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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Yanukovich resigns as PM, continues to appeal election

by Andrew Nynka
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, speaking five days after the conclusion of a long, contentious campaign for the Ukrainian presidency, announced he was resigning from his government post, but maintained defiantly that he had not lost the presidential race and said he would continue his legal fight for the nation's top seat.

"There is no sense in my holding the post of prime minister. I have made a decision and I am formally submitting my resignation. In the current conditions I find it impossible to occupy any post in a government headed by these authorities," Mr. Yanukovich said in an address televised throughout the country on New Year's Eve.

President Leonid Kuchma accepted Mr. Yanukovich's resignation five days later, the presidential press service reported on January 5, announcing that Mr. Kuchma has appointed Mykola Azarov as the interim prime minister. Mr. Azarov, who had been the first vice-prime minister and finance minister under Mr. Yanukovich, has been performing the duties of prime minister since Mr. Yanukovich announced his resignation.

Earlier, the Ukrainian Parliament approved a resolution that expressed no confidence in Mr. Yanukovich and his Cabinet. But Mr. Yanukovich refused to recognize the December 1, 2004, vote by the Verkhovna Rada and said he would not resign out of principle.

As he announced his resignation on December 31, however, Mr. Yanukovich, who served as prime minister under President Kuchma for two years, said he would not be chased from politics.

"I will remain in politics as an independent politician and a winner in the legitimate elections of November 21. My team and I will act using only legal methods both on the political level and on the level of direct civil action," said a somber looking Mr. Yanukovich, sitting behind a large wooden office desk.

"As far as the election results, we are keeping up the fight, but I don't have much hope for a fair decision from the Central Election Commission and the Supreme Court," he said.

During his New Year's Eve address to the nation, which was carried by only two major television stations (other stations carried President-elect Viktor Yushchenko's appearance with Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili), Mr. Kuchma called on the nation to "accept this democratic choice" made in the presidential poll of December 26, apparently alluding to Mr. Yushchenko.

But in the face of dwindling support —

(Continued on page 14)

Yushchenko discusses priorities of his administration

by Andrew Nynka
Kyiv Press Bureau

Kyiv — Ukrainian President-elect Viktor Yushchenko announced that his first priority after the inauguration will be to form a government with a new prime minister at its head and noted that guiding Ukraine toward membership in European institutions would be a major focus.

"Society should see new faces. This is a basic rule. Especially in this case, when top positions are at stake," Mr. Yushchenko said during a 50-minute interview with the Channel 5 television station.

Many of Mr. Yushchenko's comments to the press since the December 26 election have focused on describing his administration's first 100 days in office and the policies on which he will focus during that time.

Talks have begun with allies about forming a new government and a quarter of the government posts would go to the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc, Mr. Yushchenko said on December 29.

"The Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc will have a 25 percent share in forming ministries, agencies, committees and heads of regional administrations," Mr. Yushchenko said, adding that he would nominate Ms. Tymoshenko for the post of prime minister.

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AP/Efrem Lukatsky

Ukraine's President-elect Viktor Yushchenko and visiting Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili greet the crowd on Independence Square on the occasion of the New Year celebration on January 1.

Diaspora participation makes election monitoring mission unique

by Marta Kolomayets
Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV — More than 12,500 international observers converged upon Ukraine for the December 26 repeat run-off of the presidential election, setting world records for the size of an official foreign observer mission, whose monitors represented close to 50 countries from the global community.

"This has never happened in history before — ever," remarked Jack McDonald, a former congressman from Michigan, who traveled to Ukraine's eastern oblasts with the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation to ensure that the election was free and fair in that contested region.

But what made this mission unique is the fact that some 2,000 observers were the sons and daughters of Ukraine, members of the diaspora community which, through scores of years, fate had scattered throughout the world. First-, second-, third- and even fourth-generation Ukrainians from the United States, Canada, Australia, Belgium, England, France, Germany, Italy, Poland and Romania (among other countries), ranging in age from 18 to 80, came to witness history being made in their ancestral homeland, to serve as guardians of democracy at this critical time.

"The delegation from the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America was the largest delegation registered by the

Central Election Commission, numbering 2,408 monitors," noted Tamara Gallo-Olexy, the executive director of the UCCA office in New York.

"And about 40 percent of those we had registered had been observers before, so they understood the process and came to Ukraine to make their contribution to democracy in this country," she added.

Perhaps there were more seasoned observers in the delegations representing such organizations as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the International Republican Institute (IRI), the National Democratic Institute (NDI) or the European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations (ENEMO), but there were none as committed to this assignment as members of the Ukrainian diaspora, noted Viktor Hubska, the director of the UCCA's office in Kyiv.

"They are some of the unsung heroes of this Orange Revolution, joining their Ukrainian brothers and sisters on the maidan [Independence Square] after the December 26 vote," said Ms. Hubska, who has been registering observers with the CEC since early August.

Unlike observers from international organizations, who had their airfare, accommodations, meals and per diem footed by the sponsoring organization, the observers accredited by the UCCA paid their own

way and were responsible for making their own arrangements for travel and accommodations in Ukraine. To be sure, the UCCA helped out with logistics as much as possible, including negotiating with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for free visas to travelers going to Ukraine who have been accredited by the CEC as observers. But, operating on a shoestring budget made it difficult to offer substantial financial assistance.

"They came on their own initiative and with boundless enthusiasm and idealism, ready to roll up their sleeves and do the best job they could offer Ukraine," said Ms. Gallo-Olexy.

"They took this challenge seriously, attending observer trainings in the United States and/or Canada, and attending briefings in Kyiv, before being deployed to 17 different oblasts," said Michael Sawkiw, the president of the UCCA, based in Washington, during the group's debriefing on December 28.

"And they were very effective as observers, because many knew the language, many bonded with their countrymen, and many showed our Ukrainians that they are important in the world and the world is watching them," said Ms. Hubska, who has worked with the CEC on elections since 1994.

"It was, honestly, the first time in my

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ANALYSIS

The EU's response to turmoil in Ukraineby **Kataryna Wolczuk
and Roman Wolczuk**

As Ukraine became embroiled in the Orange Revolution, the European Union once again denied the prospect of EU membership to Ukraine.

This is hardly surprising. Since outgoing President Leonid Kuchma first proclaimed his desire for EU membership for Ukraine in 1996, the EU has shown little inclination to examine this ambition in a favorable light. On the contrary, the institution rebuffed any initiatives on the part of Kyiv that might have helped turn this ambition into a reality. As a result, Ukraine's desire to "return to Europe" took on a hollow ring, and the authorities were able to reject the need for political and economic reforms (as insisted on by the EU) on the grounds that "nobody wants us in Europe."

This somewhat dismissive stance of Europe undoubtedly emboldened Ukraine's authorities to falsify the November presidential election results to the extent that they did.

The history of relations between Ukraine and the European Union is instructive. Although Ukraine has continuously failed to introduce much of the necessary political and economic reform, it did institute a series of measures designed to promote its chances of EU membership. For example, in 1998, Borys Tarasyuk, a pro-Western career

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**Forging political alliances
in post-election Ukraine**by **Jan Maksymiuk**

RFE/RL Newsline

Ukraine's Central Election Commission has announced that, according to its preliminary figures Viktor Yushchenko won 52 percent of the vote in the presidential ballot on December 26, 2004 compared to Viktor Yanukovich's 44 percent. Mr. Yanukovich has contested the results with the Central Election Commission and the Supreme Court, claiming that amendments to the presidential election law introduced between the abortive second-round run-off on November 21, 2004 and its repeat on December 26, 2004, were unconstitutional and deprived millions of disabled Ukrainians from exercising their right to vote from home.

Mr. Yushchenko's victory was so convincing, however, that even Mr. Yanukovich's election staff does not appear to believe that the Central Election Commission or the Supreme Court will sustain the complaints. So Mr. Yushchenko is likely to be inaugurated by mid-January.

But the man who has led Ukraine's amazing political rebirth and survived potentially deadly dioxin poisoning still faces serious political threats.

Apart from awakening grand hopes both at home and abroad that democracy

Jan Maksymiuk is the Belarus and Ukraine specialist on the staff of RFE/RL Newsline.

diplomat, was appointed to the post of foreign affairs minister to boost Ukraine's membership prospects.

However, any illusions Kyiv had about its chances of joining were dispelled at the 1999 EU summit in Helsinki, when no offer of the much-vaunted "prospect" was forthcoming from EU leaders. Instead, the EU's relations with Ukraine were to be strengthened by the "Common Strategy," a symbolic document that failed to add a new impetus to relations. Mr. Tarasyuk's sacking followed soon thereafter.

Relations limped on, despite the efforts of the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry to imbue them with more substance, in the hope that "Europe" would become a stimulant to reform in the country. However, not only did these efforts fail, but EU enlargement in May 2004, as a result of which Ukraine became a direct neighbor, deepened its disillusionment with the EU.

This is because relations with new neighbors were to be based on the EU's European Neighborhood Policy' (ENP). And while the ENP has the worthy and ambitious objective of "promoting prosperity and stability" among the neighbors along the EU's newly enlarged borders, in practice, it fuelled the sense of exclusion from Europe.

From the Ukrainian point of view, the ENP suffered from a number of flaws.

First, the policy covered all EU neighbors, whether European or not (e.g. Morocco). All "neighbors" had been lumped into one general category, with no differentiation between them. Worse was the fact that no distinction was made

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might take deeper root in Ukraine, the Orange Revolution has instilled in millions of Ukrainians the firm belief that Mr. Yushchenko is truly capable of ousting "criminal clans" from power in Kyiv and making the lives of ordinary Ukrainians better in the short rather than long term – as he pledged during the election campaign.

He will have to deliver substantially on his election promises in 2005 if he wants to improve his political position ahead of the Parliament-approved reductions in presidential powers that will take effect in one year and the March 2006 parliamentary elections. Arguably, 2005 will be a year of primarily domestic concerns for Mr. Yushchenko. Kyiv's relations with Moscow and Brussels will likely remain on the back burner as Mr. Yushchenko grapples with the political legacy of outgoing President Leonid Kuchma. And the domestic problems that Mr. Yushchenko will face in the coming year appear immensely complex.

To begin with, Mr. Yushchenko needs quickly to build a parliamentary coalition and propose a prime minister who might be acceptable to such a coalition. Both tasks will present major headaches. The main problem is that his parliamentary base, the Our Ukraine bloc, along with its current political allies – Oleksander Moroz's Socialist Party, the eponymous political bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko, and Anatolii Kinakh's Party of Industrialists

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NEWSBRIEFS**Ukrainian prime minister resigns ...**

KYIV – Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich stepped down on December 31, announcing that he will remain in politics as "an independent politician who legitimately won the elections on November 21," Ukrainian and international news agencies reported. "Dear compatriots and friends, in light of everything that has happened, it would be senseless for me to stay on as prime minister," Mr. Yanukovich said in a televised address to the nation. "The political role of the Yanukovich government – as a stabilizing force over the past year – has been all but exhausted. ... I think it will be impossible for me to hold any official position in the new government." (RFE/RL Newsline)

... but refuses to admit election defeat

KYIV – Viktor Yanukovich has refused to concede his defeat in the December 26 presidential poll, in which, according to preliminary results, he obtained 44 percent of the vote compared to Viktor Yushchenko's 52 percent, Ukrainian media reported. Mr. Yanukovich challenged Mr. Yushchenko's victory by appealing to the Supreme Court and the Central Election Commission (CEC) against the organization of the December 26 repeat of the rigged presidential run-off on November 21, 2004, and of election irregularities. However, his complaints were rejected last week. Yanukovich proxy Nestor Shufrych told journalists on January 3 that the Yanukovich election team will appeal the official election results as soon as they are announced by the CEC. CEC Chairman Yaroslav Davydovych said the same day that the official results will be released "within the next few days." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yushchenko celebrates new year

KYIV – Viktor Yushchenko told a New Year's rally of his supporters on Independence Square in Kyiv on December 31 that Ukraine is a free country following his victory in the December 26 presidential election, Ukrainian media reported. "We have been independent for 14 years, but we have not been free. Today we are independent and free. I would like to congratulate you on this, my Ukrainian people," Mr. Yushchenko said. The rally was attended by Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili, who said in an emotional speech delivered to the crowd in Ukrainian that Ukraine's "Orange Revolution" has changed Europe. "Good overcame evil in this square," Mr. Saakashvili said. "You had

us relive the moments of joy that we sensed during our own, Georgian, revolution." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kuchma: new president needs support

KYIV – Outgoing President Leonid Kuchma said in a televised New Year's address to the nation on December 31 that Ukraine "has gone through extraordinarily difficult times and really has become different," the UT-1 channel reported. "There will be a new president in Ukraine in 2005," Mr. Kuchma said. "And the whole of Ukraine, each region and every citizen, should receive this democratic choice as their very own choice. This person will need your support." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yushchenko on relations with Russia

KYIV – Viktor Yushchenko told the December 31 issue of the German magazine *Der Spiegel* that Ukraine will continue to develop good relations with Russia, *spiegel.de* reported on January 2. "Russia continues to be a strategic partner in the political, economic and military fields," Mr. Yushchenko said. "Our strategy aims to achieve European integration and this is the framework in which we need to resolve all problems together with Russia," he said. "We would like to encourage making mutual investments, removing trade barriers, and resolving problems associated with the influx of workers. ... There is, however, one condition: [Russian President Vladimir] Putin must not block our way into the European Union." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Saakashvili meets with Yushchenko

KYIV – Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili met on January 2 with Ukrainian President-elect Viktor Yushchenko during a visit to Kyiv, Imedi TV and ITAR-TASS reported. Mr. Saakashvili arrived in the Ukrainian capital on December 31 and held a number of meetings with Mr. Yushchenko's advisers. Georgia's Rose Revolution, which swept Mr. Saakashvili to power in late 2003, was hailed as an inspiration for the Orange Revolution in Ukraine. Both leaders are seen as sharing a defiance of Russian influence. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Lavrov: no new Cold War over Ukraine

MOSCOW – Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said in an interview with the German business daily *Handelsblatt* on December 28 that there is no threat of a

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OSCE chairman-in-office travels to Kyiv, meets with Yushchenko

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

KYIV – The new chairman-in-office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, pledged the Organization's continued support for strengthening democracy and stability in Ukraine in talks with the country's political leaders on January 4 and 5.

On his first official trip since Slovenia took over the OSCE chairmanship from Bulgaria on January 1, the chairman-in-office met President-elect Viktor Yushchenko, Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn and a leading parliamentarian, Yulia Tymoshenko.

Minister Rupel said the OSCE, which mounted its largest-ever election observation mission for the repeat second round of the presidential election on December 26, continued to follow developments in Ukraine closely.

"I wanted to come here as soon as possible to show solidarity with the Ukrainian people and to demonstrate the importance which the OSCE attaches to a democratic and stable Ukraine, at the heart of the OSCE community, which enjoys good relations with its neighbors," he told President-elect Yushchenko, who interrupted his holiday in the Carpathian mountains of western Ukraine to meet the OSCE chairman.

Minister Rupel praised the remarkable dedication of the Ukrainian people to the democratic process and expressed his

admiration for the fact that the recent political crisis had been resolved without violence.

The chairman-in-office said the 55-nation OSCE hoped to build on its cooperation with Ukraine in a number of areas, including election assistance, freedom of the media, education, fighting human trafficking, protecting national minorities, strengthening border security, and disposing of ammunition and small arms stockpiles.

In the economic dimension, the organization aimed to expand activities such as training entrepreneurs and helping to attract foreign direct investment.

During the visit, the chairman-in-office thanked the head of the OSCE Election Observation Mission, Ambassador Geert-Hinrich Ahrens, for a successful assignment. "The eyes of the world were on Ukraine for a month and the role of the OSCE election observers in the process was pivotal," he said.

Minister Rupel stressed the objective and impartial nature of OSCE election observation missions. "We are not in the business of favoring one side or another, we are interested in fair, honest and democratic election processes," he added.

The chairman-in-office also thanked Ambassador David Nicholas, OSCE project coordinator in Ukraine. "The project coordinator has been instrumental in providing assistance to Ukraine through projects in legal reform, anti-trafficking, the ombudsman, media freedom, military reform, anti-trafficking and election assistance," he said.

OSCE leader congratulates people of Ukraine

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

SOFIA – The OSCE chairman-in-office, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Solomon Passy, on December 29 congratulated the Ukrainian people on the conduct of the repeat second round of the presidential election held on December 26, in anticipation of the final official results.

He noted with satisfaction the preliminary findings of the International Election Observation Mission, led by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which found a marked improvement in the electoral process, including fairer campaign conditions, a more transparent electoral administration and more balanced media coverage.

Minister Passy thanked the team of observers, the largest ever deployed by the OSCE, for their commitment and pro-

fessionalism.

"The significance and importance of the ballot was reflected in the high turnout and the determination to move towards a genuinely representative election," said the chairman-in-office. "This demonstrates the democratic responsibility and will of all parties, as well as the wisdom of the Ukrainian people in avoiding violence."

Minister Passy acknowledged the role of the international mediators, including his representative, OSCE Secretary General Jan Kubis, in addressing the difficult political situation in the country following the disputed second round of the presidential election on November 21, 2004.

"The repeat second round on December 26 showed the resolve of the Ukrainian people to let democracy prevail," said the OSCE chairman-in-office. "I wish the Ukrainian people to reunite after the elections in order to build a democratic and prosperous future for the country."

Canadian PM congratulates Yushchenko

Office of the Prime Minister

OTTAWA – Prime Minister Paul Martin on December 30 congratulated Viktor Yushchenko on his victory in the Ukrainian presidential election. With the disposal of all outstanding appeals by the Supreme Court of Ukraine, the way appears paved for the Central Electoral Commission to announce the final results.

"Today, Canadians are united and confident about the future of a democratic Ukraine. Our two countries share the same objectives of peace, democracy and the rule of law. Canada has a vibrant Ukrainian-Canadian community that has helped shape Canada's history and personality. I look forward to collaborating

with Mr. Yushchenko's government to further strengthen Canada-Ukraine relations," said Prime Minister Martin.

"Canadians are proud to have played a meaningful role in the democratic elections in Ukraine," said the prime minister. "The government of Canada is eager to work with the new government to continue strengthening Ukraine's governance institutions."

Canada sent its largest election observer delegation ever to the Ukrainian presidential run-off vote, drawing from volunteers who were selected from more than 4,000 applications received by CANADEM, a Canadian non-governmental organization specializing in the selection and provision of election observers.

Election observers traverse Ukraine in rerun of presidential run-off election

by Tamara Gallo-Olexy

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

KYIV – In response to an appeal from the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) for volunteers to serve as election observers for the repeat run-off of the Ukrainian presidential election, over 2,000 people sacrificed their holiday celebrations and traveled to Ukraine to help ensure a fair and fair election on December 26, 2004.

The UCCA election monitoring delegation included teams from the United States, Australia, Canada, Great Britain, France, Poland, Belarus, as well as individuals from Germany, Italy, Denmark and Sweden. While in Kyiv, hundreds of election observers attended two UCCA briefing sessions on December 23 and 24, 2004, to acquaint themselves with the election law of Ukraine and their responsibilities in serving as independent, objective election monitors.

John Herbst, U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, welcomed the election observers at the briefing session on December 24, 2004 and thanked them for their interest in monitoring the elections. "Many falsifications happened in the last rounds of the Ukrainian elections, therefore, the role of an international election observer is critical,"

stated Ambassador Herbst. Election law specialists Serhiy Kalchenko and Yarema Bachynsky provided detailed information about the procedures involved in serving as international election observers.

Greetings were also delivered by Askold Lozynskyj, president of the Ukrainian World Congress; Michael Sawkiw Jr., president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; and Stephen Romaniw, president of the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations.

Following the briefing sessions, hundreds of observers left Ukraine's capital and traveled to various regions of Ukraine, primarily the southern and eastern oblasts, where many election violations were reported in the two previous rounds.

UCCA election monitoring teams were deployed to the following oblasts: Chernihiv, Cherkasy, Crimea, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Kharkiv, Kherson, Kirovohrad, Kyiv, Lviv, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Poltava, Sumy, Zakarpattia and Zaporizhia.

Early reports from the various international election observer teams indicate that there were no widespread voting irregularities; however, some technical violations were noted.

FOR THE RECORD: UCCA welcomes victory of democracy

Below is the text of a statement on Ukraine's presidential election received from the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on December 29.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) welcomes the results of December 26, 2004, election. As a Ukrainian American organization, we took an active part in preparing for Ukraine's presidential election. During the pre-election campaign, the UCCA implemented a civic education project, while during each round of voting in Ukraine, international elections observers representing the UCCA were present at many polling stations throughout Ukraine. We are glad to recognize that the repeat of the second round of the election was conducted with a much lesser number of violations and that its results truly represent the people's will.

The December 3, 2004, decision of the Supreme Court to recognize the November 21 second round of presidential elections as illegal, as well as the mass peaceful protests of the Ukrainian people against the violations of election legislation clearly demonstrated that the civic community in Ukraine is viable and active, and through its support the democratic process is gaining momentum and strength.

We congratulate the Ukrainian people with the victory of democracy! The entire world intently watched the political crisis in Ukraine and was awestruck by this phenomenal peaceful Orange Revolution. For a long time the Ukrainian "revolution" will remain the subject of sociological studies as a unique phenomenon, the highest manifestation of direct people power, which ended without bloodshed. Ukrainians in the U.S. are very glad to see the spiritual and national resurrection of the Ukrainian nation in our motherland, which proudly marches toward the democratic future.

On behalf of the Ukrainian American community, we congratulate Viktor Yushchenko on his victory and being elected the president of Ukraine. We wish him success in the difficult work ahead and hope that under the leadership of the government that enjoys its people's trust and is guided solely by the national interests, Ukraine will achieve its final goal of political and economic stability and independence, as well as full-fledged membership in the worldwide community of developed democratic nations much sooner.

Glory to the people of Ukraine!

(On behalf of the UCCA Executive Board):
Michael Sawkiw Jr., president
Marie Duplak, executive secretary

FOR THE RECORD: UACC greets Yushchenko

Following is the text of a letter sent on December 29 by the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council to Viktor Yushchenko, president-elect of Ukraine.

Dear Mr. President:

The Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, which represents a large segment of the Ukrainian community in the U.S.A., received the news of your election as the president of Ukraine with great joy! At last truth and democracy have triumphed in Ukraine. The people have risen up to defend their rights. A new era in the history

of Ukraine has opened up and a new day in Ukraine's bright future has dawned.

It gives us the greatest pleasure to be able to congratulate you on this wonderful occasion. We wish you renewed good health, strength, energy and fortitude for this most responsible of all positions. Slava Ukraini!

With our sincerest good wishes and deepest respect,

For the UACC Executive Committee:
Ihor Gawdiak, president
Dr. Roman Baranowskyj, secretary



THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Northern New Jersey District Committee holds fall organizing meeting

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The Northern New Jersey District Committee of the Ukrainian National Association held its fall organizing meeting here at the UNA Corporate Headquarters building on Friday, November 5, 2004.

Present at the meeting were 13 representatives of eight of the district's 16 UNA branches, as well as National Secretary Christine E. Kozak, who represented the UNA Executive Committee.

The meeting was chaired by District Chairman Stephan Welhasch, who reported that 2004 was more successful for the Northern New Jersey District in terms of organizing activity. The district's members sold 36 policies – the second highest number among all UNA districts, for a total amount of \$973,000 in insurance coverage. The district was second also in terms of the amount of life insurance coverage sold and met 36 percent of its annual quota.

Mr. Welhasch also noted that the district had organized a bus trip to Soyuzivka for the annual Father's Day events at the UNA resort. The district's activists also manned UNA information tables at the

Verkhovyna Youth Festival, at the St. John's Parish Festival in Newark, N.J., at Connecticut's Ukrainian Day in Stamford and at the Ukrainian Festival in Baltimore.

National Secretary Kozak began her remarks with a focus on new ways to publicize the UNA, as well as its activities and services. She also spoke about new UNA insurance plans and described the various plans now offered by the fraternal organization.

Ms. Kozak also spoke about UNA affairs in general, including developments at Soyuzivka, which has reported an increase in revenue this year, as well as about community interest in the proposed condominiums at the resort.

Mr. Welhasch concluded the meeting by addressing the issue of planning for the upcoming months. He asked all district members to submit their ideas for district activities and events, and especially sought their input on how to promote the UNA among new immigrants from Ukraine.

Refreshments were served at the conclusion of the discussion period.



Seen during the fall organizing meeting of the Northern New Jersey District Committee are: (seated, from left) Rostyslaw Halaburda, Barbara Tyzbir and Wasyl Maruszczak, (standing) Julian Kotliar and UNA National Secretary Christine Kozak.

Young UNA'ers



Victoria Maria Koziy, daughter of Walter and Lesia Koziy of Warren, Mich., was enrolled into UNA Branch 94 by her parents.



Anna Elizabeth Hlynsky, daughter of Stephen Z. and Lisa A. Hlynsky of Lodi, N.J., is a new member of UNA Branch 27. She was enrolled by her grandparents Boris and Ulana Hlynsky.



Kristina Grace Dzamba, daughter of Barbara and Dan Dzamba of Cary, N.C., is a new member of UNA Branch 88. She was enrolled by her grandmother Irene Biskup.



Kalyna Irena Alexa Yurchuk, daughter of Oksana and Dorian Yurchuk of Mount Tabor, N.J., is a new member of UNA Branch 70. She was enrolled by her grandparents Christine and George Balynsky.



Nicolas Jaroslaw Humennyj and his sister Natalia Katherine, children of Roman and Anna Humennyj of Unionville, Conn., are new members of UNA Branch 277. They were enrolled by their grandmother Josephine Humennyj.



Marta Kasiyan and her baby brother Marko Methodius, children of the Rev. Andriy and Oksana Kasiyan of Lackawanna, N.Y., are new members of UNA Branch 360. They were enrolled by their parents.



**To the Honorable
Viktor Yushchenko
President of Ukraine
Kyiv**



January 5, 2005

Dear Mr. President:

The Ukrainian National Association Inc., which represents a membership of over 50,000 Ukrainian Americans and Ukrainian Canadians, rejoices along with the people of Ukraine in hearing the news of your triumphant election as president of our beloved Ukraine, the land of our forefathers.

Since its establishment in 1894, the UNA has championed Ukraine's struggle for freedom and democracy. Our publications, *Svoboda* and *The Ukrainian Weekly*, have documented the injustices that our people have endured and reported on their courageous efforts for freedom and independence.

In 1991, with great interest we watched Ukraine win her independence. Today, we witnessed an even more dramatic victory, a victory for democracy and freedom.

The Ukrainian National Association is proud that we were able to make a contribution, albeit small, to this valiant effort. Many of our members, including the UNA president, traveled to Ukraine to participate as official election observers. We also assisted in financially supporting our young diaspora Ukrainians who took part as election monitors.

The people of Ukraine were finally heard, and the demand for democracy and a fair election process was realized. The people prevailed.

We join with the people of Ukraine in congratulating you on your victory. We are grateful for your leadership and your courage, and we applaud your quiet determination.

A new epoch in the history of Ukraine has arrived. The next few years will be challenging, but we believe that, under your guidance and with God's blessing, Ukraine will become a strong and democratic country.

Please accept our sincerest wishes for success.

God Bless Ukraine!
Slava Ukraini!

For the Executive Committee
of the Ukrainian National Association:
Stefan Kaczaraj, President

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Promoting Ukraine through the arts

Frankly, this editorial was to be written nearly two months ago, right about the time of the first run-off in Ukraine's presidential election. Well, dear readers, you all know what topic has occupied this space since then...

Nonetheless, the topic that was to be discussed back in November remains important. It has to do with promoting Ukraine through the arts, and specifically via the country's premiere dance ensemble, the Virsky Ukrainian National Dance Company, which received wonderful reviews for its performances during the fall throughout the U.S. and in several Canadian cities. Readers may recall that we had no success in securing an advertisement that would list all the dates and venues of its performances so that our readers would know to search for details in their local media. The tour organizer, New York-based Columbia Artists Management LLC, saw no reason to advertise the complete tour and left it up to local venues to promote Virsky performances.

Since then it became clear that Columbia was guilty of an even greater faux pas.

We refer to the program information prepared by Columbia Artists Management that was distributed to all Virsky venues for publication. At first we, and others, suspected that local organizers were responsible for the ghastly errors in the text – everything from identifying dances and customs as Russian, to poor translations (e.g., State T. Shevchenko Premium instead of Taras Shevchenko State Prize), incorrect transliterations (Gutsulshyna), misspellings (we've never seen so many variations – in a single text – of the spelling for Carpathian and Zakarpattia ...) and even horribly deficient English! We could go on and on citing the examples, but our space here is limited.

Later it became clear that this was a tour-wide problem, as several readers sent us copies of the Virsky programs distributed in their cities. Seeking an explanation, we called Columbia Artists Management, but the company did not return our repeated phone calls over the span of several weeks, despite initial assurances from a representative that it would.

The Ukrainian Weekly first became aware of the errors in the Virsky text thanks to The Community Theatre of Morristown, N.J., whose marketing director, Daniel Grossman (no relation to the Andrew Grossman listed on the program as the Virsky tour producer), contacted us to consult about what he had heard were some errors in the text. He sent over a copy for our perusal and asked for input. Our advice was pure and simple: trash the whole text and re-do it. Nothing else could save it. Amazingly, The Community Theatre did just that – it printed up a corrected insert to the full-color program book that had been prepared well in advance of the show.

Kudos and huge thanks are due to Dan Grossman and The Community Theatre for caring to present accurate information and for respecting their audience. Columbia Artists Management, on the other hand, deserves nothing but disdain; it should be ashamed of such sloppy, ignorant and offensive work.

But the blame does not end there. The Virsky company, after all, must have some control over how it is marketed, and Ukraine's government also must have a say since Virsky performances were billed as an "Official Tour of the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts of Ukraine."

Hopefully, with the bad experience of this tour behind them, they can do better to promote our beautiful and unique Ukrainian culture.

Jan.
9
2000

Turning the pages back...

Five years ago, in what most observers saw as the first serious effort in Ukraine to form a reform-minded government, President Leonid Kuchma approved the appointment of three new vice-prime ministers and 11 ministers as proposed by his newly confirmed prime minister, Viktor Yushchenko. A story in *The Ukrainian Weekly* dated January 9, 2000, noted that Mr. Kuchma, who had been re-elected to a second term, had promised in his inauguration speech that Ukraine would begin to move on economic reforms.

The president's appointment of Mr. Yushchenko on December 22, 1999 – considered at home and abroad as perhaps the person most able and willing to make the needed changes – brought with it a sense of optimism and a feeling that change was near. The prime minister's nomination of a Cabinet comprising an eclectic mix of veteran administrators, dedicated reformers and unexpected newcomers bolstered that mood.

On December 30, 1999, President Kuchma confirmed via presidential decree the appointment of Yuri Yekhanurov as the first vice prime minister; Yulia Tymoshenko as vice prime minister of energy affairs; Mykola Zhulynskyi as vice prime minister of humanitarian affairs; as well as Ministers Serhii Tulub, fuel and energy; Serhii Tyhypko, economy; Ivan Sakhan, labor and social policy; Leonid Kostyuchenko, transportation; Vasyl Kremen, education; Bohdan Stupka, culture. The president also confirmed the re-appointment of Ministers Yurii Kravchenko, internal affairs; Borys Tarasyuk, foreign affairs; Suzanna Stanik, justice; Ihor Mitiukov, finance; and Oleksander Kuzmuk, defense.

Source: "Kuchma approves appointment of reformist Cabinet," by Roman Woronowycz, Kyiv Press Bureau, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, January 9, 2000, Vol. LXVIII, No. 2.

Attention, election observers!

The Ukrainian Weekly has begun receiving reports and comments from individuals who have returned from Ukraine after serving as election observers during the third round of voting in the presidential election. We welcome these submissions and encourage others who would like to share their observations to do so by e-mailing us at staff@ukrweekly.com. Our sister publication, *Svoboda*, also is inviting comments from election observers, but in the Ukrainian language. The Weekly plans to publish these observations (which may be edited and/or abridged) beginning in our next issue.

CHRISTMAS PAST: The gift

by Alexandra Hawryluk

The rumbling of the army truck engines ricocheting from the walls of the buildings surrounding the former military parade ground was deafening. Standing on my toes at our second-story window I could just see the line of their khaki canvas tops parked in a single row starting at our four-story building, Block No. 2, and ending all the way at the other end of the square. This was what I had been waiting for. As my mother murmured unheeded words of advice, impatiently I thrust my arms into the coat she had so lovingly made for me out of a German army jacket dyed blue. Not bothering to wait for my mother, with red scarf flying, pig-tails bouncing, I ran down the two flights of cement stairs and out toward the growing crowd of children gathering just behind the line of trucks.

The clock on top of the Somme Kaserne Mess Hall had just struck one, but no one was interested in picking up the daily ration of thick soup and dark bread. Like clusters of beads from a broken necklace, little groups of parents stood just behind the chattering children. Among them my thin, pretty mother, hands thrust deep into her coat pockets, stood in unsmiling, pale silence watching as soldiers began to lower the backs of the trucks.

Our teacher, Miss Yaroshenko, whose red lipstick and nail polish met with reproving glances from some of the parents, came forward, blew her whistle and told us to line up. Making herself appear severe by drawing her black snaky eyebrows together, she told us to be very quiet and to do what we were told. Then, with a wave of her red-tipped hand, she signaled the soldiers. With amazing swiftness these big men came forward and, carefully picking each of us up into their arms, handed us over to another set of arms just inside the truck, which placed us on the slatted benches along the sides of the tarpaulin. From the dark interior smelling of gasoline and paint we peered out, wide-eyed, at the somber group of parents gathered on the white gravel.

To them, who had survived Soviet persecution, Nazi labor camps and bombing, nothing seemed certain in the bleak, misty Bavarian winter of 1946. These were, after all, military trucks and soldiers, who were taking their children to a place none of them had ever seen.

Despite the fact that the doors of the truck cabins were emblazoned with a white star, not a red one, and despite the friendly smiles and dress uniforms of the soldiers, the fear in my mother's hazel eyes was real. Wasn't it the military that had apprehended her and her children on a German country road in the spring of 1945? In her mind, she could still see and smell those other trucks, see and smell those other battle-hardened soldiers pointing their rifles at her and her two children. Her breathing became shallower, her anxiety rising in her throat, as she remembered their course, curt Russian commands and the deadly silence of the other refugee families being herded at gun point into a ragged line along the shoulder of the road – a line of refugees that eventually would wind its way from the Soviet sector of Germany all the way to the Siberian gulag.

She sighed and tried to tell herself that all that was in the past now, that she was safe here in this refugee camp in Augsburg, that she would not lose this child as she had lost her boy, that these soldiers would bring her little girl back and bring her back unharmed.

The backs of the trucks were being hooked into place, the metal clanging with a

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note of finality. Gas fumes filled the air. Everyone waved and shouted incoherent messages and we were off, at long last. With gears grinding, our truck zigzagged its way around potholes, over streetcar tracks, and cobblestones and around corners, slowing down only after hitting the smooth surface of an asphalt road patrolled by two MP jeeps. We rolled through a white square-pillared gate, past wide lawns and came to a full stop in front of a large, beige stucco building adorned with a row of tall paneled windows high up under the eaves.

A small group of smiling women wearing immaculate, sand-colored uniforms, silk stockings and high-heeled shoes greeted us. These must be the ladies, as some wit in our refugee camp said, who worked for "Aunt Unrra" in America – the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association. Cheerfully, they each took as many children as could hold on to both their hands and led us along a yellow gravel path toward a large set of double doors opening into the auditorium of the Augsburg American Officers' Club.

Beige paper blinds were drawn down over the high narrow windows and the whole place was enveloped in a shimmering, golden semi-darkness. At the far end of the vast expanse of the shiny parquet floor, in the middle of a low platform, was the biggest spruce tree that I had ever seen. It was all aglitter with tinsel and candles from the bottom all the way to the top, where a twinkling silver star touched the ceiling. This was more wonderful than I had dared to dream. The tree back in our room in Block No. 2, decorated with paper and straw ornaments made by all the four families living in that room, was my size.

I was nudged gently out of my daze and propelled toward a long table, which proved to be almost as magical as the tree, because my feet did not dangle from the chair and my chin did not rest on the tabletop. It was a perfect fit.

At the sound of a tinkling bell, everyone stopped talking. A man in a uniform decorated with many colored ribbon bars, stood in front of the tree and made a very short speech. The grown-ups grinned and clapped as one of the ladies, a tall woman with a shiny cap of short chestnut hair, the one who had visited our school, stood at the edge of the platform and wished us happy holidays in a really strange Ukrainian. Then to the tune of a scratchy fanfare issuing from a gramophone, a group of soldiers filed in and, standing in a semi-circle around the Christmas tree, began to sing unfamiliar songs. Since they were such happy-sounding songs, pretending to know them, we clapped softly in time with the music.

Just as the strain of trying to understand everything that was going on was beginning to make me feel sleepy, the choir began to hum "Oh, Tannenbaum," my grandmother's special Christmas carol. She had come from Germany to Ukraine to marry my grandfather and to ease her homesickness had taught her daughter this song. And last year, my mother taught me. I hummed along feeling a little less strange, a little more at home.

Lulled by the sweetness of the music, I did not notice that food trolleys had been brought in until a thick, white porcelain plate – not a dented billy can – filled with steaming food was placed in front of me. Although the pretty lady at our table was urging us to eat, I needed some time to look. There was a round mound of mashed potatoes, tiny little green peas, carrot circles, a big slice of strange, white meat, glistening brown gravy and a blob of something that looked like red jam. Under the kindly encouragement of our

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The things we do...

by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

The koza at Christmas

The goat. I forgot the goat! Last year, in writing about the symbols and images of the Ukrainian Christmas season, I forgot to mention the "koza" – the goat.

For the most part, the koza is not part of "Rizdvo," or Christmas itself, but of "Malanka" – the New Year's Eve festivities, where it has a major role. Its prominence here is strange because, in general, the goat is not really considered one of the "nobler" animals, and is not respected the way the horse, the ram and even the rooster are. And yet, during the winter festivities, it is the koza that is center stage. As with all our traditions, much depends upon region, because while in general the koza is tied to the Malanka festivities, in some areas "vodyty kozu" (leading or guiding the koza on a leash) was done during the Rizdvo caroling, or throughout the seasonal festivities.

Usually, the koza is the Rodney Dangerfield of domestic animals. Only during the winter celebrations does it get any respect. This is not restricted to Ukrainian tradition. Throughout Europe, the goat was considered Satan's animal. Many images show the devil with cloven hooves and goat-like legs and horns, and the male goat's beard. Even before Christianity and the story of Satan, one possibility for the negative image is that goats caused disaster in Mediterranean vineyards, grazing everything down to nothing.

Proverbs are not too kind to goats: "You'll make as much money as an old man for his goat" (meaning very little, if at all). One proverb of the Hutsuls says, "Sheep are God's cattle, but the goat is the devil's." Other Ukrainian proverbs: "Goats are the devil's sheep" and "The goat will climb anywhere, because it has the devil's feet up to its knees." Yevhen Onatskyi writes that in contrast to the good and beneficial sheep (especially valued for its sheepskin), the koza wound up among the creatures of the "evil god."

One legend has goats originally being sheep, shepherded by God Himself. But the devil comes to God and asks Him to share the sheep with him, since God has so many. God gave the devil a few sheep. But they feared the devil and ran away in all directions. The poor devil got angry and caught them by their tails. Because they were so ornery, he cut off their tails, and now goats have short ones that point up.

The koza was also admired for its wisdom, cunning and stubbornness, with "koziachyi rozum" (goat's wisdom) being a good thing. Yet the goat and billygoat (kozel or tsap) were still denigrated: "Durnyi yak tsap" (stupid as a billygoat). At the same time, the "worthy"

sheep and ram are considered stupid – to be called "barany" or "vivtsi" is not complimentary.

Other than for its milk, the goat is not productive. Its fur, what there is of it, is not as lush as the sheep's – "Ne bude z tsapa vovny" (there will be no wool from a billygoat – speaking of someone incapable of productive work), "Bachyt' Boh chy kozel a chy baran" (God sees whose is the billygoat, and whose the ram – who is bringing Him the worthless and the worthy gifts). And I have not come across any recipes for goat meat in Ukrainian culinary tradition.

Despite all this, come Malanka, the koza is prominent in the New Year's festivities, with special songs about it. And they're positive! "De koza rohom, tam zhyto stohom, de koza tup-tup, tam zhyta sim kup" (Where the koza is with its horn, there the rye is stacked high, where the koza hops around, there the rye is in seven stacks), and "De koza khodyt, tam sia khlib rodyt, de ne buvaye, tam vypri-vaye" (Where the koza goes, there the grain/bread grows, where she is not, there the grain rots). It fertilizes the soil, after all. Also, its horn is an echo of the horn of plenty. The inverted fur that is worn by the person playing the koza during these rituals is a symbol of wealth, fertility and prosperity. At other times, as in wedding rituals, it is a reversed sheepskin that is worn.

In the humorous play carried out in each home, the various masqueraded characters perform silly actions, all accompanied with special koliadky (carols). The gist is that the goat, after dancing around, falls dead. The "doctor" and others try to revive it, and finally do. By coming back from the dead, the goat symbolizes the rebirth of nature in the spring. All will be all right. These winter rituals with the koza have been portrayed in traditional suites by at least two Ukrainian Canadian dance ensembles, Shumka of Edmonton and Rusalka of Winnipeg.

Earlier there was not that much detailed information available on this ritual, but a book devoted to this subject was published in Ukraine in 1995. Oleksandr Kurochkin wrote "Ukrainski Novorichni Obriady: 'Koza' i 'Malanka' (Z Istorii Narodnykh Masok)," Opishne: Ukrainke Narodoznavstvo, 1995. 375 pp., illus. ISBN 5-7707-5148-7 [Ukrainian New Year Rites: "A Goat" and "Malanka" (from the history of folk masks)].

The New Year's celebrations have an ancient Indo-European connection, with the mummers of Newfoundland, and of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. They perform slightly different but related rites at Christmastime.

There is also a very timely connection to goats and billygoats. During the Orange Revolution, one "gem" from Viktor Yanukovich's mouth was calling the opposition forces "kozly." That did not sit well with the Orange masses, and was even included in the rap anthem of the revolution – "we are not kozly," the lyrics say. Perhaps this year's Malanka celebrations throughout Ukraine will see the goat in an additional light. This time it is its stubbornness and cunning that are to be admired. Maybe these attributes are all right after all, even if we are not kozly!

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Anti-Orange oracles

While most free people in the world are celebrating Ukraine's Orange Revolution, there exists a minority of anti-Orange oracles who remain distressed, disturbed and dumbfounded by this latest chapter in the demise of Russian power. They can be divided into three groups: the opportunists, the misinformed and the ideologues.

Leading the first group is Leonid Kuchma and his stooge Viktor Yanukovich, parsimonious parvenu, exemplar of all that is wrong in Ukraine. Former President Kuchma is facing exile, jail time or worse, while Mr. Yanukovich will lose an all-important power base that will prevent him from the kind of avaricious wheeling and dealing to which he and his Donetsk clan of oligarchs have become accustomed.

Certain Jewish oligarchs were also anti-Orange. As Jewish Ukrainian activist Josef Zisels pointed out in the New York-based Weekly Forward on December 31, 2004, these Jews understood "that in Ukraine, becoming rich has been nearly impossible without unquestioning loyalty to the president." Included here are multi-millionaires Hryhorii Surkis, Oleksander Feldman and Viktor Pinchuk, Mr. Kuchma's son-in-law. They supported Mr. Yanukovich not because they particularly liked him, Mr. Zisels informs us, but because he was Mr. Kuchma's heir. Other Jews, "petit oligarchs," Mr. Zisels calls them, "who made their money by being savvy capitalists," supported the opposition because they wanted a man who "would ensure fair competition and reduce corruption." I say more power to them. Mr. Zisels believes that under President Viktor Yushchenko anti-Semitism in Ukraine "is all but certain to go down, not up."

The perception in Israel, however, is quite different. Alarmed, no doubt, that so many Jews are returning to Ukraine, Jerusalem Post columnist Amotz Asa-El reminded Jews on December 2 that even if Mr. Yushchenko is elected, Ukraine is "where some of the worst-ever massacres of Jews took place ... from the Chmielnicki [sic] attacks of 1648-9 that nearly wiped out Ukrainian Jewry, through the Petliura pogroms where an estimated 100,000 Jews were murdered ... to Babi Yar."

The second anti-Orange contingent are the misinformed, the true-believing "blues" of eastern Ukraine who supported Mr. Yanukovich because they had been led to believe the worst about Viktor Yushchenko: CIA agent, American shill, Ukrainian nationalist extremist, fascist, anti-Semite, capitalist supporter of the rich, eliminator of social benefits, pension-reducer, Russia-hater, etc. Many of them voted against Mr. Yushchenko, not necessarily for Mr. Yanukovich. Once these blues see that President Yushchenko is not the ogre they believe he is, they will be converted.

Finally, there are those who are anti-Orange for ideological reasons. Leading this group is Vladimir Putin, who still believes that Moscow is the third Rome and that Ukraine belongs in the Russian empire. With the exception of Mikhail Gorbachev, who spoke favorably about the Orange Revolution, many Russian leaders probably agree. For them, Russia means empire. No empire, no Russia.

Outside of Russia, there is another band of ideological opponents of the Orange Revolution, a cadre of true believers on both sides of the political spectrum. On the right, we find Patrick Buchanan, who wants Congress to investigate how the \$58 million funneled into Ukraine by the Bush adminis-

tration during the last two years was actually spent. Mr. Buchanan is more concerned about President Putin's feelings than a free Ukraine. "To bring 'Kievan Rus', the cradle of Russia, into NATO would be an insult and provocation to Moscow," wrote Mr. Buchanan in one of the two columns he wrote about the Orange Revolution. "There is no vital U.S. interest in who rules in Kiev [sic], whether Ukraine is united or divided, or who owns the Crimea," he argued. "Why would anyone think these issues are ... more vital to us than our relationship with the largest nation on earth, a power that yet possesses thousands of atomic weapons." It's worth noting that some of these very same atomic weapons were sent to Russia from Ukraine under a deal brokered by the U.S.

Joining Mr. Buchanan on the anti-Orange right are columnist Doug Bandow, who repeated the anti-Semite canard against Mr. Yushchenko pushed by Jewish American lobbyist Alex Kiselev, and Republican Rep. Ron Paul of Texas who condemned USAID assistance to Ukraine. Joining Congressman Paul was House Democrat Edolphus Towns, who specifically questioned USAID assistance to the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation. Right. We can support democracy in Iraq with bullets and bombs, but not in Ukraine with bulletins and ballots.

On the left we find such British columnists as Ian Traynor (The Guardian) who authored "U.S. Campaign Behind Turmoil in Kiev" [sic], and John Laughland (The Spectator) who penned "How the U.S. and Britain Are Intervening in Ukraine's Elections." Opining in The Workers' World, Fred Goldstein wrote that "Washington, the European Union and hordes of imperialist-sponsored NGO operatives have been working feverishly to overturn the election of Viktor Yanukovich [sic] on the grounds of 'widespread fraud.'" An organization which calls itself the Center of Research on Globalization posted such tendentious Internet articles as: "The Ukrainian Elections: A Dangerous Fairy-Tale," "IMF Sponsored 'Democracy' in the [sic] Ukraine," "Washington's Interest in Ukraine: Democracy or Energy Geopolitics," "Shadow of Anti-Semitism over Ukraine's Disputed Election" and "Neo-Nazi Organizations in the [sic] Ukraine." The most bizarre commentary was found in the political newsletter Counterpunch. Chad Nagle suggested that Mr. Yushchenko's "poisoning" was self-inflicted, the result of too much salo, garlic and mare's milk in his diet. Really? If that were the case, thousands of poisoned Ukrainians would be writhing in the hills and valleys of Ukraine every day.

What are we to make of all of this? Nothing. It's all bloviating blather by blowhards. It's not reporting and it's not wisdom. It's humbug. American isolationists, Jewish Ukrainophobes and anti-globalists have found common ground for a brief moment in history. The moment will pass quickly and each will return to their own amoral agenda.

Russian imperialists will always be Russian imperialists. Ukrainophobes will remain Ukrainophobes. Right-wing and left-wing extremists will always want to pull us back from the future.

The "antis" are afraid of Ukraine ascending, and they will continue their mischief. It won't work. The sun has risen, and Ukraine's high noon is on the horizon.

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Errata

In the "Focus on Philately" column of January 2, the first paragraph referring to Russia's annexation of Moldavia and Wallachia gives the date as July 1953. The correct year is 1853.

In the caption for the poster by artist Igor Mukomela depicting the Orange Revolution (December 19, 2004), due to a typographical error it was noted that the letter "Ya" is the first letter of Viktor Yanukovich's first name. In fact, it is the first letter of Mr. Yanukovich's last name.

The new migration wave from Ukraine: challenges and opportunities

by Oleh Wolowyna

The so-called "Fourth Wave" of migration from Ukraine to the United States is one of the topics of active debate within the Ukrainian American community. This debate is based on interventions by representatives from the community and from the new migrants. It relies on personal opinions and observations, and anecdotal information on experiences from different cities. What is lacking is a comprehensive overview of this migration wave based on objective data. In this article we will provide statistical information on these migrants, based on data from the U.S. 2000 census

legal migrants registered by Derzhkomstat, the numbers are quite similar. Between 1994 and 1999, the 2000 census counted 80,714 migrants from Ukraine, while Derzhkomstat registered 78,225 legal migrants. Thus one can safely say that the U.S. census count is a good estimate of the number of legal migrants from Ukraine.

The recent migration wave from Ukraine to the United States started in 1989. Before that year, the annual number of migrants born in Ukraine fluctuated between 1,000 and 3,000. In 1989 this number jumped to 10,000, and it has experienced a steady increase, reaching

Table 1.- Non-migrants and Migrants by Period of Immigration to the US: Persons of Ukrainian Ancestry

	Numbers	Percent
Total	896,987	100.0%
Non-migrants	643,554	71.7%
Migrants:	253,433	28.3%
< 1946	6,007	2.4%
1946 - 1952	24,763	9.8%
1953 - 1989	67,875	26.8%
1990 - 2000*	154,788	61.1%

* Until April 15, 2000

NOTE: All tables, with the exception of Table 5, are based on data from the 2000 US census 5% Public Microdata Sample.

of population and housing.

It is important to define precisely what is meant by the Fourth Wave migration in this article. The census data allows us to make a detailed analysis of all persons who declared "Ukrainian" as their first or second ancestry (one had the option of recording one or two ancestries) and who migrated to the United States in recent years. Because country of emigration is not registered by the census, we will select migrants who were born in Ukraine. We will also limit the period of migration in our definition, for reasons to be explained below.

We will first list some of the limitations of census data that need to be kept in mind.

First, the definition used here of a person of "Ukrainian" ancestry is based on self-reporting. A person is considered "Ukrainian" only if he/she reported in the census questionnaire that Ukrainian is her first or second ancestry. Second, it is likely that illegal migrants were not captured by the census, as they probably were afraid to fill out the census questionnaire. Third, one may question how many of the legal migrants from Ukraine were registered by the census. Given that most of the migrants lived under the Soviet Union, they may have been reluctant to answer the census questionnaire. Fourth, the census provides data only until April 15, 2000; it does not contain information about migrants after that date.

Since 1994 the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine (Derzhkomstat) provides yearly statistics about legal migrants from Ukraine to the United States, and this data is disaggregated by ethnicity of nationality of the migrants. If one compares the total number of migrants born in Ukraine registered by the U.S. census with the total number of

14,000 in 1999. The sudden jump in 1989 was due to a special law passed by the U.S. Congress, which allowed migration from the Soviet Union to the United States of persons who suffered religious persecution. This opened the door for many Jews to migrate from Ukraine, as well as members of some fundamentalist Protestant sects. According to Derzhkomstat and Jewish statistics, between 1989 and 1994, more than half of the legal migrants from Ukraine to the United States were Jewish. Since then the proportion of Jewish migrants has decreased significantly, while the propor-

Table 2.- Selected Occupations of Fourth Wave Migrants

Occupations	Number
Civil Engineers	172
Computer Hardware Engineers	77
Electrical and Electronics Engineers	264
Industrial Engineers, including Health and Safety	86
Materials Engineers	47
Mechanical Engineers	289
Misc. Engineers, including Agri. and Biomed.	156
Subtotal engineers	1,091
Clergy	117
Post-secondary Teachers	662
Musicians, Singers and Related Workers	143
Dentists	106
Pharmacists	36
Physicians and Surgeons	328
Registered Nurses	437
Subtotal medical professions	907

tion of Ukrainian ethnic migrants has experienced a significant increase. The percent of Jewish migrants decreased from 54 percent in 1994 to 8 percent in 2001, while the percent of ethnic Ukrainian migrants increased from 27 percent in 1994 to 72 percent in 2001.

Based on these considerations, for the purposes of this analysis we will define the "Fourth Wave" or "new migrants" as persons born in Ukraine who stated "Ukrainian" as their ancestry in the 2000 U.S. census, and who migrated to the United States between January 1, 1992, and April 15, 2000. According to this definition, the total number of new (probably legal) migrants is estimated in 107,900. (It is important to reiterate that the available statistics pertain only to legal migrants. There is no credible information about all the illegal migrants who eventually manage to acquire permanent status). There are two reasons for this definition: a) the beginning date is a few months after the independence of Ukraine, when Ukrainians finally had the possibility of traveling freely abroad; b) it eliminates a significant portion of Jewish migrants from Ukraine, who are

unlikely to become actively engaged in Ukrainian American organizations, as they have their own well organized community in the United States.

The recent migration from Ukraine is a very important event in the history of the Ukrainian American community. As can be seen in Table 1, this is the largest migration wave in the history of the community. Of the 253,000 migrants among persons of Ukrainian ancestry in the United States, more than half of them arrived between 1990 and 2000. The survivors of the pre-World War II migrants constitute only 2.4 percent of all migrants, and the survivors of the post-World War II migrants comprise less than 10 percent of all migrants. Also the number of new migrants continues to grow, as every year since 2000 at least 10,000 new legal migrants arrive in the United States.

This is a young, family-oriented and mostly economically motivated migration, with many first-class professionals. The median age of the new migrants is 32.5 years, with a high percentage of families with small and adolescent chil-

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Table 3 - Place of Residence: Comparison of Rankings of the First 20 Metropolitan Areas of 4th Wave Migrants, with non-Fourth Wave Migrants

Ranking of 4th Wave migrants	Ranking of non-4th Wave migrants	Metropolitan Areas	No. of 4th Wave migrants
1	1	New York-New Jersey, NY-NJ-CT	28,161
2	22	Sacramento, CA	7,972
3	13	Seattle-Tacoma, WA	7,876
4	4	Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI	7,169
5	20	Portland-Salem, OR	5,871
6	3	Philadelphia-Wilmington, PA-NJ	5,055
7	7	LA-Riverside, CA	4,688
8	11	S. Francisco-Oakland, CA	3,676
9	9	Cleveland-Akron, OH	3,619
10	12	Boston-Worcester, MH-NH	2,362
11	10	Washington-Baltimore, MD-VA	1,863
12	55	Spokane, WA	1,514
13	6	Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI	1,493
14	28	Atlanta, GA	1,240
15	14	Rochester, NY	1,197
16	19	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	1,178
17	52	Springfield, MA	1,031
18	27	Denver-Boulder, CO	940
19	21	Miami-Ft. Lauderdale, FL	879
20	17	Syracuse, NY	732

NOTE: A full lists of all the cities with persons of Ukrainian ancestry, persons who speak Ukrainian and number of new migrants, can be found on the website: www.inform-decisions.com/ukrstat/

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The new migration...

(Continued from page 8)

dren. The impact of this migration can have positive and negative effects on the Ukrainian American community. The attitude of the existing Ukrainian American community towards these migrants will determine to a large extent if the positive effects outweigh the negative effects. We will present three examples of the potential for positive effects that the new migrants can have.

The large number of professionals among the new migrants presents two kinds of opportunities for the community: a) they provide a large pool of potential new members for our professional organizations; b) they bring skills that are key to some community activities. Table 2 illustrates these two types of opportunities. Among the new migrants we have more than 1,000 engineers of different specializations, who could be potential members of the Ukrainian Engineers' Society. This number does not include different kinds of computer professionals and technicians like draftsmen and others. We also have among the new migrants almost 1,000 medical professionals, who could be potential members of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America.

Among the new migrants there are also persons with professions that are key to some critical community activities. There are over 100 clergy among migrants that have arrived between 1992 and early 2000, about 600 post-secondary teachers and almost 150 musicians and singers. The clergy will hopefully help alleviate the acute shortage of priests in our churches. The postsecondary teachers could potentially revitalize the Ukrainian Association of University Professors. We have witnessed many examples of new migrant professional and first-class amateur artists and musicians who have joined existing choirs and orchestras, sometimes as conductors, perform as soloists and have organized new artistic ensembles. They have made a significant contribution to our communities in several cities. However, a good portion of this talent remains untapped. With an appropriate policy on the part of our community leaders, this highly qualified pool of professionals could help revitalize Ukrainian American communities in many cities.

An important characteristic of this new migration wave is their geographical distribution across the territory of the U.S. As Table 3 shows, in general they have not been attracted to cities with large Ukrainian communities. Comparing the rankings of metropolitan areas with the largest number of new migrants, with the ranking of these cities by the number of non-Fourth Wave migrants, we see that, with the exception of the New York metropolitan area, Chicago, Boston and Washington-Baltimore, there is little correspondence between the size of the Ukrainian community and where the new migrants settle. For example, Sacramento, Calif., with the second largest number of new migrants, ranks 22nd in term of the number of non-Fourth Wave migrants. Similarly the ranking of Seattle-Tacoma in Washington State is third for the new migrants and 13th for the non-Fourth Wave migrant population; the respective rankings of Portland-Salem in Oregon

State are fifth and 20th. The new migrants have tended to settle in the West Coast, and are have been mainly motivated by job opportunities, not by the size of Ukrainian communities.

Another way of looking at the geographical distribution of the new migrants is to see in which cities they have contributed the largest increase to the number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry already there. As illustrated in Table 4, the geographical impact of this migration stream is rather complex. (A complete list of all the cities can be seen on the Informed Decisions website: www.inform-decisions.com/ukrstat/).

There are cities with large and well-established Ukrainian American communities that have received a substantial number of new migrants. The New York metropolitan area increased its total number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry by 28,000, an increase of 21 percent; Chicago gained 7,000, an increase of 18 percent; Boston gained almost 2,400, an

increase of 15 percent.

A second category is cities with relatively new Ukrainian communities that received a substantial number of new migrants, making them potentially strong communities if most of these migrants are integrated into the community. For example, San Francisco-Oakland went from 17,000 to a total over 20,000, an increase of 22 percent; Atlanta, went from 6,000 to over 7,500, an increase of 19.5 percent; Denver-Boulder, went from 6,600 to 7,600, an increase of 14 percent.

A third category is composed of cities where there were hardly any persons of Ukrainian ancestry, which received a very large influx of new migrants. There are the extreme cases of Sioux Falls, S.D., where 378 new migrants were added to the 114 persons already there, an increase of over 300 percent, and the Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol metropolitan area in Tennessee-Virginia, where 211 new migrants were added to 109 residents of Ukrainian ancestry, an increase of almost

200 percent. In Lincoln, Nev., the new migrants more than doubled the original number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry. The new migrants in Bellingham, Washington, Springfield, Mass., and Salt Lake City, Utah, increased the original Ukrainian ancestry population by 44 percent to 52 percent. It is important to remember that these are most likely estimates of legal migrants only. If the illegal migrants are included, the impact in these cities would be even larger.

It is safe to say that this new migration wave has made a radical change in the spatial distribution of Ukrainians in the United States, as well as the composition and dynamics of Ukrainians in different cities. This new situation provides challenges, as well as opportunities, to our community leaders.

However, in order to be able to act effectively on these challenges and opportunities, they need to get acquainted with

(Continued on page 16)

Table 4.- Selected Metropolitan Areas by Number of New Migrants as a Percent of the Original Ukrainian Ancestry Population

Consolidated/Primary Metro Area	Total	non-4th Wave migr.	4th Wave migrants	% 4th Wave/non-4th migr.
USA	896,987	789,087	107,900	13.7%
Sioux Falls, SD	492	114	378	331.6%
Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA	320	109	211	193.6%
Lincoln, NE	1,006	434	572	131.8%
Sacramento-Yolo, Ca	15,955	7,983	7,972	99.9%
Spokane, WA	3,237	1,723	1,514	87.9%
Portland-Salem, OR-WA	14,417	8,546	5,871	68.7%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA	20,703	12,827	7,876	61.4%
Bellingham, WA	1,446	946	500	52.9%
Springfield, MA	3,264	2,233	1,031	46.2%
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT	2,038	1,415	623	44.0%
Asheville, NC	957	690	267	38.7%
S. Francisco-Oakland-S. Jose, CA	20,620	16,944	3,676	21.7%
New York-New Jersey-L. Island, NY-NJ-CT	160,024	131,863	28,161	21.4%
Atlanta, GA	7,607	6,367	1,240	19.5%
Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI	46,127	38,958	7,169	18.4%
Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange Co., CA	34,489	29,801	4,688	15.7%
Boston-Worcester-Lawrence, MA-NH-ME-CT	17,920	15,558	2,362	15.2%
Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO	7,579	6,639	940	14.2%
Cleveland-Akron, OH	29,424	25,805	3,619	14.0%

NOTES:

- 1) New Migrants: persons of Ukrainian ancestry, born in Ukraine and who migrated to the US between Jan. 1, 1992 and April 15, 2000
- 2) Non 4th-wave migrants: Persons of Ukrainian ancestry who are US-born, or migrated to the US before January 1, 1992.
- 3) A complete list of all the cities can be found on our website: www.inform-decisions.com/ukrstat/

Table 5.- Number of Persons of Ukrainian Ancestry: 1990 and 2000 Comparisons

	1990	2000		Migrant increase	Percent	
		Without migrants*	With migrants*		Change without migration	Change with migration
Total	738,422	755,059	896,987	158,565	2.3%	21.5%
Speak Ukrainian:						
All ages	97,702	66,375	113,691	15,989	-32.1%	16.4%
5-17	7,051	6,704	20,242	13,191	-4.9%	187.1%
18-24	5,299	2,895	7,406	2,107	-45.4%	39.8%
25-44	23,971	13,558	32,662	8,691	-43.4%	36.3%
45-64	20,475	17,484	24,717	4,242	-14.6%	20.7%
65 or more	40,906	25,734	28,664	-12,242	-37.1%	-29.9%
% Speak Ukrainian (persons 5 yrs. or older)	13.2%	8.8%	13.3%			

* All migrants between January 1, 1990 and April 15, 2000
Source: 1990 and 2000 US census 5% Public Microdata Sample

Ukraine's budget for 2005 is approved, with changes expected

by Andrew Nynka
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Outgoing Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma signed into law a bill on the 2005 national budget, ensuring that both the government and the country could begin work as usual this year and that schools, hospitals and state militia posts throughout the country would have the funds needed for the new year.

The bill, adopted by Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada on December 23, 2004, was signed into law by Mr. Kuchma, on December 28 but is expected to undergo significant changes within the next two months.

A number of Ukrainian lawmakers said they were not satisfied with the document and suggested it was adopted so that there would be no interruption in the work of government as the new year begins.

"All of the factions and groups, every member of Parliament, understood what kind of situation could unfold in Ukraine starting on January 1, 2005, if the budget was not passed," said Petro Poroshenko, the chairman of the Verkhovna Rada's Budget Committee and a key ally of President-elect Viktor Yushchenko.

The lawmaker said that adoption of the budget was not a final decision and he suggested that changes would be made to the document by mid-February. "I want to assure you that the budget that is adopted on February 15 will be a new budget," he said, adding that the government and the Budget Committee would work together to make changes that would be adopted in the Rada's next term, which starts on January 11.

"The 2005 budget will be oriented toward social and economic issues," Mr. Poroshenko said following the parliamentary vote.

The document, as adopted by the

Verkhovna Rada and signed into law by President Kuchma, puts the country's deficit at \$1.66 billion (8.8 billion hrv).

In presenting the budget before the Parliament, Acting Prime Minister Mykola Azarov said revenues had been set at approximately \$15.8 billion (85.1 billion hrv). Expenditures would be approximately \$17.72 billion (93.9 billion hrv).

The deficit is roughly 2.1 percent of the country's GDP, "and the growing economy can allow a deficit of this kind by borrowing domestically and abroad," Mr. Azarov said.

He added that the 2005 draft budget was based on a 6.5 percent growth rate of real GDP to 410 billion hrv, considered to be a cautious and conservative assessment of an 8.7 percent inflation rate.

"We based it on the presumption of a 6.5 percent growth rate, yet that's a very big growth rate," Mr. Azarov said. "The current forecast is more conservative, but the government does hope for a bigger increase of the GDP."

The document passed in the Parliament overwhelmingly, with 339 deputies supporting the bill, 11 voting against and one deputy abstaining. Another 59 members did not vote, out of the total of 410 registered for the session. Ukraine's Parliament has 450 members.

Mr. Azarov also noted the need for the Parliament to pass a workable budget before the end of 2004, saying: "The government believes it would be highly desirable to pass the budget before the new year."

The person who becomes the country's new president and the government he appoints will have an opportunity to make corrections to the budget, Mr. Azarov said.

"For our part, we did our job honestly and objectively, and that's why corrections will only be needed if the parameters of economic development change,"

Mr. Azarov said two days before the budget was passed by the Rada.

"The next president will refuse the Yanukovich-Azarov budget and after this, by February the latest, a new budget will have to be prepared and adopted," said Anatolii Kinakh, leader of the Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and an ally of Mr. Yushchenko.

"Specifically, I was against adopting the budget," Mr. Kinakh said, adding that the document "is not usable."

Adoption of the budget will allow the government to continue pension payments in 2005, Mr. Poroshenko said, adding that the document increased the minimum wage but hurt the government's social benefits plan over all.

Mr. Poroshenko said the budget would decrease the relief aid given to the agricultural sector, but that the move would allow increases to pension payments and the minimum wage.

The government has the resources to finance social payments, including additions to pensions in early 2005. But it has no right to finance the payments until the budget law is passed, Mr. Azarov explained.

The Kyiv-based International Center for Policy Studies, which has monitored the budget process, put the country's projected 2005 GDP at 418 billion hrv with a growth rate of 7 percent.

Andrii Dmytrenko, a research analyst with the Kyiv-based investment bank Dragon Capital, also said the budget would need to be changed. "It does have lots of problems, but it's manageable," he said.

"What I don't like is the sharp increase in revenues as opposed to the projected GDP growth," Mr. Dmytrenko said. He said the increase in pension payouts in 2004 was "a major reason for the deficit" in the 2005 budget and added that he was not

pleased with other aspects of the document.

"It is not a proper way to use privatization proceeds – to finance budgetary expenditures," Mr. Dmytrenko said.

Asked why the document was passed in one package, Mr. Poroshenko said that the decision by the Verkhovna Rada to adopt the budget after two readings conformed to the Parliament's laws. "I don't see any conflicts here," Mr. Poroshenko said.

He reminded the government and members of the Budget Committee that any changes to the budget need to be brought before the Parliament for their scrutiny and subsequent adoption.

The pro-government Social Democrats United and Regions of Ukraine, plus the Communists, United Ukraine, People's Agrarians, the National Democratic Party-Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and Labor Ukraine voted for the budget. Most members of smaller centrists groups also voted for the budget, with a few abstentions.

The main opposition in the Verkhovna Rada to the budget document came from Our Ukraine, where 62 voted for the budget, nine were against and 20 members abstained. Two members of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc voted against the bill and 17 did not vote. Three members of the Socialist Party voted for the bill and the remaining 17 did not vote.

Meeting with Mr. Azarov, President Kuchma said 2004 was a good year from the economic point of view and noted the growth of the country's GDP, the low inflation rate and implementation of the 2004 budget.

The outgoing president commented on the 2005 budget: "We all fully understand that this budget is very difficult, but there are no easy budgets, especially during

(Continued on page 16)



The Ukrainian Research Institute wishes to extend holiday greetings and remind you that if you'd like to learn more about Ukraine, you should join us this summer at the

Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute - June 27 - August 19, 2005

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Yushchenko discusses...

(Continued from page 1)

However, in subsequent interviews Mr. Yushchenko has backed away from naming a specific person and has instead alluded to a small circle of possible candidates for the post.

In addition to Ms. Tymoshenko, Mr. Yushchenko has mentioned Verkhovna Rada Deputy Petro Poroshenko, Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs leader Anatolii Kinakh and Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz. "Maybe two or three other names," Mr. Yushchenko added.

"I think that within several weeks you will witness one very interesting political development. As a result of this process, possibly, many of those people who we have mentioned will lose the titles of, say, leaders of this or that party," Mr. Yushchenko said during his interview with Channel 5.

Volodymyr Lytvyn, the chairman of the Verkhovna Rada, said he believed a new government would be in place by the end of January. Speaking after a meeting with Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Chairman-in-Office Dimitrij Rupel, Mr. Lytvyn also gave some indication of a possible date for Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration.

"Basing on the position expressed by the chairman of the Central Election Committee, and the terms for considering possible appeals to the court, we have every reason to expect the inauguration of the elected president between January 10 and January 14," Mr. Lytvyn said.

Mr. Yushchenko has spent the past week observing Christmas, which is celebrated here on January 7, together with Georgian President Mikhaïl Saakashvili in the Carpathian Mountains. In addition to spending time with their families, the two politicians have also held a number of working meetings and have skied together.

Jubilant on New Year's Eve

Messrs. Yushchenko and Saakashvili also appeared together on New Year's Eve on Kyiv's Independence Square before a jubilant crowd of several hundred thousand people.

"I am a president and because of my official position I couldn't come here, but my heart was on the Khreshchatyk ... I must say that these last few days I have felt like a native of Kyiv," said Mr. Saakashvili, who attended university in the city.

"I wish you a happy new year with your new president," he said as he stood together with Mr. Yushchenko on a stage erected during the Orange Revolution. The stage has since been dismantled. "You have a super president; he is a good friend of mine and a great politician," he said, just moments before an immense display of fireworks overhead lit the cold night sky.

The president-elect, who has stated repeatedly that he intends to move Ukraine closer to Europe, also spoke with various media over the past week about relations with Russia.

"We must understand that you can only go to the West once you have normalized relations with your neighbors. I am confident that Europe will never admit anyone who brings with them a bag full of problems. We must understand that it is our task to solve them, not someone else's," Mr. Yushchenko said, alluding to the relationship between Ukraine and Russia.

Specifically, Mr. Yushchenko said that Russia's overt support for pro-regime candidate Viktor Yanukovich during the presidential election now compels him to focus more closely on Ukraine's relationship with its northern neighbor.

"We all understand that Russia is Ukraine's permanent neighbor," Mr. Yushchenko said. "The politics between our countries, which was under the direction of the earlier government, could be characterized as dark, clan-oriented poli-

tics, which frustrated, twisted and deformed many of Ukraine's interests in this region."

"We must honestly discuss all of these questions and lessen this destructive influence on our relationship which has taken place these past few months," Mr. Yushchenko stated.

Following a divisive campaign that saw leaders in eastern Ukraine talk of autonomy, Mr. Yushchenko also said he would reassure citizens there and throughout Ukraine who have said his presidency could divide Ukraine.

"My government and I personally will pay more attention to Crimea, Luhansk, Donetsk and Kharkiv. We will have a direct dialogue with the people. Let us discuss all the issues that are worrying those people. I am confident that our position, if it is brought to them directly, will be accepted. It will be accepted," said the 50-year-old politician.

In the first attempt since the election to help reconcile tensions between his supporters and those of Mr. Yanukovich, the newly elected president dispatched Ms. Tymoshenko to Donetsk, where she appeared on the Ukraina TV television channel on December 30. In a confrontational hour-and-a-half interview, Ms. Tymoshenko fielded a number of antagonistic phone calls but assured people that Mr. Yushchenko's administration would work to unite the country.

"I do not know a single person who can imagine Ukraine without Lviv, for example, or without Donetsk or Kharkiv or Luhansk. We would all become incomplete if we break up our country," Ms. Tymoshenko said while wearing an orange Shakhtar Donetsk soccer jersey.

"I am one of those Ukrainians who want Ukraine to stay united, whatever the circumstances," she added in Russian. "I want Ukraine to become a full-fledged player on the international arena – a country that has an influence and which stands up for its interests."

Mr. Yushchenko, who gave a brief press conference with Mr. Saakashvili at the base of ski run during his stay in the mountains on January 5, said three or four steps are necessary to bring Ukraine into Europe.

"This includes obtaining market economy status, membership in the World Trade Organization, creation of a free trade zone with European Union countries and beginning EU membership negotiations, first as an associate member and then full membership," Mr. Yushchenko said.

Ukrainian-Georgian declaration

The two Eastern European leaders also signed a joint declaration on January 5, Interfax-Ukraine reported. The people of Ukraine and Georgia "have demonstrated to the whole world that freedom and democracy, the people's will and fair elections are much stronger than government mechanisms, however tough they might be," they said in the declaration.

The declaration, which was signed in the western Ukrainian ski resort town of Tysovet, also stated that Ukraine and Georgia "will continue moving towards the building of a united democratic Europe and development of good relations with neighboring countries."

Earlier in the week, the president-elect also spoke on the topic of corruption in Ukraine. "Corruption has deeply penetrated government structures, the financial system, the system of ownership and so on. This is a problem that prevents the country's movement toward progress," he said.

"I know that today 98 percent of Ukrainian business was formed in the conditions of the crooked, distorted legislation that existed between 1993 and 1996. But today 98 percent of businesses provide jobs, pay taxes and demand one thing from

the state – that it protect them in line with the law," Mr. Yushchenko said.

Asked during the interview with Channel 5 if he knew who poisoned him, Mr. Yushchenko replied, "I know, privately. I have no feeling, no need for revenge. I want these people to be brought to account as the law requires – nothing more."

Addressing what he said was the second most important priority for Ukraine, Mr. Yushchenko said: "We want to show that the social priorities, about which so much has been said over the past few years, can be achieved within a year. So a

Diaspora participation...

(Continued from page 1)

life that I felt I could make a difference," said Orest Temnycky.

"I was sent to Bilopillia, in Sumy Oblast, just 10 kilometers from the Russian border," explained Mr. Temnycky, 42, a foreign exchange salesperson and consultant who traveled from Clifton, N.J., to offer his assistance to the people of the country where his parents were born. "And I did not know what to expect; I was exhausted and stressed from being away from my family at Christmastime and worried that I could not communicate with the people because I did not understand Russian." (He needn't have worried – everyone spoke Ukrainian there.)

What he found were memories to last a lifetime and friends that will always remember how he helped them fight the struggle that has now set them free.

"This incident basically confirmed everything that the revolution stood for," he said, explaining that an intimidating woman, the head of the polling station committee, was going to have her way at the final count, and it seemed that no one was going to stand in her way. One young man, also a member of the polling station committee, wanted to challenge her, but he needed evidence and a shoulder to lean on to give him confidence that he was not alone.

Mr. Temnycky and his team of observers provided the young man with materials from the CEC regarding ballot counting, and their presence gave him the confidence to confront the woman. In the end, truth won out and she was not able to falsify the vote count. And the international observers in Bilopillia got a thank you from the young man that made everything worthwhile, recounted Mr. Temnycky.

For Mark Iwasykiw, 43, an IT specialist in New York City, this, his first trip to Ukraine, provided him with a broad range of experiences. "I have been met with the world my parents used to tell me about and I was also met with the world I know on a daily basis, by seeing guys that are just like me here," he observed.

"My experience here simply confirms the fact that no matter how badly we have been beaten into the ground, we have now risen from the ashes. And I feel that this will be an amazing shift in the world," he said.

Although most experiences for the UCCA observers were positive, interesting and educational, leading to new contacts and adventures, some observers in eastern Ukraine did not receive such warm welcomes.

"Why, in Zaporizhzhia, eastern Ukraine, we were basically told: 'Yankee go home,'" explained Yaroslav Fedun, a pensioner from New Jersey, adding that the people at about half of the polling stations he visited, told him in no uncertain terms that they could take care of themselves.

"When I heard Mykola Tomenko speak on the maidan (over the Internet) soon after the November 21 run-off, and he asked people to come out and join the crowds, I knew I had to be there, too,"

radical change of social policy, and making sure that every citizen feels it, I would say this is our second most important priority. I am talking about pensions, various social programs, wages and pensions."

Mr. Yushchenko has also repeatedly touched on the outgoing presidential administration and hinted that he is interested in moving the Presidential Administration Building, currently located on Kyiv's Bankova Street, but said there may be no time to do so. "The building needs to be washed with holy water," Mr. Yushchenko said during his Channel 5 interview.

explained John Leshchuk, 43, a chip designer for a telecommunications firm in New Jersey. Mr. Leshchuk, who had been an observer at the Ukraine's Consulate General in New York for Rounds 1 and 2, didn't think too long before he purchased a ticket to travel to Ukraine on the eve of the Christmas holidays.

Most of the UCCA observers were mobilized in 10 to 14 days, and many scrambled for tickets, paying outrageous amounts to travel during peak season to Europe. The experience also involved dealing with separation from loved ones during the holidays, taking time off from demanding jobs and venturing into the cold and dark winter nights of rural Ukraine, instead of enjoying the holidays in their family circles.

When Marta Kryvutsky of Silver Spring, Md., requested time off from her boss to go see the Orange Revolution in Ukraine and serve as an election monitor, he basically asked her: "So, what are you still doing here?" and blessed her on her journey.

UNA President Stefan Kaczaraj traveled to Ukraine with the support of his wife and two daughters. "They basically pushed me out of the house, adding that we will have other Christmases together, but this Orange Revolution happens once in a person's lifetime (if that)," he noted.

Although Mr. Kaczaraj traveled alone to Ukraine, many observers with the UCCA came with friends, relatives and co-workers. Husbands and wives, mothers-in-law with sons-in-laws, mothers and daughters, fathers and sons, brothers and sisters, made the trek to the ancestral homeland to make a contribution to this fledgling democracy to guarantee transparent and fair elections.

Among the observers there were also quite a few people who feel a special connection to Ukraine, but are not of Ukrainian heritage.

One of them was James Huntwork, 56, a lawyer from Phoenix, Ariz., who has been coming to Ukraine since 1991.

"I have long since lost count as to how many times I have been in Ukraine – probably 16 to 18 times," he recalled. He came to work on election law issues in the late summer of 1991 and came back to observe the independence referendum as part of the very first wave of international election observers in Ukraine.

"I had to come this time, because this election was the second new beginning for Ukraine, and I think that our work is not yet done," he said.

Another person who arrived in Ukraine and simply felt right at home was Texan Brad Bunt, 37, who works on small business development issues with the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation in the Sumy Oblast. This monitoring mission was his 15th trip to Ukraine over the last seven years and, as he likes to point out, "it is also my most important one."

"A few weeks ago, Ukraine finally became noticed by the world. As I saw all the people standing on the maidan, I couldn't think of a better way to spend Christmas, but to come to Ukraine and to support all these people and their struggle for democracy," he said.

Messages from the Orange Revolution

by Petro Rondiak

Following is a day-by-day account of the Orange Revolution written and e-mailed to a group of friends outside of Ukraine by Petro Rondiak.

Mr. Rondiak and his wife, Ola, lived in Kyiv in 1995 for two years and later returned in 2002 with their three children: Roman, Maya and Kalyna. Employed by the Winner Automotive Group, Mr. Rondiak enjoys expanding the business with his Ukrainian managers, spending time with his family, running the Kyiv Pee-Wee Soccer Program and producing English-language theater (in which Ola performs) with the Loose Change Players – Kyiv. Raised in the United States by their Ukrainian parents and heavily involved in Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, the Rondiaks say the Orange Revolution has been, and continues to be, a very unifying and inspirational experience.

Mr. Rondiak's "Messages from the Orange Revolution" will appear in several parts. The photos accompanying the story are the author's.

Part II

DAY 6

Sent: Saturday, November 27, 2004, 7:47 a.m.

As requested, attached are family photos, including Romchuk on maidan (I

caused by falling asleep at the keyboard).

This morning Kalyna wanted the Yushchenko plate. There is no more color orange in our house. If you ask Kalyna to list the colors, she will reply blue, red, pink, Yushchenko, green etc.

This morning we did a walk down the loop, which has now become the standard progression – maidan, Euro Sq, Cab Min, Vr, And Pres Admin. Again amazed by the ability of Pora to create huge demonstrations at each place simultaneously.

People are arriving and arriving. Example: Tarasa Shevchenko Boulevard from Bessarabka to Volodymyrska packed with minivans between the topoli [poplars]. A massive tailgate party. Mostly western Ukraine. But eastern regions represented as well. Taras Shevchenko Park also becoming a campground/minivan park.

Growing, growing, growing.

Going back tonight. More later today.

Sent: Sunday, November 28, 2004, 3:42 p.m.

Pryvit! Passed out last night and never finished Day 6 second half. So here it is.

Despite the Orange Revolution, ballet class was not cancelled. In the middle of Day 6 we took Maya and Kalyna to their scheduled ballet class. Nothing like ballet class during a historic revolution for a dose of the surreal. I was asked if anyone in the city is working. The answer is yes.



The Winner Ford Sales Team, including Petro Rondiak (bottom left), on the maidan on Day 8.

took Romchuk out for a few minutes on Day 3, morning. He took it in for about 10 minutes and proceeded to get preoccupied with the newly fallen snow). The girls, Maya and Kalyna, you can see on the train photo (train to Lviv). There is also a shot of Ola and myself last night, November 26 our 10-year anniversary!

Yes! Military officers, SBU generals, militia, are regularly making appearances on the stage and pledging their allegiance to the people and to Yushchenko, to which the crowd responds "Molodtsi! Molodtsi!"

Kravchuk is pretty much clueless [an assessment of the former president's appearances on TV - ed.]

Thanks for feedback!

Sent: Saturday, November 27, 2004, 5:33 p.m.

Hi! Thanks for the anniversary wishes and kind words. Ramada, eh?[Petro's messages were displayed on posters set up for the Morskyi Bal at the Ramada Hotel on Friday, November 26. The dance is an annual event organized by the Chornomortsi fraternity of Plast. -ed]

Should've checked my spelling and grammar (and unfinished sentences

Outside the center, you can't really tell there is anything abnormal happening. Except the various parks and squares around the center that are jam packed with minivans, buses and cars. Like St. Sophia Square, which looks like the parking lot at Giants Stadium before a game. People cooking, singing and sleeping in minivans with their engines running. The smell of exhaust fumes from old engines is one of the pervasive smells of the revolution.

I won't go into the smells inside Dim Ukrainian which has become a crowded, dark and wet shelter where demonstrators can warm up, receive medical attention, or go to the "Spalnyy Punkt," which consists of a set of chairs where one can sit and sleep in a sitting position. The stairs to the second floor are also reasonably dry, so many people are sleeping in sitting positions on the stairs with their head, on their arms on their knees.

Ola's cousin Nazar from Kolomia is part of the security wall around the tent city at the area across from McDonald's. What he said about the tent city:

Access is by passport only (checked against a registration list)

All residents are frisked on the way into the compound (as a result of one guy that brought in a gun).

All residents take an oath not to drink alcohol of any kind. Anyone determined to be under the influence is removed from the camp and taken off registration.

They are well-supplied and well-fed with hot food from the field kitchens. In fact, at the border of the tent city the students are actually feeding other demonstrators that don't have any food.

Then to the Pres Admin lower part. Four days ago there was a line of riot police side by side with special billy clubs and hard black star wars helmets. Last night they had soft helmets with no visors. They had large gaps between each cop, and didn't have the special clubs. Kind of relaxed from the police side. Up on Bankova things are pretty much the same regarding riot police deployment.

Around midnight it became a little more like we're used to on Khreschatyk on the weekend, except hugely amplified by the crazy amounts of people everywhere. Many inebriated individuals spotted. We moved quickly and were on alert. Sure enough, waiting at a kiosk while a friend was making a purchase, I was approached by two Yanuk supporters. Young men, white T-shirts pulled over their sweaters with a blue;

"Ya liubliu Yanukovycha" printed on them.

He pointed at the U.S. flag that's hanging from my hat and said (in Russian) "In your country elections aren't falsified? Do you honestly mean to tell me that the people voted for someone that sends their sons and daughters to fight and die in Iraq?" The young man was in um... and elevated state. I smiled and said I have to go. Ola, our friend and I turned and started leaving the dvir the kiosk was in. They followed us, chanting something about Lenin and Komsomol. We were relieved when we neared the exit of the courtyard and there were large groups of Yush supporters glaring at our newfound friends. We stopped and they kept going, chanting away in a sea of orange: "Lenin, Komsomoltsi."

The house we are in (Danyo K's) is a happy (though at times loud) revolution house with six kids and five adults. Plus an additional three men, family connections to Danyo, who arrived from Lviv last night to show their support.

That's it for last night. End of Day 6.

Leaving for maidan now to spend the evening there. Petro Out!

PS. Congrats on the NYC Protests!!! Thanks for the video footage that I will distribute on CD at the tent city, and Yush's headquarters.

DAY 7 (No e-mails.)

DAY 8

Sent: Tuesday, November 30, 2004, 12:22 a.m.

Pryvit!

The crowds continue to grow – in my estimation. Did some driving around in the Expedition, beeping and waving orange to crowds of cheering demonstrators. "Razom nas bahato..." cranked up. Windows down. Pretty much a total high. Passed a small party of about 100 Yanuk supporters. Slowed down, turned up the volume and gave the victory sign. They were a much more cheerful group than those portrayed on TV.

Then, while on foot, passed two militia guys guarding some bldg and gave them orange ribbons from my pocket. They smiled and accepted them. I felt like I was a hippie in the sixties.

While driving, listening to Era Radio 96.1 and hearing all these selos [villages] in the east call in and state that their silki rady decided for Yush and against their

(Continued on page 13)



Day 10: demonstrators clad in orange hard hats and plastic orange "ponchos" march to the Verkhovna Rada.

Messages from...

(Continued from page 12)

oblast government.

On maidan. What people! The whole range of demographics. Many have no job to return to if Yanuk becomes president since they defied their bosses and came to Kyiv anyway. These people are definitely here for a long term. "Until



A view of the tent city's "defenses" on Day 10.

inauguration" they say.

To give you an idea of how large the crowd is, the organizers made an announcement on stage requesting people not to use the metro system at Metro Khreschatyk and maidan due to overcrowding. People are walking to Lva Tolstoho and Pochtova Ploscha.

Another crowd size indicator: while all government building blockades are still fully staffed, European Square packed, maidan packed, and Khreschatyk packed – simultaneously there was a march of Yush supporters one street lane wide stretching from the CEC, at the top of Lesia Ukrainka, all the way down to Bessarabka and Khreschatyk! Truly a movement.

I managed to hook up with my Ford sales team from work that managed to come down together to participate.

And one last observation: Pora has made attempts to fortify the perimeter of their tent village with wooden fencing made from used pallets, ropes and scrap wood. Also a few buses have been moved to the sides of the encampment, for additional protection.

Heavily snowing – eerie low news day.

DAY 9

Sent: Wednesday, December 01, 2004, 12:55 a.m.

At work this morning. First problem: banks weren't working for the first half of the day which makes cashflow um... a little difficult at work.

Note: Tristan, a British friend of ours, has posted a short film that captures some of the feeling of being here right now. It's on <http://www.brama.com/news/press/2004/11/041123Revolution-high.wmv> – "The Revolution" – Film by Tristan Brotherton, Kyiv.

No photos today as it was really cold and dark, and my time was spent walking around maidan trying to stay warm and listen to the speeches. It was voice recorder day, and I recorded a poem that Vitalii, a guy from Lviv, standing next to me, wanted to recite to me.

Energy was high at maidan when at around 17:30 it was announced that Yushchenko was still in meetings with Parliament people and would speak in and hour or so. The speech went on to say that all political moves were exhausted. That the Parliament tried to reverse its deci-

sion nixing the election results. That the govt was simply stalling to kill time. It was clearly stated that if nothing comes of the VR meeting tomorrow at 10 a.m. then political maneuvers will no longer be used. Effective immediately, the blockades were resumed at the Cabinet of Ministers and Presidential Admin. (They were removed last night). There was a call to action to come to maidan at 9 a.m. and then to pro-

ceed to VR at 10 tomorrow. In one part of the speech the guy said that it's easy to take any building in this city. But it's not easy to "make it ours," thus it's a process that must go its course. As it turned out, Yushchenko never came out to speak. Still in a meeting I guess. Oh, the band that does "Razom nas bahato..." came on stage and did the song. Everyone went nuts. Including the old-timers in the audience jamming away, bobbing their heads.

It was probably the coldest night yet. It was really frigid. Ukrainians have an amazing tolerance of the cold. Able to stay outside for hours and hours it seems, unlike me, a soft American.

Decisive day tomorrow, I hope, for the sake of all those masses braving the cold night.

Petro out.

PS: Everyone in Kyiv now knows the word "Pomarancha," I think the word "Apelsin" is history. The Ukies we work with that used to look at us incredulously when we use the word "pomarancha" have a new found linguistic respect for us!

DAY 10

Sent: Wednesday, December 1, 2004, 10:37 p.m.

Pryvit! Another bitter cold day in Kyiv. Not much to report here. Spent the whole day checking it out. Three personal highlights for me: First, Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) rally. What a rally! What a decision! (Lytvyn's idea to do a secret ballot vote was stroke of genius.) Second, news that Pora blockaded Kuchma's house in Koncha Zaspas, denying access, and lastly, this edited video clip, shown on stage, of Mrs. Yanukovych doing hand motions to the "Razom nas bahato."

Outside our apartment in Ivan Franko Park, Yush's people have built inflatable tents that look like a military field hospital. It's just down the hill from the pres. admin. Hmmm. Also a new stage has been built on Instytutska directly opposite the opening of Bankova St. where the demonstrators and riot police are. The stage was not used all day today. Hmmm. ...

On and around Maidan and Khreschatyk there are multiple field kitchens with feeding stations giving out

endless meals and cups of hot tea from morning until night. Long lines of people waiting for their turn. Some company has set up a bunch of tents with rotisserie chicken equipment that roasts about 50 chickens at time. Trucks deliver chickens to the first tent where they get butchered, they then get passed to the oven tent, then to the serving tent and to the people. Long line that's actually roped off and orderly.

It's really a high to walk around the center now that half of western Ukraine is out here. My peeps. Being surrounded by that western Ukraine type of Ukrainian language is not something I'm normally accustomed to in Kyiv. Yet here it is. Guys from Lviv actually told me that they are surprised by Kyiv and they are finding themselves not immediately repulsed by Russian-speaking Ukrainians here. Talk about a revolution.

Listening to Yushchenko's speech tonight, it's clear the end is still not at hand. Nothing from Tymoshenko tonight.

DAY 11

Sent: Friday, December 3, 2004, 12:33 a.m.

Pryvit! Druzi!

Tremendous day today. Temperature actually increased to around 40, which made it easy to hang out.

On Khreschatyk we passed a group of guys from Pechenizhyn, a selo not far from Kolomyia where Ola's mother was born. Spoke with them, bought them cig-

all over Ukraine. The uproar in [response to] Yush's speech, when he asked if people are willing to tough it out until complete victory is achieved, was deafening. No fears here. No longer a demonstration – now it's a full blown "movement."

Supreme Court proceedings drag on. Is it me? Or does everyone agree that the procedure is not very understandable. I need a commentator. And what's with the judge using his laptop the whole time? What's on that laptop? We watched what looked like closing arguments from four attorneys on Yush side while eating a chicken grill sandwich at Mr. Snack. Double chicken, double cheese. Pretty convincing arguments (not surprisingly), especially from the attorney that looks like Alan Dershowitz.

Also, after hearing about a Yush defense force being recruited, I saw evidence of such recruitment tonight. Two men were standing near the central post office with signs like the one in the attached photo: "Sign up for the ranks of the people's defense – per decree of the National Salvation Committee." I spoke with one of them and asked who they were looking for. The answer was anyone under 35 years old with a Ukrainian passport and healthy. They gather 20-25 volunteers each, mostly young students from what I could tell, and lead them over to Yush headquarters building for briefings by Yush people.

I didn't think Yush would speak tonight since nothing that big happened, but he did do a 40-minute speech (followed by Y.



Ola Rondiak (front, holding sign) with Yushchenko supporters from Pechenizhyn.

arettes (not exactly a healthy means of support – but something they valued since they said all their other needs are more than adequately met: food, vitamins, etc...) They are responsible for the wall of the tent village at the intersection of Prorizna, which is now defended with iron benches in a triangle formation.

Excellent atmosphere on maidan today, really packed with people despite my fears that the crowd might start thinning out. Saw many fresh arrivals from

Tymoshenko's speech) that got the crowd really psyched. It was educational for me, since he touched on the language and religion issue, refuting the propaganda that he will be shutting down Russian-speaking schools and churches etc. For example, he explained how all of Europe was amazed by the literacy of Ukrainian people (including selo men, women and children) as far back as 400 years ago. Bohdan

(Continued on page 14)

FILM REVIEW: "A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa" revisited

by Alexandra Hawryluk

The really interesting questions are those that ask us to re-examine issues that are so deeply imbedded in a given culture that they are taken for granted. Yuri Ilyenko in his film "A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa" – which was screened for North American audiences in 2004 – attempts to lift the veil of historical myth draped over the figure of Ivan Mazepa by asking: Who is Hetman Mazepa?

It's a good question considering that the two most widely held perceptions of Ivan Mazepa are conflicted: Ukrainians see him as a hero, while Russians believe him to be a traitor. At the same time, both perceptions are burdened by the political correctness of Soviet historiography. Add to this the idea that, "The history of the Hetmanate became a key component of national history and the nation-building myth" (Orest Subtelny, "Ukraine, A History," University of Toronto Press, 1988), and it becomes clear why the leaders of that era have become revered national heroes.

Although we don't mind when historians, sociologists, anthropologists and archaeologists deconstruct the past, we are less comfortable when a cinematographer undertakes to ask similar questions. Perhaps it is because during all those Cold War years, we have had to keep justifying to our fellow citizens the existence of Ukrainian history, Ukrainian culture, Ukrainian language. Perhaps it is because in face of Soviet destruction, persecution and propaganda we have had to develop an acutely critical attitude toward the Communist deconstruction. Perhaps the resulting defensiveness makes it difficult to review the more painful aspects of history. Whatever the explanation, in that respect, Mr. Ilyenko is to be commended for having the courage to question.

However, the trouble is not so much with the question, as with his method of deconstruction. David Stratton evaluated the film on April 11, 2002, for *Variety* as follows: "This lavishly produced historical epic about Ukrainian hero Hetman Mazepa, who in the early 18th century briefly secured his country's independence from rivals Russia and Sweden, is a wilfully chaotic picture. Its merits, such as they are, lie in its very craziness, certainly not in its utterly confusing way of telling a story which, presumably, is familiar to Ukrainian audiences. The latest film from Yuri Ilyenko, one of the most colorful figures of the long-gone Soviet cinema, is at best a curiosity..."

Despite the fact that the film uses the classical device of telling the story through the main character's recollections of the past, that is, Mazepa's delirious death bed visions, which include Tsar Peter I, King Charles XII, Gen. Vasyl Kochubey, Motria Kochubey, scenes of clashing armies, floating corpses, flaming steppes, horsemen riding through misty forests, plaster body parts, painted sets, as well as Mazepa's own funeral – it is not easy to discern who is fighting with whom, when, where and for what reason. However rich and interesting these images are, especially their juxtaposition with bits and pieces from an ongoing "vertep" play, ultimately their complexity gets in the way of a clean story line.

There's a lot of declamatory speechifying and shouting over the din," Mr. Stratton wrote in his review. The dialogue between the main characters, Hetman Mazepa (Bohdan Stupka) and

Tsar Peter I (Vyacheslav Dovzhenko), fails to reveal anything meaningful about their friendship or their enmity. Instead, the brief exchanges between them, between Mazepa and Kochubey, Mazepa and his trusted messenger Bystrytsky, and even bed talk between Mazepa and Motria, all sound more like rhetoric, than real conversation. One would think that the dramatic tension generated by all these gifted historical characters would offer the writer wonderful opportunities for brilliant verbal matches, acerbic wit, biting repartee.

The introduction of the deliberately artificial scenery into real landscape, the whimsical costumes, the romantic location shots, give the production a lush, imaginative, surrealistic atmosphere. But inserting Serhiy Yakutovych's well-painted architectural sets into too many scenes is a little tiresome. On the other hand, things like Kochubey's magnificent gold-encrusted costume, the blue yellow-trimmed uniforms of the Swedish soldiers, Charles's cumbersome coach, the beautiful horses, the confused cacophony of battle, these do give a sense of the era. Some costumes, however, (most notably the Xena-Warrior-Princess-like leather bikini worn by Ludmilla Yefimenko, the Russian general's quasi-Roman, silver padded fabric armor with its orange gauze tunic, Mazepa's red satin toga.) would look more at home in a Monty Python film than in a historic epic. All this is filmed with a hand-held camera using colored and gauze filters favoring unfocused, overexposed takes, rapid panning and uneven color grading. It's this love for overstatement, this overuse of artifice and flamboyance that gives the film its busy and affected look.

Not surprisingly, the reactions to the film have been mixed. And naturally enough, Mr. Ilyenko is upset at the negative reviews of "A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa." In defense of his product he has said that "the avalanche of negative criticism which has buried my film cannot be called genuine cinematic critique. There is no critical thought or analysis in these libellous articles." (Meest, January 22, 2004). His supporters have responded in a similar vein, interpreting the film as the work of a misunderstood genius. Others, in a show of support for Ukrainian cinematography simply tried to explain the film. Yuri Shevchuk in his review in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, August 25, 2002, suggested that the film's "visual and acoustic arsenals are designed to shock, to antagonize, to revolt, to make the viewer ... suffer. Small wonder that those who expected to be entertained were in for a cruel disappointment." That's, of course, assuming that there are only two categories of viewer: serious cinema buffs and frivolous entertainment seekers. Be that as it may, it is still difficult to dismiss Mr. Stratton's observation that Mr. Ilyenko's problem is his "extremely stylized approach reminiscent, at its best of Parazhanov and at its worst (which is most of the time) characterized by an almost amateurish disregard for audience sensibilities." (*Variety*, April 11, 2002)

Mr. Ilyenko's disregard for the audience is precisely what galls. To begin with, the very title "A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa" suggests an allusion to religion or a religious context. According to Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary, "Prayer is the activity of praying to God" or "a set form of words which is said during a religious service." The film, however, offers the audience no perceptible supplication to God on behalf of Mazepa, unless, the word "prayer" is a cynical reference to the excommunication incantations of the



A scene from "A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa," with set design by Serhiy Yakutovych.

black-robed, black-bearded priests seen in the film – the infamous anathema. Even there, it is unclear who exactly might be praying or why.

It is not just this ambiguity, but the way religious ritual and religious symbolism are used, that may well offend the viewer's religious sensibilities. Why, for instance, are the violent outbursts of Peter I against Mazepa punctuated by the tsar either rushing up to a portable "ikonostas" or making the sign of the cross? The mysterious set of free-standing "tsarski vorota" in the middle of what seems like a battle scene with minor characters crawling out from under them, the painted paper set depicting generic onion-domed churches (but curiously not the churches endowed by Mazepa), and at least three cross-shaped pools, while interesting, leave the audience wondering about their relevance. On the other hand,

Motria's christening scene with her father, General Kochubey, standing waist-deep in the waters of a cross-shaped opening in river ice, seems to be striking a balance between artistic expression and Ukrainian religious tradition. Yet the carefully thought out effect of one scene is often undone by another. Having Mazepa's messenger tortured in a cross-shaped well or pool makes little sense, as political loyalty is the issue in that scene, not religious beliefs.

If this violent scene hasn't ruffled religious sensibilities, Mazepa's death scene certainly might. There, Mr. Ilyenko jumbles up the sound of religious chant, the sight of sombre black-robed monks, a crowd of not-so-modest maidens inexplicably jammed up against a glass wall, with a white-clad Mazepa lying on a

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Alexandra Hawryluk writes regularly for *Radio Canada International* in Montreal.



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The new migration...

(Continued from page 9)

the location, composition and growth of both old and new communities, and then develop strategies for establishing better contacts with them and help them organize more effectively. They need to step out of the traditional ghetto-based model of community work, and develop modern communication and management strategies.

Finally, probably the most important impact of the new migrants on the Ukrainian American community is the large number of Ukrainian speakers among them. First, we need to comment on the fact that, according to the 2000 U.S. census, the majority of new migrants speak Russian at home, not Ukrainian; among new migrants age 5 or higher that speak Ukrainian or Russian at home, 40 percent said that they speak Ukrainian and 60 percent said that they speak Russian at home. Given the large number of recent migrants and the fact that so many of them speak Russian at home, this has had a surprising effect on the whole group of persons of Ukrainian ancestry in the United States: 13.3 percent of the 854,000 persons age 5 or more speak Ukrainian, while the percent speaking Russian is 14.1 percent. This is probably a unique case in the history of an ethnic group in the United States, where more persons speak another language than the language of the ethnic group.

In spite of the fact that the majority of new migrants speak Russian and not Ukrainian, the number of Ukrainian speakers among them is substantial. It is interesting to analyze this fact from two perspectives: a) what would have been the language assimilation situation in the Ukrainian American community if there had been no migration from Ukraine in the last 15 years; b) the potential contribution of Ukrainian-speaking migrants to the revitalization of our institutions.

Table 5 documents the implications of both perspectives. As we are making comparative analyses between the 2000 and the 1990 census data, we will consider here all the migrants that arrived to the U.S. between 1990 and 2002; thus the number of migrants shown here is larger than the number of Fourth Wave or new migrants.

The 1990 U.S. census showed that there were 738,422 persons of Ukrainian ancestry in the United States. If we exclude all the persons that migrated to the United States between 1990 and 2000, the number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry would have been 755,059 in 2000, which translates into an increase of 2.3 percent in 10 years. Had there been no migration from Ukraine between 1990 and 2000, the number of Ukrainian speakers would have decreased from 97,702 in 1990 to 66,375 in 2000, a loss of 32 percent. This large loss is due to the fact that most of the Ukrainian speakers in the United States in 1990 were older persons, with a high probability of dying in the next 10 years. If we analyze the Ukrainian speakers by age groups, we see that in the age groups of 18 to 24 and 25 to 44 years, the loss would have been 43

percent to 45 percent. Overall, the percent of Ukrainian speakers for all persons age 5 or more would have decreased from 13.2 percent in 1990 to 8.8 percent in 2000.

The influx of migrants from Ukraine has stopped the process of language assimilation for Ukrainian Americans. The overall percent of Ukrainian speakers in 2000 is now 13.3 percent, practically the same as in 1990, instead of 8.8 percent if there had been no recent migration from Ukraine. The new migrants contributed a total of 16,000 additional persons that speak Ukrainian at home – a 16.4 percent increase in Ukrainian speakers in 1990.

A very important characteristic of these new Ukrainian speakers is their age distribution. Most of them, 13,000 out of a total of 16,000, are in the age group 5-17, which translates into a 187 percent increase of Ukrainian speakers for this age group between 1990 and 2000. The new migrants have also made a substantial contribution of Ukrainian speakers in the age groups 18-24 and 25-44, an increase of 40 percent and 36 percent, respectively. Due to the advanced age of most Ukrainian speakers in the U.S. and the fact the number of new migrants aged 65 years or more is relatively small, this age group experienced a loss of 30 percent of Ukrainian speakers between 1990 and 2000.

These numbers show that the new migrants can make an extraordinary contribution to the vitality of the community and its survival in the near future. They have stopped the process of language assimilation and, what is more important, given the young age of most of them, the rate of language assimilation of Ukrainian Americans is likely to be slower in the near future, as the mortality of Ukrainian speakers will not be an important factor. On the other hand, it is possible that the new migrants will engage in active language assimilation and thus accelerate the process of language assimilation in the future.

This large number of young Ukrainian speakers constitutes a potentially large pool of candidates for Ukrainian schools, youth organizations and other organizations in the Ukrainian American community. One should also keep in mind that many, if not most of new migrants that speak Russian at home also know how to speak Ukrainian, and many of them are also potential candidates for invigorating our schools, youth and other organizations. To a great extent it is up to the current organized community to make sure that this great potential is fully realized.

The recent wave of migrants from Ukraine is a unique event in the history of the Ukrainian American community. It presents challenges and opportunities, and it is up to us if we take full advantage or not of the opportunities it presents. The process of accommodation and integration has not been easy, but there have been quite a few successes. We hope that this fact-based description of their characteristics will provide a basis for a better understanding of some of the opportunities they present, and will help develop more comprehensive strategies for dealing with the challenges that need to be overcome.

Ukraine's budget...

(Continued from page 10)

this transition period. We have drafted probably the most socially conscious budget since independence."

Over all, the bill kept spending on defense at the same level as the previous year, while decreasing it in some areas, Minister of Defense Oleksander Kuzmuk said the same day that Parliament passed the bill.

"Everything possible will be done to implement reforms of the armed forces and social programs," he said, adding that the 2005 budget would not allow the

military to maintain a 100 percent level of combat readiness.

The bill also received support from an unlikely ally. "For the first time in years the Communist deputies will vote to support the budget," said Adam Martyniuk, a member of the Verkhovna Rada from the Communist Party.

"If we don't pass it on time, the minimum wage will drop to 237 hrv from 262 hrv at present, while 10 million pensioners will again be getting 140 hrv," Mr. Martyniuk said. "Given the degree to which people are involved in these problems, we'll most probably support the budget," Mr. Martyniuk said two days before he cast his vote for the budget.

The EU's response...

(Continued from page 2)

between aspirant states such as Ukraine, and non-aspirants such as Russia.

Second, the ENP added little that was new and relied instead on the existing agreement to guide relations – the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) – which had long exhausted its potential for moving relations forward.

Third, the ENP offered few real motivating incentives, at least in the short term. The offer of extending the EU's "four freedoms" (of movement of people, capital, goods and labor) to neighbors was generous but unrealistic. This is because it failed to take into account Ukraine's impoverishment, making them an enticing but elusive prospect. In addi-

tion, the EU refused to make even relatively minor trade concessions to the neighbors, even though economic incentives represent the linchpin of the ENP.

Fourth, and perhaps most important, the document made no reference to any possibility of Ukraine eventually joining the EU. The prospect of membership was effectively excluded.

Up to a point, the stance adopted by Brussels was understandable. Too often Ukraine has paid scant attention to the EU's insistence on the need to implement reform. In addition, the union had been concerned about the Kuchma regime for some time. There were real question marks over the validity of his re-election in 1999 and his increasingly authoritarian undertones. These concerns reached their peak when President Kuchma was impli-

Forging political...

(Continued from page 2)

and Entrepreneurs – has just 150 deputies, which is well below the 226 votes needed to pass most resolutions in the 450-seat Verkhovna Rada.

The Orange Revolution has prompted numerous defections from previously pro-Yanukovich parliamentary caucuses, but these defectors – who include a group of some 50 non-aligned deputies – need yet to be effectively courted by Mr. Yushchenko. Still, even absolute success would translate into a total of 200 votes rather than the required 226. Mr. Yushchenko must, therefore, draw at least two other minor parliamentary groups into his camp in order to form a new government on solid footing. Presumably, such parliamentary maneuvers will lead to offers of government posts to people who appear distant from the ideals of the Orange Revolution – or even who stood by his rival's side when the revolution was taking place.

Choosing a prime minister is a difficult problem, too. Ms. Tymoshenko has made little secret of her willingness to accept the job. The same applies to lawmaker and businessman Petro Poroshenko, who supported Mr. Yushchenko's Orange Revolution both financially and propagandistically (Mr. Poroshenko owns the Channel 5 television station that took much of the credit for having promoted Mr. Yushchenko's presidential bid consistently throughout the campaign).

Ms. Tymoshenko is widely perceived as a radical and a bitter enemy of pro-Kuchma oligarchs, so her potential premiership could exacerbate tense relations between Mr. Yushchenko and the deep-pocketed elements from eastern Ukraine who supported Mr. Yanukovich and control a hefty segment of the national economy. Mr. Poroshenko is seen as a moderate in comparison to Ms. Tymoshenko, but his strong business connections arguably weaken his credibility as a fair-minded political dealer in the post-Kuchma era.

Mr. Yushchenko might indeed decide on a less colorful, less controversial, and less politically known person than Ms. Tymoshenko or Mr. Poroshenko for the job of prime minister. On the other hand, Mr. Yushchenko during his presidency will certainly face strong opposition from the political camp of his presidential rival, outgoing Prime Minister Yanukovich. Some 12.8 million Ukrainians voted for Mr. Yanukovich on December 26, 2004 and his defeat appears to have inflicted a sort of personal trauma on many of them. The 2004 presidential election has doubtless made Mr. Yanukovich a natural opposition leader in Ukraine.

Mr. Yanukovich leads the Donetsk-based Party of Regions, which draws its support primarily in Ukraine's eastern and southern regions. But this regional party has every chance to become a major national player after the 2006 par-

liamentary elections, which are to be held under a fully proportional party-list system and a three percent threshold to qualify for parliamentary representation.

The Kyiv-based Razumkov Center conducted two interesting polls recently, one on December 6-9, 2004 and the other on December 14-19, 2004, on voter preference on a hypothetical parliamentary ballot. The first poll offered respondents a list of 20 parties, while the other presented the same list of parties with the names of their leaders attached. The first poll found that just four parties – Our Ukraine (with 28.8 percent backing), Mr. Yanukovich's Party of Regions (14.5 percent), Petro Symonenko's Communist Party (6 percent) and Mr. Moroz's Socialist Party (4.5 percent) – could count on overcoming the three percent barrier in the current environment.

But the second poll – with a list of parties and their political leaders – painted a somewhat different picture. It suggested that six parties would have deputies in the Verkhovna Rada: Party of Regions-Viktor Yanukovich (20.5 percent backing); Our Ukraine – Viktor Pynzenyk (17.1 percent); Socialist Party – Mr. Moroz (8 percent); Fatherland Party – Ms. Tymoshenko (6.7 percent); Communist Party – Mr. Symonenko (6.2 percent); and the Popular Agrarian Party – Volodymyr Lytvyn (3.5 percent).

First, the Razumkov Center's December polls highlighted the crucial role of leaders in Ukrainian politics: party stripes do not appear to be of paramount importance to Ukrainian voters.

Second, the polls disclosed a startling and little-known reality: that the Our Ukraine "brand" belongs legally not to Mr. Yushchenko but to his political ally, Viktor Pynzenyk. Mr. Pynzenyk appears to have managed to re-register his former group – the Reforms and Order Party – with the Justice Ministry under the name of Our Ukraine while everyone else from Yushchenko's Our Ukraine bloc was busy preparing and implementing the Orange Revolution.

The "appropriation" by Mr. Pynzenyk of the Our Ukraine name could become an additional source of political grief for Mr. Yushchenko in 2005, after he forms a new government and starts to think about securing political support for himself in the 2006 legislative elections. It is highly unlikely that other parties from the Yushchenko camp would be delighted either to allow Mr. Pynzenyk to participate in the election under the victorious bloc so closely associated with the Orange Revolution or to agree to field their candidates on Mr. Pynzenyk's party ticket. Besides, as the polls suggested, support for Our Ukraine might be significantly lower once voters realize the astounding fact that the Our Ukraine party is not run by Mr. Yushchenko.

In other words, Mr. Yushchenko should perhaps be as mindful of his allies in 2005 as of his opponents. It is still unclear which side will cause him greater troubles.

cated in the murder of a journalist critical of his regime in late 2000 – and have scarcely declined since.

At the same time, the big EU member-states put a premium on relations with Russia, which perceives the former Soviet Union as its own backyard. So relations with Ukraine were played down for the sake of better relations with the Kremlin. In light of these problems, it is hardly surprising that the EU has not been eager to enhance ties with Ukraine.

However, by failing to build stronger ties, the EU deprived itself of an important lever to influence developments in Kyiv and to empower the pro-reform forces there. Worse, it bolstered Viktor Yanukovich, the authorities' candidate, who could justify his decision to abandon EU membership ambitions (and with them the need to implement reform) and instead promote closer ties with Russia.

The recent visits of EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana to Ukraine to mediate was a welcome sign of the EU's belated interest in Ukraine, but it simultaneously exposed the vacuousness of Brussels' policy toward that country. Ironically, had Ukraine experienced the type of conflict that plagued the Western Balkans, and which the West is now trying to help prevent, Ukraine would have been higher up on the EU's agenda a lot earlier.

However, it is not too late for the EU to exert influence in Ukraine without actually committing itself to offering membership.

Above all, it could formally recognize Ukraine's European aspirations without explicitly ruling membership out or in. Second, the EU could make greater trade concessions to Ukraine – an issue that has long hindered relations. In particular, the bloc has not allowed Ukrainian goods

to compete openly with its agriculture and steel sectors. Third, the EU could ease its stance on the visa regime with Ukraine. Owing to enlargement, travel to the Schengen area has become an even more expensive and time-consuming undertaking for impoverished Ukrainians. This has not only resulted in a sense of alienation among them but has caused real hardship for those in border regions.

The recent decision by the EU to once again deny the prospect of membership but approve its Action Plan for Ukraine (finalized in 2004) does not augur well for future relations. The Action Plan, far from leading to membership, merely delineates a series of political and economic criteria according to which relations are expected to develop; Ukrainians are deeply dissatisfied with it. Negotiated before the "Orange Revolution," the plan relies on "old solutions" to a new situation and, thus, hardly brings a new lease on life to relations. The EU is in danger of once more failing to support Ukraine's population, which has already demonstrated that it is willing to bear the sacrifices of democratizing and Europeanizing itself.

If the EU is to achieve its long-term goal of having a stable and prosperous neighbor on its Eastern border, as outlined in the ENP, it will need to develop a vision and ambition for Ukraine it has thus far lacked. At the same time, it will need to offer reformists the tools they need to create a society imbued with European standards and values.

Brussels must deprive the authorities of their argument that "nobody wants us in Europe." Only in this way might Ukraine implement the political and economic reforms to realize its pro-European ambitions – and the EU might just end up with the prosperous and stable neighbor it wants and needs.



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(Continued from page 2)

new Cold War between Russia and the West over Ukraine if "the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of Ukraine is maintained," according to the Russian transcript of the interview published on January 3 by mid.ru. Talking about the possibility of Ukraine and Georgia joining NATO and the European Union, Mr. Lavrov said that Russia will not obstruct these developments as Russia respects "the right of each state, including our neighbors, to choose its own partners." The Russian foreign minister added that in those cases, however, Ukraine and Georgia could not rely on privileged economic relations with Russia. It is "their choice," and "we assume they consider how they develop their policy and economy and which partners and allies they choose," he added. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Turkmenistan, Ukraine OK gas deal

ASHGABAT – Ukrainian oil and gas company Naftohaz Ukrainy Chairman Yurii Boiko announced in Ashgabat on January 3 that a new agreement on the price for Ukrainian imports of natural gas from Turkmenistan has been reached, ITAR-TASS reported. The new agreement follows weeks of negotiations and sets a one-year contract for the import of 36 billion cubic meters of Turkmen gas at the new price of \$58 per 1,000 cubic meters. The agreement follows a cutoff of gas supplies by Turkmenistan on December 31, ITAR-TASS reported. Although the new price is \$14 higher than the rate fixed for 2004 and reflects the global increase in natural-gas prices, payment for the gas imports remains half in cash and half in "goods and equipment" from Ukraine. Turkmenistan also reached agreement on a 25-year contract with Russia in 2004 for the sale of between 6 billion and 7 billion cubic meters of Turkmen gas. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Tymoshenko to be prime minister?

KYIV – Viktor Yushchenko, whom the Central Election Commission declared winner of the December 26 presidential election, said on Channel 5 on December 29 that his parliamentary bloc, Our Ukraine, will support Yulia Tymoshenko for the post of prime minister in a new Cabinet that is to be created in the coming weeks. Mr. Yushchenko said a working group, which includes Ms. Tymoshenko, is now discussing the formation of the new Cabinet. Asked what other candidates are being considered for the premiership, Mr. Yushchenko named one of his election campaign leaders, Petro Poroshenko, Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz, and Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs leader Anatolii Kinakh. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Yushchenko to divvy up positions

KYIV – Viktor Yushchenko told Channel 5 on December 29 that jobs in a new government formed under his presidency will be distributed among his

political allies according to a system of "political quotas." Mr. Yushchenko said, "For example, the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc will obtain one-fourth of jobs in the ministries, government offices, committees, and administrations," adding "Such a principle will be proposed for the Socialist Party as well." According to Mr. Yushchenko, the new prime minister should not simultaneously lead a political party or engage in business activities. "In a few weeks' time you will become witnesses to an interesting political process," Mr. Yushchenko pledged. He also said he is ready to replace all oblast chairmen after assuming the post of president. (RFE/RL Newswire)

President-elect sets policy priorities

KYIV – President-elect Viktor Yushchenko also said on Channel 5 on December 29 that the fight against corruption, social policy and European integration will be key priorities of his presidency. Mr. Yushchenko simultaneously stressed that Ukraine's European integration should not be a "policy of extremes," explaining, "We need to understand that we can go to the West only after we have normalized relations with our neighbors." He added, "I am sure that Europe will never accept someone with a suitcase of new problems." Touching upon Russia, Mr. Yushchenko said this country is "our eternal neighbor with which we are due to have wonderful relations." (RFE/RL Newswire)

Moscow's 'imperial project' is finished

MOSCOW – Russian political consultant Marat Gelman told RosBalt on December 29 that following Ukrainian opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko's victory in that country's December 26 presidential election, Russia must forget about its "imperial project." Mr. Gelman said, "The already improbable scenario of restoring the empire has vanished and that is a very serious problem." He added, "Our imperial mentality has been constrained and, if we are to talk about its influence on our political processes, we will see a flow of Unified Russia supporters to Motherland." Mr. Gelman, who advised the campaign of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, admitted that there was massive falsification of the vote on the part of Mr. Yanukovich's staff. He also admitted he and other Russian spin masters made a lot of mistakes, but lamented that Mr. Yanukovich's campaign staff did not heed his advice, but relied instead on falsification. "Falsification is not a campaign technique; it is simply breaking the law," Mr. Gelman said. "Just like censorship in the mass media." (RFE/RL Newswire)

Tomenko on "political" deaths

KYIV – "Victor Yanukovich's decision to appeal to the Supreme Court will prolong the life of this regime for at least two more weeks and in this case we could see several more deaths of some of the important witnesses of the regime's crimes," said

Mykola Tomenko, Victor Yushchenko's representative, commenting on the death of Heorhii Kirpa and, some time earlier, Yurii Liakh. "Liakh and Kirpa were important witnesses not only of the plundering of the national wealth but also of the October 31 and November 21 election fraud," he noted. The people's deputy addressed the "still President" Leonid Kuchma with a demand to provide for the security of such people as "Viktor Medvedchuk, Volodymyr Satsiuk, Ihor Bakai and others connected to the crimes of the former government." He added, "They must tell everything to the people and I do not want to see them leave for other countries or, God forbid, something happening to them." Mr. Tomenko reported that he had documents that showed the recent increase in the number of diplomatic passports issued. Thus, 200 applications have been received from the presidential administration over the last week alone and some officials were getting them in other names as well, he stressed. "Even when Taras Chornovil is asking for a German citizenship for his children, I think it necessary to prevent the issuing of diplomatic passports in such situation," suggested Mr. Tomenko, "I do not want to start looking for Ukrainian politicians and Ukrainian money all over the world with Yushchenko the president." (Press Service of Viktor Yushchenko's Central Headquarters)

Yanukovich supporters picket embassy

MOSCOW – Several hundred people gathered on December 24, 2004, at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow to demonstrate against "the interference of the United States in Ukraine's internal affairs." The protest was organized by a number of Orthodox organizations in Russia, including the Union of Orthodox Citizens, the Union of Orthodox Brotherhoods and the Christian Rebirth Union. The participants of the event held banners saying: "Yanukovich is the legally elected president of Ukraine," "An 'orange revolution' in Kyiv today, a 'birch revolution' in Moscow tomorrow," "U.S. and Poland: hands off Kyivan Rus'!" and "Yanukovich, do not give up, do not concede 'victory' to Yushchenko!" (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Greek-Catholics in Kharkiv robbed

KHARKIV – The Kharkiv apartment of Bishop Stepan Meniok, exarch of the Donetsk-Kharkiv exarchate of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC), was broken into the night of December 24, 2004. The kitchen window was broken and the computer, printer, fax, television and vacuum cleaner were stolen. Bishop Meniok was in western Ukraine at the time, to take part in Ukraine's presidential election. As previously reported, the UGCC Chapel of St. Nicholas in Kharkiv was robbed on the night of December 2, 2004, of a Gospel, candle-holders and a small icon-screen. Law-enforcement authorities have not to this day caught the criminals or returned the stolen items, reported the UGCC press service. Bishop Meniok has reported the recent burglary to the authorities and a criminal case has been opened. The bishop questioned whether the crime was simply for profit or if it was a manifestation of some religious or political intolerance. Both crimes occurred at a time of political tension in Ukraine and, the bishop said, it is entirely possible that they were committed with a clear goal against the UGCC. A similar thought has occurred to those who more than once have repaired the announcement board located near the building site for the new UGCC church in Kharkiv. Unknown opponents to the presence of a Greek-Catholic community in Kharkiv often tear down the announcement board.

(Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

UOC-MP: election against revelation

KYIV – A group of priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP) from Donbas says that Ukraine awaits "a thorny path" because people did not listen to the Virgin Mary and elected Viktor Yushchenko president instead of the one chosen by God, Viktor Yanukovich. The priests announced this in a statement to all Orthodox faithful released on December 27, 2004. The statement says that, before the December 26 presidential election, the Mother of God appeared to church hierarchs of the Donetsk region and three times pointed at former presidential candidate Mr. Yanukovich and said that he is the future president. The priests say that the people did not listen to the Virgin Mary, so they can expect great hardships and trials. RUPOR (the Council of Human Rights Organizations of Ukraine) reported that Mr. Yanukovich himself also had a vision. He saw two Ukrainians: one bright and joyful, the other grey, poor and full of sorrow, which Ukraine will become after the election of Yushchenko as president. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

UOC-MP faithful seek refuge

KYIV – A group of faithful of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP) has appealed to the patriarch of Constantinople, asking him to take under his mantle those who "have become in discord in the churches of the Moscow Patriarchate." They ask him "to open in Ukraine a permanent structure of parishes of the Ecumenical Patriarchate." The cause of this appeal is the presidential election in Ukraine, through which the clergy and part of the faithful of the church found themselves on two sides of the barricades because of their civic position. RISU received the group's letter on December 29, 2004. "Over the last months, political events in connection with the presidential election have entered into the life of every citizen of Ukraine, to some degree or another," the letter reads. "They have agitated our Church life, which seemed to be so quiet and peaceful. Suddenly we felt ourselves homeless, because in the churches of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate they began to separate us, depending on our civic position. Once, entering our church, we heard not the preaching of the Gospel, but words in support of the 'blessed' candidate. During confession, they suggested to some of us that we do penance because we did not vote for 'that' candidate; others were asked to leave the church for this 'crime.'" The authors of the letter maintain that, even after the UOC-MP's Kyiv Metropolitanate forbid campaigning from the pulpit, campaigning for the "blessed" candidate continued in many churches of the UOC-MP. The UOC-MP hierarchy, according to these faithful, to this day has not commented on the campaigning that was openly going on in almost all the churches of the UOC-MP before the second round of the election on November 21, 2004. The hierarchy has also not condemned the massive falsifications of the results of the second round of the election on the part of the "blessed" candidate. "Today we are like sheep without a shepherd," reads the appeal. "We think that today the Ecumenical Patriarchate can accept under its mantle all those who have become in discord in the churches of the Moscow Patriarchate. We ask Your Holiness to respond to our pain and to open in Ukraine a permanent structure of parishes of the Ecumenical Patriarchate." (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

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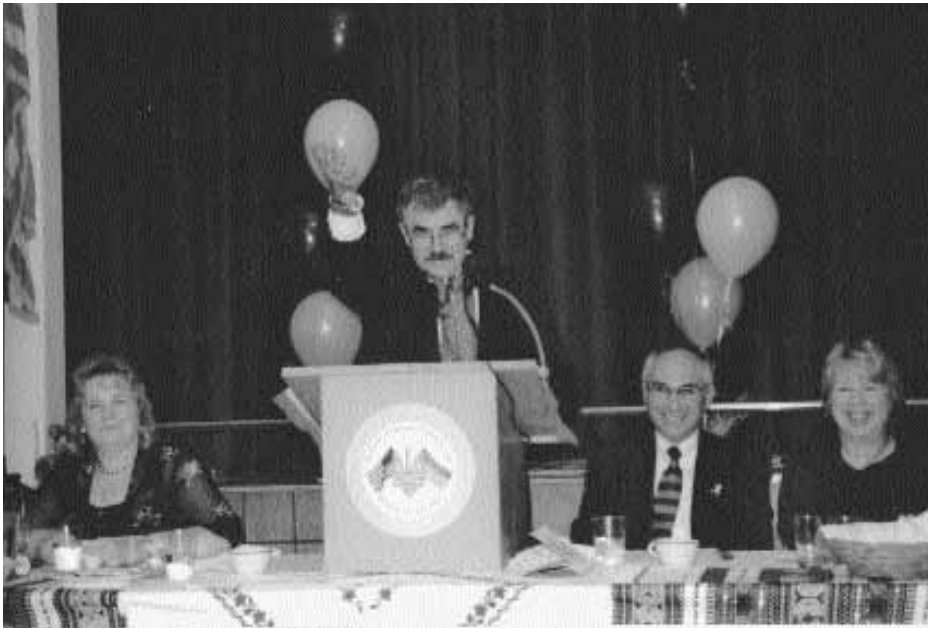
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Watervliet's Ukrainian American Citizens Club celebrates 75th anniversary



Seen at the 75th anniversary celebration of the Ukrainian American Citizens Club are (from left): Melanie Suchowacki, UACC President John Suchowacki, program emcee and trustee Slavko Tysiak and his wife, Cynthia Tysiak.

by Slavko Tysiak

WATERVLIET, N.Y. – In many ways the Ukrainian American Citizens Club never changes. Instead, it adapts to changing times. On the evening of Saturday, October 23, honorary members of the Ukrainian club sat at the downstairs bar while others arrived by way of the side entrance to attend that evening's banquet and dance to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Ukrainian American Citizens Club, or as it's commonly called – the Ukrainian Club.

The Ukrainian Club is a neighborhood anchor and icon. A number of local non-Ukrainians are honorary members, some for decades, and they come in weekly to catch-up on each others lives, to learn what's happening in the community, shoot darts, play pool and to watch that

All-American favorite – the weekly ball game. The Ukrainian Club depends on their loyal patronage, as much as it does on the Ukrainian members who visit and support its many different activities. It's another sign that the Ukrainian Club continues to fill a contemporary role in the lives of its patrons and members by meeting a number of different needs.

On the evening of October 23, in addition to the local patrons, the members of the Ukrainian Club had come together with their family and friends, as well as representatives of other local Ukrainian organizations and groups for a special night. More than 150 people congregated to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Ukrainian Club in Watervliet.

Before the banquet and zabava, the members were treated to a sumptuous

reception and cocktail hour hosted by the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union – Capital District Branch.

The evening's program, which was emceed by Slavko Tysiak, included prayers of thanksgiving offered by Father Michael Myshchuk, pastor of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church in Watervliet, and a number of selections sung by the Capital District Choir, known as "Ridna Pisnya," under the direction of Mykhaylo Tcpar, including "Bozhe Velykyi Yedynyi" and "God Bless America."

Mr. Tysiak paused to give a special recognition to the "first ladies of the Ukrainian Club," Ms. Urban and Ms. Bruggerman, whose father, John Urban, one of founding fathers of the Ukrainian Club and several times past president, used his personal funds in 1930 to purchase the building that today houses the Ukrainian Club. The emcee noted how Ms. Urban and Ms. Brueggerman, together with her husband, Warren Brueggerman, have always taken a personal interest in the club and have shown their commitment many times over the years with generous gifts to improve and enhance it.

A beautiful commemorative program booklet was assembled by the anniversary committee that included John Suchowacki, Mykola Fil, Peter Urban, Michael Zaviscky, Mr. Tysiak, John Karafanda, Zachary Zendran, John Zendran, John Uruskyj, Andrij Demczar and Gregory Ilnycky. Also a special thanks was extended to Christine Kostoroski and Cathy Suchowacki, who assembled the program booklet, sold advertisements for placement in the booklet, and assembled an exhibit of past club presidents.

The master of ceremonies also took the opportunity to remind everyone pres-

ent how the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union and its local Capital District Branch had once again shown their support of the local community by underwriting the cocktail reception that everyone so thoroughly enjoyed and by buying advertising space as did many other businesses and individuals in the program booklet and reminded all present they should reciprocate and support those businesses and individuals as well.

During the dinner, Mr. Fil introduced his long-time friend and the current president of the Ukrainian Club, Mr. Suchowacki, who provided a humorous round of acknowledgements, ranging from listing the members with more than 50 years of membership, to thanking the officers of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Club, President Anna Gebuza and Treasurer Olga Zendran, for their tireless support of club activities. He also gave special thanks to the club's workhorses – Wasyl Terlecky, Mr. Demczar, Stanley Mochulsky and Mr. Ilnycky, Mr. Fil and Mr. Urban – without whom the club could not function and prosper.

Three speakers then reflected on the role of the Ukrainian Club during three periods of the club's history.

Member Steve Krill provided cherished memories of the early days before World War II. He noted how the club was founded in 1929 by a handful of men who pledged their personal funds to buy the building materials required to renovate the current building. He spoke of a time with no television and no cars, and when everyone lived in the immediate neighborhood. In one vignette, he told about a time when the Ukrainian Club sponsored a competitive youth baseball team that consisted mostly of non-Ukrainians but that established a sense of

(Continued on page 21)

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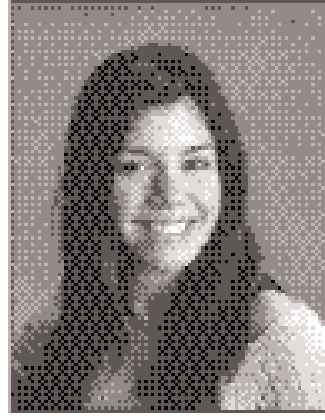
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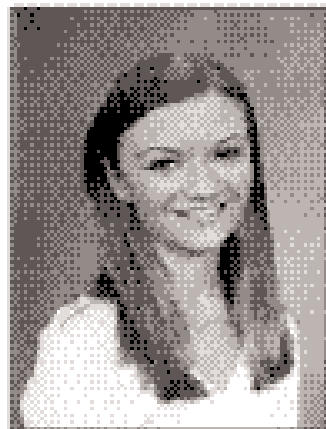
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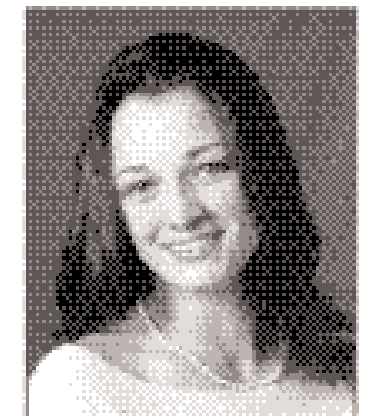
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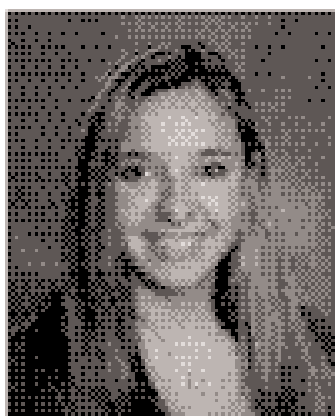
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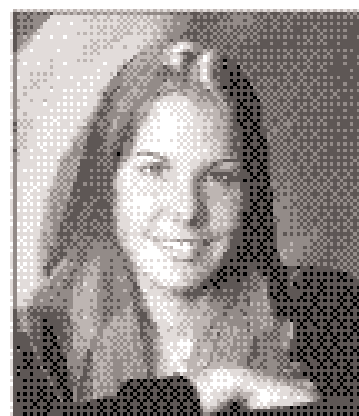
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The gift

(Continued from page 6)

temporary guardian, we took tentative bites of this and that, and then, discovering how good it all was, we began to eat in earnest. Just as I swallowed my last mouthful, my plate was replaced by a small bowl of ice cream, not the watery ersatz stuff in a leaky cone we bought from the street vendor, but real vanilla ice cream. Oh, what a delight that was.

Suddenly, there was the sound of jingling bells, followed by a man's deep voice laughing. A bearded man, all dressed in red, wearing a kind of red ski hat trimmed with white fur, was strolling down the middle isle toward the Christmas tree.

Our teacher had told us that there would be a visit by St. Nicholas. But this man with a big belly didn't look anything like St. Nicholas. The one who had visited our school, wore a bishop's miter and vestments, carried a golden crosier and was accompanied by angels drawing a silver sled filled with gifts for good children. True enough, the man in the red suit did have a white beard and helpers. Except they were not angels, but ladies wearing red hats with white pom-poms. And why was the fat man laughing all the time? Saints don't laugh. They are busy praying, preaching and writing down our good deeds in a big book. And then how would this jolly, old man know what I had written in my letter to St. Nick? He didn't have angels with big wings who picked up letters tied with red yarn from second-story windowsills, did he?

Before I was able to puzzle out all these issues the children at my table were being shepherded by Santa's helpers towards the Christmas tree. By the time we had crossed the shiny floor and stood at the foot of the enormous tree, I had to wipe my wet palms on the hem of my skirt twice. As soon as the children ahead of me had moved off, I saw for myself what had been holding them up. The whole floor around the tree, kilometers and kilometers, was covered with toys. Nothing was wrapped, nothing was labeled, and everything was there to be seen, to be enjoyed, and to be chosen.

Our teacher had told us that each child was allowed to take one thing and one thing only. As if they knew that our senses were numbed by the sight, Santa's helpers walked us slowly past the whole won-

drous collection of trucks, cars, toy stoves, little tea sets, kites, boxes of colored pencils, wooden train sets, metal wind-up toys and a whole zoo of plush animals.

My eye caught the sight of a beautiful, yellow teddy bear with a red bow around his neck and eyes so lustrous that they seemed to be begging me to take him home. Just as I took a step in his direction, I remembered my little, black-striped velvet bear with the luster gone out of his left eye, who had accompanied me faithfully on all the cold trains from Lviv to Vienna to Berlin. No, I couldn't abandon him. A large doll with blue eyes and blond hair, the size of a real baby, tempted me. But where would I put it? My mother would certainly object to my sleeping with a thing that size in my bunk bed.

Just as my guardian was beginning to despair over my indecision, I spotted a wooden doll stroller with a bent plywood seat and little painted wooden wheels. Now, I knew I had no doll, but even my little black Teddy-Meddy would do all right in it. Astounded at my own audacity I pointed at the blessed thing. Almost immediately it appeared in front of me and with my hands grasping the handle bar firmly I then approached the jolly old man in a red suit sitting in the large armchair near the tree. Chuckling softly, he stroked my head gently, said something, and then gave me a brown paper bag full of goodies.

On the trip back to the displaced persons' camp I was gripped by fear of having my precious new possession damaged. So, like a canopy with wheels pointing straight up, I held the stroller right over my head all the way home. When the back of the truck was opened, the soldiers brought us and our cargo carefully down to the white gravel of the former German army parade square. Placing the now crumpled paper bag in the stroller, I searched the waiting crowd for a familiar face. Before I was able to spot her, my mother, eyes bright with unshed tears, rushed toward me, swooped me into her arms, threw her head back and laughed, and laughed. It was amazing, because I did not know that she could laugh.

Once she released me, she peered into the brown paper bag, took out one of the fragrant oranges and exchanging a conspiratorial look with me, started peeling it. As we walked toward Block No. 2, we didn't talk because we were too busy savoring the sweetness of the fruit and the lightness of joy.

eration would find new meaning in their lives, build common bonds, and even find a way to make the club grow and prosper.

The evening was highlighted by the unveiling of a 75th anniversary commemorative plaque with a photograph of the current club members and an inscribed listing of the full membership. As the senior member of the club, Nick Zavisky had the honor of unveiling the plaque, which will be permanently mounted in the club as the members await the time when the club will celebrate its 100th anniversary in 2029.

As the banquet came to a close with a reading of congratulatory cards and letters from Ukrainian organizations and groups from across the Capital District of New York State, the music started. The zabava kicked off with non-stop dance music by the Lvivians from New Jersey and continued, in typical Ukrainian fashion, long into the night.

All the while the World Series baseball game between the Boston Red Sox and St. Louis Cardinals was watched downstairs by people from the neighborhood and members who skipped out between dances to catch the score. All in all, it was a time to reflect and a time to look ahead.

Watervliet's...

(Continued from page 19)

Ukrainian identity.

Mr. Mochulsky spoke about the Ukrainians that came after World War II. He told what it was like to come to a strange land, without the benefit of an extended family, and without knowing how to speak English. He stressed how the people "na novii immigratsiyi" relied on the good will and assistance of the earlier immigration. He concluded by highlighting how the new immigrants gave new life and purpose to the Ukrainian Club. For many of these immigrants, the friendships made through the Ukrainian Club enabled them to have the extended family that they were forced to leave in Ukraine.

The final speaker, John Uruskyj, spoke from the "baby boomer" perspective, pointing out that, as in the past, the club is still a place where the new wave of immigrants from Ukraine can find friendly faces and their native language as they transition and adapt to life in the United States. He also highlighted the need for his peers - the "molodi" - to become active in the club and the greater Ukrainian American community. By becoming more active, the younger gen-

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"A Prayer..."

(Continued from page 15)

most original of death beds – a shallow cross-shaped bathtub cut into a white marble floor. What does this hetman, this leader of a nation, this prince of the Holy Roman Empire, this consummate politician and negotiator think of at life's end? Despite his musings over the Battle of Poltava and Peter the Great, his mind is fixed on sex and "a climactic orgy sequence which seems to have no apparent purpose" (Stratton). In fact, he dies in a sexual embrace with a nearly naked blond warrior goddess (the ubiquitous

Ludmilla Yefimenko, wife of Mr. Ilyenko). Mazepa then rises from his watery cross, and enveloped in an undulating toga-like, red satin sheet walks off the screen. Even if this sleazy, tawdry interpretation of Mazepa's death were acceptable, there is no justification for debasing the cross, the symbol of Christianity. The film's dabbling in religious images, without an apparent understanding of their meaning, trivializes and insults religious faith and religious symbols.

In the end, "A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa" offers not so much a new vision or a new myth, as a vigorous variation on the old theme. Instead of offering at least

a glimpse of Hetman Mazepa in his full glory, if for no reason but to give a greater sense of drama to his fall, the film inundates the audience with a frenzy of action that explains little about the man or the conflict. The demonization of Tsar Peter I does nothing to address the conflicting historic perceptions of either Hetman Mazepa, or Peter the Great, for that matter. What's more, the demonic violence is allowed to dominate the film, so much so, that it is difficult to discern whose point of view is the story propagating: Mazepa's or Peter's. Neither the violation of Mazepa's portrait, sarcophagus and effigy, nor the untrue and often repeated story of Mazepa being tarred and feathered (see Theodore Mackiw, "English Reports on Mazepa 1687-1709," Ukrainian Historic Association) contribute to a better understanding of the Kozak era leader. After decades of Soviet obscurantism, one would think that what the Ukrainian community needs is clarification, not more demagoguery, albeit one tinted with nationalism.

True enough, no one expects a film of this magnitude to offer the audience, as Prof. Shevchuk puts it, "the shallow satisfaction of a proverbial happy ending." After all, it is about history and history offers few happy endings. But, neither is it necessary to subject the audience to so much violence and anger that the theater seems redolent with their miasma. An even-handed, dynamic evaluation of the two main characters and their conflicting interests played out against the colorful tapestry of the shifting European alliances, large-scale wars and fiery rebellions, could have produced an unforgettable, tense drama in which the clashing of wills and swords changes our perception of that part of history.

What is new in Mr. Ilyenko's interpretation of Mazepa's story is the introduction of nudity and sex. Some critics, most notably Olha Briukhovetska, suggest that Mr. Ilyenko wants to jolt Ukrainian audiences out of their prudishness. Surely, no one is so naive as to believe that Ukrainians go rigid with shock at the mention of sex. Even in the puritanical Soviet movie industry Serhii Paradjanov's characters in "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors" run naked through the forest. Tastefully done nudity that advances the plot, develops character or illustrates social attitudes is not an issue. But senseless, voyeuristic sex, like the opening scene of the film in which the tsar commits sodomy, the on-camera masturbation by Kochubey's widow, the sexual writhing of the women in the death scene, is a serious issue, as is sexual stereotyping. The men in the film are inevitably violent and virile, while the women are categorized as either sex objects, or as vague figures in diaphanous white robes being carted off to the nunnery. One cannot help but wonder: just how do these ideas fit in with the creation of a new nation-building myth?

Ukrainian communities in North America are upset with "A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa" for other reasons as well. While the process of deconstruction is interesting and Mr. Ilyenko is having a lot of fun, it is, one suspects, at the expense of the community. For one thing, apparently different versions of the film were seen by different audiences, with the result that one never knew which version of the film was being discussed. For another, Mr. Ilyenko's insistence during his personal appearances and in his interview with Valentyn Labunsky (Meest, January 22, 2004) that "making a film is above all a search for truth" and that "erotica enhance the portrait of Mazepa," alienated many people.

Anyone who has seen the uncut ver-

sion of the film can attest that the film, while highly imaginative and inventive, neither uncovers historic truth, nor makes a convincing connection between Eros and political power. All the horses and all the king's men in the film cannot put Mazepa's deconstructed picture together again because Mr. Ilyenko simply does not provide enough insights to create a new, convincing portrait of a complex man. To my mind, that's a curious way to go about getting support for the comeback of the Ukrainian film epic.

Conor Humphries in evaluating the state of the Ukrainian cinema quotes Mashenko, the director of Kyiv's Dovzhenko Studio as saying "We have had 10 years of an uncensored, free creative process, with nobody controlling it. ... Occasionally, however, we confuse creative freedom with an absence of responsibility for what we do. We need to decide whether or not our audience needs something without the aid of censorship" (The Ukrainian Weekly, August 25, 2002). While Mr. Mashenko's frankness is refreshing, it is also very interesting that the studio which produced "A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa" is more concerned with the choice between a censored and an uncensored product, than with defining its objective, that is, defining its responsibility in the development of Ukrainian culture.

Yet, culture is the most accessible of nation-building tools. Mykola Ryabchuk, who is passionately interested in the development of a national Ukrainian identity, believes that in the transformation of, as he puts it, "an inert, amorphous mass into a developed civic society, united not so much by its common past, as by its common future. ... can only be achieved through the implementation of progressive economic, political ... reforms together with various consciousness-raising cultural programs" (Dylema Ukrainskoho Fausta: Hromadske Suspilstvo i Rozbudova Derzhavy, Krytyka', Kyiv, 2000). There is no better medium than cinema for bringing the achievements of history, literature, art, geography, religion, economics, music and science to any audience. It is not just the information, but also the appreciation for these things that nurtures identity.

If "A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa" was to have been the one magic product of the new Ukrainian cinema that would impel Ukrainians to rediscover the splendors of their culture and history, then it seems to have missed the mark. What is interesting, however, is not so much the shortcomings of the film, as the passion that it elicited because all the hot debates, critical reviews, allegations and denials, are witnesses to one fact: culture matters.

"Molytva Za Hetmana Mazepu" (A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa). Kyiv: Vision XXI Media Group and Alexander Dovzhenko National Production. Produced by Ihor Diakovsky; written and directed by Yuri Ilyenko; production designer: Serhiy Yakutovych; music: Virko Baley; costume designer: Volodymyr Furyk; time: 2 hrs., 34 min.

UUARC to aid tsunami victims

PHILADELPHIA – The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee Inc. (UUARC) is accepting donations for aid to victims of the tsunami that has devastated Asia.

Readers may donate online at www.uuarc.org or mail donations to: UUARC Inc. – Tsunami Victims, 1206 Cottman Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19111.



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UKELODEON

FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

Hillside children welcome St. Nicholas with special program



Sofiyka and Marichka Soroka perform a skit.

HILLSIDE, N.J. – St. Nicholas made a special visit to children and adults at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Parish here on Sunday, December 5, 2004. He was especially pleased to see so many good children and “little angels” waiting to greet him.

In honor of St. Nicholas, several children and adults presented a bilingual holiday entertainment program. Children’s performances included the following: reading of “The Legend of the Christmas Tree” (Krista Erakovic and Nadia Szpyhulsky); recitation of the poem “The Cat and Snow” (Julianna Shatynski); singing of “Silent Night” (Sophika and Ariadna Stockert); musical performance of koliady with a harp (Sophika Stockert); and Christmas greeting and skit (Sofiyka and Marichka Soroka).

The Christmas greeting and skit were a special addition to this year’s program. The Soroka sisters essentially brought the audience back in time to over 2,000 years ago. In Ukrainian, Sofiyka and Marichka recreated a conversation between an angel and a shepherd heralding the birth of our Savior – Jesus. Throughout the spirited conversation, the

Sorokas sang several Ukrainian Christmas “koliady” expressing the great joy of the Savior’s birth.

Odarka Polanskyj Stockert further nurtured the Christmas spirit by playing several international Christmas carols on the harp. A highlight of her performance came when her daughter Sophika joined her by playing her very own harp.

Mike Szpyhulsky served as emcee. Russ Pencak served as liaison to St. Nicholas. Jessica Boudreau, Alexa Curren, Ariana and Julianna Shatynski, Marichka Soroka, Sophika and Ariadna Stockert and Oksana Zaviysky served as “angel helpers” to St. Nicholas. St. Nicholas commented that it was a great privilege to have so many “angel helpers” this year.

Hillside’s beloved new pastor, Father Joe Szupa, was present to lead the group in prayer and koliady. At the end of the program, Father Joe asked the audience to sing the Ukrainian national anthem, “Shche Ne Vmerla Ukraina,” in honor of our brothers and sisters in Ukraine who were experiencing difficult times during the presidential election.

Mishanyna

To solve this month’s Mishanyna, find the words capitalized in the following text hidden within the Mishanyna grid.

On December 26, the people of UKRAINE elected VIKTOR Yushchenko as president. He is Ukraine’s third PRESIDENT since the country proclaimed its independence in 1991.

Mr. YUSHCHENKO, who is 50 years old, was born in the SUMY region of Ukraine – that’s in the country’s NORTH. His father was a soldier in World War II and was sent to the Auschwitz Nazi death camp as a prisoner of war.

Mr. Yushchenko graduated from Ternopil Institute of Finance with a degree in accounting and economics. He also completed a graduate degree in FINANCE and credit at the Ukrainian Institute of Economics and Agricultural Organization.

He then worked as an accountant at a collective farm before going into banking. After working in that field in the Sumy region and then in the capital city, KYIV, he became chairman of the NATIONAL BANK of Ukraine. In that position he

played a key role in formulating Ukraine’s monetary policies.

He was appointed PRIME MINISTER of Ukraine in December 1999 and in that post succeeded in spurring the country’s economic growth. However, his policies were disliked by too many people who were interested in keeping things as they were and Mr. Yushchenko was dismissed as prime minister in April 2001.

During the elections for Ukraine’s Parliament in March 2002, Mr. Yushchenko’s coalition, called OUR Ukraine, succeeded in winning many seats. The coalition has acted as an OPPOSITION to the administration of President Leonid Kuchma.

Mr. Yushchenko ran against the CANDIDATE chosen by President Kuchma to succeed him, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. It was a tough and bitter campaign, and Mr. Yushchenko suffered DIOXIN poisoning, apparently as a result of an attempt to either kill him or remove him from the campaign.

On December 26, in the THIRD round of voting in Ukraine’s 2004 presidential ELECTION, Mr. Yushchenko won 52 percent of the

vote, while Mr. Yanukovich had 44 percent. The candidate whose campaign slogan was “TAK!” (Yes) succeeded in winning, but he credited the people of Ukraine – hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of whom came out to support him in public demonstrations in Kyiv and other cities throughout Ukraine.

Mr. Yushchenko is married to a Ukrainian from the United States, KATERYNA Chumachenko, and the Yushchenkos have three children. (Mr. Yushchenko also has two children from a previous marriage.)

Just last month TIME magazine named Mr. Yushchenko one of the “PEOPLE Who Mattered 2004.”

O	A	R	E	T	S	I	N	I	M	E	M	I	R	P
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Soyuzivka's Datebook

February 4-6, 2005

Church of Annunciation Family
Weekend, Flushing N.Y.

February 19-20, 2005

Family Winter Weekend and Ski Trip

March 5-6, 2005

Plast Kurin "Khmelnynchenky"
Annual Winter Rada

February 11-13, 2005

Valentine's Day Weekend



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The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA)-Illinois Chapter jointly with the Ukrainian Ski Association (USA) and the Dunwoodie Travel Bureau cordially invite its member and families, associates, and friends to attend the 2005 Spring Scientific Conference and Ski Vacation to be held at the Club Med Crested Butte Ski Resort in Colorado, from Saturday, March 26th through Saturday, April 2nd, 2005. For more information please visit: www.UMANA.org

Being Ukrainian means:

- Malanka in January.
- Deb in February.
- Sviato Vesny or Zlet in May.
- Tabir in July.
- Volleyball at Wildwood in August.
- Labor Day at Soyuzivka in September.
- Oktoberfest at Verkhovyna in October.
- Morskyi Bal in New Jersey in November.
- Koliada in December.

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Wednesday, January 19

NEW YORK: You are cordially invited to attend the New York debut of Trio 56 – Vladimir Valjarevic, piano; Stephen Miahky, violin; and Ole Eirik Ree, cello. Trio 56 will appear in performance at Steinway Hall in a program of works by Brahms, Martinu, Sheng, Mozart and Schoenfield. There is no admission charge, so bring along your family and friends to hear these fine musicians. Steinway Hall is located at 109 W. 57th St.; performance time is 8 p.m. For additional information contact Mr. Miahky, (908) 420-2748.

Saturday, January 22

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.

MANALAPAN, N.J.: Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) Branch 9, Holmdel-Middletown, N.J., and the Monmouth County Library are co-sponsoring a Ukrainian Arts and Crafts exhibit in the upper lobby of the library during the month of January. The exhibit opened January 4 and will be on view through January 30. Library hours: Monday-Thursday, 9 a.m.- 9 p.m.; Friday-Saturday, 9 a.m.-5 p.m.; and Sunday, 1-5 pm. On January 29, the documentary film "Harvest of Despair," which deals with the 1932-1933 Famine-Genocide in Ukraine, will be shown at the library, 125 Symmes Drive, (off Route 9 South). A discussion and refreshments will follow the film screening. For more information call the library, (732) 431-7220, or the UNWLA branch office, (732) 441-9530. UNWLA Branch 98, which was established in 1988, is hosting the program in celebration of the 80th anniversary of the UNWLA,

which was founded in Philadelphia in 1925.

WINDHAM, N.Y.: An exhibition of paintings and sculpture by Natalia Pohrebinska will open at the Roshkowska Gallery, 5338 Main St. The opening of the monthlong exhibition will be held at 4-6 p.m. For gallery hours and more information, call (518) 734-9669. Ms. Pohrebinska, an artist and antiques dealer, lives and works in Lexington, N.Y., in the Stone House.

Thursday, January 27

EDMONTON: The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) will host a lecture by Dr. Natalie Kononenko, Kule Chair of Ukrainian Ethnography, Department of modern languages and cultural studies, University of Alberta. The lecture, which will be accompanied by a digital presentation, is titled "Soviet Ritual/Post-Soviet Ritual: Undoing Social Engineering?" It will be held in the Heritage Lounge, Athabasca Hall, at 3:30 p.m. For additional information call CIUS, (780) 492-2972, or e-mail cius@ualberta.ca.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Saturday, February 5

LOS ANGELES: The California Association to Aid Ukraine invites you to plan a weekend getaway in sunny, southern California in February. CAAU will host the annual Ball and Presentation of Debutantes on Saturday, February 5, at the Hilton Hotel, in Glendale, Calif. All proceeds are designated for the support of the "Wheelchairs for Ukraine" program. The formal affair includes cocktail hour, silent auction, dinner and dancing to the music of Vorony. Tickets: \$95, adults; \$85, students. Mail checks for tickets to CAAU, c/o Marta Mykytyn-Hill, 1219 Via Arroyo, Ventura, CA 93003. Lodging is available at the hotel, subject to availability; call (818) 956-5466 for reservations (please refer to group "CAAU"). With other inquiries call Luba Keske, (818) 884-3836, or Shannon Micevych, (818) 774-9378.

CANCELLATION

SOMERSET, N.J.: The New Year's Eve Malanka sponsored by the Committee for Aid to Ukraine, Central New Jersey Branch, which was to have been held Saturday, January 15, at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 135 Davidson Ave., has been cancelled. For information call Michael Shulha, (908) 534-6683.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

Listings of **no more than 100 words** (written in Preview format) plus payment should be sent a week prior to desired date of publication to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054; fax, (973) 644-9510.

Items may be e-mailed to preview@ukrweekly.com.

New Jersey UCCA sponsors gathering for election monitors

PASSAIC, N.J. – The New Jersey Coordinating Council of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is inviting all election observers from the state of New Jersey who took part in the first, second and third rounds of the presidential election in Ukraine, as well as everyone in the Ukrainian American community, to a "thank you" gathering.

The purpose of this meeting, according to John Burtyk, president of the New Jersey Coordinating Council, is to foster the exchange of thoughts and experiences

of those who supported the elections in Ukraine, and offer a special thanks to the volunteer election observers for their efforts in securing the a democratic election process for Ukraine.

The event will take place at the Ramada Hotel, 130 Route 10 (west-bound), East Hanover, N.J., on Sunday, January 9, beginning at 2:30 p.m.

Complimentary coffee and sweets will be served without cover charge.

For information readers may call Michael Koziupa at (973) 451-0200.