almost no social disturbances, riots or terrorist acts. Also, unlike in Georgia and Yugoslavia, there is substantial economic growth and a rising standard of living in Ukraine. "Everything will go peacefully," he concluded. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kuchma congratulates Lukashenka

KYIV – Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma called his Belarusian counterpart, Alyaksandr Lukashenka, on October 22 to congratulate him on his

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Christian Churches issue appeal to voters

Religious Information Service of Ukraine

KYIV – The Christian Churches of Ukraine issued a common appeal to the country's voters. The Church leaders call on all Ukrainians to carry out their constitutional duty: to vote and determine the further progress of the state. Without campaigning for any candidate, the leaders stress: "every voter must remember in the voting booth that he or she has been endowed by God and by the Constitution with the right of free choice and therefore, should vote, listening only to one's own conscience." The appeal was issued on October 7 during a press conference at the UNIAN news agency's offices.

"This year's presidential election is an important step taken by the people of Ukraine on the way to strengthening independence and the democratic principles of Ukrainian nation-building ... The election of the head of state also has spiritual and moral aspects. We, as leaders of the Christian Churches of Ukraine, feel it is important to turn the attention of citizens to the eve of an important societal event ... Even though, as a social institution, the Church does not intrude in the political life of the nation, every Christian has not only the right but the obligation to participate actively in the life of society," the appeal noted.

The appeal continued: "This freedom of choice, given by God and by the law, endows each of us with the responsibility for this act of our will. The awareness of this responsibility lies not only in appropri-

ately treating one's civic duty, but also in accepting the results of the national choice and working, together with the new president, for the good of the Ukrainian people. A special responsibility before God and the law is laid on those immediately involved with the election process. Their task is to do all possible for the full realization of the citizens' right to elect the leader of the state."

"We call upon all the faithful to increase their prayers to God for our people, that He may give it the spirit of wisdom in choosing the future head of state," noted the appeal.

The document was signed by: Patriarch Filaret (Denysenko), head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate; Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church; Hryhorii Komendant, president of the All-Ukrainian Union of the Association of Evangelical Baptists; Bishop Markian Trofimiak, assistant to the head of the Conference of Roman Catholic Bishops of Ukraine; Mykhailo Panochko, head of the All-Ukraine Union of Churches of the Evangelical Christian Faith-Pentecostals; Elder Bishop Leonid Padun, head of the Council of Bishops of the Ukrainian Christian Evangelical Church; Senior Presbyterian Vasyly Raichynets of the Union of Free Churches of Evangelical Christians of Ukraine; and Petro Balatskyi, member of the council of the Brotherhood of Independent Churches and Missions of Evangelical Baptists of Ukraine.

MP Wrzesnewskyj secures observers for second round

TORONTO – In August, while in Kyiv, Borys Wrzesnewskyj, member of Parliament for Etobicoke Center spoke with the head of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) election monitoring project in Ukraine on the need for election observers for the second round of the presidential elections in Ukraine. At that time, observers had not been planned for the second round.

Since then, Mr. Wrzesnewskyj has had a series of discussions and meetings with Aileen Carroll, the federal minister responsible for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), to discuss the importance of OSCE election observers in ensuring a fair and transparent election process during the second round of voting on November 21. On October 22 Mr. Wrzesnewskyj informed

the Ukrainian Canadian community that CIDA has announced that it will be sending election observers for the second round of presidential elections in Ukraine.

"Since Ukraine's independence, Canada has been active in supporting democratic reform in Ukraine." Mr. Wrzesnewskyj said upon learning of the news. "The attempted poisoning of the front-runner in the election, Viktor Yushchenko and the political situation in Ukraine today underline the need for countries like Canada to offer assistance to support fair and transparent elections in Ukraine. In openly expressing its concern about the direction of the election campaign in Ukraine and now by sending additional election observers, Canada has reaffirmed its commitment to the democratization of Ukraine's political system.

ELECTION WATCH

Channel 5 journalists on hunger strike

KYIV – A group of Channel 5 journalists went on a hunger strike in Kyiv on October 25, protesting what they claim to be official pressure on their station in the ongoing presidential election campaign, Ukrainian news agencies reported, quoting Channel 5. The journalists demand the reversal of a court's recent ruling freezing the channel's bank account, a move widely believed to herald the imminent closing of the channel which supports the presidential bid of opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko. The journalists also demand that the National Council for Radio and Television allow Channel 5 to broadcast in Ukraine's regional cable network in accordance with terms stipulated in its license. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Journalists back pro-opposition channel

KYIV – Some 100 Ukrainian television journalists took part in a march in Kyiv on October 24 in support of Channel 5, the private television channel that is supporting opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko's presidential bid, Ukrainian news agencies reported. Channel 5 is reportedly facing a threat of closure, following a court ruling in a defamation case. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Opposition campaigner attacked

KYIV – Two unidentified men threw bottles with some combustible substance at the car of National Deputy Volodymyr Bondarenko, chief of Viktor Yushchenko's presidential election staff in Kyiv, on October 25, the Our Ukraine website (www.razom.org.ua) reported. Mr. Bondarenko escaped the attack, which occurred in a Kyiv suburb, unscathed; his driver obtained a slight burn, while the car was completely burned out. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Pora announces week of protests

KYIV – The youth organization Pora on October 25 announced on its website (pora.org.ua/) that a "wave of student strikes and actions" will take place on October 25-30 to protest what it calls the official repression of the youth movement in Ukraine. "The repression by the authorities has acquired a nationwide character," Pora says. "Explosives, military cartridges, forged money and stolen items are surreptitiously placed with the youth activists whose views do not coincide with official ones, and criminal cases are being opened against them. This can't

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UCCA sends over 150 election monitors

by Tamara Gallo Olexy

NEW YORK – The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) is fielding one of the largest delegations of international election monitors to observe the October 31 presidential elections in Ukraine.

In an effort to assist in the democratic process and to help thwart any possible violations, over 150 individuals will be traveling to Ukraine this month to monitor the presidential elections, comprising the third largest delegation officially registered by Ukraine's Central Election Commission.

Members of the UCCA and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, as well as individuals from Italy, Great Britain, Australia and Poland, have joined the UCCA's delegation of international election observers. Although some members will be observing Ukraine's elections for

the first time, the majority of the observers have long-term experience in monitoring the election process, dating back to the 1994 elections.

In an effort to assist in the election process, the UCCA was to conduct pre-election seminars on October 27-28 to provide practical information on how best to serve as international election monitors. During the seminars the delegation will be briefed on Ukraine's election law by the Committee of Voters of Ukraine and equipped with all the necessary documentation and forms to assist them on election day.

Working with the Freedom of Choice Coalition and other Ukrainian NGOs, the UCCA monitors will be paired with local Ukrainian election experts when visiting polling sites on election day. The UCCA expects that delegations will be dispatched to all 24 of Ukraine's oblasts and Crimea.

Quotable notes

"Imagine that an imperial-minded president resolved to aggressively intervene in a strategic country with a fragile democracy to ensure the election of a favored client. To do so, he summoned his nominee and publicly embraced him; channeled hundreds of millions of dollars to his campaign; arranged for television stations broadcasting in the target country to openly boost the favorite and slander his opponent; opened hundreds of polling stations in his own country so that 'expatriates' could vote; and, to top it off, scheduled a trip to the foreign capital three days before the election to stump in person.

"Even Hamid Karzai or Ayad Allawi would be shamed by such a campaign, if it were launched by President Bush. What's more, the rest of the world would loudly condemn American interventionism. Yet Viktor Yanukovich, prime minister and presidential candidate of Ukraine, has humbly welcomed all this and more from Russian President Vladimir Putin – and Western governments have responded with a studied silence.

"... [Presidential candidate Viktor] Yanukovich was pronouncing himself touched by the news that [Russian President Vladimir] Putin would travel to Kiev [sic] this week to appear with him at a parade celebrating the city's capture by Soviet troops 60 years ago. 'I will forever be grateful,' said the burly prime

minister, who was publicly kissed by Putin at his home in Moscow this month.

"He should be. According to opposition sources, Russia has supplied half of the \$600 million that Yanukovich is spending on his campaign – including a \$200 million payment from the Kremlin-controlled energy giant Gazprom. Russian state television, which is seen by most Ukrainians, has campaigned unrelentingly for Yanukovich. Pro-Yanukovich billboards have appeared across Moscow, and expatriate Ukrainians will have the chance to vote at some 400 polling places in Russia. Russian political advisers have arrived in Kiev [sic] to conduct on-the-spot spin. Russian pop singers are touring the country and boosting Yanukovich at concerts. ..."

– Jackson Diehl, writing in *The Washington Post* on October 25 in an op-ed piece titled "Putin's Unchallenged Imperialism."

"Watching the unfolding of Ukraine's high-stakes presidential election is both exciting and heartbreaking. It's exciting to see a nation of almost 50 million citizens waking up and involved as never before in an electoral transfer of power in the Ukrainian government. It's heartbreaking to see how unfair the election

is, how ill-prepared are the democratic challengers, and how trivial is the help from the West, given that Russia is so aggressively intervening and helping its horse in the race.

"... regardless of who wins in Ukraine, several things are quite clear. First, if the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (OSCE) ODIHR Observer Mission to Ukraine can't figure out that this election is 'unfair' and fails 'to meet European democratic standards' then they ought to have the decency to hang their heads in shame, find other jobs, and cease living off Euro-American taxpayers, as their credibility will be shattered.

"Second, Ukrainians have awakened to find themselves faced with a real choice, and to realize that elections do matter and can change their lives for better or worse. Indifference is no longer an option.

"Third, Western and local democratic society elements need to finally wake up and get real. Building a free society and winning elections is not an academic or amateurish exercise, but a hard-fought business that requires professional expertise and lots of work. ..."

– John Conlan, former U.S. congressman from Arizona, writing in the October 14 issue of the *Kyiv Post*.

INTERVIEW: Yuri Shcherbak on political situation in Ukraine

Yuri Shcherbak is a diplomat, writer, physician and political activist. He has been the ambassador to the United States (1994-1998), Canada (2000-2002) and Israel (1992-1994). In 1988 he founded the civic organization Green World and was its leader until 1992. From 1989 to 1991 he was a member of the Supreme Soviet. As a writer he has published 20 books, including an exten-

There was not the depth of opposition that there is today. Presidential power and the role of the post of president have increased with each year. Today there is not only the considerable and extensive authority in the presidential post, given him by the Constitution of Ukraine, which is almost monarchic in its extent. There has also been the divvying up and re-shuffling of financial resources, and

Some facts are simply not known, and I believe they are not known to the doctors as well, so the reaction that they do not understand the case is understandable, they simply have not had experience with this type of anomaly. What happened to Mr. Yushchenko is a phenomenon not previously seen, at least not by these doctors. It happened at the moment when it should never have happened.

I repeat, one must be very careful with the terminology. You can't simply come out and say, "I was poisoned," or "They poisoned him," or "He was poisoned," or "He was infected with ricin, or with endotoxins."

Do you have the proof? If not, then you can only say that something unusually difficult to understand has happened. This would be the proper way of handling the situation, and then the evidence would have to be found.

Do you agree with the thesis that democracy in Ukraine has not evolved to the degree expected by the West in the last 14-15 years?

No, I don't. In Ukraine the foundation of a civil society has developed. In Ukraine a middle class of independent owners is actively forming and will become predominant soon and will begin to dictate their interests. In Ukraine there is a whole series of islands of democracy.

So this black-and-white stance by the West that we are simply some sort of authoritarian state is not true, it doesn't reflect the reality of the situation.

Today Germany is trying to redevelop the old France-Germany-Russia triangle, the Old Europe that recently opposed the United States. Russia desperately wants friendly relations with Germany. ... Furthermore, it is in the interests of Russia to have relations with Europe and NATO at a higher level than Ukraine does, meanwhile criticizing Ukraine for desiring closer relations with Europe and NATO and fully fighting any independent move by Ukraine towards the West.

Another thing, we are constantly comparing ourselves to Poland and Hungary. We might as well compare ourselves to Switzerland or the United States. I think it would be better if we would compare ourselves today with where we stood 15 years ago and remember the sort of terrifying, totalitarian, Communist swamp in which we existed then, where the first people who attempted to introduce democratic life were arrested and were harassed by [the authorities]. I still remember when we organized the Green Movement and how the Communist regime battled against us.

Today in Ukraine we can still express our thoughts, although it is true that today on some television stations ideas that are in conflict with those groups that currently hold power cannot be expressed.

We must acknowledge the huge step forward Ukraine has taken: literature has returned; we have NGOs, many of them – 130 that are merely concerned with democratic development. This has left its mark. They exist and are working.

I believe that an objective and differentiated opinion must be expressed regarding Ukraine. One cannot say that everything is black in Ukraine, to do so

is neither fair nor true.

Then would you agree with assertions made by some that democracy has not taken root at the most basic level within society, that too few individuals understand what democracy truly means and how it is supposed to work within society?

I fully agree. In these last 13 years we needed to do more than merely to proclaim freedom of speech. Our mechanisms of democracy have not always worked rationally or as they should.

Democracy, first of all, is a free discussion of various thoughts and conceptions, and a search for a compromise. Democracy foresees compromise. Here, however, thoughts are expressed, but at the same time the point is to stage a sort of civil war, absolutely destroy your opponent and then place your point of view at the top. These are remnants of the Communist system, which foresaw the complete, 100 percent destruction of the opponent, his humiliation at every opportunity and the victory of your ideas and your point of view.

This remains a part of the political practice of this country, within the ranks of the democratic forces as well, not only within totalitarian parties or those inclined to totalitarianism. For example, on the issue of political reform, the battle is being waged as if it is the last battle, the battle for Stalingrad, as if the fate of World War II is being decided.

Instead, the leaders of both political sides should sit down and determine the

... democracy is respect for the opposition. ... It is recognition of the opposition as a key national element in the development of the country. The opposition is a part of the nation, it is not the enemy of the people. It is not what is being said now: "the opposition is bad." This is an absolutely Bolshevik attitude toward the situation, totalitarian Bolshevism.

sive look into what led to the Chernobyl disaster. Currently he is an aide to the chairman of the Verkhovna Rada, Volodymyr Lytvyn. On October 12 Mr. Shcherbak turned 70.

The following is an edited interview about Dr. Shcherbak's views of the political situation in Ukraine conducted on October 18 in his office in the Parliament office building in Kyiv.

Tell us Mr. Ambassador, just what is going on in Ukraine?

The election campaign in Ukraine is affected by a fever. Every four years many countries, including the United States and Ukraine, experience this fever, although I grant you that the Ukrainian fever differs markedly from that which the United States experiences. It includes a rise in the [political] temperature, various symptoms and a sharpening of conflicts during which negative political (public relations) technologies begin to work.

However, this is an unavoidable process, which we have no choice but to endure, and let's just thank God that it is coming to an end.

But was all this foreseeable, the cynicism, the dishonesty and the extent to which the mud has been slung?

The stakes are very high right now. I was a presidential candidate in 1991 and the stakes were high then, too, but it was apparent that [Leonid] Kravchuk would become president even though [Vyacheslav] Chornovil was a candidate. It was considered that Kravchuk was the best choice in this period of transformation.

And while the political stakes were high, financial and economic stakes were non-existent because Ukraine [economically] laid in ruins then.

In 1994, the stakes rose and administrative resources were utilized in some small measure, but not to the full extent. President Kravchuk proved to be a tolerant person and he considerably stepped aside to allow for the legally elected president, Leonid Kuchma, to take office.

In the 1999 elections the stakes became very high. The incumbent wanted another five years in office and counted on the fruits of his political and economic reforms in his first five years – which were substantial in Ukraine, especially in the first part of his term – carrying him. So the stakes were high, even though his political opponents who took part in the elections, the Left and the Communists, had almost no chance, especially in the second round of elections.

the matter of favorable stances taken towards some financial-industrial groups and less friendly stances taken towards others – everything that we have seen in the last few years – which has raised the stakes immeasurably.

Beyond that – and what I have listed here thus far are secondary reasons for the high stakes – the primary reason is that a new period in the 13-year history of Ukrainian independence is beginning. Those who analyze contemporary Ukraine realize this. The old, post-Communist generation is moving into the background and a new generation, which we cannot yet fully call Ukrainian or European, is, nonetheless, replacing it.

For this reason this year's presidential elections are also a choice as to the direction Ukraine's development will take, in external policy and internally. It could also mean dramatic changes in the way Ukraine continues to develop, ways that we have already seen suggested in the campaigns. To a large extent, these elections of 2004 are as significant as the ones that took place in 1991.

Then the choice was the independence of Ukraine; not knowing what that would mean in political, social and economic terms, whereas now the choice is the future path of Ukraine for the next five years at a minimum and perhaps even 10 years. For this reason the choice is most important and that is why the stakes are high in this battle.

Your opinion please, did someone poison presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko?

I wouldn't say "poisoned," for that is a legal term. It is a legal term and I do not like to throw about legal terms when I do not have proof. I need proof.

I, as an epidemiologist and a doctor of infectious diseases with much experience, can say that what happened with him was not a typical illness. It was not some sort of pancreatitis; it was absolutely atypical, which should raise many questions in the minds of politicians and doctors. Some sort of catastrophe took place, an affliction that affected nearly all his internal organs, not simply the pancreas or the intestinal tract. Peripheral nerves were affected; the herpes virus infected him; obviously something happened to his immune system.

This matter should concern politicians and government officials, inasmuch as it occurred in the heat of the presidential election campaign and thus leads to certain considerations. If I were a member of the commission investigating the case I would be in a better position to present a conclusion.

(Continued on page 12)

THE UNITED STATES PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Responses from George W. Bush

EDITOR'S NOTE: Following up on last week's issue (October 24), which contained responses to questions posed by The Ukrainian Weekly from the campaign of Sen. John F. Kerry and a submission from the Bush-Cheney campaign, this week we publish the responses of the campaign of President George W. Bush.

The Weekly's questions, covering a variety of issues of particular concern to Ukrainian Americans, were sent also to the campaign of Ralph Nader, which did not respond.

Below are the unedited responses of the Bush campaign.

On July 28, 2003, Helsinki Commission Co-Chairman Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.) introduced a resolution in the Senate that unequivocally calls the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 genocide. S. Res. 202, whose official title is "A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the genocidal Ukraine Famine of 1932-1933," was referred to the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations the same day it was introduced. The resolution, which has the bipartisan support of 33 senators, has not moved since then. Where would your administration stand on this resolution? And, what can be done to pass this resolution?

The 1932-1933 Ukrainian Famine was a horrific event initiated by the Soviet regime to eliminate resistance to forced collectivization and destroy Ukraine's national identity. The victims of the man-made famine should be solemnly remembered and honored, and we welcome Congressional efforts to draw attention to this terrible crime. We look forward to working with the Congress on this issue when they return to session.

There have been on-and-off discussions in the U.S. about various topics related to immigration to this country, both legal and illegal. Please explain how your administration views the current Diversity Visa program (Green Card Lottery): should it be continued, be expanded, or be reduced? What are your feelings about an amnesty for illegal immigrants who find themselves in this country? To whom should such an amnesty be offered? Do you support the idea of a guest worker program that would bring workers from abroad to fill jobs that for which there are no American takers, for example, home care aides and nannies from Ukraine?

America is a stronger and better nation because of the hard work and entrepreneurial spirit of immigrants. Our nation needs pragmatic immigration laws that work and make us proud, while protecting our borders and keeping better account of those who enter our country.

The jobs being generated in our growing economy that are not being filled by American citizens represent an opportunity for workers from abroad who want to work and fulfill their duties. The president has proposed a new temporary worker program that offers legal status as temporary workers to the millions of undocumented men and women employed in the United States as of January 7, 2004, including Ukrainian workers. The program will also be open to aliens outside the United States, matching willing workers with jobs that no American has filled.

Temporary worker permits will be good for three years, and will be renewable. Once undocumented immigrants have achieved legal status as temporary workers, they will be permitted to apply for legal

residency or citizenship through normal processes. The temporary worker program will help protect immigrants from exploitation, while helping strengthen our economy by providing a legitimate workforce for businesses like farms and ranches.

The president's proposed program does not offer amnesty, which encourages illegal immigration and unfairly rewards those who have broken our laws. His program encourages immigration through legal processes.

On April 3, 2003, Rep. Sander M. Levin of Michigan introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives bill H.R. 1615, titled "To amend Title 36, United States Code, to grant a Federal Charter to the Ukrainian American Veterans, Inc." The bill would grant the Ukrainian American Veterans organization a federal charter. Would this resolution find support from your administration? And, what can be done to pass this resolution?

Our country deeply appreciates and honors the service and sacrifice of Ukrainian American veterans. They have stood shoulder to shoulder with all of our nation's veterans defending freedom and democracy here at home and around the world. While VA [Department of Veterans Affairs] does not express an opinion on the merits of any request by veterans organizations, it would not oppose a charter for the Ukrainian American Veterans organization or other veteran organizations, if enacted by Congress after the examination and deliberation inherent in the legislative process.

Worldwide, at least 600,000 to 800,000 human beings are trafficked across international borders each year. According to the United States government, "it is estimated that between 14,500 and 17,500 victims of trafficking cross [U.S.] borders every year." According to the Department of Justice, U.S. law enforcement has documented cases of Ukrainian girls trafficked in Los Angeles and Maryland. What should be done to stop the problem, specifically with regard to the issue of human trafficking from Ukraine?

To fight trafficking in persons, the U.S. Government improved the Ukrainian government's ability to combat trafficking by helping to beef up investigations, prosecutions and regional cooperation with law enforcement agencies in destination countries. Prosecution numbers have steadily increased. We also supported a crisis center that provides training and counseling to victims.

On March 13, 2003, Rep. Bob Schaffer (R-Colo.), who was a co-chairman of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, introduced legislation in the House of Representatives to permanently lift U.S. government trade restrictions against Ukraine based on provisions in the old Jackson-Vanik Amendment that restricted trade with countries that did not allow free emigration. The law, a vestige of the Cold War, has yet to be retracted in the case of Ukraine, even though it is commonly agreed that no such restrictions exist in the country today. Where would your administration stand on this issue? And, should Jackson-Vanik restrictions still apply to Ukraine? Where do you stand on granting Ukraine Permanent Normal Trade Relations status?

Ukraine has complied with the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act of 1974. We support

Congressional action to "graduate" Ukraine from Jackson-Vanik and to grant normal trade relations with Ukraine.

Ukraine has been stymied, for various reasons, in its efforts toward integration with the West. Would your administration be inclined to help Ukraine join the World Trade Organization, the European Union and NATO? Would your administration be willing to take on the role of an advocate for Ukraine's membership, as Poland has done?

We strongly support Ukraine's efforts to accede to the World Trade Organization (WTO). WTO membership would help boost Ukraine's economic growth, diversify trading partners and strengthen its ties to Europe. The U.S. funds assistance programs to help Ukraine develop legislation to bring its trade regime into conformity with WTO requirements. We are working closely with the Ministry of Economy and European Integration and other agencies, but we have stressed that Ukraine's progress towards accession will depend on its commitment to effect needed changes in its trade rules and practices.

The United States supports Ukraine's further integration with NATO, provided that Ukraine takes and implements the decisions needed – for defense, economic and political reform (including respecting OSCE commitments to democracy and human rights) – to meet the standards of NATO. By virtue of its deployment to Iraq, Ukraine has already demonstrated that it has the political will and the capability to make a serious contribution to meeting global security needs. However, NATO members must also meet political criteria; the upcoming presidential election is a chance for Ukraine to reinforce its commitment to promoting democracy and human rights at home.

We have a broad and robust agenda, and hope to work to advance individual bilateral issues, expand cooperation on global challenges, and increasingly integrate Ukraine into Euro-Atlantic and global institutions. The fate and pace of these efforts will largely be affected by the conduct of the upcoming presidential election campaign and voting.

In FY 2004, Ukraine received \$143.47 million in foreign aid. Under your administration, how much foreign aid could Ukraine expect to receive from the U.S. What types of programs would your administration support for Ukraine and its people?

The administration has asked Congress for \$97,858,000 in assistance for Ukraine under programs run by State Department and USAID for FY 2005. Additional assistance is also given to Ukraine through other Federal agencies. State and USAID funds requested cover a range of areas that support Ukraine's transition to a stable, independent democratic, market-oriented and prosperous state with good relations with its neighbors and strong links to the West. Freedom Support Act money will be used to broaden Ukraine's civil society, foster participatory democracy, strengthen independent media (through legal support and training), assist the GOU [government of Ukraine] to reform its legal and regulatory codes toward a market-oriented framework, and assist private sector development. A large part of the latter supports small businesses, land titling, deregulation and credit access. The State Department, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and Department of Energy also work together on a number of

nuclear safety projects.

(Further information is available in the Assistance Fact sheet linked to the Ukraine Country Background Note on the State Department webpage (www.state.gov).

Millions of people in Ukraine continue to suffer the ill effects of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. Vast areas have been contaminated, hundreds of thousands of people are ailing, including children suffering from birth defects. How would your administration help Ukraine and its people deal with the aftereffects of Chernobyl, whose 20th anniversary will be marked in 2006?

In recognition of the enormous problems faced by Ukraine after the Chernobyl disaster the U.S. government has pledged, as part of a G-7 initiative beginning in 1997, about \$150 million toward a fund of nearly \$1 billion to support the closure and containment of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. The Sarcophagus Implementation Project is entering the final stage of constructing the actual confinement structure. It is hoped that the confinement structure will be completed in 2009.

In general, what would your administration's policies be toward Ukraine? What would define U.S.-Ukraine relations under an administration headed by you? What do you believe should be the role of the U.S. in helping Ukraine proceed on the path toward full democracy?

The U.S. government wants to see Ukraine develop as a stable, independent, democratic, economically prosperous country, a country that increasingly draws closer to Europe and to European and Euro-Atlantic institutions, that promotes human rights and abides by the rule of law, that maintains positive, mutually-beneficial relations with its neighbors, and that actively contributes to strengthening peace and security in the international community.

Looking forward, the single most important issue now on our bilateral agenda is the conduct of the Ukrainian presidential campaign and election. We believe that the upcoming presidential election – scheduled for October 31 – will affect Ukraine's strategic course for the next decade. Ukraine has set itself the goal of integration into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions, including NATO. These institutions are, above all, communities of shared values premised on democracy and human rights. The presidential campaign and election provide Ukraine an opportunity to demonstrate that it, too, shares Western values of democracy and human rights. How well Ukraine does in holding an election that meets international standards will have a major impact on how quickly it can become integrated into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions and will also affect the direction and pace of U.S.-Ukrainian relations.

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Buteiko meets with U.S. officials, speaks about Ukraine's prospects

by Ihor Gawdiak

WASHINGTON – Anton Buteiko, who served as Ukraine's ambassador to the United States and Romania, and Bohdan Sokolovskyi, his former deputy chief of mission at the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, met with U.S. Department of State and National Security Council officials during their visit to Washington on September 20 and 21.

Ambassador Buteiko, who is currently the deputy chair of the Ukrainian National Party, and Mr. Sokolovskyi, the head of the party's secretariat, are supporters of Viktor Yushchenko, the democratic opposition candidate in the upcoming October 31 Ukrainian presidential election.

Mr. Buteiko is widely admired as a man of principle and courage by Ukraine's democratic bloc for his act of resigning his post as ambassador to Romania after President Leonid Kuchma signed the Single Economic Space agreement with Russia, Kazakstan and Belarus.

While in Washington, Ambassador Buteiko also made a presentation before the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and met privately with Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jackson Diehl of The Washington Post and Mark Brzezinski of John F. Kerry's presidential campaign. He and Mr. Sokolovskyi also spoke before Ukrainian American audiences in New York City and Philadelphia. Their visit to the U.S. on September 18-21 was sponsored by the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council and the Ukrainian Federation of America.

Ukraine: Putin's policy priority

During his meeting with officials from the National Security Council and the Office of the Vice-President, as well as in other meetings and presentations, Ambassador Buteiko reflected the thoughts of many Ukrainian American observers who believe that U.S. policy toward Ukraine is driven almost exclusively by the degree of Ukraine's participation in the Iraq war.

Ambassador Buteiko has been a strong proponent of a pro-Western policy for Ukraine throughout his career. In addi-

tion to resigning as ambassador to Romania in protest over the Single Economic Space, he also resigned from Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the same reason. He has also been outspoken in stressing that the United States has not done enough to help Ukraine achieve full membership in NATO or to move closer to membership in the European Union.

He noted that Russia's President Putin, on the other hand, "has said that Ukraine is Russia's first foreign policy priority."

Mr. Buteiko said he is convinced that the Single Economic Space agreement and the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) are nothing more than Russian ploys to fully integrate Ukraine into its orbit and reconstitute a variation of the old USSR. He derides the CIS as "a child born out of wedlock."

The U.S. and the West often tend to focus on the negative and not the positive about Ukraine, Mr. Buteiko asserted. There has been little appreciation for the sacrifices Ukraine has made in giving up its nuclear weapons, in underwriting the clean-up and shutdown of the Chernobyl nuclear power station, and in supporting NATO military assistance in Kosovo and Afghanistan, in addition to Iraq.

According to the ambassador, there needs to be a change in the conceptual approach of U.S. and Western European policy toward Ukraine. The U.S. and Western Europe must try to be a counterbalance to Russian interference in Ukraine; they must realize that Ukraine "is not Kuchma, and its people deserve greater attention from NATO and the EU." If the West ignores and ultimately rejects Ukraine, the country will fall back into the Russian orbit, he stated.

Fraudulent ballot scheme

The other issue raised by both Ambassador Buteiko and Mr. Sokolovskyi in all their meetings and appearances was the critical importance of the forthcoming presidential elections in Ukraine on October 31 of this year.

Messrs. Buteiko and Sokolovskyi described how the Kuchma administration and the oligarchs supporting it are doing everything in their power to pre-



Ambassador Anton Buteiko (right) and Bohdan Sokolovskyi (left) with Richard Murphy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies presentation in Washington.

vent the presidential campaign process from being fair and transparent, how they are blocking the national democratic camp from reaching the electorate, and how they have almost total control over the Ukrainian media.

They expressed great fear that even though all indications are that Mr. Yushchenko, the national democratic camp's presidential candidate, is the favorite to win the elections, the Kuchma administration will falsify the results. Mr. Buteiko demonstrated one method of election falsification in the past.

While serving as ambassador to the U.S. during the last presidential election in Ukraine, Mr. Buteiko requested 600 ballots from Kyiv for the Embassy in Washington for Ukrainian citizens residing in the U.S. who needed to vote by mail. He instead received 11,000 ballots with the understanding from the administration that he would return them to Ukraine with bogus votes for Kuchma. He refused to participate in this fraudulent scheme and soon thereafter his tenure as ambassador was terminated before the normal term. Mr. Sokolovskyi's diplomatic career also has

been adversely affected by his support of democratic forces in Ukraine.

This is why, according to both men, it is critical that everything possible should

(Continued on page 22)

Five Ukrainian citizens among 50 wealthiest

KYIV – The Polish weekly magazine Wprost named five Ukrainian citizens among its top 50 richest persons of Central and Eastern Europe, reported the Interfax news agency.

According to the Ukrainian service of the Radio Liberty, Rynat Akhmetov ranks first among the Ukrainians and sixth among the richest persons of the region on the annual list published in late September. Wprost experts say the last year was especially successful for Mr. Akhmetov, as he has doubled his capital to \$3.5 billion.

Dnipropetrovsk businessman, Viktor Pinchuk a national deputy and Leonid Kuchma's son-in-law ranks 10th. His capital has increased to \$2.5 billion in the last year, Wprost writes.

Ihor Kolomoiskii, the major stockholder of Privat Group, ranks 12th. His capital has increased to \$2.2 billion despite strong competition between Privat Group and the Industrial Union of the Donbas, Polish experts say.

Serhey Taruta, the co-owner of the Industrial Union of Donbas, ranks 15th. According to Wprost, the group controlled by Mr. Taruta has increased its assets to \$1.2 billion, and Mr. Taruta himself owns capital of \$1.9 billion.

Oleksander Yaroslavskiy ranks 27th with \$850 million capital among the richest people of the Central-Eastern Europe.

As Radio Liberty reported, the main difference between the new top 50 and the last year's in regard to the Ukrainians on the list is that Viktor Medvedchuk, the head of the presidential administration is not on the new list. According to Radio Liberty, the reason is that not that he has become poorer but that his business rivals have become richer in the last year. This explains also the high positions of the Ukrainians in the top 50.

Of other nationalities, Russians are the most numerous group with 29 individuals listed. There are also five Romanians, four Poles, three Serbians, two Czechs and two Bulgarians. The top 50 wealthiest persons of the region own total capital of \$86.5 billion, according to Wprost. This sum is \$13 billion larger than the last year.

Highlights from the UNA's 110-year history

A special yearlong feature focusing on the history of the Ukrainian National Association.

In her report to the UNA's 27th Convention, held on May 18-23, 1970, Supreme Vice-Presidentess Mary Dushnyck wrote about the role of women in the fraternal organization.

"Besides organizing members and collecting dues in their branches, women

(Continued on page 23)



THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

“Ukrainian-American Citadel”: from the pages of UNA history

Following is part of a series of excerpts from “Ukrainian-American Citadel: The First 100 Years of the Ukrainian National Association,” by Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, published in 1996 by East European Monographs of Boulder, Colo. The excerpts are reprinted with the permission of the author. The book is available from the author for \$25, plus \$2.50 shipping, by writing to: Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, 107 Ileshamwood Drive, DeKalb, IL 60115.

Chapter 7

Saving the Future

The UNA and Polish pacification

In 1921, Poland emerged from the Peace Conference larger than Western diplomats had expected. Winning territory as a result of battles with her neighbors, including Ukrainians, Poland had one of the largest minorities problems in Europe outside of Russia itself. Of Poland's 27 million population, a third were non-Polish: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Germans, Lithuanians and Jews. At Versailles, Poland had signed a general treaty guaranteeing minority rights within her political borders. Toward Ukrainians, these rights were rarely honored, neither in the 1920s when Poland's minority policy wavered between repression and accommodation, nor in the 1930s when its Ukrainian policy was one of brutal repression.

Another UNA priority was keeping both the Ukrainian and American public aware of what was going on in western

Ukraine.

Beginning in the late 1920s and increasingly in the 1930s, Svoboda published English-language reports of events in Poland concerning the Ukrainians. One such article in 1929 described a meeting of Ukrainian Americans at Chopin School Hall in Chicago protesting Polish police brutality during Ukrainian church services in Lviv commemorating those who had perished in battle fighting Poles. A resolution was passed during the meeting and later sent to Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg:

“The newspapers arriving in America from Lviv (Lemberg), the capital city of western Ukraine, now under Poland, report full details of the horrors perpetrated upon the Ukrainian residents of Lemberg celebrating with church services the memory of the Ukrainian heroes fallen in the Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918-1919. We understand that the Department of State is fully aware of the responsibility of the Polish police in Lemberg for those outrages.

“Whereas the American government was one of the powers that gave the support to the Polish army under Gen. Haller to crush the Ukrainian army fighting at that time against the Bolshevik hordes on the Eastern front;

“And whereas the United States gave its assent to the decision of the Council of Ambassadors of March 14, 1923, recognizing the Polish occupation of Western Ukraine, known as East Galicia;

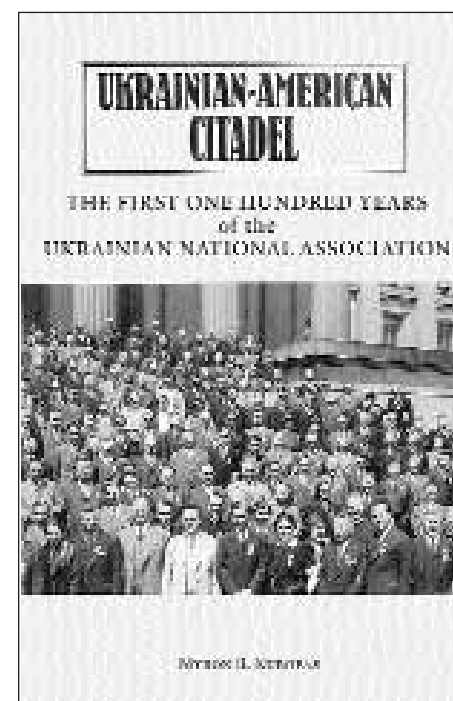
“And whereas the Allied Powers, even if only seemingly, imposed on the Polish government a clause guaranteeing the

Ukrainian majority on their own soil ... the rights of minorities to develop culturally and economically;

“Be it therefore resolved that an appeal be made to the American people and the American government to use their influence to prevent once for all any massacres of the Ukrainian people in Poland and to remove all brakes used by the Polish government to hinder the full development of the Ukrainian race on the Eastern borders of Poland.”

...Svoboda reported on the Polish pacification campaign at great length all through the 1930s, enumerating each atrocity and condemning it as an act of ethnocide. In cooperation with the UUAO [United Ukrainian Organizations of America], the UNA called for protest demonstrations throughout the United States. November 1930 was declared a month of “national mourning” for Ukrainians suffering under the yoke of the Polish pacification campaign and Sunday, November 16, was declared a day of “national prayer” for Ukrainians in Galicia. Some 160 mass meetings were held in 94 American cities and towns during the month, with a total estimated attendance of 104,000.

Ukrainian petitions to the League of Nations were of special interest. In a commentary titled “The League and Pacification,” Svoboda warned its readers that the League of Nations could not directly help Ukraine in its struggle with Poland. “That struggle the Ukrainian people will have to carry on its own back, with its own strength.” Yet, “the League of Nations has significance when



it comes to the formation of world opinion regarding the Ukrainian situation. When word of the pacification first leaked out, the Polish government and its agents denied its existence. After a half-year, the Polish government stopped denying the existence of the pacification and instead began to argue that the pacification was against anti-Polish revolutionary organizations supported by Berlin and Moscow. When the Ukrainian people appealed to the League of Nations for a review of their allegation that their national rights had been violated, Poland began to justify its actions.”

Author's evening marks release of Ukrainian-language edition of “Ukrainian Citadel”



Part of the audience at the Detroit-area presentation of the new Ukrainian-language edition of the history of the Ukrainian National Association by Dr. Myron B. Kuropas.

by Dr. A. J. Serafyn

WARREN, Mich. – Three Detroit organizations – the Ukrainian National Association's Detroit District Committee, the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Graduates of Detroit and Windsor – marked the 110th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Association on October 2 at the Ukrainian Cultural Center.

The event was an author's night with Dr. Myron Kuropas, who gave an informative presentation on the topic of his most recent book “Ukrainian Citadel,” in Ukrainian, published by the National University of Ostroh Academy in Ukraine.

Dr. Kuropas began his presentation with a focus on the formative years of the Ukrainian communities in the United States.

The first immigrants, primarily from the Transcarpathian Region, were known as Rusyns; others were known as Poles and Russians. There was a great struggle in forming the Ukrainian identity. It was of interest to Hungary, Poland and Moscow to impede the establishment of Ukrainian identity. About 20 percent of Rusyns were persuaded that they were Russians, and about 60 percent of them were convinced that they were Ukrainians.

The problem was also in the religious arena, Dr. Kuropas continued. Russian Orthodoxy and Roman Catholic bishops were formidable enemies of the Greek-Catholic Church at the beginning of the 20th century. Communists of the U.S.A. had a significant influence on the formation of Ukrainian identity, as well, mainly in 1930s. Their efforts were financed by

Moscow. Ukrainian nationalists were accused of being fascists and had to pay a price for it.

It is not surprising that the first name of the UNA did not have the word “Ukrainian” in it. The name kept changing with the political climate. In his presentation, Dr. Kuropas pointed out that UNA influenced the creation of the Ukrainian identity in North America. Its publications – Svoboda and later The Ukrainian Weekly – had a considerable influence on the development of Ukrainian communities in the United States.

The UNA got a significant boost in the late 1940s and early 1950s with the arrival of new immigrants. Its membership and fortunes rose significantly. As a result, the UNA contributed financially to many community organizations and projects, too numerous to mention.

By the end of the 20th century its membership, as in all Ukrainian organizations, declined as did its influence. The existence of independent Ukraine contributed to this situation, as did aging and the assimilation of the diaspora.

The Fourth Wave is not joining ranks of the existing Ukrainian organizations, however, Dr. Kuropas said he believes that they will with time. He urged patience.

National Secretary Christine Kozak gave an overview of products and services of the UNA. The UNA offers a variety of whole life and term insurance policies at competitive rates. Members also benefit from discounts at Soyuzivka and subscriptions to both newspapers.

The master of ceremonies for the meeting was Dr. Paul Dzul, president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Detroit Chapter. Dr. Kuropas was introduced by Dr. Alexander Serafyn, chairman of the UNA Detroit District Committee. Among the 70 attendees were Honorary Consul of Ukraine Bohdan Fedorak and Honorary Member of the UNA General Assembly Anatole Doroshenko.

The evening ended with the offering of coffee and sweets supplied by members of all three sponsoring groups, as well as a book signing by the author. Copies of both UNA publications and UNA insurance brochures were also available.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

GUEST EDITORIAL:

Russia's interference in Ukraine's election

by Borys Tarasyuk

President Vladimir Putin's visit to Kyiv for the commemoration of Ukraine's liberation from the Nazis during World War II is an attempt to save the failing presidential campaign of incumbent Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

For months Kremlin spin doctors aiding the Yanukovich campaign have used a strategy of splitting Ukraine's multicultural society along linguistic, ethnic and religious fault lines. They've taken great pride in authoring "temnyky" – special instructions from the presidential administration to the mass media on what events and issues should be covered – creating an information vacuum on objective news coverage in our country. In the week before the election, they've given more airtime on Ukraine's national networks to Mr. Putin, Russian Duma Deputies and Russian pop stars than to the presidential candidates who will decide Ukraine's future.

Mr. Yanukovich's billboards have mushroomed all over Moscow. Russian officials supporting Ukraine's prime minister wooed our diaspora recently in the Kremlin's column hall. And an unprecedented number of polling stations have been opened in Russia to serve hundreds of thousands of newly found Ukrainians, many with Russian passports. All the while, we are told that Russia is not interfering in Ukraine's presidential election. Nothing can be further from the truth. However, I believe the strategy to influence Ukraine's election by Russian spin doctors will fail and here's why.

The choice facing Ukrainian voters in the election is clear. It is not between politicians from the left or right, different vectors in international relations, or between differing tongues and nationalities – it is a choice between two competing value systems.

One, represented by Ukraine's dynamic opposition leader, Viktor Yushchenko, is based on democratic values, respecting individual liberties, and promotes economic opportunities and competitiveness. The other, represented by Mr. Yanukovich, proposes keeping in office a ruling clan that values autocracy and crony capitalism more than freedom and the rule of law.

There is no doubt that Ukrainians want this election to bring about change. Overwhelmingly, they think the country is heading in the wrong direction. They are tired of a corrupt government that does not respect human rights, ignores democratic principles, abuses law enforcement officials and works to enrich a handful of oligarchs at the expense of all citizens. They want opportunities to build a better life for their families and want leaders they can trust.

To derail voters from their yearnings for change, a dirty campaign has been launched. With advice from Russian PR specialists, the regime of outgoing President Leonid Kuchma has mobilized government resources to create a pre-election environment of fear, intimidation and uncertainty. Independent media have been systematically silenced, businesses that support the democratic opposition are harassed by tax and police authorities, presidential candidates are illegally shadowed, public rallies are ruthlessly suppressed, and civil unrest is being provoked by state-controlled mass media days before the election.

The election campaign has been unfair from the start because it openly ignored two basic OSCE criteria for free and fair elections: the absence of government interference in the electoral process and equal access of candidates to mass media. Thousands of pre-election violations by the incumbent regime have gone unpunished by law enforcement bodies. Under pressure from top government officials, bureaucrats at all levels have been forced to campaign openly for the incumbent prime minister. Even the chairman of Ukraine's central bank has put the country's currency stability in jeopardy by leaving its stewardship to an unaccountable deputy, while taking a leave of absence to steer the prime minister's election campaign.

What can save Ukraine's autumn presidential poll? Ballot security – and that will only be guaranteed on election day by the impartial actions of individual election commissioners brave enough to withstand the pressure brought to bear on them by local authorities and rogue police officers instructed by the Kuchma machine to deliver the vote it wants. Domestic and international election observers are needed to help ensure the final act in this election campaign is not stolen by the incumbent regime, as has been done before.

I am convinced all these government efforts are in vain because Ukrainian society has long ago made its choice in favor of democratic values and the rule of law. However, it is the incumbent government that has not delivered on earlier promises of moving Ukraine closer to Europe.

With Yushchenko at the helm, a democratic Ukraine will live up to its international commitments before the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the European Union. A democratic Ukraine will encourage the inflow of investment capital, including Russian.

Our foreign policy will become consistent and predictable because it will be based on our national interests rather than the individual interests of Ukraine's ruling clans.

Sixty percent of Ukrainians support closer European ties and want to maintain good neighborly relations with Russia. This is Ukraine's national interest. Unfortunately, the incumbent Kyiv government remains wedded to policies that divide not only our own society, but also our international relations. A democratic Ukraine will build relations with Russia based on a mutual respect of national inter-

(Continued on page 16)

Borys Tarasyuk, a national deputy of Ukraine, is chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on European Integration and was Ukraine's foreign affairs minister from 1998 to 2000. He contributed this commentary to The Moscow Times; it appeared also in Our Ukraine Update.

Rough draft

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

Campaign in Ukraine turns scary

Let's hope that when we look back on the presidential race of 2004 we'll all have a good laugh. Perhaps when recalling these dark days from the vantage point of the past we'll think of a horror movie, you know, the one in which the seemingly lifeless body of the slain monster, suddenly, momentarily lurches as if back to life – to scare the bejeezus out of the protagonist and the viewer as well – before falling back and finally dying.

Because, with the events of the last weeks before the October 31 presidential vote, Ukraine has become a scary place, one might say a police state, no different and perhaps worse than the one that ruled here for the 74 years prior to August 24, 1991.

Since that landmark date, the country had slowly moved away from its tortured past, albeit with thrusts and jerks, and some backsliding. Democratic institutions had taken root, civic organizations developed in all areas of the country, government processes became somewhat more transparent, and a free market economy began to expand robustly.

But in the last few weeks Ukraine's flag of democracy has been tossed into a storage bin as totalitarian tactics have become the norm in an effort by state authorities to force society to choose Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. Random searches, night-time arrests of students, surveillance of vehicles entering and exiting Kyiv, the brutish beating of supporters of Viktor Yushchenko, who can be compared to dissidents of the Soviet era, as well as the presidential candidate's earlier brush with death has led to a heightened state of fear within society.

Ukraine's law enforcement and intelligence services learned their Soviet tricks astonishingly well and – alarmingly – have not forgotten how to use them.

Just as the Soviet Union strove, with much success, to install fear in its citizens to maintain order and control, so has the government of Prime Minister Yanukovich succeeded, but in a rather different way. Mr. Yanukovich's aim has been to build fear within society for the candidacy of his opponent, to paint Mr. Yushchenko as a person with extremist ideas, who could lead the country to civil war.

After the recent bomb plants at the headquarters of the student organization Pora, and the bloody beating and knifing of Yushchenko supporters outside the CEC offices by hired goons, mothers in Kyiv are telling their teenagers and college-aged offspring not to go downtown. Pensioners are saying that American-led agents are destroying the Ukrainian peace after they earlier destroyed the Ukrainian economy.

However, whereas Soviet-era Moscow more often utilized tactics subtly to give the appearance in the West of moderation and a concern for international norms, the campaign team of Mr. Yanukovich has abandoned all sense of nuance in its acts of aggression. Today, appearances are not a matter of concern for official Kyiv – victory in the presidential election is. It is a desperate race to the finish, perhaps because the prime minister understands that he is facing defeat, as some political experts are stating privately.

Nonetheless, state authorities have noth-

ing to lose, and continued power and affluence to gain, in fighting this immoral and unprincipled campaign battle. One diplomat in Ukraine's foreign service, when asked why he thought the Yanukovich candidacy would prevail, said that for the political establishment defeat is not a consideration, it is akin to death because its members, the ruling oligarchs, would lose everything – power, status, and wealth – inasmuch as all was gotten through control of the levers of the state.

That is why it has become a daily problem for Mr. Yushchenko to find a place to land his campaign plane as has finding a local square at which to hold a rally. That is why the resources of the major mass media outlets are being utilized persistently, shamelessly, often absurdly, to beat into the population that Mr. Yushchenko's illness, paralysis and near death were the result of a drinking and eating binge.

Mr. Yushchenko has been forced to keep his stumping plans secret to the last minute so as not to have the resources of local and regional governments directed to upset his appearances. Even so, tens of thousands of his supporters have somehow found ways to show up on short notice, and with shifting venues, to express their support – even in the eastern oblasts of what is considered Yanukovich country.

The overt, cynical and shameless way in which the Yanukovich campaign has rolled over the Ukrainian landscape is shocking if only because the leadership, including the presidential candidate, must understand at some level that should the political strategies being employed by the prime minister's handlers succeed and he is elected president, it would have to live with the ramifications of its victory. The United States and the European Union have said that if the presidential elections in Ukraine prove to be unfair or not free, Ukraine could suffer economic and political sanctions.

However, if Mr. Yanukovich, in all of his post-Soviet enlightened wisdom, believes that Ukraine needs only its old Soviet comrades – Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan in a Eurasian common market – for it to prosper, then arrivederci, au revoir and bye-bye ...

Interestingly, Vasyl Baziv, first deputy chief of staff to outgoing President Leonid Kuchma, when asked about the mudslinging, the searches and dramatic declarations done in the heat of the election season, replied that no one should remain too concerned, for it all would soon end and normalcy would return. Perhaps.

He also said that after a short while everybody would forget how tortured the battle was. Interesting. Did Mr. Baziv inadvertently let slip what the political establishment in Ukraine was counting on should its candidate win? Do they cynically believe that international political memory is short, and that once the flag of democracy was taken out of the storage bin and again held aloft, old acquaintances would be renewed?

Better that Ukraine does not have to confront such a situation. Better that after the final vote is counted Ukrainians will be able to look back at the 2004 campaign season and liken it to a horror movie, admittedly a very scary one, but one that was now over.

FOR THE RECORD

Open letter of 12 Ukrainian writers

Below is the full text of "an open letter from 12 apolitical writers" about choice and the election in Ukraine.

We, the undersigned Ukrainian writers, do not belong to any political party. We are not involved in any party or ideological confrontations and, in this sense, we are completely apolitical. Above all, we prize human individuality, i.e., self-sufficiency and personal freedom. Moreover, since these very values are under threat today as never before, we are taking advantage of our right to express ourselves publicly.

Today Ukrainian "Prime Minister" [Viktor] Yanukovich consented to the atypical fusion of the criminal Ukrainian government with Russia's neo-Chekest regime, and by tomorrow every last trace of Ukrainian democracy will have disappeared, just as this has happened with Russian democracy.

Today Ukrainian (?) "Prime Minister" Yanukovich is rejecting Ukraine's European future, and by tomorrow every Ukrainian city may become a military base for Russia's armed forces. The only thing left of Ukraine will be its name, hymn and national emblem (there is no certainty with regard to the latter two attributes, if you recall the example of Yanukovich's historical fatherland, Belarus).

Today the Ukrainian (?) "Prime Minister" Yanukovich is threatening us with dual citizenship, and by tomorrow Ukrainians will again be foolishly sacrificing their lives for the sake of the "great empire." By tomorrow armed fighters will be taking Ukrainian schools and hospitals hostage; by tomorrow Moscow generals taken out of the deep freeze will be terrorizing Ukrainian civilians.

Today Ukrainian (?) "Prime Minister" Yanukovich is handing out to his nephews and favored cronies the finest plots carved out of national preserves, palaces and villas, parts of coastlines and reservoirs, forests and mountains, and by tomorrow for our survival (or extinction?) they will allot us something along the lines of a last reservation with a ruined, depressing landscape.

Today Ukrainian (?) "Prime Minister" Yanukovich is promising to grant the language of pop music and Russian criminal slang the absurd status of "second state language," and by tomorrow it will ultimately force out the "first state language," pushing it to the sidelines and margins. By tomorrow the language of the semi-literate "Russian professor" and his pals will unconditionally reign over the entire "guelder rose and nightingale"

territory of Ukraine.

Today the Kremlin spin-doctors, those unparalleled cynical managers of presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich are determining your future and ours, and by means of the blackest type of PR and primitive anti-Western rhetoric are, with no difficulty whatsoever, conducting their geo-strategic experiments with "a country that no one is sorry for." By tomorrow Ukraine will be turned into a black hole in the center of Europe, where presidential candidates are poisoned with impunity, journalists are murdered, and an entire nation of people is kept in submission, apathy and hopelessness.

Yes, we are truly in danger – Ukraine and its independence, and the independence of each one of us. That is why we, the undersigned Ukrainian writers, are calling on Ukrainian electors to give their votes on election day to Viktor Yushchenko for president of Ukraine.

Yanukovich stands for the irrevocability of a puppet dictatorship. Yushchenko stands for the irrevocability of democracy.

Yanukovich stands for a corrupt criminal, and degenerate government. Yushchenko stands for civic rights and freedoms.

Yanukovich is a Soviet-era man and a criminal, while Yushchenko means a chance for cultural diversity.

Yanukovich means isolation from Europe and the world. Yushchenko means the dismantling of borders, understanding.

A vote for Viktor Yushchenko is the European choice, not the Single Economic Space.

A vote for Viktor Yushchenko is a choice made by free individuals, not frightened zombies.

So if this government hates this person so much, then our choice is the correct one.

Let us choose today, because tomorrow they may deprive us of the very chance to vote!

**Yurii Andrukhovych
Andrii Bondar
Oleksander Boichenko
Ivan Andrusiak
Natalya Bilotskivets
Yurii Vynnychuk
Yurii Izdryk
Oleksander Irvanets
Irena Karpa
Vasyl Kozhelianko
Taras Prokhasko
Mykola Ryabchuk**

Translated from the original Ukrainian by Marta D. Olynyk.

Open letter from creative intelligentsia

Following is the text of an open letter from representatives of Ukraine's creative intelligentsia.

Dear Fellow Countrymen:

Most of us have no connection to politics. But today, when the fate of Ukraine (and the destinies of each one of us!) is being decided for many years into the future, we cannot, and indeed have no right, to remain silent.

Not so long ago we were certain that independence for Ukraine would mean not only the well-being of its citizens but also the burgeoning of culture and the formation of a society composed of free and spiritually wealthy people. Unfortunately, reality has shattered our expectations.

The point is not just that the prepon-

derant majority of Ukrainians still lives in poverty and lawlessness. Ukrainian literature, film, music performance and everything that is loftily termed "culture" have also turned out to be completely without any rights. In this kind of state the authorities do not have a single clue about the significance of culture in the life of the nation, for Russian pop entirely satisfies their spiritual quests.

However, the worst thing is that most recently fear is once again creeping into people's souls. Today they are often afraid of speaking freely, in case they lose the very last things in their possession – work and a piece of bread. Instead of a cozy European home with its attendant prosperous life and respect for the

(Continued on page 22)

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



"Jews for Yanukovich"

Presidential campaigns in Ukraine have yet to adopt bumper stickers, but, if they did, a popular sticker today would read "Jews for Yanukovich."

Am I surprised? No. Am I disappointed? Sort of. Given my experience with Ukrainian Jews in 1990 and the Jewish renaissance that followed, I had allowed myself to believe that the inclination of most Jews in Ukraine was towards democracy and the West.

It is natural for minorities in every nation to depend on the power structure to survive. No one knows this better than Jews in Ukraine. During Ukraine's Polish domination, Jews were tools of the Polish king; during Soviet times, they began as loyal members of the Soviet ruling elite. Later, Jews were especially well represented in the Soviet secret police (KGB, NKVD, OGPU, Cheka, etc.), where their involvement was significantly larger than their percentage in the general population would suggest. None of this, of course, has ever set well with Ukrainians.

This same phenomenon is making a comeback. Jews are backing the Kuchma gang. According to an October 3 column by Walter Ruby in the Baltimore Jewish Times, interviews conducted in Ukraine last July by the Jewish Telegraph Agency (JTA) found "a preponderance of Jews either favoring Yanukovich, or declaring a 'pox on both your houses' kind of neutrality on the two main candidates."

There are two main reasons for this development. The first has to do with protecting Jewish oligarchs who, like Vadim Rabinovich, president of the All-Ukrainian Jewish Congress, Viktor Pinchuk, President Leonid Kuchma's son-in-law, and Hryhorii Surkis, who owns Kyiv Dynamo, became multi-millionaires during the Kuchma regime. Today, Messrs. Rabinovich and Pinchuk have substantial holdings in the print and electronic media which has been defaming Viktor Yushchenko for years. They may face prison if Mr. Yushchenko is elected and decides to clean house. An investigation of corruption and other nefarious deeds by President Kuchma and the oligarchs supporting him would not be welcome, a major reason why they will do whatever it takes to stay in power.

"Other top Jewish leaders, like Rabbi Yaakov Dov Bleich of the Jewish Confederation and Ilya Levitas of the Jewish Council of Ukraine, while officially neutral," writes Mr. Ruby, "have strong personal ties with Kuchma and key members of his government." The word on the street is that Leonid Kuchma will remain in control as the prime minister in a Yanukovich administration. If Mr. Yushchenko wins, Jews lose.

The majority of Jewish members of the Verkhovna Rada, including Alexander Feldman, president of the Jewish Fund of Ukraine, are rooting for Viktor Yanukovich. The principal Rada exception is Evhen Chervonenko, a millionaire and former racing-car champion who is Mr. Yushchenko's close Jewish adviser.

The age-old Jewish strategy of clinging to those who rule was articulated by Semyon Belmon, chairman of the Jewish community of Chernihiv, who declared: "Jews should support the power of the country in which they live, as long as it is not fascist. All who shout that the power is corrupt and must be changed are just saying that so they can get into power themselves and do the same thing."

According to Mr. Ruby, the "only

[Jewish] community leader of note who appears sympathetic to the opposition is Yosef Zissels, a Jewish movement and human rights activist during the Soviet era." Mr. Zissels believes that "it is inevitable that some Jewish 'oligarchs' with close ties to Kuchma will suffer adverse economic and personal consequences if the president is driven from power as a result of an electoral defeat by his protege, Yanukovich."

A Ukrainian patriot, Mr. Zissel's support for Mr. Yushchenko is solid. "I believe Yushchenko would be better for the Ukrainian nation as a whole than Yanukovich," he said, "although perhaps a bit worse for the Jewish community. Still, the difference for the Jews would be relatively insignificant, and if Yushchenko can bring Ukraine closer to democracy and Europe, I am ready for it to be a bit more complicated." Honest Jews have nothing to fear from honest government.

The second reason Jews are supporting Mr. Yanukovich is a fear of alleged anti-Semitism. There are two reasons for this apprehension. The first appears to be self-inflicted by some in the Yushchenko camp, although not the candidate himself. The other is manufactured by the Kuchma regime.

Despite the usual, bogus fears of pogroms by the American Jewish establishment, it would appear that Jews have prospered in independent Ukraine. Some believe they have done better than the average Ukrainian. Watching Jewish oligarchs and businessmen wheel and deal under President Kuchma, some Ukrainians resent what they believe is too much Jewish control. Articles portraying Jewish oligarchs as having illegally plundered much of Ukraine's natural resources have appeared in pro-Yushchenko nationalist newspapers. The articles were immediately labeled "anti-Semitic" by the Kuchma gang, which demanded the newspapers be shut down. Mr. Yushchenko condemned the articles but refused to support newspaper closure. That favorite Soviet calumny – "Ukrainian nationalism equals anti-Semitism" – was quickly attributed to Yushchenko loyalists.

Being Jewish and supporting Mr. Yushchenko can be costly. Mr. Chervonenko believes his support of the opposition resulted in government machinations against his business empire that cost him some "10 million." He "accuses the Kuchma regime of 'playing the anti-Semitic card' during the election campaign by surreptitiously encouraging anti-Semitic journals with links to the opposition to publish anti-Semitic materials that the regime can then self-righteously denounce." The tactic worked. Many Jews report a fondness for Mr. Yushchenko while fearing some of his supporters. A 20-year-old Jewish student in Odesa, for example, recently declared: "I like Yushchenko personally, but am fearful that if the opposition wins, anti-Semitism may come back with a vengeance."

What will happen to Jewish oligarchs should there be a Yushchenko administration? Not to worry. Most will probably survive. They will simply do what their predecessors have always done: quickly join the power structure, swearing all the while that they were with Mr. Yushchenko from the get go.

You gotta admire that kind of chutzpah!

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

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Elected officials must be held accountable

Dear Editor:

I have really enjoyed following The Weekly's columns and reader editorials regarding this crucial U.S. presidential election.

What a conundrum: vote Democratic or Republican? Vote for an unknown change or four more years of the same partisan politics? What is a patriotic Ukrainian American to do?

I would like to point out to The Weekly readers that, in my opinion, both parties have lost focus of who they really represent, you and me. Both parties cater to industry, their lobbyists, PACs and other special-interest groups. Both parties loathe the very thought of a third-party candidate. When you look at corporate donations for the presidential campaign, do not be fooled that the Republican Party is the sole benefactor of corporate campaign contributions. The Democrats get almost as much as the Republicans do.

Democrats accuse Republicans of the "War for Oil," non-bid exclusive Halliburton contracts to "rebuild" Iraq and expansion of the defense budget. Leading Democrats, like Sen. Tom Daschle and Rep. Richard Gephardt, voted to support the war because they fell hook, line and sinker for the president's promise to be bipartisan and a uniter, as he claims to have been when he was the governor of Texas. (In Texas, the governor has less political power than the lieutenant governor and the speaker of the Texas House.) Republicans accuse the Democrats of flip-flopping, which is akin to the pot calling the kettle black.

Sadly, our brave soldiers are being sent on suicide missions and some are smart enough to refuse to carry them out. Kudos to them. After all, ask yourselves, why are they really there? Oil, black gold, Texas tea.

Then we have the "fair and balanced" media, not! The only example of reliable media is the "Bill Moyers Show" and "The Daily Show" with Jon Stewart. Remember Fox has a Bush cousin at the helm. As for the CBS issue, do not be fooled. Those that have protested too loudly have something to fear. The so-called forged papers were obtained under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). How ironic, since our media are frequently not free to report the truth.

The main point is that both parties play the same game – only the faces change. The time has come for Americans to hold their elected officials responsible for representing the people, not the corporate interests.

We can hold whoever is elected accountable to act in the best interest of all Americans. Just because a candidate runs an ad in The Weekly does not necessarily mean he is the best choice. The entire package needs to be considered. Actions speak louder than words.

Christia Wynnyk
Austin, Texas

Some sanity needed in U.S. foreign policy

Dear Editor:

I've followed the U.S. pre-election polemics on the pages of The Weekly with considerable interest. Both the pro-Bush and pro-Kerry constituencies' stances seem to be imbued with a tremendous amount of American patriotism and values rhetoric. What is missing

in general is a feeling of "who we are," and why we need to support certain positions.

I am a U.S. citizen. I was born and raised in the U.S.A. I recognize the obligations that citizenship imposes on me, and I accept them. This in no way affects my Ukrainian nationality – my heritage is a result of countless generations that preceded me, and hopefully will continue through my descendants. My views on the U.S. election are driven, therefore, by both the sense of obligation and the sense of self.

Over the past four years the U.S. has abandoned all semblance of any supportive policy toward Ukraine. The Bush administration has consistently courted Vladimir Putin's version of Russia – a non-democratic, authoritarian, aggressive version, intent on re-building its empire. President George W. Bush has said that he has looked into President Putin's eyes and has seen the man's soul. Apparently he likes what he has seen.

I don't! The U.S. is disregarding the decline of democracy in Russia, Russia's current human rights record, the resurgence of Russian hegemony, the destruction of Chechnya, the meddling in Ukrainian electoral politics. And Mr. Putin has returned President Bush's "soulful" compliment. Apparently he likes what he sees in Mr. Bush.

I believe that the only real beneficiary of Mr. Bush's anti-terror campaign is Mr. Putin's Russia. Our president is willing to overlook all its faults because it is a partner in the war on terror – not to mention a real contributor to state-sponsored terrorism itself. This is not good for the U.S. and does not bode well for the continued existence of Ukraine as a truly sovereign nation.

I will support John Kerry in the U.S. election. Not because I like everything he stands for, but because we need some sanity in regard to the U.S. policy on Russia and Ukraine. This I believe, both as a U.S. citizen and a Ukrainian.

George P. Jarymowycz
Short Hills, N.J.

A reader's rebuttal re the campaign

Dear Editor:

I've been reading with interest the U.S. election-oriented letters, and have some comments of my own. First, I'd like to offer a rebuttal to Roman Golash regarding John Kerry.

First, the smear campaign against John Kerry began almost as soon as his return from Vietnam. The Nixon White House's dirty-tricks division hired John O'Neill to discredit Mr. Kerry. Mr. O'Neill continues his dirty tricks today for a new administration. Regarding Mr. Kerry's statements, he merely reported what he'd heard from other veterans at the Winter Soldiers' Gathering, but the swift boat ads are heavily edited to make it appear that Mr. Kerry himself is making these charges.

With respect to the charge against Sen. Kerry's war record, the swift boat claims have been thoroughly discredited. All the men on Mr. Kerry's boat who were with him have verified that his account was true. Also, two separate Navy inquiries under two different administrations (Richard Nixon and George W. Bush), have concluded that Mr. Kerry's service was indeed unimpeachable.

Speaking of veterans, let's not forget that the Bush administration has attempted to cut veterans' pay and health bene-

fits, while hypocritically praising soldiers in their campaign speeches. Talk is cheap and actions speak louder than words, as they say.

Regarding the assertion that Mr. Kerry voted against "every known weapons system," there is more to this statement than the Republican propaganda machine's spin would indicate. Mr. Kerry, like most of the Senate at the time, voted to cut weapons funding from the defense budget because of the insistence to do so by then – Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney. This is no secret – Mr. Cheney's speech, where he strongly urges the congress to cut various weapons systems, has been shown at least twice on the evening news.

Everyone in the United States must be aware by now of the mess that the Bush administration has made in Iraq, their incompetence in taking a multi-trillion dollar budget surplus and converting it into a multi-trillion dollar debt, their disregard for environmental protection, and their lack of concern about 45 million citizens without health insurance. And every Ukrainian American must be aware of the Bush/Cheney administration lack of support for passing the Famine Resolution – are our "fearless" leaders afraid of offending Vladimir Putin?

But Ukrainians, with their memories of the Soviet horror, should be especially concerned about the ominous actions taken by this administration in the name of the "war on terror" – the encroachment on our civil liberties by radical extremist politicians on the far-right fringe. The so-called Patriot Act begins to take our country down a road travelled only by police states of the past. Nazis and Communists both used repression as a tool to consolidate political power, then made this repression permanent. One of the goals of fanatic Islamic militants is to destroy America by transforming our society into the kind found in many Middle Eastern tyrannies. If John Ashcroft succeeds in shredding the Constitution, Osama Bin Laden will have won.

Finally, concerning the silliness of "liberal/conservative" labels – conservatives traditionally have been stalwart defenders of freedom of the individual, proponents of fiscal responsibility and reduced government. On all three counts, the Bush/Cheney administration has failed miserably. Their draconian Patriot Act threatens our civil liberties, they've swollen the budget more than any "tax-and-spend" liberal ever did – likewise with our debt – and created more bureaucracy.

Incompetence, corruption, excuses, lies and hypocrisy – aren't you tired of this?

Oleh Sydor
Glen Ellyn, Ill.

Economic numbers don't lie about reality

Dear Editor:

I don't know where Myron Kuropas gets his data to paint such a rosy picture of the American economy. His views seem to reflect typical right-wing spin interpreting any report to their advantage, but the economy uses numbers and numbers don't lie. When President George W. Bush came into office the American economy had a surplus of at least \$3 trillion. Now we have a budget deficit of \$3 trillion.

What these numbers mean is that Mr.

Bush has lost \$20,000 for every man woman and child in this country. For Dr. Kuropas and his wife, this translates to a \$40,000 loss and, if Dr. Kuropas has two children, then it becomes an \$80,000 loss for his family. This also means that these children are that much in debt and, if they earn a typical American salary of \$35,000, they will have to work for the government for free for more than two years to pay this off. I hope Dr. Kuropas is happy with the couple of thousand that he saved on tax breaks.

This is not the first time Dr. Kuropas has used the right-wing agenda to attack John Kerry. It is one thing to criticize his war record and quite another to criticize what he said about the war. On previous pages of The Ukrainian Weekly, Dr. Kuropas basically takes the view of the ultra-right-wing swift boat vets in calling eight veterans who served with Kerry liars. Apparently, guys who weren't with Mr. Kerry know better what happened on those boats.

As a Ukrainian American Dr. Kuropas should be more interested in each candidate's stance on Ukraine. We already know the elder Bush's famous "Chicken Kiev" speech. The younger Bush is following right along in his father's footsteps, working against the U.S. Senate resolution declaring the Ukrainian Famine a genocide. Furthermore, his hero seems to be Vladimir Putin, who is quickly steering Russia into a dictatorship.

Oleh Kolodiy
Maplewood, N.J.

Faked photograph depicts diaspora

Dear Editor:

The Russian-language daily Segodnya, owned by Donetsk oligarch Rynat Akhmetov (Viktor Yanukovich's main ally) on October 21 published a claim that diaspora Ukrainians were demonstrating against U.S. "interference" in the elections (see <http://www2.pravda.com.ua/archive/2004/october/21/4.shtml>). In reality, the newspaper showed a 1991 photo of American Ukrainians demonstrating against the USSR.

Should Ukrainian organizations in the U.S. stay silent about this?

Taras Kuzio
Washington

The Ukrainian Weekly welcomes letters to the editor and commentaries on a variety of topics of concern to the Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian communities.

Opinions expressed by columnists, commentators and letter-writers are their own and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of either The Weekly editorial staff or its publisher, the Ukrainian National Association.

Letters should be typed (double-spaced) and signed (anonymous letters or letters signed with pseudonyms are not published). Letters are accepted also via e-mail at staff@ukrweekly.com.

The daytime phone number and address of the letter-writer must be given for verification purposes. Please note that a daytime phone number is essential in order for editors to contact letter-writers regarding clarifications or questions.

FOR THE RECORD

U.S. Ambassador John Herbst speaks on the future of Ukraine

Following is the text of a speech delivered by U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John E. Herbst at European University in Kyiv on October 7.

The future of Ukraine is a large topic of great importance to the Ukrainian people, obviously, but also to the region and to the Euro-Atlantic community, which includes the United States. This topic has particular meaning this year, the country's 14th year of independence and the year of its fourth presidential election. We have seen dramatic statements about the meaning of this election. Some observers suggest that this is the most important vote since the referendum on independence. Still other observers speak of the election in Manichean terms as a struggle between good and evil.

Of course, hard-fought political campaigns in democracies are often given to hyperbole. Some even say that our own American election this year has witnessed some overstatement. But as one Rada deputy from the center of the political spectrum correctly noted at my dinner table recently, the sun will rise on the morning of November 22, the day after the run-off vote that all expect in the Ukrainian elections.

So what are we looking at in Ukraine? A titanic battle for the soul of the country, or just one more presidential election in the life of a young, developing democracy? Or is it something else?

Let's start with some positives. Ukraine stands in the front ranks of the newly independent states (NIS) in terms of economic and political reform. You all know the splendid growth rates the country has achieved over the past four years. While remaining energy dependent, Ukraine's growth rate has averaged 7.5 percent over this period and exceeded 12 percent for the first four months of this year. This is due to a talented people, ample natural resources and excellent macroeconomic policy. I would note, however, that the excellent fiscal policy has given way to some potentially inflationary election-year economics – something which is known not just in Ukraine, but also in other democracies.

Civil society in Ukraine is vibrant. Freedom of speech is embedded in the law and there are media representing all points of view. There is a strong opposition – which is not seen much within the NIS – whose leader just might be elected president this fall. It seems clear that President [Leonid] Kuchma will step down following this election. That means that this election will feature the second peaceful presidential transfer of power in Ukraine – an important step in the establishment of a democratic tradition.

But, of course, this is not the whole of the story. Indeed, some in Ukraine would even take exception with the way that I formulated the good news. One member of the opposition, for instance, complained to me that the point of comparison for Ukraine should not be the NIS, but the countries immediately to the west, former members of the Soviet bloc that are now in NATO and the European Union. Countries such as Poland and Hungary. In such company, he claims, the Ukrainian record is not pretty at all.

There is something to this. Ukraine's vibrant civil society is perhaps not quite as vibrant today as it was five or six years ago. The same may be said about the media. While media represent all points of view, the dominant media all pull in the direction of the governing parties and the media that do not are subject to pressure and even closure. Given the welter of often

contradictory laws governing all aspects of life in Ukraine, people going about their affairs may well be in violation of one of them. This provides opportunities for those in power to go after their opponents.

I met with one articulate journalist from a pro-government newspaper who argued that such things are not important. Most

obstacles have been placed in the way of the opposition parties. These have begun to raise doubts about whether the elections can be considered truly free and fair. As you are well acquainted with the situation here, I will only list a few of them quickly:

- There is disproportionate coverage in favor of the government candidate in the

How is the campaign going? The answer is: it is not going very well. While most parties in Ukraine pay lip service to the idea of a free and fair competition, the reality is sadly different. A variety of obstacles have been placed in the way of the opposition parties. These have begun to raise doubts about whether the elections can be considered truly free and fair.

Ukrainians, he said, don't care about things like freedom of speech or completely free elections. They want good, secure jobs, which the growing economy is providing. This is an interesting argument. I remember such arguments in favor of the Soviet way of life, which, of course, provided neither freedom nor prosperity, but this argument is misplaced in Ukraine just as it was misplaced in Soviet times. Even for those in Ukraine who only care about the economy, good clean government, which requires a truly open society and complete media freedom, is essential.

While macroeconomic policies have been very good, the microeconomic policies are another story. The laws concerning private property and the formation of businesses are a jumble of contradictions allowing corruption to flourish. The impact this has on the welfare of ordinary Ukrainians is easy to see. Earlier this year the government oversaw the privatization of Kryvorizhstal, a major steel plant in eastern Ukraine. It wrote the terms of the bidding in such a way as to rule out foreign competition. The winners of the bid were two businessmen associated with the government. Their winning bid was for \$800 million (U.S.). Two foreign firms put in a bid of \$1.65 billion. In addition, they were willing to invest \$1.2 billion in the firm. They wanted to modernize the firm. The fact that this bid did not win, that it went to two privileged businessmen meant that the Ukrainian government received \$700 million less than it would have. It also means that the steel works did not receive \$1.2 billion in investment. Imagine how many jobs for Ukrainian steelworkers will not be created and how many jobs in related industries will not be created because the foreign bid was not accepted.

Of course, you did not read about these facts in your major media, because your major media didn't want to cover those stories. And the media that do cover those stories are subject to harassment.

Which brings us to the elections. Let me first repeat the obvious: the only stake the United States has in these elections is in the electoral process – not in any candidate. We would like to see a free and fair election in Ukraine. In other words, our only stake is that the Ukrainian people choose their next leader. That choice should not be influenced by government officials who limit access to information, who hinder opposition political activities or, worse, play games with the actual electoral results.

How is the campaign going? The answer is: it is not going very well. While most parties in Ukraine pay lip service to the idea of a free and fair competition, the reality is sadly different. A variety of

main broadcast and print media.

- Pressure on independent and opposition media, including removing TV Channel 5 from the airwaves in many places, continues.

- Administrative obstacles to political events of the opposition are also evident, although there may have been some improvement in this area.

- Regional officials and business leaders force citizens and workers to sign petitions and attend rallies in favor of the pro-government candidates.

- There is use of the procurator general and the tax authorities to go after opposition-affiliated entrepreneurs.

I should note that senior government officials have publicly and privately in conversations with American officials condemned any such abuses. This is good. Some observers, not all members of the government, have blamed many of these excesses on overzealous bureaucrats. All the same, we believe that the interests of Ukrainian voters would be served if such abuses stopped, and, therefore, the government should take effective measures toward that end.

The good news is that, despite these abuses, we are witnessing a real horse race. President Kuchma was right in telling a number of senior American officials visiting here that it is not possible to predict the winner of your election. Most polls currently show Viktor Yushchenko with a lead of anywhere from 4 to 9 points over Prime Minister [Viktor] Yanukovich in both the initial and run-off rounds. And observers on both sides of the political fence talk about a backlash effect in the elections to the crude use of administrative resources by people in authority. But it is too early to make any predictions. Polls have also shown that the undecided vote has been growing sharply.

While these statistics are interesting, let me stress once again that the United States has no preference among the candidates. American officials who visit Ukraine have been scrupulous in asking to see both Viktor Yanukovich and Viktor Yushchenko. We have a great deal of contact with both men and know that we can work with either one. Our only interest is in the people of Ukraine choosing their own president without hindrance from powerful forces and officials.

The closeness of the race means that election day (or days) will be exciting. We hope those days will also be a stunning achievement in the development of Ukrainian democracy. With that in mind, our policy is supporting two critical measures. The first is the provision of election observers. The OSCE [Organization for

Security and Cooperation in Europe] through its election arm, ODIHR, [Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights], is providing roughly 600 observers. That's a very small number for the largest country in Europe with 33,000 polling stations. The United States will also be financing another 1,000 observers – most of those observers will come from Europe, from your neighbors. We believe that additional international observers would also be a plus. It is very important that Ukrainian NGOs be permitted to participate as observers.

The second measure to ensure free and fair elections is exit polls. This should provide an accurate count readily available to the public of the voting. Exit polls were very accurate and effective in your presidential election in 1999 and your Rada elections in 2002. The purpose of these measures is to make sure that Ukrainian election – like Caesar's wife – is above suspicion.

I might note here that these two measures are so important that other parties see value in their use. The CIS has already sent observers who will see what a truly contested election looks like. Similarly, some from these same countries are also talking about doing their own exit polling – a very interesting phenomenon.

We want free and fair elections for several reasons:

- We believe that democracy is good for Ukraine and Ukrainians, if not for some of the vested interests controlling the major media in the country.

- We believe that a clear democratic election in Ukraine – no matter who wins – could be a persuasive example for Ukraine's neighbors among the Newly Independent States.

- Finally, Ukraine has declared its interest in Euro-Atlantic integration. We support this choice because we believe that it will contribute to the security and prosperity of Europe and beyond. Such integration means many things, including a club of democracies. So free and fair elections will speed up Ukraine's integration.

It is Ukraine's honor that we cannot say at this stage who will be the next president of the country. It will be an even greater honor if the administrative abuses cease, if the counting of votes on election day is done in an honest and transparent manner and if, therefore, the people of Ukraine really do choose their next president.

Attention, Students!

Throughout the year Ukrainian student clubs plan and hold activities. The Ukrainian Weekly urges students to let us and the Ukrainian community know about upcoming events.

The Weekly will be happy to help you publicize them. We will also be glad to print timely news stories about events that have already taken place. Photos also will be accepted.

MAKE YOURSELF HEARD.

Yuri Shcherbak...

(Continued from page 4)

Of course, I mean a legitimate opposition. There also exist radical anti-globalists who throw bombs, but I mean a legitimate opposition.

In Canada, for example, the residency of the leader of the opposition stands not far from the residency of the prime minister, the leader of the majority. They cooperate.

For the prime minister to arrange for the leader of the opposition to be denied access to the province of Alberta [during elections] would be considered complete nonsense there. The people of Canada would not allow for such a development. And this is the difference between their democracy and ours.

In an interview published in the newspaper Den you were quoted as having said that the West made a "fatal historic mistake" in failing to deal with Ukraine in a partnership of equals. What can the West do to correct that mistake?

If the West were to turn away from Ukraine, then immediately the country would fall into the embrace of Russia and that could truly signal the death of Ukraine.

The West must cooperate. Maybe it will not like the next government or president. I do not know who the next president will be, but the West must continue to work with the country.

The United States took offense at the extensive amount of excesses that happened in Ukraine, the various scandals, and we understand this. However, taking it all in the larger context, look at the Kolchuhha scandal. In the end it was a situation not totally understandable, per-

haps imagined, and I still do not understand what happened. But with it our relations fell to zero and perhaps even lower.

So the U.S. also has played a role. I have stated and will continue to state, even if and when Condoleezza Rice becomes secretary of state, that she took an absolutely improper line in relations with Ukraine. She ignored Ukraine. For her Ukraine was a territory under the protectorate of Russia, which is not the case. Whereas the Democrats understood the meaning of Ukraine, the Republicans, thanks to several people in the State Department, wasted the opportunity.

Nonetheless, the U.S. showed more interest in Ukraine than Europe. The European Union has ignored Ukraine 100 percent. I think that within Europe there is a deeply held bias by which the E.U. in the end threw us, Ukraine, Belarus and Russia, into the post-Byzantine, Orthodox space, with which it wants no relations.

Europe seems in full support of the thesis proposed by [Samuel P.] Huntington in his "Clash of Civilizations" (published in Foreign Affairs in 1993). Huntington drew a line and stated that where Orthodoxy begins, Europe ends. By this reasoning, Greece must be counted out of Europe – and many support the idea – as well as Romania and the Eastern Slavic world.

This approach is absolutely not correct, inasmuch as we are a European country. It is another matter whether we have European standards, but I would like to underscore that there is absolutely no difference today between a village in Volyn and a Polish village on its eastern border with Ukraine. Both villages are backward.

Poland also has a long way to go to reach European standards, although we

acknowledge its achievements, and Ukraine also does. [Europe], however, threw Ukraine aside. Did you know that when President [Leonid] Kuchma took power, his first overtures were to Germany. He deeply believed that Ukraine and Germany would have close relations. He criticized Minister of Foreign Affairs [Anatolii] Zlenko, for not pursuing the effort. Read his documents from 1994 and you will realize that Germany in fact ignored the advances.

And you see what is happening now. Today Germany is trying to redevelop the old France-Germany-Russia triangle, the Old Europe that recently opposed the United States. Russia desperately wants friendly relations with Germany. [Chancellor Gerhard] Schroeder has repeatedly said that he is in full support of Russian [foreign] policy, which he believes is fair and proper. He has only shied away from use of the term axis, because it has negative connotations from the Nazi era and its axis with Japan.

But the axis is being formed, as many political scientists observe, and it is in the interest of Russia for this to happen. Furthermore, it is in the interests of Russia to have relations with Europe and NATO at a higher level than Ukraine does, meanwhile criticizing Ukraine for desiring closer relations with Europe and NATO and fully fighting any independent move by Ukraine towards the West. This is an altogether obvious strategy.

You also made a distinction in the Den interview between U.S. policy toward Ukraine during the administration of Bill Clinton, which you called adequate, and the stance that President George W. Bush took. Please explain.

While you can blame the Bush administration for the problems with Ukraine, Ukraine is also to blame. I am referring to the Melnychenko tapes. The fact that the U.S. gave Melnychenko political asylum brought many negative consequences. For the leadership of Ukraine the decision carried an unusually negative message and led to a cooling of relations. But without a doubt, Kyiv made its contribution to this cooling.

However, it has been two years since the Ukrainian contingent was stationed in Iraq, and there has been sufficient time to consider in what way relations could continue and what the perspectives might be. But they remain at the same level.

Perhaps only lately a new understanding has begun within the U.S., which was expressed in an address by Sen. John McCain during the Washington Conference, in which he said that we have ignored Ukraine and have failed to give the country sufficient attention. He acknowledged the fact.

I listened to his remarks and believe that these were sobering words. I hope that the new president of the U.S., whether Bush in a second term or [John] Kerry, builds a rational strategy regarding Ukraine, one in the interests of the U.S. and Ukraine, and one that would include a strategy on how not to throw Ukraine into Russia's embrace.

The earlier approach, the unilateral approach that Bush had used with Ukraine and in general with the world was not correct. It not only was rejected by Ukraine, but by most of Europe as well.

We had a strategic partnership (Ukraine and the U.S.) and I was proud that I helped develop it. Now, it has disintegrated into nothing. It simply no longer exists, even though nobody announced such. We need to do everything possible – in Ukraine anti-Americanism is becoming increasingly evident and is being fueled by the official organs that control the mass media – to

change this.

You are now an aide to Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn. There are some political analysts who are suggesting that a chasm has developed between him and the political establishment. Is there reason to believe this?

I wouldn't call it a chasm. I would say that Mr. Lytvyn is first an intellectual, a good person who has finally begun to play an independent role in Ukrainian politics.

Those who only considered him an aide, only capable of playing a supporting role and who only knew how to carry out orders, these people are disillusioned. [Mr. Lytvyn was President Leonid Kuchma's chief of staff for several years.]

They need to understand what all professors realize. The professor has an assistant who was his student initially and that student eventually wants to become a professor as well.

This is an absolutely normal process, the matter is not that a chasm has developed. Mr. Lytvyn is a level-headed, constructive, careful person, who does not submit to sensationalism. He considers each step, as far as I can see. When he became chairman of the Verkhovna Rada he came to understand the importance of this organ of Ukrainian democracy, which I believe is the highest democratic body in Ukraine because various thoughts are expressed here and various levels of Ukrainian society are represented. He understood the most basic nature of parliamentarism.

I believe that Mr. Lytvyn heralds the new generation that is developing and will rule Ukraine. He is level-headed, tolerant, objective and wants to govern within the law. It is important to bring Ukraine and its politicians within the realm of the law, so as to avoid some sort of civil war. Mr. Lytvyn works to make sure the process works within the framework of the Constitution.

You have been a political activist and a government official at the highest level. You just turned 70 years old several weeks ago as well. What are the achievements that you are most proud of?

My most important and largest achievement – and it can only be considered a historic anomaly – is that I took an active part in the fight for independence of Ukraine. My greatest moment, without a doubt, came in taking part in the Declaration of the Act of Independence of Ukraine. I was a member of the Ukrainian government on that day. I was also a member of the Soviet Parliament as well, where I read the act of independence.

I consciously went into government work to build Ukrainian statehood. These last 13-15 years have been the most significant of my life, even though I had interesting periods in my life as a doctor and as a writer. But nothing can compare to the accumulated passion for this historic global event, truly an event of worldwide significance, which the end of the Soviet Union was.

For three years I watched – I was in Moscow at the time – as an empire fell before my eyes. Not everybody is given that chance. This was a great honor because my forefather, my great grandparents, grandparents, parents and those close to me died under the Soviet system. They fought and they died. They could not have even dreamed that Ukrainian independence would someday be declared. And I had the fortune to do so. It was my good luck to see it happen and to take part in the process.

Putin interviewed on Ukrainian TV

RFE/RL Newslines

KYIV – President Vladimir Putin gave a live interview on Ukrainian television on October 26, Russian and Ukrainian media reported. Three major networks carried the interview. Speaking about his vision of the world order and Russia's place in it, Mr. Putin said that Russia is working with the United States to combat terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Russia is also developing ties with the European Union, which accounts for more than 50 percent of Russia's trade, he said.

Culturally, Russia is a European country, the Russian president said, despite the fact that it stretches to the Pacific Ocean. "But I, for one, believe that the world can only be multipolar," he added. "Only a multipolar world can have internal energy and stimuli for its development."

He also said that Russia has no ambition to revive the Soviet Union as such an "attempt would be counterproductive and impossible," adding, "Many in the CIS regret the loss of the Soviet Union and they are right in doing so, but once that happened, we should concentrate on the here-and-now." On the other hand, he declared that he is a staunch supporter of economic integration among CIS countries. Mr. Putin said it would be advisable to set up a supranational body for regulating tariffs on the post-Soviet area. "As for a [common] government and parliament, it is a remote prospect," he noted. "Such issues are not on the agenda today."

President Putin also said that Russia will not "purposefully support any political forces in Ukraine," as doing so could bring dangerous results.

He noted that, in recent years, the two countries have solved their border disputes and the problem of Ukrainian debt to Russia. Many observers believe that the solution of the border disputes is a sign that Russia fully recognizes Ukraine's independence. Answering a viewer's comment that a Russian naval base in Sevastopol is a violation of the Ukrainian Constitution, Mr. Putin said that Russian seamen are in Ukraine on a "provisional basis" and by agreement with the Ukrainian authorities.

The Russian president also said that after returning to Moscow he will instruct relevant state bodies to ease the border-crossing regime with Ukraine and allow Ukrainian citizens to enter Russia not only with foreign-travel passports but also domestic ones. He also promised to simplify the obligatory registration of Ukrainians entering Russia but did not elaborate.

Asked about his opinion on introducing dual citizenship in Ukraine, which is one of Viktor Yanukovich's presidential campaign pledges, President Putin said he "fears getting ahead" of some issues, adding that "any of our actions may be perceived as an attempt to restore something." He noted, however, that Ukraine, Russia and Belarus present a "special case" in this regard. "We need to think about that," he added. "When I say 'we,' I have in mind not only Russia but also Ukraine. We cannot resolve this issue unilaterally. It should mature, it should be brought forward by society itself."

Many observers have said that, by appearing on Ukrainian television, Mr. Putin is showing strong support for Ukrainian presidential candidate and Prime Minister Yanukovich.

ON THE EVE OF UKRAINE'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Tension builds as election enters the homestretch

by **Taras Kuzio**
Eurasia Daily Monitor

On the eve of the October 31 Ukrainian presidential election, the political situation in the country may be spiraling out of control. President Leonid Kuchma cancelled a one-day visit to Poland last weekend, blaming the "complicated internal situation in Ukraine." On October 25 he again attacked the opposition for their campaign activities, while staying conspicuously silent about massive election violations (Ukrainska Pravda, October 25).

The authorities believed that by September the election momentum would have shifted in their favor. Instead, challenger Viktor Yushchenko's lead over Prime Minister Viktor

numerous obstacles used to block his supporters from traveling to Kyiv. That evening 200 demonstrators remained outside the CEC to support the opposition members inside who were attempting to prevent the creation of further election stations in Russia, which they fear will be fraudulently used by Russia on behalf of Mr. Yanukovich's candidacy.

One hundred plainclothes "demonstrators" attacked the remaining opposition protesters that night. They were brought to the CEC by a spetsnaz unit (Titan) within the Internal Affairs Ministry. Two of the "demonstrators" were later detained by the opposition, after they were discovered to have identity cards showing them to be Internal Affairs

"The authorities are scaring us with a 'Georgian scenario' when they themselves are developing a 'Belarusian scenario.'"

– *Statement by the Socialist Party of Ukraine*

Yanukovich has continued to grow, causing panic in the Kuchma camp.

The government doubled pensions to \$53 per month (285 hrv), at a cost of an additional 1.1 billion hrv (\$206 million). The move drove inflation up from 6.3 percent to 9 percent, created gasoline shortages and triggered a rush on the hryvnia. Ukraine's National Bank, headed by Yanukovich campaign manager Serhii Tyhytko, had to tap its foreign currency reserves to keep the hryvnia stable. Interest rates are also set to go up. Still, Mr. Yanukovich has persisted in trying to induce voters, offering interest-free loans for property purchases and free cars for pensioners.

Doubling pensions and adding two new policy initiatives (making Russian an official language and allowing dual citizenship) brought Yanukovich an additional 10-15 percent in the ratings, primarily from Communist supporters. However, Communist voters did not stay with Mr. Yanukovich long. A Razumkov Center poll found that 62 percent of respondents in eastern Ukraine and 74-76 percent in other regions believe that the pension increase was a pre-election ploy to raise Mr. Yanukovich's popularity (Ukrainska Pravda, October 26).

Communist Party candidate Petro Symonenko continues to lead in two oblasts where Mr. Yanukovich must win to enter Round 2 of the election. Worse still for Mr. Yanukovich, in Luhansk Oblast, which together with Donetsk makes up his Donbas power base, coal miners are on strike to demand the payment of wage arrears.

Public rallies are becoming more tenuous as the campaign wraps up. Although President Kuchma had admitted that "provocations" would take place, he called upon law enforcement to "not react to provocations" (Ukrainska Pravda, October 25). In reality, law enforcement officials have been directly involved in "provocations" throughout the campaign.

On October 23 a rally in support of Mr. Yushchenko that ended outside the Central Election Commission (CEC) attracted 100,000 people – despite

Ministry captains, suggesting the collusion of law enforcement with the Yanukovich campaign (Financial Times, October 25).

Despite widespread arrests and intimidation of opposition and youth NGOs, these groups are fighting back. A student rally on October 16 in Kyiv attracted 25,000 in support of Mr. Yushchenko. In Lviv, 2,000 picketed the Internal Affairs Ministry and State Administration to protest repression of youth groups, and 10,000 attended a Lviv rally on October 26 in protest of the arrest of youth activists. Whenever police have attempted to enter student facilities without warrants, they have been refused entry, such as at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

The authorities have begun to reveal their growing panic in four ways.

First, local authorities have attempted to block Mr. Yushchenko's campaign tour of southern and eastern Ukraine. In Kirovohrad a temporary zoo was even installed on the square where he was meant to speak. Other cities have refused to let his plane land in their jurisdictions.

Second, the authorities are beginning to realize that only Mr. Yushchenko can bring out large crowds. A pro-Yanukovich rally in Kyiv providing free alcohol attracted only 500 people.

Mr. Yushchenko and Socialist leader Oleksander Moroz have called upon their supporters to picket the CEC and regional election commissions on election night to prevent fraud. After Saturday's rally the authorities began building a fence around the CEC. In response, the Socialist Party issued a statement that said, "The authorities are scaring us with a 'Georgian scenario' when they themselves are developing a 'Belarusian scenario'" (Ukrainska Pravda, October 25).

Third, members of the pro-presidential camp who are neutral between Mr. Yushchenko and Mr. Yanukovich have fallen under suspicion. Both Verkhovna Rada chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn and former presidential adviser Oleksander Volkov have recently complained that

(Continued on page 20)

Putin and the liberation of Ukraine from Nazism

by **Roman Kupchinsky**
RFE/RL Belarus and Ukraine Report

Russian President Vladimir Putin began a visit to Ukraine on October 26 – marking his 10th meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma in 2004. The trip begins five days before the Ukrainian presidential election on October 31.

Mr. Putin's visit is at the invitation of President Kuchma in connection with the commemoration on October 28 of the 60th anniversary of Ukraine's liberation from German troops during World War II. This date, however, has never before been celebrated in Kyiv.

In Ukraine, as in other countries of the former Soviet Union, May 9 is traditionally recognized as the official holiday marking the capitulation of Nazi Germany. In Ukraine, November 6 – the day Kyiv was liberated – is also a national holiday. But in 2004 President Kuchma decided – for some unexplained reason – to hold a massive military parade on October 28 and to invite leaders from all the former Soviet republics to Kyiv. The date he actually signed the decree is unclear and has not been posted on the presidential website, where all such decrees are generally noted. The decision immediately created a controversy inside the country.

The date falls on a workday, Thursday. When the presidential administration decided to declare October 28 a holiday, it did not declare it a paid holiday; so the majority of Kyiv's inhabitants are expected to be at work that day and not celebrating the country's liberation from Nazism – or protesting Mr. Putin's visit.

Adding to the growing controversy is the question of the exact date on which Ukraine was truly liberated. Ukrainian historians tell RFE/RL that October 28 is highly speculative and not based on historical fact. Most seem to feel that the date was chosen for other than historical reasons.

As election day – October 31 – drew closer, a number of Ukrainian opposition politicians told RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service that they were concerned that the government was preparing provocations that could lead to anti-government rioting in the streets that might allow for a reinforcement of troop levels in the capital under the pretext of a military parade.

The independent Ukrainian website Ukrainska Pravda (<http://www.pravda.com.ua>) pointed to a rash of incidents that took place in the capital as evidence that the government was stirring up discontent. The most conspicuous of those acts was a raid on the offices of a student organization in Kyiv during which a home-made explosive device was purportedly found. The student group, Pora, claimed that there had been two searches of their offices by Internal Affairs Ministry forces. The first was videotaped by members of Pora and showed that nothing was found; but at the time of a second search, during which no one was allowed to be in the offices except police, the device was allegedly found hidden in a wastebasket.

As concern mounted in Kyiv after news clips on pro-government television showed militia officials describing the incident, Kyiv Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko announced on October 20 that if the situation dictated it, he would declare martial law in Kyiv on the night of the elections. The next day he rescinded this threat. But on October 24, a day after 100,000 supporters of opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko gathered in Kyiv, Mr. Omelchenko stated that he would ban

all opposition demonstrations in the city.

Earlier, on October 20, an airplane carrying Mr. Yushchenko was not allowed to land in the city of Melitopol, where he was scheduled to make a campaign stop. The next day, this scenario was repeated in the city of Kryvyi Rih.

Adding fuel to the fire, the Procurator General's Office in Kyiv issued a statement on October 22 that was apparently calculated to further infuriate the opposition. Mr. Yushchenko, the statement read, had not been a victim of poisoning – as the clinic in Vienna at which he had undergone treatment suggested in its diagnosis – but rather had fallen ill to an acute attack of herpes.

Mr. Putin's visit to Kyiv on the eve of the election was seen by the opposition not merely as an excuse to bring more troops into the city, but also as an attempt to provide the Russian president with a platform from which to endorse Viktor Yanukovich, the current prime minister and the candidate supported by the current Ukrainian administration.

In interviews broadcast by RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service, members of the Yushchenko campaign team cautiously speculated that if Mr. Putin came out openly in favor of Mr. Yanukovich, this would have either a negative effect on the voters or no effect whatsoever. Mr. Yanukovich, however, disagreed and was quoted by RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service on October 20 as saying that he would welcome Mr. Putin's endorsement.

Mr. Putin, having set a precedent by issuing a statement recently supporting President George W. Bush's candidacy in the U.S. presidential race, has seemingly insured himself against criticism by the United States that he is interfering in Ukrainian domestic affairs. Some pro-Yanukovich members of the Ukrainian Parliament commented that if Mr. Putin can voice his preference in the upcoming American election, he should be allowed to do the same in Ukraine.

As preparations for Mr. Putin's visit were under way, Russian Liberal-Democratic Party head Vladimir Zhirinovskiy arrived in Ukraine to campaign for Mr. Yanukovich, who has stressed his pro-Russian orientation throughout the campaign. Accusing Mr. Yushchenko of "nationalism" and of trying to divide the Ukrainian and Russian nations, Mr. Zhirinovskiy went on a tour of Ukraine endorsing the pro-regime and pro-Russian candidate.

Mr. Putin is expected by many observers to stress that Ukraine was liberated in 1945 as part of a joint effort by all "Soviet peoples." The theme of invincible Slav unity is designed to appeal to those Ukrainian voters who only days earlier heard Zhirinovskiy berating Mr. Yushchenko for his alleged anti-Russian nationalism.

Ukraine's liberation by the multinational Red Army during World War II evokes highly emotional images among only a small and dwindling portion of the Ukrainian electorate. Its impact on the Yanukovich campaign, therefore, is doubtful.

On the other hand, Mr. Putin's popularity in Ukraine is high, according to a recent public opinion poll taken by the Russian Fund for Public Opinion and reported in Viedomosti on October 22. The poll claims that some 71 percent of Ukrainians have a favorable view of the Russian president. Whether Mr. Putin's alleged popularity might rub off on Mr. Yanukovich is questionable, but the people running his campaign are apparently betting that it will not hurt.

Unanimous motion of Canada's House of Commons urges democratic, fair presidential election in Ukraine

OTTAWA – In response to disturbing reports of escalating intimidation and violence against opposition candidates and their supporters in the Ukrainian presidential election, Canada's Parliament on October 26 sent a strong message to the Ukrainian government to clean up its act.

Introduced by the new member of Parliament for Etobicoke Center, Borys Wrzesnewskyj, the House of Commons motion urged the federal government to make it clear to the Ukrainian Government that it needs to ensure a democratic, transparent and fair election process for the Ukrainian presidential election on October 31, 2004, and the probable second round election on November 21, 2004.

In a surprise show of non-partisanship, Liberal MP Wrzesnewskyj's motion was supported by Government House Leader Tony Valeri, Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Pettigrew, the Liberal Defense and Foreign Affairs Caucus, the opposition House leaders and the foreign affairs critics. The motion follows the public warning of Canada's ambassador to Ukraine that the Ukrainian presidential election will fail to meet democratic standards.

Motion 156 read as follows:

"That, in the opinion of this House, the government should impress upon the government of Ukraine to ensure a fully transparent election process by: (a) providing free access for Ukrainian and international election observers, multiparty representation on all election commissions, unimpeded access by all parties and candidates to the media, freedom of candidates and media from intimidation or harassment, a transparent process for complaint and appeals through electoral commissions and the courts; (b) guaranteeing election monitors from the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, other par-

ticipating States of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Ukrainian political parties, candidates' representatives, non-governmental organizations, and other private institutions and organizations, both foreign and domestic; and (c) providing unobstructed access to all aspects of the election process for the Ukrainian presidential election of October 31, 2004, and a potential second round election for November 21, 2004."

Commenting on the importance of the motion, Mr. Wrzesnewskyj stated: "This election will show if Ukraine will follow the path of democracy and whether it is ready to join the Western community of nations. With the numerous reports of dirty tricks, intimidation, political malfeasance, violence and even the probable poisoning of the opposition front-runner in the Ukrainian presidential election, alarm bells have sounded in many quarters. Canada was among the first countries to recognize Ukraine's independence and has always taken a proactive role in supporting democratic development and institution building in the country from which 1.1 million Canadians draw their origin. A strong message from the Canadian government to authorities in Ukraine represents a continuation of that special relationship."

While underscoring the importance of working together in this minority Parliament, Mr. Wrzesnewskyj said: "I want to thank all the opposition House leaders and foreign affairs critics for endorsing my motion. I also want to thank Government House Leader Tony Valeri, Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Pettigrew, and my colleague the Honorable Walt Lastewka for supporting my efforts to send a strong message to the government of Ukraine. The fact that all parties supported the motion should make it clear to the Ukrainian government that democracy is the only way forward."

Ambassadors of EU...

(Continued from page 1)

Pora leaders and lawmakers who were called to the scene maintain that law enforcement officials planted the plastic explosives in a second sweep of the offices after an initial search proved fruitless.

On October 23 law enforcement officials increased the intensity of their work and descended on the offices of several civic organizations involved in the pre-election political process in Ukraine and the residences of several of their leaders in what one national television station dubbed "Search and Seizure Day."

That day, investigators from the Security Service of Ukraine in coordination with the Berkut Special Force of the Internal Affairs Ministry returned to the Pora offices for a second look-see while other teams conducted raids on the offices of Znyau, another student organization, as well as the headquarters of the Freedom of Choice coalition. Znyau and Freedom of Choice receive U.S.-based funding for their projects.

In addition, intelligence service operatives attempted to enter the apartments of Freedom of Choice coordinator Vladyslav Kaskiv and Pora leader Oleh Yatsenko. Mr. Kaskiv refused to give entry to the half-dozen or so individuals who unexpectedly appeared before his door, inasmuch as they refused to identify themselves by name and could not produce a search warrant, the Institute of Mass Media reported, according to the UNIAN news agency.

In turn, Mr. Yatsenko's parents did not allow investigators access to their home after they produced a warrant to search

their son's residence because the younger Mr. Yatsenko does not own the apartment.

Security service personnel succeeded, however, in rifling through the apartment of Mykhailo Svystovych, the editor of the website publication Maydan, who is an active volunteer with the Pora group. Mr. Svystovych said that, while investigators claimed to be looking for counterfeit money, he was concerned they were trying to plant a bomb.

At the Znyau offices, the search occurred while a group of election observers from the U.S. Congress happened to be present. One of the congressman, Rep. Samuel G. Coppersmith of Arizona, was not allowed to leave while the four-hour search was conducted. Another member of the group, Rep. James Slattery of Kansas, told Channel 5 television in an interview that in all his years as an international election monitor he had never seen such flagrant abuse of election norms and election law.

"I have observed elections in many countries, including Nicaragua under a Communist regime, but I have not seen anything like this here," stated Mr. Slattery. "I think it is frightening when offices are being occupied, people detained and searches carried out. Observers will report this to the governments of their countries."

Vasyl Baziv, first deputy chief of staff to President Leonid Kuchma, explained at a regular briefing the same day the searches were conducted that they were necessary to assure law and order within the country.

Amnesty International issued its own condemnation of the pre-election situation in Ukraine on October 25.

Town hall meetings...

(Continued from page 1)

tend with the barriers put up by government administrative resources and local officials who have worked staunchly, stubbornly and at times irrationally during the 2004 presidential election campaign in Ukraine to ensure that only the candidate from the government receives exposure.

Viktoria Hubska, director of the UCCA office in Kyiv, who organized the town hall tour, said that among the most biting problems that became evident was that voters were scared and uncertain of their rights, even though they were well-informed about most of the 24 candidates vying for the presidential post.

"We noticed that many people were not fully aware of their rights. We heard people say that they were concerned that their vote in the voting booth would become known and they would suffer as a result," explained Mrs. Hubska.

The project, which received funding from the National Endowment for Democracy, consisted of a series of town hall meetings between July and October under the banner of the "Power of One." Often, as was the case in Kharkiv, Poltava and Zaporizhia, more than 1,000

people turned out to listen to a variety of presidential candidates or their appointed representatives make presentations and then field questions from the audience. To stimulate the listeners into active participation, prizes were offered at each meeting for the best question, courtesy of the Obolon Brewery.

At the last stop in Kyiv, two of the candidates, Serhii Komisarenko, a former ambassador to the United Kingdom, and Mykola Hrabar, noted that this was the first instance in which they felt intimately part of a democratic election process. In Mykolaiv presidential candidate Oleksander Rzhavskiy told UCCA representatives he wanted to take part in all the town hall meetings.

In Zaporizhia, where eggs were thrown at the candidates, they might not have been so forthcoming.

The UCCA team, while getting an earful and eyeful on how to conduct elections Ukrainian-style during their three months of work, believes it accomplished its task.

"Our mission was to give the people the chance to get to know the candidates and to allow the candidates the opportunity to express their views. It was an informational mission and we succeeded," explained Mr. Yakovets.



Seated at the head of the table at a town hall meeting in Odesa are presidential candidate Oleksander Rzhavskiy (left) and a representative of Petro Symonenko.

A report from Chernivtsi

by George Duravetz

CHERNIVTSI, Ukraine – Ukraine will be holding its third presidential election since independence was declared in 1991. This election is not only about choosing a president for another four-year term. Its outcome will determine the future course of Ukrainian history for years to come.

In theory, the idea of sending international observers to Ukraine was a good one, but there are over 30,000 polling stations located throughout the country and approximately 5,000 international observers to oversee them. Many of the observers will have come to Ukraine for the first time and will be overwhelmed by the unfamiliar environment. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of them will have little or no knowledge of Ukrainian or Russian and will be forced to rely entirely on translators provided by the Ukrainian government.

Observers have been instructed to watch for irregularities at the polling stations where they will be assigned. They will vigilantly watch the voting procedures at their respective polling stations to detect any ballot box stuffing, improper documentation presented by voters and be present when the bal-

lot boxes are opened and ballots counted. The occurrence of fraudulent voting procedures at the polling stations is very unlikely. Ukrainian politicians are too sophisticated to resort to such primitive practices that would compromise them in the eyes of the world.

The dirty deeds have already been done months prior to the election. People in Chernivtsi, where I am now located, have related to me how government officials have threatened to fire any civil servant, such as workers in all levels of government, police, taxation, health, education and transportation or communication, if he or she fails to publicly endorse a particular candidate, i.e., the Kuchma administration's choice. School principals and hospital administrators have been exceptionally harsh in threatening their employees with termination of employment if the results at the local polling station are unfavorable.

In all large privatized industrial and commercial enterprises, the top management, directors and department heads have been calling meetings of all employees and bluntly telling them for whom to vote if they want to keep their jobs. It should be understood that

(Continued on page 16)



Khristina Lew

Young supporters carry a banner reading "Yushchenko - the people's president."

100,000...

(Continued from page 1)

ing as the CEC members inside considered the question of voting sites in Russia. It also occurred after lawmakers from the Power of the People election coalition, which supports Mr. Yushchenko's candidacy, battled special forces security personnel in their effort to re-enter the building and return to the CEC proceedings after they had left to investigate what was occurring outside.

The Berkut officers had taken positions between the national deputies and the doors to the building as the lawmakers tried to make sense of the scene. At first, when asked to move, they would not budge, nor were they ready to remove the faceplates of their riot helmets for face-to-face discussions, which led several lawmakers to lose control and attempt to tear the masks off.

The lawmakers, at least a dozen in all, including Mr. Yushchenko and his campaign chief, along with two key lieutenants, Petro Poroshenko and Yevhen Chervonenko, then manhandled security forces inside before tearing the locked doors to the CEC conference hall off of their hinges to gain re-entry to the proceedings.

The events of October 23 initially took place in an orderly manner when some of the 100,000 supporters of Mr. Yushchenko gathered for a peaceful march through the city center to symbolically encircle the state and government buildings in which the supporters of his closest opponent, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, allegedly have conspired to taint the vote in their candidate's favor. The Yushchenko supporters called for a presidential vote free of fraud and falsification in a campaign that has been marked by extensive use of government administrative resources, smear tactics and disinformation.

Even as the rally-goers gathered, law enforcement was working to lower the turnout, carefully and slowly controlling the ingress of vehicles into Kyiv. Gates at militia outposts at the city borders were drawn down, and cars and trucks were being checked and turned away at times.

The previous evening Mr. Yushchenko had turned to Minister of Transportation Heorhii Kirpa to determine why no tickets were available for trains scheduled from the western regions of Ukraine to Kyiv. People who had found means by which to get to Kyiv by the morning of the mass rally said they had seen buses stranded on the roads into Kyiv, many with flat tires. In Kherson, university officials warned students to stay in their dormitories the night before the rally in Kyiv. A local train from Konotop filled with Yushchenko supporters was stopped under the guise of a check for explosives after a warning was phoned in. It was held for half the day before being allowed to move on, too late for the travelers to make it to the rally.

Also the previous day, law enforce-

ment officials had conducted sweeps of civic organizations' offices in Kyiv, seizing documents and intimidating citizens (see related story, "Ambassadors of EU member-states warn Kyiv about pre-election abuses," on page 1).

Nonetheless 100,000 made it – organizers presented a figure of 150,000 – and spent the day parading through the streets of Kyiv, many waving the orange standard of the Yushchenko campaign with its simple slogan of "Tak!," which means yes in Ukrainian. Others wore campaign bandanas or t-shirts, while some went still further, painting their faces orange or dressing their pets in the campaign color.

The two columns of marchers left Independence Square along separate routes and paraded around the perimeter of the Pechersk District of Kyiv, which is home to the most important state and government buildings, before meeting at Lesia Ukrainka Square to hear Mr. Yushchenko speak.

Mr. Yushchenko, looking better since his still mysterious ailment at the beginning of September, seemed taken aback by the sea of humanity that greeted him as he alone entered the huge stage to address the crowd. A few seconds passed before he finally raised his hands in recognition of the cheers and applause. Afterwards he told his supporters that, while they needed to remain confident that he would win, they also needed to remain vigilante against both voter fraud, and civil unrest provoked by government authorities who would be satisfied if the October 31 vote was canceled because of a threat to national security.

"The fact that so many of you are here proves that we do not live in a time of national fear, but in a time of national courage," Mr. Yushchenko began.

The presidential candidate exhorted government officials to resist falsification and fraud and told his supporters that they needed to remain united. Mr. Yushchenko, who is in a dead heat with Mr. Yanukovich, told the crowd that state officials who currently hold power are trying to divide Ukraine's electorate along geographical, political and religious lines.

"They are pitting brother against brother, but we will not allow this. We can't be bought, we can't be fooled, we can't be beaten," exclaimed Mr. Yushchenko.

The leader of the Our Ukraine opposition bloc also called for support from the other political forces in Ukraine and their candidates – none of whom carries more than 7 percent support among the electorate and most of which have less than 1 percent.

Finally, he told his supporters not to succumb to provocations and told the world that his campaign would not stoop to violence or civil unrest on election day.

"Those who will attack voting precincts in orange shirts will be provoking the situation. They serve only those who want to steal your vote," Mr. Yushchenko said.

Most of the crowd calmly dispersed after the 30-minute presentation, but about 10,000

to 20,000 remained to await the results of a special CEC meeting called to decide the matter of the number of voting precincts that would be established in Russia. The CEC was forced to meet on this Saturday because by law it had to have a decision no later than seven days before the October 31 vote.

The crowd remained in full force until around 9 p.m., when lawmakers from the Power of the People election coalition, who were meeting with the CEC in what was a very hot debate, came outside to ask them to begin to disperse because it was late and no decision was imminent.

Around 10:50 p.m. only a few hundred supporters remained when several dozen young men came running from the street toward the crowd before the building, throwing bottles and rocks, and swinging objects, including knives, which cut several people. Eleven victims were treated at a local hospital.

Meanwhile, at the CEC meeting, National Deputy Nestor Shufrych of the Social Democratic Party-United, who had asked that Our Ukraine bloc representatives not take part in the CEC proceeding because they would "turn them into a circus" informed the participants that civil unrest was occurring outside.

"Shufrych said, go downstairs, your people are being beaten," explained National Deputy Viktor Korol during the press conference with Mr. Zinchenko.

Mr. Korol, who is a general in the state militia on leave during the term of his legislative appointment, said that he appealed to Serhii Kivalov, head of the CEC, to call law enforcement officials to the scene. He said that at first Mr. Kivalov ignored his request. He added that the security officials on the first floor of the building watched the entire incident develop but never attempted to intervene.

The 10 troops that arrived in response to Mr. Korol's request were not an adequate response to the situation, explained the lawmaker, who added that law enforcement officials would have sent a much larger force if the intent was to restore order and not simply to bar pro-

Yushchenko lawmakers from re-entering the building as he alleged.

Mr. Korol also noted that three of the thugs who had taken part in the attack before the CEC building were caught by supporters of Mr. Yushchenko as they fled in vehicles. The lawmaker said that National Deputy Volodymyr Bondarenko and a group of supporters chased down the vehicle and cornered the assailants, two of whom turned out to be members of the Titan special forces militia unit.

On October 26, three days after the incident Mr. Bondarenko's car was firebombed as he drove to his cottage outside Kyiv.

On October 27, the Our Ukraine bloc issued a statement in which it warned of the possibility of additional civil unrest being planned for election day in which organized gangs of thugs dressed in orange t-shirts, many from the mining towns of Donetsk Oblast, would rampage through the streets of major Ukrainian cities breaking windows and assailing voters.

The statement warned that Our Ukraine had also received information that a series of terrorist acts could be carried out in the major cities of the eastern regions at voting precincts, which would involve bloodshed and fatalities. The ultimate aim of such attacks, which could come in the form of explosions, would be to discredit the candidacy of Mr. Yushchenko in a second round of elections and could even lead to a state of emergency and the cancellation of elections.

Our Ukraine further noted that it had received information that 5,000 soldiers had been stationed at resorts and sanitariums on the outskirts of Kyiv, a number that would grow to 15,000 by October 31, and stated the soldiers would be outfitted with electric shock devices and flash grenades.

On October 25, Channel 5 television broadcast footage on its evening news of state militia training exercises in Crimea in which officers were shown breaking windows with sticks, throwing gas bombs and turning over a bus. Channel 5 said it had received the video from an anonymous source.



AP/Efrem Lukatsky

Viktor Yushchenko addresses tens of thousands of supporters in front of the Central Election Commission in Kyiv on October 23.

RFE/RL supports Channel 5 TV journalists on hunger strike

PRAGUE – A group of journalists and executives at TV Channel 5 – an RFE/RL affiliate partner and the only television station remaining in Ukraine not controlled by the government – have been on a hunger strike since Monday, October 25, to protest political persecution and harassment of the station.

RFE/RL President Thomas A. Dine said on October 27 that “Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty fully supports our Channel 5 colleagues in their efforts to stop the slide toward authoritarian rule and the silencing of free media in Ukraine.”

The group of about 15 hunger-strikers includes Channel 5 news anchors Roman Skrypyn and Danylo Yanevsky, as well as General Manager Vladyslav Liasovsky. They told RFE/RL Ukrainian Service colleagues that they began fasting Monday evening and have now gone without food for 48 hours. TV 5 is maintaining hourly news broadcasts with a skeleton staff and gives bulletin updates on the group every half-hour, switching the camera to the TV studio where the hunger-strikers are camping out.

Members of the group are in regular phone contact with RFE/RL's Kyiv Bureau. They have said that, with only days remaining before Ukraine's hotly contested presidential election on October 31, they wish to draw attention to government attempts to close their station down.

On October 14, Channel 5's license to broadcast in Kyiv was withdrawn and last week the station's bank accounts were frozen, at the request of a parlia-

mentary deputy who claimed that Channel 5 news is manipulated by anti-government forces.

The hunger-strikers ask that the station's bank accounts be unblocked and its broadcast license be renewed in a fair and impartial hearing. The station continues to broadcast, pending an appeal against the loss of license. The case was to be heard in a Kyiv court on October 28. An RFE/RL reporter was to be in the courtroom.

RFE/RL and Channel 5 are partners in a 35-minute weekly news show launched in April. Called “Prime Time,” it is broadcast every Sunday and has become a popular program with Ukrainian viewers, because of the frank, sometimes heated discussion of political issues between two guests with opposing views, who have been invited to participate on the show. “Prime Time” is moderated by an RFE/RL host.

Channel 5 was established in 2003 by Petro Poroshenko, a well-known businessman who also serves as chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament's budgetary committee. Mr. Poroshenko is a supporter of the leading presidential opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko and a member of Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine bloc of opposition parties.

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty is a private, international communications service to Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe; the Caucasus; and Central and Southwestern Asia funded by the U.S. Congress through the Broadcasting Board of Governors.

Journalists' federation condemns attacks on independent broadcaster in Ukraine

BRUSSELS – The International Federation of Journalists on October 22 accused Ukrainian leaders of taking the country “into the shadows of old-style censorship and media controls” following the attacks on the only independent national broadcaster, Channel 5 (5-yi Kanal), whose accounts have been frozen following a decision of the Pecherskyi District Court in Kyiv on October 18. Earlier Channel 5's license to broadcast in Kyiv was also suspended, and the station could be prevented from broadcasting in the capital at any moment.

“These actions against an independent media voice are shocking in a country that claims to be making a transition to democratic pluralism,” said Aidan White, IFJ general secretary. “It is even worse that they come in the middle of an election campaign and they reveal how the country is being led back into the shadows of old-style censorship and media controls.”

The court decision followed a defamation case brought by National Deputy Volodymyr Sivkovich against one of Channel 5's owners, opposition politician Petro Poroshenko.

With only days to go before the country goes to the polls in presidential elections the IFJ said the authorities have resorted to desperate tactics to silence independent media prepared to break with the official version of events.

All other broadcasters have given persistent support to the government candidate, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, and relentless criticism of the opposition candidate, Viktor Yushchenko.

“Channel 5 is being victimized for breaking with government propaganda and introducing some balance to the election

coverage,” said Mr. White. “Journalists have witnessed a barrage of attempts to intimidate and silence independent media in the [sic] Ukraine over the past four years. Starting with the assassination of investigative journalist Heorhii Gongadze in September 2000, there has been a catalogue of mysterious deaths, beatings and closures enacted against independent journalists and media.”

Media monitors, including the Institute of Mass Information in Hyiv and Article 19, the London-based freedom-of-expression NGO, have already expressed deep concern over the lack of balance in media coverage of the election campaign, the issuing of direct editorial instructions by the government through the system of “temnyky,” and the persistent harassment of non-state media. In the past year, Channel 5 has also had its broadcasting discontinued by cable companies in Kirovohrad, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk and Uzhhorod.

Journalists at Channel 5 are threatening to go on a hunger strike from Monday, October 25, unless the order is repealed. “This election is crucial for the future of democracy in the Ukraine. Journalists recognize this and are prepared to go to extreme lengths to express their view,” said Arne König, chair of the European Federation of Journalists, the regional body of the IFJ. “The EFJ and IFJ offer full support to the protesting journalists.”

The IFJ called on national governments and intergovernmental bodies, including the European Union, the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe to send the strongest possible signal to Ukraine that these measures will not be tolerated.

Political analysts express concern about election

Voice of America

WASHINGTON – Dr. Taras Kuzio, a professor at the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University, joined several political analysts on October 26 in expressing concerns about the upcoming presidential election in Ukraine and what it means for Ukraine's future. “The authorities in Ukraine never intended – and I stress, never intended – to hold a free and fair election,” he declared. If they did, he added, opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko would win in the first round.

Dr. Kuzio participated in a panel discussion at the Voice of America (VOA) on “Defining Ukraine's Future: the 2004 Presidential Vote.” Ukraine's presidential election on Sunday is being contested by Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, who is supported by current President Leonid Kuchma, and opposition leader and former Prime Minister Yushchenko. The panelists said both candidates have dramatically different plans for the country.

“We have seen backsliding in Ukraine's strategic goal of integration into NATO and the European Union,” said panelist Orest Deychakiwsky, staff advisor at the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission). He contended that a Yushchenko victory would reverse

this trend. Mr. Deychakiwsky also described the upcoming election as “a battle between democracy and increasing authoritarianism.”

Nadia Diuk, program director for Central Europe and Eurasia at the National Endowment for Democracy, said that harassment of the few independent media outlets still available in Ukraine had had a negative impact on outside sources of information such as VOA, Radio Liberty, BBC and Deutsche Welle, by limiting their ability to rebroadcast within the country.

VOA's Ukrainian Service broadcasts two hours of radio every day, as well as the weekly television program “Window on America” and a daily, five-minute television news program that launched on October 18. Programs can also be accessed on the Internet at www.VOANews.com/Ukrainian.

The Voice of America, which first went on the air in 1942, is a multimedia international broadcasting service funded by the U.S. government through the Broadcasting Board of Governors. VOA broadcasts more than 1,000 hours of news, information, educational and cultural programming every week to an estimated worldwide audience of more than 100 million people. Programs are produced in Ukrainian and 43 other languages.

A report....

(Continued from page 14)

employers, in order to avoid paying taxes and paying into the social services fund, pay the workers in two separate payments. Officially, they receive a basic wage out of which they pay income taxes, health insurance and deductions into the pension fund. The employer then pays each worker the rest of his wage in cash that is handed to him/her in an envelope. The employer may withhold this second payment at any time.

Pensioners, war veterans, military and security personnel have been bribed by

receiving a 50 percent increase in their pensions and wages as of September 1. This sudden influx of cash into the economy has created an inflationary spiral resulting in an unprecedented rise in prices. It has been pointed out by economists that the national budget cannot sustain such an outlay long after the election.

Nevertheless, a large segment of the population has been terrorized into submission or taken the bait. The government and privately owned media have also brainwashed many to accept the inevitable – a victory for Viktor Yanukovich, if not in the first round on October 31 then in the second round on November 21.

Russia's interference...

(Continued from page 8)

ests, leaving behind old stereotypes. We will sustain historic economic relations with Moscow and forge new initiatives, both bilateral and multilateral, benefiting the people of both countries. This should not be accomplished at the expense of our national interest and democratic values.

Ukrainians sense there is a rising threat of a new bipolar Europe, with centers in Brussels and Moscow, and with competing sets of values. Ukraine will guarantee our nation's stability through democratic values and will support European security by promoting these values among our eastern neighbors. If Ukraine veers off the democratic path, an

alarming message will be sent to the elites and proponents of democracy in Russia, Belarus and other former Soviet states. The prospect of having an entire bloc of authoritarian, corrupt regimes on the border with Europe should awaken all those who hold dear democratic values and individual liberty. The wall that separated us ideologically during the Cold War should not be erected anew based on these competing sets of values.

Ukraine's democratic forces are committed to bringing about change in our country peacefully and legally. The October 31 election is our chance for new opportunities and a better life for all Ukrainians. Millions of my fellow citizens will not allow the government to rob us of this chance.

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Ukrainian authorities...

(Continued from page 2)

brings together 300 NGOs active in election monitoring (coalition.org.ua; hotline.net.ua).

Youth election-monitoring groups are involved in a wide range of activities in an attempt to counter violations and get out the youth vote. A traveling "Political Theater" has mocked Prime Minister Yanukovich over his presumed fear of eggs, after he collapsed last month when hit by one during his visit to Ivano-Frankivsk. In early October the radical youth group Pora (It's Time) even released chickens outside the Cabinet of Ministers building in Kyiv.

These NGOs also have more serious activities. Youth groups, such as the well-known Committee of Voters of Ukraine (cvu.org.ua), have a strong reputation for election monitoring. Their assistance is invaluable for long-term observers of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) who spend two months in Ukraine's regions prior to elections.

Youth groups have launched legal cases against the common practice of state officials campaigning on the job for Mr. Yanukovich. In early October Kherson Oblast Chairman Serhii Dovhan was forced to defend his efforts on behalf of Mr. Yanukovich. Mr. Dovhan was soon removed after the case became widely publicized and damaged Mr. Yanukovich's ratings. The youth election-monitoring group Znayu (I Know) is involved in providing positive information on the elections, educating elections monitors, and attempting to block election fraud (znayu.org.ua). This informational strategy compliments threats by more radical youth NGOs to publicize corruption by election officials who may be tempted to take bribes in return for falsifying the election results.

Pora has been especially targeted, because the authorities have labeled it an "extremist" group. Numerous Pora members have been detained or arrested throughout Ukraine for minor "crimes" such as putting up stickers (pora.org.ua/en/content/view/211/2/). Pora is perceived as radical because it was modeled on Serbia's Otpor and Georgia's Khmara youth groups. Serbian Otpor members, who were highly influential in the October 2000 democratic revolution in Serbia, have helped to train Pora. Ukrainian authorities remain fixated on the possibility that this election will trigger a repeat of the Serbian and Georgian revolutions in Ukraine, which they believe were instigated by the United States.

To counter Pora's success, the authorities have created a "Non-Pora." One of its first acts was an October 12 demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, using placards saying, "No to American Imperialism" (http://maidan.org.ua/static/news/1097489198.html). This anti-Americanism is part of the overall anti-American campaign unleashed by the authorities in an attempt to portray Mr. Yushchenko as an American stooge (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, October 8).

On October 12 Alexander Marich, a founder of Otpor, was detained at Kyiv's Boryspil airport and deported the next day. Mr. Marich had a multi-entry visa and had spent most of the last two months in Ukraine, but official fear of Otpor bringing the "Serbian/Georgian scenario" led to his deportation.

What most perturbs the authorities is that Mr. Yushchenko has overwhelming support among the younger generation. In contrast, Mr. Yanukovich's team had to pay students to attend a rally on his behalf in Kyiv on September 29. These students responded "Yes!" to a call from the Yanukovich campaign headquarters when asked if they desired "Free and Fair Elections." But when asked "And you will vote for Yanukovich?" they replied "No!" on live television. The organizers abruptly ended the rally.

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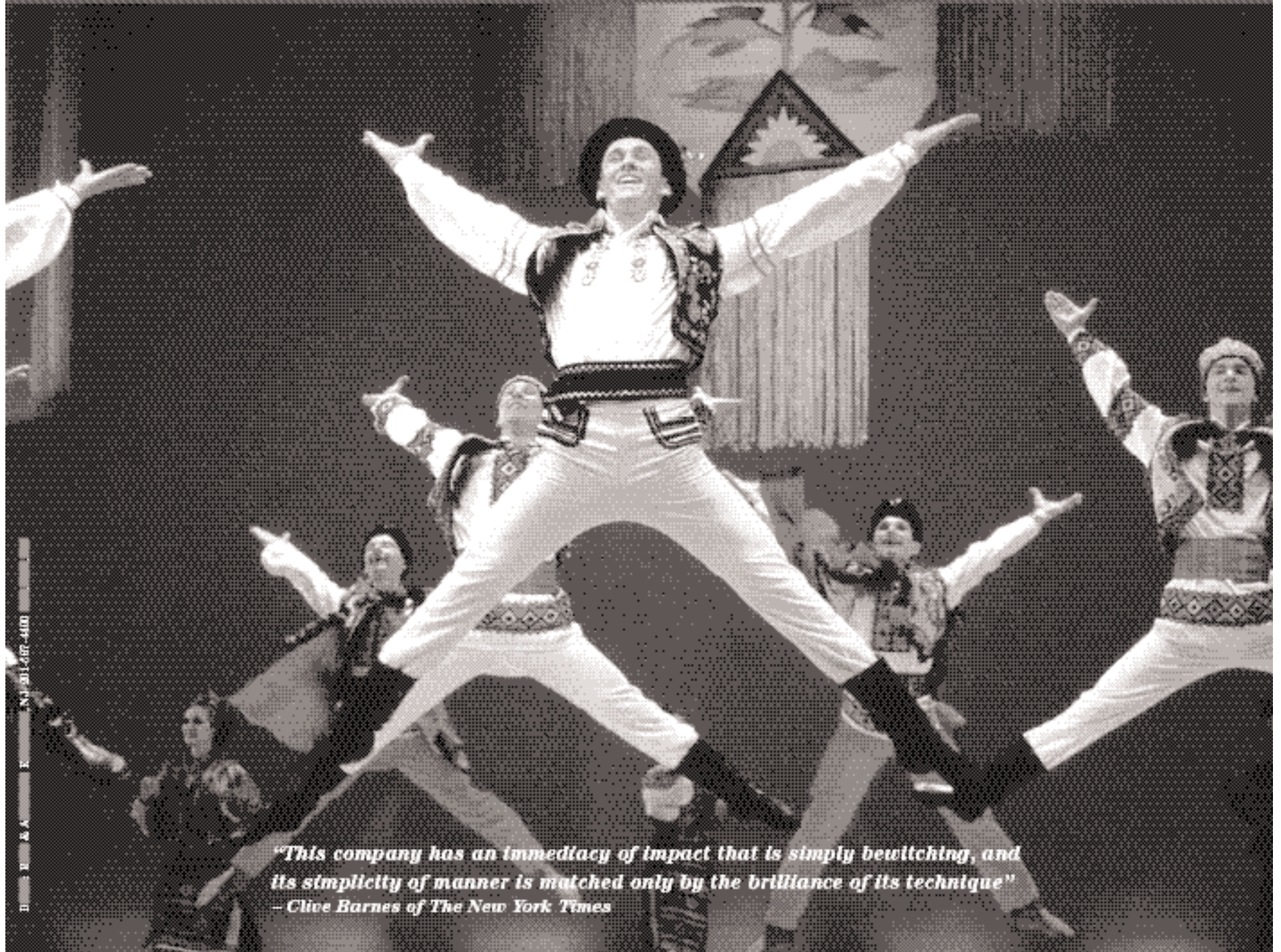
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Ukrainian Catholic University's rector on tour of U.S. communities

by Roman Kyzyk
and Matthew Matuszak

NEW YORK – Ukrainian Catholic Bishops Basil Losten and Richard Seminack of the Stamford and Chicago eparchies, respectively, have started a campaign to support Catholic education in Ukraine. The upcoming November tour of the Rev. Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, is the first stage of the campaign. "The Ukrainian Catholic University is our intellectual and theological bastion, which will insure the highest moral and Christian standards of our faithful," said Bishop Losten. "Let us wholeheartedly support this project by giving our moral and financial support."

Father Gudziak will concelebrate a divine liturgy at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church in New York on Saturday, November 6, followed by a rector's dinner in the school auditorium. In Chicago, Father Gudziak will be the guest of honor at a rector's luncheon to be held in the Ukrainian Village neighborhood.

The story of UCU

The Ukrainian Catholic University first appeared as an idea in the mind of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the first half of the 20th century. The first step was the opening of the Lviv Theological Academy in 1929, "a sure foundation for the spiritual rebirth of our people," as the metropolitan said. Then Father Josyf Slipyj was the academy's first rector.

The Soviet invasion of 1944 dashed the ailing metropolitan's hopes for further development. The academy was closed, the Church was declared illegal, and countless bishops, priests and faithful were sent to labor camps in Siberia. Metropolitan Sheptytsky himself died on November 1, 1944.

To honor the memory of Metropolitan Sheptytsky on the 60th anniversary of his death and to express his gratitude for the metropolitan's great spiritual patrimony, Bishop Losten is launching the Stamford Eparchy Catholic Education Campaign for Ukraine.

Prototype university created

Patriarch Josyf Slipyj's fire was not quenched by 18 years in the Soviet gulag. When he was released in 1963 and exiled from Ukraine, Patriarch Josyf set to work on establishing a Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome. "May the Ukrainian Catholic University," he said, "be for us an example and a stimulus for new quests and scholarly and educational efforts!"

One of the young seminarians who gathered around the patriarch in Rome was Borys Gudziak. Many doubted the possibility of achieving the patriarch's vision: a free Ukraine, where Sheptytsky's dream could come true. Patriarch Josyf felt that this was a debt that the Church owed to the new martyrs who sacrificed their lives in faith in the face of Nazi and Soviet persecution. Patriarch Josyf was convinced that a full-fledged Catholic university would eventually appear, in full flower, in an independent Ukraine.

Father Gudziak took the establishment of a Ukrainian Catholic University in Ukraine as his life's work. The challenge of providing the best education for future leaders of the Ukrainian Catholic Church became a part of his plans, prayers, and thoughts.

The idea for the project was clear, but the question was how to make this dream a concrete reality, how to put it together with nuts and bolts. Father Gudziak sought guidance from a Studite monk,

then Father Lubomyr Husar (now cardinal and head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church). Together, they prayed for courage, strength and faith.

Building the dream

Against all odds, Ukraine gained its independence in 1991, and Father Gudziak set out to bring the dream to the land of his forefathers. With the support of Church officials, he took part in the re-opening and revival of the Lviv Theological Academy in 1994, 60 years after the Communists had barred the Academy's doors.

The late Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky urged on Father Gudziak in this important work of honoring and giving witness to Church fathers and martyrs for the faith of the underground.

The Lord in His Divine Providence works in mysterious ways, and He entrusted the fate of the Ukrainian Catholic University even to some non-Ukrainians. Roman Catholic Prof. Jeffrey Wills left behind a tenured position at the University of Wisconsin to assist Father Gudziak in establishing the university. One of Prof. Wills' first major moves was the founding of the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation in 1997 to raise money to support the university. To do so, he asked a non-Ukrainian friend of his who was a lawyer, John Kurey, to establish the UCEF. Mr. Kurey did so, free of charge, and succeeded Prof. Wills as president of the UCEF six years later.

When he was named head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Husar blessed, encouraged, and supported the work of this new wave of leadership, which had much work ahead of it to put Ukraine back on a solid moral footing.

The Universal Church showed its concern for the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and Pope John Paul II blessed the UCU cornerstone during his visit to Lviv in June 2001. Later, Father Gudziak met with the holy father in Rome and prayed that the dream become a reality. The Vatican encourages and supports the university and is in regular contact as new programs, like a graduate degree (licentiate) in theology, are developed.

University is inaugurated

One year after receiving the papal blessing, the Ukrainian Catholic University was inaugurated in Lviv. Cardinal Husar spoke on the occasion in June 2002.

"Today, the dream becomes a reality," said the cardinal in June 2002. "And today it is high time for us to reflect upon what the university is all about. The university means the realization of great values, achieved through hard work, study, sharing opinions and thoughts. The university is a forge, in which the human being exerts great effort to come to know himself, his Creator and his brothers and sisters. It is a powerful means that helps us to perceive the truth, which makes us free, lets us see beauty, inspires us, and fulfills us with purifying good."

The Ukrainian Catholic University is now established. Young men at Holy Spirit Seminary in Lviv are taught by UCU professors, to ensure that the spiritual and intellectual level of the Ukrainian Catholic priesthood is elevated. The university's new Faculty of Philosophy and Theology Building is under construction as part of a new Theological Center in Lviv. Female religious and laity study at the university as well, ensuring well-educated religious and laity to lead the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the 21st century.

Ukraine is indeed free, but it needs

help to become "a normal, developing, and prosperous country," said Olena Dzhedzhora. Ms. Dzhedzhora is the acting dean of the university's Faculty of the Humanities, and this year a Fulbright scholar at Columbia University in New York. "The best way to invest in Ukraine is to invest in the reform of education," she explained.

Moral and intellectual education

The University is a great sign of unity between Ukrainians in Ukraine and those outside the country. "Starting with Ukrainian independence," continued Ms. Dzhedzhora, "there is no more 'diaspora and Ukraine.' There are not two parts, but there is one nation on both parts of the ocean. And we have common needs. And these needs include having modern, educated, moral, devoted young people who will live and work for their people everywhere in the world."

"It's very clear that if we want a strong Ukrainian Church in the U.S. and elsewhere in the world we must have a strong church in Ukraine," John Fedkiw, a parishioner at Holy Family Shrine in Washington, said.

At present, the Ukrainian Catholic University offers bachelor's degrees in theology and in history to seminarians, nuns and laypeople. It also has a graduate-degree theology program. A school of social work, to address the ills in modern Ukrainian society, and various disciplines in the humanities are planned for the university's future.

Because the Soviet regime caused such havoc in the moral structure of Ukraine, pastoral ministry to the needy and catechizing young and old alike are also important activities of university stu-

dents and staff. The university's Institute of Marriage and Family Life, Catechetical Institute and Emmaus Center for the developmentally delayed are just a few of the ongoing programs addressing these needs.

Gudziak in New York, Chicago

Bishop Losten and Father Gudziak will be concelebrating a divine liturgy to be held at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church in New York City on November 6. Liturgy will begin at 5 p.m. Then, at 6:30 p.m., a UCU Rector's Dinner will be held in the school gym. Admission, which includes the dinner, is \$100 per person, though additional gifts are encouraged. Tax-deductible checks should be made out to the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation (UCEF). Ticket requests should be made by October 30 and sent to St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church, 30 E. 7th Street, New York, NY 10003.

Bishop Richard Seminack invites the faithful to a Rector's Luncheon for Father Borys Gudziak rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. The luncheon is to benefit the university and will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Chicago, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., on Sunday, November 14, at 1 p.m. Tickets are available for \$25 per person, though additional gifts are encouraged. To order tickets or for further information, contact the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, (773) 235-8462.

For those who are unable to greet Father Gudziak personally, donations may also be sent to the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., Chicago, IL 60622; phone, (773) 235-8462; website: www.ucef.org.

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Fr. Gudziak is a native of Syracuse and now the spiritual successor of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and Patriarch Josyf Slipyj as rector of UCU. He will share the dream and the reality of our Church's major educational institution. Bishop Basil Losten heartily encourages all to greet and support Fr. Gudziak.

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George Saj's "Head Games" on view at Montclair Library

MONTCLAIR, N.J. – A solo exhibition of assembled sculptures by George Thaddeus Saj titled "Head Games" opens Thursday, November 4, at the Montclair Public Library as part of its "Meet the Artist Series." The artist's first large exhibition will feature over 40 works, providing an overview of the artists' three-dimensional portraiture which is variously conceived as decoration, talisman and social commentary. The exhibit will be on view at the library gallery through November 29.

An artist's reception and gallery talk will be held on November 4 at 6-8 p.m., with an informal gallery talk scheduled for 7 p.m. The Library Gallery is located at 50 S. Fullerton Ave.

The works displayed in the exhibition are intended to develop a rapport with the viewer, evoke a whimsical or poignant memory, or share a private joke. Some are purely decorative or serve as a talisman. Others offer social commentary. Mostly, they are assembled from bits of wood, discarded surgical instruments and household furnishings – commonplace objects placed in unusual juxtaposition intended to produce instantly recognizable images. All are executed with economy of means and generate an underlying humor that is enhanced by the very title of the work.

Comprising the exhibit are heads of animals, including a series of wild felines, whose attributes are often defined from an anthropomorphic point of view; as well as historic figures, and portraits, including societal stereo- or prototypes.

The titles of the works often incorporate the genus of a given species as a clever pun rendered in Latin (e.g., "Dancing Bear – Ursus baryshnikov.") The titles of the works are often accompanied by a supertext referencing the human condition in general and occasionally Shakespeare's dramas.

Dr. Saj lives and works in Montclair, N.J., where he has practiced surgery for 31 years. His formal education in art started at the Newark School of Fine and Industrial Arts and continued at Dartmouth College, where he took courses in drawing, composition and painting as well as art history. In the 1980s he started assembling large scale outdoor statues and in the last four years smaller wall hung pieces. In 2002 his "Trophy Wife" was awarded first place in a group show at the Clifton Art Center. His work has been exhibited in juried shows in Cleveland, Chicago, New York and New Jersey.

The "Meet the Artist Series" is sponsored by Studio Montclair, an association of over 200 professional visual artists and associates, in collaboration with the Montclair Public Library. This event is held three times a year: in January, May and November.

Admission to this program is free. Library Hours: Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, 10 a.m.-9 p.m.; Tuesday, 10 a.m.-6 p.m.; Friday and Saturday, 10a.m.-5 p.m.; and Sunday, 1-5 p.m.

For additional information please call (973) 746-2042; e-mail studio@georgesaj.com; or visit the artist's website, www.georgesaj.com.

"Focus on Collage" exhibit to be held in new alternative exhibition space

MONTCLAIR, N.J. – Christina Saj, an artist and a longtime advocate of the arts who lives in New Jersey, has organized an exhibit titled "Focus On Collage," which will take place in a new alternative exhibition space in Montclair.

Referred to as Artspace 129, the venture is dedicated to featuring the work of established and emerging visual artists in a "living context."

The "Focus on Collage" exhibit will feature the work of four New Jersey artists who work in abstract collage.

As organized by Ms. Saj, the exhibition will take place in the new alternative exhibition space referred to as artspace 129, located in the McDonough Building, at 129 Valley Road. A grand opening reception will be held on Saturday, November 6, at 6-8 pm. The exhibit runs

through January 28, 2005.

The four artists – Phyllis Huggett, Nancy Egol Nikkal, Rodriguez Calero and Nancy Tobin – each has a distinct approach to collage with varying degrees of representation. Ms. Saj plans to do quarterly exhibits which will feature contemporary art. All work is for sale and will be sold off the wall as in traditional retail environments.

For information on the individual artists, who have studied abroad and in the United States, have extensive work experience in their respective fields and whose work is exhibited widely, visit: <http://www.artspace129.com>.

Artspace 129 is located in the McDonough Building, 129 Valley Road. Gallery hours: Monday-Friday, 10 a.m. - 5 p.m., or by appointment.

Tension builds...

(Continued from page 13)

the Security Service of Ukraine is following their movements. Both Mr. Lytvyn and Mr. Volkov have warned of dire consequences if they or their families, who are also under surveillance, are harmed. Former Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Krawchenko, who was dismissed in February 2001 because of his involvement in the murder of opposition journalist Heorhii Gongadze, has fled with his family to Russia because of fears he might become a scapegoat to deflect blame from President Kuchma.

Fourth, remaining independent media outlets have come under assault. Both Channel 5, linked to Our Ukraine businessman Petro Poroshenko, and Era TV, linked to Dnipropetrovsk oligarch Andrei

Derkach, have been threatened with closure. The reason is their objective coverage of the elections: the authorities fear they will provide uncensored news on election day. Reporters Without Borders ranked Ukraine 138th in its just-released Press Freedom Index – the lowest in Europe apart from Russia which is 140th (rsf.org).

It is little surprise that tension is running very high. On October 14 the head of Yushchenko's election campaign, Oleksander Zinchenko, sent an open letter to the National Security and Defense Council outlining how the authorities, through their election violations, are threatening national security (razom.org.ua). Our Ukraine also issued a statement outlining its fears of the violent measures the authorities were planning on election day to forestall an opposition victory (Ukrainska Pravda, October 22).

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Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund to hold its third national convention

SHORT HILLS, N.J. – The New Jersey-based Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund will host its third national convention on November 19-21, celebrating the 15th anniversary of its first medical shipment to Ukraine. An award-winning humanitarian organization with 13 chapters, CCRF was founded in November of 1989 in response to the growing medical crisis in Ukraine stemming from the world's worst nuclear disaster. Since then, CCRF has delivered over \$50 million of aid to Ukrainian hospitals and orphanages to become the leading charity serving Ukraine.

The November convention will be held at the Ramada Conference Center on Route 10 in East Hanover, N.J. It is expected to draw medical experts, community activists and celebrities from across the United States and Canada. Among the distinguished guests who will serve as keynote speakers will be NBC correspondent Martin Savidge; the president of RKO Pictures, Paul Speaker; and Dr. William Novick, a renowned cardiac surgeon featured in the 2004 Oscar-winning documentary "Chernobyl Heart."

"This will be our first convention since 1997," said Dr. Zenon Matkiwsky, the co-founder and president of CCRF. "This will be a unique opportunity to celebrate the successes of the past 15 years and to honor some of the people who have played an important role in the development of our medical mission."

As the retired chief of surgery at Union Hospital (St. Barnabas Medical System), Dr. Matkiwsky is recognized as an expert on the Chernobyl aftermath. He has testified in the United States Senate and at the United Nations on the current health situ-

ation in Ukraine. With the help of CCRF's staff and volunteers, Dr. Matkiwsky has helped to introduce new technology and training programs in Ukrainian hospitals that have led to sharp reductions in infant mortality and improvements in cancer remission rates.

The Kyiv Post, Ukraine's largest English-language newspaper, recently hailed CCRF as one of the most effective charities serving Ukraine. In 1995 CCRF was honored by then New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman with the Governor's Volunteer Award. The fund has also been recognized in Time Magazine's "Local Heroes" column and in the "Voices of Vision" series produced by the Teaching Learning Network for broadcast on many public television stations.

In addition to presentations on medical programs to combat birth defects, immune deficiencies and pregnancy complications, the November convention will also provide training workshops on community fund-raising, corporate outreach and press relations for volunteers from across the country. The convention will culminate in a gala fund-raising banquet on the evening of Saturday, November 20.

Registration fees for the entire weekend will be \$200 in advance and \$220 at the door. The full package for Saturday's workshops and banquet will be \$150. Special convention rates for overnight guests will be available at the Ramada Hotel and Conference Center. For more information on corporate sponsorships and advertising rates in the program booklet, readers may contact Alexa Milanytch at (973) 376-5140.

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Front-runners...

(Continued from page 2)

Yushchenko, as Mr. Moroz has repeatedly ruled out supporting Mr. Yanukovych (Zerkalo Nedeli, October 9-15). This will give Yushchenko an additional 5-10 percent support in Round 2 of the elections on November 21, particularly in central Ukraine, the region that will likely decide the outcome of the elections.

In contrast, Mr. Yanukovych has reached what many Ukrainian pollsters believe is the limit of his support, which draws on traditional Communist voters, his native Donbas region, state officials and pro-presidential party members. Serhii Tyhytko, the head of Mr. Yanukovych's campaign, had always argued that Mr. Yanukovych would win the second round because left-wing voters would defect to him. But this scenario is now unlikely. Mr. Kuchma won in the second round of the 1994 elections with Communist support. But in this year's race, Mr. Yanukovych can already count on three-quarters of Communist supporters in the first round and thus will have fewer left-wing voters to draw upon in Round 2.

In mid-September, when Mr. Yushchenko was absent from the cam-

paign, the Razumkov Center gave Mr. Yushchenko and Mr. Yanukovych 34 percent and 28.9 percent support, respectively, among those who planned to vote (Ukrainska Pravda, September 18). The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) found similar results.

A poll at the end of that month by Democratic Initiatives-Social Monitoring (DI-SM) gave Mr. Yushchenko a bigger lead of 8.5 percent (Ukrainska Pravda, September 29). One week later, a DI-SM poll narrowed the gap between the two leading candidates to only 4.9 percent and 5.4 percent in Mr. Yushchenko's favor in Rounds 1 and 2 (Ukrainska Pravda, October 6). Clearly, the four factors described above had begun to influence voters' preferences.

Then, opinion polls by the Russian Obshchestvennoe Mnenie fund, linked to Russian political consultant Gleb Pavlovsky, claimed that Messrs. Yushchenko's and Yanukovych's ratings were equal, a claim endorsed by presidential adviser Mikhail Pogrebynsky's Center for Political and Conflict Studies (Ukrainska Pravda, October 5). This claim was met with disbelief. Kyiv Mohyla Academy political scientist Rostyslav Pavlenko argued that the Yanukovych camp was living in "fantasy

land," and that the gap between both candidates remained in the region of 8 percent (Ukrainska Pravda, September 29).

Nevertheless, Mr. Pavlovsky persisted, claiming that his polls showed that Mr. Yanukovych was actually now in the lead with 36 percent, a 5 percent lead over Mr. Yushchenko (Ukrainska Pravda, October 6). Another poll by Mr. Pavlovsky reduced this to Mr. Yanukovych leading by 3.4 percent. Messrs. Pavlovsky's and Pogrebynsky's figures were at odds with the government's own All-Ukrainian Sociological Service, which still gave Mr. Yushchenko a 5.7 percent lead.

By mid-October, DI-SM and the Social Monitoring Center reported that Mr. Yanukovych had pulled even with Mr. Yushchenko, primarily by attracting Communist voters (Ukrainska Pravda, October 14 and 15). The only exception to these findings were those of the Institute of Social and Political Psychology, Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, whose results continued to show a 10 percent and 7 percent lead for Mr. Yushchenko in Rounds 1 and 2, respectively (Ukrainska Pravda, October 7 and 14). Of those who planned to vote in the elections, 38.9 per-

cent would vote for Mr. Yushchenko and 29.2 percent for Mr. Yanukovych, rising to 47.1 percent and 39.7 percent, respectively, in Rounds 2.

On the basis of these results, the Institute of Social and Political Psychology predicted that the final result would be 52.1 percent for Mr. Yushchenko and 47.9 percent for Mr. Yanukovych. If these predictions turn out to be correct, the final tally will resemble Mr. Kuchma's 6 percent margin of victory over then-incumbent Leonid Kravchuk in the 1994 elections. Besides gaining from Socialist voters in round two, Mr. Yushchenko will also gain 3.5 percent from those voters who are unwilling to reveal their preferences to pollsters as well as perhaps another 10 percent from "hidden voters."

According to KIIS sociologist Valerii Khmelko, Mr. Yushchenko's ratings were rising in September, which may have led to the authorities taking drastic action against him. By early October Mr. Yanukovych had moved ahead. But, after Mr. Yushchenko returned to the campaign trail on October 10, the momentum began to swing back in his favor (Den, October 15).

Buteiko meets...

(Continued from page 6)

be done in the very short period remaining before the election on October 31 to make the election campaign and the actual voting democratic, free, fair and transparent. They emphasized that the nature of the current presidential election campaign and the election results will not only determine the future of the Ukrainian state but will also profoundly affect the stability and progress of democracy in the entire region. Both men expressed great concern over the appar-

ent attempt to poison Viktor Yushchenko.

When asked how the U.S. could help Ukraine specifically, both men urged that the highest U.S. officials should continue to publicly emphasize of what great concern and importance this presidential election in Ukraine is to the United States, that the U.S. should send a maximum number of election observers to the upcoming election, and Sokolovskyy suggested that the U.S. might underwrite an independent television station in Ukraine to help democrats overcome the current regime's repressive news management and manipulation.

Open letter...

(Continued from page 9)

law, once again we are being offered Eurasian spaces with their eternal evils, barbarity and despotism.

We realize that the road along which the current state leadership has been leading us is the road to nowhere. That is why we want changes and expect that the elections on October 31 will bring us these changes. Therefore, we absolutely reject the candidate proposed by the current government, which is promising us "continuity of the political course," and hence the spiraling growth of bureaucratic arbitrariness that goes unpunished and the progressive spiritual and moral decline of Ukraine.

Recently we acquired another piece of evidence indicating that Viktor Yanukovych's victory in the elections will be a national catastrophe for Ukraine. After promising to grant state status to the Russian language, the government's candidate in fact passed sentence on the Ukrainian language, which even in the circumstances of official "unilingualism" actually remains in the backyard, so to speak, squeezed out of the publishing, media, audio and video markets in its own state. The Russian producer has almost complete sway over all these spheres, which are strategically important for national self-identity. Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine what Ukraine will look like under conditions of official "bilingualism."

At risk is a thousand-year-old culture of a great European people, who struggled for centuries for their liberty, lived through wars and genocidal famines, mass repressions and forced deportations. Still, they managed to bestow on humanity Oleksander Dovzhenko and Les

Kurbas, Maksym Berezovsky and Mykola Lysenko, Solomia Krushelnyska and Ivan Franko, Taras Shevchenko and Lesia Ukrainka. Today they want to ultimately divest us of the very underpinnings of a nation's identity - its culture and history, its memory and dignity. Only a pitiful, semi-colonial Third World dictatorship will remain of Ukraine, a faceless marketplace for cheap labor and cannon fodder for use by the criminal authorities.

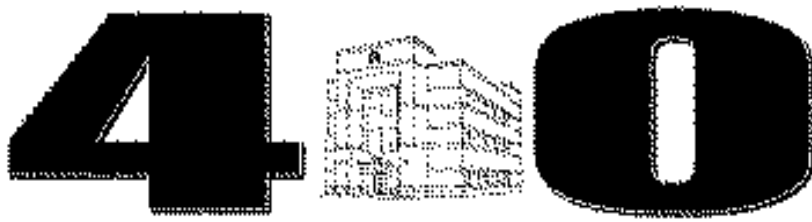
Therefore, today we have no right to give away a single Ukrainian vote to Yanukovych. Wishing a good, honorable life for ourselves, our children and our grandchildren, we should, regardless of our political preferences, rally around Viktor Yushchenko, who is the only one today who has a chance to vanquish the candidate of the criminal government.

We believe in Ukraine's democratic, European future. However, we can help to advance this prospect only if we take a conscious stand in the elections on October 31.

Oksana Zabuzhko
Oleh Skrypka
Maksym Strikha
Dmytro Pavlychko
Maria Burmaka
Sviatoslav Vakarchuk
Ivan Malkovych
Yevhen Stankovych
Maria Stefiuk
Yuri Illienko
Taras Polataiko
Maryna Romanets
Yarema Polataiko
Oleksa Romanets

NB: The list of signatories is ongoing.

Translated from the original Ukrainian by Marta D. Olynyk.



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Credit union's Capital District Branch remodeled and ready for grand re-opening

WATERVLIET, N.Y. – Renovations are nearly complete at the remodeled Capital District Branch of the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union according to CEO Tamara Denysenko.

The newly renovated site will be ready by November 6; a grand re-opening is scheduled for Saturday, November 13.

This is the fifth branch for the Rochester-headquartered Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, which currently serves over 12,000 members belonging to numerous Ukrainian churches, fraternal and community organizations. The other branches are located in Rochester, Syracuse and Binghamton, N.Y., and in Sacramento, Calif. The Capital District Branch located in Watervliet, N.Y., was opened in 2000.

In celebration of the grand re-opening, all of the Capital District Branch's new and referring members will receive a bonus gift deposit. Special dividend rates on share certificates and discounted rates on a variety of loans will also be offered. To provide better service to the growing local membership base, the branch is expanding its hours of service and has hired additional staff.

The Ukrainian Federal Credit Union's board of directors, local volunteers, management and staff encourage and invite all persons and eligible groups sharing a common bond with Ukrainians to join our ever-growing Ukrainian Federal Credit Union family coast to coast, noted Slavko Tysiak, Advisory Committee chair, and Oksana Lupe, branch coordinator.

UMANA invites members, friends to conference at Colorado ski resort

CHICAGO – The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) – Illinois Chapter, cordially invites its members and families, associates, and friends, as well as other interested organizations, to attend the 2005 Spring Scientific Conference and Ski Vacation to be held at the Club Med – Crested Butte resort in Colorado, from Saturday, March 26, through Saturday, April 2, 2005.

The general purpose of this scientific assembly and ski vacation is to draw members of the Ukrainian medical and scientific communities, their families, associates and friends, for a week of an accredited scientific conference, as well as an enjoyable ski holiday.

This five-day (Monday through Friday) scientific conference is intended and designed to provide a broad overview of various medical and scientific topics for the medical practitioner and other health care professionals, who have a primary interest in general medicine, its various subspecialties, as well as medical science. Course attendees will have the opportunity to listen and learn from medical and scientific experts in various fields of medicine and its allied health professions. In-depth lectures on various medical and scientific topics will serve to stimulate an open forum for discussion, and enhance clinical and diagnostic skills. Ample time has been scheduled for questions in order to encourage dialogue between the participating faculty and course attendees.

Early morning (7-9 a.m.) scientific sessions will leave ample time for skiing and other winter-related activities with

family, friends, and colleagues. The educational format will include large group lectures, and will be followed by discussions with the course faculty.

Through its multifaceted curriculum of activities for participants, this premier educational event will serve to foster professional development through education, and collegiality across multiple medical and scientific specialties. Furthermore, other Ukrainian professional, business and social organizations are invited to join UMANA at Club Med during this week.

Club Med-Crested Butte is America's only totally all-inclusive family ski vacation with world-class skiing. It is a large and modern resort with ski-in/ski-out facilities, located in south-central Colorado just north of Gunnison, and offers: a full week of lift tickets, daily full ski or snowboarding lessons for all – from beginners to experts, all meals and beverages, lodging, and a full schedule of extracurricular activities for adults and kids, such as: NASTAR-style ski races, mountain barbecues, evening shows and cabarets, etc. Various excursions are also available, including: sleigh rides, horseback riding, snowmobiling, dog sledding and ski mountain tours.

A limited number of rooms are still available on an availability-basis only, due to seasonal peak spring skiing. For more information readers may log on to www.geocities.com/UMANA_SKI_CONFERENCE_2005, or e-mail UMANA@UMANA.org or UMANA_SKI_CONFERENCE_2005@yahoo.com.

Highlights...

(Continued from page 6)

would like to serve and cooperate in other areas of the organization, if given the opportunity. Out of 29 district committee chairman, there are five women serving in that capacity.

"Although in most insurance companies women members are in the minority – about 3 percent – in Soyuz almost 40 to 45 percent of the membership is female, with a sizable number active organizationally. In general, women are discharging their obligations, but are they enjoying all their rights?"

"As one American woman put it, 'we outnumber the men in this world, we control the wealth of the world, we produce the children in this world, why shouldn't we exert ourselves and become

part of the leadership group that influences our lives with their decisions?' Those words can be translated into UNA language very easily.

"Womanpower is being overlooked by our organization. If we don't have many of the more active women in the UNA, perhaps it is because they feel they will not be given sufficient wing-spread. Womanpower is a potential reservoir of action and accomplishment of which the UNA should avail itself for its future growth and development and for the good of the organization and our people. ..."

Source: Report of the UNA Supreme Vice-Presidentess Mary Dushnyck, "Minutes of the 27th Regular Convention of the Ukrainian National Association" (1970). The border used for this special feature is reproduced from a UNA membership certificate dated 1942.

Stanislavsky Opera Gala

Friday, November 5, 2004, 8pm

The critically acclaimed Stanislavsky Opera Company graces the State Theatre stage with a unique gala performance including opera highlights from *La traviata*, *Tosca*, *La Bohème*, *Faust*, and many more!



Virsky Ukrainian National Dance Company

Sunday, November 14, 2004, 8pm

"The sheer physical beauty and technical brilliance of these balletically trained folk dance performers is astonishing. On top of this, they infuse the stage with a genuine sense of joyfulness and mischief." – *Chicago Sun-Times*



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ELECTION WATCH

(Continued from page 3)

go on any longer!" (RFE/RL Newswire)

41 more polling stations in Russia

KYIV – The Central Election Commission held a meeting on October 23 devoted to creating 420 constituencies in Russia for the October 31 Ukrainian presidential election, in addition to the four that were set up earlier, Ukrainian media reported. The meeting was attended by opposition lawmakers and presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko, who opposed the opening of additional polling stations in Russia, arguing that this move could be conducive to election falsifications since there would be no election observers in those constituencies. However, the following day the commission passed a resolution on opening 41 more polling stations in Russia. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Opposition fears fraud in Russia

KYIV – During an all-night meeting, Ukraine's Central Election Commission (CEC) voted on Sunday, October 24, at 3:30 a.m. to create 41 additional polling stations for an alleged 150,000 Ukrainian voters located in the Russian Federation during the October 31 presidential vote. Mykola Katerynchuk, Democratic opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko's CEC representative, immediately called the move illegal, stating it violated procedural terms in Ukraine's election law and is an attempt to open the door to voter fraud. Mr. Katerynchuk noted that only four polling stations serving 25,000 voters were open in the Russian Federation during Ukraine's parliamentary elections in March 2002. According to Ukraine's election law, the Central Election Commission may open additional polling stations no later than seven days before the election. That term expired at midnight on Saturday, October 23. "We will challenge the Central Election

Commission's decision in Ukraine's Supreme Court," Yushchenko campaign chairman Oleksander Zinchenko said. He called the voter lists in these regions "bogus" and said that next to many signatures were Russian Federation passport numbers, indicating that the alleged voters are not Ukrainian citizens. Ukraine does not recognize dual citizenship with any country. The campaign of incumbent Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich urged the CEC to open 420 additional polling stations in the Russian Federation after it gathered more than a million signatures from alleged Ukrainian citizens located throughout Russia who are unable to return home for the October 31 presidential election. Last week the Yushchenko campaign uncovered a government plan to falsify between 3.5 million and 5.5 million votes during the presidential election through the use of outdated voter lists that contain numerous errors, false identities and names of dead persons. Some of the falsifications were expected to take place at polling stations abroad, many of which cannot be supervised by Embassy personnel and are beyond the observation of CEC, law enforcement officials and election monitors. (Our Ukraine Update)

Opposition supporters attacked by mob

KYIV – A group of some 100 Yushchenko supporters of Viktor Yushchenko who picketed the Central Election Commission headquarters on the evening of October 23 were attacked by a mob of some 50 unidentified men, who were armed with flails and plastic bottles filled with some hard mixture, the Mass Information Institute website and UNIAN reported. The picketers, along with opposition deputies, managed to detain three attackers – two of whom turned out to be police officers. The Internal Affairs Ministry has not yet commented on the attack. Twelve picketers were reportedly hospitalized following the attack. (RFE/RL Newswire)

200,000 police to maintain order

KYIV – Some 200,000 policemen will be maintaining law and order at territorial and district electoral commissions on October 29 through November 2, reported Ukrainian News of Kyiv, citing Oleksander Savchenko, head of the Internal Affairs Ministry's public order department. He said that number of policemen will be required for the maintenance of public order on the premises of 225 territorial and 33,485 divisional electoral commissions. He said the police would stand guard at electoral commissions around the clock, in three shifts, beginning from the moment ballot papers are delivered there and until they are taken to the Central Electoral Commission. Mr. Savchenko noted that two police officers must stay at each polling station all the time. (Ukrainian News, Action Ukraine Report)

Warnings of "strong-arm scenario"

KYIV – National Deputy Volodymyr Stretovych said in the Verkhovna Rada on October 22 that the Our Ukraine bloc of presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko has been informed about a secret conference of 140 pro-government legislators with President Leonid Kuchma devoted to discussing a "strong-arm scenario" in the ongoing presidential election campaign, Ukrainska Pravda reported. "Under this scenario, there will be big mug shots [in English-flavored Ukrainian: "bigmordy" – the campaign's common usage for large-format pictures of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich] of the candidate supported by the authorities displayed in all shops throughout the country," Mr. Stretovych said. "After that, people dressed in sports shirts bearing the inscription 'Yes, Yushchenko!' will start smashing the windows in those shops," he predicted, "and after that the authorities will proclaim a state of emergency because of social unrest." (RFE/RL Newswire)

Yanukovich grateful for Putin's support

SUMY – Viktor Yanukovich, Ukrainian prime minister and presidential candidate, said he would be grateful to Russian President Vladimir Putin for supporting his presidential bid if the Russian leader decides to make a statement to this effect. "If there is support I will be always grateful for it," Mr. Yanukovich told journalists in the Sumy region when asked whether or not Mr. Putin's visit to Ukraine on October 28 is a form of support for Mr. Yanukovich's presidential bid. Mr. Yanukovich said that invitations to take part in festivities marking the 60th anniversary of Ukraine's liberation from Nazi occupation had been sent to all heads of former Soviet republics. "Many people were liberating Ukraine, perhaps all peoples of the Soviet Union. It was the great victory of the great Soviet Union," he explained. "We should remember this and be grateful for this. For this reason we have invited everyone to these festivities. We will see who comes and will be glad to see everyone," Mr. Yanukovich said. (BBC Monitoring, Action Ukraine Report)

Moroz against dual citizenship

KYIV – The Socialist Party's leader and presidential candidate Oleksander Moroz has expressed opposition to dual citizenship. Mr. Moroz was commenting on presidential candidate and Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's intention to introduce dual citizenship with Russia while participating in a live radio program in Mariupol (Donetsk region). Mr. Moroz said he opposed dual citizenship because dual citizenship should have been introduced with other countries. However, he said he believes this is impossible. "Tatars [living in Ukraine] want [dual citizenship] with Turkey. Poles with Poland ... Everyone is apparently interested, but nationhood will be lost and collapse as a result," Mr. Moroz observed. He said it would be more appropriate to...

(Continued on page 25)

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ELECTION WATCH

(Continued from page 24)

appropriate to allow free movement of people. "It is better for us to make the border in such a way that a person crossing it does not know that he is traveling to another country – to Russia or any other country," Mr. Moroz said. He added that Mr. Yanukovich should not have made such a statement because introduction of dual citizenship is not in the competence of the president of Ukraine. (Ukrainian News Agency, Action Ukraine Report)

More polling places in Australia, Moldova

KYIV – Australia and Moldova have authorized voting in this year's Ukrainian presidential elections to be held outside the Ukrainian consular and diplomatic missions located on their territories. Markian Lubkivskyi, the head of the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry's press service, announced on October 15 to journalists. "Primarily, we have received the consent of Australia to hold Ukrainian presidential elections outside the borders of the consular and diplomatic institutions of Ukraine," Mr. Lubkivskyi said. Mr. Lubkivskyi said that the Foreign Affairs Ministry had sent its proposal on the creation of four additional polling stations in Moldova to the Central Election Commission. These additional polling stations in Moldova will be located in Ukrainian-language schools. Mr. Lubkivskyi said the ministry is working on all the proposals it has received from Ukrainian citizens based abroad. The Central Electoral Commission thus far has created 113 election commissions abroad for this year's Ukrainian presidential elections. (Ukrainian News Agency, Action Ukraine Report)

U.S. and Spain allow more polling stations

WASHINGTON – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine received the consent of the governments of the United States and Spain for the establishment of polling stations outside the Embassies and Consulates General of Ukraine in connection with the upcoming presidential elections in Ukraine. This information as well as the requests of the citizens and public organizations of the Ukrainians were conveyed promptly to the Central Election Committee, which was to take a decision on the establishment of the supplemental polling stations in these countries. The ministry continues to provide the conditions to conduct the presidential elections at the polling stations abroad. As the Ministry informed earlier, the governments of Australia, Moldova, Vietnam and the Russian Federation gave their consent to the establishment of polling stations outside Ukraine's Embassies and Consulates General. The government of Canada allowed the establishment of polling stations at the Ukrainian Embassy and Consulates, including the Honorary Consulate in Calgary. (Embassy of Ukraine in the United States)

Amnesty International notes detentions

LONDON – It is particularly important that Ukraine demonstrate to the world that it respects the right to freedom of expression in the run up to the presidential elections later this month, Amnesty

International said today. "Recent events seem to demonstrate a disappointing disregard for this right," the organization said. Amnesty International said it "is concerned by reports that members of the youth opposition organization Pora (It's Time) are being subjected to arbitrary arrest and harassment for the legitimate exercise of their freedom of expression. Pora is a social campaign that distributes leaflets and runs a satirical website encouraging people not to vote for the government presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich. Reports monitored by Amnesty International included detentions of opposition activists in Vinnytsia, Kirovohrad and Kyiv. The watch group noted: "The number of such detentions that are taking place across Ukraine and the numerous violations of procedures raise concerns that these young people may have been detained for their legitimate and peaceful opposition activities. If this is the case Amnesty International would consider them prisoners of conscience and call for their immediate and unconditional release." (Amnesty International)

Kharkiv group warns of officials' tactics

KHARKIV – The Kharkiv branch of the Power of the People, the coalition of forces supporting Viktor Yushchenko's presidential bid, has issued a statement claiming that the authorities have begun implementing a "strong-arm scenario" for derailing the October 31 presidential elections, Interfax reported on 20 October. The statement was issued in connection with the arrest of Yurii Patykun, head of the Yushchenko regional election staff in Kharkiv. Earlier the same day police detained Mr. Patykun, who was driving a car, and reportedly found a bomb in the car. Bomb experts detonated the bomb near the car. Mr. Patykun's deputy, Ihor Korol, who was present during the search, told journalists that the police planted the bomb in Mr. Patykun's car in order to be able to accuse him of preparing a terrorist act. Meanwhile, nearly 2,000 students demonstrated in front of the police headquarters in Lviv the same day, protesting the police clampdown on the anti-government youth organization Pora, which was also accused of terrorism. Pora announced on its website (<http://kuchmizm.info>) that student protests against the arrest of two of Pora activists are expected in Chernihiv. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Greek-Catholics to pray for election

KYIV – All the parishes of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church will be praying until election day for the Ukrainian state and for the election to help strengthen its authority. Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, head of the UGCC, said at a press conference on October 13: "We are praying for the Ukrainian state and for the election to be conducted in a way that will strengthen our country and raise it up." He said that prayers will also be said in the churches on election day, October 31, as a sort of invitation for the citizens to perform their civic duty and vote. "We, as a Church, together with other Christian Churches and religious organizations ask our faithful to treat the election seriously," said the cardinal. He emphasized that the UGCC does not endorse any of the candidates. "We all long for the election to proceed the way it should, calmly and peacefully," he explained. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Russian Communists support Symonenko

MOSCOW – Russia's Communists on October 20 gathered outside the Ukrainian Embassy to support the Ukrainian Communist Party's candidate for president of Ukraine, Petro Symonenko, reported Ekho Moskvoy Radio. About 100 people gathered for a rally; they were all holding red flags and posters in support of candidate Petro Symonenko and against his opponent, Viktor Yushchenko. The radio reported: "In addition, they'd brought along a cartoon of Yushchenko, depicting him in a track suit bearing the letters USA and holding a bag full of dollars." Members of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation addressed the meeting. State Duma Deputy Liubov Shvets told the demonstrators that she was from Ukraine herself and that Viktor Yushchenko should not and must not become president of the country because he doesn't really know the people who live there. She said: "Why does the world community back Yushchenko so zealously? Why is everything being done so that he wins the election? Someone who basically has nothing at all in common, even through his wife [a U.S. citizen of Ukrainian descent], with the Ukrainian people and doesn't know how to communicate with them." Ivan Melnikov read the participants in the rally a statement which urges Ukrainians to vote for Mr. Symonenko even though political scientists doubt he will win. (BBC Monitoring, Action Ukraine Report)

Interfax quotes poll past deadline

KYIV – The Kyiv-based news agency Interfax-Ukraine on October 21 carried a "paid press release" by the Russian Club in Kyiv reporting on the results of a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Fund on October 12-17. Many analysts believe that the Russian Club, which was opened in August, serves as an additional venue for employing murky election techniques by Russian spin doctors who are backing Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's presidential bid. According to the poll, Mr. Yanukovich will be supported by 37 percent and 43 percent of voters, respectively, in the first round and the possible runoff of the presidential

election, while the corresponding support figures for his main rival Viktor Yushchenko are 31 percent and 35 percent. Ukraine's presidential election law prohibits the Ukrainian media from publicizing the results of polls concerning the popularity of presidential candidates within 15 days of voting day, as stated in the report. It is not clear from the report whether this prohibition applies to Interfax-Ukraine news releases as well. (RFE/RL Newswire)

UAOC hierarch cites pressure on children

KHARKIV – The Consistory of the Kharkiv and Poltava Diocese of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has received a number of complaints from clergy and laypersons of the diocese whose children attend primary grades at state comprehensive schools, where "apparently, minor children appear to have become the object of political pressure from certain teachers," noted Archbishop Ihor Isichenko in a statement to the press released on October 13. "It was reported that at various schools, primary grade teachers interrogated children with respect to who their parents intend to vote for and for whom the children would vote for if they had the right," the archbishop's statement noted. "Further, the teachers attempted to popularize in the eyes of children one of the candidates for president of Ukraine and discredit another candidate, slandering him and accusing him of acting as an intermediary for the alleged interference of the United States in the life of Ukraine." The UAOC hierarch, who is archbishop of Kharkiv and Poltava, also stated: "... concerned as we are about the spiritual health and human rights of our flock, we regard political agitation among minors as tantamount to the seduction of children by dragging them into the soul-degrading arena of corrupt politics. We demand that Ukrainian minor children be protected from the corrupting actions of politically interested persons who hold positions of trust in our schools and that appropriate measures are taken to isolate the system of education from the criminal manipulation of public opinion." (Kharkiv and Poltava Diocese of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church)

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

victory in the October 17 referendum, Belapan reported, quoting Belarusian presidential spokeswoman Natalya Pyatkevich. Mr. Kuchma invited Mr. Lukashenka to attend celebrations marking the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Ukraine from the Nazi occupation, which are to be held in Kyiv on October 28. (RFE/RL Newline)

U.S. denies visa to Surkis

KYIV – The U.S. Embassy in Kyiv said on October 22 that the U.S. authorities have denied a visa to Hryhorii Surkis, head of Ukraine's football federation, the Financial Times reported on October 23, quoting an Embassy spokesman. Mr. Surkis is also a political and business partner of presidential administration chief Viktor Medvedchuk. The Embassy spokesman said Mr. Surkis was denied a visa under a U.S. presidential order that authorizes immigration officials to withhold visas from foreigners suspected of "corruption ... that has or had serious effects on U.S. national interests." A State Department official who asked not to be named told Reuters: "We are obviously worried about the election but we didn't want to take a shotgun approach. This helps send a message that we are not against Ukraine as a whole, or even for that matter all of the government, but we are targeting individuals." (RFE/RL Newline, Reuters)

Yushchenko against adopting budget now

KYIV – Opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko said at a meeting with some 15,000 voters in Kryvyi Rih on October 21 that the Verkhovna Rada should not adopt a national budget for

2005 before the presidential election, as this law will be implemented by a different Cabinet and a different president, Interfax reported. The presidential ballot is slated for October 31, while the runoff, if necessary, is scheduled for November 21. The rally in Kryvyi Rih was opened by Yushchenko ally Yulia Tymoshenko because his arrival was delayed after the city airport barred his plane from landing, forcing him to travel by car. Streets lamps were reportedly switched off on the city's main thoroughfare as Mr. Yushchenko's car was approaching the rally. "[Your presence here] testifies that Ukraine lives not in the time of fear but in the time of courage," Mr. Yushchenko said in greeting the crowd. (RFE/RL Newline)

Reporters Without Borders take a stand

PARIS – The Paris-based media watchdog Reporters Without Borders has called on a Ukrainian court to reverse a ruling that froze the accounts of Ukraine's Channel 5, the television station owned by Petro Poroshenko, a political ally of Yushchenko. "[The case] is completely political," Soria Blatmann of Reporters Without Borders told RFE/RL on October 20. "It is so amazing and strange that two weeks before the elections this only [opposition] channel is going to close. It's an anomaly." The court ruling came as the result of a libel suit brought by lawmaker Volodymyr Sivkovych against Mr. Poroshenko. Earlier this month, Mr. Poroshenko accused Mr. Sivkovych of lying in a report on the findings of the parliamentary commission investigating the alleged poisoning of opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko. The court reportedly blocked the Channel 5 accounts to make Mr. Poroshenko apologize. (RFE/RL Newline)

(Continued on page 27)



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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 26)

Kuchma against Channel 5's closing?

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma is “categorically against” stripping the Channel 5 television station of its license, UNIAN reported on October 22, quoting presidential administration deputy chief Vasyl Baziv. Channel 5 is the only station in Ukraine supporting opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko’s presidential bid. It is also widely praised for balanced coverage of the ongoing election campaign. A district court in Kyiv recently ruled to freeze Channel 5’s bank accounts in a libel suit against the channel’s owner, thus raising fears that the channel will soon be taken off the air. Lawmaker and oligarch Oleksander Volkov warned deputies of the pro-government coalition from the Verkhovna Rada rostrum on October 21 that Channel 5’s closure could backfire against Viktor Yanukovich’s presidential bid. Mr. Volkov reminded them of the closure of the Gravis television channel during the 1994 presidential campaign, which in his opinion contributed to Mr. Kuchma’s victory over incumbent President Leonid Kravchuk. “So you’d better think what the [expletive deleted] you’re doing,” the Ukrainska Pravda website quoted Mr. Volkov as saying. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Bush signs Belarus Democracy Act

WASHINGTON – President George W. Bush on October 20 signed the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004, which was passed by the U.S. Congress earlier this month, RFE/RL’s Belarus Service reported. The legislation authorizes necessary assistance for pro-democracy activism in Belarus and proposes to prohibit the extension of U.S. government loans and investment to the Belarusian government, except for the provision of humanitarian goods and agricultural or medical products. “This bipartisan legislation demonstrates America’s deep concern over events in Belarus and a commitment to sustain those Belarusians who must labor in the shadows to return freedom to their country,” President Bush said in a statement accompanying the signing of the act. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Emergency session of NSDC sought

KYIV – The parliamentary caucus of opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko’s Our Ukraine bloc has called on the National Defense and Security Council (NSDC) to hold an emergency meeting devoted to the deteriorating situation in the country, Interfax reported on October 20. “The authorities have launched a terror campaign against people who have their own views and are in political opposition [to the government],” Our Ukraine National Deputy Mykola Tomenko said in the Verkhovna Rada. “Every day police arrest student activists and other active Ukrainian citizens for their opposition to the government-supported [presidential] candidate, [Viktor] Yanukovich.” Mr. Tomenko also demanded that Internal Affairs Minister Mykola Bilokon be dismissed. “We have signals from policemen that a strong-arm scenario of developments is being prepared,” Mr. Tomenko said. “In particular, we have information about the formation by the Kyiv police department of a special unit called ‘Ninja’ that will use chemical weapons against the civilian population.” (RFE/RL Newsline)

President meets Greek-Catholic bishops

KYIV – Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma met with the bishops of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC) on October 11. The problems of the UGCC were discussed during the meeting. The president was informed of

the results of the recent meetings of the UGCC Synod. Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, head of the UGCC, expressed his gratitude to the president for his support in organizing the visit of Pope John Paul II to Ukraine in 2001. He also stressed that “the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in independent Ukraine can develop, work freely and peacefully, support and encourage the faithful to do good.” The president said, “I meet with the clergy regularly and am well aware of all the problems the Church is facing today,” adding, “I would like to affirm the partnership of Church-state relations, based on the common striving for cooperation and problem solving ... Church life in Ukraine is characterized by stability and diversity.” The president also noted that “The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church has come back to a position in society it was once brutally removed from. As a social institution it has become an indispensable part of spiritual life, a subject of Ukrainian history, enjoying full rights. The presence of your Church is felt in many spheres of society’s existence ... The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church has become an important factor of society’s development, its morals and responsibility before present and future generations.” (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Romania seeks clarification

BUCHAREST – The Romanian Foreign Ministry on October 21 summoned a representative of the Ukrainian Embassy in Romania, demanding that Kyiv “clarify” reports in the Romanian media the previous day that said Ukraine has granted drilling rights to foreign companies in the vicinity of Serpents Island in the Black Sea, Mediafax reported. The ministry stressed that under the 1997 basic treaty between the two states the sides pledged to refrain from exploiting mineral resources around the island until they reach agreement on the delimitation of the continental shelf. The ministry also noted that the case is pending before the International Court of Justice in the Hague, and that according to international practice the sides should refrain from drilling in the area until the court rules on the case. (RFE/RL Newsline)

States to negotiate Danube borders

BUCHAREST – Romanian Foreign Minister Mircea Geoana said on October 22 that Romanian and Ukrainian experts reached an agreement last week to negotiate a border delimitation agreement on the Danube River, Mediafax reported. Mr. Geoana said the agreement was reached on October 21, at a meeting in Ismail, Ukraine. In the meantime, the sides agreed to take measures to prevent a repetition of the friction that occurred last month. Meanwhile, Traian Basescu, presidential candidate for the opposition National Liberal Party-Democratic Party alliance, on October 24 accused Mr. Geoana of artificially inflating the dispute with Kyiv on the construction of the Bystraya Canal, Mediafax reported. Mr. Basescu said Mr. Geoana “mixed up” the canal with the Chilia branch of the Danube delta. Mr. Basescu said nothing worth noting has taken place on the branch and the Bystraya, which would facilitate Ukrainian access to the branch, is within Ukraine’s territory. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Nearly half mistrust politicians

KYIV – The UNIAN news service reported on October 27 that its sociological service found in a poll conducted earlier this month in Kyiv among more than 1,500 respondents that 48.7 percent of them said they do not believe any Ukrainian politician. A similar poll in October 2003 found that this indicator of distrust stood at 35.7 percent. (RFE/RL Newsline)

THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF UNA BRANCHES
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NORTHERN NEW JERSEY
announces the

FALL ORGANIZING MEETING

to be held on

Friday, November 5, 2004 at 2:00 p.m.
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Obligated to attend the meeting as voting members are District Committee Officers, Branch Officers, Convention Delegates and two delegates from the following branches:
25, 27, 37, 42, 70, 76, 133, 134, 142, 170, 171, 172, 214, 234, 287, 340

Meeting will be attended by:
Stefan Kaczaraj, UNA President
Christine E. Kozak, UNA Nat'l Secretary
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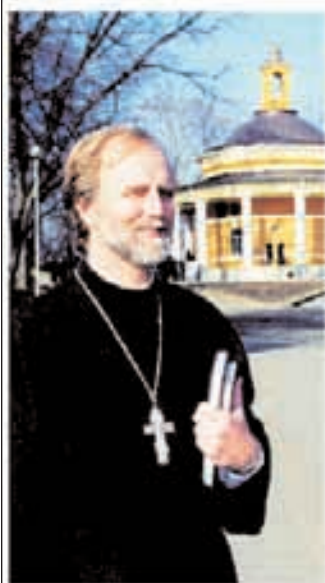
Soyuzivka's Datebook

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| October 29-31, 2004
Halloween Weekend with children's costume parade, costume zabava and more | November 25-28, 2004
Thanksgiving Weekend Packages Available |
| October 30, 2004
3-Mile Race sponsored by Plast Spartanky Sorority, 3 p.m. | December 3, 2004
UNWLA Branch 95 Christmas Party |
| November 5-7, 2004
Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, Orlykiada Weekend | December 4, 2004
Accord Fire Company Banquet |
| November 12, 2004
Kripplebush Fire Company Banquet | December 11, 2004
Ulster Correctional Facility Christmas Party |
| November 18-20, 2004
UNA General Assembly Meeting | December 23, 2004
Jeremiah Flaherty Law Office Christmas Party |
| November 20, 2004
New Paltz Semi-Formal Dinner Banquet | December 24, 2004
Traditional Christmas Eve Dinner |
| November 21, 2004
Ellenville Co-op Nursery School Auction | December 31, 2004
New Year's Eve Celebration and Zabava with Fata Morgana |
| | January 6, 2005
Traditional Christmas Eve Dinner |



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Meet Ukrainian Catholic University Rector
Fr. Borys Gudziak, Ph.D.



**November 14, at 1:00PM
in Chicago**

Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Richard Seminack of the Chicago Eparchy invites the public to a Rector's Luncheon for Fr. Borys Gudziak. The luncheon is to benefit the university and will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Chicago, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., on Sunday November 14 at 1 p.m. Tickets are available for \$25.00 per person, though additional gifts are encouraged. To order tickets or for further information, contact the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, (773) 235-8462

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Friday-Sunday, November 5-7

CLEVELAND: Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 12 presents its traditional invitational autumn art show featuring the work of eight artists – Daria Hulak-Kulchytsky, Slava Gerulak, Anatoliy Kolomayets, Natalia Kormeliuk, Olha Koch, Anya Farion, Andrij Khomyk and George T. Saj. This year's show will include icons, oils, graphics, reverse glass painting, watercolors, ceramics and sculptures. A preview reception will be held November 5 at 7 p.m. at the UNWLA Room, St. Josaphat's Astrodome, 5720 State Road. Exhibit hours: November 6, 9 a.m.-5 p.m.; November 7, 9 a.m.-3 p.m. Proceeds from sale of art works to benefit UNWLA charitable, cultural and educational programs.

Saturday, November 6

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J.: A Ukrainian Fall Festival will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 135 Davidson Ave., at 11 a.m.-7 p.m. The festival will feature music and performances by Alla Kutsevych, Inna Sydorak, the Obriy Folk Dance Ensemble and the Barvinok Dance Group. There will be children's activities, a food court and a raffle, as well as tours of the center's museum. The marketplace will feature amber and beaded jewelry, Ukrainian embroidery, crafts, ceramics, pysanky, glass art, scarves, CDs, DVDs, videos, t-shirts and athletic gear. The marketplace offers a great opportunity to acquire unique gifts and do one's Christmas shopping early. Festival admission: adults, \$5; children, free. For more information contact Raisa Chejlyk, (908) 647-6211; or raisachejlyk@yahoo.com.

Sunday, November 7

CHICAGO: The Parish Council of St. Volodymyr Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral invites the public to the "grand opening" of the newly constructed elevator in the cathedral's auditorium at 2250 W. Cortez St. Please join us in celebrating another milestone in the history of the parish. As part of the program, at 9:30 a.m., there will be an official welcoming of Metropolitan Constantine and Archbishop Vsevolod, followed by a hierarchical divine liturgy at 10 a.m. The blessing and grand opening of the elevator will take place at noon and will be followed by a luncheon and program. Proceeds are designated for the elevator project. Donation \$50. For reservations contact Oksana Tschakowsky, (847) 256-4299.

Monday, November 8

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.: The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI) will host a lecture by Tomasz Stryjek, lecturer, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, and HURI research

fellows on the topic "Poetics of Liminality: Bohdan Ihor Antonych in the Multicultural Context of Lviv in the 1930s." The lecture will be held in the HURI Seminar Room, 583 Massachusetts Ave., at 4-6 p.m. For additional information contact the institute at (617) 495-4053 or huri@fas.harvard.edu.

Sunday, November 14

PARMA, Ohio: St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral will celebrate its 80th anniversary with a hierarchal divine liturgy to be celebrated by Metropolitan Constantine, with cathedral clergy as co-celebrants. Following the liturgy, there will be an anniversary banquet that will be held in the Cultural Center, 5913 State Road. For tickets call the cathedral office, (440) 886-3223, Monday-Friday, 10 a.m.-2 p.m.

ALEXANDRIA, Va.: Bass-baritone Taras Kulish of Montreal will appear in concert in a program of works by Fauré, Schubert, Lysenko, Wesolowsky and others at the Lyceum, 201 S. Washington St., in Old Town Alexandria at 3:30 p.m. Suggested donation: \$15; students, free. The concert is presented by The Washington Group Cultural Fund under the patronage of the Embassy of Ukraine, as part of their 2004-2005 Music Series. Free "Dash" Shuttle bus is available every 15 minutes from King Street Metro Station in Alexandria, (on Blue and Yellow lines) to Washington and King Street, 1 block from the Lyceum. Seating is unreserved; Handicapped accessible. For more information contact Svitlana Shiells, (703) 506-4745.

CHICAGO: Bishop Richard Seminack, Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Chicago, invites the public to a Rector's Luncheon for the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. The luncheon, which is to benefit the university, will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., at 1 p.m. Tickets: \$25 per person; additional donations are encouraged. Tickets may be ordered by contacting the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, (773) 235-8462.

Saturday, November 20

PARMA, Ohio: The Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus and the Ukrainian Museum-Archives invite you to enjoy the afternoon with friends watching one of college football's best rivalries on the big screen – the University of Michigan Wolverines vs. the Ohio State University Buckeyes. Join us at noon-5 p.m. at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Catholic Church, Upper Back Hall, 7700 Hoertz Road. A \$40 donation includes open bar, hor d'oeuvres, etc. Proceeds from the event go to assist the programs of the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus and the Ukrainian Museum-Archives. For ticket reservations contact Nick Schidowka, (216) 534-4777 or nschidowka@bigfoot.com. Visit www.bandura.org for more details.

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 (\$20 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 \$20 for each time the item is to appear and indicate date(s) of issue(s) in which the item is to be published. Also, please include the phone number of a person who may be contacted by The Weekly during daytime hours. Information should be sent to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054. Items may be e-mailed to preview@ukrweekly.com.