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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Presidential candidates refocus on the campaign

by Stephen Bandera

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV – With less than 10 days left before the repeat presidential election on December 26, candidates Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich are focusing their efforts on southern and eastern Ukraine.

Both campaigns have modified their approaches for “round three” of the elections.

The last poll results made public prior to the two-week publication ban showed Mr. Yushchenko enjoying an eight-point lead – 47 percent to Mr. Yanukovich’s 39 percent. Six percent of respondents chose the “against both candidates option,” 3 percent were undecided and 5 percent said they do not plan to vote according to the poll conducted by the Razumkov Center on December 6-9 among 2,023 respondents.

The participants of the National Exit Poll consortium conducted more than 28,000 “secret ballot” interviews on November 21 and found that Mr. Yushchenko was supported by 53 percent, while Mr. Yanukovich had 44 percent support among respondents.

These numbers do not bode well for Mr. Yanukovich’s bid to be president.

The Yanukovich campaign introduced significant changes in personnel and strategy, and modified its message after the events of the Orange Revolution.

In terms of his campaign team, Mr. Yanukovich did not have much of a choice. Two high-profile campaign managers, former National Bank of Ukraine Chairman Serhii Tyhytko and National Deputy Stepan Harvysh, abandoned

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New findings about Yushchenko’s poisoning spur investigations

by Andrew Nynka

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Doctors at the Rudolfinerhaus Clinic in Vienna, Austria, announced on December 11 that Viktor Yushchenko had been poisoned with an undetermined form of dioxin. The move sparked Ukraine’s Verkhovna Rada and the procurator general to renew investigations into the poisoning of the presidential candidate.

Doctors from the prestigious clinic said during their press conference that they were absolutely certain that Mr. Yushchenko, who traveled to the clinic over the weekend for more tests and treatments, was poisoned with dioxin.

Rudolfinerhaus Clinic President Michael Zimpfer thanked doctors from around the world for helping “to clarify the difficult Yushchenko illness that has not been observed anywhere else beforehand.”

Dr. Zimpfer, who led a team of doctors that examined Mr. Yushchenko, said the conclusion was reached after independent tests on the candidate’s blood, conducted in a number of other countries recently, showed Mr. Yushchenko had an extremely elevated level of dioxin in his blood, which could have been slipped into the candidate’s food.

“It would have been easy to put it in a cream soup,” Dr. Zimpfer added during the press conference.

With regard to the level of dioxin found in Mr. Yushchenko’s blood, one test conducted in London showed that his dioxin level was 6,000 times higher than normal, the Associated Press reported.

Abraham Brouwer, a professor of environmental toxicology at the Free University in Amsterdam, told the AP that the concentration amounted to some 100,000 units per gram of blood fat and said it was the second

highest level ever recorded in human history. A normal level of dioxin in the human body is between 15 and 45 units and can be found in nearly all people because the chemical is widespread in the environment.

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Viktor Yushchenko and Dr. Michael Zimpfer embrace on December 12 before Mr. Yushchenko's departure for Ukraine.

Specialists discuss post-election Ukraine

by Yaro Bihun

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

WASHINGTON – While the Ukrainian people and politicians were focusing their attention on the December 26 final presidential election run-off between Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich, a gathering of foreign, economic and defense policy experts, government officials and politicians from Ukraine, Europe and the United States came together at a prominent think-tank here to discuss what course Ukraine would be taking after the election and how the West could help.

And even though Zbigniew Brzezinski, former President Jimmy Carter’s national security advisor, inserted a word of caution that “it isn’t over yet” into his speech at the conclusion of the daylong conference, it was apparent that most, if not all, of the participants – Dr. Brzezinski included – were analyzing Ukraine’s future under a Yushchenko administration and not that of his rival, Mr. Yanukovich.

The December 10 conference, “Ukraine’s Choices: Europe or Russia?” was organized by The New Atlantic Initiative of the American Enterprise Institute, along with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Freedom House, the International Republican Institute, the National Endowment for Democracy, and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

Conference participants had a chance to hear the Yushchenko team’s future policy plans from his campaign chief of staff, Oleh Rybachuk, who did not

hedge about how he saw Ukraine’s future orientation under a Yushchenko administration.

“And here we would like to be very clear,” he said. “Our priority is exclusively Euro-integration. We don’t have a multi-vectoral policy. We are clearly moving for joining the EU [European Union] and becoming a member of the NATO. And we are telling Russians the same message,” he said.

Neither Mr. Rybachuk, nor any other speaker, discounted the need for Ukraine to maintain good relations with its large northern neighbor. As Ukraine’s Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Oleh Shamshur pointed out, the choice does not have to be, as the conference title implied, Europe “or” Russia. While Ukraine “is on its way to confirm its truly and unmistakably European identity,” he said, its relations with Russia are “extremely important” for both countries, as well as for the stability and security of Europe, he said.

Similarly, U.S. Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs Paula Dobriansky, while reiterating Washington’s position on that issue – that it is up to Ukraine to determine its own future and relationships with other countries – stressed that maintaining good relations with both Russia and the West “will be important to Ukraine and to broader peace and stability.” She also stressed that America’s role in assisting Ukraine’s electoral process was in promoting democracy and not one or the other candidate.

(Continued on page 8)

UNA General Assembly meets at annual session

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – The Ukrainian National Association General Assembly met on Friday through Sunday, November 19-21, at the UNA resort, Soyuzivka, for its annual meeting, which reviewed all facets of the fraternal organization’s work

The weekend session was attended by the following members of the Executive Committee: Stefan Kaczaraj, president; Martha Lysko and Eugene Iwanciw, vice presidents; Al Kachkowski, director for Canada, Christine E. Kozak, national secretary; and Roma Lisovich, treasurer.

Also present were Auditors Zenon Holubec and Alexander Serafyn, and Advisors Eugene Oscislowski, Joseph Hawryluk, Vasyl Luchkiw, Wasyl Liscynsky, Andriy Skyba, Myron Groch and Gloria Horbaty. The General Assembly’s honorary members, who take active part in the sessions, but with no voting powers, were represented by Taras Szmagala Sr. and Tekla Moroz.

Not present at these sessions were Auditor Yaroslav Zaviysky and Advisors Stefan Hawrysz (excused due to medical reasons), Myron Pylypiak (excused), Pawlo Prinko (not excused) and Michael Kuropas (excused). Honorary members are not obliged to attend the meeting.

The meeting began with the traditional laying of a wreath at the monument of the UNA’s patron, Taras Shevchenko. Honorary Member Moroz read a short passage describing the many interesting facets of Shevchenko’s character, talents and life. The American,

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ANALYSIS

Ukrainian endgame: the prime minister as an independent presidential candidate

by Jan Maksymiuk

RFE/RL Newswire
December 15

Last week, President Leonid Kuchma signed a decree allowing Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich to go on leave to campaign for the rerun presidential election on December 26. Simultaneously, Mr. Kuchma appointed First Vice Prime Minister Mykola Azarov as acting head of the Cabinet.

Mr. Kuchma's decisions effectively defied the Verkhovna Rada's vote of no confidence in Yanukovich Cabinet on December 1. At the same time, however, they have stripped Mr. Yanukovich of considerable political leverage that he possessed in the campaign while he was full-fledged prime minister.

Mr. Yanukovich left Kyiv for his native region of Donetsk. He has so far made campaign trips to Luhansk and Sevastopol, his two other electoral strongholds, but failed to appear in any central region of the country, let alone in western Ukraine, which voted overwhelmingly for his rival, Viktor Yushchenko, on October 31 and November 21. The rules of the election endgame for Mr. Yanukovich have radically changed in comparison with the two previous votes. Now most regional

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governors seem to have lost faith in Mr. Yanukovich's ability to win and have either sided with his rival or taken a neutral position in the campaign.

Even more significantly, the Orange Revolution has liberated the Ukrainian media from the clutches of official censorship and self-censorship, and now both Messrs. Yanukovich and Yushchenko receive more or less equal and balanced coverage on most television channels. This represents a crucial breakthrough in the media sector in Ukraine, especially as in the first week of the Orange Revolution only the pro-Yushchenko Channel 5 showed anti-government rallies on Independence Square in Kyiv and in other Ukrainian cities. According to Ukrainian media, now only the Donetsk-based Ukraina television channel has remained completely devoted to Mr. Yanukovich in presenting a one-sided picture of developments in the country.

It is no wonder, perhaps, that this new political situation in Ukraine has forced Mr. Yanukovich to recast his political image as a government-supported candidate into something more palatable for voters outside his political strongholds in the east and south of Ukraine. Mr. Yanukovich has begun to promote himself as an independent candidate who is disengaged from President Kuchma in particular and the Ukrainian government in general.

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Poland plays strategic role in Ukraine's Orange Revolution

by Taras Kuzio

Eurasia Daily Monitor
December 10

U.S. President George W. Bush has thanked Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus and Polish President Alexander Kwasniewski for their assistance in negotiating a compromise to resolve Ukraine's ongoing political crisis (Lithuanian Radio, December 9). Poland and Lithuania dragged a reluctant European Union into holding three roundtable negotiations that paved the way for the December 8 compromise between the Ukrainian authorities and the opposition.

The peacefully negotiated settlement represents a particularly strategic victory for Poland in three respects.

First, Poland is the largest of the post-communist states that joined the EU this month, and one of the most pro-American. EU enlargement represents a fundamental challenge to EU "deepeners," such as France, who have always been the most lukewarm about the growing size of the EU. Other EU members, such as Britain, are lukewarm about "deepening" of the EU and see its enlargement as a way of overcoming demands to "deepen" the EU's level of integration. Not surprisingly, therefore,

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Poland and Britain have forged a close alliance in the EU.

Second, Poland's pro-Americanism could be seen during the 2003 Iraqi crisis. Poland led most post-communist states outside the CIS in supporting the U.S.-British position on Iraq. Poland successfully lobbied for the right to run one of four sectors in post-Saddam Iraq, where Ukraine has 1,800 troops – the fourth largest contingent.

Third, Poland is very critical of the EU's traditional policy of "benign neglect" towards Ukraine (Wall Street Journal, November 29). Polish Prime Minister Marek Belka complained that the EU has "largely ignored the aspirations of Ukraine" (Bloomberg, November 30). Poland's participation in resolving Ukraine's crisis will allow Warsaw to "demand that Brussels acknowledge its competence" and force the EU to finally take note of Ukraine's membership aspirations.

Germany sought to anchor Poland inside the EU and NATO to secure its eastern flank. Likewise, Poland does not want a second "Belarus" on its eastern border. Thus, it has sought a central role in resolving Ukraine's political crisis and, in the process, has pulled the EU along with it. Mr. Kwasniewski said, "I am going as the Polish president, but I hope with the backing of the European Union" (AP, November 25).

Poland's ruling elites express a remarkable consensus in their views of the dangers of Russian imperialism. Such views have only been reinforced by Russian President Vladimir Putin's bla-

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NEWSBRIEFS

Ukraine pays compensation for airliner

KYIV – The Ukrainian government on December 13 paid \$7.8 million to Russia to settle compensation claims by families of the Russian citizens killed in the crash of a Russian TU-154 jetliner on October 4, 2001, Interfax reported. The plane carrying 78 passengers, primarily Russians and Russian-born Israelis, was downed over the Black Sea by an errant Ukrainian missile fired by anti-aircraft defense troops from the Crimean Peninsula. Ukraine has also signed an agreement with Israel to pay \$7.6 million to families of the Israeli victims of the crash. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Population continues to fall

KYIV – The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine has reported that the Ukrainian population was 47.35 million as of the end of October 2004, Interfax reported. That number represents a drop of 268,400 people compared to the end of December 2003. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Shevchenko voted best player

PARIS – AC Milan striker Andriy Shevchenko won the Golden Ball award as Europe's best soccer player, edging club teammate Ronaldinho and Barcelona midfielder Deco. The Associated Press quoted him as saying: "I would like to thank all the people who have helped me win it and I would like to dedicate the Golden Ball to the people of Ukraine." Shevchenko also said, "I am Ukrainian and proud to be. It is hard to talk about the situation in Ukraine, but the people deserve a democracy." The winner was chosen in France Football magazine's annual poll of journalists. Mr. Shevchenko, 28, has scored 11 goals in 15 Italian league games this season for second-place Milan. He scored 24 goals last season. Mr. Shevchenko received 175 points, Portugal's Deco got 139 and Brazil's Ronaldinho 133. He is the third Ukrainian to win the award, after Oleg Blokhin in 1975 and Igor Belanov in 1986. (Associated Press)

Kuchma names new NBU chief

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma has proposed Volodymyr Stelmakh for the post of National Bank of Ukraine chairman, UNIAN reported on November 13, quoting Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn. Mr. Stelmakh served as NBU chairman in 2000-2002; he was replaced by Serhii Tyhypko, who resigned last month. The nomination must be approved by Parliament. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Bill would allow annexation of republics

MOSCOW – The Motherland Duma faction on December 9 introduced a bill that

would facilitate the incorporation of former autonomous republics of the Soviet Union into the Russian Federation, newsru.com reported. The leader of the faction, Dmitrii Rogozin, said that the subject of the bill is territories with an ambiguous international status. "If the bill is adopted, we will eliminate the problems of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transdniestria," he said. Under the bill, Mr. Rogozin said, citizens in those republics would decide in referendums whether they want to be unified with Russia. From the Russian side, no international treaty would be required, only the approval of both chambers of Parliament and the president. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Mayor wants to restore traffic flow

KYIV – Oleksander Omelchenko has appealed to the Committee for National Salvation, which coordinated the Orange Revolution rallies in support of opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko, to transfer the tent camps pitched on Khreschatyk, the capital's main street, and on Independence Square in order to restore city traffic, Ukrainian media reported on December 10. "More than 440 tents pitched in Kyiv today is too large a number, particularly since the political and social situation, following the Verkhovna Rada's decision [on December 8 to pass an anti-crisis legislative package], has relaxed," Mr. Omelchenko told journalists. Apart from the tent camps in downtown Kyiv, the opposition has left standing a huge stage on Independence Square from where Mr. Yushchenko and other opposition leaders addressed crowds during the two weeks of anti-government demonstrations. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Cardinal Husar meets with pope

VATICAN CITY – Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC), had a private audience with Pope John Paul II on December 7. The cardinal initiated the meeting, to which the pope gladly agreed. Above all, Cardinal Husar thanked the pope for his support of Ukrainians in their struggles for truth and justice, and also for his prayers. The cardinal spoke about the moral and spiritual status of the Ukrainian people in these days. The cardinal emphasized that, during the whole time of this crisis, individuals and entire communities and parishes have prayed without ceasing for peace, unity and accord for the whole Ukrainian nation. The pope replied: "Yes, it is necessary always to have great trust in God." Other topics were also discussed at the audience. Cardinal Husar said that the pope

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Australia's Ukrainian community says one election monitor is not enough



Demonstrators in Newcastle on December 10.

ESSENDON, Australia – The Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations (AFUO) has today written to Prime Minister John Howard and Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Downer calling for immediate action to strengthen Australia's commitment and presence as observers at the December 26, elections in Ukraine.

Minister Downer informed the AFUO that Australia will officially be present through an officer from the Department of Foreign Affairs – based at the Embassy of Australia in Moscow.

Australia's decision to officially be present is welcomed, however, the process of participation has been totally rejected at all rallies held this weekend –

Newcastle, Melbourne, Brisbane and at public meetings in other states, according to Mr. Romaniw. Petitions have been circulated, letters are being written, and contact is being made with members of Parliament to send objections.

The Melbourne rally on Saturday, December 11, in Federation Square, was attended by over 1,000 people. There was outrage that the Australian government had dealt with such a major issue in such a minor way – given its involvement in Iraq, Afghanistan and East Timor. Resolutions were passed to demand immediate action from the government to strengthen its resolve and presence in Ukraine during the elections.

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Senate unanimously passes resolution on November 21 presidential run-off

Following is the full text of Senate Resolution 487, which was passed by unanimous consent on December 8. The resolution "Expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the November 21, 2004, presidential run-off election in Ukraine," was introduced by Sen. Gordon Smith (R-Ore.), with the support of Sens. Joseph Biden (D-Del.), Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.), John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Jon Corzine (D-N.J.).

Whereas on November 21, 2004, Ukraine held a presidential run-off election between former Prime Minister and opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko and current Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich;

Whereas the Ukrainian Central Election Commission reported that Mr. Yanukovich won 49.42 percent of the vote and Mr. Yushchenko won 46.7 per-

cent of the vote in the run-off election, despite the fact that several exit polls indicated that Mr. Yushchenko secured significantly more votes than Mr. Yanukovich;

Whereas the International Election Observation Mission from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) determined that the run-off election did not meet international standards for democratic elections, and specifically declared that state resources were abused to support the candidacy of Prime Minister Yanukovich;

Whereas the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, a non-governmental electoral organization in Ukraine, reported on illegal voting by absentee ballot, multiple voting, assaults on electoral observers and journalists and the use of counterfeit ballots;

Whereas such reports of fraud were

(Continued on page 43)

New Jersey Assembly urges democratic system in Ukraine

TRENTON – With a new presidential run-off election to take place in Ukraine in less than two weeks, the New Jersey Assembly on December 13 passed a measure sponsored by Assemblyman Peter C. Eagler to urge the establishment of a fully free and open democratic system there.

"The people of Ukraine have a right to open elections and a truly democratic system," said Mr. Eagler (D-Passaic). "The current turmoil and the recent wave of infringements on people's rights is counterproductive to the ideals of a democracy."

The measure (AR-223) also calls for the creation of a prosperous free-market economy in Ukraine.

"The Assembly has spoken with one

voice that it stands shoulder-to-shoulder with the Ukrainian people in their struggle for a fair and open election," said Assembly Speaker Albio Sires (D-Hudson). "All New Jerseyans – regardless of their backgrounds – recognize the importance of self-government in creating a just society."

"The history of Ukraine has been one of being oppressed by other nations," said Mr. Eagler. "We should learn from the past, and let the Ukrainian people decide for themselves who should be their leader."

The measure passed 77 to 0. Copies of the resolution will be sent to the president, the secretary of state, Ukraine's ambassador to the U. S., and each member of New Jersey's congressional delegation.

ELECTION WATCH

Deputies question amendments' legality

KYIV – The Constitutional Court has received a petition from 46 lawmakers arguing that the amendments to the presidential-election law passed by the Verkhovna Rada on December 8 in a package with other bills violate the Constitution of Ukraine. Interfax reported on December 15, citing Constitutional Court spokesman Volodymyr Shliaposhnikov. Following the Supreme Court's December 3 verdict invalidating the November 21 presidential run-off, the Parliament set December 26 as the date for a repeat run-off. At the same time, Mr. Shliaposhnikov stressed that the Constitutional Court cannot annul the Supreme Court's decision, since ruling on court decisions is outside the Constitutional Court's competence. (RFE/RL Newsline)

PM ready to foil new "revolt"

KYIV – Presidential candidate and Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich said in Mykolaiv, southern Ukraine, on December 15 that thousands of his supporters are prepared to come to Kyiv after the repeat presidential run-off on December 26 "to prevent a revolt in this country," Interfax reported. "It is impossible to stop the movement of the people for the protection of their rights and constitutional rule," Mr. Yanukovich said. "Volunteers are coming to get registered in many regions. Yesterday I was in Sevastopol, and 35,000 people registered there. Those people are planning to go to Kyiv after the December 26 vote." Mr. Yanukovich revealed that some 300 organizations have been set up in Kyiv for the same purpose. "These are all volunteer organizations that are unwilling to permit a revolt," he stressed. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yanukovich speaks about Kuchma

KYIV – Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, who is on leave to campaign ahead of a new presidential run-off on December 26, told journalists on December 13 that he is dissatisfied with the way outgoing President Leonid Kuchma handled the political crisis in the country following the flawed second round of voting on November 21, the Ukrainska Pravda website reported. "Our points of view have diverged completely, and I have become deeply disappointed with this man," Mr. Yanukovich said. "I hoped that he would defend the interests of the state and the Ukrainian people during the crisis. But he defended his own interests and those of his family." Mr. Yanukovich also denounced Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski and other foreign mediators in the Ukrainian crisis for what he says was interference in Ukraine's domestic affairs. "He [Kwasniewski] and other intermediaries backed the legalistic nihilism that occurred during the Orange Revolution in Ukraine," Mr. Yanukovich noted. A number of observers have predicted that Mr. Yanukovich might seek to distance himself from the current administration in an effort to defeat opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko in the repeat presidential vote. (RFE/RL Newsline)

U.S. troubled over poisoning

WASHINGTON – U.S. officials on December 13 expressed concern over the recent report by Austrian doctors that Ukrainian presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko had been poisoned, Reuters reported. "It's terrible news to hear, and it's certainly disturbing reports. And I know the Ukraine government is investigating this matter fully, as they should," White House spokesman Scott McClellan said. U.S. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said: "We are deeply disturbed by

the physicians' report. The physicians have now said that he was poisoned with dioxin. We support a full and complete transparent investigation into that matter into how it happened, who did it, what the cause was." Mr. Boucher added, "We will make our position clear once again – that we did not have a favored candidate in the campaign. Our interest is in seeing democracy prevail." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kuchma pressured to use force?

KYIV – The Financial Times quoted unnamed Western diplomats on December 14 who suggested that Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma came under pressure from Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and presidential-administration chief Viktor Medvedchuk to use Internal Affairs Ministry troops to quell opposition protests following the fraudulent November 21 presidential run-off. "I know that many representatives of the [state] apparatus lobbied the president to impose a state of emergency," the newspaper quoted the deputy head of the presidential administration, Vasyl Baziv, as saying. "They said it is time to use state power. The president, from the first moment, was consistently against the use of force." Opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko told the newspaper that the critical moment in the Orange Revolution came on November 28, one week after the eruption of anti-government protests, when soldiers were provided with bullets. (RFE/RL Newsline)

PM denies he wanted to use troops

KYIV – Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich has rejected a report by the Financial Times of December 14 suggesting that he urged President Leonid Kuchma to use Internal Affairs Ministry troops to quell the Orange Revolution following the November 21 run-off, Interfax reported. "Let me just say that this information is false," Mr. Yanukovich said in Sevastopol. "I only asked that order be restored. There was no talk of bringing in troops. Rather it was about ensuring order properly and observing the Ukrainian Constitution." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Medvedchuk reportedly resigns

KYIV – Presidential-administration chief Viktor Medvedchuk, who is also the leader of the Social Democratic Party-United (SDPU), has tendered his resignation, the Ukrainska Pravda website reported on December 14, quoting SDPU parliamentary caucus head Leonid Kravchuk. "I can't say when he tendered his resignation, but he did this definitely," Mr. Kravchuk said. "He realizes that the Kuchma era has ended and that he will not become head of the presidential administration under a new president, whoever is elected." Asked why President Leonid Kuchma has not yet accepted Mr. Medvedchuk's resignation, Mr. Kravchuk said that delay might hinge on the need to pass presidential-administration archives to a new administration and to the fact that President Kuchma's powers have not yet terminated. Mr. Medvedchuk is widely believed to have been one of the most influential political figures in the Kuchma administration. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Russia, NATO call for free election

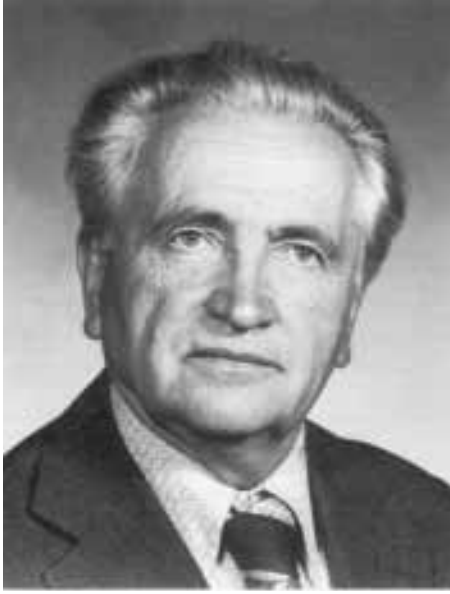
BRUSSELS – Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said in Brussels on December 9, after a session of the Russia-NATO Council in which he took part, that all members of the council were agreed that all sides should avoid interference in Ukraine and respect the coun-

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OBITUARY: Dr. Michael Marunchak, archivist, author, Holocaust survivor

WINNIPEG – Dr. Michael H. Marunchak, author and archivist, passed away on November 21 at the age of 80.

A Ukrainian nationalist and a survivor of the Holocaust, Dr. Marunchak spent most of the war years in the Nazi concentrations camps. Bearing witness to that experience he helped form and lead the



Dr. Michael H. Marunchak

League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners.

He was also an active member of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (today known as the Ukrainian World Congress) and president of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada. He was also a member of the Markian Shashkevych Center in Winnipeg and a supporter of other community organizations.

A prolific author and dedicated archivist, he is particularly well-known for preparing the highly regarded reference work, "Ukrainian Canadians: A History."

Born in Dalesheva, western Ukraine in 1914, he studied at the University of Lviv (1936-1940), then at Prague University, where he received a degree in law (1941). After his arrival in Canada in 1948, he attended the University of Manitoba, obtaining a degree in social work.

Dr. Marunchak worked for the Child Guidance Clinic in Winnipeg School Division No. 1, where he remained until his retirement.

He is survived by his wife of almost 60 years, Natalia, daughter Larysa, son Lev, and granddaughter Taisa.

Ukrainian community cheers progress on Ukrainian Canadian Restitution Act

TORONTO – The Ukrainian Canadian community on December 7 welcomed the formal introduction before the House of Commons of MP Inky Mark's (Dauphin-Swan River-Marquette) Bill C 331 – the Ukrainian Canadian Restitution Act.

A week later, the bill had completed its second reading and was proceeding to committee.

Commenting for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, Borys Sydoruk, said: "The Conservative Party of Canada, the New Democratic Party and the Bloc Quebecois have all previously confirmed their support for this initiative. As well, we have been very pleased to see that many MPs on the government side of the House have also realized that the time has come for an honorable resolution of our community's long-standing calls for recognition, restitution and reconciliation."

"We therefore anticipate that this bill will be passed by Parliament and, subsequently, by the Senate of Canada, he continued. "That would be particularly welcome now, while the last known survivor of Canada's first national internment operations, Mary Manko Haskett, remains alive to bear witness to the righting of a historic injustice, and at a time when the world's attention is focused on the struggle for liberty in Ukraine. At times such as these we are all reminded of the need to remain vigilant in defense of human rights and civil liberties."

Slavko Kokodyniak, director of information technologies for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, noted that Bill C-331, a private member's bill, has been re-introduced several times since the first time in April 2001, but it has never made it past its first reading, until now.

Mr. Kokodyniak explained: "In Canadian parliamentary tradition, only a small percentage of private member's bills are fed into the pipeline as the government controls legislation. In every session of Parliament a small percentage of private member's bills are allowed to pass first reading. They are chosen through a lottery system. This is the first time since 2001 that Inky Mark's legislation was selected in the lottery system, so it made it past the traditional 'first reading,' which is the level where most private member's bills die."

A first reading, he noted, involves a simple yes or no vote, without debate. If a bill passes the first reading, the government determines when it is introduced for a second reading, at which time there is a one-hour debate.

After the debate, the bill goes to committee, Mr. Kokodyniak continued, in this case, the Committee for Canadian Heritage, where the public may make submissions for or against the bill. At the end of public hearings, the committee will make recommendations for amendments and determine whether the legislation continues to a third reading, for more debates and amendments. Once it passes, the bill goes to the Senate of Canada where the legislation may be accepted, becoming law, or rejected.

"What is extraordinary is that this is the first time this legislation has made it past first reading. In essence, with the support of a majority, this bill stands the best chance ever becoming the law of the land. Thus, it is a very significant event," Mr. Kokodyniak concluded.

NEWSBRIEFS

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listened attentively and posed questions that demonstrated that he is well-informed about the current situation in Ukraine and that he is very interested. At the end of the meeting, the pope gave his blessing to all the Ukrainian people and assured that he would continue to pray for them. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Miner killed in methane blast

KYIV – An explosion in a coal mine in the eastern Donetsk region, killed one miner and injured 18, officials said on December 9. The methane gas explosion at the Yuzhnodonbaska mine in the town of Ugledar occurred late on December 8, when 32 miners were working underground, the Ministry for Emergency Situations said. Since the Soviet collapse of 1991, nearly 4,300 miners have died in Ukrainian coal mines, which are considered among the world's most dangerous. (Associated Press)

Opposition activists appear in Kyiv

KYIV – "Today Ukraine, tomorrow Belarus!" read a banner strung up last week in the tent city of pro-democracy protesters in the capital of Ukraine. Leaders of the opposition movement in Belarus have traveled to Kyiv's Independence Square to observe Ukraine's popular revolt. "The Orange Revolution has reawakened hope in Belarusians and has colossal meaning for us," said Igor Stakh, 23, a member of a Belarusian youth movement called Zubr, or Bison, whose tent sits among those of his young Ukrainian comrades. Liberal leaders and opposition activists from Russia have also been spotted at the tent camps and on the podium beside opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko, as have Kazaks, "Yesterday it was Georgia, today it's Ukraine and tomorrow it'll be Kazakstan," said Asylbek Kozhakhmetov of Kazakstan's opposition Democratic Choice party addressing the crowd in Kyiv's central square. The protesters responded by chanting: "Nazarbayev out! Kuchma out!" referring to Presidents Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakstan and Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine. (Associated Press)

The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: October

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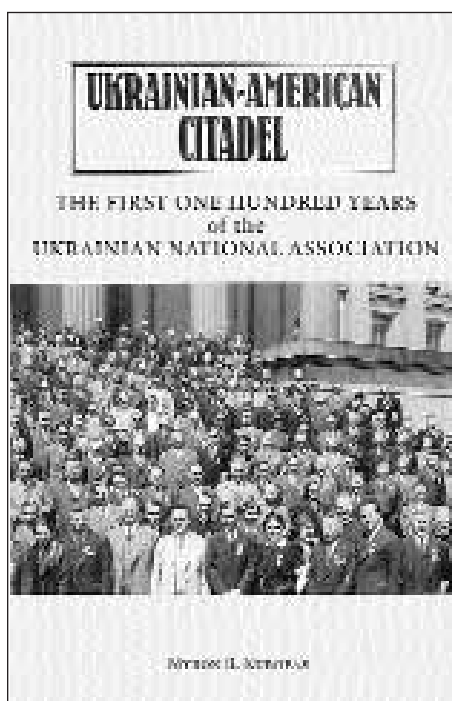
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THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

“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 Ilehamwood Drive, DeKalb, IL 60115. Also available is a newly released Ukrainian edition of the book; price: \$25 (including shipping).

Chapter 9

The Golden Decade

Believing that the new immigration needed greater familiarity with the UNA, its history and its goals, Svoboda inaugurated a series of articles on the UNA beginning January 18, 1950. The articles ended on March 29 and addressed such topics as: the beginnings of the Ukrainian immigration to America and the beginning of organized Ukrainian life; the role of Svoboda and the birth of the UNA; the first UNA convention; the struggle for the national identity of the UNA; assisting the “old country” between two world wars; a Ukrainian content within an American context; and UNA reforms over the years.

In January, The Ukrainian Weekly called for greater interest from members in the upcoming convention and suggested that youth organizations in the Cleveland area, site of the 1950 convention, “play hosts to the hundreds of delegates, to show them how well organized they are and how much more active our younger generation is today.”

The following month The Ukrainian Weekly once again requested that UNA branches pay more attention to their youth:

“Since the UNA is an organization with a potentially great future and since that future depends upon our younger, American-born generation, it is patently clear that at this time, when the older generation is gradually retiring from active organizational life, every effort should be made to elect as delegates to the convention as many young generation people ... as possible. ... Practically every

branch has young members in it, and among them there is bound to be found one or two who could well represent it.

“To be sure, when an older person has far greater ability to represent his branch at the convention he should have preference over the less capable younger member.

“But where a young generation member has a good record or shows promise of one, he should be given preference.”

... The new immigrants were different. They were thoroughly Ukrainian. Many came from larger urban areas. They had suffered through the war and had survived. Better educated than those who came before them, they quickly found jobs in a United States that was experiencing a post-war economic boom. Observing the relatively low level of education and economic progress that the older immigration had made, and the degree to which they and their children had been Americanized, many new immigrants came to look down on America’s Ukrainian pioneers as country bumpkins. The new immigrants were determined to fight assimilation at every turn and not to “succumb to American ways” as they believed those Ukrainians who preceded them to America had. Since the older organizations were “contaminated” as it were – some even used the English language during deliberations – the new immigrants resolved to establish their own, “purer” Ukrainian subculture and to maintain that purity at all costs.

Most older UNA immigrants welcomed the new immigration with open arms. They wanted to help the new arrivals. They wanted to “educate” them in “American ways” so that they would fit in. They explained how tough life was during the Depression and how powerful the Communists had been. They expected the new arrivals to join the old Ukrainian-American organizations. When the newer immigrants resisted

their advice and began to establish their own societies, many of which they merely transplanted from Europe, the older UNA members began to resent the so-called deepeesty (i.e. DPs). “They think they know it all,” the older members grumbled. “They laugh at the way we speak Ukrainian. They ridicule our children who don’t speak Ukrainian or speak it poorly. They have good jobs. They think America was always like this. They don’t know what it means to stand in an

unemployment line like we did during the depression. When they came here, everything had already been done. We had churches, halls, Soyuz, youth organizations, everything. They turned their noses up at all of that because they think they’re so much better than we are.”



For UNA executives, who wanted to unite and integrate all Ukrainians under the broad UNA umbrella, bridging nation-

(Continued on page 37)


Weekly subscription raffled off in Buffalo



BUFFALO, N.Y. – UNA Advisor Osyp Hawrylyk congratulates Mary Bodnar, the winner of a free six-month subscription to The Ukrainian Weekly that was raffled off here at St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church during the parish bazaar on November 7. The six-month subscription is paid for by the UNA in the hope that, once the winner starts reading The Weekly on a regular basis, she will become a paying subscriber.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION



УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ НАРОДНИЙ СОЮЗ

Highlights from the UNA’s 110-year history

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

The Ukrainian National Association’s 33rd Convention in 1994 – the year of the fraternal organization’s centennial – was greeted by U.S. President Bill Clinton. The convention was held in Pennsylvania, in the state where the UNA was founded back in 1894, in the city of Pittsburgh.

(Continued on page 37)

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Orange Wave = unity

During the past few weeks we have been witnesses to history being made in our ancestral homeland. We followed the news from Ukraine relentlessly, we shared that news with each other (sometimes over and over again, as the in boxes of our e-mail can attest), and we became stressed or elated as developments warranted. It's been a hell of a roller coaster ride. And it's not over yet.

Each and every one of us, it seems, has been experiencing the Orange Revolution and, along with that, been preoccupied with the fate of Ukraine.

Indeed, the Orange Revolution in Ukraine was quickly transformed in all parts of the Ukrainian diaspora into the Orange Wave (ergo the headline on our pages of diaspora activities in support of the pro-democracy movement: "Ukraine's Orange Revolution begets Orange Wave in the diaspora."). There were scores of demonstrations, rallies, vigils, meetings, liturgies and prayer services, and marches to manifest our concern about the rapidly changing developments in Ukraine.

Ukrainians from Winnipeg to Toronto, from Philadelphia to Crawford, Texas, from Australia and Italy, and countless points in between proudly wore the orange color of the revolution. They wore orange to Ukrainian school; they wore it to dances and church; they wore it to work (you should see the orange in this building!). They were joined by non-Ukrainian supporters who also took up the wearing of the orange. Why, The New York Times' Nicholas Kristoff even suggested that President George W. Bush should wear an orange tie to better demonstrate his support for democracy in Ukraine – something that the columnist said the president should be doing more clearly and more strongly.

Among the most notable aspects of our Orange Wave has been the composition of its participants: young and old, people of various political leanings and religious affiliations, Ukrainian-speaking and not – and, established diaspora types and members of the Fourth Wave. What the Orange Wave has done is bring out our Fourth Wave in great numbers. And the Fourth Wave was joined by representatives and descendants of all the preceding waves of immigration to the countries of our settlement.

Voila! Proof that all of us in the diaspora do have much in common, beginning with a deeply felt concern for Ukraine – the glue that has united generations of our communities beyond the borders of Ukraine.

Dare we hope that the unity engendered by Ukraine's Orange Revolution can translate into a long-lasting unity among our communities abroad? Could it be that since we have met at these public gatherings we will build on those encounters to work toward revitalizing our community life in the diaspora? Is it possible that we can attract newly arrived Ukrainians into our ranks and that they would actually feel welcome among us? If we believe in the power of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, we should believe also in the strength of the Orange Wave.

In the words of the rap song that has become the de facto anthem of the Orange Revolution: "Razom nas bahato – nas ne podolaty." (Together we are many – we cannot be defeated.) Or, to put it another way: in unity there is strength.

Dec.
22
1999

Turning the pages back...

Five years ago, on December 22, 1999, a Kyiv-based freelancer reported in this newspaper: "While President Leonid Kuchma looked on approvingly, national deputies across the political spectrum joined to give their overwhelming approval to National Bank of Ukraine (NBU) boss Viktor Yushchenko's nomination as Ukraine's next prime minister." Mr. Yushchenko received 296 votes in favor of his candidacy for the nation's second-highest government job, out of 316 deputies present. Twelve deputies cast their ballots against Mr. Yushchenko, while four abstained.

Excerpts from the story filed by Stefan Korshak follow.

Debate was almost completely laudatory, but Mr. Yushchenko responded sharply to one Communist deputy's allegation he had become personally wealthy while running the NBU. "If you don't believe me, tomorrow there will be a bus at the front door of the Parliament," Mr. Yushchenko said. "Any deputy who wants to check can drive to my house and see how wealthy I am."

But, perhaps significantly, even three members of the usually rabidly leftist Progressive Socialist Party – headed by Leninist Natalia Vitrenko – broke party ranks to join the heavy majority supporting Mr. Yushchenko's candidacy.

The lopsided legislative victory marks a critical success in President Kuchma's efforts to build a working parliamentary majority to support campaign promises to accelerate the pace of Ukrainian economic reforms. One of the biggest barriers to implementation of more radical Ukrainian economic reform has been a long-standing impasse between Mr. Kuchma, who advertises himself as a business-friendly centrist, and largely leftist parliamentary deputies.

Mr. Kuchma nominated the 45-year-old Mr. Yushchenko after the Verkhovna Rada shot down Mr. Kuchma's first nomination, long-time political ally and sometimes hatchet man Valerii Pustovoitenko on December 14. But on December 22 politicians across Ukraine's political spectrum were registering their support in favor of President Kuchma's second choice for prime minister, a man best known for a strict monetarist policy and facile, if not always successful, handling of Ukraine's national currency, the hryvnia.

"Viktor Yushchenko is the kind of professional Ukraine needs right now," said National Deputy Stepan Havrysh, a Revival of Regions faction member. "With our financial problems we need someone who can deal with Ukraine's foreign debt."

Mr. Yushchenko made clear that his short-term goal is stabilization of Ukraine's shaky finances. "We should admit that for a very long time this state has lived beyond its financial capabilities ... We have no choice but to put our financial house in order."

Source: "Verkhovna Rada overwhelmingly approves reformer Viktor Yushchenko as prime minister," by Stefan Korshak, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, December 26, 1999, Vol. LXVII, No. 52.

CHRISTMAS PASTORALS

We joyously proclaim: "God is among us!"

Below is the Christmas pastoral message of Metropolitan-Archbishop Stefan Soroka of the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Philadelphia.

To my brother bishops and clergy, the venerable religious, and to my brothers and sisters in Christ:

The Gospel of St. Luke offers us an interesting detail about the birth of Jesus. It tells us that Mary "gave birth to her first-born son and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the place where travelers lodged" (Lk 2:7). A manger is a container from which animals in a stable feed from. The infant Jesus being laid in a manger foretells of his becoming the food of nourishment for all mankind.

Jesus' life is one of continually feeding or satisfying the thirst of people. At the wedding feast at Cana, Jesus turns water into wine. Later, he invites others by saying that "if anyone thirsts, let him come to me; let him drink" (Jn 7:38). When he first calls his disciples, Jesus fills the fishermen's nets with an overabundance of fish. The new disciples then leave everything and follow Jesus. In answer to the disciples' concern for the crowd of 5,000 men plus women and children, Jesus asks them "Why do you not give them something to eat yourselves?" (Lk 9:13). He then performs the miracle of the multiplication of five loaves of bread and two fish, feeding that huge crowd of people following him.

Jesus offers "living water" to the Samaritan woman at the well, saying that "the water I give shall become a fountain ... leaping up to provide eternal life" (Jn 4:14). Later Jesus encourages his disciples and others to work "for food that remains unto life eternal, food which the Son of Man will give you" (Jn 6:27). At the Passover meal, Jesus institutes the Holy Eucharist, providing the real heavenly bread which gives us life. Jesus explains to the disciples that "I myself am the bread of life" (Jn 6:35).

Our holy father, Pope John Paul II has proclaimed a Year of the Eucharist, a special grace-filled time for us to reflect more deeply on the meaning of the Eucharist. St. Cyril of Jerusalem remarks that through the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, a person becomes one body and one blood with him. St. John Chrysostom speaks of Christ's desire to become totally one with the body of the believer. When we receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, we have Christ living within us, who transforms our life. The Word of God made flesh continually abides within and among us. We joyously proclaim that "God is among us!" on Christmas Eve. The Eucharist brings us together, helping us to overcome our barriers and leading us to a new unity in the Lord, as one family, His holy Church.

St. John Chrysostom reminds us that we should always participate in these

(Continued on page 40)

Christ Child brings that "peace which the world cannot give"

Below is the text of the Christmas pastoral letter issued by Bishop Basil Losten of the Stamford Eparchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Christ is born! Let us praise Him!

My Dear Friends:

It seems that Christmas can never arrive soon enough. I am not referring to the merchants of the world, who with their crass excesses have so trivialized and commercialized this sacred holy day, but for us, good Christians, all. We have endured a year which for many of us seemed at times like a desolate wasteland, assailed as we were with national concerns and international conflicts, bereft of joy, devoid of good will to all men. We need Christmas.

We need to be reminded concretely in liturgy, carols and traditions – and, yes, even in the tinsel and presents under the tree – that Christ is among us; that once again, joy will be brought to the world.

I have been sharing my thoughts with you, my dear priests, religious and faithful, for the past 27 Christmases, and my message has always been the same: rejoice in the Lord, for He has been good to us. Life is not easy; there are problems that afflict us all. Health, finances or relationships may have failed us; but there is always the comforting awareness that God, who seeing the needs of us, "poor, banished children of Eve" trying to make our way the best we can in the shadows of a world marred by sin, sent us a Savior, a Babe born in Bethlehem.

This Christmas, perhaps more so than

ever in recent years, is one in which we should bring our gift of love to the Christ Child and through Him to all who are in need: our brave warriors on far-off battlefields; our neighbor, alone and destitute; our fellowman, suffering humanity, distant from us, but whose cries of pain reach not our ears but our hearts; our child or parent, alienated from our affection; our self, feeling the abandonment that comes of isolating our self from God and His Church. The essence of Christmas lies in giving: God has given us life and hope; we, too, can give: of our means, our ears, our words, our hands, our love.

My wish for you this Christmas is couched in the words of St. Paul: "I want you to be happy, always happy in the Lord. I repeat, what I want is your happiness." The happiness that comes not from possessions or position, but from the knowledge that Our Lord had walked among us and had been born, lived and died for our salvation. What greater gift can we have ever hoped for? This Christmas, may Our Lord be born in your heart and may He bring you, and those whom you love, that "peace which the world cannot give."

With my warmest greetings and the assurance of my prayers, I remain,

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Most Rev. Basil H. Losten, D.D.
Eparch of Stamford
New York and New England

Given in St. Vladimir Cathedral Feast of the Conception of St. Anne.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The real problem is Ukrainophobia

Dear Editor:

John-Paul Himka's letter to The Weekly (December 12) is, in a number of respects, simply bizarre. He suggests it is anti-Semitic for Myron Kuropas to have made mention of the "charge" that Jews were especially well represented in the Soviet secret police. Prof. Himka apparently thinks this inappropriate because the number of Jews in the secret police began to decline beginning in 1937-1938 and because Poles, Armenians and Latvians were also overrepresented in the Soviet secret police, and Dr. Kuropas never writes about them.

The war by the Soviet regime against the Ukrainian population, including the Holodomor and the various terror strikes, was waged principally, though certainly not exclusively, between the late 1920s and late 1930s. That is precisely when there was a very large number of Jews in the police, the pseudo-judicial and the pseudo-prosecutorial organs of the Soviet state in Ukraine. A relative who was a high school principal in Soviet Ukraine and a popular teacher of Ukrainian literature was "tried" and executed in 1930 for being too Ukrainian. Of the 16-some investigators, prosecutors and judges responsible for his murder by the state, a majority was Jewish. The same is true of those who participated in the state murder of Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky in, I believe, 1937. How can the truth be anti-anything, much less anti-Semitic?

What is more, Leon Trotsky, one of the two founding fathers of the Soviet state, one of the two most criminal states in the 20th century, was Jewish. As was one of Stalin's two closest henchmen during the bloody 1930s, Lazar Kaganovich. As were a disproportionate number of those who built and ran the Soviet concentration camp system. We're not talking about perimeter guards at some camp, we're talking about people who created and managed this evil system. Again, how can the truth be anti-anything?

If, however, the issue is more one of political correctness regarding ethnic/national identifications, i.e., that one should not identify the ethnicity of someone who is alleged to have done something wrong, then, pray tell, why is it that John Demjanjuk was a thousand times identified, both here and in Israel, as Ukrainian?

As to articles in the Jewish media about the elections in Ukraine, I just happened today to read an article in the Jerusalem Post (December 2 by Amotz Asa-El) and one in The Jewish Week ("Serving the Jewish Community of Greater New York," December 10, by Walter Ruby) on events in Ukraine. The Jerusalem Post article repeats some of the almost universally laudatory descriptions of the Orange Revolution and then responds with a "If only it were so." It then makes two points. That "Ukraine's claim for independence is tricky," and "whether or not a Ukrainian nation exists, insofar as Jewish history is concerned it will live forever, since no nation other than the Germans seems to have more Jewish blood on its hands."

The Jewish Week article reports on various Brighton Beach opinions of the Orange Revolution, which tend towards "Both Yanukovich and Yushchenko are thieves, but I prefer Yanukovich," and "I am sure both candidates are anti-Semites, but Jew hatred is worse in western Ukraine among Yushchenko's supporters. The Jews who remained in Ukraine owe a lot to Kuchma for keeping anti-Semitism pretty much under wraps for the 10 years he was in power. For that reason alone I think they should support Yanukovich."

Dear Prof. Himka, the problem today, as it has been for some time, is not purported Ukrainian anti-Semitism but rather actual Jewish Ukrainophobia. What are you, as a scholar in the humanities, doing to analyze and combat that?

Bohdan Vitvitsky
Summit, N.J.

President Bush: What would you do?

Dear Editor:

Imagine a scenario in which you lived down the street from a dysfunctional family, and, while on a walk, you happen upon the father beating his teenage daughter in the front yard. How would you react to the sight of the young woman's battered, crying face? How much stock might you put in her drunken father's assertion that nothing is the matter and that things really aren't as they appear? What if the drunk's brother-in-law, a guy you've watched football with a few times, comes outside and warns you this is none of your business and that you'd better not interfere in their "family's" affairs? What if you knew this hadn't been the first time? How might you reply to the woman if she had managed a brave plea for help between sobs?

Now imagine you are the United States (yes, the whole country) and Ukraine, one of your allies in the fight against global terrorism, is being blatantly abused by its so-called caretakers (the thugs of the outgoing Kuchma regime). How might you react to the regime's assurances that you, along with the rest of the free world, are mistaken – that everything is just peachy in Ukraine – after you had witnessed their treachery? What if next-door Russia proclaims that this situation had nothing to do with the West (i.e., you) and that you'd do well to mind your own business? What if this isn't the first time you have seen something of the sort happen in a state that had once been under Soviet control? What if the Ukrainian people courageously appealed to you for help from under the smothering layers of deceit and corruption – what would you tell them?

Here's what I'd do. I would not believe the drunken parent or the disgruntled regime. I would not trust the bullying uncle or the ex-KGB "comrade." I would unrepentantly stand up for what was right. I would say "Not this time!" and I would do everything within my power to aid and to protect the abused.

And so I'm calling President George W. Bush's hand – during the election he spoke of spreading democracy, upholding moral values and maintaining resolve in the face of those who seek to overthrow freedom. We're waiting, Mr. President.

Stephen Vitvitsky
Madison, Wis.

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 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.

Double Exposure

by Kristina Lew

Born in the U.S.A.

The events of the last few weeks have been incredible. The Orange Revolution in Ukraine has taken my breath away. It has united millions of previously alienated Ukrainians with the single purpose of free and fair elections. It has brought the most powerful countries in the world to the aid of Ukraine, a country that not too long ago was ostracized for its corruption. And it has galvanized thousands of young people in the U.S. to support their historical homeland.

On the busiest day of the travel year – the day before Thanksgiving – over 1,500 protesters, including seven buses from Chicago, descended on Washington to demonstrate in front of Ukraine's Embassy to the United States. New York, Chicago and Philadelphia have held protests numbering in the thousands. Even Crawford, Texas, was host to a rally: over 100 Americans of Ukrainian descent from Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, Austin and College Station greeted President George W. Bush with their message of support for Ukraine as he entered the local Burger Barn over Thanksgiving Day weekend.

Certainly the Ukrainian community in the United States has protested in support of Ukraine before. I have vivid memories of demonstrating for the release of Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz and marching through Washington in my itchy Plast uniform after Chernobyl exploded. But the protests of the past few weeks are different, because in large part they are organized and attended by Ukrainian Americans in their teens and 20s.

These same people are hanging orange ribbons on Ukrainian buildings, restaurants and bars in New York City, and at Ukraine's Consulate General in New York and Mission to the United Nations. One group tried to hang orange ribbons at Russia's Mission to the United Nations, but were chased away. They retaliated by hanging the ribbons across the street, at the local police precinct, in full view of the Mission.

On December 8 close to 300 young people gathered at a benefit concert at the Ukrainian National Home in New York City. They raised over \$2,600, which will be turned over to organizations who are sending international election observers to Ukraine for the December 26 run-off election. "Initially, we wanted to give students and young people who wanted to donate but could-

n't afford to an alternative," said Stefko Stawnychy, who, with his father, Petro Stawnychy of Milltown, N.J., organized the concert.

The event, said Stefko, who is 23, just snowballed. The suggested donation was \$10, "but people were giving \$100, \$200." The line-up included Stefko, whose band is Sicksided and Burned, Lubko Konrad, Andrij Wovk and his band IKA, Slavko Halatyn, the Prolisok girls' choir, Olya Chodoba-Fryz, and father and daughter Oles and Adya Kuzyszyn.

Much of what has prompted this surge among 20-something Americans of Ukrainian descent is an online Internet community called Multiply.com. Its Ukrainian version was created by 29-year-old Walter Tymczyna, who wanted to stay connected with his Ukrainian friends from his "new" home in Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

"When you're Ukrainian, you kind of know everyone [who is Ukrainian]. I wanted to create an online playground for young Ukrainians and their friends where everyone is welcome," he said.

As a member of Multiply.com you create your own website and have the ability to send messages to other members, store content or create your own photo album. "It's a social network where you can advertise an event, post photos from a 'zabava' or read news about Ukraine," says Walter, who grew up in Newark, N.J.

Walter, who was involved in creating Fantasy Football for CBSsports.com, launched Ukrainian Multiply in the spring of this year by posting news about Ukraine and photos from Ukrainian festivals. After a few months he invited his friends to join, and they invited their friends, and so on. Today, Ukrainian Multiply has 406 members.

"It's pretty incredible. I hear from people all the time who say 'because of you I've connected to someone who I haven't seen since 1989,'" he says. "I would have been satisfied with just creating the online community, but then Ukraine's election happened." Walter believes that Ukrainian Multiply helped to rally young Ukrainians. I agree with him.

When people began protesting in Kyiv, the communication on Ukrainian Multiply went through the roof. Young people all over the country began talking

(Continued on page 14)



A rally held near the United Nations on November 27 in support of Viktor Yushchenko.

Specialists discuss...

(Continued from page 1)



William Green Miller

Dr. Brzezinski, in his remarks looked beyond the effects the Orange Revolution would have on Ukraine itself. Russia, he said, "is next" in the movement of democracy eastward in Europe.

He quoted from an analysis in the Russian newspaper Izvestia which suggested that a loss by President Leonid Kuchma's hand-picked successor, Mr. Yanukovich, in Ukraine would be a signal to Russia that Mr. Putin's future chosen successor might lose as well. The article suggested that if there is to be any "separatism" in the region, it probably will be, first of all, in Kaliningrad, where young people, too, will take to the streets, shouting, "We're sick of living in hostels, with a toilet at the end of the corridor ...we want to be part of Europe."

Dr. Brzezinski stressed, as others had

earlier in the day, that once Yushchenko becomes president, the West will have to be willing to provide Ukraine with "tangible" support, including accelerating its entry into the World Trade Organization, certifying it as a free-market economy, allowing Ukrainians – even those seeking work – more access to Europe, and – "if Ukraine wishes it" – granting it membership in NATO. "I think all of that is absolutely essential, because that will then consolidate the victory of democracy in Ukraine, and that, too, in turn, will accelerate what I consider almost inevitable today, the transformation of Russia," he said. (A transcript of Zbigniew Brzezinski's remarks appears on Page 9.)

Many conference participants underscored the importance of the "victory of democracy" Dr. Brzezinski spoke about. During a session on the geopolitical assessment, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William Green Miller referred to it as a "sea change" in that country's history. James Sherr, a fellow at the Conflict Studies Research Center of the British Defense Academy, described it in much the same way as National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy President Viacheslav Briukhovetsky did in an earlier session on civil society: Ukrainians stopped seeing their country "as an object in international relations, as a country acted upon and not as an actor and an influence in its own right."

Russian President Putin and others in that region with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo will do their utmost to ensure that a Yushchenko administration fails. The problem and challenge in that change, according to Mr. Sherr, is that Ukraine may not be strong enough to manage its new role. And that is a challenge for the West as well, he added.

"The worst-case scenario for Ukraine



Steven Pifer

is not that Yanukovich would win the election on the 26th of December," he said. "The worst-case scenario for Ukraine, and I would say for all of Europe, is that Yushchenko should win, and then fail. And we perform a very important role in answering the question as to whether he will succeed or fail."

Another former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, Steven Pifer, who recently retired from the foreign service, noted that Mr. Yushchenko will be coming to office with "a large plate of issues," and it will be very important for him to set his priorities, primarily domestic, and deliver on them in a short span of time. It is incumbent on the United States and other Western governments to help him achieve this, he said.

There should be an increase in U.S. assistance to help him consolidate democratic and economic reforms in Ukraine, he said, adding that it must be a coordinated effort.

"It will be best for us if we understand very clearly where the Yushchenko administration is going, so we can target our assistance efforts to support those priorities he has identified," Ambassador Pifer said. "If he's working on A, B and C, we don't want our money going to X, Y and Z."

Ambassador Miller, who served in Kyiv from 1993 to 1998 and has remained involved in Ukrainian affairs since then as a senior policy fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, noted that when Mr. Yushchenko was prime minister he was not helped in times of extreme economic difficulty by the international financial institutions or by the United States.

"We didn't move quickly enough," he said. "Don't let that happen again."

James Sherr noted that Viktor Yushchenko will also have to make some tough decisions about who he surrounds himself with. "Your best friends, philosophers, intellectuals, at that point are not necessarily the best people to surround you," he cautioned. "You need as early as possible to surround yourself with professionals, whether they fully agree with you or not."

He also suggested that neither the future Yushchenko government nor the West should "underestimate the power of example."

"What happens (in Ukraine) enlarges the bounds of the possible of realistic discussion not only in Russia, but in Belarus and Moldova and many other places." And while the West does not have the resources to resolve all of the problems of the region, he said, "Let's make Ukraine succeed, and other problems will begin to sort themselves out."

Following the AEI conference, Viacheslav Briukhovetsky briefed the Washington Ukrainian American com-



James Sherr



Zbigniew Brzezinski

munity about the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, its historic development and significance, as well as the possibilities it opens for Ukraine's future. The briefing, organized by the Chopivsky Family Foundation, was held at the Pilgrims' Church, next to the Shevchenko Monument.

As an aside, he noted the effect the mass media coverage was having on educating Americans about Ukraine. He had visited the United States many of times over the past dozen years, he said, but this time around the airport visa control officer did not ask him whether Ukraine was part of Yugoslavia.

He also predicted that after Mr. Yushchenko completes his constitutionally permissible two terms – 10 years – as president of Ukraine, his successor undoubtedly will be a graduate of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, a historic Ukrainian university Dr. Briukhovetsky helped restore after Ukraine regained its independence.



Viacheslav Briukhovetsky

All photos in this series by Yaro Bihun

Klitschko dedicates his victory to democracy in Ukraine

LAS VEGAS – Heavyweight champion Vitalii Klitschko first struck down his opponent, then struck a victory for democracy. "I feel this was the best performance of my career," Klitschko said after the December 11 fight in Las Vegas, according to the Associated Press. "But this victory was not just for me, but also for democracy in Ukraine."

The fight was the heaviest heavyweight fight in history, as the 6-foot-7-inch 250-pound Klitschko manhandled his 6-foot-1-inch 270-pound challenger, Englishman Danny Williams.

Klitschko's victory by technical knockout came at 1:26 of the eighth round, when referee Jay Nady called the fight after Williams was knocked down for the fourth time by a blow from the Ukrainian champ. Williams' eyes were nearly swollen shut after the match.

Klitschko more than lived up to his new nickname "Dr. Iron Fist," by out-hitting his opponent 296 to 44. "He was just too good," the AP quoted Williams as saying. To the cheers of thousands in attendance who waved Ukrainian and orange flags, and his brother Vladimir working his corner, Klitschko methodically beat his out-matched opponent.

Sticking to his game plan, Klitschko, who successfully defended his title as World Boxing Council (WBC) champion, used his height advantage to stay away from Williams and assault him from afar, while getting little abuse himself.

Future fights for Klitschko are yet to be determined, but for now Klitschko flew back to Kyiv to stand alongside his countrymen in anticipation of Ukraine's rerun of the presidential election run-off on December 26.

Using the boxing ring as his pulpit, Klitschko wore an orange flag on his shorts to signify his support for Viktor Yushchenko, the opposition candidate in the election. Klitschko's corner team also wore orange for the bout.

However, the fights that are to come will help the world see if he truly is the best heavyweight boxer in the world. Since the retirement of Lennox Lewis, many commentators feel that there is no clear-cut world champion as each of the four boxing groups – the World Boxing Council, International Boxing Federation, World Boxing Association and World Boxing Organization – has its own champion.

In response to questions about his champion status since he is currently one of four heavyweight title holders, Klitschko told Larry Merchant of HBO Sports: "I feel I am the real heavyweight champion, I'm willing to fight anybody." This latest victory for Klitschko brings his record to 35 wins – 34 of which have come by way of knockouts – and two losses.

His next foray into the ring will surely further Klitschko's chances in silencing those critics, but for now "Dr. Iron Fist" wants to throw his weight into the ongoing political fight in Ukraine, as he plans to campaign for Mr. Yushchenko.

FOR THE RECORD: Brzezinski on the West's response to Ukraine's choice

Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Jimmy Carter's national security advisor and now trustee and counselor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, analyzed the latest developments in Ukraine and how they relate to Russia in an address December 10 at the conclusion of a daylong conference on "Ukraine's Choice: Europe or Russia?" sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute in Washington. In his remarks during a reception at Freedom House, Dr. Brzezinski also focused on what the West should do to help ensure that Ukraine's democratic choice bears fruit. The following is a transcript of his remarks (prepared by Yaro Bihun).

I would like to begin with a quote: "During these 17 days, we have gotten a new country – we have realized that we are a European nation." This is what Viktor Yushchenko said the other day, and one can only applaud – applaud – the remarkable display of determination and political maturity displayed by the Ukrainian people. One can only applaud the self-control and, yet at the same time, courage of the Ukrainian people.

I think the Ukrainian people over the last few days have demonstrated that their political consciousness now embraces simultaneously deep and widespread patriotism with an equally deep and widespread commitment to democracy. And that is a very powerful combination. And it isn't always joined at every historical instance. And the Ukrainian people now have demonstrated it.

They have demonstrated something else as well. They have demonstrated the existence of a political culture that places them among the democracies of Europe, that places them ahead of their neighbors. And that has implications.

About a year ago or so I spoke in Warsaw at a major international conference. And I said at the time that we are entering the third phase in the historic process of de-Sovietization. And the first phase, I said, could be called the "Warsaw phase," or the "Warsaw round," culminating in the entrance of Central Europe – Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary – into NATO, lately into the European Union. And Solidarity was, in a sense, the forefront of that struggle.

The second round, I said, was the "Vilnius round," and it culminated in the entrance of the Baltic republics into NATO and their prospective membership, now consummated, in the European Union, that by crossing the red line that someone drew on the map of Europe and said it cannot be crossed, that red line has been erased.

And, as I said a year ago, we are now entering the third phase. And I would call it the "Kyiv round," the "Kyiv phase," because it will involve the further accession to the community of free nations of peoples further east, with Ukraine being the spearhead. I said this a year ago, and I'm delighted to see this now in the process of transpiring. For I am convinced – I'm deeply convinced – that it is not only about Ukraine. Russia is next.

We in the West in the course of the last two decades have been sometimes slow to recognize the momentum of history. And here I'll quote a political philosopher, whose name probably is familiar to most of you, Karl Marx, who said: "Consciousness lags behind reality." And that has been the case when it comes to de-Sovietization, de-imperialization. We have been late in our judgments. We were late in estimating the degree of change in the Soviet Union and the futility of perestroika and its significance in the collapse of the Soviet Union. We have been slow in recognizing the pace of change in Central Europe. We under-

estimate the degree of change in the East. And the Ukrainian people, by achieving national independence and general democracy in an important European nation, have thereby given further impulse.

And make no mistake about it, the Russians are not going to be influenced by the Poles becoming democratic and independent, or by the Balts, or by the Georgians. They will be influenced by the Ukrainians – in part because they are conscious historically of the fact that Kyivan Rus' is the fountainhead of their own statehood; in part – and I don't say this propagandistically – in part because they will be troubled by the fact that the Ukrainians are ahead of them. And that will have an impact. And do not underestimate the potential for change in Ukraine, and particularly the potential for change in Russia.

Let me just read a few things to you which I read literally today in the car as I was driving here. The Levada Center has just completed some public opinion polls in Russia – and this is a good polling institution. Levada [reports]:

- Two-thirds of respondents believe that the situation in Russia is either tense or on the verge of an explosion. Two-thirds of respondents believe that.

- Within less than a year the number of respondents who are dissatisfied with the existing conditions in Russia has increased – within a year – by 50 percent. Again, I read this – and this is, incidentally, from the Russian press agency.

- The results of a study done in November were published last week that indicate that only 20 percent of respondents regard the current political situation in Russia as calm and safe.

- Fifty-one percent of the respondents are confident that Russia is following a wrong course.

- The share of those who are ready to take part in public meetings or join in strikes is as high as never before. Twenty-four percent of respondents are ready to participate in public actions of protest, and 19 percent more are ready to take part in strikes.

- An interesting aspect of all of this regarding media reports concerning Chechnya: Only 32 percent trust them; 65 percent distrusted them a year ago, and these figures now are 75 percent distrust.

Another item from Izvestia, from which I would like to read some excerpts. I'm quoting: "If Kuchma successor Yanukovich loses in Ukraine, this will be a signal to Russia that Mr. Putin's successors might lose as well." It goes on to say – it is the view of this analysis in Izvestia – that "separatism is likely to start in Kaliningrad within 12 to 18 months. And young people will be taking to the streets the same way as in Ukraine, and they'll be saying, 'We're sick of living in hostels, with a toilet at the end of the corridor. Better to deal with the Germans than with the present situation. We want to be part of Europe.'"

Now, these are signals; these are signs. They may not be yet definitive, but they indicate also something very important, namely, that more and more people in Russia realize that the importance of Ukraine transcends Ukraine. It isn't only a matter of keeping Ukraine a province of Russia, or a vassal of Russia; it is an issue pertaining to the future of Russia itself.

In another article, which appeared in Novaia Gazeta, the writer says, "The protest movement in Ukraine is the beginning of a revolution of a new type." And I quote again. "All previous revolutions in Europe, in Spain, Portugal, Greece, East and Central Europe, in Russia in 1991 were revolutions against

totalitarianism. This, in Ukraine, is a protest of society against the bureaucratic authoritarian regime and clannish capitalism, against a pact made by Soviet apparatchiks of yesterday and new capitalists." I think a very accurate definition. And the article goes on to say, "Putin, however, has become a factor in all this that has consolidated Ukrainian nationalism, liberals and socialists against that regime and against Moscow."

And the question arises, therefore, why has Russian policy been so inept, so

the key word is "tangibly" – Western interest in Ukraine.

Unfortunately, in recent times there have been some negative signals. Mr. [Romano] Prodi, of the European Union, once said that Ukraine has no prospects of being a member of the European Union. That was a great mistake. That should be corrected.

But it's also important to be tangible. We have to do things that are concrete. For example:

- Accelerate Ukrainian membership in

It is very important also to maintain political clarity towards Russia, to make it very clear that neo-imperialism, masquerading as a democracy, promoting the suppression of democracy in Ukraine will have an effect on the relationship of the West with Russia. It will mean the international isolation of the Putin regime.

shortsighted, in fact, so foolish. And I think the reason for it is that it is very difficult for the last residual remnants of the Soviet elite, the KGB, to understand the essence of a genuinely democratic national revolution. They understand plots, they understand conspiracy, the understand intervention by enemies, but they cannot understand a spontaneous popular movement. And just as they have not been able to deal effectively with Ukraine, let me predict today that because of Ukraine they will not be able to deal effectively with a similar movement in Russia.

But having said all of that, let me add still a further thought: "It ain't over yet" – it isn't over yet. And let us not celebrate too soon. Let us make certain that the elections in the next three weeks or so are going to be genuinely free, and will be respected. And that means that they will have to be monitored on a massive scale by the international community, and particularly by Europe and by America. It is important that Europe and America continue to give the unified political support that they have given to Ukraine so far. It is very important also to maintain political clarity towards Russia, to make it very clear that neo-imperialism, masquerading as a democracy, promoting the suppression of democracy in Ukraine will have an effect on the relationship of the West with Russia. It will mean the international isolation of the Putin regime.

Vigilance is needed; and also caution is needed. There will be some elements in Ukraine – either spontaneous in Ukraine or abetted from outside – that will want to eliminate Mr. Yushchenko also. And we have to be alert to that danger. So caution, and commitment, and support are necessary.

And once Mr. Yushchenko becomes officially what he is already historically, the president-elect of Ukraine, we'll have to be willing to provide tangible support, for there will be a period of time, particularly after the conclusion of the electoral process, in which there will be serious financial and economic dislocations in Ukraine. There will be efforts to sabotage the stability of his regime, to undermine it from within. There may even be some letdown and disappointment among the Ukrainian people, some of whom may be naively expecting an immediate transformation. The kind of enthusiastic exuberance which we have seen – sometimes these people expect too much too soon. And in that context, it is very important to convey tangibly –

the WTO (World Trade Organization). We are helping the Russians; certainly Ukraine, a democratic Ukraine, should be admitted no later than Russia, or sooner.

- Help Ukraine obtain the status of a certified free-market economy. That is critically important. Russia already has it; Ukraine should be granted it once it becomes an institutionalized democracy, which means, hopefully, soon.

- We have to facilitate, in some fashion additionally, access by Ukrainians, and perhaps by Ukrainians seeking work, to Europe, so that the Ukrainians feel the tangible benefits of their democracy being contiguous to the European Union.

- Last but not least, if Ukraine so wishes, NATO should be willing to give Ukraine a membership action plan – if Ukraine wishes it. I have said this in Ukraine and I'll repeat it today: it is not our business to be inviting Ukraine to be a member of Europe or of NATO, but if Ukraine wishes to be a member and qualifies as a member, it should feel confident that it will be a member.

I think all of that is absolutely essential, because that will then consolidate the victory of democracy in Ukraine, and that, too, in turn, will accelerate what I consider almost inevitable today, the transformation of Russia.

So, long live Ukraine! Long live freedom! Long live democracy! Thank you.

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New findings...

(Continued from page 1)

The Austrian doctors said they could not conclude the poisoning resulted from a deliberate act. Both Mr. Yushchenko and his U.S.-born wife suggested it may have occurred at a dinner Mr. Yushchenko attended in August with top Ukrainian security officials. However, they did note the evidence pointed to the involvement of a "third party."

"I didn't poison myself ... Today, more of the details are becoming known, about me, about the dinner where the poison could have been planted," Mr. Yushchenko said while still in Vienna.

On December 16, Mr. Yushchenko told the news media he was certain he was poisoned by the Ukrainian government.

Pro-Yushchenko lawmaker Yurii Pavlenko speculated in Kyiv on December 13 that Russian agents may have been involved. "It is precisely Russia that was interested in neutralizing Viktor Yushchenko," Mr. Pavlenko told the AP.

Taras Chornovil, campaign manager for Mr. Yushchenko's opponent, Viktor Yanukovich, said it was possible that a number of other people could have played a role. "Someone from Yushchenko's entourage could be blamed – someone who could try to manipulate a sick president," he added, according to the AP.

Mr. Yushchenko had dinner with the

chief of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), Ihor Smeshko, and his deputy, Volodymyr Satsiuk, on September 5. Mr. Yushchenko's wife, Kateryna (née) Chumachenko, told Ukraine's Zerkalo Nedeli weekly that her husband came home late and that when she kissed him she detected a strange medicinal taste.

"That [the dinner with the SBU chief] was the only place where no one from my team was present and no precautions were taken concerning the food," he said in an interview with the AP. "It was a project of political murder, prepared by the authorities."

The candidate fell sick the following day, and Ukrainian doctors treated him for food poisoning. Mr. Yushchenko was rushed to the Austrian clinic on September 10. Mr. Smeshko denied that he was involved in poisoning the presidential candidate.

Outgoing President Leonid Kuchma, who backed Mr. Yanukovich in the earlier polls, has not commented on the doctors' findings.

New investigations opened

Following the announcement by the Austrian doctors, Ukraine's Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun announced on December 12 that an investigation was opened into Mr. Yushchenko's allegations that the authorities tried to kill him. The move was followed the next day by an announcement that a commission of lawmakers from Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada had reopened a similar investiga-

tion, which is headed by Volodymyr Sivkovych, a supporter of Mr. Yanukovich.

"The results of the most recent analyses in Vienna are giving us grounds to renew our work," Mr. Sivkovych said after the Rada's announcement, less than two weeks before the rerun of the presidential run-off election. "However, we are not convinced that deliberate poisoning can be proved." The lawmaker also urged Mr. Yushchenko to immediately hand over results of the latest tests.

Mr. Sivkovych said he had met with the procurator general and said the urgency with which the case was raised suggests that all matters would be thoroughly investigated. But he refused to comment on speculation over who was behind the poisoning.

Mr. Sivkovych led an earlier Parliamentary inquiry in October that concluded Mr. Yushchenko was suffering from a combination of a viral infection and several other diseases.

Mr. Yanukovich, denied that he was involved in the poisoning while campaigning in eastern Ukraine this past week and said that he welcomed the investigations. However, he said Mr. Yushchenko could be hampered by his illness in effectively governing the country should he be elected in the run-off on December 26.

"The fact of the matter is that Yushchenko is seriously ill," he said. "We can all see it." Mr. Yanukovich added, "I sympathize as a person with Mr. Yushchenko that he is sick. I hope that he gets better soon."

On Sunday, December 12, speaking from the Austrian clinic Mr. Yushchenko praised Mr. Piskun for reopening the criminal investigation. While Mr. Yushchenko refused to name any specific officials and said the inquiry should determine the culprit, the following day he told reporters at Kyiv's Boryspil Airport: "I am convinced that this is the work of the authorities, absolutely convinced."

Authorities in Ukraine have denied the charge, and some pro-government politicians have ridiculed it.

When pressed on the matter, Mr. Yushchenko said he did not want the issue to become the focus of the presidential campaign. "I don't want this factor to influence the election in some way – either as a plus or a minus," he said at the airport in Kyiv as he was returning from his trip to Vienna. "This question will require a great deal of time and serious investigation. Let us do it after the election. Today is not the moment."

It is not yet known exactly which dioxin Mr. Yushchenko ingested, but Mr. Brouwer, the environmental toxicology professor, said that of the more than 400 his team originally looked into, experts had narrowed the search to about 29.

He also told the AP that he was confident his team would identify the poison, which would aid investigators in their work and help determine the prognosis for Mr. Yushchenko.

"From a [chemical] fingerprint, at least you can deduce what kind of sources might have been involved," the professor said. "The labs will ... try to find out whether it matches any of the batches of dioxins that are around, so that maybe you can trace it back to where it was ordered or where it came from."

Mr. Yushchenko, who experts believe has experienced the worst of the effects from the poison and is expected to gradually recover with no impairment to his working ability, appeared at a press conference in Kyiv on Wednesday, December 15.

Wearing a gray jacket, and a tie and pocket handkerchief in his campaign colors, Mr. Yushchenko looked weary and

tired. His face, still pockmarked and bloated, had several gray patches, though doctors said his internal organs had not been damaged. Mr. Yushchenko announced that he is fit for the campaign trail and denied suggestions by Mr. Yanukovich that he is unhealthy and too sick to take office.

"In political terms, let me say that I am in good shape and able to work. In moral and ethical terms, I regret that I look like this at the moment. But over time everything will be OK," he said.

"I have apologized dozens of times for my face. Please believe me that more than anyone else I would like it to be the way it was three months ago. Time is needed for that," Mr. Yushchenko said.

Chief of staff on PBS

In an interview conducted in the United States on the Public Broadcasting System's "Newshour with Jim Lehrer," Mr. Yushchenko's chief of staff, Oleh Rybachuk, told PBS's Ray Suarez on December 10 that Mr. Yushchenko was moving forward with his campaign and was focusing his campaign on the east of the country.

When asked if Mr. Yushchenko's life was still in danger, Mr. Rybachuk said, "No, actually. I've been talking to doctors and it's not about danger to his life. He has fully recovered. Actually, he was very lucky that he was brought to Vienna because doctors said if he would stay another 24 hours in Ukraine, it could be a final solution, so-called."

Asked if he was certain about Mr. Yushchenko's safety, Mr. Rybachuk said, "I'm not so sure for a number of reasons. I have very good reasons not to be sure because we are dealing with the business groups which invested billions of dollars in Yanukovich, and they've been pretty confident that Yanukovich will win. Nobody expected [the] Ukrainian resistance movement. They've been very skeptical about this and they have support also from outside. We are talking about billions of dollars at stake, and when the price is so high, you can never be sure of security."

"But anyway, at this point when nothing can stop Yushchenko, they know that Yushchenko is the clear winner and whatever might come to their ... crazy heads is something which worries me a lot. These guys are not gentlemen at all, sir," Mr. Rybachuk added.

The U.S. reaction

In Washington, White House spokesman Scott McClellan urged Ukraine to fully investigate the poisoning. "It's terrible news to hear. It's certainly disturbing reports. And I know the Ukraine government is investigating this matter fully, as they should," Mr. McClellan said on December 13.

The U.S. State Department commented on the matter that same day as spokesman Richard Boucher added, "I think first and foremost, we wish Mr. Yushchenko a speedy and complete recovery from the problems that have faced him."

"Second of all, we are deeply disturbed by the physicians' report. ... We support a full and complete transparent investigation into that matter, into how it happened, who did it, what the cause was," Mr. Boucher said.

When asked about the possibility that Mr. Yushchenko was poisoned by the outgoing Ukrainian presidential administration, Mr. Boucher said, "Obviously, that's the kind of thing that does need to be looked into, how it happened, who did it, because I think the doctors have said it was an intentional poisoning. And so that needs to be looked at very carefully and there are a variety of proposals for investigation, I think, in Ukraine."

Artist depicts Orange Revolution



KYIV – Inspired by the Orange Revolution, Kyiv-based artist Igor Mukomela created the poster above. An orange map of Ukraine emblazoned with the word "My," (We) and the words of the Ukrainian national anthem, "Sche Ne Vmerla Ukraina" (Ukraine Has Not Yet Died), emerges from a page filled with the Ukrainian letter "Ya," which is the Ukrainian word for "I," as well as the first letter of Viktor Yanukovich's first name. (The poster is reproduced here with the artist's permission.)

Presidential candidates...

(Continued from page 1)

the Yanukovich ship in early December.

On December 10, Hanna Herman announced that she will no longer serve as Mr. Yanukovich's press secretary, but will remain on the campaign as an independent TV journalist.

Most significantly, it seems that Mr. Yanukovich has also lost the support of his most important patron – President Leonid Kuchma.

A December 14 report in the Financial Times quoted presidential administration spokesman Vasyl Baziv as saying: "I think Ukraine already has a president. He is Viktor Yushchenko. I think 50 percent of civil servants already say this aloud, and 80 or 90 percent already believe it."

The loss of President Kuchma's support means the loss of the coveted "administrative resource" – the levers of executive branch powers, business and media influence – previously wielded by the president.

However, fresh blood was added to the Yanukovich team after National Deputy Taras Chornovil took Mr. Tyhypko's spot as campaign manager. Mr. Chornovil is the son of the late Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil, who was killed five years ago in a high-speed collision. Ironically, the younger Mr. Chornovil was elected to the Verkhovna Rada on the Yushchenko party ticket in 2002.

Team Yanukovich has also modified its message.

Mr. Yanukovich continues to play "the Russia card": promises of good relations with Russia, Russian as a second state language and dual citizenship with the Russian Federation. But he is no longer making those promises as prime minister and a pro-Kuchma politician.

Mr. Yanukovich has taken a leave of absence from government, avoiding the necessity of dealing with a November 27 no-confidence vote passed in Parliament.

Distanced from Kuchma

Mr. Yanukovich has tried to distance himself from President Kuchma as far as possible and position himself as an alternative to the Kuchma regime.

"I consider the battle against me as a fight being waged by the old, bankrupt regime. Their fight is against the successful policies I introduced in the last while," Mr. Yanukovich said during a December 13 press conference in Kyiv.

Concerning his relations with President Kuchma, Mr. Yanukovich said, "Our points of view absolutely diverged, and I became deeply disappointed in that man."

"I hoped that during the time of crisis (Kuchma) would protect the interests of the state and the Ukrainian people. He defended his own interests and the interests of his family," Mr. Yanukovich told journalists.

Mr. Yanukovich is now trying to portray himself as the victim of a conspiracy contrived in Kyiv, and says he is continuing the race to protect the rights of the 15 million voters who he claims support him.

Mr. Yanukovich has also taken up the banner of "federalization," advocating more rights for Ukraine's diverse regions by transforming the state into a federation instead of the current unitary form. "The ideal of federalization is the way to developing a highly democratic society. But that path must be taken in a thoughtful way, without emotion," Mr. Yanukovich said on December 13.

On November 28, a conference of elected officials and Mr. Yanukovich supporters from the country's eastern regions put forth the idea of autonomy as a response to the events in Kyiv. Mr. Yanukovich supporters were forced to backtrack on the idea of creating the "Southeastern Ukrainian Autonomous Republic" after the specter of criminal charges against them was raised. Instead, they settled on the

safer "federalization" formula.

Mr. Yanukovich's native Donetsk Oblast, which was scheduled to hold a referendum on the issue on January 9, on December 10 postponed the plebiscite for at least 90 days.

The Yanukovich campaign continued to accuse Mr. Yushchenko of being an American lackey – a mainstay of six-months of anti-Yushchenko campaigning that was supplemented by Cold War rhetoric that accused Mr. Yushchenko supporters of being fascists.

Most recently, the Yanukovich campaign has alleged that the Yushchenko campaign has received direct funding from the United States.

On December 13, national deputies from Mr. Yanukovich's Party of the Regions said they will initiate an ad hoc commission in the country's Parliament next week to investigate reports from the United States naming a number of financial sources for the opposition presidential candidate's election campaign.

In his piece "U.S. money helped opposition in Ukraine," published on December 10, Matt Kelley, an Associated Press writer, reported that "the Bush administration has spent more than \$65 million in the past two years to aid political organizations in Ukraine ... U.S. officials say the activities do not amount to interference in Ukraine's election, as Russian President Vladimir Putin alleges, but are part of the \$1 billion the State Department spends each year trying to build democracy worldwide."

Part of the Yanukovich team strategy appears to be the duplication of the Yushchenko team's legal maneuvers after the November 21 elections.

In an interview with Interfax, Mr. Chornovil, Mr. Yanukovich's newly minted campaign manager, said that the campaign's focus will be to "make falsification impossible." He added: "That is most important for us. Not only falsifications by our opponent, but those falsifications that may be committed under the guise of helping our candidate."

Mr. Yanukovich's campaign is planning to hold a parallel vote count, submit a list of violations and prepare legal action the day after the elections, Mr. Chornovil said in a December 10 interview.

"There will be a lot of technical work and little politics," he said. "We'll ignore Ukrainian sociology, Ukrainian exit polls."

Members of the Yanukovich campaign team have also hinted that they might challenge the constitutionality of the amendments to the election law approved by Parliament on December 8.

On December 14 Vladislav Lukianov, called the "de facto chief of Mr. Yanukovich's campaign" by the Donetsk-based opposition *ostro.org* website, told journalists that his team is working on two possible scenarios for the election: either victory or a repeat of the repeat run-off.

Speaking at a press conference in Donetsk, Mr. Lukianov said he considers the changes to the presidential election law as "specially made ... so that the next round of elections (will) be declared invalid."

Meanwhile, Mr. Yanukovich met with voters in Donetsk, Luhansk, Crimea, Mykolaiv and Kherson between December 11 and 16. His headquarters said the candidate will stay away from western regions, according to an Interfax Ukraine report.

Mr. Yanukovich announced that he will participate in televised debates scheduled for December 20, and has repeatedly denied suggestions that he might pull out of the race at the last minute. A Yanukovich withdrawal was widely discussed as one of the possible ways he could undermine Mr. Yushchenko's quest for the presidency.

"I will never step away from your and

my choice. I am going to the end," Mr. Yanukovich told a rally of 50,000 supporters in Donetsk on December 11.

Team Yanukovich has also introduced new approaches to fund-raising for round three. "Everyone who wants to support our campaign on their own will, I ask you to send money – at least one hryvnia or 50 kopyky. Accounts are being opened at the local headquarters," Mr. Yanukovich said during a live radio interview in Kherson on December 16.

Team Yushchenko refocuses

After the compromise between Mr. Yushchenko and outgoing President Kuchma was reached in Parliament on December 8, the Yushchenko team refocused its attention on running an election campaign.

On December 9, the Yushchenko team began revealing some of its plans for the last weeks of the campaign. Oleksander Zinchenko, co-chair of the campaign, told journalists that special efforts will focus on the Kharkiv, Odesa, Zaporizhia and Dnipropetrovsk oblasts, and that personnel changes were effected in the oblasts where shortcomings occurred.

At a press conference on December 9 Yushchenko campaign co-chair Yulia Tymoshenko said, "We will pay particular attention to those regions where falsifications were the worst, in particular Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Luhansk, Kharkiv and Mykolayiv."

Mr. Zinchenko said that, due to winter weather conditions, the campaign will not rely as much on rallies and mass meetings.

He noted the improved media environment and said that the Yushchenko team will take full advantage of the equal access that was denied to its candidate before the first two rounds of the election.

"We want to focus on economic issues in discussions with our opponent," Mr. Zinchenko said, "our views differ radically on political and economic processes."

During a campaign strategy meeting held earlier that day, Mr. Zinchenko said that "40 percent of our time was devoted to issues concerning the legal defense of the election results."

He added that on election day, the Yushchenko team will conduct a parallel vote count.

Concerning new approaches for the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, Mr. Zinchenko said that activists from the tent city in Kyiv will be sent.

On December 10, seven Pora activists tried to pitch two tents in Donetsk, on the square before the statue to the industrial city's British founder John Hughes. According to one of the Pora activists, a crowd of about 100 young men gathered around them within 20 minutes of their arrival. The tents were torn down and the activists chased away. A local journalist

sustained minor injuries.

The Donetsk City Council then charged the Pora activists, but the court case was dismissed on December 13 because the "tents were no longer standing," according to a City Council spokesman.

On December 15, Mr. Yushchenko walked through the tent city in Kyiv and spoke with democracy activists. He did not ask protesters to vacate the capital's main street, the Khreschatyk, as was reported by some of Pora's leaders.

More than 20 additional tents were pitched on the sidewalk, and some Pora leaders said that the activists will leave the Khreschatyk at the request of Kyiv Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko and take up residence on the pedestrian walkway.

However some of the people living in the tents have no intention of freeing the street.

"I think we will be here for two or three weeks after the elections, so that the old regime – Kuchma, Medvedchuk and Yanukovich – see that we will not give up without a fight. We are going for victory. We will leave here only after Mr. Yushchenko becomes our president," said Yura, 18, a student from Cherkasy who left his home and studies on November 21 to come to Kyiv.

The campaign trail

On December 15, Mr. Yushchenko announced that he will visit Kharkiv in two days' time, followed by stops in either Dnipropetrovsk or Zaporizhia. He added that after winning the presidency, his first visit outside of the capital will be to the eastern oblasts.

"I will speak about Ukraine's unity. I am convinced the only thing that has divided us is an information blockade," Mr. Yushchenko said on December 14.

That day, team Yushchenko rolled out four new campaign ads titled "Peace to you," "Life goes on after elections," "Together we will build a new Ukraine" and "Together we can accomplish anything." The ads began to appear on four national television channels on December 14.

In an effort to reach out to new voters in the east and south, Mr. Yushchenko speaks in both Russian and Ukrainian in the ads.

In related news, a motorcade of 50 cars and 150 participants rolled out of Kyiv on December 14. Called the "Friendship Train," the 10-day tour of Ukraine's southern and eastern regions by artists, photographers, filmmakers, journalists and graffiti artists, plans to visit 14 oblasts.

According to organizers, who held a press conference at the Yushchenko campaign headquarters, the purpose of the 3,500-kilometer tour is to inform Ukrainians about the events of the

(Continued on page 14)



Supporters of Viktor Yanukovich at a rally in Donetsk on December 11.

A/P Vladimir Sindeyev

Orange Revolution's tent city remains, but in a different form

by Yana Sedova

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV – During this, the third week of the Orange Revolution, the tent city on the Khreschatyk has been reconstructed into a well-knit camp. Military tents substitute for campers' versions, the number of inhabitants has been cut to the essential minimum for the purpose of guarding the city, and the role of the tent city's participants has been defined as to either organizing peaceful pickets or mobilizing supporters from the regions, if necessary. The street, meanwhile, is to be freed up.

The decision to change both the outward appearance and the purpose of the tent city was made by the camp's central leadership in consultation with national deputies from Viktor Yushchenko's Our Ukraine coalition and the student group Pora (It's Time).

"The city remains until December 26, as a token and a bridgehead of the revolution," said Taras Lohynov, the commander of the city. "We have affiliations with the coordinating centers of different regions of Ukraine, and they are ready to send people to the capital on short notice."

Since its erection, the tent city grew so

fast that the leaders of the action were not able to lay out a clear-cut plan of support. Volunteers formed the central leadership and divided the camp into separate sectors with a "senior" responsible for each sector. Since that time, the leadership has succeeded in providing necessities and housing, as well as in maintaining the tent cities set up near the Verkhovna Rada and the presidential administration building. Order and stability took over what previously seemed to be a free-for-all.

Mr. Lohynov said that unsolicited contributions from charity collection boxes were the only real money his team saw and that nobody was paid for what they were doing. The money was spent for the camp's needs. All other donations to the city were taken in kind. Kyivans brought apparel and food, firms bought various products, restaurants and kitchens supplied the tent city with hot meals.

Those responsible for the city managed to make it secure, and provided the daytime and nighttime emergency ambulance service and first aid for the inhabitants of the camp. A website was created for the city; there one could find information about the tent city's needs and its

happy moments.

The commander even certified seven marriages that were celebrated in the tent city – this, of course, after the newlyweds showed their official marriage certificates.

Now Mr. Lohynov is about to relinquish his power to new managers from Our Ukraine and Pora, and the next period of the camp's life will be their responsibility.

"The camp will be erected on the sidewalk along the Khreschatyk," said Ihor Kotsuruba, a political leader of Pora. "Nasha Ukraina (Our Ukraine) will be the city's patron."

Meantime students and those who have been living here since the first day are being sent home. The camp seems to be almost empty as compared with its roaring lifestyle just a week ago.

"I planned to stay here until the time Viktor Andriiovych [Yushchenko] said: 'Thank you, friends, now you may go home. I'm leaving tomorrow, almost satisfied,'" said Mykhailo, who came from Volyn Oblast and has been in the city since November 26. "I still worry about the revote. I would like to go as an observer to some eastern polling station in order to prevent possible falsification."

Two young men from Dnipropetrovsk, who had arrived only three days earlier, said they were deeply impressed by the atmosphere in Kyiv and were not bothered that they almost missed the main events. They plan to go back home and move into the tent camp in the center of Dnipropetrovsk.

Svitlana, who has been living in the tent city since November 22, said that she would come back to Kyiv after the revote. "I made many friends here. We admire Kyivans who have been taking care of us. I never realized that they are so open and caring," Svitalana said.

More than 13,000 people were registered here since the first day, and many thousands who symbolically spent just a night or two here were unrecorded. Kyivans got used to visiting Independence Square twice or at least once a day, singly or in groups with colleagues and friends. Many of them brought children here during the recent weekends for them to witness the most

important event of modern Ukrainian history.

"People from all over Ukraine flocked to the city. And they are the foundation of the Ukrainian nation. We will build democratic society on this," said Volodymyr, who came from Sumy Oblast. "The stereotype about Ukrainians as people who became used to ignoring insults is now destroyed. And I'm so happy that at the age of 53 I got to take part in this symbolic event."

His friends said that the recent decisions of the Verkhovna Rada are just the beginning of huge changes. They pin their hopes on the 2005 parliamentary election that might help in political housecleaning.

"Yushchenko can't get on the inside of what is really going on in the small towns and villages of Ukraine. But we know who is who. I hope next year the authorities will fire people of questionable conduct," said Volodymyr. "We will never be the same. We set a stone rolling. And, if the power structure begins its machinations again, we will come back and protect our rights."

Three young girls who work on the night watch of the medical service may look pretty tired, but they all say they will stay in the city until a clear victory is achieved. During the first week they worked here without rest; now the shift changes every 12 hours.

"Conscience is our guide here. We will keep on working because we are still wanted here," said Tetiana, a student of the National Medical University.

Hundreds of thousands of people have made the pilgrimage to the center of the Ukrainian capital since the run-off election on November 21. The energy they feel emanating from the Khreschatyk, they all agree, has been upholding the faith of the people of Ukraine.

Most of the tent city's inhabitants are now heading home, ready to serve as election monitors or agents of their favored candidate. They have taken on an important mission: to seal the achievements of the Orange Revolution.

And, they promise to come back after the December 26 repeat of the run-off to celebrate their victory together.



A/P Efrem Lukatsky

A young Ukrainian couple share a tender moment in the tent camp in Kyiv on December 14.

FOR THE RECORD: UMANA letter to leadership in Ukraine

Below is the text of an open letter sent on November 30 by the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America to the Parliament of Ukraine, the Supreme Court of Ukraine, the Ministry of Health of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Medical Association. A copy of the letter was received by *The Ukrainian Weekly* on December 9.

The will of the Ukrainian people to elect their leaders fairly and honestly cannot be denied.

Multiple local and international third-party observers have determined recent electoral events in Ukraine to be patently unfair, dishonest and fraudulent. The Ukrainian Parliament has declared the disputed presidential elections invalid. The Supreme Court of Ukraine has agreed to review the accusations of electoral fraud.

These findings are deeply troubling. Countries of the free world are watching Ukraine. The actions of the leaders of Ukraine are on public display. You will be judged not only by your countrymen, but by all free and democratic peoples of

the world.

The health of the nation is your responsibility. Ukrainians have a right to be free of political psychological pressure. They have a right to live without threats and intimidation. They have a right to political disputes free of injustice, violence, mayhem and international bullying.

The health professionals of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America strongly urge you, the leadership of Ukraine, to spare no effort in confronting these unjust and fraudulent actions.

You have been given the responsibility of representing and implementing the will of the Ukrainian people. Do so with honor and fortitude.

There is only one fair and honest direction to take: let truth flourish and allow the citizens of Ukraine to freely and honestly determine their place among legitimate societies of the world.

Bohdan A. Iwanetz, M.D.
president
UMANA

Quotable notes

"I think it would be appropriate to compare this [Orange Revolution in Ukraine] to the fall of the Soviet Union or the fall of the Berlin Wall. I am very happy that we were able to mobilize the Ukrainian community to stand up for its rights."

– Viktor Yushchenko speaking in Kyiv on December 12, as quoted by an RFE/RL correspondent.

"No politician from Viktor Yushchenko's team, let alone those from the rival camp, knew before November 22 how a revolution works, what its internal mechanism looks like. Everybody thought that if a large-scale [election] falsification occurred and, God forbid, [Viktor] Yanukovich was declared president, a million of people would gather and start smashing shop windows and expensive cars, plunder the party offices of our opponents and resort to violence with regard to state officials. It turned out, however, that the mechanism of a revolution is completely different. This was more like a shrine. Those unique orange rallies resembled shrines in the open air. And they influenced state officials with a moral force, not a physical one. State officials have become different – policemen, soldiers and officers were coming to the maidan [Independence Square] to pledge allegiance to the people."

– Yulia Tymoshenko, Viktor Yushchenko's political ally, in an interview with the *Ukrainska Pravda* website (www2.pravda.com.ua) on December 14, as cited by RFE/RL Belarus and Ukraine Report.

"They [supporters of Viktor Yushchenko] cried thief because it was them who stole. It was our victory that has been stolen, not Yushchenko's."

– Taras Chornovil, newly appointed campaign chief for Viktor Yanukovich, speaking about the invalidated results of the November 21 presidential run-off election, as quoted by the *Associated Press* on December 10.

UKRAINE'S ORANGE REVOLUTION BEGETS ORANGE WAVE IN THE DIASPORA



VATICAN CITY – On November 24, the day that Pope John Paul II announced to the world that he is praying for Ukraine, a country in crisis following mass falsifications in the presidential run-off on November 21, a group of Ukrainian pilgrims assembled in St. Peter's Square bearing signs in support of Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko. At the end of the general audience at Paul VI Hall, the pope addressed the pilgrims in Ukrainian. According to the Zenit press service, Pope John Paul said: "Beloved, I assure you and all the Ukrainian people that I am praying these days in a special way for your dear homeland." Ukrainian flags were waved in response to the holy father's greeting by some 60 Ukrainian pilgrims present. They were joined by several dozen Ukrainian seminarians, priests and students in Rome.

– Tina Osadca Zacharczuk



BALTIMORE – On December 5, Ukrainians in this area gathered outside St. Michael Ukrainian Catholic Church to demonstrate their solidarity with Viktor Yushchenko's Orange Revolution via a rally and candlelight vigil. The group also carried signs with messages for Russian President Vladimir Putin, such as "Putin, don't be a terrorist." Oksana Palijczuk, one of the organizers of the protest, told the Baltimore Sun: "We are the children of immigrants, and the American government needs to support the opposition in Ukraine. We are seeking the same God-given freedom for them that we enjoy here."

– Roman Yasinovskyy/Oleh Voloshyn



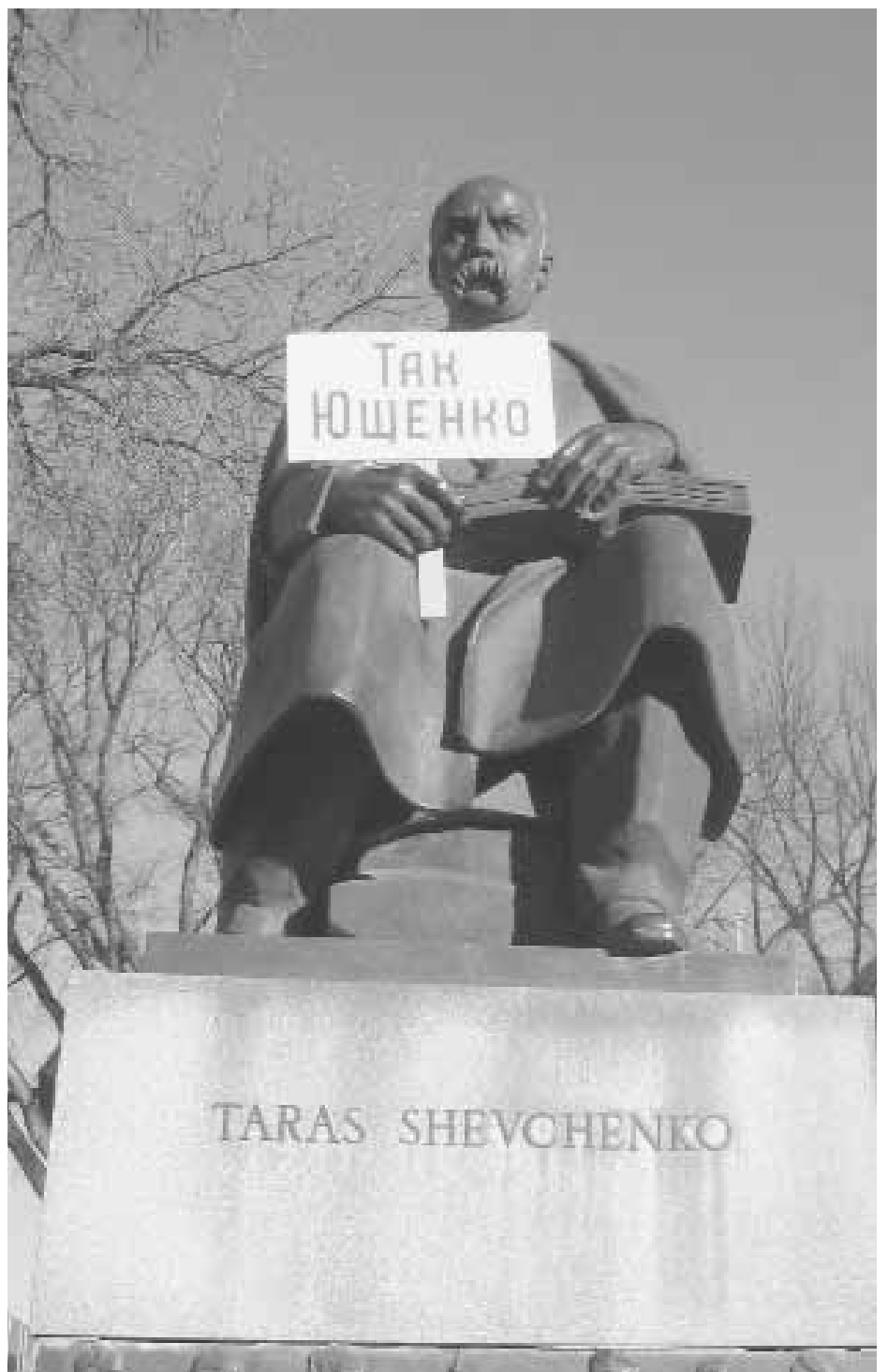
ELMIRA HEIGHTS, N.Y. – The Ukrainian community of Horeseheads, Elmira, Elmira Heights and Corning, N.Y., protested on November 28 against the stolen election in Ukraine and for democracy, bearing signs with slogans such as "We stand with Ukrainians for honest elections." Some 100 people, most of them congregants of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church, chanted in support of Viktor Yushchenko, who the demonstrators said is the rightfully elected president of Ukraine.

– William J. Misnick Sr./Gloria B. Misnick



NEW YORK – In support of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, New York City's Ukrainians have tied orange ribbons around lampposts, on fences and on just about anything else that was appropriate. The photo above shows one of the ribbons in the East Village, where the Ukrainian community has a strong presence, along with a leaflet that explains its purpose.

– Serge Polishchuk



WINNIPEG – On Sunday, November 21, when a symbolic vote was taken in Winnipeg by Ukrainian citizens who were unable to vote in western Canada (as Ukraine did not approve a polling station there), a rally was held at the Manitoba Legislature to support free and fair elections in Ukraine. One of the demonstrators climbed atop the monument to Taras Shevchenko and placed a pro-Yushchenko placard in the hands of the bard, as the crowd of several hundred cheered.

– Dobryan Tracz

BOOK REVIEW

Short stories and novellas on Ukraine and Ukrainian themes

"A Land the Size of Binoculars" by Igor Klekh. Translated from the Russian and with a foreword by Michael M. Naydan and Slava Yastremski. Chicago: Northwestern University Press. Writings From An Unbound Europe, 2004.

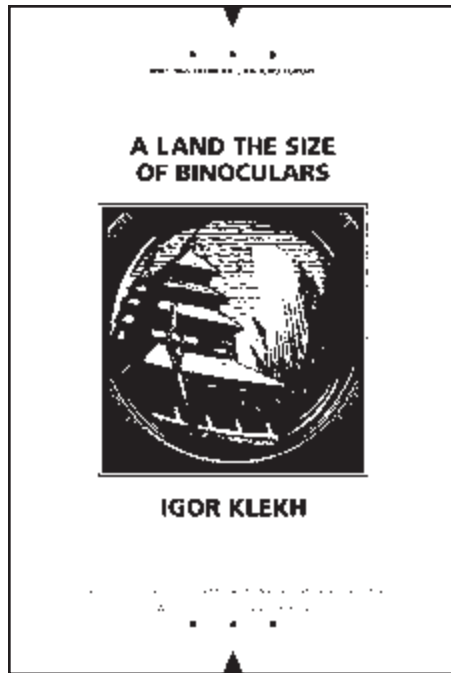
by Michael Naydan

Igor Klekh emerges as a writer from the crossroads of Europe – western Ukraine – influenced by the Russian and Ukrainian literary traditions, as well as the languages of both East-Central Europe and his native country. As one of the brightest lights to emerge from the post-perestroika literary scene, Mr. Klekh's work has been welcomed as a synthesis of multiple literary traditions and celebrated as some of the most breathtakingly original prose of recent years.

"A Land the Size of Binoculars" collects the five short pieces and novella that comprise Klekh's "Galician Motifs," plus two more-recent novellas. Throughout, Mr. Klekh passes over landscapes as intimate as the terrain between fathers and sons and as broad as the wild and mysterious Carpathian Mountains. All the prose pieces in the collection concern Ukraine and Ukrainian topics, and Mr. Klekh is publishing a collection in Russia that mirrors this Northwestern volume.

His work has drawn comparisons to Jorge Luis Borges for the blurring of boundaries between forms and styles; to Nikolai Gogol's (Mykola Hohol's) focus on the ontology of the word; to Umberto Eco's use of esoteric knowledge; and to the stylistic innovations reminiscent of

Michael M. Naydan is professor of Slavic languages and literatures at Pennsylvania State University.



Latin American magical realists.

"Everything Klekh writes has its own intonation, its own dialect, its own style, and it is very convincing and manifest. It would be much more difficult to discuss what he writes about. Because as a true master (people are born masters and do not become them), behind his attitude to the material at hand – to that wall of the bungalow, to that rooster painted on it, or to a sound being sung – he evidently quite diligently and quite skillfully conceals his author's "I." ... That is why I leave it to you the readers to judge what he is writing about." (Andrei Bitov, from

the Introduction).

Mr. Klekh was born in Ukraine and is a Russian writer of both fiction and essays. Growing up in Lviv, he interacted with a number of leading contemporary Ukrainian writers, among them Yuri Andrukhovych, Yuri Vynnychuk and Viktor Neborak. Mr. Klekh has been living in Moscow since 1994, where he is a member of the Union of Russian Writers and the Russian PEN Club. His first book, "An Incident with a Classic," was

published in Russian in 1998. He was nominated for the Russian Booker Prize in 1995 and was the winner of the 2000 Yuri Kazakov Prize given for the best Russian short story of the year.

The book, which has a list price of \$18.95 in paperback, is available on the Northwestern website, <http://nupress.northwestern.edu/title.cfm?ISBN=0-8101-1943-9>.

It is also available at www.amazon.com and from other Internet booksellers.

Born in the...

(Continued from page 7)

online, sharing news from people on the ground in Kyiv, organizing demonstrations in support of Mr. Yushchenko in New York City and Washington. "I was never the most civic-minded person, but

now I wear orange," Walter says.

He's not the only one. We've all taken to wearing something orange, just as we've all become hopeful that Ukraine will finally become the free country we were raised to believe it could be.

Peace to all of you this holiday season, and "Slava Ukraini!"

Presidential candidates...

(Continued from page 11)

Orange Revolution in Kyiv.

On December 15, the motorcade was stopped for three hours on the way to Odesa by more than 100 young men who were "bums and thugs," according to journalist and participant Vakhtang Kipiani. "They told us to leave with our 'American Yushchenko' and go back to 'American Kyiv,'" Mr. Kipiani said.

The tires of three cars were slashed.

The "Friendship Train" did spend the day in Odesa before moving on to Mykolayiv.

"The Yushchenko and Yanukovych campaigns have switched roles," according to

independent political strategist Volodymyr Tsybulko. "In terms of rhetoric, Mr. Yanukovych previously spoke from a position of power. Now Mr. Yushchenko has assumed that roll," he explained.

Mr. Tsybulko also said that the Yushchenko campaign has experienced "Yanukovychization" because it is becoming more bureaucratic, and the decision-making process takes longer.

"Mr. Yushchenko's main task is not so much to conquer new territories as it is to ensure a high voter turnout among his supporters," Mr. Tsybulko said. He noted that Mr. Yushchenko's supporters are growing too confident in their sense of victory, and that may lead to voters staying at home on election day.



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Ukrainian Literature: A Journal of Translations makes its debut

by Ika Koznarska Casanova

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The inaugural issue of the new journal *Ukrainian Literature: A Journal of Translations*, which is published biennially in both a printed and an online edition, was presented at the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) in New York on December 11 (see story below) and in Philadelphia on December 12.

The first periodical ever to be devoted exclusively to Ukrainian literature in translation, the journal derives its vision from the premise that “culture can and should be shared across national boundaries.” The journal was conceived, as noted in the introduction, as “a forum for translation into English of literary works written in Ukrainian” with the primary aim of opening “the world of Ukrainian literature to a wider audience by acquainting English speakers ... with the bounty and variety of writing in this language.”

The editor of the journal is Maxim Tarnawsky, professor of Ukrainian literature in the department of Slavic languages and literatures at the University of Toronto. Comprising the editorial board are specialists in Ukrainian literature and translators in their own right: Taras Koznarsky, assistant professor of Ukrainian literature at the University of Toronto; Askold Melnyczuk, critically acclaimed novelist, editor of the literary magazine *Agni*, and professor at Boston University and Bennington College, where he headed programs in creative writing; Michael M. Naydan, former head and professor of Slavic languages and literatures at Pennsylvania State University; and, Marko Pavlyshyn, director of the Center for European Studies and the coordinator of Ukrainian Studies at Monash University’s School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics in Australia.

The manuscript editor is Uliana Pasicznyk, who is also editor and managing editor of the Hrushevsky Translation Project sponsored by the Peter Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian

Studies (CIUS).

The journal, which is intended to “reflect Ukrainian literature in all its breadth and diversity,” presents works by a broad spectrum of writers, across a wide variety of genres and styles. The focus, however, is on contemporary writing in Ukraine which serves to provide “a true reflection of the vitality and energy of Ukrainian literature today.”

Accordingly, the inaugural issue features works in translation of both contemporary writers, as well as key figures and established writers of the past (19th and early 20th centuries). Among featured selections is the work of seven contemporary writers, representatives of both a post-war and a younger generation of writers; the work of the latter, having come to the fore in the 1980s and early 1990s, is reflective of the major and unprecedented transformations in Ukrainian culture, and literature in particular.

Featured in the first issue is the work of the following writers:

- Emma Andriivska, a leading émigré poet, prose writer and artist, was born in Donetsk in 1931 and fled Ukraine as a political refugee to Germany in 1943, where she resides. A multi-faceted and prolific writer, her oeuvre, which does not lend itself to easy comprehension, comprises 15 collections of verse, four collections of short prose and four novels. Ms. Andriivska is a member of the New York Group of poets and a member of PEN.

- Volodymyr Dibrova, born in Donetsk in 1951, is a writer, translator, literary critic and teacher. He has a doctoral degree from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and is preceptor in Ukrainian language at Harvard University. A leading representative of the so-called “underground alternative” of the 1970s-1980s samvydav movement (in literature) that emerged as a counterpoint to the official tenets of Soviet writing, he has been called “the best young prose writer in Ukraine today.” His work, which enjoyed extensive popularity in the early 1990s, was translated in

Germany, Poland, Hungary, Scotland and North America. His novellas “Peltse” and “Pentameron,” translated by Halyna Hryn, were published by Northwestern University Press in 1996. A collection of his best works titled “Vybrane” (Selected [Works]) was published in Kyiv by Krytyka in 2002. Mr. Dibrova has been living in the United States since 1994.

- Vasyl Gabor (1959-) is mostly a science fiction and fantasy author as well as a cultural activist in Lviv. A graduate in journalism from Lviv State University, he worked at the Stefanyk Library of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. He is author of the novellas “The End of the World” (1995) and “The Rape of Reality” (1997), and “A Book of Exotic Dreams and Real Events” (1999). He is best known as editor of the anthology “Pryvatna Kolektsiia: Vybrana Ukrainka Proza ta Eseistyka Kintsia XX Stolittia,” (A Private Collection: A Selection of Ukrainian Prose and Essays from the Late 20th Century; Lviv: Piramida, 2002).

- Oleksander Irvanets (1961-), comic poet, dramatist, and prose writer, is one of the three members of the Bu-Ba-Bu (Ukrainian acronym for “burlesque, disorder, buffoonery”) literary group that came into being in 1985. A native of Lviv who grew up and lived in Rivne, Mr. Irvanets was a schoolteacher before he turned to writing. Apart from poetry, he has been writing plays since 1995. His work “A Little Play about Betrayal for a Single Actress” (1992) had considerable success on the German stage in German translation. His most recent novel is “Rivne-Rovno (Stina)” (2002). Mr. Irvanets’ satirical jibes had been directed at the old Soviet ways; now they are directed at contemporary political, social and cultural issues. Currently, Mr. Irvanets lives in Irpin, just outside of Kyiv, where he continues to write for the theater.

- Ievhenia Kononenko (1959-), studied mathematics and engineering at Kyiv University as well as French philology at the Kyiv Institute of Foreign Languages. In recent years she has published short fiction and completed a poetry collection titled



Cover of the newly founded journal *Ukrainian Literature: A Journal of Translations*, which comes out biennially in both a printed and an online edition, as a publication of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (USA).

“Kyivan Tercets,” a book of prose titled “A Hot Subject,” and a translation of a children’s book. She is best known for her series of popular novels, including “Imitatsiia” (Imitation) and “Zrada” (Betrayal) and her recent collection of stories, “Povii Tezh Vykhodiat Zamizh” (Prostitutes Also Marry; Lviv: Kalvaria, 2004). Ms. Kononenko works as an academic researcher at the Institute of Cultural Politics. In 2003 she participated in the International Writing Program (IWP) at the University of Iowa.

- Yuri Pokalchuk (1941-) is one of Ukraine’s pre-eminent literary personalities. A member of the Writers’ Union of Ukraine since 1976 and president of the union’s foreign branch (1994-1998), he has also served as president of the Association of Ukrainian Writers (1997-2000) and as senior scholar at the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine

(Continued on page 39)

Shevchenko Society sponsors presentation of new journal of literature

by Dr. Orest Popovych

NEW YORK – The printed version of the inaugural issue of *Ukrainian Literature: A Journal of Translations* was presented here at the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) on December 11. The corresponding Internet edition (www.shevchenko.org or www.UkrainianLiterature.org) was launched in August.

This first-ever publication devoted exclusively to English translations of Ukrainian literature, which is scheduled to appear biennially, is published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society NTSh. The first volume, which was presented here, was financed by a grant from the Ivan and Elizabeth Chlopecky Fund of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (USA).

The editor of the journal is Maxim Tarnawsky, professor of Ukrainian literature at the University of Toronto; manuscript editor Uliana Pasicznyk manuscript editor, who is also editor and managing editor at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. The editorial board comprises professors of literature: Taras Koznarsky (Canada), Askold Melnyczuk (U.S.A.), Michael M. Naydan (U.S.A.) and Marko Pavlyshyn (Australia). All are members of NTSh, while Dr. Pavlyshyn is also the president of NTSh in Australia.

The program was opened by Dr. Larissa Onyshkevych, NTSh president

and was chaired by Prof. Vasyl Makhno.

The first featured speaker was Marta Tarnawsky, librarian at the University of Pennsylvania Law School, bibliographer, and chair of the NTSh Publications Committee. Ms. Tarnawsky traced the history of the pioneering translation project, which she had initiated and for which she had campaigned since 1987. According to Ms. Tarnawsky, it was hardest to find an editor for this type of journal, and only secondarily – a sponsor. Eventually, she managed to persuade her son, Dr. Maxim Tarnawsky, to assume the responsibilities of the editor-in-chief, while the funding has been secured from NTSh.

Ms. Tarnawsky said she is convinced that this historical first journal of English translations of Ukrainian literature will serve to fill a major void by paving the way for English-speaking readers for getting to know Ukrainian literature. That in turn should project Ukrainian literature onto the international stage, leading to a greater understanding and respect of Ukrainians throughout the world, opined Ms. Tarnawsky.

Dr. Tarnawsky began by thanking NTSh and its president, Dr. Onyshkevych, for providing financial support for the journal. After noting the names of the editors and translators, Dr. Tarnawsky enumerated the editorial objectives of his publication: to provide quality translations; to translate only



At the New York City presentation of *Ukrainian Literature: A Journal of Translations* (from left) are: Yaryna Yakubyak, Mark Andryczyk, Maxim Tarnawsky, Uliana Pasicznyk and Anatole Bilenko.

Ukrainian-language literature; to emphasize contemporary works and prose; and to publish only new translations. He went on to say that the new journal will facilitate the teaching of Ukrainian literature to English-speaking students, while its availability on the Internet will assure worldwide access, noting that English-speaking people of Ukrainian origin who are unable to read Ukrainian might choose to retrace their roots with the aid of Ukrainian literature in translation.

A novel aspect of the project is that the journal purchases the copyrights of the authors and translators and also pays for their work.

When translations are received by the editors, they are reviewed and checked against the original Ukrainian. This task is mainly the responsibility of Ms. Pasicznyk, who is both editor and translator. Ms. Pasicznyk explained the process of translation editing referring to the

(Continued on page 42)

**Радісних Свят
Різдва Христового і
Щасливого Нового Року**

Родині, Приятелям, Знайомим,
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працівникам та всім секретарям відділів

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і їх управам

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**Wishing you a
Merry Christmas
and
Happy New Year!**

Roma Lisovich

with children Kira & Lecyk Myskiw

**The Executive Committee
of the Ukrainian National Association,
the editorial staff and administration
of Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly,
and the administration of Soyuzivka**

**extend holiday greetings to the hierarchs, clergy and laity
of Ukrainian Churches, leaders and members
of Ukrainian community organizations,
UNA members, UNA branch and district officers,
readers of its publications, guests of its resort,
and all Ukrainians in the diaspora and Ukraine.**

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і всіх Співробітників та бажаємо

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друзів і колег
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і щирими побажаннями
всього найкращого в 2005 році!*

– Андрій, Рома, Маркіян і Павлусь Гадзевичі



*Родині, Приятелям і Знайомим
– бажаємо –*

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*Щиро вітаємо всіх наших В/Шановних Гостей, Симпатиків і
Приятелів. Сердечно дякуємо їм за їхню прихильність,
підтримку та відвідування нашої Оселі.*

*Всім Працівникам Союзівки, Членам і Урядникам Українського
Народного Союзу, бажаємо усього добра, щастя, здоров'я та
найкращих успіхів у Новому Році!*



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і
НОВИМ РОКОМ**

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З нагоди Свят Різдва Христового

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та бажаємо всього добра в
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— б а ж а ю т ь —

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та син **ЯРЕМА А.** з дружиною **ІННОЮ**
і дітьми **ІВАНОМ, МИХАСЕМ і СОФІЄЮ** (Київ)



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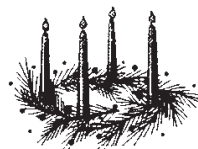


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a joyous and healthy New Year!*

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*бажає
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землякам в Україні й поза Україною*

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та
Нового 2005 Року*



*членам і ланковим Управи УСЦАК та їхнім родинам, проводам спортивних і молодечих
організацій, нашим друзям-спортівцям в Україні всім щирим прихильникам
українського організованого спорту в діяспорі*

б а ж а є

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*Український народ на рідних землях і всіх наших земляків, розкинутих
по різних країнах світу. Вітаємо Ієрархію Українських Церков в Україні і
діяспорі, центральні проводи і членство політичних і громадських
організацій в Україні і діяспорі, а в тому проводи і членство
Українського Золотого Хреста, ІСНО, Фундацію ім. О. Ольжича, Жіноче
Т-во ім. О. Теліги, Об'єднання Студіюючої Молоді „Зарево“ в Україні.
Зокрема вітаємо і шлемо сердечний дружній привіт голові проводу
Українських Націоналістів Миколі Плав'юкові і членам Проводу
Українських Націоналістів, побажання успіхів у всіх заходах для
об'єднання національно-державницьких сил у справі відбудови і
закріплення української соборної самостійної України.*

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Олександр Процюк голова	д-р Петро Клюк заступник голови	Уляна Процюк секретар
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Різдва Христового і Нового Року*

вітаємо український народ на Рідних Землях та в діяспорі,
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Управам Відділів та всьому членству
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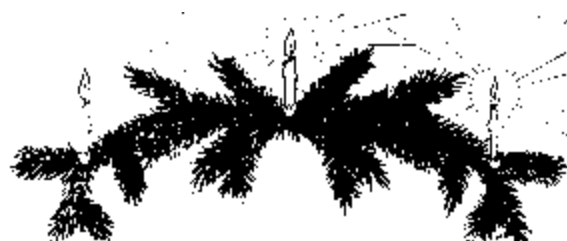
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Best Wishes for an especially memorable Christmas this year, witnessing Ukraine's "Orange Revolution" in defense of its democracy, civil rights and the rule of law.

And a very happy 2005!

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Головний Пластовий Провід, Крайові Пластові Проводи
та цілу пластову родину.

Вітаємо та підтримуємо наших братів і сестер в Україні,
та бажаємо їм сили і витривалости.

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пл. сен. ІГОР МИКИТА,
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ст. пл. ЛЯРИСА ОПРИСКО,
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При цій нагоді наші щирі вислови подяки всім Добродіям,
Жертводавцям і Приятелям фонду „ДОЛЯР для УКРАЇНИ“

*Всеч. о. Митрофорному Пресвітерові Роману Мірчукові,
Єпископальній Церкві в Медісон, Н. Дж. і місцевій пластовій
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посилок до багатодітних родин з поміччю біля 4-5 тисяч дітей. А
це не було б зреалізовано без праці рук членів комітету та
добровольців-людей щирого серця. Їм зокрема наша щира
вдячність за довголітній (12 років) труд.*

Білевич Ірена, Білянчик Катерина, Вервір Елізабет, Григорович Кирило і
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Володимир, Заяць Стефа, д-р Климишин Люба, д-р Іван і Леся Кизики,
Козак Євгенія, Козюпа Анна, Косоноцька Анна, Крайник Ірина, Кузьма
Григорій і Ірена, Лякунта Мері, Ляшок Розалія, Ліщинська Оксана,
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Юркевич Марія, Фок Лариса, Штомфель Стефанія, і покійні.
Ходновський Нестор і Яворська Осипа.

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**Любомира Крупа, Богданна Худьо, Ярослава Мулик,
Стефа Заяць, Анна Косоноцька, Рома Худьо**



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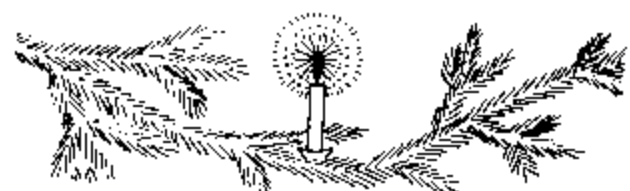
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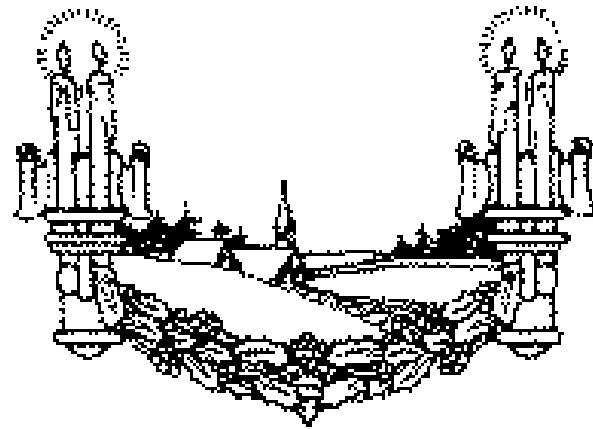
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Regensburg Gymnasium students hold 15th reunion at Soyuzivka

by Ihor Masnyk

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – The year 1949 was a memorable one for the post-war refugees – the so called DPs; it was the beginning of massive emigration to the United States, relocation and concentration of remaining refugee camps necessitated by the exit of their residents and closure of local schools, and most important to us – the “gimnasia” (gymnasium or secondary school).

On January 1, one week before departing Regensburg on my way the U.S.A., I was the single candidate taking the matriculation examination, followed a few months later by the remainder of our eighth class and later yet by an accelerated examination for the seventh class students. The Regensburg Gymnasium was our Ukrainian Gymnasium abroad (na “emihratsiyi”).

Ten years have gone by, and some of our enthusiasts decided to organize the first reunion of ex-members of our gymnasium at the Soyuzivka resort. Most of our teachers were still alive, many of them in the United States and we were much younger, full of energy and warm memories going back to Regensburg. It was a successful reunion and for the past 50 years, with various intermittent breaks, thanks to the energy and devotion of some enthusiasts from the eastern states, from the Chicago colony of ex-Regensburg residents (so numerous that it would be a problem to mention all of them here) and obviously thanks to Danko Malaniak from Hollywood, further reunions continue to be held.

This year, 55 years after we departed to various parts of this world, we held the 15th reunion again at the Soyuzivka resort on September 13-16.

By itself, this was not such a great event, but the fact that this was already the 15th reunion indicates the close camaraderie established among us that continues to this day. Dispersed all over the world, we maintain contact across Europe through North and South America, Australia, Africa and, lately, even Afghanistan. And, just as in the past, at all these reunions we meet representatives from all corners of the world – not all of them at each event, but every reunion includes individuals from far-away countries who show up to renew old friendships. There were some 200 to 300 students in our gymnasium in Regensburg, and 50-60 of them show up on each occasion.

The 15th reunion’s banner proclaimed: “Let the World Know About Us – Remember!” This was probably based on our attempts to produce a sequel to the book “Regensburg” devoted to experiences of the ex-gymnasium students. This theme was the recurrent subject for many discussions during the two days of our deliberations.

Intellectual interests were covered as well. Two presentations were given: one by our ex-Regensburg student Roman Mac on the 60th anniversary of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and another on “The Pre-Election Situation in Ukraine” by Dr. Osyp Moroz.

In the evening, thanks to the efforts of Ludmyla Yarko-Pochtar, Luba Karavan-Kolomyets and Lala Maluk-Savyn, we heard a series of masterful recitations of the works of several poets selected by the performers. In her introductory remarks Mrs. Pochtar cited a selection from Ivan Franko’s poem: “If you but knew how mighty is each word, one warm, affectionate little word! Deep wounds of the heart it heals miraculously – if you but knew it...” And all three of them performed artfully and captivated



“Thank you, Weekly, for helping us remember the 1947 World Scout Jamboree and connecting with Bohdan Malaniak.”
First row (from left to right): Lesia Gula, Nadia Oranska, Wolodymyra Bilaniuk; second row: Ihor Masnyk, Vasyl Luchkiw, Ludmyla Pochtar, Bohdanna Popel, Dmytro Bodnarczuk, Luba Kolomayets and Wira Pysariwska.



Regensburg reunion attendees show off their embroidered finery.

us with their delivery. (Actually, this was to be expected, since they were masterful reciters back in the old gymnasium.)

The organizers took care of practical aspects as well: discussing the plans of writing “our” book on the later “post-Regensburg” years of the former students and exploring the possibility of extending invitations to our reunions to cover elementary school pupils, not limiting it only to the gymnasium population. Old friendships were renewed and one could see smaller, more intimate groups in deep recollections of by-gone times. The “Olde Shoppe”-type stand organized by Roma Mysko-Yakhtorovych and Ola Kuzyk-Mochula was very popular, with the profits bringing additional funds for various projects planned. Everything was carefully planned.

As in past years, on the morning of the second day a liturgy and memorial service were offered in the local church to commemorate departed professors and colleagues. May their memory be eternal!

The official banquet was held in the evening to mark our continued friendship

and our eternal spirit of youth, even though in ever-maturing bodies. Many of our friends were not able to attend in person, but they sent their greetings: the Rev. E. Sharanevych and M. and E. Meleshko from the faculty, along with many ex-students.

Volodymyra Kawka, our adopted gymnasium student, presented warm greetings with an overview of our past reunions. Her masterful recitations were the highlights of many past reunions.

Lala Maluk-Savyn prepared a surprise fashion show and exceeded the presentation of embroidered Ukrainian dresses created by and modelled by attending beauties. Slavtsia Malaniak-Oranska

delivered a masterful rendition of three songs: “De Hory Karpaty” (In Carpathian Mountains), “Plyve Choven” (The Boat Sails) and “Moyi Yaseny” My Ash Trees” accompanied by bandura. The program was concluded with popular “kolomyika” songs adapted to the individuals present and delivered by Eduard Kukhar.

It is natural then that, due to popular demand, these reunions will continue. They fulfill a great need among us living at great distances from each other; at least for a short time they bring us together again and seem to slow down the irreversible passage of time. Hence, “Do pobachennia” – until we meet again at the 16th reunion at Soyuzivka.

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Темпо
Orchestra

UNA General Assembly...

(Continued from page 1)

Canadian and Ukrainian national anthems were played and the ceremony, which was concluded with all singing Shevchenko's "Zapovit" (Testament).

The General Assembly meeting was chaired by UNA President Kaczaraj. The meeting began with a prayer led by Mrs. Moroz, after which a moment of silence was observed for the following deceased members of the UNA: former General Assembly Honorary members William Pastuszek and Helen Olek-Scott; Alex Skibicky (Branch 285), Olga Liteplo (Branch 361), Petro Tymkiw (Branch 458) and Mary Lesawyer, wife of former UNA President Joseph Lesawyer and all other members of the UNA family.

The agenda and the minutes from 2003 meeting of the General Assembly were unanimously approved. Planning committees were established as follows.

- Financial Committee – Mr. Szmagala Mr. Wasyl Liscynesky, Ms. Lisovich, Mr. Luchkiw, Mr. Serafyn;
- Organizing Committee – Ms. Horbaty, Ms. Lysko, Mr. Hawryluk, Ms. Kozak, Dr. Holubec;
- Fraternal Committee – Mr. Oscislowski, Mr. Skyba, Mr. Iwanciw;
- Canadian Committee – Mr. Kachkowski, Mr. Groch, Mrs. Moroz.

All the members of the General Assembly prepared written reports of their UNA activity from the last meeting, as required by the UNA By-Laws. The following members did not submit any reports to the board – Advisor Prinko, (second year in a row) and Auditor Zaviysky.

President Kaczaraj, National Secretary Kozak and Treasurer Lisovich expanded on their written reports.

Mr. Kaczaraj summarized his written report, expanded on the financial status of the UNA, and reassured the General Assembly members that the UNA is slowly moving in the right direction. He reminded all that the fraternal industry has been suffering in the last decade due to the recession, and many fraternal did not survive. The UNA had not only survived, but slowly is recovering. He emphasized the importance of a qualified sales force to increase UNA insurance sales.

Ms. Lisovich thanked all present for their dedication to the UNA. She strongly emphasized working together toward the UNA's success, as well as the success of Soyuzivka and the UNA's publications. She encouraged every secretary and district chairman, and all members of the board to participate in this grand effort. With some measure of success, the UNA has met its challenges. The treasurer stressed the development of a stronger sales force.

The UNA's strategy is to become more visible in the community, regain its integral role and again become the motivating force of the community, continued Ms. Lisovich. A close partnership with the community serves the UNA well, it was once and is now a successful strategy.

The treasurer reported that the financial figures were a little disappointing for the first nine months of 2004. She noted, however, that for the year ending December 2003 – for the first time in a decade – there was a surplus increase. However, this year, due to contributing factors that surplus will not appear, she added. The slow economic recovery has made consumer demand for insurance and annuity products lower. Therefore, premium income decreased from \$3,722,000 in 2003 to \$3,042,000 in 2004.

Ms. Kozak reported on the membership status of the UNA. There is a slow upturn in sales of policies – 54 more policies were sold in the first nine months of 2004 than in 2003 for the same time frame for a total face amount of \$5,230,062. The UNA annuity product has also been doing rather well, with a total of 76 annuities sold in nine months of 2004 for premium collectes of \$1,428,849.

Ms. Kozak reported that the slow upswing in sales is credited to the professional sales force hired by Western Catholic Union that is working primarily in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Florida. This sales force is



Members of the UNA General Assembly at the opening ceremony of their annual meeting.

responsible for 16 percent of total sales with a face amount of \$492,062 and 29 annuities with a total premium collected of \$768,258.

Many of the UNA's losses stem from matured endowments, expiring terms, cash surrenders and, with the aging population of certificate owners, death claims. There are presently 19 districts in the U.S. and four in Canada, according to the national secretary.

There is a continuous agenda of representing the UNA in various communities, including festivals, church functions, banquets and the like. In many cases the UNA hosted a "meet and greet" function to introduce the UNA and explain some of its products. This has been successful and has brought some new business. This is an ongoing effort, and the UNA is encouraging the combined efforts of the Home Office, branch secretaries and districts to organize various community events, Ms. Kozak noted.

The national secretary reported on the creation of the position of national organizer, held by Oksana Trytjak. This position will help with the new strategy of developing and maintaining contacts with the Ukrainian community. This will be the UNA's prime focus for the new year. Again, this must be a joint effort with UNA secretaries, the sales force and districts – together we will be successful, Ms. Kozak underscored.

The Auditing Committee, represented by Dr. Holubec and Dr. Serafyn, reported on the independent audit they conducted prior to the General Assembly meeting.

The remaining session concentrated on strategic planning for Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, development plans for Soyuzivka and various possibilities to increase membership.

Committee recommendations

The General Assembly's committee issued recommendations as follows.

- Organizing Committee:
 - Develop promotional materials to promote the UNA.
 - In our publications we should address the newest immigration with materials that are of specific interest to them.
 - Publish a promotional book for secretaries to use when making a sales pitch.
 - Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly subscription flyers to be included in UNA premium billing.
 - Distribute promotional materials about the UNA, our publications to every visitor at Soyuzivka.
- Fraternal Committee:
 - Re-institute Ukrainian Cultural Courses at Soyuzivka.
 - Promote an essay contest in both languages on

"Why I am Proud to be Ukrainian," and advertise this contest in middle schools. Also, promote an art contest on an Easter theme for children ages 1-4.

- At district meetings promote the latest Ukrainian movies that are available, including "Helm of Destiny."
- The UNA should consider sponsoring the Garden State Festival.
- Conduct and sponsor an oral history project for high school students.
- Work with the Ukrainian American Veterans organization to promote the registry of Ukrainian American veterans.

Canadian Committee:

- There is a need for a National Organizer in Canada.
- Look for secretaries and/or a sales force from within the latest immigration.
- At district meetings show movies, videos about the UNA fraternal activities including photos of Soyuzivka.

Financial Committee:

- Discussed the budget for 2005 and made specific recommendations.
- The mileage allowance was increased to 37.5 cents/mile effective November 2004, which complies with the Internal Revenue Code.
- A cost of living increase of 3 percent was approved for the three UNA executives effective 2005.

All committee reports and recommendations were approved.

The budget report for 2005 was accepted as given.

The date of the 36th UNA Convention was set as for May 24-28, 2006, at Soyuzivka.

There was much discussion as to how to attract the newest wave of immigrants into the UNA. This is the newest influx of Ukrainians – close to 400,000 since the late 1940s. There is hope that they will join the UNA's ranks and revitalize its membership. It was noted that the UNA has had some success with secretaries who are themselves new immigrants and that they have organized successful branches.

Also noted was that, to attract the younger population, UNA secretaries must be licensed in order to convince a more savvy consumer. The UNA must use a professional sales staff; selling UNA products the way it was done in the early 1940-50s is not going to work in this day of computers, PowerPoint presentations and the like.

Discussants pointed out that it is imperative that the UNA once again become the focus of the community and become more visible. It was noted that the executives are earnestly working towards this goal. To that end, there is a concerted effort of meeting with various communities, districts, churches and organizations.

To The Weekly Contributors:

We greatly appreciate the materials – feature articles, news stories, press clippings, letters to the editor, etc. – we receive from our readers. In order to facilitate preparation of The Ukrainian Weekly, we ask that the guidelines listed below be followed.

- ✦ News stories should be sent in **not later than 10 days** after the occurrence of a given event.
- ✦ All materials must be typed (or legibly hand-printed) and double-spaced.
- ✦ Photographs (originals only, **no photocopies or computer printouts**) submitted for publication must be accompanied by captions. Photos will be returned

only when so requested and accompanied by a stamped, addressed envelope.

- ✦ **Full names** (i.e., no initials) and their correct English spellings must be provided.
- ✦ Newspaper and magazine clippings must be accompanied by the name of the publication and the date of the edition.
- ✦ Information about upcoming events must be received one week before the date of The Weekly edition in which the information is to be published.
- ✦ Persons who submit any materials must **provide a daytime phone number** where they may be reached if any additional information is required.
- ✦ Unsolicited materials submitted for publication will be returned only when so requested and accompanied by a stamped, addressed envelope.

Australia's...

(Continued from page 3)

Rallies in Newcastle on Friday, December 10, saw a similar reaction and a December 13 rally over the Goodwill Games Bridge and meeting at The Domain in Brisbane saw slogans addressed to the Australian government such as "One is not enough."

The Canadian government is sending 500 observers as part of the team fielded by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe at a cost of \$3.5 million. The United States government and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany are each sending 100 observers. Norway, a country with a population of less than 5 million, with no Ukrainian community to speak of and no special ties to Ukraine, sent five observers to the election on November 21 and has promised to double that number for the poll on December 26.

In letters to Prime Minister Howard and Minister Downer, the AFUO is seeking meetings to discuss this matter.

The AFUO has also written to the Special Minister for State and the Electoral Commissioner requesting the Australian Electoral Commission consider sending a representation.

Currently 12 observers from the Ukrainian community in Australia have registered to travel to Ukraine. They are paying their own airfares and costs.

"Ukrainian-American..."

(Continued from page 5)

alist and cultural differences between the two immigrations proved the biggest challenge of the 1950s. In an obvious effort to assuage fears of assimilation, The Ukrainian Weekly printed an article titled "What is Assimilation?" that suggested that although all immigrant groups take on some aspects of American culture – clothes, food, work habits, etc. – group solidarity could be preserved. "Barring exceptions, then," the author wrote, "the universal tendency to identify oneself, at least historically, with some national group means that assimilation, on the individual side, is seldom achieved for generations."

The Ukrainian Weekly also wrote about the problems of integration the previous immigration had and how long it had taken for the older generation and the American-born younger generation to come to terms.

Highlights...

(Continued from page 5)

In his message, President Clinton wrote:

"Congratulations to the members of the Ukrainian National Association on the celebration of your 100th anniversary."

"One of the most rewarding of human experiences is the coming together of people to share common experiences and interests. For 100 years, the Ukrainian National Association has maintained and built upon the wonderful legacy of your founders. The strength of your organization today is a testament to the vision of your founders and to your commitment to your shared goals. Your activities are valuable complements to our own efforts to expand our bilateral relations with Ukraine.

"I congratulate you on your achievement, and I extend best wishes for many years of continuing success."

Source: Commemorative Journal of the 33rd Convention, Ukrainian National Association, Pittsburgh (1994). The border used for this special feature is reproduced from a UNA membership certificate dated 1942.

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Ukrainian endgame...

(Continued from page 2)

"My opponents are using a propagandistic stereotype [by referring to] the Kuchma-Yanukovich regime," he told journalists on December 6. In fact, Mr. Yanukovich revealed, as prime minister he was forced to make compromises with the presidency and "restrain his emotions" because, he added, he wanted to procure an "economic wonder" for all of Ukraine as he did in the Donetsk region while he was its governor.

Mr. Yanukovich also suggested that his two-year premiership represented a "new power" in Ukraine. "I can say openly that two types of state power have existed in our country for the last two years – old power and new power," he said on December 6. "So our citizens should make

their own conclusions as to whether Mr. Yanukovich is a candidate of the new power or the old power. I am sure that Mr. Yushchenko represents an attempt by the old power to seek revenge."

On December 9, Mr. Yanukovich distanced himself from the current authorities even further by charging that they are doing nothing to prevent what he sees as "persecution" of his supporters in Ukraine. "I am the candidate of 15 million [voters]," he said on the Ukraine television channel. "I am not campaigning as a candidate from the shameful authorities that have given up their position." According to Mr. Yanukovich, a part of the government has now sided with Mr. Yushchenko. "In fact, I have to fight today against a united group," he added.

A day later, Mr. Yanukovich took the biggest swing to date at his former political

allies and patrons. "We have no president in Ukraine," he told journalists in Donetsk. "If you see him, show me where he is. Where was he during this orange coup d'état?" And Mr. Yanukovich overtly accused the government and President Kuchma of betraying him. "I am very frustrated by the fact that I trusted those cowards and traitors with whom I've worked for two years. I was right when I said that I've worked for the past two years fighting not only to strengthen my position but also against these shameful authorities."

Mr. Yanukovich also came out with several memorable phrases about Ukrainian journalists and their role in the country. "Be free and value your rights, be such as you should be by your nature – free, honest and independent," the Mass Information Institute website (<http://www.imi.org.ua>) quoted him as saying last week. What is more, Mr. Yanukovich recalled the case of slain Internet journalist Heorhii Gongadze – about which he remained silent during his two years as prime minister in Kyiv – and promised to take the case "under his personal supervision in order to investigate this resonant crime."

In other words, Mr. Yanukovich has stepped onto the same path for which he previously scolded his presidential rival, Mr. Yushchenko; namely, he has become highly critical of the power system only after losing his clout in it. It seems to be a path followed by many other politicians elsewhere, but Mr. Yanukovich has a strong point here in highlighting the

ambiguous political behavior of "president-in-waiting" Mr. Yushchenko, who served as prime minister in 1999-2001 and worked together with the "shameful authorities" without paying much attention to either the situation of the Ukrainian media in general or the Gongadze case in particular.

Is Mr. Yanukovich's astounding transformation into an oppositionist genuine? There are few in Ukraine who believe so. Parliament Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn spoke for many when he opined on December 13 that Mr. Yanukovich's current anti-government rhetoric is just an element of campaign propaganda intended to mobilize some part of the anti-Kuchma electorate into taking his side. "I think [this rhetoric takes its origin] in the election logic that makes us distance ourselves from the power system and remain in it at the same time," Mr. Lytvyn said.

But for many voters in the east and south of Ukraine, Mr. Yanukovich's bitter words about official betrayal and cowardice sound convincing. Those who voted for Mr. Yanukovich on October 31 and November 21 see the Orange Revolution in Ukraine not only as the prime minister's personal defeat, but also as a grave national setback. For them the prevalence of the "poor rural west" over the "rich industrial east" of the country comes not as a triumph of democracy over authoritarianism but rather as personal humiliation and frustration. It is they who appear to be primarily targeted by Mr. Yanukovich in his brand-new role as an oppositionist.

Ukrainian Literature...

(Continued from page 15)

(1992-2000) in the *Ucrainica* abroad division. Mr. Pokalchuk is a graduate of the Leningrad State University (1965), with a doctoral degree in philology. A literary scholar, critic and translator, he often lectures at fora in universities abroad. As a writer, he is particularly known for his bohemian, often erotic, subjects.

• Valerii Shevchuk, writer, literary scholar, and historian, is one of Ukraine's best known and most prolific writers. Born in 1939 in Zhytomyr, he works and lives in Kyiv. Mr. Shevchuk received his degree in history from Kyiv University. Upon completion of his military service in the North Pole region, he began his writing career while working at the Kyiv Historical Museum. He has published a number of books of short stories, several collections of novellas, and a thematic collection of historical prose. Mr. Shevchuk has worked extensively as a scholar, especially in the area of the great works of early Ukrainian literature, particularly the Baroque period. Three of his historical short novels have recently been re-published in a volume titled "More" (Lviv: Piramida, 2004).

Also published in the new journal are selections from the classics of Ukrainian literature, including poems of Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), the bard of Ukrainian literature; and Pavlo Tychyna (1891-1967), among the most celebrated writers in Soviet Ukraine; as well as writers who were active participants in the post-1917 renaissance of Ukrainian culture, who either lived outside of Ukraine or were politically repressed: Spyrydon Cherkasenko (1876-1940), Borys Antonenko-Davydovych (1899-1984) and Leonid Mosendz (1897-1948).

Featured translators in the inaugural issue are Olha Rudakevych, Ms. Pasicznyk Prof. Naydan, Anatole Bilenko, Svitlana Kobets, Mark Andryczyk with Yaryna Yakubyak, Taras Koznarsky with Marta Baziuk, Marta D. Olynyk and Maria Kachmar.

The idea of the journal originated with Marta Tarnawsky, librarian at the University of Pennsylvania Law School and chair, NTSh publications committee, who secured NTSh financial support for the project. Ms. Tarnawsky is author of "Ukrainian Literature in English, 1980-1989: An Annotated Bibliography," CIUS Press (1999). The inaugural issue includes the bibliographic compilation titled: "Ukrainian Literature in English: A Selected Bibliography of Translations. 2000-."

Commenting on the history of translations of Ukrainian literature into English, Prof. Maxim Tarnawsky, notes the following in the introduction to the journal:

"Aside from a few works by some of

Ukraine's classic authors, before the mid-20th century hardly any Ukrainian literature appeared in English. Then the Cold War and the presence of a generation of Ukrainian refugees in North America created circumstances in which translating literature was part of an effort to promote Ukrainian identity.

"In Soviet Ukraine, translators presented politically correct versions of ideologically compliant works, mostly by classic authors and usually with an ethnographic focus.

"Outside Ukraine, literary translation was largely a labor of love for a number of dedicated individuals, among them Mary Skrypnyk, Marco Carynnyk and the late George S.N. Luckyj, to name a few of the most productive.

"Here too, the selection of works was somewhat eclectic, with a strong leaning toward the classics, particularly works whose authors were ignored in Soviet Ukraine."

Prof. Tarnawsky asserts that "Institutional involvement was minimal. The two major centers of Ukrainian scholarship in North America, at Harvard University and at the University of Alberta, showed little interest in translating literature. Until recently, there were hardly any translation projects that originated outside the Ukrainian community or individual Ukrainians."

He goes on to note that "Ironically, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of an independent Ukraine was not a fortuitous development for Ukrainian literature in English translation. Soviet institutions that supported literary translations were not replaced by equivalents in Ukraine.

"In North America, the model of Ukrainian ethnic identity subtly changed from that of a diaspora, a refugee community with a shared cultural heritage in need of protection, to that of an expatriate fraternity with political, economic, social and family ties to the motherland. In the earlier model, culture was a central component of the community's active concerns. In the latter model, culture is a product of the motherland that émigrés receive passively. Many Ukrainians in North America see themselves as conduits of Western culture to Ukraine rather than the reverse."

Prof. Tarnawsky concludes by saying that in this context, "the establishment of a forum for translations of Ukrainian literature into English is an important development reversing the pattern of neglect."

Printed copies of the first issue, *Ukrainian Literature*. Volume 1, 2004, (262 pp.), are available at \$20 per copy from the publisher: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 63 Fourth Ave., New York, NY 10003-5200.

The full contents of the first issue may be found on the Internet at the following two addresses: www.shevchenko.org/Ukr_Lit and www.UkrainianLiterature.org.

TO ALL MEMBERS OF UNA BRANCH 170

Please be advised that Branch 170 has merged with Branch 155 as of December 1, 2004. All inquiries and requests for changes should be sent to Mr. Yaroslav Zaviysky.

Mr. Yaroslav Zaviysky
11 Brandley Road
Clark, NJ 07066-3203
(732) 827-8642



OLGA MALACHOWSKA

Born June 9, 1917, in Ukraine

Beloved mother of George Malachowsky and Halyna Malachowsky. Mrs. Olga Malachowska passed away on Saturday, December 11, 2004. She was pre-deceased by her husband, Kuzma. She was a member of the Ukrainian Women's League and a retiree of General Railway Signals.

Divine Liturgy will be celebrated at St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Church, with burial in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery in Rochester, N.Y.

For those who wish to express their sympathy, memorials may be directed to the Ukrainian Cathedral in Kyiv.

DEATH ANNOUNCEMENTS


to be published in *The Ukrainian Weekly* – in the Ukrainian or English language – are accepted by mail, courier, fax, phone or e-mail.

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We joyously...

(Continued from page 6)

holy mysteries with fervor. My prayer for you and for all within our Ukrainian Catholic Church for this Christmas and for the New Year is that we live and pray our faith with much greater fervor. Allow the Christ within us and among us to transform you into the living fountain of goodness, generosity and kindness which you are called to be. As you meditate on the infant Jesus in the manger and on the many ways God continues to nourish you in Christ, resolve to be His instrument of nourishment and care for others. Allow Him to multiply your gifts in response to the needs of others. Your response will be no less dramatic than that of the disciples. You will find yourself joyously following Jesus in the affairs of your day-to-day life. It can only be contagious to others and contribute to the building up of His holy Church, for "God is with us!"

We have also witnessed in the past month the contagious enthusiasm of those who have stood for democratic ideals in Ukraine. People all over the world reflected daily on the crisis in Ukraine, given the tremendous media attention given to the peaceful protests of Ukrainians in Kyiv and other major cities of Ukraine. A sense of unity became apparent among Ukrainians of different generations, different faiths and different political beliefs. God is surely with these people as they stand against continued oppression and corruption of the country and its people. This same unity has

developed among Ukrainians throughout the world, breaking down the existing barriers between successive generations of immigrants to the U.S.A. and other countries. We pray that this sense of one family as Ukrainians, journeying together in Ukraine and throughout the world, will persevere and grow amidst us. Let us all pray for peace for the people of our beloved Ukraine, and for true and fair elections of its new president.


This same sense of contagious unity was apparent amidst the bishops and clergy of our four eparchies, when we gathered in Washington, D.C., with our Patriarch Lubomyr Cardinal Husar for the solemn blessing and rededication of St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Seminary. God was surely amidst us as we renewed our sense of hope and vision for our Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S.A. Let us pray for vocations. Let each of us encourage young men and women from amidst us to respond to God's call to serve Him as His priest or religious sister. God loves our Church, and inspires young men and women to serve. They need our words of invitation, encouragement and support. God is with us! Let us build up His holy Church!

Know that you have a special place in my heart and in my prayers offered at this holy time and always. On this Feast of Christ's birth, our apostolic blessing is humbly conferred upon all the clergy, religious and faithful.

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Filmmaker works on feature about the trafficking of women



Larysa Kondracki

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – A feature film on the subject of the trafficking of women for sex is in development with actual production to begin in a year. The initiator and director of the film – tentatively titled “The Whistleblower” – is 28-year-old Larysa Kondracki who, together with screenwriter Eilis Kirwan, has just completed a fact-finding trip to Kyiv, Kosovo, Vienna and Amsterdam. The third partner in the project and creative producer is Christina Pioesasan, a Canadian based in Los Angeles working with the company First Generation Films.

Ms. Kondracki, who is currently completing her master of fine arts degree in film at Columbia University, was recently in Toronto. Asked how the idea of making a feature film on the subject of

trafficking originated, she related: “A year ago I had just finished making a short film and was looking for a story, a contemporary topic to develop. The issue of trafficking was being discussed and I read Victor Malarek’s book ‘The Natashas: The New Global Sex Trade.’”

I was particularly struck by the story of Kathryn Bolkovac – a single 39-year-old mother of three from Nebraska, one of 2,100 police officers who served with the International Police Task Force in Bosnia. The fact that there is a lot of information on a topic is not enough to make a film – you need a character to follow and, to my mind, Kathryn could be a wonderful central character in a film. I contacted her in Holland and she agreed to cooperate,” Ms. Kondracki explained.

“The fact that it was a Canadian – Victor Malarek – who had written a book about the issue of trafficking showed me that it was not something that was just happening over there. His book made the issue specific and accessible,” she added.

The International Police Task Force (IPTF) was created in 1998 in Bosnia to help restore law and order after the war and train police officers. Ms. Bolkovac’s placement was arranged by DynCorp Inc., which hires American police officers on behalf of the U.S. government to serve in United Nations missions around the world. (Of all the countries participating in international peacekeeping missions, only the U.S. outsources – i.e., contracts to private companies – the personnel it sends to serve in them. European countries send their military.)

Asked to run the IPTF’s Gender Office, which dealt with investigations into sexual assault, domestic abuse and sex trafficking, Ms. Bolkovac was swamped with trafficking cases and soon

realized that peacekeepers, U.N. workers and international police not only frequented the brothels from which the trafficking cases came and aided and abetted “sexual slavery,” but, actually facilitated it – they forged documents, aided the illegal transport of women into Bosnia and tipped off bar owners about impending raids.

When her immediate superiors ignored

her warnings, in October 2000 Ms. Bolkovac sent e-mail about her concerns to people in senior positions, including the U.N. secretary-general’s special representative in Bosnia. Within days Ms. Bolkovac was removed from front-line policing, and less than a year later she was fired.

(Continued on page 42)



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Filmmaker works...

(Continued from page 41)

Upon leaving Bosnia, Ms. Bolkovac filed a wrongful dismissal suit against DynCorp and, although two years later she won her case, no international organization will hire her. In spite of her valuable experience and using programs she has developed, the volunteer agencies working with trafficking are afraid that if they hire her they will lose their funding.

Ms. Kondracki commented, "This is an issue-driven story and the issue of trafficking is very broad – the problem was focusing it. One should choose a very concentrated story that includes and represents as much as possible. In Kathryn's story we found our focus."

Interwoven with the story of Ms. Bolkovac the whistleblower will be a second story about two Ukrainian girls who, because they believed someone they trusted, are duped into working in the brothels of the Balkans. With their disappearance the family of one of the girls begins a search for her – her mother goes to a small agency in Kyiv for help in finding her daughter. The film will follow the moth-

er's attempts to find the girl and show the creative ways small grassroots agencies work in rescuing women from trafficking.

Ms. Kondracki said she believes that it is unfortunate that such agencies are now losing funding as across Europe sex trafficking has become one of the key words for international aid grants. Many organizations that are getting on the bandwagon have never dealt with women's or migrant issues but have experience in leveraging grant funds. Hence scarce funds, instead of being used to build shelters where they are needed, are being used to organize conferences.

I asked Ms. Kondracki why she chose the feature film format rather than doing a documentary on trafficking. First of all, Ms. Kondracki answered, she is not schooled in the making of documentaries, but, more importantly, a feature film has a larger potential audience than a documentary. "I want to show people what is happening and at the same time make a good movie. We will market this film as a political thriller," she said.

What is current status of the project? Ms. Kondracki and Ms. Kirwan have just completed their own research into issue: they went to Holland to talk to Ms. Bolkovac; to England and Scotland and talked to people who had worked with Ms. Bolkovac; to Vienna to talk to the task force of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and other international agencies. They learned that trafficking and migration issues can't be separated; for example, people are fleeing countries such as Ukraine and Moldova while the traffickers have networks all over. They went to Bosnia and Ukraine, where they contacted small NGOs, larger organizations and volunteers who had worked with trafficked women.

From volunteers, they elicited many opinions about the issue of trafficking. One point of view is that the women who get involved in trafficking know what is going on but believe that it's worth taking that risk." Other volunteers say that the women don't really know that they are being duped. Although this occasionally does occur, it is not usually a case of innocent girls snatched from orphanages, but is largely tied to women and girls looking for opportunities. The first step is usually not criminal.

This research trip was partly made possible by the sponsorship and support of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations and private donations from the Ukrainian community in Toronto.

Ms. Kondracki outlined the time line for the film: she and Ms. Kirwan are currently in Dublin co-writing a new draft of the script and the final script is to be ready in February 2005, when both she and Ms. Kirwan will leave Ireland and relocate to Los Angeles. Casting and pre-production are to be done by September 2005 with shooting to start in October-November 2005. There will definitely be on location shooting in Kyiv and Bosnia, but where the film will actually be made will depend on how the funding is resolved – the budget for the film is estimated at between \$8 million and \$9 million.

Shevchenko Society...

(Continued from page 15)

inherent difficulties. She provided examples by reading excerpts from her English translations and their Ukrainian originals.

Translators Mark Andryczyk, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Toronto, and Yaryna Yakubiyak – a husband-and-wife duo – read excerpts from their joint translations, as well as the Ukrainian originals.

Anatole Bilenko, a translator from Kyiv and a member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, related his life's experiences in this field.

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Senate unanimously...

(Continued from page 3)

also echoed by Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, an observer to the run-off election designated by President George W. Bush;

Whereas since November 22, 2004, tens of thousands of people have engaged in peaceful demonstrations in Kiev [sic], Ukraine, to protest the declaration by the Central Election Commission of Mr. Yanukovych as the winner of the run-off election;

Whereas anti-government protests in support of opposition candidate Mr. Yushchenko took place in cities throughout Ukraine, and several city councils adopted resolutions that declared Mr. Yushchenko as the legally elected president;

Whereas on November 23, 2004, opposition candidate Mr. Yushchenko declared victory in the run-off election;

Whereas the United States has called for a complete and immediate investigation into the conduct of the run-off election to examine fully the reports of fraud and corruption;

Whereas the European Union has also stated that authorities in Ukraine must redress election irregularities and that the reported results do not reflect the will of the people of Ukraine;

Whereas the Ukrainian Supreme Court blocked the publication of the official run-off election results stating that Mr. Yanukovych was the winner, thus preventing his inauguration as president of Ukraine until the court examined the reports of voter fraud;

Whereas on November 27, 2004, the Parliament of Ukraine passed a resolution declaring that there were violations of law during the run-off election but on

November 30, 2004, with support from pro-government and communist parties, canceled the resolution;

Whereas 15 eastern and southern regions in Ukraine that supported the candidacy of Mr. Yanukovych threatened to split off from the country if an illegitimate president were to come to power;

Whereas on December 1, 2004, the Parliament of Ukraine passed a no confidence motion in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Yanukovych as approximately 100,000 supporters of Mr. Yushchenko demonstrated in front of the Parliament building;

Whereas Mr. Yanukovych and Mr. Yushchenko, along with European mediators and current Ukraine President Leonid Kuchma, began discussions on December 1, 2004, to attempt to work out a resolution to the standoff;

Whereas on December 3, 2004, the Ukrainian Supreme Court ruled that the November 21, 2004, run-off election was invalid and ordered a new vote on December 26, 2004;

Whereas on December 8, 2004, the Parliament of Ukraine passed electoral changes to reform the Central Election Commission and close loopholes for fraud, as well as constitutional changes to reduce the power of the president of Ukraine; and

Whereas the manner in which this crisis is resolved will have significant implications for the perceptions of the democratic institutions of Ukraine by the international community: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, that the Senate –

(1) condemns the widespread fraud in the November 21, 2004, run-off presidential election in Ukraine; and

(2) supports a peaceful political and legal settlement in Ukraine that is based on the principles of democracy and reflects the will of the people of Ukraine.

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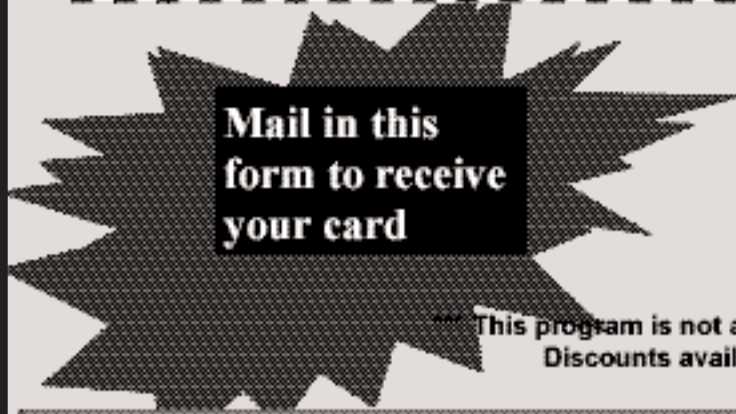


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ELECTION WATCH

(Continued from page 3)

try's sovereignty, territorial integrity, laws and Constitution, RIA-Novosti reported. Russia and NATO adopted a joint resolution calling for "free and fair elections in Ukraine that reflect the will of the Ukrainian people," AFP reported. NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer said "this is a major breakthrough" in defusing tensions between NATO members and Moscow. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell also said: "I'm pleased that Russia has joined with NATO [in agreeing] the statement today," AFP reported. Speaking to journalists after the Russia-NATO meeting, Mr. Lavrov said that "geopolitically, Ukraine can be with neither the West nor with the East. It lies in Europe and has borders both with NATO, the European Union and the CIS, including Russia," RIA-Novosti reported. "And it is both wrong and unfair to push [Ukraine] into making a choice in favor of either side," he added. Mr. Lavrov also said that Ukraine should define its foreign-policy preferences on its own. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Moroz suggested for prime minister

KYIV – Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz, who threw his support behind Viktor Yushchenko's presidential bid after the first election round on October 31, said on the opposition Channel 5 on December 9 that Mr. Yushchenko has suggested that he head a "government of national trust" following a non-binding parliamentary vote of no-confidence in Viktor Yanukovich's Cabinet on December 1. Mr. Moroz said that he could agree to chair a new Cabinet if President Leonid Kuchma heeded the parliamentary advice and dismissed Mr. Yanukovich's government. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Polish cardinal supports democracy

WARSAW – Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Roman Catholic primate of Poland, analyzing the situation in Ukraine, said that the country will never again be like it was. The cardinal expressed his admiration for Ukrainians' desire to have a democratic state and also for their persistence and wish to resolve the conflict without bloodshed. Ukraine's Catholic Media Center posted the news on December 3. "This is very wise and serious behavior, and with such an approach we can expect good things," said Cardinal Glemp. He called for prayer so that changes in Ukraine would happen without violence and so that democracy, which takes into account the needs of believing people, would reign in the country. December 5 was designated in Poland as a day of prayer for the Church in the East, and this year in a special way the intentions were peace, wisdom for leaders, and patience and endurance for the people of Ukraine. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Chief rabbi calls for peace and accord

KYIV – Azriel Chaikin, chief rabbi of Ukraine of the Lubavitch Chabad movement, called his fellow citizens to maintain peace in the country and not to allow it to split. "Today the whole world is looking closely at us. Will the multi-national Ukrainian people be able to overcome the crisis and to maintain accord?" So wrote the rabbi in a recent statement, posted on the portal.credo.ru on December 6. Rabbi Chaikin directed his statement not only to Jews living in Ukraine but to all other communities of the country. He recalled that "even if people have different political or religious views, there is much that unites us, and what unites is much more important than whatever differences there are

among us. ... Together we want a better life for ourselves and our children. We want to see our parents happy. We want ourselves, our children and our grandchildren to live in a flourishing country without violence and intolerance," reads the statement. Addressing political leaders, Rabbi Chaikin called them to "show courage and responsibility in every decision and in every word. ... The fate of Ukraine is in your hands, and may the Almighty bless you in making correct, well-considered decisions for the good of a single, independent and flourishing Ukraine." (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

UOC-MP urges support of Yanukovich

LUHANSK – At a meeting held in the Luhansk region on December 5, various organizations connected with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church–Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP) approved an appeal calling on local residents to vote for candidate Viktor Yanukovich in the December 26 election and to approve the transfer of Ukraine's government to a federative system. UOC-MP clergy participated in the meeting, and in the moleben (prayer service) that preceded it. In the Church of St. Panteleimon in the city of Stakhanov, (Luhansk region) a moleben to the Mother of God was offered "for the separation of holy Orthodoxy in

Ukraine from its enemies." After the moleben, a joint meeting of the Donbas (Luhansk and Donetsk regions) branch of the Union of Orthodox Brotherhoods of Ukraine, the Slavic Party, the Russian community of the Luhansk region, the Russian Movement of Ukraine and the Union of Don Cossacks was held in one of the town's high schools to discuss the extraordinary situation in Ukraine today. Oleksander Bazyluk, a member of the Central Council of the Union of Orthodox Brotherhoods, head of the Slavic Party, and former candidate for president of Ukraine, led the meeting. The meeting approved an appeal to the residents of the Luhansk region with a call to vote on December 26 for Viktor Yanukovich and also to support the decisions of various local councils on changing Ukraine to a federative form of government. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Gryzlov: Yanukovich can save Ukraine

ALMATY – Speaking to journalists on December 8 in Kazakstan, Russian Duma Chairman Boris Gryzlov said that only the victory of the pro-Moscow presidential candidate and Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich can save the country from disintegration, mosnews.com reported. Mr. Gryzlov, who was a Russian mediator and President Vladimir Putin's envoy during the

recent political crisis in Ukraine, said, "Only the victory of the pro-Russian candidate [Yanukovich] ... can save the country from collapse." (RFE/RL Newswire)

New CEC picks chairman

KYIV – Ukraine's newly formed Central Election Commission (CEC) elected Yaroslav Davydovych chairman on December 8, Interfax reported. Mr. Davydovych was among the three members of the previous commission who did not sign its protocol of November 24 declaring Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich the winner of the flawed November 21 presidential run-off. The two other dissenters were Ruslan Kniazevych and Andrii Mahera, who also serve on the new commission. (RFE/RL Newswire)

PM sees "creeping coup d'état"

KYIV – "There is a creeping coup d'état in the country," Prime Minister and presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich told voters in his native region of Donbas on December 8, according to Interfax. "The presidential candidate who won the second round has actually been left without his representatives on the [Central Election Commission]." (RFE/RL Newswire)

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Poland plays...

(Continued from page 2)

tant interference in Ukraine's elections.

The best way to keep a neo-imperial Russia at a distance is by having a friendly neighbor – Ukraine – standing between Poland and Russia. "A democratic and independent Ukraine is perceived in Poland as a guarantee against imperial tendencies from Russia," Public Affairs Institute Ukraine expert Tadeusz Falkowski commented (AP, November 25).

Poland has been Ukraine's main lobbyist within the EU and NATO, often with strong backing from the United States. Although Mr. Kwasniewski has attempted to play an impartial role by insisting only that Ukraine's presidential elections be "free and fair," such a demand, most observers understand, would benefit the opposition. The third round of the elections scheduled for December 26 should be the freest round yet and, therefore, more likely to lead to a victory for opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko.

The Polish Sejm passed an appeal to the Ukrainian Parliament to undertake everything it could to "make the truth, freedom and democracy win" (PAP, November 25). "We are convinced that Ukrainian citizens want to live in an independent and democratic state that is governed in an honest way. And such a Ukraine is needed by Europe and the entire world," the appeal stressed. "We have the feeling of sharing a common destiny with Ukrainians," declared center-right Civic Platform parliamentarian Bronislaw Komorowski (AFP, December 7).

During discussion of the Sejm's resolution on Ukraine, legislators wore

orange ties and ribbons, a reflection of their allegiance in Ukraine's political crisis. Demonstrators in Warsaw and other Polish cities have supported Mr. Yushchenko. Four days after Ukraine's November 21 run-off, Warsaw's city government passed a resolution symbolically recognizing Mr. Yushchenko as Ukraine's elected president, which Mr. Komorowski explained was "to express solidarity with Ukraine" (Ukrainian News Agency, November 25).

Poland's ruling elites are sympathetic toward Ukraine's Orange Revolution because they see echoes of their own Communist-era opposition movement, Solidarity. In 1989 Solidarity activists attended the inaugural congress of the Ukrainian Popular Movement (Rukh) in Kyiv – a movement that eventually spawned Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine.

Solidarity's original leader and former president, Lech Walesa, was one of the first foreign dignitaries to visit Ukraine and meet Mr. Yushchenko in the first week of the Orange Revolution. Demonstrators on Independence Square greeted Walesa with cries of "Polscha! Polscha!" (The Times, November 27). One Polish university student said, "Ukraine needs a Walesa. Maybe Yushchenko will be the new Walesa" (Los Angeles Times, November 30). The main Solidarity monument in Gdansk, Poland, has been draped with an orange-colored shawl for the last three weeks.

Former Czech President Vaclav Havel, who came to power on the wave of his own popular Velvet Revolution, sent two messages of support to the demonstrators. Czechs, who traditionally lumped Ukrainians with Russians as lying outside Europe, have now changed their views. Thanks to the Orange Revolution, EU members now see Ukrainians as fellow Europeans.

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Clifton parish hosts benefit for Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund

WAYNE, N.J. – The Holy Ascension Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Clifton, N.J., hosted its fourth annual gala banquet to benefit the joint campaign of Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund and the Ukrainian Orthodox Ministries to aid destitute orphanages in Ukraine on Sunday, October 23.

The charity event took place at The Grand Chalet; it featured the theme of "New York, New York" and included a silent auction, door prizes and raffles as well as a sit-down dinner.

Among the guests of honor were Olympic and World skating champion Viktor Petrenko, his wife, Nina, and daughter, Viktoria, who received a warm welcome and mingled freely with many of the guests. Before and after the dinner, parishioners danced to popular show tunes and jazz standards performed by the Anthony St. James Orchestra which has performed at many historic functions in the Metropolitan New York area, including the reopening of the Statue of Liberty following the 9/11 tragedy. Speaking on behalf of the orchestra, lead singer Bonnie Goodman expressed the sentiments of many, saying "It's been an honor to participate in such a worthy cause."

The program co-chairman, Richard Jendras, welcomed the guests and thanked all the sponsors who donated gifts and cash contributions to help orphans in Ukraine.

During his benediction, Hieromonk Daniel Zelinsky, pastor of Holy Ascension Ukrainian Orthodox Church spoke of the importance of the orphanage campaign that has helped to improve living conditions at the Zaluchia Children's Home in the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast and the Znamianka Orphanage in the

Kirovohrad Oblast.

"As Christians, we have a duty to help our fellow man, and especially the least of our brethren. No one could be more deserving of this aid than these innocent children who have suffered the effects of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster." Father Daniel told the audience that he was himself a survivor of Chernobyl, having marched in the May Day parades in 1986 when radioactive fallout reached very dangerous levels. "Today, these children are suffering from terrible birth defects because of their parents' nuclear exposure."

Nadine Drost, the co-organizer of the October 23 function expressed thanks to Jennie Arson, Marian Jendras, Barbara Leshchyshyn and all the members of the Senior UOL who made generous donations for the gala. Roxana Hajda and Marko Hajda of Rutherford, N.J., served as MCs for the silent auction and raffle. The grand prize was a high-definition television set. A special feature of this year's gala was the distribution of "Orphan Teddy Bears" symbolizing the 120 children living at the Zaluchia Orphanage now adopted by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Since 2001 the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund, with the help of donors and volunteers from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, has made key capital improvements to both orphanages. CCRF has provided laundry machines and dryers, new mattresses and cleaning agents, wheelchairs and walkers, winter clothing and medical supplies. The fund has also replaced the floors and roof at the Zaluchia facility to help bring it up to a more livable standard.

"You have made a real difference in these children's lives," said Alexander

Kuzma, executive director of CCRF. Mr. Kuzma praised the work of young Orthodox missionaries who have visited each orphanage over the past two summers, providing physical therapy, arts programs and humanitarian assistance to the disabled children.

According to Ms. Drost, the evening raised over \$4,500 for the orphanage campaign. "We're definitely planning to

repeat this fund-raiser next year."

For more information, or to make a tax-deductible contribution, please contact the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund, 272 Old Short Hills Road, Short Hills, NJ 07078, or call (973) 376-5140; or contact the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (USA) at P.O. Box 495, South Bound Brook, NJ 08880 (732) 356-0090.

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Soyuzivka's Datebook

- December 23, 2004**
Jeremiah Flaherty Law Office
Christmas Party
Dinner, 6 p.m., \$25 per person
Overnight Packages Available
- December 24, 2004**
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas
Eve Dinner, 6 p.m., \$25 per person,
Overnight Packages Available
- December 31, 2004**
New Year's Eve Celebration and
Zabava with Fata Morgana
- January 1, 2005**
New Year's Day Brunch, 10 a.m.-
1 p.m., \$14 per person
- January 6, 2005**
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve
- January 8, 2005**
UNA Employee Christmas Party
- February 4-6, 2005**
Church of Annunciation Family
Weekend, Flushing N.Y.
- February 11-13, 2005**
Valentine's Day Weekend
- February 19-20, 2005**
Family Winter Weekend and Ski Trip
- March 5-6, 2005**
Plast Kurin "Khmelnychenky"
Annual Winter Rada



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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Friday, December 31

BALTIMORE: A New Year's Eve "zabava," with music by Novyi Shliakh, will be held at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church Hall, 2401 Eastern Ave., starting at 9 p.m. Admission price (includes buffet): \$35 per person; \$20, students and senior citizens. For table reservations and additional information contact Oksana Palijczuk, (410) 828-6922, or Slavko Smetaniouk, (410) 426-7883.

PALOS PARK, Ill.: The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary Parish is holding a New Year's "zabava" at the parish hall, 8530 W. 131st St.; cocktails, 7-8 p.m.; buffet, 8-9 p.m.; to be followed by dancing at 9 p.m.-1 a.m. Open bar: 6:30-7:30 p.m. and 9 p.m.-12:30 a.m. Tickets: single tickets, \$40; couples, \$70; senior citizens, age 62 and up, \$20; children, age 10-21, \$10; children age 9 or younger, free. Tickets for dance and cocktails only: \$25 per person; \$45 per couple. For tickets and additional information call (773) 586-9871 or (708) 361-8876. Last day for tickets and table reservations is December 27.

ONGOING

CHICAGO: "Juventus 2004" – the second annual international juried student art competition sponsored by the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art (UIMA) – opened with a reception on December 17 at the UIMA, 2320 W. Chicago Ave. The show features works by 10 students and recent graduates, selected by a jury that includes Natalia Domchenko, Nicholas Sawicki, Youlia Tkatchouk, Hamza Walker and Dan S. Wang. The exhibit will be on view through January 19, 2005. For additional informa-

tion call UIMA, (773) 227-5522, or visit the UIMA website at www.uima-art.org.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Sunday, January 2, 2005

NEW YORK: The Verkhovynky Plast sorority invites the public to a Christmas Bazaar, to be held at the Self-Reliance Association, 98 Second Ave., (between Fifth and Sixth streets), at 10 a.m. - 2 p.m. The bazaar will offer home-baked holiday goods (including kolachi, honey cakes, Christmas cookies and more), canapés, kutia, poppy seeds, as well as Christmas ornaments, cards, children's books and gift items. There will also be a raffle for a basket of cheer. For additional information call (732) 225-6865.

Saturday, January 22, 2005

CARTERET, N.J.: St. Demetrius Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church are co-sponsoring a New Year's Eve dance or, Malanka, which will be held at the St. Demetrius Community Center, 681 Roosevelt Ave. Music will be by Fata Morgana. Tickets, at \$40, include admission, choice of sirloin beef or stuffed capon dinner, beer, wine, soda, midnight hors d'oeuvres and a champagne toast. There will also be a cash bar. St. Demetrius Center is located just blocks off of Exit 12, N.J. Turnpike. There is a Holiday Inn right off the exit for accommodations. Doors will open at 6 p.m.; dinner will be served at 7 p.m., with music starting at 8 p.m. For table and ticket reservations call Peter Prociuk, (732) 541-5452. Tickets will not be sold at the door. Deadline for ticket sales is January 15, 2005.

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.

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