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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

No celebrations yet, as inauguration is on hold

by Andrew Nynka
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – An official declaration by Ukraine's Central Election Commission named Viktor Yushchenko the newly elected president of Ukraine, but since that announcement on January 10 there have been no mass celebrations here. Kyiv has been strangely quiet and the tent camps that have stood in front of the Presidential Administration Building and on Khreschatyk in the wake of the fraudulent November 21 election remain.

Ukrainians throughout this city say there is nothing to celebrate until Mr. Yushchenko is officially inaugurated in the Verkhovna Rada as independent Ukraine's third president.

"I'm waiting. I'm not going anywhere until Yushchenko is inaugurated. We've seen all this in the past and it was overturned in the courts," said Dimitri Leontiv, 74 a retiree from Chernihiv who has been living in the tent camp on the Khreschatyk since November 22. "We'll celebrate when there is something to celebrate," he added.

Other Ukrainians here echoed Mr. Leontiv's comments, saying they were happy with the CEC's official announcement but hesitant to celebrate until the president-elect was sworn in. While Mr. Yushchenko's orange campaign color is still seen widely throughout the city and impromptu chants of "Yushchenko, Yushchenko" can still be heard every so often, people here appear to have begun settling back into workday routines.

"I'm still here," said Konstantyn Kuzmenko, 51, a member of the tent camp that still stands in front of the Presidential Administration Building. "They'll come. The people will come back out on the streets. But there's nothing to celebrate now," he said.

Waves of appeals and complaints by presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich have set roadblocks to Mr. Yushchenko's ascension to the Ukrainian presidency (see story on page 1). No official date has been set for Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration, though both the Ukrainian Parliament and members of the Yushchenko team have already begun preparing for the event.

"It'll be flashy and interesting, with twists," Oleksander Zinchenko, Mr. Yushchenko's campaign manager, promised during a press conference in Kyiv

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CEC announces final result: Yushchenko wins



AP/Sergei Chuzavkov

Supporters of Viktor Yushchenko who was officially declared winner of Ukraine's presidential election, sign his campaign poster after the official election results were announced at the Central Election Commission.

by Andrew Nynka
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Ukraine's Central Election Commission announced the official results of the December 26 presidential run-off election, naming Viktor Yushchenko as independent Ukraine's third president. But the country's top court has put Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration on hold, as presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich announced plans to appeal the overall election before the Supreme Court.

In the wake of a petition from Mr. Yanukovich, Ukraine's Supreme Court barred two official government newspapers from publishing the results. Both Holos Ukrainy and Uriadovy Curier must publish the CEC's official protocol announcing the results of the election before the Verkhovna Rada, can set a date for the inauguration.

Though the process of inaugurating Mr. Yushchenko has been temporarily delayed, it took a step forward

when a much-anticipated official announcement from the CEC finally came on January 10, after a marathon nine-hour meeting of the election commission.

"During the repeat election of December 26, Viktor Yushchenko has been elected president of Ukraine," CEC Chairman Yaroslav Davydovych announced late on Monday night, prompting an outburst of applause and cheers from Yushchenko representatives and supporters who raised an orange "Tak Yushchenko" flag.

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Ukraine set to withdraw troops from Iraq

by Andrew Nynka
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada passed a non-binding resolution on January 11 recommending that outgoing President Leonid Kuchma immediately withdraw Ukraine's troops from Iraq. The move came a day after Mr. Kuchma called on two of his ministers to draw up a plan that would remove Ukrainian troops from the country by the end of June.

Mr. Kuchma's announcement came a day after an explosion killed eight Ukrainian soldiers at an ammunition dump in Iraq and wounded six others. The explosion has been called an accident, but a Ukrainian military commander later suggested it could have been a terrorist act.

Following Parliament's call to remove Ukraine's troops – which passed by a vote of 308-0 out of a regis-

tered 416 deputies – a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that preparations to withdraw Ukrainian troops from Iraq in the first half of 2005 had begun.

Markian Lubkivskyi, the ministry spokesman, said during a press conference on January 11 that both the Defense and Foreign Affairs ministries have begun joint consultations to carry out Mr. Kuchma's order and that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also started talks with foreign diplomats on the issue.

"There are no particular time limits for withdrawal of our contingent from Iraq," Mr. Lubkivskyi said. "However, the preparation period has begun." He said that removing Ukrainian troops from Iraq would be a difficult and multi-stage process.

Ukraine's Minister of Foreign Affairs Kostyantyn

(Continued on page 2)



AP/Sergei Chuzavkov

Ukraine's Central Election Commission Chairman Yaroslav Davydovych speaks during the commission session on January 10.

ANALYSIS

Moscow ponders how Ukraine was 'lost'

by Julie Corwin
RFE/RL Newsline

As Viktor Yanukovich Ukraine's former Prime Minister and defeated presidential candidate, clears out his government office in Kyiv, pundits, journalists and political analysts back in Moscow continue to ask what went wrong. With so much financial backing from Russian businesses and political support from Russian President Vladimir Putin, why did Mr. Yanukovich lose?

Many Russian and Ukrainian analysts have hesitated to place primary responsibility on the Kremlin or Vladimir Putin for misjudging the Ukrainian situation. Instead they have been blaming the "aggressive tactics" of a gaggle of Russian campaign consultants who began arriving at Kyiv's Boryspil Airport sometime in July, RFE/RL's Russian Service reported on December 28.

In an interview with Lviv Ekspres on December 22, 2004, outgoing President Leonid Kuchma's chief speechwriter, Vasyl Baziv, said that Foundation for Effective Policies head Gleb Pavlovskii, former ORT Deputy General Director Marat Gelman and Russian businessman Maksim Kurochkin "made themselves at home" in the Ukrainian presidential administration during the lead-up to the first round of presidential voting on October 31, 2004. He said that he even saw one Russian spin doctor, whom he declined to name, sitting beside Mr. Yanukovich during an official meeting. "This is not a matter of campaign tricks but an erosion of our sovereignty," Mr. Baziv complained.

Naturally, the spin doctors themselves have a variety of explanations for what happened in Ukraine. First of all, they

Julie Corwin is on the staff of RFE/RL Newsline as a Russia specialist.

assert that Mr. Yanukovich did not in fact lose. At a news conference in Moscow on December 28, Mr. Pavlovskii asserted that Mr. Yanukovich won the second round on November 21, 2004, but that through a series of "manipulations of the results ... the political process became one based entirely on force," RFE/RL's Moscow bureau reported.

At the same time, in what might be considered an apparent contradiction, they proffer at least three different explanations for why Mr. Yanukovich did not win or why they should not be blamed for Mr. Yanukovich's failure to perform better. First and foremost, they claim that they were outgunned next to U.S. and Polish resources, according to Sergei Markov of the Institute for Political Research. Second, they had too little time to refashion Mr. Yanukovich's image. Third, Mr. Yanukovich, a former prison convict, was too difficult a candidate to make palatable to the broad public.

Mr. Gelman told Lvivska Hazeta on November 16, 2004, that Mr. Yanukovich's "criminal record [was] a formidable issue, a brick wall that no brilliant scheme [could] break down." In an interview with utro.ru on December 30, Mr. Markov said: "If you ask me, I would say that the candidate should have been someone else. It was unwise to put forward as a candidate for president someone with two previous criminal convictions. I can assure you that this was not Moscow's decision."

According to politcom.ru on December 10, Mr. Pavlovskii complained that he and his colleagues were invited too late and that they should have started 12 to 18 months before the election in order to remake Mr. Yanukovich's image. In an interview with gazeta.ru on December 27, Mr. Markov voiced a similar sentiment. "I believe that Russian spin doctors had

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Details emerge of second Russian attempt to assassinate Yushchenko

by Taras Kuzio
Eurasia Daily Monitor

On the eve of Viktor Yushchenko's inauguration as Ukraine's third president Ukraine's relations with Russia will undoubtedly emerge as one of the most difficult issues. The Economist (December 29, 2004) advised Mr. Yushchenko that, "he needs to kiss and make up with Russia and Vladimir Putin, who backed Mr. Yanukovich and has thus been humiliated by his defeat."

This though, will be far easier said than done. Russia is reportedly behind two assassination attempts on Mr. Yushchenko's life, one through poisoning and a second with a bomb. Mr. Yushchenko alluded to the bomb threat when he said, "Those who wanted to blow myself up did not undertake it because they came too close and could have blown themselves up" (Ukrainska Pravda, December 16, 2004).

While details of the poisoning are more well known, evidence of the bomb threat

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has only just come to light in a documentary on Channel 5, a television station sympathetic to Mr. Yushchenko. Details of the bomb attempt were aired in the weekly "Zakryta Zona" (Closed Zone) documentary (www.5tv.com.ua/pr_archiv/136/0/265) suitably entitled "Terrorists".

The title of the documentary is ironic in the light of attempts by the authorities in both the 1999 and the 2004 elections to portray the opposition as "terrorists." Serhii Ivanchenko, a Socialist Party (SPU) activist wrongly imprisoned in 1999 for an "assassination attempt" on Progressive Socialist leader Natalia Vitrenko awaits his release (Ukrainska Pravda, December 22, 2004). Mr. Ivanchenko was a patsy in an attempt to blacken SPU leader Oleksander Moroz whom Leonid Kuchma was afraid of facing in Round 2 of the 1999 elections.

During last year's election campaign a still unexplained bomb in Kyiv that killed one person and injured dozens more was blamed on the Ukrainian National Party (UNP), a member of Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine bloc. Explosives were also planted during searches of the offices of opposition youth groups. The Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) and Internal Affairs Ministry have now admitted that charges

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Ukraine set to withdraw...

(Continued from page 1)

Gryshchenko met with U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Herbst on January 11 and with British Ambassador to Ukraine Robert Brinkley the following day to discuss the situation, Mr. Lubkivskyi said.

Ukraine currently has the fourth largest contingent in Iraq, with 1,589 soldiers who serve under a Polish-led unit in the south-central portion of the country. Sixteen Ukrainian soldiers have died in Iraq and more than 20 have been wounded since Ukrainian peacekeepers first began operations there in August 2003.

In the most recent incident, eight Ukrainians died at 12:05 p.m. on January 9 when a bomb they were extracting and moving from an ammunition deposit near the town of As Suwayrah exploded, injuring six other Ukrainian soldiers, according to the Defense Ministry's press service.

Cause of explosion not known

The cause of the explosion has not been identified, and Ukrainian commanders in Iraq have opened a criminal case in the matter and have begun an investigation. Ukrainian Maj. Gen. Serhiy Savchenko, deputy chief of the Multinational Division arrived at the scene of the explosion and has been overseeing the assessment, the Defense Ministry said.

Though the explosion has been called an accident, Lt. Gen. Volodymyr Mozharovsky, acting commander of land forces, said on January 10 during a press conference in Kyiv that investigators were looking into the possibility that it was an attack.

Lt. Gen. Mozharovsky said there were reports that people sitting in a car had been watching the Ukrainian soldiers before the blast and quickly sped away in their car moments before the explosion, leaving some military commanders to speculate that a bomb might have been set off remotely. "There is a possibility that the explosion was an act planned in advance," he said.

Meanwhile, top military officials in Ukraine echoed calls to remove Ukrainian troops from Iraq.

"The situation in Iraq has deteriorated, and as a consequence we lost our men," Defense Minister Oleksander Kuzmuk told the Interfax news agency after meeting with President Kuchma on January 10. Secretary of the National Defense Council Volodymyr Radchenko, Vice-Prime Minister Dmytro Tabachnyk and Foreign Affairs Minister Gryshchenko also took part in that meeting.

"Today the president has set a task for the defense minister and foreign minister to immediately start planning the withdrawal of the Ukrainian contingent from

the Republic of Iraq in the first half of the current year," Mr. Kuzmuk said, adding that the withdrawal could begin as early as March.

News of Ukraine's eventual pullout from Iraq also drew the attention of officials in Washington, where State Department Spokesman Richard Boucher touched on the topic during a briefing with the press on January 11.

"The Ukrainians have said the changes in Ukraine's contingent would be made in full consultation with the multinational forces and with the Iraqi government, and that it would be done in a responsible and measured way. So we trust that Ukraine's new government, when it takes office, will look at this issue carefully and discuss it as appropriate with us and the Iraqis," Mr. Boucher said.

A pledge by Yushchenko

Throughout the presidential election campaign, Viktor Yushchenko repeatedly pledged to remove Ukraine's troops from Iraq.

Oleksander Zinchenko, Mr. Yushchenko's campaign manager, said on January 10 that withdrawal was a difficult procedure, burdened with political, financial, military and diplomatic details, but he stressed that the issue would be one of President-elect Yushchenko's top concerns.

"I can only say that the promise that ... Yushchenko made to the Ukrainian people would be kept," Mr. Zinchenko said.

Presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich also commented on the matter, issuing a press release on January 12. "Today, it is clear to everyone that the war in Iraq is a conflict without an end. We had some hope for stabilization in this war several months ago, whereas today it is clear – the bloody events will go on indefinitely," he said.

"Therefore, expressing a deep and sincere sympathy with the families of the dead today, I call on politicians to rise above their ambitions, above narrow interests to gain power at any price, and think of people, those Ukrainians, to whom such colorful and wordy promises were given on city squares," Mr. Yanukovich said.

Condolences from U.S.

The United States Embassy in Ukraine issued a statement on January 11 expressing "deepest condolences on the death in Iraq of eight Ukrainian peacekeepers, and the wounding of six others, in a munitions explosion on January 9."

"Our sincerest gratitude and deepest sympathy go out to the brave soldiers' families, to the Ukrainian government and to the Ukrainian people in their time of loss. All who cherish freedom can only express our sincerest appreciation for the peacekeepers' efforts in a just and noble cause," the statement said.

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ANALYSIS

Yushchenko declared Ukraine's president

by **Taras Kuzio**
Eurasia Daily Monitor

On January 10, Ukraine's Central Election Commission (CEC) officially declared opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko to be Ukraine's third president. The final vote count stood at 51.99 percent for, Mr. Yushchenko compared to Viktor Yanukovich's 44.20 percent. Thirteen CEC members voted in favor of the ruling, while two abstained.

Mr. Yushchenko's official inauguration is likely to take place within a week and likely be attended by representatives of the international community. Outgoing U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell will attend if the ceremony is held no later than January 16.

Despite numerous failed legal challenges in the CEC and the Supreme Court, outgoing Prime Minister Yanukovich still refuses to recognize the official results. Mr. Yanukovich and Taras Chornovil, the head of his campaign, have continued to argue that the second round (November 21) results – giving him the win – were correct. The Yanukovich camp has continued to argue against “insinuations about the so-called mass falsifications that took place in Round 2 of the elections” (Ukrainska Pravda, January 11).

The Yanukovich camp's next steps will be to initiate impeachment proceedings against Mr. Yushchenko, to hire a Swiss law firm to represent their case and to appeal to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). However, the threat of impeachment has been ridiculed, as Mr. Yushchenko is not even yet in office (razom.org.ua, January 10). But while the ECHR has investigated parliamentary election legislation, it has never dealt with presidential elections (Ukrainska Pravda, January 11).

In reality, the Yanukovich-Chornovil show has reached a dead end. Ukraine's ruling elite, state institutions and the international community all would like to end the election contest as quickly as possible and move on. Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn has called upon the Parliament to not adjourn on January 14 and extend the session several days for the presidential inauguration and a vote on Yushchenko's candidate for prime minister.

Mr. Yanukovich's failed legal challenges have raised questions as to his real motives. There is little doubt that Mr. Yanukovich feels personally betrayed by Kyiv's ruling elites and by outgoing President Leonid Kuchma. Yanukovich and the then head of the presidential administration, Viktor Medvedchuk, both lobbied President Kuchma to deploy troops to suppress the Orange Revolution. Russian political advisors working for Yanukovich-Medvedchuk also could not fathom why Mr. Kuchma backed off from crushing the Orange Revolution.

Mr. Yanukovich's protests allow his team more time to privatize and steal state resources. Although the Verkhovna Rada voted no confidence in the Yanukovich government on November 27, he waited until New Year's Eve to resign, and President Kuchma released him only on January 5. The Yushchenko camp has received numerous complaints about improprieties occurring during the last days of the Yanukovich government. Examples include barter deals in the energy sector, reimbursing VAT to businesses linked to President Kuchma, issuing licenses, establishing fake joint ven-

tures and authorizing questionable financial transactions (UNIAN, December 30). The Yushchenko camp reported that a chemical factory in Luhansk was privatized over the New Year “for next to nothing” (maidan.org.ua, January 10). In addition, Mr. Yanukovich may be buying time to allow for the destruction of evidence pertaining to high-level corruption – evidence that would be important for future criminal cases.

Mr. Yanukovich's delay tactics could also serve to distract attention from two sets of criminal cases that will be launched after Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration. The first will deal with election fraud and the conduct of Ukraine's dirtiest election. Charges are likely against Andriy Kluyev, head of Mr. Yanukovich's “shadow campaign,” Mr. Medvedchuk, former CEC Chairman Serhii Kivalov and possibly Mr. Yanukovich himself (Ukrainska Pravda, January 10).

No one doubts that President Kuchma was aware of what was taking place in recent months. But since Parliament has yet to vote on legislation on presidential immunity, Mr. Kuchma will leave office with no immunity deal to protect him. Mr. Yushchenko has promised to finish the investigation into Mr. Kuchma's alleged involvement in the murder of opposition journalist Heorhii Gongadze in fall 2000.

Another potential criminal case would pertain to Mr. Yushchenko's poisoning and the failed plot to assassinate him with a bomb. The former deputy chairman of the Security Service of Ukraine Volodymyr Satsiuk, Messrs. Kluyev and Medvedchuk, and the Russian advisors to the Yanukovich campaign would figure prominently in these charges. Messrs. Satsiuk and Kluyev have already returned to Parliament and its immunity, while Mr. Yanukovich is pressing his Regions of Ukraine colleague Volodymyr Zubanov to relinquish his parliamentary seat.

Regardless of whether a criminal case is brought against him, Mr. Yanukovich faces an uncertain future. In December he promised to organize a “tough” opposition against Mr. Yushchenko, but when asked after the CEC announced the official results if he would now go into opposition Mr. Yanukovich replied “I will advise you later” (Ukrainska Pravda, January 11). His opposition allies remain confined to the Communists and the Social Democratic United Party – United (SDPU). The latter's future depends on whether criminal charges are brought against its leader, Mr. Medvedchuk.

Mr. Yanukovich is having second thoughts about going into opposition because, after the repeat December 26 vote, his “boss,” Donetsk oligarch Rynat Akhmetov, advised him to not protest the results and go into opposition. Mr. Yanukovich's refusal to do so has reportedly led to an altercation between the two men.

Attempts to show an “opposition face” have been ridiculed as simply copying the Yushchenko camp (Ukrainska Pravda, December 23, January 10). An attempt to mimic Kyiv's Orange Revolution by creating a tent city in Donetsk to support Mr. Yanukovich has been declared illegal by the City Council. No such decision would have been made without Mr. Akhmetov's approval, showing how even his financial and political sponsor has now ditched Mr. Yanukovich.

FOR THE RECORD

Message of condolences from U.S. Embassy in Kyiv

Following is the text of a message of condolences issued on January 11 by the United States Embassy in Ukraine in reaction to the deaths of eight Ukrainian peacekeepers in Iraq following an explosion on January 9.

The U.S. Embassy expresses deepest condolences on the death in Iraq of eight Ukrainian peacekeepers, and the wounding of six others, in a munitions explosion on January 9. We join the families and Ukrainian people in mourning the ultimate sacrifice of Lt. Col. Oleh Matizhev, Capt. Yuri Zagrai, Capt. Serhiy Andrushchenko,

Capt. Valeriy Brazhevskiy, Senior Warrant Officer Volodymyr Sedoi, Warrant Officer Oleksandr Katsarskiy, Senior Sgt. Andriy Sitnykov and Senior Sgt. Vira Petryk in the cause of a freer and more secure world. We wish those who were injured a rapid recovery.

Our sincerest gratitude and deepest sympathy go out to the brave soldiers' families, to the Ukrainian government and to the Ukrainian people in their time of loss. All who cherish freedom can only express our sincerest appreciation for the peacekeepers' efforts in a just and noble cause.

Rep. Steven Rothman's letter to President George W. Bush

Following is the text of a letter sent on January 7 by Rep. Steven R. Rothman (D-N.J.) to President George W. Bush.

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to urge you to promptly invite Ukrainian President-elect Viktor Yushchenko to Washington, D.C., for an official state visit. As you well know, the outcome of the recent Ukrainian elections provides the opportunity for the republic of Ukraine to become more closely integrated in Euro-Atlantic institutions, demonstrate true democratic governance under the rule of law, and operate a genuine free market economy. It is critical that at this time we recognize the importance of the relationship between the United States and the Republic of Ukraine and reach out to President-elect Yushchenko in an effort to enhance these relations.

To your credit, the United States has consistently worked with the Republic of Ukraine to encourage the conduct of free and fair elections in the former Soviet state. We believe that with this recent election, the Republic of Ukraine has indeed demonstrated its commitment to being a true democracy. The first and second rounds of voting on October 31, 2004, and November 21, 2004, respectively, were fraught with corruption and

fraud, including reports of government-run media bias, abuse of absentee ballots and voter intimidation. Taking a step which demonstrated Ukraine's elected representatives' true commitment to democracy, the Ukrainian Parliament responded by approving a resolution that called the elections invalid. This action was later reinforced when the Ukrainian Supreme Court invalidated the election and called for a third round of voting on December 26, 2004.

Following weeks of protest and debates, an impressive 77 percent of the population turned out to vote for President-elect Yushchenko on December 26, 2004. We congratulate the Republic of Ukraine on following the democratic processes that ultimately led to the conduct of a free and free election for the Ukrainian presidency.

As a showing of American solidarity with the Ukrainian people and its newly elected leader, and in an effort to further strengthen U.S.-Ukraine relations, we believe it is important that you promptly invite President-elect Yushchenko to the White House for a state visit once he has been sworn in as president. We thank you in advance for your kind attention and ask that you please inform us as to how you intend to proceed on this matter.

Quotable notes

“I know that the Ukrainian people had only a few decades of real independence in the last 800 years. Burial mounds of heroes, who fought for Ukraine's independence, are scattered all over the Ukrainian land. 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.”

– *Ukrainian President-elect Viktor Yushchenko on Independence Square in Kyiv on December 31, as quoted by Channel 5 and cited by RFE/RL Belarus and Ukraine Report.*

“My dear fellow countrymen: I want to say to all those living in the west, east, south, north and center of the country, in the towns and villages of Ukraine, and I appeal to you as the single and undivided Ukrainian people. There will be a new president in Ukraine in 2005. 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.”

– *Outgoing Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma in his New Year's address on December 31, as quoted by UT-1 and cited by RFE/RL Belarus and Ukraine Report.*

“I have taken the formal decision to resign. And I think it will be impossible for me to hold any official position in the new government. This is my personal view. ... I will remain in politics, and will act as an independent politician who legitimately won the elections on November 21. My team and I will participate, in a legitimate and proper way, in both political and civil activity.”

– *Outgoing Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich in a televised address on December 31, as quoted by RFE/RL.*

Messages from the Orange Revolution

by Petro Rondiak

Following is a day-by-day account of the 17 days of the Orange Revolution 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.

Below is the third part of Mr. Rondiak's three-part series "Messages from the Orange Revolution." The photos accompanying the story are the author's.

CONCLUSION

Day 12

Sent: Saturday, December 4, 2004, 11:28 a.m.

Pryvit! Sorry for the delay, got so late last night (yes, there was some "celebrating," finally) I didn't get my e-mail out.

In the evening the Supreme Court made its historic ruling and the crowd went crazy. Yushchenko's team was dancing on the stage to "Razom nas bahato..." after the speeches. There is still an end game to be played out, but it was impossible to contain the festive spirit and the celebrations. When Yushchenko finished speaking we all sang "Sche Ne Vmerla..." like never before. A huge hot air balloon with a "Tak Yushchenko – Dnipropetrovsk" sign on it was inflated on maidan. We had a few beers with Danyo and Liza (Kulchycky). On the way home we cruised.

Today (Saturday) and tomorrow the V Rada has its work cut out for it, drafting the new law defining the re-vote procedure. Kuchma has to sign it into law. Yush is also demanding Kuchma disband Yanuk gov't and fire the CEC officials. These are hard pills to swallow for someone like Kuchma, so it's not quite over yet.

Gotta go: ballet class, pee wee soccer, and then maidan at night. Day 13 begins.

Proud to be Ukrainian!

Ps. Orange ribbons on cars have been seen on Red Square in Moscow.

Day 13

Sent: Sunday, December 5, 2004,

11:33 a.m.

Pryvit! Again writing on the morning after Day 13, Saturday. The crowd was by far the largest to date. It was virtually impossible to get onto maidan. People were packed solid all the way back to Passage, Prorizna, and up Institutska to the Zhovtnevi Palace. There was a new stage set up at the Passage entrance, and music acts were doing performances.

We ducked into a bar that happened to be a big Pora center. They had the whole second floor occupied and their own security at the bottom of the stairs. It seemed there were some foreign journalists there as well. Pairs of Pora people were carrying large thermos-like containers in and out of the place, up and down the stairs.

On the first floor, near the bar there was no where to sit, but this older Ukrainian couple invited us to join them. Enthusiastic Yushchenko supporters, they were excited by the fact that we're Americans. The man, Volodymyr, explained that his daughter in law was a Yanukovich supporter. Her father ran an iron chain manufacturing business that he received by virtue of the Yanukovich clan. The way things work here.

Yush failed to push the election reform bill through the VR so, at this point, the rerun will be done under the same old rules (including absentee certificates). On top of that, the VR decided to take its scheduled vacation and is closing for 10 days. The CEC still comprised the same people as in the prior election. Yanuk and his government are still in place.

None of these issues were addressed in Yushchenko's speech last night. He also did not clearly ask people to stay on maidan. The MC that came on after Yush made it clear that no one is to leave maidan. I don't think the rerun under the old law and with the same CEC contingent will be fair (I trust them zero); others feel it's a good way to go. Maybe I'm just bumping up against a little emotional burn out.

Today, Sunday, Day 14, will be dedicated to physical and emotional recharge. Family day.

DAY 14

Sent: Sunday, December 5, 2004, 10:31 p.m.

Pryvit!

Didn't go to maidan today. Short of two drive-bys with Ola and the kids: "Razom nas bahato" blaring on the car speakers and the kids shouting Yushchenko out the open windows. There's a loop you can drive where you pass the majority of the gov't building blockade

points.

Danyo and Liza had their satellite dish tuned to the coordinates for the maidan camera direct feed, so we get an uncut, unedited, live feed when at home.

Yushchenko's speech this evening followed speeches by about six religious leaders of different religions. He made it clear that the demands remain (1. president to dismiss Yanuk and his gov't; 2. new staff at CEC; 3. sign election reform law (after VR writes and approves it). Also made it clear that he is not accepting the Parliament vacation and is requiring new election legislation by Wednesday latest, otherwise he says there will be no time for implementation. Blockades of Cabinet of Ministers and pres. admin. remain (without any apparent hesitation). Tymoshenko was not on stage.

The kids have caught on to the civil disobedience thing: "Razom nas bahato – nas ne klasty spaty!" [Together we are many – we won't be put to bed!]

Back to maidan tomorrow afternoon.

DAY 15

Sent: Tuesday, December 7, 2004, 12:11 a.m.

Pryvit!

On the way home from work picked up a young militia guy in uniform and his girlfriend and drove them into the center. His name was Vitalii and he said he was in his fourth year of Ministry of Internal Affairs militia school. Hence the militia uniform. He comes from a line of militia in the family and spoke matter of factly about how the militia would never harm the "narod" and that's why Kuchma brought vitiach (Russian police). The Russkies will listen to him.

We started our maidan Day 15 experience by entering Yushchenko's office building (profspilky bldg.) and searched for the place to hand in the "anketa" he asked everyone to fill out yesterday. Inside the first two floors were divided into regional desks for submitting anketas. There was also a "hospodarcha pryimalna," where one can meet with a Yush representative and leave any kind of "zayavka" one wishes. Long line here. Endless signs on the walls.

Second floor: mobile phone recharging station. Sign in your phone, come back later. In the back, a medical complex with multiple first aid stations. Finally we found Kyivska Oblast and submitted our forms to the lady behind the table. She looked at me and sarcastically said "You state here that you are a college graduate, yet you didn't read line one – how to fill out your name." I told her that we don't have "po-batkovi" [patronymic] names in the U.S.A. This confused her. A wrench in the works. The neighboring lady said "just ask him what his father's name is." I now have 'Romanovych' on my form. Pick your battles.

In the back corner of maidan near the conservatory a letter was being written to Mr. Putin from the people of Ukraine. It was a big roll of orange cloth being rolled from reel to reel. In the photo a woman from Luhansk was expressing her...um...sentiments.

Checked out Bankova and lower part of pres. admin. Only the hard core now keeping a presence, very few "regular" demonstrators. Also on maidan in front of the stage a noticeable drop in attendance. Still a good quantity, just not the big crowds that were standard to date. On the screens, videos of gangs attacking Yushchenko staff bldgs. in the east. Also shown were videos of vote falsification. And to top it off – a real crowd pleaser: a video of Kuchma taking the oath of

office on a bible. Hanba! Hanba! Spoke with an older gentlemen from Ternopil. He was thrilled with the U.S.A. flag on my hat and actually asked me for it (not the first time). When I politely declined he asked for a U.S.A. pin. Sorry bro 'fraid no pins on me.

The tent city is still the heart of the demonstration and remains packed with people and tents. Bonfires in steel containers are now prevalent around the perimeter of the camp. Guitars and boomboxes provide the soundtrack. Bumped into one young man with a sign saying he's looking for a fiancée. And also found a little display making fun of Tiotia Yanukovich's speech about oranges injected with narcotics and boots provided by the U.S.A.

Yush didn't end up speaking due to the roundtable discussion going late and the need for an internal meeting following the roundtable to decide a path forward, which will be introduced on maidan at 9 a.m. tomorrow. Gov't pushing for political reform to accompany voting reform. Political reform by definition limits the president's powers, so why Yush would entertain it, given his current powerful position (I don't think he even anticipated the supreme court vote in his favor) is beyond me, but then politics is not my day job.

DAY 16

Sent: Wednesday, December 8, 2004, 12:50 a.m.

What can I say. Parliament took about 15 breaks and ended up postponing voting on the packet vs. no packet, and then the actual laws themselves until 10 a.m. tomorrow (and one deputy suggested a no-confidence in kuchma vote). Lytvyn said "10 a.m. and not a minute late – and no breaks, let's vote on these laws, people."

Walked the circuit. Very few demonstrators at the picket points. Seemed like each point was staffed by Pora only. Tent city going strong, but Maidan not even half full tonight. Mykola Tomenko and Yuri Lutsenko made short speeches emphasizing how critical it is to go to V Rada tomorrow morning at 10 to demonstrate. Yush didn't speak and the stage shutdown sometime between 8 or 9, which struck me as very unusual. Mixed feelings. The masses are gone. A hard-core contingent remains.

Inspired by Mykola Deychakiwsky's e-mail we walked up the hill to the oil barrel drums across from the Cab. Ministers bldg. two of the young drummers volunteered their positions and soon Ola and I were banging away on the oil barrels, trying to follow the conductor. Rolls, pauses, short hits – added some spirit to our night, not total abandon since there are so many unknowns that will be answered tomorrow and things could go in multiple directions.

While we were sitting there behind the oil drums, two older ladies came up, right opposite us with pots of varenyky. The students crowded around and realized that no one had plates. Suddenly a hand appeared with a stack of plastic plates. Another hand appeared with a box of red Svitoch chocolate bars and a voice saying, "Take one. Take one." Ola: "No thank you." Voice: "Take it, take it, take it." These caring individuals deserve medals.

DAY 17

Sent: Friday, December 10, 2004, 5:19 p.m.

Pryvit!

It appears that yesterday, Day 17, will

(Continued on page 38)



Day 15: Protesters line up to sign a letter from the Ukrainian nation to Russian President Vladimir Putin.

2004: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

Ukraine's election begets the Orange Revolution

Easily the most significant of elections since the country gained its independence 13 years ago, was the battle between two presidential candidates to take the reins of power and lead the nation of some 48 million people either toward Europe or closer to Moscow.

An initial round of voting on October 31 weeded an initial field of 26 candidates down to two, who fought each other in a bitter run-off election on November 21 and a rerun of that election on December 26. Opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko's camp alleged widespread falsifications and vote rigging that initially gave the election to pro-presidential candidate and Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

Millions of Ukrainians took to the streets and effectively stopped Mr. Yanukovich's inauguration in a show of non-violent grass roots strength. What ensued became known as the "Orange Revolution," and made headlines throughout the world. In the end, overcoming a campaign fraught with fraud, assassination attempts and allegations of Russian involvement in helping to rig the election, former prime minister and National Bank of Ukraine Chairman Yushchenko won the last of three votes on December 26 and ended a campaign that will be remembered as a pivotal moment in Ukraine's history.

Throughout the battle between Messrs. Yanukovich and Yushchenko, Ukraine's Central Election Commission, the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court often became the stage on which the more critical points of the election were played out.

Effectively, the race began the previous year, when the Constitutional Court ruled on December 30, 2003, that outgoing President Leonid Kuchma could run for a third term in office even though the Constitution of Ukraine limits a state leader to two terms. The 18 members of Ukraine's highest constitutional authority decided that Mr. Kuchma, who was first elected in 1994, had the exclusive right to an additional term because he was elected prior to approval of the Constitution in 1996.

The decision in part read: "One must understand that the provision applies only to people who are elected to the post of president of Ukraine after the 1996 Constitution came into force." Justice Vasyl Nimchenko said that with the enactment of the Constitution in 1996 President Kuchma became an acting president fulfilling his authority as state leader under the terms of the old Constitution. Therefore the time from 1996-1999 cannot be considered a full term in office under the new Constitution.

National Deputy Ihor Ostash, a member of the Our Ukraine political bloc, called the court's decision proof that the 18 judges were merely the president's stooges.

While the court was ironing out Mr. Kuchma's status as a candidate for the election, the two top candidates for the post clashed in Kyiv on February 21 in what seemed to have been the first debate – though unofficial – of the presidential election season. After delivering a series of stinging criticisms of Mr. Yushchenko, but before a debate could begin, Mr. Yanukovich left the hall where he had just completed his address to an international conference. Mr. Yanukovich did not hear Mr. Yushchenko's rebuttal. In his remarks, Mr. Yushchenko questioned the current government's initiative on the Single Economic Space with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, and its halting steps towards European integration.

Mr. Yushchenko questioned the way the majority coalition in Parliament, which staunchly supports the prime minister, had pursued political reform. He charged that the majority had illegally rammed through the first reading of a draft bill on amending the Constitution, while ignoring parliamentary procedures on floor debate and voting.

The current Ukrainian prime minister stated that the parliamentary elections of 2002 had laid the groundwork for the improved economic situation in the country. He also blamed European political leaders for getting in the way, and warned that the current political opposition has neither a vision nor a plan for Ukraine, only a desire to assume power. He asserted that the opposition did not want to see an economically powerful and politically viable country.

With the campaign beginning the Verkhovna Rada on February 17 and 19 approved 12 new members of the

Central Election Commission (CEC), thus bringing it to its full strength of 15 people. At that point, it was announced that the CEC comprised 11 members delegated by pro-government forces, two by the Communist Party, and one each by the Socialist Party and Our Ukraine.

On February 19, the 15 CEC members unanimously elected National Deputy Serhii Kivalov as CEC chairman. Mr. Kivalov, 49. In order to chair the CEC Mr. Kivalov gave up his parliamentary mandate. However, before that he was a lawmaker and simultaneously chaired the High Council of Justice (a body distributing jobs among Ukrainian judges) and presided over the Odesa National Law Academy. He managed to persuade his colleagues in the Verkhovna Rada that he did not violate the law on the status of deputies by holding several positions because, he argued, he worked in the High Council of Justice and the Odesa National Law Academy on a non-salaried basis.

In between the two days that the Verkhovna Rada was approving new CEC members, political parties and factions that comprised the majority there signed a political agreement on February 18 to support a single candidate in the October 31 presidential election. The 13 leaders, including Prime Minister Yanukovich, who also headed the Party of Regions, agreed to form a coalition for both the October presidential election and the parliamentary elections in 2006. They also pledged to continue to support passage of a controversial law on political reform that would amend the Constitution of Ukraine. Four oppositionist political groupings within the Verkhovna Rada, the Socialist, Communist, Tymoshenko and Our Ukraine factions did not sign the document.

A month later, on March 19 Ukraine's Verkhovna

Rada overwhelmingly passed a new law on presidential elections, changing the duration of the campaign and the manner in which candidates qualify for the vote. The legislation, a compromise bill pieced together from three different drafts, received the approval of 400 lawmakers. The bill came to a vote after representatives from the various factions, led by Our Ukraine National Deputy Yurii Kliuchkovskiy, hammered out a version acceptable to all.

The new law reduced the allowable days for campaigning prior to the October 31 vote from 180 days to 120, a two-month reduction. It also required candidates to file fewer signature petitions, but mandated the posting of a bond of 500,000 hrv (\$943,000), which was implemented to ensure that individuals who registered as candidates were serious-minded in their intentions. The new rule also required that the potential candidate gather 500,000 signatures in order to have his or her name printed on the election ballot. The petition would need to include a minimum of 20,000 signatures from each of two-thirds (18) of Ukraine's 27 political regions (25 oblasts plus the cities of Kyiv and Sevastopol). The new legislation limited the budgets of registered candidates to 10.25 million hrv (less than \$2 million U.S.). It further stipulated that only the country's Supreme Court could disqualify a candidate from the election after he or she was registered and only based on a petition filed by the Central Election Commission.

The Committee of Ukrainian Voters (CUV), a non-partisan civic organization recognized as one of the best election monitoring groups in Ukraine, also voiced a concern: that the law had not included any mention of the rights and responsibilities of monitors from Ukrainian civic organizations. In a press release issued



Supporters of Viktor Yushchenko celebrate during a rally on Independence Square on December 28.

AP/Efrem Lukatsky

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on March 22, the CUV noted that earlier election laws had included such stipulations. "We remind all that the participation of these types of monitors is an indivisible part of democratic elections, which is fixed in the 'Declaration of the Copenhagen Conference' from 1990," read a statement issued by the CUV.

The following month, leaders of the majority coalition of the Ukrainian Parliament and its member political parties voted unanimously on April 14 to support Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich as their candidate for president. The agreement was announced after a closed-door session attended by President Leonid Kuchma. Later Mr. Yanukovich, who was appointed to head the Ukrainian government by President Kuchma, said the two major planks of his platform would be continued economic development and a renewed effort toward political reform.

Nobody among Ukraine's political elite immediately expressed any surprise or reservation regarding the probable candidacy of Mr. Yanukovich, which had long been considered a *fait accompli*. Petro Symonenko, chairman of the Communist Party of Ukraine, noted that the choice of Mr. Yanukovich came only after extensive internal debate and haggling among other potential candidates and what some political experts said was a dire effort – in the end fruitless – by President Kuchma to identify a better candidate. Mr. Symonenko added that the prime minister had won in a struggle between the political clans of Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk and Kyiv over who should be their single candidate.

As the election campaign continued to heat up, a sign of what the October presidential election would bring played out in the town of Mukachiv on April 18. Nearly 34,000 citizens cast their ballots that day for the mayor of Mukachiv. According to many local and international observers, the election came nowhere close to being democratic, nor did those who were responsible try to feign the slightest air of fairness.

The fiercely contested vote, which was actually a second attempt at electing a mayor for Mukachiv after the first vote was declared invalid, had two main candidates: Victor Baloha, a Verkhovna Rada lawmaker from the Our Ukraine political bloc, and Ernest Nuser, who was backed by the Social Democratic Party-United (SDPU). When the polling stations closed, many Our Ukraine deputies, fearing ballot fraud, collected copies of the protocols upon which the results of the ballot count were registered. The Our Ukraine national deputies calculated that Mr. Baloha had received 19,385 votes – 6,597 more than Mr. Nuser, who had received 13,898. Early in the morning of April 19, the Territorial Election Commission announced otherwise. It declared that Mr. Nuser had won the election by more than 5,000 votes.

Our Ukraine members considered the announcement the last straw after a day of dirty politics. The three opposition factions in the Verkhovna Rada announced during the beginning of the April 20 session that they wanted a vote on their resolution to dismiss the state officials whom they considered responsible for the

Mukachiv events: the head of the presidential administration, Victor Medvedchuk, Minister of Internal Affairs Mykola Bilokon and Chairman of the Zakarpattia Oblast Administration Ivan Rizak. The motion, which sought to hold those believed to be responsible for the fraudulent vote, fell short by six votes of the necessary 226 needed to pass.

Besides the copies of the registered election results, Our Ukraine members cited the results of an exit poll conducted by a consortium of polling organizations organized by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation. Within 45 minutes after the polls closed, Ilko Kucheriv, the foundation's director, announced the exit poll results. According to the exit poll, Our Ukraine candidate Mr. Baloha received 62.4 percent of the vote, while SDPU-backed candidate Mr. Nuser received 29.99 percent of the vote. The other six candidates vying for the mayor's post all received less than 1 percent of the vote, according to the poll.

Throughout the day a number of observers, including National Deputies Roman Bezsmertnyi, Yevhen Zhotniak, Taras Stetskiv, Yuri Pavlenko, Petro Oliinyk and Mykola Polischuk, were beaten or roughly manhandled at a number of different polling stations.

Mr. Nuser, the newly elected mayor of Mukachiv, tendered his resignation at a City Council meeting on the evening of May 28. Citing personal threats against both himself and his family as the reason for his resignation, Mr. Nuser stated that it was not an easy decision to make, and added, "I do not have the moral or human right to risk the lives of my family and those close to me, as well as the lives or health of my companions-in-arms. Therefore, I took this decision, albeit not a simple one, but it was the only proper decision to make given the current situation."

With the Mukachiv election behind them, a number of Ukrainian organizations began to unite behind the candidacy of Viktor Yushchenko.

Acting together on June 16, the leaders of two nationalist organizations, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists led by Mykola Plaviuk and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Revolutionary) headed by Andriy Haydamakha, and two political parties, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists (CUN) and the All-Ukrainian Union Svoboda, led, respectively, by Oleksii Ivchenko and Oleh Tiahnybok, publicly announced that the process of uniting had begun. The consolidation process had started on May 28, when the four leaders signed a declaration under the title "Unity – A Guarantee for Victory!" Their declaration read: "Ukrainian nationalists are convinced that the only real candidate who can win from the national-patriotic camp is Viktor Yushchenko."

Nearly 50,000 people listened on July 4 as Mr. Yushchenko announced his candidacy for the presidency of Ukraine from a hillside overlooking the Pecherska Lavra (Monastery of the Caves), as his supporters waved thousands of orange pennants imprinted with the single word, "Tak" (Yes). The banners they stood beneath, identifying them as hailing from points all

across the country – from Donetsk and Luhansk to Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk – was evidence to some, as the newspaper *Ukraina Moloda* stated, that while the former prime minister's strength is in the western part of the country, he could count on voter support in the east as well.

The previous day Mr. Yushchenko, along with Prime Minister Yanukovich and Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz, took advantage of the beginning of the registration process for candidates in the October 31 presidential election and submitted his registration papers.

Within several days various political congresses and conventions had placed five other names in nomination, including the Communist Party, which announced that party chief Petro Symonenko was its choice for president; the Progressive Socialist Party, which picked its leader, Natalia Vitrenko; the Yedyna Rodyna political association, which threw the name of its head, Oleksander Rzhavskiy, into the ring; the Slavic Party, whose choice was its leader, Oleksander Bazyluk; and the Liberal-Democratic Party, which nominated Ihor Dushyn, its chairman.

While Mr. Yushchenko used a traditional "grand opening" approach to herald the beginning of his campaign, Mr. Yanukovich decided on a much more subdued, business-like approach. However, he did have the media at his heels to get his message out in several public appearances – an opportunity not available to Mr. Yushchenko, as there was a virtual blackout of his image on most national television networks. In fact, three of the six networks showed only brief footage of Mr. Yushchenko's campaign launch. None cared to note the size of the crowd, much less show the huge audience that had gathered to hear him speak. In stark contrast, on July 7 in various television news broadcasts, Mr. Yanukovich said he would not so much run a campaign as simply continue his work as prime minister, which he said would be "the best way to show the Ukrainian people what to expect with me as president."

On July 2, the day before the start of the campaign season, Mr. Yushchenko signed an election coalition agreement with Ms. Tymoshenko, leader of the eponymous rightist-oriented political bloc, to form the *Syla Narodu* (Power of the People) political coalition.

Mr. Yushchenko then introduced his political platform on July 9, promising a paradigm shift in economic, political and social policy should he be elected president. Mr. Yushchenko's political platform was divided into 10 parts, which covered nearly every aspect of political, economic and social life in Ukraine. Among the promises he made, Mr. Yushchenko gave notice to rich businessmen that political and legal loopholes would be closed, forcing them to take on a much broader share of the country's tax burden, which he indicated would greatly increase government revenues and allow him as president to fund more social programs.

The day after the publication of Mr. Yushchenko's political platform on July 9, his closest competitor in the race for the presidency, Mr. Yanukovich, was quick to enumerate his own list of promises to be implemented should he win the post. During a stop in Mariupol in his home oblast of Donetsk, Mr. Yanukovich promised to raise farm sector profitability to 40 percent. He said he would institute policies that would at least double the average wage from where it stood. He also said he would reduce the value-added tax (VAT) from 20 percent to 12 percent. In addition, Mr. Yanukovich said he would simplify the tax administration and make it more transparent. He also said he expected to develop the financial and banking sectors, which would result in more financial and investment innovation.

As the campaigns of the top two candidates continued, ten minutes before the September 20 filing deadline was to pass, three additional candidates submitted the required 500,000 petition signatures. The three, Mykhailo Brodskiy, Mykola Rohozhynskiy and Mykola Hrabar, joined Serhii Komisarenko and Natalia Vitrenko, who also submitted their petitions on the final day, to bring to 25 the number of candidates for the post of president. Three days later the number was reduced to 24 when Vitalii Kononov withdrew from the race.

Seven other candidates filed their petitions early and had them approved by the Central Election Commission: Oleksander Moroz, Anatolii Kinakh, Bohdan Boiko, Petro Symonenko, Vasyl Volha, Leonid Chernovetskiy and Oleksander Omelchenko. Vitalii Kononov, an eighth candidate, whose signature lists had already been approved by the CEC, withdrew his candidacy on September 23, stating that he was doing so at the behest of the Green Party, which he headed, and



Students from throughout Ukraine rally in Kyiv on October 16 in support of Viktor Yushchenko.

AP/Efrem Lukatsky

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A poisoning ... and an egging

Victor Yushchenko's campaign took a dramatic turn on September 5 when the candidate began to feel ill and that evening he began to vomit uncontrollably. Doctors worked to treat the father of six, but his condition continued to deteriorate. On September 9, with Mr. Yushchenko getting no better and complaining of general pain in the head, lung, abdominal and spinal regions, a decision was made by his family and his campaign team to transport the presidential candidate to Rudolfinerhaus, a renowned Viennese medical clinic. There a team of 12 doctors did extensive blood and radiological testing on the presidential candidate, including CAT scans of the brain.

Dr. Mykola Korpan, a Ukrainian doctor who was part of the medical team, told various Ukrainian mass media on September 21 that the testing showed that Mr. Yushchenko was suffering "an atypical medical condition" that had affected various organs of his body. Dr. Korpan explained that no known poisoning from food or drink, which would generally be bacterial in nature, could result in the symptoms exhibited by Mr. Yushchenko, including localized paralysis, pain in the lungs, erosion and bleeding of the pancreas and inflammation of the large intestine.

Mr. Yushchenko, puffy-faced, drooling and teary-eyed, made his first public appearance on September 18 after being released from the Austrian hospital. At that point, the leader of the race for the presidential seat told a crowd of some 15,000 supporters that he would not be stopped in his quest to win the presidency, no matter what methods might still be used by those out to restrain him. "You will not poison us. You do not have enough bullets and KamAZ trucks. You cannot break us," said Mr. Yushchenko, his voice strong and unwavering, although he did not look well. Throughout his speech he dabbed a handkerchief to swollen eyes and partially paralyzed lips that did not allow him to speak or swallow properly.

Three days later, on September 21, looking somewhat better but still unable to speak distinctly, Mr. Yushchenko openly told an attentive and deadly silent Parliament that state authorities were responsible for his poisoning two weeks earlier. "Today we are talking about a political kitchen that orders murders. The next one could be you," said Mr. Yushchenko, emotion again charging his usually restrained delivery. Mr. Yushchenko had harsh words for parliamentary colleagues who had dismissed his condition as being the result of a preference for exotic Japanese foods or of a drinking binge.

As the session hall fell silent, Mr. Yushchenko challenged the lawmakers to speak up publicly if they believed what had been said about him. "Tell me, in the last 10-15 years, raise your hands and tell me if you have ever seen me drunk or out of control," challenged Mr. Yushchenko. "I am not a gourmand of the Eastern nor the Western kitchen. I eat the same meals as you and 47 million other Ukrainians: borsch, potatoes and salo."

Procurator General Hennadii Vasyliiev, while stating that an investigation would take place into the circumstances surrounding Mr. Yushchenko's illness, openly questioned whether the poisoning took place in Ukraine. "He left for Vienna looking normal, but returned very different," Mr. Vasyliiev said.

But in a strange twist to the story, Dr. Lothar Wicke, official spokesman for the Rudolfinerhaus Clinic, said on September 29 that examination of Mr. Yushchenko by hospital doctors and tests done on him did not lead to a conclusion that he had been poisoned. Dr. Wicke added that the hospital also had not excluded that a chemical substance could have caused his problems.

In yet a stranger twist to the story, officials of the Rudolfinerhaus Clinic then released a statement on October 3 denying that they had ever suggested that Mr. Yushchenko was not poisoned. They identified as a forgery a press release issued earlier on their behalf in which such conclusions were publicized. Signed by Dr. Michael Zimpfer, the hospital's president, and Dr. Wicke, the statement refuted information found in a press release that was extensively distributed on September 28 to nearly all mass media outlets in Ukraine and abroad just after a press conference had taken place at the hospital. The press release led many of the world's largest media outlets, including the BBC and The New York Times, to conclude improperly that Mr.



AP/Efrem Lukatsky

Photos above show presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko before and after his mysterious illness. On the left, he is seen on July 4, when he submitted his candidacy papers. On the right, he is seen speaking to media on October 10 as he arrived at Kyiv's Boryspil Airport from Vienna, where he had traveled for medical treatment.

Yushchenko had deceived the Ukrainian public.

"With regard to the latest symptoms of his illness and the poisoning that may have caused it, I want to make the following statement as a supplement and qualification to the press release of September 28, 2004, which was not signed or authorized by me and which could have been interpreted to state that poisoning had been excluded a priori," read the statement that Dr. Zimpfer issued on October 3. It emphasized that only Dr. Zimpfer or Dr. Mykola Korpan, Mr. Yushchenko's attending physician, a Ukrainian, were authorized to talk about the state of Mr. Yushchenko's health and his treatment, and only with the lawmaker's permission.

Speaking with the press on October 4, Dr. Korpan revealed that in the last week his Kyiv apartment had been searched and his neighbors questioned by Ukrainian law enforcement officials.

Mr. Yushchenko's campaign manager, Oleksander Zinchenko, said on October 4 that his team had traced the distribution of the falsified press release to TriMedia, a Russian-based public relations firm. Mr. Zinchenko read a letter before lawmakers during the Verkhovna Rada session on October 7 which he said he had just received from Rudolfinerhaus. In the letter, the doctors analyzing the results of tissue reviewing asked permission from Mr. Yushchenko to bring in biological warfare specialists to properly analyze the tests done on the presidential candidate and ascertain the cause of his condition.

Mr. Yushchenko remained hospitalized at Rudolfinerhaus on October 7, having checked himself back in on September 30 after his condition had not improved as had been expected. While a patient at the hospital, Mr. Yushchenko gave hair and skin samples, which were to be used by the hospital to conduct forensic analyses to determine what specifically had poisoned the leading presidential contender sometime before or on September 5, the day he fell ill after having dinner with Security Service of Ukraine Chief Ihor Smeshko.

Mr. Yushchenko, looking worse than ever and far older than his 50 years, returned to Ukraine on October 11 from the Viennese hospital, where he received additional treatment for the mysterious illness.

It would take more than two months before an answer came with regard to Mr. Yushchenko's poisoning. Doctors at the Rudolfinerhaus Clinic in Vienna, Austria, announced on December 11 that Mr. Yushchenko had been poisoned with a form of dioxin.

Rudolfinerhaus Clinic President Zimpfer thanked doctors from around the world for helping "to clarify the difficult Yushchenko illness that has not been observed anywhere else beforehand." One test conducted in London showed that Mr. Yushchenko's dioxin level was 6,000 times higher than normal. Abraham Brouwer, a professor of environmental toxicology at the Free University in Amsterdam, said the concentration amounted to some 100,000 units per gram of blood fat and said it was the second highest level ever recorded in

human history.

Following the announcement by the Austrian doctors, Ukraine's new Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun announced on December 12 that an investigation had been opened into Mr. Yushchenko's poisoning allegations. The move was followed the next day by the announcement that a commission of lawmakers from Parliament had reopened a similar investigation, headed by Volodymyr Sivkovych, a supporter of Mr. Yanukovych. Mr. Sivkovych had led an earlier Parliamentary inquiry in October that concluded Mr. Yushchenko was suffering from a combination of a viral infection and several other diseases.

Viktor Yanukovych also made news with what many have since called a staged dramatic event. During a campaign stop in Ivano-Frankivsk on September 24, he was hit by an egg as he was getting off of a bus and was subsequently taken to a hospital.

Members of the presidential campaign staff and personal entourage of Mr. Yanukovych who traveled with him as part of a campaign swing through the western region of Ukraine maintained that Mr. Yanukovych was hit with more than merely a single egg as he disembarked from his campaign bus to meet with students before Stefanyk Prykarpattia University. They said that at least one "hard object" caused injury to his head. However they did not identify exactly what that object was.

Mr. Yanukovych and his campaign officials decided not to pursue a criminal case after law enforcement officials apprehended and arrested a single student, Dmytro Romaniuk, a 17-year-old in his first year of university studies, who they said admitted to throwing the egg out of frustration over the events surrounding the health of Mr. Yushchenko, his favored candidate.

The prime minister said in an interview with Interfax-Ukraine after he returned to Kyiv that he had gone to the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast as the head of government to better understand the problems the region faces. He said he failed to grasp why he had been treated so badly. "I as a politician have not said a single offensive word to my opponents for the whole election campaign. Now I understand: nationalism is a disease and unfortunately I must state this," he said.

Only Channel 5, considered an oppositionist broadcaster that supports the presidential candidacy of Mr. Yushchenko, provided its viewers with a slow-motion replay of the incident. Television footage did not clearly show what hit Mr. Yanukovych as he disembarked from his bus to greet students lined up on the sidewalk, although it appeared to be a single object. It did, however, clearly show the prime minister first looking down to his suit jacket to notice the object and then seemingly reacting to what he saw – rather than to what he felt – before falling backwards to the ground.

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explaining that he was acting as a good “soldier of the party.” He joined Hryhorii Chernysh, who withdrew after the latter failed to submit the required signature lists in support of his candidacy by the September 20 deadline. The other 10 candidates who made the September 20 filing deadline were: Andrii Chornovil, Ihor Dushyn, Dmytro Korchynskyi, Roman Kozak, Yurii Zbitniev, Oleksander Bazyluk, Oleksander Kryvobokov, Oleksander Yakovenko, Volodymyr Nechyporuk and Oleksander Rzhavskiy.

Over a month before the filing deadline, however, Mr. Yushchenko accused the state militia of secretly tracking him. The charge, made on August 10, came after members of his campaign team caught individuals with sophisticated camera equipment photographing Mr. Yushchenko as he ascended Ay Petri, the highest peak in the Crimean Mountains. The Ministry of Internal Affairs did not deny that state militia officers had been following the Yushchenko entourage. It claimed during a press conference in Symferopol that the officers had been acting as a security detail for the presidential candidate. However Mr. Yushchenko said he had not approved any such security detail.

Less than a week earlier the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, a watchdog organization, issued a statement in which it noted that administrative resources – government finances, personnel and authority – were already being tapped illegally in Ukraine’s presidential election campaigns. It reported on August 3 that “reliable evidence suggests that governmental officials in several sectors are illegally abusing public institutions to manipulate the outcome of the October 31 presidential election,” reported Interfax-Ukraine.

With less than two months before Ukrainians were to go to the ballot box for the first time on October 31, a number of poll results came out that showed the race between the two front-runners was growing tighter. In one survey, conducted by several local Ukrainian organizations, 30 percent of voters were ready to cast their ballots for Mr. Yushchenko in the first round of the elections, while 27 percent would vote for Mr. Yanukovich. (The polls’ margin of error was 2 percent.) In a second round of voting, 38 percent of the electorate would vote for Mr. Yushchenko, 33 percent for Mr. Yanukovich and 13 percent for neither candidate, with another 16 percent opting to keep mum about their choice, the poll indicated. Despite figures demonstrating a Yushchenko victory, a whopping 48 percent of those surveyed were certain that Mr. Yanukovich would become the next president.

The Supreme Court of Ukraine, the final arbiter of election-related disputes, weighed in on the equal access to mass media issue. On September 14 it ruled in favor of the Yushchenko campaign, which had filed six

complaints with the court against the Central Election Commission (CEC) regarding the lack of access by the candidate to many of Ukraine’s largest television networks.

The Committee of Voters of Ukraine, considered to be a prestigious and trusted Ukrainian civic organization, warned on October 6 that the Ukrainian presidential election was under threat and that conditions might arise that could make it impossible to hold a vote on October 31.

As the CVU was making its assessment, National Deputy Yurii Karmazin, a member of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc within the Verkhovna Rada and a former prosecutor in Odesa, was telling colleagues on the parliamentary floor that already plans were afoot to take the stakes still higher. Mr. Karmazin, a former prosecutor in Odesa, said he had received information that certain individuals within the presidential administration had ordered the assassination of Prime Minister Yanukovich to discredit the presidential aspirations of his opponent Mr. Yushchenko, who was to be blamed for the murder.

The same day that Mr. Karmazin leveled his allegations, members of the Yanukovich campaign team, including National Deputy Stepan Havrysh, who is also majority leader in the Ukrainian Parliament, ridiculed assertions and even video documentation by pro-Yushchenko supporters that Yanukovich supporters had printed more than \$10 million worth of smear literature lampooning the Power of the People candidate while utilizing American political symbols. Several Ukrainian lawmakers of Mr. Yushchenko’s Our Ukraine faction had discovered the literature – over 150 tons of it – in two warehouses located on the grounds of the Ukrainian Exhibition Center in Kyiv, after receiving tips from concerned citizens. The campaign literature, which depicted Mr. Yushchenko as a U.S. stooge and included caricatures of his face superimposed on a portrait of U.S. President George Bush.

The race then took yet another turn when, two weeks prior to election day, one of the final polls allowed to be published prior to the presidential vote of October 31 showed that Mr. Yanukovich had taken the lead over Mr. Yushchenko in the race for the presidency. A Democratic Initiatives Foundation rolling poll conducted on October 9-10 showed that the Ukrainian prime minister maintained a slim 34 percent to 31.6 percent lead over Mr. Yushchenko, whose campaigning abilities were limited in the final weeks as he had been fighting to recuperate from the dioxin poisoning.

Ilko Kucheriv, director of DIF, said the lead change at the close of the presidential horse race was the result of an effective although quite populist strategy used by Mr. Yanukovich to appeal to older voters and

Communist Party sympathizers by dramatically raising pensions and calling for official status for the Russian language in Ukraine while also promising Ukrainians dual citizenship with Russia.

The week after the poll was released a meeting and rally of the All-Ukrainian Students’ Council gathered about 20,000 people before the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv on October 16 to listen to Mr. Yushchenko speak.

But a rally the following week indicated how strong Mr. Yushchenko’s support really was in the capital. Nearly 100,000 supporters of the opposition candidate filled Lesia Ukrainka Square on October 23, turning the plaza into a sea of orange banners and bandanas, to urge the Central Election Committee (CEC) to ensure that a transparent and honest vote count takes place on Election Day.

Even as the rally-goers gathered, law enforcement worked to lower the turnout, carefully and slowly controlling the ingress of vehicles into Kyiv. Gates at militia outposts at the city borders were drawn down, and cars and trucks were being checked and turned away at times. Most of the crowd calmly dispersed after the 30-minute presentation, but about 10,000 to 20,000 remained to await the results of a special CEC meeting called to decide the matter of the number of voting precincts that would be established in Russia, (ultimately rejecting the proposed 420 districts and settling on 41.)

The crowd remained in full force until around 9 p.m., when lawmakers from the Power of the People election coalition, who were meeting with the CEC in what was a very hot debate, came outside to ask them to begin to disperse. Around 10:50 p.m. only a few hundred supporters remained when several dozen young men came running from the street toward the crowd before the building, throwing bottles and rocks, and swinging objects, including knives, which cut several people. Eleven victims were treated at a local hospital.

It was at this point in the election season that readers first began to learn about the Ukrainian student group named Pora, which means It’s Time.

Ukrainian state militia officials said on October 15 they had discovered an explosive device at Pora offices, located not far from where a large student demonstration in support of Mr. Yushchenko took place the next day. Two student activists were arrested and charged with being terrorists. The members of the group who were in the office and members of the Our Ukraine faction in Ukraine’s Parliament who were present as the bomb search was conducted stridently maintained that no bomb was found other than what the law enforcement officials themselves planted. They said it was yet another attempt to discredit organizations and individuals tied to the Yushchenko campaign.

Four Pora members, speaking during a press conference in Kyiv on October 21, acknowledged that they had consulted on how to promote student activism with former members of the Serbian student group Otpor. They also freely admitted to having been in contact with the Georgian student group Kmara. The four Pora members, however, said their aim was not violent uprising but to organize student activists in an anti-Yanukovich campaign.

Meanwhile, with the atmosphere surrounding the election continued to deteriorate, 25 ambassadors from European Union countries who have representations in Kyiv gathered in the local office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe on October 27 to issue a declaration warning Ukrainian state officials to stop abuses of recognized democratic campaign standards and allow a free and fair vote in the October 31 presidential election. The declaration, read by Ambassador Marie Florence van Es of the Netherlands came five days after law enforcement and intelligence service officers searched the Pora offices. An interim OSCE report on the election process in Ukraine, cited as the basis for the EU statement, noted widespread concern that an effort was being made to falsify, invalidate or even cancel the election by declaring a state of emergency in the country.

With the campaign portion of the elections finally wrapped up, both Messrs. Yushchenko and Yanukovich claimed victory in the October 31 presidential election in what was a close vote count. Four days after the vote, the Central Election Committee had yet to publish the final tally, even though it had counted 95 percent of the returns within a 10-hour time period. CEC Chairman Kivalov had stopped the vote count unexpectedly at midday on November 1, stating that the commission members would take a break.

Orange anthem: 'Razom Nas Bahato'

Just hours after Viktor Yushchenko’s supporters began their encampment in Kyiv, disc jockey Oleh Laniak wrote the lyrics and singer Roman Kalin and guitarist Roman Kostyuk the melody to a rap song that came to be known around the world as the anthem of the Orange Revolution.

Chorus:

Разом нас багато.
Нас не подолати!

Фальсифікаціям. Ні!
Махінаціям, Ні!
Поняттям, Ні!
Ні брехні!
Ющенко, Ющенко!
Це наш президент.
Так! Так! Так!

(Repeat chorus)

Ми не бидло.
Ми не козли.
Ми України
Доньки і сини.
Зараз чи ніколи –
Годі чекати.
Разом нас багато.
Разом нас не подолати!

Readers can find the lyrics to the song, “Razom Nas Bahato” online at <http://www.orangeukraine.square-space.com/journal/2004/11/29/razom-nas-bahato.html>. (The Ukrainian lyrics and the English translation that appear below are adapted from that website.)

The song was even among the music discussed on National Public Radio during a segment titled “The Tradition of the Protest Song” that aired on January 2, 2005. According to NPR, “the instant hip-hop classic ‘Razom Nas Bahato’ has joined the ranks of historical songs of revolution.” Among the site from which readers can download the song is the NPR website.

Chorus:

Together we are many
We cannot be defeated.

Falsifications. No!
Machinations. No!
Prison rules. No!
No to lies!
Yushchenko, Yushchenko!
Our president.
Yes! Yes! Yes!

(Repeat chorus)

We aren’t beasts of burden.
We aren’t goats.
We are Ukraine’s
sons and daughters.
It’s now or never –
enough of waiting.
Together we are many.
Together we cannot be defeated!

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Lawmakers who supported Mr. Yushchenko went to the CEC on November 3 to inquire why the returns were not being updated and released to the public. National Deputy Ostash said he had information that the vote was almost fully counted. Mr. Ostash, along with lawmakers Ivan Pliusch, Yevhen Chervonenko and Mr. Kliuchkovskiy, with election observers from the OSCE and two former presidential candidates in tow, also tried to determine whether the election results were first going to the presidential administration for tweaking before being routed to the CEC computer, as some sources alleged.

The CEC officially announced on November 10 that Mr. Yushchenko had won the first round of voting by just more than a half percentage point. The CEC results showed Mr. Yushchenko with 39.7 percent of the vote and Mr. Yanukovich with 39.32 percent support. Sixteen of Ukraine's 24 oblasts plus the city of Kyiv went for Mr. Yushchenko, mostly from the western and central regions of the country, while Mr. Yanukovich received the overwhelming majority of votes in eight eastern and southern oblasts, as well as in the Crimean Autonomous Republic and the city of Sevastopol. The result set the stage for a run-off between the lawmaker and the prime minister, as Ukrainian election law dictates when no candidate receives 50 percent voter support.

The Yushchenko team never received responses to questions about a second computer, a "transit server," that allegedly was operating in the Presidential Administration Building, and that all voting results traveling by computer from the territorial commissions to the CEC were routed through the office of President Kuchma's chief of staff, Mr. Medvedchuk, while CEC Chairman Kivalov remained aloof in the matter.

Most domestic and international observers offered severe criticism of Ukraine's presidential elections a day after the October 31 vote. The authoritative Committee of Voters of Ukraine noted that the most extensive problems with the Ukrainian presidential vote were the numerous inaccuracies in the voter lists and the illegal manner in which the elections commissions were stacked with individuals connected to the government or Prime Minister Yanukovich.

With the first round of voting concluded and the field of candidates down to two people, Mr. Yushchenko's campaign was given a significant boost when presidential candidate Oleksander Moroz, who came in third in the first round of the presidential elections in Ukraine, and the Socialist Party he leads on November 6, endorsed Mr. Yushchenko in the November 21 run-off.

First to follow Mr. Moroz's lead was former Prime Minister Anatolii Kinakh, the leader of the Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, who did so on November 8. The next day Leonid Chernovetskyi, a lawmaker and the chairman of one of Ukraine's largest banks, who also heads the Christian Democratic Party in Ukraine, declared for Mr. Yushchenko as well. Immediately after the final vote tally for the first round was announced, Kyiv Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko, another in the field of candidates who did not make it past the first round, announced that, inasmuch as 63 percent of Kyiv residents had supported Mr. Yushchenko in the first round, he felt bound to endorse the presidential candidate for the run-off. The four former candidates had a combined vote tally of 7.67 percent.

Mr. Yanukovich, meanwhile, received an endorsement from Progressive Socialist Party Chairwoman Natalia Vitrenko, who received 1.53 percent of the electoral vote in her failed bid for the presidency. Ms. Vitrenko noted that Mr. Yanukovich's campaign platform and her own were very similar.

Petro Symonenko, chairman of the Communist Party, who finished fourth in the preliminary vote behind Mr. Moroz with 4.97 percent of the vote, continued to maintain that he would support neither one of the two remaining candidates.

In another first for Ukrainian voters, the two presidential candidates squared off in the first ever televised presidential debate. The event was a national television spectacle, with one Ukrainian television rating firm, GFK-USM, stating that its survey showed that 55.6 percent of households in population centers with more than 50,000 inhabitants had watched at least five minutes, while 43.3 percent watched at least a half-hour.

In the end, both Mr. Yushchenko, and Prime Minister Yanukovich, said they had gained advantage from the 90-minute "debate" during the candidates alternately addressed the four general topics that had been agreed upon after negotiations between the candidates and the



AP/Efrem Lukatsky

Opposition lawmakers celebrate in the Verkhovna Rada on December 1 after a vote of no confidence in Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's government.

CEC: social policy, the economy, domestic policy and foreign policy.

Messrs. Yushchenko and Yanukovich used the final 10 days of their respective campaigns before the November 21 vote to concentrate on trips to the southern and eastern regions of the country.

Mr. Yanukovich joined outgoing President Kuchma on November 12 for a meeting with Russia's President Vladimir Putin in the Crimean city of Kerch. While officially designated a meeting to renew the Caucasus-Crimea ferry transportation route between Ukraine and Russia, the ribbon-cutting and document-signing ceremonies looked more like photo opportunities in which the Ukrainian prime minister was presented nearest the Russian president or in earnest conversation with him. Mr. Yanukovich continued to focus his supporters and Ukrainian voters on his intention to allow them dual citizenship and to make the Russian language a second official language in Ukraine. He also said he was inclined to develop a state reserve fund to promote spending on defense to sustain that industry, which he said could "cause an irreversible technological lag in Ukraine," if it continued to be neglected.

Meanwhile, Mr. Yushchenko obtained the endorsement of Ukraine's boxing Klitschko brothers, world champion Vitalii and his younger brother Volodymyr, who announced their support for his candidacy on November 15 during an appearance on Channel 5. The Klitschko brothers were shortly followed by chess champion Ruslan Ponomarev and Ruslana Lyzhychko, the singer who won the EuroVision championship this past year.

Then, in a move that appeared to help fend off falsifications, Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada banned the use of absentee voter certificates in the presidential election run-off, with 236 lawmakers supporting the draft law. The law, which came on November 18, three days before the second round of voting was to take place, occurred after extensive reports that the abuse of absentee certificates was the leading manner in which the presidential campaign team of Prime Minister Yanukovich had ensured that its candidate stayed in the race with his competitor in the first round.

With the second round of voting concluded, the CEC announced on November 24 that Mr. Yanukovich had won the November 21 presidential election run-off, even after international observers noted extensive vote fraud, which had directly affected the results. The official tally as the CEC presented it was 49.46 percent of voters supporting Mr. Yanukovich and 46.61 percent going for Mr. Yushchenko. Mr. Yanukovich took 10 of Ukraine's 24 oblasts plus Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, while Mr. Yushchenko had the margin of victory in 14 oblasts and the city of Kyiv. Four of the 15 election commissioners did not support the official tallies as an accurate reflection of how the nation voted and refused to place their signatures on the correspon-

ding documents.

The final tallies were made official as many countries of the European Union, along with the United States, said they would not recognize the validity of the vote, based on a highly critical assessment by the highly regarded observer team of the OSCE. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell said Washington could not accept the announced election results and said there could be consequences for Ukraine if efforts were not made immediately to correct the situation. Bruce George, chairman of the OSCE mission, said during a press conference in Kyiv on November 22 that the election run-off did not meet a number of minimum standards for democratic elections of the OSCE and the Council of Europe.

The final results were announced as some 750,000 people massed on Independence Square in Kyiv in a third day of demonstrations, and millions more protested the fraudulent election returns in most all the oblast centers of western and central Ukraine. In what quickly became known as the Orange Revolution, millions of Ukrainians demonstrated in towns and cities across the central and western regions – more than a half million in Kyiv alone – calling for state authorities to recognize that presidential elections had been rigged.

Students of all Kyiv universities and many more across the country were on strike. Many shops and cities closed. Tent cities mushroomed along the entire stretch of the Kyiv's main thoroughfare, the Khreshchatyk, and on the perimeter of the territory of the Presidential Administration Building. Demonstrations of angry citizens in dozens of Ukrainian towns and cities – from 10,000 in Odesa to 110,000 in Lviv and 100,000 in Kharkiv – quickly spread eastward in the country. Law enforcement officials remained restrained in responding to the mass protests.

Meanwhile, Mr. Yanukovich said on November 24 that the government and the state were working in normal fashion. "There is nothing unusual occurring. Nothing," said Mr. Yanukovich at the opening of the weekly session of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Even so, dozens of buses filled with Internal Affairs Ministry forces encircled the tent city on the Khreshchatyk the night of November 24. Channel 5, the television station that had become the prime source of information for most of Ukraine on the developments in Kyiv once the mass disturbances began, aired videotape taken the evening of November 23, which showed tanks and cannons being loaded onto railcars in Zaporizhia, ostensibly headed for Kyiv. There were also reports, including one by National Deputy Tymoshenko who was among the organizers of the peaceful mass demonstrations, that Russian Special Forces were stationed in Kyiv outfitted in Ukrainian military uniforms.

In the wake of the November 21 run-off, other news media began to rebel against government directives and broadcasters began to give viewers impartial reports.

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Speaking the evening of November 23 during one of several addresses over the last days to the mass of humanity that had kept vigil on Independence Square, Mr. Yushchenko said that Ukrainian voters had been denied some 3.2 million votes, which he maintained were falsified or manipulated in favor of Prime Minister Yanukovich.

During a special session of the Ukrainian Parliament held on November 24, Mr. Yushchenko symbolically took the oath of office of the president of Ukraine as 191 lawmakers who supported his Power of the People election coalition watched. The other 259 lawmakers who made up the Ukrainian legislature failed to turn up for the emergency session of the Parliament, originally called to review the validity of the presidential vote.

The arrival of dozens of buses from Donetsk, filled with individuals organized by supporters of Mr. Yanukovich, also caused concern. The Yanukovich supporters, several thousand at most, who loitered for more than a day around the buses, which were parked at the outer edge of the city center, moved to the Cabinet of Ministers Building the morning of November 24. Later that day they had occupied the territory around the CEC.

Meanwhile, a tent city of close to 400 structures – draped in Mr. Yushchenko's campaign color orange and inhabited by more than 1,000 supporters of Mr. Yushchenko – continued to function on Independence Square. Another 2,000 to 3,000 people guarded the territory after dark to prevent a nighttime assault by law enforcement. Park benches were lined up as a defense perimeter on one side of Independence Square. Demonstration organizers had assured an adequate supply of water and basic foods, even though many protesters jammed cafeterias and fast food eateries nearby for some variety in their diet. Locals came out in force to provide hot food and tea for people.

As the Orange Revolution moved into its second week, European leaders mediated negotiations in Kyiv between the two rival presidential contenders to move Ukraine from the brink of fragmentation. The talks were aimed at resolving the impasse over who actually won the November 21 run-off election, as political events kept moving at lightning speed, providing no certainty or specifics on how the country's deepest crisis since it broke from the Soviet Union 13 years ago would end. Polish President Alexander Kwasniewski, Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus, European Union External Affairs Commissioner Javier Solana and OSCE Secretary General Jan Kubis, along with Borys Gryzlov, chairman of the Russian State Duma, Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma and the two candidates, Messrs. Yushchenko and Yanukovich, met to negotiate.

The sides issued a statement after the three-and-a-half-hour meeting at the Mariyivskyi Palace in Kyiv in which they noted that the two presidential contenders had agreed to resume negotiations to determine when and in what manner another national vote would take

place to determine the next president. The statement noted that the parties had agreed that steps would be taken in preparation for the election, including changes to the current election law, completion of the political reform process, which would involve amendments to the Constitution, and the appointment of a new government and prime minister.

The statement, read to journalists by President Kuchma, included an agreement by the Yushchenko camp to withdraw blockades by demonstrators that surrounded both the Presidential Administration and the Cabinet of Ministers buildings for over a week, in return for assurances that state authorities would not use force to clear the Khreshchatyk, where hundreds of thousands of Yushchenko supporters had lived for over 10 days. On the following day, however, the two government buildings remained encircled by Yushchenko supporters.

Further deepening the crisis, Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada met prior to the arrival of the European leaders and by a slim margin supported a vote of no confidence in the government of Prime Minister Yanukovich. In accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine, the vote should have forced the government and its leader to resign, but Mr. Yanukovich said he did not accept the manner in which the vote took place.

As the European leaders met and the Verkhovna Rada sat in session, Ukraine's Supreme Court continued to consider complaints of voting improprieties filed by officials of the Yushchenko campaign team – more than 10,000 in all. The Yushchenko team argued that vote fraud and falsification of the count was so extensive as to force a cancellation of the results in some voting districts, primarily in the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, regions that overwhelmingly supported Mr. Yanukovich.

Meanwhile, officials in Donetsk, Luhansk and Kharkiv had threatened to split from Ukraine and form a separate southeastern republic if the presidency should go to Mr. Yushchenko. A special congress of concerned government officials from the eastern regions of Ukraine met in Siverodonetsk on November 27 and resolved to hold a referendum on the matter of separation from Ukraine on December 5. Mr. Yanukovich, while present at the meeting to provide moral support, stated during his presentation to the delegates that he could not allow for a split within the country. He did, however, tell the congress that it should do whatever it could to assure that the opposition didn't win the presidency.

Within days the eastern oblasts had stepped back from the precipice. After President Kuchma angrily warned the chairman of those regions against separation during a hastily called meeting in Kyiv attended by Mr. Yanukovich, the regional leaders alternately explained that separatism had never been seriously discussed. The issue before them had been the possibility of an autonomous republic within a federative

Ukrainian state.

In perhaps the most bizarre point of the election, Mr. Yanukovich's wife, Liudmyla, then told a crowd of some 30,000 supporters of her husband, who had gathered in Donetsk, that demonstration organizers in Kyiv were feeding the crowds on Independence Square oranges filled with narcotics to keep them on the streets. She also said that a meningitis epidemic was raging in Kyiv, and that many demonstrators were hospitalized from dehydration, lack of food and alcohol poisoning.

On December 3 the Supreme Court of Ukraine on December 3 overturned the CEC's decision to designate Mr. Yanukovich the winner of the election. The court ordered a repeat of a run-off vote between Messrs. Yanukovich and Yushchenko to be held on December 26. The 21-judge panel emerged after seven hours of deliberation and presiding Justice Anatolii Yarema read the decision that satisfied four of the five points in the complaint filed by Mr. Yushchenko's legal team, denying only the Yushchenko team's appeal to name their candidate the winner of the presidential election. The court concluded that electoral fraud was systemic in nature.

CEC officials had taken the stand on December 1 and 2. CEC member Andriy Magera, testified that he refused to sign the protocol on the election results because he was not provided with supporting data that showed the results were valid. He said that numbers were filled in to the official returns before the CEC received all of the results. Mr. Magera also told the court that he saw fake absentee voter certificates. Ruslan Kniazevych, who also refused to sign off on the official results, testified that the access codes to the CEC's computer systems were seized the day before the vote by "unknown forces." Halyna Mandrusov, director of the ProCom firm that was responsible for the computer systems confirmed the fact that data coming into the CEC was manipulated "from the outside."

Meanwhile, at the Verkhovna Rada 300 deputies passed a vote of no confidence in the CEC.

Other officials who decided they were not satisfied with the results of the November 21 ballot included some 150 diplomats in Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including the head of the press office, Markian Lubkivskyi. Together they issued a statement in which they said they would refuse to carry out directives by the state not in line with the wishes of the people.

Tensions in the political crisis were lifted somewhat on December 8 after the Verkhovna Rada overwhelmingly approved a new law on presidential elections and changes to the country's Constitution. Supporters of Mr. Yushchenko voted together with the pro-President Kuchma parliamentary caucuses, the Communists and the Socialists to provide 402 votes for three bills in a single package. Outgoing president Leonid Kuchma was present in Parliament to immediately sign the laws.

The changes were described as transforming the form of Ukraine's government from a "presidential-parliamentary" republic to a "parliamentary-presidential" one.

Following the vote, the Verkhovna Rada's next order of business was the approval of new members of the 15-member CEC. Eleven of the 15 former members and four new commissioners were approved. Parliament did not approve Mr. Kivalov, who headed the CEC during the two scandal-ridden rounds of presidential elections. Mr. Kivalov promptly left the session hall as opposition deputies sounded catcalls after him. Later that day, Yaroslav Davydovych, a veteran CEC member who had refused to sign the contested presidential election results from November 21, was approved to head the elections body.

Several weeks later the two presidential contenders squared off again in a live debate. However, on this occasion, it was a lively exchange on national television and was hailed by members of both camps as a landmark event. Mr. Yanukovich repeatedly asked that the two candidates work together after the election, while Mr. Yushchenko directly accused his rival of stealing some 3 million votes in the run-off election. The candidate spoke directly to one another, posing and answering each other's questions during the 104-minute nationally televised event on December 20.

With the tent city still standing, blocking a portion of the Khreshchatyk to traffic, and a stage erected on Independence square, Ukrainians took to the polls for the third time in two months on December 26. The Central Election Commission announced on December 25 that it had registered a record number of 12,542 monitors to watch over the vote throughout the country's 33,300 voting stations, most of whom said the vote was free of the widespread irregularities that plagued



Viktor Yushchenko and his wife, Kateryna, during a massive victory rally in Kyiv on December 28.

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the November election.

According to preliminary results released by the CEC, Mr. Yushchenko won 51.99 percent to Mr. Yanukovich's 44.19 percent, a difference of about 2.3 million votes. Out of 37,289,023 eligible Ukrainian voters, some 77.22 percent, or 28,796,993, voted – a decrease from the 80.85 percent that voted in the November 21 run-off. Mr. Yushchenko won 17 regions of Ukraine's total 27.

"During 14 years we were independent, but we were not free," the Our Ukraine leader told a crowd of 5,000 people at Independence Square at 3 a.m. "Now we can say this is a thing of the past. Now we are facing an independent and free Ukraine." He added, "Now, today, the Ukrainian people have won. I congratulate you."

Mr. Yanukovich, however, insisted that millions of Ukrainians were denied access to the polls – either by restrictive new voting rules or by intimidation by Mr. Yushchenko's supporters – and his campaign team announced they had launched an appeal of the election in all of Ukraine's 225 election districts. As of the end of the year, Mr. Yanukovich still had not conceded defeat, and Mr. Yushchenko was still awaiting his inauguration day.

In other developments from Ukraine...

Ukraine began 2004 with a focus on the economy as Minister of the Economy and European Integration Valerii Khoroshkovskiy, the political boy wonder who became a national deputy at 29 and a Cabinet minister at 33, resigned his post on January 3. He cited his inability to work in the current government and blamed First Vice Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, who also holds the post of finance minister, with shackling his ability to work successfully by forcing all the government ministries to concentrate their efforts on fulfilling budget requirements rather than on the development of longer term strategies and goals.

"The post of minister of finance in the new government structure has become the dominant one," explained Mr. Khoroshkovskiy in an open letter announcing his departure. He added that the current situation in the Cabinet of Ministers had not allowed the Ministry of the Economy to "properly execute its policies regarding the development of free markets and the need to increase the competitive level of the domestic economy."

Mr. Khoroshkovskiy had waged a political battle over the last year with Mr. Azarov on how to develop the Ukrainian economy. While Mr. Khoroshkovskiy, a Western-oriented businessman who had interests in Mercks Furniture and UkrSocBank, wanted to develop European markets, Mr. Azarov, a remnant of the Soviet era and ex-director of Ukraine's State Tax Administration, believed strong economic ties with Russia were in Ukraine's best interest. Mr. Azarov played a key role in the development of the Single Economic Space, the agreement proposed by Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma and Russia's President Vladimir Putin, along with the state leaders of Kazakhstan and Belarus, to organize their countries into a common market.

Nine days after Mr. Khoroshkovskiy's resignation, President Leonid Kuchma tapped Mykola Derkach to serve as minister of the economy and European integration.

The controversial agreement on the Single Economic Space (SES) comprising Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus and Ukraine was ratified by the Verkhovna Rada on April 20 amid cries from the national democratic opposition that the country could lose its sovereignty in such a setting. The ratification, which occurred as a couple of thousand demonstrators of the treaty protested outside the Rada Building, came in tandem with two other international agreements: the border delimitation agreement between Russia and Ukraine, and the treaty on the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait. "Today we will surrender the final barricade: sovereignty," warned Yulia Tymoshenko, before the Verkhovna Rada vote during her appeal to the lawmakers not to support the creation of a common market across an extensive portion of the former Soviet Union. The agreement calls for the establishment of a free trade zone in the region in its first stage, followed by the development of a customs union. Eventually Russia would also like to see a single currency for the SES.

National Deputy Viktor Pynzenyk, an economist and a leading member of the Our Ukraine faction, said that contrary to the way the accord had been presented to the public, it was an exclusively political document. "The SES has no relationship to economics, and it will not solve any economic problems, whether those of Russia or Ukraine," he pointed out. He explained that Russia had refuted every attempt on the part of Ukraine to establish a free trade zone for the exchange of non-taxable commodities because it was not in Moscow's interest to do so. The lawmaker said that while Russia had every right to look out for its self interest, Ukraine had to be wary that it didn't lose the ability to control its economy, in effect handing that authority over to Moscow, which the treaty on a Single Economic Space could be interpreted as doing.

Several days later, Presidents Kuchma and Putin met outside of Yalta on Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula to discuss the new economic alignment they had introduced in February several months after Mr. Kuchma had taken over as head of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) from Mr. Putin. Messrs. Putin and Kuchma exchanged the instruments of ratification for the SES treaty on April 23 at the Livadia Palace in Yalta before the beginning of an inter-parliamentary conference between Duma and Verkhovna Rada lawmakers titled, "Ukraine and Russia: The Strategic Partnership." President Kuchma called the exchange of ratification documents "the most important event in the modern history of relations between Ukraine and Russia" – "These are not simply relations within the framework of economic cooperation. We see this as a matter of common, fundamental research and a common policy in the area of science, engineering and technology." The Ukrainian president called for bilateral cooperation in the development of high technology, while Mr. Putin emphasized the need to avoid losing "the ground our countries had gained during Soviet times," according to Interfax-Ukraine.

A month later, on May 24, the presidents of the four states of the former Soviet Union that intend to form a common market, expressed satisfaction with the pace at which the new economic ties were developing. However, little was said about the timetable for the implementation of a free-trade zone, which Ukraine considers the keystone in the development of the trade partnership. Mr. Kuchma, speaking during a press conference in Yalta at the end of a special three-day summit on the SES agreement, said that now that the Parliaments of Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan had ratified the document, it was time to prepare the legal framework. He said that experts were working on some 80 international documents that would be required to make the Single Economic Space a reality. Many of them would need parliamentary approval.

Also in the news, and a subject of controversy, during 2004 was the Odesa-Brody pipeline. On January 28 Ukraine's fuel and energy minister, Serhii Yermilov, said that the consulting firm charged with looking into the most profitable way of running the oil through the transport corridor had done a turnabout and now recommended that the crude should flow westward, as was planned before Russian oil companies began to push their own interests. The energy minister said that an option to reverse the oil flow, as requested by Russian oil giant TNK-BP, also had received consideration, but "it does not rank first." The statement contradicted a preliminary announcement made via a press release on January 15 by Energy Solutions, a little-known firm registered in Ukraine that claimed to be U.S.-based. At that time the firm stated that its initial recommendation would be to support a reverse flow of oil from Brody to Odesa. The decision would allow TNK-BP to move some 9 million tons of Ural heavy crude through the Odesa oil terminal into the Black Sea and on toward southern Europe.

The matter of reversing the direction of oil flowing through the Odesa-Brody tube had become a viable option for some Ukrainian leaders because a year after its completion no major oil company working in the Caspian Basin had signed on to utilize it. Many politicians believed that the TNK-BP proposal to temporarily use Odesa-Brody in reverse for a three-year period while the Caspian Basin oil producers were brought aboard was a good idea. Those opposing the idea said that by allowing TNK-BP use of the line for three years, Ukraine would take itself out of consideration during a time when the transportation routes of Caspian oil would be decided.

In February Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers approved a recommendation to use the Odesa-Brody oil pipeline

in direct mode, ending months of controversy over which way oil should flow in the yet-to-be utilized oil transportation tube. "The direction will be Odesa to Brody," announced First Vice Minister of Energy Andrii Kliuyev after a meeting of the Ukrainian government that unanimously approved the recommendation. TNK-BP, which wielded a fierce political battle to obtain the right to reverse the line, said it was not about to give up its effort. Oleksander Horodetskyi, chief executive officer for TNK-Ukraine, told Interfax-Ukraine that he believed the Ukrainian government decision is a mistake and expressed doubt that Caspian oil would be supplied via the pipeline in the near future.

Later in the year, on July 5, the government of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich gave the go-ahead for the reverse use of the Odesa-Brody pipeline, thus rescinding the decision made in February to use the oil transportation pipeline only in the direct mode. Poland, the European Union and the United States officially questioned the purpose and need for again bowing to pressure from a Russian oil company to move oil through the pipeline in a direction not originally intended. UkrTransNafta, the quasi-governmental agency responsible for developing the Odesa-Brody pipeline, announced on July 8 that it would support the new government recommendation, inasmuch as there was no hope of utilizing the oil transportation tube to move oil from the Caspian Basin to Central and Western Europe in the near future.

On August 18, Russia gained exclusive long-term use of Ukraine's oil and gas pipelines to Europe in exchange for canceling an 18 percent tax on the export of gas and oil to Ukraine. Repeal of the oil and gas VAT has been held to be a keystone in the development of a free trade zone in the region, a critical first stage in the development of the SES. President Kuchma had repeatedly stated that without a free trade zone no SES could exist. Mr. Putin called the decision "a milestone in forming a Single Economic Space." The Odesa-Brody pipeline in late September started transporting oil in the reverse direction, from Brody to Odesa, where it was loaded onto oil tankers for transport to Europe via the Dardanelles and the Mediterranean. The first 80,000 tons of Russian oil reached the Pivdennyi Oil Terminal near Odesa on September 28, and the first tankers began to load the next day.

Ukraine's improving business climate made headlines during 2004, especially after the European Business Association on April 27 reported that, while there were still some problems with murky and contradictory legislation, as well as a need for more land ownership rights the country's business climate had improved markedly in the previous two years. Ukraine had managed to attract a paltry \$6.6 billion in foreign investment since 1992 – a dismal figure that barely approached the numbers claimed by Ukraine's western neighbor, Poland, which had taken in more than \$60 billion in the same period. Foreign businesses may finally have begun to understand where Ukraine lies on the investment map, however. In 2003 the rate of annual capital investment increased by 1.3 times to nearly \$1.2 billion. Jorge Intriago, vice-president of the EBA, said that tax reform, anti-trust reform and new civil and commercial codes had greatly improved the stability, predictability and transparency of the Ukrainian market. He explained that he considered these three elements essential for a healthy business environment.

In late June the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine reported that the country's economy continued to sizzle in the first five months of 2004, marking the sixth consecutive year of steady and at times spectacular growth. In January through May 2004 the Ukrainian economy grew 11.3 percent over its energetic expansion from the same period of last year. Inflation, which was at four-digit levels in the early 1990s and remained at around 25 percent as recently as 2000, had dipped to below 10 percent. In 2003 inflation finished the year at 8.2 percent. Government predictions 2004 put the pace of inflation at 5.8 to 6.3 percent. The development of the industrial sector, which grew by 17 percent in the first five months of 2004, continued to drive Ukraine's strengthening economy. The highest production increases were registered in the machine-building industry (36.5 percent) and the pulp and paper sector (32.1 percent). Construction material production rose by 29.9 percent, while the lumber industry expanded by 25.1 percent.

There was more good news in early August when the International Monetary Fund said Ukraine's economic growth in 2004 could reach 12.5 percent. An August 3 statement noted that "buoyant exports and a surge in

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Russian President Vladimir Putin and his Ukrainian counterpart, Leonid Kuchma, walk during their meeting in Yalta on July 26 with Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

investment will boost Ukraine's real GDP growth." Meanwhile, the Ukrainian government announced on August 2 that it had raised its own projections from 9.5 percent to 10.5 percent growth in 2004, a figure slightly less optimistic than the one presented by the IMF. "We are observing a qualitative breakthrough. The economy is beginning to develop according to investment and innovation models," explained First Vice Prime Minister Azarov.

Also in August, the controversial newly constructed No. 2 nuclear reactor at Khmelnytskyi was finally commissioned during a ceremony attended by President Kuchma. After giving the official command that brought Ukraine's newest, most modern and ostensibly safest atomic power plant on line at noon on August 8, the president again criticized the West, and particularly the Group of 7 most economically advanced countries, for failing to extend needed credits to Ukraine to complete the project, which Ukraine finally did so on its own. Ukraine had requested money to help finish the second reactor at Khmelnytskyi (K2), as well as the fourth reactor at the Rivne nuclear plant (R4), in a deal struck with the G-7 in 1995 whose central focus was the closing of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in 1999. Mr. Kuchma called the completion of the second nuclear block at Khmelnytskyi "our common victory." He identified K2 as "one of the most modern energy-producing facilities in the world."

There was controversy also over the sale of a major steel producer in Ukraine. On June 14 Ukraine's State Property Fund (SPF) announced the results of the tender for the sale of a 93.02 percent stake in the Open Joint Stock Company Kryvorizhstal. According to the SPF, only two companies met the tender requirements. Much of the controversy over the sale was due to the conditions that were set, which some say were geared toward shutting out the possibility of a foreign buyer. One of the terms, for example, was that the bidder must have a controlling interest in a profitable coke plant in Ukraine, which had been operating over the last three years and was capable of producing not less than a million tons of coke per year. The only two bidders that met this requirement were the Industrial Group (Donbas Industrial Union) and the Investment-Metallurgical Union (IMU), an organization that was recently formed between the Interpipe Corp., headed by Viktor Pinchuk, the president's son-in-law, and System Capital Management, headed by Rynat Akhmetov, Ukraine's richest man. The IMU won the bid by offering 4.26 billion hryvnia, around \$800 million (U.S.).

The sale price drew the ire of both Ukrainian legislators and foreign bidders. In fact, the bid presented by

the consortium made up of London-based LNM Corp., the world's second largest producer of steel, and Pittsburgh-based U.S. Steel, the seventh largest producer, was much higher at 14.31 billion hryvnia, or about \$2.7 billion (U.S.). The consortium issued a press release on June 14 which read, "the consortium is disappointed with the fact that the State Property Fund chose to ignore this opportunity and believes Ukraine has missed a real opportunity by effectively ruling out foreign bidders from the privatization of Kryvorizhstal." LNM said the consortium's bid also addressed social and environmental issues. The LNM-U.S. Steel consortium called on President Kuchma and Prime Minister Yanukovich to look into the sale.

Indeed, Ukrainian opposition lawmakers had made several unsuccessful attempts to block the sale of the giant steel maker that employs some 52,000 people. According to RFE/RL, the sale was seen as yet another privatization, at a price well below the real value of the privatized company, intended to enrich the already-rich circle of pro-government oligarchs. On June 3 the legislature fell just eight votes short of the 226 needed to approve a resolution halting the Kryvorizhstal tender. The controversial sale of Kryvorizhstal remained in the news at year's end with presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko stating that his administration would investigate the matter and would prosecute the guilty. "Kryvorizhstal was stolen," he told *The Washington Post* in an interview on December 8.

On the political front, too, Ukraine was in crisis mode.

On January 15, Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn prematurely closed the winter parliamentary session after opposition lawmakers for the fourth consecutive day continued to paralyze the work of the legislative body amid charges that the Rada had passed legislation illegally in order to move along a process of political reform the majority supports. Mr. Lytvyn brought the session to a close merely seven minutes into the legislative day, after opposition lawmakers again jammed the front of the session hall and did not allow parliamentary activity to begin. Afterwards, Mr. Lytvyn criticized what he deemed the inappropriate behavior of the opposition in demanding that the Parliament reconsider a political reform bill it passed last week. "Today they did not give us even the ability to close the fourth session in a civilized way," stated Mr. Lytvyn.

The opposition lawmakers who stopped the last week of legislative work, were demanding that the Parliament reconsider its December 24, 2003, passage of a political reform bill – the first stage of a process of constitutional

change that would give the legislative body the right to elect the head of state and bypass a direct popular vote. The bill was part of a plan of political reforms that President Leonid Kuchma was pursuing in order to turn Ukraine into a parliamentary/presidential state, more in line with European traditions. Included were constitutional amendments that would give a parliamentary majority the right to appoint a prime minister and government – plus a new provision that would empower the Rada to elect the president – should they receive approval by a two-thirds parliamentary majority in the next session. Opposition lawmakers, however, believed the political reform was nothing less than an effort by state authorities to ensure that power remains in their hands.

Foreign diplomats and international organizations stated that the reforms themselves would be democratically valid if pursued constitutionally, but questioned whether it was proper to push the changes in a presidential election year. Council of Europe representatives responsible for monitoring Ukraine's movement towards democracy warned on January 20 of a looming constitutional crisis in the country and did not rule out the leveling of sanctions by the quasi-governmental European human rights organization should specific political forces use constitutionally unauthorized means to push through political reforms. The representatives expressed serious concern regarding the manner in which the constitutional change process was being undertaken by the pro-presidential majority in the Parliament. Hanne Severinsen, rapporteur for the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), said during a press conference that after a procedurally questionable hand vote in the Parliament to change the Constitution of Ukraine, as well as several Constitutional Court rulings – one allowing President Kuchma to run for a third term even while the Constitution of Ukraine limits a state leader to two terms – Ukraine was in political crisis. Ms. Severinsen said she questioned whether it was acceptable to initiate constitutional changes just 10 months before major elections.

By the end of the month, responding to a critical evaluation by the PACE, Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada retreated from the initiative to give itself the authority to elect the president on behalf of the nation. "In 2004 and thereafter, Ukraine's president will be elected to a five-year term by a nationwide vote," explained Verkhovna Rada Chairman Lytvyn after presiding over a short but stormy extraordinary session of Parliament on January 30. The Our Ukraine and Yulia Tymoshenko factions, two of the four parliamentary groups that are in opposition to the Kuchma administration, refused to take part in the vote because, in their estimation, it was simply an amendment to the December 24, 2003, bill that they said was passed illegally – via a hand vote, which is not foreseen in the Constitution.

A resolution passed on January 29 by PACE during a special session on the "political crisis in Ukraine," stated that it was "deeply troubled by the recent developments in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine." The resolution warned that any constitutional reforms taken on the eve of presidential elections would be "biased and divisive," and said it therefore considered the initiative ill-timed. It noted that the draft proposals on political reform were voted upon without serious consideration and debate, which should have included, "proper public information and a nationwide discussion of the issues." PACE also criticized the tactics used by the opposition to paralyze the work of the Parliament. The resolution further criticized the Constitutional Court of Ukraine for its recent rulings and called on President Kuchma to allow PACE to review his nominees for the Central Election Committee. Finally, PACE stated that a vote by hands is not recognized in the Verkhovna Rada Rules of Procedure, which meant that the Parliamentary Assembly also did not recognize the vote of December 24, 2003, that paved the way for constitutional reform.

On January 28, the European Union also expressed its concern regarding constitutional changes in Ukraine. "While the European Union acknowledges Ukraine's sovereign right to modify its institutional framework within the procedures laid down by its Constitution, it is concerned that under present political circumstances, the proposals for constitutional change will have an adverse impact on the trust and confidence of voters in relation to representative democracy in Ukraine, particularly in this election year. The legitimacy of constitutional change should be derived from genuine public support for its aims," the EU noted in its declaration.

Then, on March 18, Ukraine's Constitutional Court

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ruled that the political reform bill recently pushed through Parliament for preliminary approval by the majority coalition did not violate provisions within the Constitution of Ukraine. The court approved the wording of the bill by a 14-3 vote. The political reforms foreseen in the draft legislation called for the Rada to have its term extended from four to five years, to bring it in line with the presidential term of office. It legislation would also authorize the Parliament to form a majority coalition that would then elect a prime minister who would form a government and appoint local and regional authorities. It would cede a good portion of presidential authority to the prime minister.

The drama over constitutional reform continued into the fourth month of 2004 as the Verkhovna Rada on April 8 could not ratify the proposed changes to Ukraine's Constitution. The pro-presidential majority coalition in the Verkhovna Rada fell six votes shy of the required two-thirds majority, or 300-vote minimum, needed to amend the Constitution. National deputies from the opposition jumped to their feet, erupted in a chorus of cheers and promptly broke into a verse of the Ukrainian national anthem as their victory became clear. The celebration continued with chants of "Yushchenko, Yushchenko," as the oppositionist national deputies surrounded the leader of the Our Ukraine faction, who along with Yulia Tymoshenko of the eponymous political bloc, led the successful effort to kill the amendment legislation. Mr. Yushchenko was already seen at that time as the favorite choice to replace President Kuchma.

But the attempt to pass constitutional reform still was not over. PACE reacted negatively on June 23 to word that the pro-presidential majority coalition in the Verkhovna Rada had successfully moved a new effort at Constitutional reforms, with 276 national deputies approving the first draft of a new piece of legislation introducing changes to the Constitution. National Deputy Borys Oliinyk, head of the Ukrainian delegation that had returned from the weeklong summer session of PACE on June 24, said PACE members were "shocked" to hear that the pro-presidential forces in the Ukrainian Parliament had attempted to revive the political reform legislation.

The work of the Verkhovna Rada was once again paralyzed as the year wound down – but this time by the parliamentary majority. Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn accused members of the crumbling majority coalition in Parliament of succumbing to the manipulations of pre-election strategies on October 12 and contributing to the political chaos that has descended upon the country two weeks before election day. "When will you stop letting yourselves be manipulated by your handlers?" asked a frustrated Mr. Lytvyn. As he spoke, members of the six parliamentary factions that make up the remnants of the majority – Regions of Ukraine, the Social Democratic Party-United, Democratic Initiative, Labor Ukraine, the National Democratic Party and the Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs – abandoned the session hall, stating that they would not be back until after the presidential election.

Earlier, the remnant of the majority coalition had adopted the often-used tactics of the opposition: surrounding the main microphone and presidium dais at the front of the hall to paralyze the work of the legislative body, which they did for several hours while calling for a parliamentary recess until December 7-10, when the newly elected president would have been sworn in. The unique situation – with the majority working to paralyze the body it ostensibly controls – occurred in the final week of parliamentary work before the presidential vote. It marked a widening rift between Rada Chairman Lytvyn, who had increasingly distanced himself from the formerly pro-presidential and now pro-Yanukovich majority coalition that he helped found and which elected him chairman in 2002. Mr. Lytvyn expressed his frustration with the way the Parliament had become even more politicized in the last months prior the national vote than even the most cynical predictions had forecast.

Mr. Lytvyn voiced his opinion that the parliamentary majority no longer existed as a united force. He added that those lawmakers closest to Prime Minister Yanukovich would like to see the Parliament dismissed soon after their candidate is elevated to head of state so that a new body – one that would better reflect the new president's own philosophies and aims, might be elected. Mr. Lytvyn said the majority was playing out the two-pronged scenario that many political observers earlier had suggested might occur within the Rada in order to manipulate the elections: first, the legislative body

would become overtly and unacceptably politicized before election day; then, it would be deemed "unable to function" by the "powers that would be" and would be dismissed by the president. "The attempt to place a lock on the Parliament will not succeed," he said.

At year's end, in the wake of the political crisis that occurred after the second round of the presidential election, Parliament passed a package of laws that included a new law on presidential elections and changes to the Constitution of Ukraine (see previous section on Ukraine's election). President Kuchma was on hand to immediately sign the bills into law. In accordance with the new amendments, Parliament would approve candidates for prime minister, minister of defense and foreign affairs minister nominated by the president, and would approve other members of the Cabinet nominated by the prime minister. (Under current legislation, Parliament approves the prime minister only, and the president appoints and fires members of the Cabinet of Ministers.) The amendments also would extend the term of office for national deputies from four to five years, following the March 2006 parliamentary elections. The constitutional changes would go into effect either September 1, 2005, or January 1, 2006, with the timing dependent upon when Parliament approves a law that will reform the country's system of local self-governance. On December 8 that bill received preliminary approval in the Verkhovna Rada and was sent to the Constitutional Court for its consideration. Parliament will have to vote on the bill at least one more time before it becomes law.

Media issues, too, were in the forefront during 2004.

Effective February 17, Ukrainian radio Dovira removed RFE/RL Ukrainian Service programming from its FM schedule. RFE/RL President Thomas A. Dine condemned the decision by the broadcaster's new management: "This is a political act against liberal democracy, against free speech and press, against RFE/RL, and shows, once again, that Ukraine's political leadership is unable to live in an open society and is compelled to 'control' the media as if it were the good old days of the Soviet Union."

In a letter from TV and Radio Company Dovira First Deputy Director V. Reznichenko to RFE/RL Ukrainian Service Director Alexander Narodetskyi, the privately held Ukrainian network said its decision to end radio re-broadcasting of RFE/RL programming was motivated by a decision that the RFE/RL programs "have to be changed in terms of format." Mr. Reznichenko continued by stating that "Until such time as that takes place, we are obliged to exclude" RFE/RL programming from Dovira's schedule.

Dovira had been the focus of official Ukrainian pressure to drop RFE/RL Ukrainian Service broadcasting since 2001, soon after the decapitated body of Ukrainian journalist Heorhii Gongadze was found in a forest near Kyiv and after secretly recorded conversations allegedly involving President Kuchma and his senior advisors became public knowledge – both stories extensively covered by the Ukrainian Service in programs re-broadcast by Dovira. In January a new management team was put in place at Dovira by the station's new owner, Ukrainian Media Holding.

On March 3 Ukrainian government representatives unexpectedly and without a court order removed the transmitting equipment of Radio Kontyent, claiming the radio station had been transmitting without a proper license. The move came only five days after Radio Liberty, a U.S.-financed, private radio broadcasting, had moved to that radio station. Other Western media organizations, including Voice of America, the BBC and Deutsche Welle also had used Radio Kontyent, which had long been in disfavor with government authorities over its oppositionist political stance, for their transmissions. They, too, went off the air on March 3.

Some 10,000 to 15,000 Ukrainians demonstrated in Kyiv on March 9 to protest the authorities' attempts to shackle press freedom by closing down mass media outlets that do not toe the government political line. Mass protests by the opposition have become an annual tradition on the anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth over the last three years as thousands have marched through the downtown streets of Kyiv calling for democracy and free speech in the country and the resignation of President Kuchma. The 2004 protests took on renewed urgency after recent efforts by the authorities to limit foreign broadcasts to Ukraine. Several large Ukrainian media outlets also had been forcibly shut-down or threatened with closure in recent months. Meanwhile, Channel 5 Television, owned by one of Mr. Yushchenko's closest advisors, National Deputy Petro

Poroshenko, said that its broadcast signal had been tampered with in the past and that it was under the close scrutiny of Ukraine's tax police.

The opposition demonstrations also followed the death in a car crash of the director of a Poltava regional radio station, which occurred the same day that Radio Kontyent's transmissions were pulled. Yuri Chechyk of Yuta Radio had been on his way to Kyiv for talks with Radio Liberty executives on providing them with airtime on his radio station when his car and an oncoming vehicle collided outside Kyiv. Many in the opposition movement, while acknowledging that there was no concrete evidence suggesting that Mr. Chechyk's death was planned, cited a pattern of "death by automobile accident" of several political and press representatives over the years, including prominent Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil. They demanded an independent investigation.

There was another furor concerning the news media when, on January 28, Judge Iryna Saprykina of the Shevchenkivskyi District Court in Kyiv ordered the closure of the opposition newspaper Silski Visti, the country's largest newspaper, after finding it guilty of fomenting inter-ethnic strife via a 2003 article on Jews in Ukraine. The article, titled "Jews in Ukraine Today: Reality Without Myths," was penned by Vasyl Yaremko, whom Ukrainian media identify as a professor of the Interregional Academy for Personnel Management. RFE/RL's Jan Maksymiuk reported: "The court's ruling has caused an outcry of indignation on the part of the opposition – Our Ukraine, the Socialist Party and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc – which see the presidential administration as an agent behind the closure of the largest anti-government newspaper, which has a circulation of some 520,000, in the presidential-election year. While not denying that the closure may play into the hands of the government, many Ukrainian observers agree, however, that the court's decision is fully supportable. Mr. Yaremko's article, which was published by Silski Visti on November 30, 2003, can doubtless be categorized even by non-jurists as rabidly anti-Semitic."

A statement signed by Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko said the shutdown was a "manifestation of totalitarian policy" of the government vis-à-vis undesirable media and accused the court of following instructions of the authorities to eliminate the opposition media outlet. "We condemn the cynical reprisal against the opposition newspaper and express our support for the Silski Visti editors," read Our Ukraine's statement. Mr. Yushchenko later released a second statement in which he said that Silski Visti needed "to find courage to apologize to those people whose ethnic sentiments were offended by its publications." He added, "There should be no discussion about this apology." At the same time he repeated his assertion that the court, by ignoring other legal possibilities for dealing with the newspaper, was following an order from higher up whose intent was to destroy the largest opposition paper in the country. Mr. Yushchenko's reaction to the Silski Visti closure would later haunt him when some circles derided the presidential candidate as soft on anti-Semitism.

On March 15, President Kuchma decreed a moratorium on any sort of government inspections of mass media outlets in Ukraine. The presidential decree banned inspections of print, radio and television media outlets by the State Tax Administration, the Procurator General's Office, the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Emergency Situations Ministry until after the October 31 presidential election. U.S. Deputy Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs Steven Pifer said that such a move would help to create the needed conditions for free and fair elections. However, Canadian Ambassador Andrew Robinson said that, while he was satisfied with the moratorium, it did not resolve the problems surrounding the shutdown of certain radio stations. Mr. Robinson explained that he was particularly concerned that no official had mentioned restoring the radio transmissions of Radio Liberty, BBC, Voice of America or Deutsche Welle in Kyiv.

On March 31 the directors of the two major U.S. broadcast services – David Jackson, Voice of America director, and RFE/RL's President Dine – held a joint press conference in Kyiv on March 31 to level heavy criticism on the current state of Ukraine's press freedoms. They said the closing of radio stations that carried their broadcasts had forced them to travel to Ukraine in order to assess the extent to which Ukraine's state leadership may have been involved in the closings, as had been alleged, as well as to find new avenues for the broadcast of their news and information programs.

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Early in the year, Ukraine and the diaspora were rocked by rumors that President Kuchma had died. By the time Mr. Kuchma returned to Kyiv on January 17 from Baden-Baden, where he was undergoing medical treatment and rehabilitation at the world-renowned German health resort, rumor had it that his death was being kept secret from the public. Rumors abounded that a sick Ukrainian president had gone to Baden, Baden in a desperate attempt to save his life. The rumor also spread quickly beyond Ukraine to the Ukrainian diaspora, and was the subject of countless telephone calls and e-mail exchanges beginning on January 16. It was bolstered by a report carried by a Russian-based news service, News-Info, which reported on its website that its sources in Baden-Baden said President Kuchma had died on an operating table in Baden-Baden.

Soon thereafter, on January 23-24, Russian President Vladimir Putin visited Kyiv to commemorate the end of the "Year of Russia in Ukraine" and the 350th anniversary of the Pereiaslav Treaty. Presidents Putin and Kuchma co-hosted a jubilee concert at the Ukraina Palace of Culture, formally intended to mark the end of the Year of Russia in Ukraine, a series of cultural exchange and development events celebrating the Russia-Ukraine friendship, which had been preceded by a similar yearlong series of events in Russia in 2002 held under the banner of the "Year of Ukraine in Russia." Originally the concert was also to have put a spotlight on the 350th anniversary since Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1654 signed a treaty of military alliance with Tsar Aleksei of Muscovy. For centuries afterwards Russian leaders used the treaty to legitimize their control over Ukrainian lands. The Pereiaslav anniversary was moved off center stage and downplayed after Ukrainian national democratic political leaders criticized the commemoration by a Ukrainian president of an event that began a process of centuries of imperial domination of Ukrainian lands by Moscow.

On the second day of his visit the Russian president visited the historic Pecherska Lavra (Monastery of the Caves), the holiest religious site of Ukrainian Orthodoxy, which is controlled today by the Kyiv Metropolitan See of the Russian Orthodox Church. The two presidents attended a specially called Holy Synod of the ROC in Kyiv, which goes by the name Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate and is headed by Metropolitan Volodymyr Sabodan. Interfax-Ukraine reported that during the meeting Mr. Kuchma expressed support for a single Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

Perhaps as a harbinger of the important role that Poland would assume vis-à-vis Ukraine toward the end of 2004, Poland's President Aleksander Kwasniewski and Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma on March 30 opened the Year of Poland in Ukraine by noting the historic ties between the two countries and the need to stimulate much closer and deeper economic development between them.

The presidents' statements at the Shevchenko National Opera House in Kyiv were followed by a concert of Polish classical music. President Kwasniewski emphasized that the fates of the two countries were historically entwined and would continue to be in the future. He said that Poland and Ukraine needed to continue to develop along the same path. "There is no independent Poland without an independent Ukraine, and no independent Ukraine without an independent Poland," asserted Mr. Kwasniewski, who added "Poles and Ukrainians are unified by a deep European likeness." The Year of Poland in Ukraine, which was to be followed by a similar program in Poland in 2005, proceeded under the motto "Poland and Ukraine Together in Europe."

By year's end, of course, Poland was a key supporter of democratic and free elections in Ukraine, and a key participant in negotiations between presidential candidates Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich (see preceding section on the presidential election in Ukraine).

Another staunch supporter of Ukraine during 2004 was Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski who traveled to Kyiv in mid-May. The former national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter, who currently is a professor at Johns Hopkins University and an advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, met with government and political leaders and gave a lecture on "Ukraine and the World" at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy. The message he brought during his four-day stay in Kyiv: Ukraine should not wait for an invitation to enter the European Union; it must make the EU want Ukraine as a partner.



Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski at the Bukivnia Forest outside of Kyiv, one of the sites of mass graves of victims of the Stalin terror of 1937-1938.

Dr. Brzezinski's visit came after the previous week's comments by European Commission President Romano Prodi that Ukraine had no prospects for joining the EU, which were echoed by Gunther Verheugen, EU commissioner for enlargement, on May 12 during an interview on Germany's Deutsche Welle public radio.

Dr. Brzezinski noted that the Single Economic Space agreement would hinder Ukraine's entry into the EU – especially since its ratification came just as 10 new member-states had entered the EU. However, he also pointed out that European Union officials should have realized that both Russia and Ukraine need to have prospects for entry into the EU in order for the region to maintain security. He called Ukraine much further ahead in democratic development than Russia. He also said that as long as Ukrainians could not say with a high degree of confidence who would be their next president

democracy exists in the country. He made a comparison to Russia, where it was widely understood that President Vladimir Putin would get re-elected months before the actual day of the vote.

Dr. Brzezinski also visited Bykivnia Forest, located on the outskirts of Kyiv, to take part in an annual commemoration for the tens of thousands of Ukrainian intellectual and cultural leaders who were slaughtered during Joseph Stalin's reign of terror in 1937-1938. An official U.S. delegation headed by Ambassador John Herbst was there for a memorial service and to lay a commemorative wreath at the site, which continues to be vandalized and still does not have an appropriate monument erected to the memory of the victims. Dr. Brzezinski told the few hundred gathered in Bykivnia that he had thought he knew much about the crimes of communism, inasmuch as he had done his doctoral the-

The 150th anniversary of the Crimean War

There had not been so much European battle armament or officialdom in the area around Sevastopol probably since the Crimean War ended. While three Turkish cruisers, a British frigate and three Italian naval ships, including the historic tall ship, the Amerigo Vespucci, anchored in the bay just off the coast, official representatives of Russia, Turkey, Britain, Italy and France gathered on land on September 9-10, 2004, in the historic city, located at the tip of the Crimean peninsula in southern Ukraine. They were there to commemorate 150 years since the beginning of the Crimean conflict, in which all the great powers of Europe took part.

The war, which was memorialized in Tennyson's epic poem, "The Charge of the Light Brigade," is considered by many historians one of the seminal moments for the development of a Ukrainian national self-awareness and the independence movement that culminated in statehood in 1918. Russia's defeat in the conflict also led directly to the elimination of serfdom in the Russian Empire in 1861.

The commemorations, which occurred on a series of cold and rainy early autumn days, consisted of visits to the vast cemeteries of the Russian, English, French and Italian soldiers that lie in the hills around Balaklava, located some 12 kilometers (8 miles) from Sevastopol. More than 1 million combatants lost their lives in the three-year conflict, a third of whom were Ukrainians in the Russian force.

The culmination of various events of the anniversary program, which also included a parade of ships, came on September 10 when a new memorial to the fallen, which was also dedicated to maintaining lasting peace among the nations that were involved in the Crimean War, was unveiled in Sevastopol.

Among the dignitaries present in addition to Ukraine's

Vice Prime Minister Dmytro Tabachnyk and Minister of Defense Yevhen Marchuk, were Prince Michael of Kent, cousin to Britain's Queen Elizabeth II, and former Russian Prime Minister and current Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin. Also on hand were the ambassadors to Ukraine from the countries that participated in the war, as well as a large Turkish military delegation and thousands of curious Ukrainians.

In the days prior to the commemorations, the cities of Sevastopol and Balaklava undertook a much-needed facelift of the war memorials, the cemeteries and battle sites in the area, financed by the government in Kyiv. In July President Leonid Kuchma had declared that Balaklava, one of the oldest and most historic cities in Ukraine, which also has a scenic deep water bay and mountainous vistas, should be transformed from a naval base into a tourist site.

The 150th anniversary of the Crimean War occurred as Balaklava celebrated the 2,500th anniversary since it was founded as a Cimmerian city. More recently it was a closed city and the home of what during the Soviet era was the world's most secret underwater submarine base, home to the Soviet Union's Mediterranean Sea nuclear submarine fleet. Today it harbors both the Ukrainian Naval Forces and the Russian Black Sea Fleet within its several deepwater bays.

Balaklava was also where one of the largest European conflicts of the 19th century began, after Russia attempted to take parts of current-day Moldova and Romania and extend its influence onto the Balkan Peninsula. It ended when the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which controlled the Halychyna (Galicia) region of Ukraine at the time, told the Ottoman Empire and its allies that it was ready to enter the war on its side. Russia, well aware that the addition of the Austro-Hungarian forces presented an insurmountable force that could have led to the dissolution of the southwestern portion of its empire, mainly the Ukrainian territories, quickly agreed to the Paris Peace Treaty.

– Danylo Kulyniak and Roman Woronowycz

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sis on the work of the early Soviet secret police, but that he was taken aback by the horror of Bykivnia. "Bykivnia has left a far deeper impression than all that I had heard beforehand," he commented. "I am taken by the spirit of the members of the [Vasyl Stus] Memorial Society (which has fought to make the forest a national memorial complex). I believe that children and young people should travel here on an annual pilgrimage."

On July 30, from Ukraine's neighbor to the West, Poland, came appeals to Europe and the United States to support Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration. In an interview with Polish Radio 1 in Warsaw, President Kwasniewski noted that Ukraine "is still searching for its place and is under strong Russian influence and pressure to integrate into this country." Ukraine, he said, would like to integrate with Western Europe, "however, unfortunately, not the whole of Western Europe wants to help Ukraine on this issue." The Polish president expressed bitterness that the EU and the West "haven't understood the significance of the Ukrainian issue," and he pointed the finger specifically at "the three great leaders" – the prime ministers of France and Great Britain and the chancellor of Germany, noting that in Istanbul [at the NATO summit] "there was a lack of understanding and determination, or perhaps there is a conviction that Ukraine is in the sphere of Russian influence."

That same day, 13 Polish political leaders and activists issued an appeal calling for support of Ukraine's aspirations for membership in European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Their statement underscored: "A new iron curtain on the eastern border of the EU would be harmful and dangerous for Europe. Ukraine today stands at a crossroads, and its European orientation seems to be threatened. This has happened in great measure through the stance of those European governments and circles that are taking away Ukraine's hope for future membership in the EU and NATO." The appeal's signatories – former government ministers, members of Parliament, ambassadors and activists of the Polish-Ukrainian Forum – argued that taking away this hope from Ukraine "deprives it of the motivation to undertake difficult reforms ..., weakens the position of those Ukrainian politicians who declare the necessity of integration with Europe ... [and] on the other hand strengthens the forces desiring a return to the situation before the disintegration of the USSR."

The appeal from Poland came just days after Ukraine confirmed on July 26 that it had changed its recently approved defense doctrine, omitting wording that had specifically stated that NATO and European Union membership were a central foreign policy priority. The phrasing was replaced with a more general statement that alludes to Ukraine's continued Euro-Atlantic integration. The changes came after Ukraine failed to achieve any perceptible progress in its quest for membership in the two most important European institutions, during summits held separately by NATO and the EU in June. The defense doctrine had originally been approved on June 15 in preparation for the NATO summit.

During its Istanbul summit, NATO refused to consider a Membership Action Plan for Ukraine – the first step in the process toward membership – until the country showed that democratic changes, including notions of the rule of law, free and fair elections, and freedom of the press, had taken root. As for the EU, it continued to refuse to recognize Ukraine as a free market economy, even though it has already extended such status to Russia. Mr. Prodi, the head of the EU's executive body, the European Commission, expressly stated in the spring that Ukraine would never become an EU member.

The announcement in the defense doctrine changes came in Yalta, where Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma was hosting Russia's President Vladimir Putin during a Russian-Ukrainian economic summit, with persons who could be considered the captains of industry of both Russia and Ukraine in attendance. President Putin caused more international waves when he told the economic summit attendees during his presentation that intelligence operatives from Western governments for too long had attempted to derail closer relations between Russia and Ukraine. "Their agents within our countries and outside are trying to discredit the integration of Russia and Ukraine in various ways," charged President Putin during his address to the economic summit.

Several significant milestones were marked in 2004.

Nearly 30,000 Crimean Tatars gathered in Symferopol on May 18 to mark the 60th anniversary of the mass deportation of Tatars ordered by Joseph Stalin. The day began with the laying of commemorative wreaths at several sites around the city where memorials to the deportation had been erected, including Grigorenko Park,

named for Petro Grigorenko, a Soviet general-turned-dissident who had supported the Crimean Tatars' quest for a return to their native land during the Soviet era. During the rally on Lenin Square thousands of young and old alike wearing traditional Crimean Tatar fezzes and head scarves listened to Mustafa Jemilev and fellow Verkhovna Rada national deputies from the Our Ukraine faction, including the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Minority Rights, Hennadii Udovenko, assert the right of the Crimean Tatars to live on their ancestral lands. The largest ceremony took place before the Symferopol train station, where the deportation of the Tatars had begun. Nearly 200,000 Crimean Tatars – mostly women, children and the elderly – were shipped in 76 freight trains out of Crimea to Uzbekistan and Kazakstan by force over a three-day period beginning at 4 a.m. on May 18, 1944, after Stalin decided that the Crimean Tatar nation had sided with the Nazis in the "Great War for the Motherland." Thousands more, mostly hardy, work-aged men, were either drafted into military work battalions or sent off to Siberia. Sources say up to 90,000 died during the forced trek eastward and in the year afterward.

The National Rukh of Ukraine Party commemorated 15 years since it was created as a civic organization on September 8, 1989 – an event that historians believe hastened the demise of the Soviet Union and the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state. Rukh, which registered as a political party in 1992 after Ukraine achieved independence, was the uniting and driving force behind a multi-faceted movement of various social and political forces whose common element was the desire to create a sovereign and independent Ukraine. Since then it had suffered its ups and downs, among them its inability to capitalize on its early successes and take the reins of state power in its hands in 1992 after the Soviet Union collapsed. It had also gone through several internal schisms, most notably in 1999, just prior to the death of its most prominent member and longtime leader, Vyacheslav Chornovil, which left the party depleted and disorganized. However, the last two years had seen a Rukh resurgence in its fortunes, as the party has found new strength in current leader Borys Tarasyuk, a former minister of foreign affairs and a close associate of Mr. Yushchenko, leader of the Our Ukraine movement, of which Rukh is a primary member.

Speaking in Kyiv at Rukh Party headquarters, Mr. Tarasyuk said that state authorities had engaged in a protracted battle aimed at the destruction of the Rukh Party. Nonetheless, today the Rukh Party has 19 of its members in the Verkhovna Rada, three of whom are committee chairmen, and that its national deputies had sponsored 550 pieces of legislation since the last Parliament was elected two years ago. Mr. Tarasyuk underscored that among the many contributions to Ukraine's development that Rukh could claim, one of the most prominent was its role in the development of a multi-party system. "Several political parties developed from the Rukh Movement, some of which remain today, and some of which have become part of history."

Four years after the disappearance and death of Ukrainian journalist Heorhii Gongadze, there was a notable lack of progress in the government's inquiry into the case. "It is reprehensible that President Leonid Kuchma's government continues to obstruct the official inquiry into Gongadze's death," said Ann Cooper, executive director of the Committee to Protect Journalists. Mr. Gongadze, editor of the Internet news site *Ukrainska Pravda*, disappeared on September 16, 2000, after several weeks of harassment by police officials. In early November 2000 a headless corpse believed to be his body was discovered in a forest outside the capital, Kyiv.

Several weeks later, tapes recorded by a former presidential security officer, Mykola Melnychenko, were released, implicating the Kuchma government in Gongadze's disappearance. Sergey Tran, director of the Kyiv-based non-governmental press watchdog Institute for Mass Information, told CPJ, "It is interesting to note that independent experts in a number of Western countries, including the United States, have conducted open examinations of the tapes and pronounced them authentic, and the Ukrainian Justice Ministry claims they are doctored." He continued, "We demand a new, and open, examination of the tapes." Some 250 journalists and opposition activists gathered on September 16 at a memorial for the slain journalist near Kyiv.

Ukraine celebrated its 13th anniversary of independence as tens of thousands of Ukrainians lined the Khreschatyk on August 24 to watch a parade of approximately 5,000 soldiers from all the military branches. In

the main address, Minister of Defense Yevhen Marchuk said, "The last 13 years are witness to the fact that the Ukrainian nation made the right choice." He enumerated a list of Ukraine's accomplishments and emphasized that "Ukraine is taking on the attributes of a democratic society. Its international authority is strengthening."

The previous evening the entire Ukrainian state leadership took part in an evening of music at the Palats Ukraina concert hall. President Kuchma gave the main presentation and decreed August 23 as State Flag Day. On the morning of August 24 Mr. Kuchma, along with Prime Minister Yanukovich and Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Volodymyr Lytvyn, under tight security, laid flowers before memorials to Taras Shevchenko, considered the country's national bard, and President Mykhailo Hrushevsky, leader of the first independent Ukrainian state in 1918. After the parade, Ukrainians frolicked on the Khreschatyk and walked the shores of the Dnipro to watch the 13th annual Independence Cup Regatta. As dusk approached, people watched the annual fireworks show and enjoyed an outdoor concert by Ukraine's most popular musicians on the Khreschatyk.

U.S.-Ukraine relations: a focus on the future

While the issues of Ukraine developing a truly democratic society and government – with a free press, functioning civic institutions and a transparent election system – had been in the forefront of the U.S.-Ukrainian bilateral discussions in 2003, last year saw these issues crystallize and focus on the conduct of the presidential election scheduled for October 31 and, subsequently, re-run twice before year's end.

Throughout the 2004, it was high on the agenda of meetings with visiting officials in both capitals and the subject of official statements, congressional hearings, briefings, seminars and conferences organized by Washington think-tanks and Ukrainian American groups.

As in the previous year, the number of senior official visits in 2004 was not great. There were only two on the ministerial level: Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko's visit to Washington in late June and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's one-day stop-over in Crimea on August 13 on the return leg of his trip to Afghanistan and Iraq.

Presidents George Bush and Leonid Kuchma did manage to meet on June 28, during the NATO Summit in Istanbul, but reportedly could exchange only a few passing phrases as they sat on either side of British Prime Minister Tony Blair at the conference table.

The fact that the two leaders have not had an official meeting at least once during President Bush's first term has been the subject of some speculation in Kyiv, where pundits believe Mr. Bush did not want to meet with a man accused of corruption, of selling Kolchuha missile detection systems to Iraq before the war and of being complicit in the murder of the Ukrainian journalist Heorhii Gongadze.

The president's father and former president, George H.W. Bush – whom Ukrainians remember for his "Chicken Kiev" speech on the eve of Ukraine's independence, when he warned them against "suicidal nationalism" – returned to Kyiv 13 years later, in May.

In a speech to students of the Kyiv State University, he explained his infamous remarks. "I encouraged them not to do something stupid ... to restrain from doing anything that would cause them to react when things were going the right way," he said. "Because your leaders acted in the national interest and not in self-interest they avoided what could have been another Prague Spring." he added.

While in Kyiv – at the invitation of President Kuchma's son-in-law, wealthy businessman and national deputy, Viktor Pinchuk, – Mr. Bush met with President Kuchma and Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

The first senior U.S. official to visit Kyiv in 2004 was Secretary of State Colin Powell's deputy, Richard Armitage. During his one-day visit on March 25, he met with the president, prime minister and Foreign Affairs Minister Gryshchenko.

Later, during a press conference, he indicated that the two countries already had a good economic and security relationship. He added, however, that they "would be able to develop a political relationship if there were fair, free, open and democratic elections."

Foreign Affairs Minister Gryshchenko, who had previously served as ambassador to the United States, returned

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UNIAN/Valery Solovyov

Presidents Leonid Kuchma and George W. Bush in Istanbul during the NATO summit.

to Washington in June for high-level discussions with Secretary of State Powell, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz.

During a dinner hosted on June 21 by the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, he said there were good signs of transparency in the election process in Ukraine. "There will be many candidates for the presidential elections," and paraphrasing an observation made by Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski during his recent visit to Ukraine, he added: "Unlike Russia, we don't know who the next president of Ukraine will be months ahead of time."

Defense Secretary Rumsfeld's one-day visit in August, which included a meeting with President Kuchma at his Crimean summer residence, focused primarily on discussing the situation in Iraq and Afghanistan and the issues involved in Ukraine's developing relationship with NATO and the European Union.

He thanked Ukraine and its soldiers for their contribution and sacrifices in Iraq and added that they should not think that "the U.S. and the world have not noticed that Ukraine, a non-NATO member, has one of the largest contingents in Iraq." He added that Ukraine is on a "very constructive and progressive path to Europe and towards NATO and trans-Atlantic cooperation."

Last year brought Ukraine its first military fatality in Iraq – on April 6. Eight more would die by the end of the year.

The participation of 1,650 Ukrainian soldiers in the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq was a topic brought up in other bilateral meetings and official statements during the year, and it was raised in Ukraine's presidential race as well, in which both Prime Minister Yanukovich and his opponent, Viktor Yushchenko, pledged to withdraw Ukraine's contingent from Iraq, if elected president.

With the presidential election in Ukraine fast approaching, some prominent American lawmakers, and former lawmakers, visited Ukraine to see how the election campaign was proceeding and to underscore their position on the need for a fair election process.

In late July, an election monitoring delegation of former members of the U.S. Congress visited the Kharkiv, Poltava and Sumy oblasts, where they reported finding significant irregularities and improprieties in the ongoing presidential campaign.

On August 18-19 Sen. John McCain of Arizona led a delegation of Republican senators, which included Sens. John Sununu of New Hampshire, Susan Collins of Maine and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina. The group cautioned Ukraine's government about alleged campaign abuses that observers were already noting.

And in Washington, the House of Representatives and the Senate made their view known in hearings and resolutions. On October 4, the House unanimously passed a resolution "urging the government of Ukraine to ensure a democratic, transparent and fair election process" for the presidential election to be held on

October 31. A similar resolution passed on July 22 in the Senate, also by a unanimous vote.

Similarly, the administration was making its official view known. One week before the election, the State Department issued a statement warning that "how the campaign, voting and vote tabulation are conducted will determine the democratic credentials of Ukraine's next president." The statement added: "We are deeply disappointed that the campaign to date has fallen short of international standards."

In addition to reports from monitors and visiting delegations, the U.S. government and public was being informed about election developments in Ukraine through congressional hearings and various briefings, seminars and conferences organized by such Washington think-tanks as the Center for Strategic Studies, American Enterprise Institute and Freedom House, as well as Ukrainian American organizations: the Action Ukraine Coalition, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and The Washington Group.

Much of what was reported was critical of the way the election process was conducted by the Kuchma government and his selected successor, Prime Minister Yanukovich. In an effort to counter this criticism, which grew after the October 31 election results narrowed the field of candidates to Messrs. Yanukovich and Yushchenko, the prime minister's advisor, Eduard Prutnik came to Washington in an apparent attempt to convince the U.S. press and policy-makers that a Yanukovich victory would be a good thing for Ukraine and its relations with the West.

As one enterprising journalist learned after researching Justice Department's Foreign Agents Registration Act documents, Mr. Prutnik's trip was part of a two-year, questionably financed million-dollar campaign to improve Mr. Yanukovich's image in Washington. The Ukrainian immigrant businessman who handled the payments to the Washington PR firms also organized and paid for a group of former congressmen to be monitors during the October 31 election. While most international observers criticized the conduct of the election, this group found the vote to be free and fair, as did observers from Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Also visiting Washington between the initial election and the November 21 run-off was the chairman of Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada, Volodymyr Lytvyn, who discussed the election and its effects on his country's future relations with the United States with Secretary of State Powell, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice and Sen. Dick Lugar (R-Ind.), whom President Bush named to be his representative in Ukraine during the run-off election. The meetings took place on November 15.

On the day following the November 21 run-off, in which, contrary to exit polls, Prime Minister Yanukovich came out ahead in the tally, Sen. Lugar announced that with widespread irregularities and intimidation during the campaign and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and other observers reporting serious procedural violations, "It is now apparent that a concerted and forceful program of election day fraud and abuse was enacted with either the leadership or cooperation of governmental authorities."

With Kyiv's independence square filling with thousands of Yushchenko supporters and launching what would become known as the "Orange Revolution," President Bush, while visiting Canada, urged Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, who was about to lead another European delegation to Kyiv to encourage the Ukrainian government and opposition leaders to work for a "political and legal solution" to the crisis. "Our common goal is to see the will of the Ukrainian people prevail," President Bush said on November 30.

After Ukraine's Supreme Court ruled the first run-off invalid and called for another run-off, which was scheduled for December 26, the leadership of Russia accused the United States and Europe of interfering in the electoral process in Ukraine in order to expand their sphere of influence deeper into former Soviet territory.

U.S. Secretary of State Powell responded on December 7 by making clear again that the United States was not asking Ukrainians "to choose between the East and the West." He said: "It is a different world we are living in, where people want freedom, they want democracy, they want to be able to select their own leaders, they want to be able to select their own partners and friends."

That same day, the Bush administration notified Congress that it is making available \$3 million to provide funding for OSCE election observers and non-gov-

ernmental organization monitoring and other election-related efforts for the December 26 run-off.

On the day following the December 26 second run-off election – which saw Mr. Yushchenko defeat Prime Minister Yanukovich in what international observers judged to be without the serious instances of fraud evident in the previous rounds and, for the most part, free and fair – Secretary of State Powell called it "an historic moment for democracy in Ukraine" and said that, by all accounts, it appeared that the Ukrainian people "finally had an opportunity to choose freely their next president."

And, responding yet again to criticism – in the Kremlin and elsewhere – of the United States for somehow helping the Yushchenko candidacy, Secretary Powell reiterated that "the United States has supported a democratic process, not a particular candidate."

As it became evident that Mr. Yushchenko would be Ukraine's next president, some leading political figures in Washington were calling on the U.S. government to help him fulfill his plans of building a new, democratic Ukraine.

U.S. Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), who co-chairs the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, underscored the moral aspect in this in her testimony before the House International Relations Committee. "America simply has a moral responsibility and, indeed, a duty, to help plant democracy where it seeks to root," she said. "No economic interest or strategic paradigm should divert our nation from standing firmly beside those who are risking all."

Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.), in an opinion piece in the Financial Times, said that now that the Ukrainian people have won their struggle, the United States should help them integrate into Western institutions and "provide Ukraine with assistance that helps the country to consolidate the democratic progress and economic reforms that have taken place." She added, "Americans owe it to them to pledge to stand by them now and in the future."

Similar calls were made during an American Enterprise Institute conference in early December by Dr. Brzezinski, two former U.S. ambassadors to Ukraine – William Green Miller and Steven Pifer – and others.

James Sherr, a fellow at the Conflict Studies Research Centre of the British Defense Academy, characterized the need for increased U.S. and Western assistance this way: "The worst-case scenario for Ukraine is not that Yanukovich would win the election on the 26th of December," he said. "The worst-case scenario for Ukraine, and I would say for all of Europe, is that Yushchenko should win, and then fail. And we perform a very important role in answering the question as to whether he will succeed or fail."

The overall U.S. assistance level for Ukraine suffered a drastic cutback last year – a reduction from \$115 million to \$94 million for Fiscal Year 2004. This included proposed major cuts in Ukrainian-language broadcasts by the Voice of America and Radio Liberty.

Accordingly, on February 3, VOA said that in keeping with the administration's federal budget proposals, it would decrease from two hours to one its daily Ukrainian broadcasts. Three weeks later, however – following an outcry from Ukrainian American organizations, a number of lawmakers as well as The Ukrainian Weekly – the Broadcasting Board of Governors, which oversees VOA, rescinded the decision, citing "a crack-down on media" in Ukraine as the reason for the change.

During the course of the year there were a number of small U.S. assistance allocations announced, among them \$1 million to help fund the International Chernobyl Center for Nuclear Safety, Radioactive Waste Management and Radioecology in Slavutych; a U.S. Trade and Development Agency award of \$300,000 to Yalta to fund a feasibility study on the development of a modern municipal solid waste management system; and U.S. Embassy grants of \$24,000 each to 16 Ukrainian public libraries to open free public Internet centers as part of the Library Electronic Access Project.

Also during 2004, the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF) has taken Ukraine off its blacklist of non-cooperating countries. And, on April 5 U.S. State Department of Treasury Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FinCEN) withdrew its Advisory 29 and informed U.S. banks and other financial institutions operating in the United States that enhanced scrutiny of transactions involving Ukraine were no longer necessary.

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As Ukraine's prime minister and one of his predecessors were vying for the country's presidency during 2004, an earlier former prime minister of Ukraine, Pavlo Lazarenko (1996-1997), was getting his long-awaited "day in court" in San Francisco. He had been arrested in 1999 at New York's Kennedy Airport on charges of using American banks to launder \$114 million he is accused of stealing from Ukraine. (This amount last year earned him the eighth ranking on the "Top 10" corruption list prepared by the British-based watchdog organization Transparency International.) Various other estimates place the total of his ill-gotten gains in Ukraine at more than \$1 billion.

Mr. Lazarenko spent most of his pre-trial years in federal detention. He was released in 2003, but remained under close surveillance after posting \$86 million bail. The trial began in March 2004; in May the judge threw out 23 of the charges against him; and on June 3 he was found guilty on 29 remaining counts. Facing a possible sentence of up to 15 years in prison, he remains out on \$86 million bail, again, under 24-hour surveillance, while his lawyers appeal.

Ukrainians in the U.S.: a rebound in activity

The year 2004 marked the 125th anniversary of Ukrainian immigration to the United States, and there was plenty of evidence in the form of community events which proved that after one and a quarter century Ukrainian Americans still actively take part in organized Ukrainian life in the United States and work hard to preserve their national and cultural identity.

Most recent – and the highlight of 2004 – was the Ukrainian American reaction to the Ukraine's presidential election. Events overseas re-ignited cultural and political feelings in many Americans and they showed their unity by actively writing letters to the U.S. government, protesting the rigged election and going abroad as election monitors.

Following the November 21 run-off election, Ukrainian American communities gathered in throngs to protest the fraud. On November 23 about 600 people clad in orange gathered outside of Ukraine's Consulate General in New York City to rally in support of Viktor Yushchenko. About 1,200 rallied at the Plaza next to Chicago's Dirksen Federal Center. On November 24 the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington saw an estimated 1,500 Ukrainian Americans demonstrating in front of its building. And, two days later, as President George W. Bush was on his way to lunch in Crawford, Texas, about 100 Texas Ukrainian Americans greeted him with Ukrainian and American flags and "Tak" (Yes) signs – the slogan of the Yushchenko campaign. There were countless other demonstrations nationwide, with many cities holding more than one gathering to support a free and fair election in Ukraine. (See Diaspora section for related information.)

In December, 130 entertainment industry professionals in Hollywood, led by actor Jack Palance gathered on a petition calling for a free and fair election in Ukraine.

On December 9, the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council (UACC) issued a statement to congratulate the people of Ukraine for their commitment to the legal principles they employed to resolve a potentially explosive situation. Also that day, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) wrote a letter calling on Ukrainian Americans to serve as international election observers, sponsor election observers or donate funds. In the end, thanks to the efforts of the UCCA and other organizations and contributors, 2,408 election observers traveled to Ukraine. They were part of the throng of 12,000 monitors active during the third round of the presidential election on December 26.

However, Ukrainian American support for the Ukrainian people in their pursuit of fair elections didn't start in November. Back in July the UCCA had launched its voter education project, "The Power of One." Supported by the National Endowment for Democracy, the project's goal was to provide voters with information to allow them to make informed decisions when casting their ballots. The UCCA has conducted such a project in every Ukrainian election since Ukraine declared independence in 1991. Tamara Gallo-Olexy explained: "the overall aim of the project is to inform voters of election issues, and we plan on doing this by stimulating public debate at town hall meetings.

In doing so we hope to provide the candidates or their representatives a chance to meet with the voters in order to discuss and debate important issues during the campaign."

On February 17 The Action Ukraine Coalition held a roundtable discussion on the problems and critical choices facing Ukraine in 2004 and how the United States and the Ukrainian American community should respond to them. The panelists were: Judge Bohdan Futey of the U.S. Federal Claims Court; former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine William G. Miller; Orest Deychakiwsky, staff advisor with the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Nadia Diuk of the National Endowment for Democracy; and two former congressmen and members of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, Bob Schaffer of Colorado and Charles F. Dougherty of Pennsylvania.

On June 11-13, The Washington Group (TWG) held its 20th anniversary leadership conference themed "TWG at 20: Reflection, Renewal and Celebration" in Arlington, Va. TWG invited experts in the field, among them Taras Kuzio, Gene Fishel, Nadia Diuk, Marta Kolomayets and Orest Deychakiwsky, to assess the pre-election environment in Ukraine. At the time most believed that dirty election tactics would most likely result in the ruling elite retaining power. During the Ambassador's Forum at the Leadership Conference, former ambassadors of Ukraine and the United States stated that the October presidential election will play a pivotal role in determining whether the decline in bilateral relations between the United States and Ukraine would be reversed. The ambassadors concluded that if Ukraine succeeded in holding a democratic election in the fall, it would still need to demonstrate that its political-economic structure is compatible with NATO countries.

The strong support of Ukrainian Americans of their brethren in Ukraine was a testament to the connectedness they feel toward the country of their forefathers. This cultural identification has spanned generations and is largely due to the upbringing that children received growing up in Ukrainian American communities. This year many people were shaken by the decision to close two of the remaining seven Ukrainian Catholic schools in the Archeparchy of Philadelphia: St John the Baptist School in Newark, N.J., and St. John the Baptist School in Northampton. It was a sad decision, but a necessary one, according to Metropolitan Stefan Soroka, who stated that the reasons for the closing were: smaller family size, migration of the faithful to suburbs, and decrease of financial sponsorship of Catholic education. Metropolitan Soroka stated that both parishes will endeavor to establish catechetical instruction for the children of the parish, as well as support Saturday Ukrainian school programs.

As members of the Ukrainian community in Newark mourned the closure of their school, a new community

center in New Jersey began emerging. On April 25, hundreds of Ukrainians gathered to officially break ground for the construction of a project that will build a growing church and a cultural center in the heart of a new Ukrainian community in Morris County. The project was the brainchild of the parishioners who several years ago agreed that their small 14-pew church in Whippany could no longer accommodate the expanding Ukrainian community, which was said to have grown by 76 percent in the 1990s.

Also significant for the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the community at large was the explosion that occurred on the morning of September 10 in St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Colchester, Conn. The church was built in 1955 and served some 70 families. There was speculation that a propane tank might have caused the explosion. No injuries were reported, and the parish plans to rebuild the church with the help of donations from individuals and organizations.

On March 14, after congratulating Self Reliance (N.Y.) Federal Credit Union for its generous support of the St. George School, Bishop Basil Losten pledged to personally donate \$100,000 to the St. George Ukrainian Catholic Schools Foundation. The bishop said he hoped that his donation would inspire others to join the foundation by contributing \$1,000 or more to the cause.

Self-Reliance New York Federal Credit union itself reached a milestone in its history this year by surpassing \$500 million in assets and reasserting its position as No. 1 in assets within the Ukrainian community. Bohdan Kekish, president and chief executive officer of Self Reliance New York, stated, "keeping in pace with our growth, we have been sharing our profits with the Ukrainian community."

Also noteworthy was the \$70,000 grant awarded to the Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA) by the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation in June this year. The grant was the second of its kind for the institute, as in 2003 the UIA had received a matching funds grant of \$270,000 from the National Park Service. UIA President Nazarewicz was thrilled that both grant-giving organizations had recognized the importance of preserving the institute's landmark building. He also commented that the awards brought the institute more recognition from the American community, which gives hope that more grants will follow.

On the cultural front, Ukrainian Americans celebrated the renovation of the Ukrainian Lemko Museum of Stamford, Conn., that was open to the public on September 12 for the Ukrainian Day Festival. The museum houses Ivan Honchak's model of a 162-year-old church from the Lemko village of Bortne and exhibits Lemko pysanky, reproductions of works by Lemko artist Nikifor Dronvniak, Lemko folk costumes and wood carvings, and photographs from historical congresses of Lemko organizations. The purpose of the



Roma Hadzewycz

Ukrainians speak out for fair elections in Ukraine at a demonstration near the United Nations on November 27.

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museum, according to the museum's curator, Steven Howansky, is to preserve the Lemko tradition and culture.

On September 24-26 the 19th Congress of Ukrainians in America took place in Philadelphia. The congress commemorated noteworthy anniversaries and milestones in Ukrainian history and called upon Ukrainian Americans to continue to be active in Ukrainian communities, to continue the strong commitment to the preservation of ethnic nationalities and the building of a national-cultural infrastructure. It also identified the active issues that are before the Ukrainian community. During its Congress, UCCA presented five of its prestigious Shevchenko Freedom Awards to: Oscar-winning actor Jack Palance; Bishop Basil Losten of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; Rep. Curt Weldon the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus; Ukrainian National Association activist and author Dr. Myron B. Kuropas; and retired U.S. Army Maj. Gen. Nicholas Krawciw. According to a UCCA statement, the award is given to those who "have dedicated their time and effort to realize the prophetic aspirations of Taras Shevchenko and the goal of freedom for Ukraine."

The 19th Congress was notable also because of the return of the Ukrainian National Association, which had not participated in a UCCA congress since 1980, when the 13th Congress left the Ukrainian American community severely divided. UNA delegates attended the congress and UNA leaders were elected to several leadership positions within the UCCA. Most importantly, UNA President Stefan Kaczaraj assumed the position of first vice-president of the UCCA National Executive Board; the holder of that position also serves as the chairman of the UCCA National Council.

In addition to the election in Ukraine, Ukrainian Americans also faced an important election at home. Two groups – Ukrainian Americans for Bush headed by Myron and Lesia Kuropas and Ukrainian Americans for Kerry headed by Julian Kulas – were created in order to coordinate the campaigns among Ukrainians. Ukrainian Americans could log onto each group's website to read about issues in the U.S. elections.

On March 24-25, UCCA and the Ukrainian National Information Service organized "Ukrainian Days in Washington" as part of a framework of programs in preparation for the U.S. presidential and congressional elections. The intent of Ukrainian Days was to promote the concerns of the Ukrainian American community as well as to establish contacts with community members' elected representatives in Washington. During the two days of meetings and briefings, the delegates had an opportunity to meet with various perspectives on the current U.S.-Ukraine relationship, as well as meet with members of Congress.

On July 3, some 1,500 Republican supporters gathered at St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Parma, Ohio, to hear Vice-President Dick Cheney speak. Republican consultant Andrew Futey, a member of the Ukrainians for Bush organization stated, "The vice-president's visit to Parma, Ohio, especially to our Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, shows the importance that we will play in this election."

On September 14 in Washington during the final panel

of a two-day conference titled "Ukraine's Transition to a Stable Democracy," Sen. John McCain (Republican) and Ambassador Richard Holbrooke (Democrat) provided their assessment of the state of democracy in Ukraine from the U.S. perspective. Sen McCain stated that he fears the United States and Europe recently have not been fully aware of the critical role Ukraine plays. He added that, "While the U.S. needs to pursue an enhanced relationship with Ukraine, it is also imperative that we make clear to its leadership that close ties to the West and membership in our institutions bring certain obligations, and the most important of these is to move down the path of democracy." Mr. Holbrooke stated, that "Ukraine must decide its own destiny. You are obviously a part of Europe, but how you develop your foreign policy – whether it faces east, west, north, south or a bit of all of the above because of its geography, economy and history – is up to Ukraine."

On July 20, Ambassador Holbrooke, who was a foreign policy advisor to Democratic presidential candidate Sen. Kerry, met with Ukrainian Americans to discuss Ukraine's prospects for the future and the stance of a Kerry administration toward Ukraine. He also spoke about the alarming spread of HIV-AIDS in Ukraine, a subject not often addressed. Mr. Holbrooke reported that Ukraine has about 460,000 HIV-positive cases, about 1 percent of the population. The Global Business Coalition of HIV-AIDS, which Mr. Holbrooke heads, will be sending a team to Ukraine in the near future.

Sen. Kerry showed his support for Ukrainian Americans with a statement issued on the occasion of the Ukrainian Constitution Day and the 40th anniversary of the Taras Shevchenko monument on June 25. In the statement, Sen. Kerry wrote: "It is in the spirit of peace and freedom that I recognize the 40th anniversary of the Taras Shevchenko monument ... born into serfdom, he dedicated his life to Ukrainian sovereignty, and the commemoration of his statue is a fitting symbol of Ukraine's own independence."

During 2004 a national commemorative committee was formed by the UCCA to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the monument's dedication. On June 24 a manifestation took place near the Shevchenko monument. Forty years ago over 100,000 Ukrainian American participated in the unveiling of the monument to "The Great Kobzar" in Washington. The statue was dedicated by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and erected thanks to the hard work and generosity of the Ukrainian American community.

On June 13 another monument was dedicated in the United States, this one to Ukrainian American Veterans. The dedication in Hamptonburgh, N.Y., was the result of the combined efforts of UAV posts in the Archeparchy of Stamford. The completed monument depicts the emblems of all branches of the U.S. armed forces and is dedicated to all veterans of Ukrainian descent who have served in those forces.

In 2004 the Ukrainian American Veterans also continued their campaign to obtain a federal charter, whose objective is to get equal status with other veterans service organizations. The effort has had some success, but it has not yet reached its ultimate goal. The bill H.R. 1615 (title: "To amend title 36, United States Code, to Grant a Federal charter to the Ukrainian American Veterans Inc.") was introduced on April 3, 2003, by Rep. Sander Levin (D-

Mich.). It was referred to the House Subcommittee on Immigration, Border Security and Claims and currently has 20 co-sponsors.

In the realm of politics, Oksana Kurowycky-Komarnyckyj, a long-time Ukrainian community activist in the United States, ran for a seat in Arizona's House of Representatives. "Because of my heritage I know what freedom means and I know that we must always protect it," Ms. Kurowycky-Komarnyckyj said. Although she lost her race on November 2, she said it was an honor to run and that she will continue to pursue politics in the future.

Former Congressman Bob Schaffer of Colorado, who is of Ukrainian descent and was once a co-chairman of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, announced on March 12 his intention to run for a seat in the U.S. Senate. In a letter to The Ukrainian Weekly, Mr. Schaffer called the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 a "naked act of genocide against Ukraine and its people." He has also advocated for permanently lifting the U.S. government's Jackson-Vanik trade restrictions against Ukraine. Mr. Schaffer lost his bid for the Senate in the Republican primary on August 10.

Also prominent in the news for Ukrainian Americans was Senate Resolution 202, which states that "the man-made Ukraine famine of 1932-1933 was an act of genocide as defined by the United Nations Genocide Convention." The resolution was introduced on July 28, 2003 by Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.), co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission. When The Weekly last reported on the resolution it had 33 sponsors – 12 Republicans and 21 Democrats. One of the hold-ups to the resolution was strong opposition by the Bush administration. According to Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.) the Bush administration "disagrees with the use of the term 'genocide' to describe the Stalinist policies in Ukraine." On September 1, while on a trip to Kyiv, Sen. Richard Lugar, stated, somewhat disingenuously, that the S. Res. 202 had not moved from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee because it lacked sufficient support among committee members. In fact, 10 of the committee's 19 members are co-sponsors of S. Res. 202.

The thousands of letters and postcards sent to Pulitzer Committee in an effort to cancel Walter Duranty's prize produced a tangible result: a larger disclaimer on The Walter Duranty plaque at the New York Times. The one-sentence footnote reads: "Other writers at the Times, and elsewhere, have discredited this coverage." Mr. Duranty was one of the first and most vocal deniers of the "Holodomor" – the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine. In his commentary in May, Marko Suprun, called upon Ukrainian Americans to up the ante with this issue and laid out a series of new plans, including going to The New York Times shareholders' meetings and voicing concerns in person.

On November 13 the annual commemorative moleben service dedicated to victims of the Ukrainian Famine Genocide was held at New York's St. Patrick's Cathedral. Guest speakers at the event included: Archbishop Antony of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church; Michael Sawkiw Jr., president of the UCCA; Valeriy Kuchinsky, permanent representative of Ukraine to the United Nations; Rabbi David Lincoln, senior rabbi of the Park Avenue Synagogue; Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.); and Nigel Linsan Colley, the great-nephew of Gareth Jones. Other memorial commemorations included a community-wide divine liturgy, panakhyda and a traditional "holodnyi obid" at the St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Cultural Center in Bloomington, Ill.

On September 10 the Kyiv Committee of the Chicago Sister Cities International Program presented a public colloquium on human trafficking in Ukraine. The event featured three speakers: journalist Victor Malarek, Melanne Verveer and Amy Heyden. Ms. Verveer, chair of Vital Voices Global Partnership, provided a historical perspective of the problems associated with human trafficking, both for the victims and society. Ms. Heyden explained the activities of Winrock International, which has been involved in programs for prevention of human trafficking in Ukraine since 1998. According to Ms. Heyden women in Ukraine are especially vulnerable to the enticements of working overseas, thinking they will be able to improve the economic condition of their families. According to Mr. Malarek, the three major driving forces are poverty, greed and lust.

On September 24, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service detained an ailing 81-year-old Ukrainian American man, Mykola Wasylyk, and held him at a detention center in Florida. Mr. Wasylyk was accused by the U.S. Justice Department of participating in the persecution of Jewish civilians during World War II. Mr. Wasylyk and his family deny these accusations. Mr. Wasylyk's son, Roman, said the family's first priori-



Bishop Basil Losten among Ukrainian American Veterans after the blessing of the veterans memorial in Hamptonburgh, N.Y.

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ty is to get Mr. Wasylyk out of jail. The second priority is to see if Ukraine would accept Mr. Wasylyk.

In June this year the Associated Press reported that a federal immigration judge ordered that 80-year-old Jakiw Palij of Jackson Heights, N.Y. to be deported. The U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations alleges that Mr. Palij misrepresented his service as a guard at a labor camp in Nazi-occupied Poland and his membership in Nazi-led units that committed atrocities against civilians during World War II. Mr. Palij denies the accusations.

On December 17, the Justice Department announced that it had asked an immigration judge to deport John Demjanjuk, 84, who it alleges served as a guard at the Sobibor death camp, and the Majdanek and Flossenberg concentration camps during World War II. In April the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit had affirmed a lower court decision that revoked Mr. Demjanjuk's U.S. citizenship. On November 16 the Supreme Court denied the Demjanjuk's defense's petition for review and on December 14 the District Court lifted a stay it had imposed in 2002, thus clearing the way for the OSI to proceed with a deportation case. Mr. Demjanjuk's ordeal had begun back in 1977 when the Justice Department accused him of being "Ivan the Terrible," a guard at the Treblinka death camp. He was convicted of war crimes and crimes against humanity by an Israeli court, but the country's Supreme Court overturned the conviction based on evidence that someone else was the notorious "Ivan" and Mr. Demjanjuk's U.S. citizenship was restored. The U.S. later began a new case against him.

Then, at the end of the year, on December 29, the Department of Justice filed a complaint in federal court in Trenton, N.J., to revoke the U.S. citizenship of Michael Bojcun, 86, who the government alleges served for three years in the Ukrainian auxiliary police during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine. Mr. Bojcun's lawyer, Andrey Zielyk, told The New York Times the next day that he had not yet studied all the evidence in the case but emphasized, "I can only say that I'm sure he'll be completely vindicated." The Justice Department says Mr. Bojcun concealed his work during World War II when he applied for a visa to enter the United States and that his service with the auxiliary policy made him ineligible for U.S. citizenship.

The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee Inc. – the first Ukrainian humanitarian organization in the United States – marked its 60th year of service. The UUARC was formed at the second congress of the UCCA in 1944 in Philadelphia with the goal of uniting the assistance efforts of all Ukrainian organizations in the United States. The charitable endeavors of the UUARC are mainly humanitarian and extend aid to refugees, immigrants, orphans, the elderly, invalids, former dissidents, victims of natural and man-made disasters and, generally, to anyone in need.

Thanks to many letters to the Property Management Offices of Rockefeller Center, the landmark Christmas tree was left illuminated through January 7 in recognition of those who celebrate the Julian calendar Christmas. Also in New York this year the Empire State Building paid tribute to the 13th anniversary of Ukraine's independence by lighting the top 590 feet of its building blue and yellow.

And finally, this year more than 5,300 of the Diversity Visa Lottery registrants for 2005 came from Ukraine – making it the sixth largest participating country. A total of 5,361 registrants for 2005 come from Ukraine.

Ukrainians and Ukraine in headlines in Canada

While Ukrainian Canadian radio faced the axe and a Ukrainian Canadian singer just barely missed becoming the "Canadian Idol," a long-lost Victoria Cross awarded to a Ukrainian Canadian hero was found and long-awaited Canadian government recognition of the internment of thousands of Ukrainian Canadians during the first world war finally seemed possible in a year that concluded with most Canadian eyes – regardless of their ethnicity – turned toward Ukraine and its presidential election.

In early January, a highly placed source at Montreal-based Radio Canada International (RCI) told The Weekly that the Ukrainian-language service at Canada's publicly funded international radio network faced having its air time reduced by half to 15 minutes or cut completely. Among the RCI's nine language sections (including English and French), the Ukrainian section had been broadcasting twice daily and transmitting to Ukraine via short-wave and on Ukraine's National



"Where Could We Escape To?" by British Columbia artist Peter Shostak.

Radio Company – reaching a potential audience of 2 million listeners.

Having featured interviews last year with future Ukrainian president Viktor Yushchenko – who then found it difficult to get onto Ukrainian airwaves at home – groups like the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) lobbied to have RCI's Ukrainian service remain intact. While the section's broadcasting schedule was uncertain, its staff had already shrunk in size from five employees and a daily 60-minute time slot at its height over the past decade to only two full-time announcer-producers.

In the spring, Lina Gavrilova, head of RCI's Ukrainian section, told The Weekly that Ukrainian programming would drop from 30 minutes a day, seven days a week, to a total of one hour per week. But the change would only come into effect after October 31 – the day Ukrainians first headed to the polls to elect their next president – thanks to an 11th-hour intervention by Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham.

As part of the overhaul, the section faced further staff cuts when two casual employees were to be eliminated. It was also unclear whether the Ukrainian program, which also broadcasts over the Internet and via satellite, would continue to be heard over short-wave – an issue that concerned UCC executive director Ostap Skrypnyk. "There is a need for Ukrainians to have access to unbiased information and learn about the Ukrainian community in Canada," he told The Weekly in March. "If RCI relies on buying space on Ukrainian stations, there's a risk that bad people running them can cut off broadcasts of the Ukrainian program."

But while RCI was watching its pennies, the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA) was out to raise some coin through sales of "Silver Threads," the first children's book by Ontario-based Ukrainian Canadian author Marsha Skrypuch. Published in 1996, "Silver Threads" is considered the first children's story that deals with the internment of Ukrainian Canadians during World War I. Each dollar raised through the sale of the revised edition would go toward the cost of installing a plaque at the site of an internment camp or for UCCLA educational efforts.

At its seventh annual conclave, held in Niagara Falls, Ontario, on October 28-31, the UCCLA welcomed a delegation from the newly established Ukrainian American Civil Liberties Association and committed

itself to set up a memorial plaque at the site of an internment camp that operated from June 1915 to October 1918 in Fernie, British Columbia – the site of the next conclave scheduled for the fall of 2005.

In yet another commemoration of the internment of Ukrainian Canadians, the painting "Where Could We Escape To?" by Peter Shostak was donated on October 2 to the Royal Military College (Canada's West Point), in Kingston, Ontario, by Motria Koropecy, widow of RMC alumnus Borys Koropecy, and the Class of '64. The painting portrays internees under guard, marching into a dark forest.

Meanwhile, the UCCLA got a boost for its long-running campaign for internment-related redress when the newly formed Conservative Party of Canada announced its support for the Ukrainian Canadian claim and a similar one by the Chinese Canadian community over discrimination its members faced, such as the imposition of an immigration head tax during the early part of the last century. Both groups – along with the federal opposition New Democratic and Bloc Québécois parties – endorsed two private member's bills sponsored by Chinese-born Manitoba Conservative member of Parliament Inky Mark that would provide restitution to the Ukrainian and Chinese Canadian communities.

The UCCLA also announced that a survey it had conducted among members of Parliament and candidates campaigning in the current Canadian federal election indicate overwhelming support for Bill C 331, the Ukrainian Canadian Restitution Act, and Bill C 333, the Chinese Canadian Recognition and Restitution Act. Commenting, Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, UCCLA's director of research, said, "we have already secured the endorsement of a majority of MPs and candidates for office. Officially, the Conservative Party of Canada, the Bloc Québécois and the New Democratic Party have all confirmed their support. Many members of the Green Party have done likewise. We have even had some favorable votes from Liberal Party MPs and candidates."

In December, the Ukrainian Canadian Restitution Act (Bill C-331) was inching closer to becoming law after it passed second reading in the House of Commons.

For his commitment to their respective causes, Mr. Mark was honored by the UCCLA and the National Congress of Chinese Canadians at a June 14 banquet in Toronto where he was presented with a plaque inscribed with the words, "For Justice."

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There was more good news for the UCCLA family when Dr. Luciuk, an ardent promoter of Ukrainian Canadian war hero Filip Konowal's legacy, learned that the late Konowal's long-lost Victoria Cross (VC) had been found and was scheduled to be sold at an auction in Ontario on May 30. Acquired by the Ottawa-based Canadian War Museum in 1969, the British Empire's highest bravery medal that was presented to Konowal by King George V – and made Konowal the only Ukrainian Canadian to ever receive it – went missing around 1973. But once discovered at a London, Ontario, auction house, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police seized it and began an investigation to determine its authenticity before returning it to the museum.

Meanwhile, the UCCLA was planning to erect a trilingual plaque in Lens, France, the site near Vimy Ridge where as a member of the Canadian Expeditionary Force's 47th Infantry Battalion Konowal single-handedly took out three German positions and killed at least 16 German soldiers over a two-day period in August 1917.

Konowal's name was to be included with the other 93 Canadians who received a VC as part of a commemorative stamp issued by Canada Post Corp. in October.

Over the summer, the Canadian War Museum announced that a "recovery ceremony" would be held on August 23 – to coincide with the 13th anniversary of Ukrainian independence – to welcome home Konowal's medal. "It's the actual medal – I guarantee you that," Joe Geurts, the museum's director and chief executive officer, told *The Weekly*. Ninety people, including Konowal's 65-year-old granddaughter Claudette Wright and Ukrainian Ambassador Mykola Maimeskul, attended the event.

One person not present, however, was Joseph Shkwarek, an 83-year-old Ottawa resident and World War II Ukrainian Canadian veteran, who bought the decoration for \$2,500 (Canadian) from Konowal's widow in 1969 and who presented it to the museum for a \$1,000 finder's fee. Alleging that the VC's disappearance was the result of an "inside job" involving an employee and an ex-RCMP officer, Mr. Shkwarek was nonetheless pleased the medal had returned to the Canadian War Museum's national collection and that Konowal's story would be told in its First World War gallery at the museum's new location scheduled to open in May, 2005.

In May issues involving Ukraine and Canada-Ukraine cooperation were the focus of a roundtable discussion held in Ottawa. Chaired by David Preston, director general of Foreign Affairs' Central, East and South Europe Bureau, the one-day symposium examined such topics as Ukraine's pre-election "domestic



MP Borys Wrzesnewskyj speaks in the House of Commons about Ukraine's presidential election.

landscape" and whether the country's geopolitical orientation was leaning toward the East or West.

Election talk turned toward Canada on June 28 when Canadians headed for the polls. At least four Ukrainian Canadians were victorious, including two Liberals in Ontario (newcomer Borys Wrzesnewskyj and Walt Lastewka, who was appointed parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Public Works and Government Services); New Democrat Judy Wasylycia-Leis in Winnipeg; and Conservative Mark Warawa of British Columbia. Among those unsuccessful was Jurij Klufas, executive producer of the Kontakt Ukrainian Television Network who ran as a Conservative candidate in a Toronto riding.

Meanwhile, two other Ukrainian Canadians were trying to win over the public in another and perhaps, even more popular competition.

Theresa Sokyryka of Saskatoon and Edmonton's Kyla Sandulak were among 32 contestants vying to impress judges and score votes in CTV's "Canadian Idol." Of the two young women, both 23 years of age, Ms. Sokyryka emerged over the summer as one of two finalists from an initial field of 9,000 competitors and became an instant celebrity, returning to the Ukrainian-English elementary school she attended and stopping by Saskatoon's Ukraine Day in the Park on August 28 where she was greeted by an estimated crowd of 3,000.

But, despite a strong show of support from some 5,000 Saskatoon fans that gathered at an arena in the city to watch the final two-hour show from Toronto on September 16, Ms. Sokyryka finished second to Alberta's Kalan Porter, who was crowned "Canadian Idol."

The excitement followed an August 28 performance at Toronto's eighth annual Bloor Street Village Festival by Ukraine's pop sensation Ruslana, who won the 2004 EuroVision Song Contest and who would go on to take home a World Music Award as the "World's Best-Selling Ukrainian Artist" – a first for that category – at a ceremony held in Las Vegas.

In early October, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress held its 21st triennial meeting in Winnipeg at which several resolutions were passed, including one that called on RCI to reconsider its cuts to the Ukrainian section and another that called on the Canadian government to "immediately resume settlement negotiations" with the Ukrainian Canadian community over the internment-redress issue.

Among the other resolutions:

- an end to all denaturalization and deportation proceedings against Canadians who received their citizenship over half-century ago, and a call for Ottawa to use Canadian courts to hear charges against Canadians accused of war crimes or crimes against humanity during World War II and to amend the Citizenship Act to prevent "arbitrary" deportation or denaturalization before an individual's guilt has been "fairly established by Canadian standards of justice;"
- the creation and administration of a national database to assist new Ukrainian immigrants to Canada;
- a request to the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko to sponsor a planning meeting for the future of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian studies, including distance and continuing education as well as seed funding for new courses;
- work on developing "awareness of issues of concern to the Ukrainian community" with Canadian legislators at all government levels who are of Ukrainian origin or have other ties to the community; and
- a recommendation to the Canada Ukraine Foundation that the trafficking of persons, especially women and children, be identified as an issue for project funding in Ukraine and to seek ways to partner with existing anti-trafficking organizations.

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies based at the University of Alberta was behind a roundtable discussion dedicated to issues of concern in Ukraine and Canada-Ukraine cooperation that was held on May 12 at Foreign Affairs Canada offices in Ottawa, the all-day roundtable, held in the absence of media, featured frank discussions on burning issues of the day: "Ukraine's Domestic Landscape before the Election," "Democratic Development - Success and Challenges," "The Geopolitical Orientation of Ukraine – East- or West-Leaning?" and "Canadian Support of Ukrainian Democracy."

Two graduate students from Ukraine – Olena Nikolayenko, a Ph.D. student in comparative politics from Donetsk Oblast and Oksana Tatsyak, a Ph.D. student in Ukrainian literature from Lviv – organized the first graduate student seminar in North American on March 12-13 at the Center for Russian and East

European Studies (CREES) at the University of Toronto. The goal was to bring together graduate students working in Ukrainian-related fields so that they could find out about each other and showcase their research to a wider public. The students found support for their idea at CREES and sponsors in the Petro Jacyk Program for the Study of Ukraine and the recently created Wolodymyr George Danyliw Foundation. The Graduate Student Symposium, titled "Exploring Ukrainian Identity: Gender, Ethnicity and Statehood," comprised 12 presentations from graduate students at various universities. The symposium consisted of four panels, each featuring three students, a faculty chair and a faculty discussant.

Ukraine – and its Orange Revolution – was also on the mind of Toronto MP Borys Wrzesnewskyj, who in September presented a \$250,000 (about \$206,000 U.S.) check to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) in Edmonton on behalf of his family's charitable foundation, Dopomoha Ukraini (Aid to Ukraine) to fund the Ukraine Transparency and Election Monitoring Project (UTEMP).

Under the management of the CIUS – and on the eve of Ukraine's presidential election – the project sent 26 Canadian experts to Ukraine to design and deliver non-partisan seminars on election laws, policies and procedures for local election officials and scrutineers. UTEMP also trained over 1,000 Ukrainian observers and organized observer missions of Canadian MPs, including Mr. Wrzesnewskyj, who made his sixth visit to Ukraine since August when he was among 500 Canadians who served as official monitors for the second presidential run-off vote on December 26.

Former Canadian Prime Minister John Turner headed up the Canadian mission, described in a statement released by current Prime Minister Paul Martin's office as the country's "largest-ever contingent of independent electoral observers." The contingent, the first international mission organized by the Canadian International Development Agency's Canada Corps, consisted of 112 observers assigned to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and 388 Canadian observers who reported to Mr. Turner and were attached to Ukraine's Central Electoral Commission.

CANADEM, the Ottawa-based international peace and security organization that put out the call for election observers, reported that more than 3,000 Canadians expressed interest in volunteering their time in Ukraine over the Christmas weekend. The Winnipeg-based UCC, meanwhile, selected over 300 out of 1,100 applicants to serve as accredited election observers along with 200 Ukrainian Canadians living in Ukraine.

Canada's Parliament had kept a close eye on Ukraine's election, with MPs twice unanimously supporting motions introduced in the Commons by Mr. Wrzesnewskyj. One called on the Ukrainian government "to ensure a democratic, transparent and fair election process" on October 31 and during a likely second round on November 21 – a warning also issued by Canadian Ambassador Andrew Robinson, much to the consternation of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Wrzesnewskyj's other motion on November 25 followed an emergency debate in the Commons. The measure cited "a concerted, systemic and massive fraud" in that run-off vote.

Even before Round 2 of Ukraine's presidential election slated for November 21, a trio of Liberal parliamentarians (MPs Wrzesnewskyj and David Kilgour and Ontario Sen. David Smith) told journalists at a press conference in Kyiv that Russian President Vladimir Putin had meddled in the October 31 election by campaigning on behalf of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

Meanwhile, before the November 21 vote, over 150 people attended a rally at Ontario's legislature, Queen's Park, organized by the University of Toronto's Ukrainian Students Club to call for a free and fair second round.

In Winnipeg, Ukrainian citizens and their supporters gathered near the Taras Shevchenko monument on the grounds of the Manitoba legislature on November 21 to protest the Ukrainian government's decision to only hold two polling stations (one each in Toronto and Ottawa) for Ukrainians living in Canada. To express their displeasure, the group held their own symbolic vote and, perhaps not surprisingly, 111 of the 113 ballots cast went to Mr. Yushchenko.

The support for Ukrainians protesting the falsified presidential election results also spread to Saskatchewan's two largest cities.

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Members of Regina's Ukrainian Canadian community gathered at the Saskatchewan Legislative Building on November 23, while upwards of 100 people attended a rally at Saskatoon City Hall on November 24. Each gathering protested the flawed presidential election in Ukraine and supported the people of Ukraine and their democratically elected president, Viktor Yushchenko. In Regina, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly Myron Kowalsky met with the group and invited all for discussion and coffee. Eugene Krenosky, president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress Saskatchewan Provincial Council (UCC-SPC), joined the group to present the official position from the council.

Up to 300 people gathered on November 24 in Square Victoria, located in Montreal's financial district, to show solidarity with the 1 million demonstrators in Ukraine.

Montreal demonstrators supported Mr. Yushchenko by shouting "Yushchenko – President" and many other slogans.

The Montreal demonstrators kept an open telephone line with Mr. Yushchenko's office in Kyiv, expressing their support during the hourlong rally.

On November 30, all three political parties in the Manitoba legislature passed a resolution calling for the provincial government to work with its federal counterpart to ensure Ukraine's democratic process was upheld during the December 26 vote.

Meanwhile, in Winnipeg, the UCC's board of directors held an emergency session on November 27 to call on Ottawa to recognize Mr. Yushchenko as Ukraine's president; demand that Moscow stop interfering in Ukraine's internal affairs; and to call on Ukrainian authorities "not to use force against their own people" as Ukrainians continued to protest the results from the two previous presidential votes.

And in the diaspora: an orange wave

Many of the Ukrainian diaspora's efforts this past year focused on the dramatic events that took place in Ukraine over the final three months there – what many people have taken to calling "the Orange Revolution" in Ukraine.

Following the falsified November 21 runoff election in Ukraine, leaders of the diaspora community issued a statement that condemned the election and recognized Viktor Yushchenko as the election's winner.

The statement read, in part: "The Ukrainian World Congress and its member-organizations in 30 countries actively monitored the electoral process in Ukraine on November 21. "... Should the CEC declare Viktor Yanukovich president, he cannot be deemed to have been elected by the voters. Should the CEC declare Viktor Yushchenko president, he will have overcome substantial obstacles and violations. The Ukrainian diaspora, whose activities are coordinated by the UWC, sends greetings to Viktor Yushchenko as the winner of the election and offers him its support for the benefit of the Ukrainian people and an independent democratic Ukrainian state."

The statement was signed by Askold Lozynskyj and Victor Pedenko of the Ukrainian World Congress, Michael Sawkiw of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and Ostap Skrypyk of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress.

In addition to such statements, Ukrainians around the world demonstrated against the falsified November 21 vote.

In the U.S., protests against the initial outcome of the November vote took place in New York, Chicago, Houston, Washington, Sacramento and San Francisco, and points in between. In Canada there were protests in Toronto, Winnipeg, Montreal, Edmonton, Saskatoon and Regina. In Australia there were rolling rallies in Sydney, Canberra, Adelaide, Perth and Melbourne. In addition, there were demonstrations in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Sweden, Italy and England, to name a few of the places around the world where the Ukrainian diaspora publicly called for free and fair elections.

Ukrainian citizens residing in Manitoba and hundreds of their supporters gathered near the Taras Shevchenko monument by the Legislative Building on November 21 to express their protest against the violation of the voting rights in Ukraine and symbolically cast their own



Serge Polishchuk

Voters outside Ukraine's Consulate General in New York during the third round of the presidential election.

votes. The symbolic polling station was created as a sign of support for Ukrainian democracy and to focus attention on the fact that there was no polling station set up for Ukrainian citizens in western Canada.

Results of the symbolic vote showed that 113 eligible voters participated in symbolic elections. One ballot was spoiled, one voted "against all" and 111 voted for Viktor Yushchenko, the candidate of the opposition.

An estimated 1,500 Ukrainian Americans demonstrated in front of the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington on November 24. Chanting "Yushchenko" and various slogans, the crowd blocked off the street in front of the Embassy's main entrance and part of Francis Scott Key Park next to it. The demonstration also forced the police to stop traffic on part of M Street, a major artery bringing bridge traffic across the Potomac River into the capital from Virginia.

The highlight of the event was the appearance by four Ukrainian diplomats who a day earlier signed a statement expressing their solidarity with their countrymen demonstrating in Ukraine and protesting the conduct of the presidential election. The four – Counselors Oleksandr Potiekhin, Volodymyr Chumak and Olexandr Scherba, and Second Secretary Yurii Parkhomenko – came out of the Embassy to the cheers of the crowd and shared their feelings about the election.

From the Ukrainian Embassy, the demonstrators went to the Embassy of Russia to show their displeasure with its government's meddling in the election process in Ukraine. Afterwards, a smaller group went on to the State Department, where a delegation had a meeting with an official responsible for Ukrainian affairs.

Protesters also gathered in Crawford, Texas, where President George W. Bush prepared to enter the Burger Barn on November 26 for a lunch with his wife, his parents and mother-in-law.

The president was greeted by throngs of cheers from 100 Texas Ukrainian Americans from Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, Austin and College Station. The group carried Ukrainian and American flags, orange "Tak" (Yes - the Yushchenko slogan) ribbons, "Tak" Yushchenko signs, and placards bearing sincere thank-yous to President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell for their powerful statements regarding their disapproval of the fraudulent Ukrainian election results. One demonstrator held aloft a sign saying "Putin: Kyiv is NOT your new Moscow on the Dnipro."

The demonstrators were seen by President Bush, who stopped, smiled and waved to the group. The group returned the greeting with chants of "Democracy for Ukraine." Footage of the rally was aired on CNN as part of its continuous coverage of the fraudulent Ukrainian presidential election.

In addition to the rallies, the Ukrainian World Congress also issued a statement on December 6 on an important ruling by the Ukrainian Supreme Court. A portion of that statement read: "On Friday, December 3, 2004, the Supreme Court of Ukraine voided the results of the run-off election held on November 21 and mandated that a second run-off be held within three weeks. The following day, the Central Election Commission announced that the run-off would take place on December 26, 2004. In light of this information, irrespective of the ultimate composition of the CEC or the supervision over the second run-off, the Ukrainian World Congress calls upon all Ukrainians in the diaspora to prepare for the elections as scheduled. We continue to insist that the elections must be supervised by the international community, with a CEC of new composition, elimination of wandering ballots and allowance for equal media access both to the two candidates and all voters. Finally, it is imperative that the international community ensure Russia's non-interference in the electoral process."

Ukrainians in Australia were also active, assuring that events in Ukraine took place in a democratic fashion.

Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer and Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations (AFUO) Chairman Stefan Romaniw OAM met in Canberra on December 2 to discuss the election situation in Ukraine. Mr. Romaniw acknowledged and thanked the minister for the Australian government's position which rejected the November election result due to many reported violations, and the cooperation afforded to the AFUO. He called on the government to look at ways to apply additional pressure to ensure the will of the people is reflected in the final outcome of the presidential election.

"All governments, including the Australian government, have a role to play now, whilst there is an opportunity to effect change and allow the people of Ukraine to choose their leader in an open and transparent way compared to the fraud and manipulation of results experienced to date," Mr. Romaniw added.

The AFUO then sent over 6,000 stuffed toy kangaroos and koalas to the pro-democracy supporters who braved rain and snow on Kyiv's Maidan Nezalezhnosti, or Independence Square. Mr. Romaniw said the aim of the gesture was to help provide a lift in spirits to those who sacrificed their time to keep up the vigil for Ukrainian democracy. "Australia is also sending over \$30,000 in aid to those rallying in Kyiv, including food and medicines, so the kangaroo and koala drop is just another small way in which we're telling those rallying in Maidan Nezalezhnosti that we're all supporting

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them," Mr. Romaniw said.

Additionally, the AFUO held rallies in Sydney, Canberra, Adelaide, Perth and Melbourne in support of the fight for real democracy in Ukraine.

It must also be noted that Ukrainian citizens living in the diaspora came out to vote in increasing numbers as Ukraine's presidential election went from the first round on October 31, to the run-off between the two Viktor, Yushchenko and Yanukovich, on November 21; and on to the repeat run-off (or third round as it was being called) on December 26.

In addition, diaspora Ukrainians participated in large numbers as volunteer election monitors organized under the auspices of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. A total of 2,408 monitors were part of the UCCA delegation sent for the December 26 vote.

In news unrelated to the presidential election in Ukraine, the executive board of the Ukrainian World Congress, at its meeting in Toronto on February 7, established a task force to combat the illegal trafficking of Ukrainians. The task force was intended to function under the auspices of the UWC Human and Civil Rights Commission and was chaired by a representative from the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO), a member-organization of the UWC.

The aim of the task force is to coordinate Ukrainian diaspora activity and serve as a liaison with the government of Ukraine as well as with numerous international governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and groups dealing with this problem, including the United Nations and the International Organization for Migration.

The UWC also issued a statement to the 48th Session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, held at the U.N. Headquarters in New York on March 1-12. The statement was made on March 8 and read, in part: "The international slave trade is among the most acute global issues confronting Ukrainians. The profound impact of the slave trade on Ukrainians is confirmed by Oleksander Dolzhenkov, deputy rector for scholarly research at the Institute of Law of the Odesa University, who recently reported that 'more than 400,000 Ukrainian women are currently being held abroad in sex slavery.' '... A report on 'Trafficking in Women from Ukraine' prepared by Donna M. Hughes of the University of Rhode Island and Tatyana Denisova of Zaporizhia State University states: 'From 1995 to 2000, approximately 400,000 women under the age of 30 left Ukraine. Trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation is a serious problem in Ukraine affecting hundreds of thousands of victims and their families.'

"The UWC shares the view of virtually all NGOs engaged in exposing and combating this scourge: trafficking is a modern-day form of slavery and a grave violation of human rights. We further agree that the international community must do more, much more meaningful, tangible work. To this end, we call on the United Nations system and governments to: marshal the political will to combat trafficking; undertake prevention and awareness campaigns; encourage and support the activities of non-governmental organizations; promulgate national legislation to punish traffickers and their facilitators; prioritize law enforcement efforts to arrest and convict traffickers; provide humanitarian services to victims and assist in their reintegration into society; ratify and implement the U.N. Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, including the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish the Trafficking of Persons, Especially Women and Children; develop international, regional and bilateral cooperation with countries of origin, transit and destination; and accord special focus on the new front for traffickers in Central and East Europe."

The 48th Session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was under way in New York City on March 1-12. The session was devoted to the double theme of "Women's Equal Participation in Conflict Prevention, Management and Conflict Resolution" and "The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality."

The World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO), which has consultative status to the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), participated in the session. Because the WFUWO watches the work of the CSW Commission closely, WFUWO President Marika Szkambara and her assistant, Anne Szepetyk, traveled to New York from Toronto to participate in the conference and to meet with WFUWO's United Nations representation, whose

coordinator is Nadia Shmigel. This year the WFUWO's U.N. representation co-sponsored a panel discussion focusing on the link between gender issues and the continuing spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic as one of the many side events offered as part of the programmed conference schedule.

Diaspora Ukrainians also traveled to Kyiv, where the Ukrainian World Coordinating Council held its meeting on March 19-20 during which it noted that in the last year it had developed extensive new contacts with the Eastern diaspora, particularly in Russia.

Mykhailo Horyn, chairman of the UWCC, noted in his report to the organization's leaders that in the past year tighter relations were established with Ukrainian communities in the Russian Federation, including remote Karelia, as well as in the region that abuts Ukraine's Kharkiv Oblast and the autonomous republic of Tatarstan. The UWCC leader noted that in Russia the community focus remained predominantly on folk song and dance ensembles. He said that those a little better organized had proceeded to begin forming education programs as well.

Mr. Horyn said he was particularly impressed with the situation in Tatarstan, where Ukrainians have a government-sponsored Sunday school program in addition to an artistic group and a choral ensemble. He explained that the Tatarstan government leadership was very responsive to the needs of its Ukrainian citizens.

The UWCC leader said that he would push the organization to broaden its involvement with the new communities and to extend them to people-to-people contacts between the Ukrainians living there and citizens in the homeland.

The UWCC also turned its attention to preparations for the fourth World Forum of Ukrainians next year. Vitalii Riadchenko, head of the UWCC Secretariat, called on the organization to focus fully on preparations for the event, which is the largest global gathering of Ukrainian non-governmental organizations. The UWCC announced that it had formed an organizing committee that included representatives from the Verkhovna Rada, the UWCC, the Ukrainian World Congress and national diaspora organizations of other countries. It also had invited Viktor Medvedchuk, President Leonid Kuchma's chief of staff, to become a member.

In other news, President Kuchma signed legislation on March 26 ascribing certain rights to those ethnic Ukrainians living abroad who identified themselves as Ukrainians. He did so after some critical aspects of the draft bill were dropped by its authors in the Ukrainian Parliament.

National Deputy Oksana Bilozir said that, especially in the West, the diaspora community was so well organized and sufficiently financed that it needed to be given a leading role as one of the central lobbying arms of Ukraine. Ms. Bilozir also noted that Ukraine's state authorities could not continue to disregard a recent economic immigration that had left another 7 million Ukrainians living abroad – forced to do so in order to support their families back home. She explained that the recent Fourth Wave of immigration was in all likelihood the largest current investor in Ukraine with expatriates sending back to their family members still living there a total of some \$400 million in small amounts each month.

The lawmaker said that Ukraine's executive branch had hacked off articles specifically giving Ukrainians living abroad who could qualify for special status the same rights and privileges as citizens of Ukraine. She also explained that another setback was the president's disagreement with the need for a special state committee for Ukrainians living abroad. Ms. Bilozir noted that the lack of an overall policy – what she called a conceptual strategy on how relations between the diaspora and expatriates on the one hand and the state on the other should proceed – had weakened the argument for the need for a separate state committee on the matter.

The Christian Party leader, who is a member of the Committee on Diaspora Relations and chair of its EuroAtlantic subcommittee, said she appreciated the criticism against the approved legislation, especially from the leaders of the North American diaspora and the Ukrainian World Congress, who had helped to draw up the initial draft bill. However, she suggested that diaspora leaders needed to understand that an essential breakthrough had taken place. She said the driving force for the bill, National Deputy Ihor Ostash, who had worked for passage of the legislation for nearly three years, and the other lawmakers who had pushed the

effort over strong political resistance decided in the end that a basic first success would be to finally have a legal definition on a "Ukrainian abroad" and recognition on the legal books that a diaspora entity existed.

During the summer, Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization marked the beginning of a set of programs that brought Ukrainian Plast counselors to the United States and sent their Ukrainian American counterparts to Ukraine. Nine Ukrainian counselors spent July working at Plast camps in the United States, while several Ukrainian American plastunyni worked on humanitarian projects in Ukraine. The nine Ukrainian counselors spent their summers fulfilling the duties of counselors at their respective camps – everything from teaching orienteering to running arts and crafts.

The exchange grew out of collaboration between the National Plast Commands of the United States and Ukraine. The program was designed to help Plast in the United States preserve its Ukrainian character, while providing Plast in Ukraine with valuable experience. According to Ihor Mykyta, head of the National Plast Command of the United States, Plast in the U.S. differs from other scouting organizations because one of its main goals is the preservation of Ukrainian heritage. However, that goal is in jeopardy as children and counselors alike are losing their Ukrainian language ability.

The Ukrainian counselors who participated were chosen in an open application process administered by the National Plast Command of Ukraine, subject to the approval of the National Plast Command of the United States. The selected counselors represent some of the most qualified and active counselors in Ukraine. The exchange was made possible by the help and contributions of the Ukrainian American community. The National Plast Command of the United States reached its goal of raising \$9,000 to fund the exchange. According to Mr. Mykyta, in 2005 National Plast Command would again like to fully fund a set of Ukrainian counselors coming to the United States, as well as partially fund a group of Ukrainian American counselors who would work at camps in Ukraine.

The National Plast Command of the United States also administered a program sending several Ukrainian American plastunyni to Ukraine to work on humanitarian projects. The program, called the Plast Effort Toward the Cooperation of Nations (known by its Ukrainian acronym as PAKS), offered Ukrainian American plastunyni a selection of humanitarian projects proposed by various organizations in Ukraine. The goal of the project was for plastunyni from the United States to begin to view Ukraine as a concrete reality rather than an abstract idea and improve their Ukrainian language skills, all while working for a good cause. Participants lived and worked separately from each other, so they were totally immersed in Ukrainian language and culture.

Projects proposed by sponsors included caring for children in an orphanage for the physically disabled in a village in the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast; renovating the facilities of that orphanage; increasing awareness of AIDS, drug use and other health issues in Lutsk, Volyn Oblast; restoring historical landmarks in Berestechko, Volyn Oblast; and facilitating tourism at the Museum of Lesia Ukrainka in Volyn.

Ukrainians were active also in Scotland, working to preserve a historic chapel there. The Ukrainian Catholic chapel in Lockerbie, Scotland, is being looked after by Zennon Pufkyj, a retired lance corporal with the Kings Own Scottish Borders. The former British soldier appealed for funds to help preserve the chapel once used by members of the Galicia Division.

Originally the chapel was one of the 40 huts at Camp 68, a prisoner of war camp housing 450 Ukrainians who came to Scotland from Rimini, Italy, in April 1947. Thousands of other Ukrainians were dispersed to other camps all over Britain. The POW camp was situated on land then owned by a farmer named Sir John Buchanan Jardine. He gave one of the huts on the site, made from a shell of corrugated iron, to Ukrainian POWs to turn into a chapel, which they did by using whatever limited resources were available. The chapel can accommodate up to 50 people.

The chapel is the first of its kind in Scotland and is still in use. Father Lubomyr Pidluckyj of Edinburgh celebrates liturgy on the first Sunday of every second month. The chapel is known simply as the POW chapel. The chapel is located about three miles from the Garden of Remembrance for the Lockerbie Air Disaster, along the C92 (a) road to Dalton.

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Our Churches: news in Ukraine and beyond

During 2004, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was moving a step closer to achieving its long-sought patriarchate.

In February, the Italian Catholic magazine, *30 Giorni*, (30 Days) released a November 29, 2003, letter from the head of Orthodox Churches worldwide to the Pope, which warned that the establishment of a Kyiv-based Ukrainian Catholic patriarchate would risk a break in ecumenical relations between the two Churches.

In his missive to Pope John Paul II written in Greek, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, the archbishop of Constantinople, rejected a document sent by Cardinal Walter Kasper, president of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, to Russian Patriarch Aleksei II as "erroneous, confused, unacceptable [and] provocative" and asked the pope to indicate he had no intention "of initiating the institution of the Greek-Catholic Patriarchate in Ukraine as Cardinal Kasper's text alludes."

Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Basil Losten of the Stamford Eparchy responded strongly to Patriarch Bartholomew's letter and wrote to him and Cardinal Kasper stating he was "most disturbed by this development and disappointed that [the patriarch] should evince such a cruel and negative attitude towards a sister Church – especially one that does not fall under your jurisdiction. Your letter, now widely disseminated among Ukrainian hierarchy, clergy and laity, is creating a new, unnecessary division in Catholic-Orthodox dialogue: one that must be immediately healed or we are to lose all that we have gained in the past few years."

The issue of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, said Bishop Losten, "is a matter between the Synod of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Bishops and Pope John Paul II, and concerns no other Church."

However, the Rev. Robert Taft of the Vatican's Pontifical Oriental Institute told the National Catholic Reporter that Ukrainian Catholic bishops, who he said are supportive of the idea, should "just declare the patriarchate and get on with it." Yet, following a February 22 meeting in Moscow between Cardinal Kasper – the most senior Vatican official to visit Russia in four years – and Patriarch Aleskei, the Holy See indicated that it would not establish a Ukrainian Catholic patriarchate amid protests from the Russian Orthodox Church, which accused the Catholic Church of engaging in "direct proselytism" on its "canonical territory."

Before the ecumenical summit, Cardinal Kasper told the Associated Press that "both sides must respect religious freedom and freedom of conscience" and said the Catholic Church did not have a "purposeful policy" of attracting Orthodox faithful. The Church, however, "has the right to exist in the countries of Eastern Europe, with their Orthodox majority, and fulfill its mission."

Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, primate of the nearly 6-million-member Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC), later told the Catholic News Service that a patriarchate "is not a prize, but a pastoral tool," but that his Church would not establish one "at the expense of someone else."

Yet, while "willing to help ensure" creating a patriarchate "does not become an obstacle," the man who would serve as the Church's patriarch said there "must be a plan." He added, "Not now is not an answer."

The mood between the two denominations was decidedly more cordial on the opposite side of the Atlantic Ocean.

North American bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches in February held their second "fraternal encounter" in St. Petersburg, Fla., where they discussed several issues, including their joint opposition to same-sex marriage, abortion and the global youth prostitution trade. They also designated a special day – April 18 – to commemorate the estimated 10 million Ukrainians who perished during the Great Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933.

Back in Europe, Cardinal Husar, writing on behalf of the Synod of Bishops of the Kyiv-Halych Metropolitanate, issued a formal response to Cardinal Kasper's visit to Moscow in a letter on March 1 to Ukrainian Catholics. In it, the head of the UGCC said that many "have been troubled and, to some extent, indignant at the fact that a matter of the internal development of our Church was discussed not in Kyiv, Lviv



Roman Woronowycz

Cardinal Lubomyr Husar and clergy on October 11 bless the crosses that will be mounted atop the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic patriarchal cathedral in Kyiv.

or Rome, but in Moscow, and, most importantly, without participation."

Cardinal Husar, who officially still carries the title of major archbishop, said the Moscow talks "by no means negate the main line of development of the Patriarchate following from the decisions of the Synod of Bishops of our Church." He said the desire to create a patriarchate "is not a whim of the present" but is an idea that can be traced back at least to the 16th century and was reinvigorated by the worldwide UGCC Bishops' Synod in 2002. Furthermore, the pope dispatched Cardinal Kasper, "who is responsible for relations with non-Catholic Christian Churches" to present the UGCC's case for a patriarchate to the Moscow Patriarchate last year.

"Unfortunately, the responses from the Moscow Patriarchate and other Orthodox Churches often contained expressions which should be considered inappropriate for inter-Church dialogue," Cardinal Husar wrote. "Warnings, like ultimatums and verging on blackmail, saying that any possible contacts between Catholics and Orthodox will be broken off for years if the pope recognizes the Patriarchate of the UGCC, sound like a personal insult to the holy father. Such a reaction is very distressing, as it indicates that the leaders of the Orthodox Churches are not prepared to resolve historic contradictions by considering the legitimate needs of all interested parties."

On March 1, Bishop Losten issued an open letter to Orthodox patriarchs, in which he stated that he was "flabbergasted" by the "fear and not dialogue" expressed in statements made by Orthodox hierarchs to the notion of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate. "The polemics advocated by the Moscow Patriarchate presents an ecclesiastical view that exists in a vacuum in the globalized world of today ... a position that is based upon past privileges granted by Russian imperialism and godless Communism," wrote Bishop Losten who is chairman of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Synod of Bishops' Ecumenical Commission.

"There are no exclusive canonical territories either in the East or the West in the world of today – there are only territories of ancestral lineage. That is why any Patriarchate of the Orthodox or Catholic world may have a jurisdiction of influence anywhere in the world dictated by its own sacred canons."

According to Bishop Losten, "the polemics of 'Uniatism' are once again rearing their ugly head. "The only Uniate Church that exists in the world today is that which is deeply imbedded in the Orthodox psyche."

Around the time of the letters, more than 150 Ukrainian national deputies – most of them members of Viktor Yushchenko's Our Ukraine faction – signed a letter to Pope John Paul II asking him to grant the UGCC the status of a Patriarchate.

A month later, in April, Cardinal Husar announced

that the UGCC would move its administrative offices, including the metropolitan's chancery, from Lviv to Kyiv, where it had been a presence until the 19th century.

Meanwhile, Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop Stephen Sulyk, the metropolitan-emeritus of the United States and former head of the Philadelphia Archeparchy, released his autobiography, "I Am With You Always," a title taken from a scriptural verse (Matthew 28:20). In his memoir, the archbishop writes about growing up in a small Ukrainian village in the Carpathian Mountains, life as a student during the German occupation and subsequent advance of the Soviet army. Also discussed are the two decades (1981-2001) of his metropolitanate, which, as he points out, ended sadly when his retirement plans were unexpectedly altered by the arrival of his successor, Stefan Soroka, and he left his long-time home in Philadelphia for the adjacent community of Lansdale.

On the other side of the equator, Brazil welcomed a new Ukrainian Catholic bishop – Volodymyr Koubetch, a 51-year-old Basilian priest – who became co-adjutor of the Eparchy of St. John the Baptist in Curitiba.

Back in North America, Bishop Losten in March donated \$100,000 to the St. George Ukrainian Catholic Schools Foundation – which strives to assist St. George's elementary and secondary schools in New York City – during the annual meeting of the Self Reliance (N.Y.) Federal Credit Union in New York. That same month Metropolitan Soroka announced the closing of two parochial schools: St. John's in Newark, N.J., and St. John's in Northampton, Pa. He cited the changing demographics of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as the major reason for his decision.

In June the metropolitan-archbishop also announced the amalgamation and closing of parishes in his archeparchy, beginning with the closure of two churches in Philadelphia. He said that amid a shortage of priests and poor church attendance "an attitude of proper stewardship among our faithful has not developed ... weekly upkeep support of the parish is relatively poor in all but a few of our parishes [and] the weekly donation of many parishioners has not kept up with the costs of maintaining a parish today."

On October 11, Cardinal Husar led a liturgical service involving 38 UGCC bishops, dozens of clergy and about 1,000 people in which the five crosses that would sit atop the domes of his new Kyiv cathedral on the right bank of the Dnipro River were blessed. Insufficient financial support for the new building caused its official opening to be delayed by at least a year, said UGCC spokesman the Rev. Oleksa Petriv.

At an October 13 press conference on the eve of the bishops' annual synod, Cardinal Husar told reporters that Pope John Paul II was keen for the Church to have its own patriarch – a title already used by many in refer-

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ence to the major archbishop. "He would like to be the one to make that announcement," said the cardinal, and added the pope needed to wait for "the right moment."

Noting that on October 11 he made a courtesy call to outgoing Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, Cardinal Husar also said he wished the country's elections to choose a new president that would be free and fair.

Back in the U.S., the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, visited New York and Chicago as part of a campaign to support Catholic education in Ukraine begun by Bishop Losten, and Richard Seminack, his counterpart in the Chicago Eparchy.

But 2004 ended on a sad note. Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Kolomyia-Chernivtsi died on December 12 at the age of 79. Ordained a deacon while in prison from 1947 to 1955 after being sentenced for "the betrayal of the fatherland" and for engaging in "anti-Soviet propaganda" as a supporter of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, he became a priest in Lviv following his release and embarked on underground pastoral work.

Father Vasylyk was arrested again, in Ivano-Frankivsk, and spent another five years in prison – this time in a camp in Mordovia where his fellow inmates included the future head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Josyf Slipij.

Elevated to the episcopacy in 1974, Bishop Vasylyk remained a defiant figure. In 1987 he sent an official petition to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Pope John Paul II, asking for formal recognition of the Church in the USSR. A year later he led an outdoor liturgy celebrating the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine – a move that resulted in the suppression of public acts of devotions by Ukrainian Catholics. An auxiliary bishop in Ivano-Frankivsk from 1989 to 1993, Bishop Vasylyk was named head of the newly created Eparchy of Kolomyia-Chernivtsi in 1993 and remained in the post until his retirement in 2001.

Culture and the arts: architecture to theater

Among the highlights of the year in the realm of the arts were the following.

Architecture

The traveling exhibition, "Radoslav Zuk – Tradition and the Present – Ukrainian Churches in North America and Museum Projects in Ukraine," which has been held in Europe, North America and in the Middle East, was shown at the following venues in the United States in 2004: Ukrainian Institute of America, New York (February 6-26); Grazhda, Hunter, N.Y. (July 25-September 6); The Embassy of Ukraine, Washington, (September 16-October 15), and Drexel University, Philadelphia (November 19-December 10). In conjunction with the exhibition of his award-winning nine churches and museum projects, Prof. Zuk, who teaches architecture at McGill University, presented lectures on "Cultural Content and Context in Architecture," "The Music of Architecture: Harmony and Rhythm in Space" and "Stylistic Transformations in Ukrainian Architecture."

Art

A two-day conference titled "Rethinking Malevich," sponsored by the New York-based Malevich Society in celebration of the 125th anniversary of Kazimir Malevich's birth (1878-1935), was held February 6-7 in The Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York. As part of the conference program that featured an international group of scholars and researchers, Malevich was considered in a Ukrainian context by two presenters: Prof. Myroslava M. Mudrak of Ohio State University in Columbus and Prof. Adrian Barr of Massey University in Wellington, New Zealand. Prof. Mudrak's presentation was titled "Malevich and His Ukrainian Contemporaries"; Prof. Barr's presentation was titled "From 'Vozbuzhdenie' to 'Oshchushchenie': Theoretical Shifts, 'Nova Generatsiia' and the Late Paintings." An article by Prof. Mudrak titled "The Art World: Kazimir Malevich and Ukraine," appeared in the April 11 issue of The Ukrainian Weekly. An illustrated presentation on Malevich's formative periods in Ukraine was delivered by Prof. Mudrak at the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York at the invitation of the society and The

Ukrainian Museum of New York on February 8. As founder of Suprematism in 1915, Malevich was a major influence in the development of abstract, non-representational, art in the early 20th century.

An exhibition of icons by Zoya Lisowska, inspired by traditional Ukrainian icons from the 12th century to the present day, opened on January 17 in Crans-Pres-Celigny, near Geneva, in Switzerland. The exhibition comprised 29 works, painted on a particular type of slate indigenous to the Valais region of the Alps, with the shapes of the stones determining the forms of the icons themselves.

The exhibition "Reprise," featuring the work of Irma Osadsa, Christina Senkiw and Vera Yurchuk, brought together three talented and original artists, with different styles, genres and interests, in an exhibition held at the Canadian Ukrainian Art Foundation Gallery in Toronto on March 21-April 4.

The Woskob Private Collection of Ukrainian Art Exhibition, featuring some 50 Ukrainian artists, among them, Alexander Archipenko, and such internationally recognized artists as Alexis Gritchenko and Jacques Hnizdovsky, opened April 17 at the newly built Woskob Family Gallery in State College, Pa., where it was on view through May 31. The exhibition offered a cross-section of work by artists from various generations and with various links to Ukrainian art. The collection, which was previously shown in New York and Washington, was presented by Alex and Helen Woskob of State College. An illustrated catalogue was published in conjunction with the exhibition.

Manifesta 5, the European Biennial of Contemporary Art, opened June 11 in Donostia-San Sebastian, Basque Country, Spain, with Marta Kuzma and Massimiliano Gioni as the curatorial team. The prominent cultural event, with predominance of work in film and video, was held with the participation of 56 invited artists from some 30 different countries. Participating artists from Ukraine in Manifesta 5 were Boris Mikhailov, Iliya Chichkan, Kyryll Protsenko and Sergey Bratkov.

New York artist Olga Maryschuk's oil pastels and prints titled "My Neighborhood" were on view at the Tompkins Square Gallery of the New York Public Library during the month of June. The exhibit, which focused on Tompkins Square Park, grew out of Ms. Maryschuk's involvement with East Village Parks Conservancy.

A colorful, eclectic exhibit of some 50 works by Aka Pereyma, as well as artwork by her daughter Christina Pereyma, was on view at the University of Dayton June 7 through August 6, in a show titled "Messengers from God." Aka Pereyma works in a wide variety of media – sculpture, painting, decorative ceramics and drawings – that draw on Ukrainian folk art as a symbolic form. Christina Pereyma's work references themes of gender, time, mythology and nature.

The monograph "Arkadia Olenska-Petryshyn: Oil Paintings, Etchings, Drawings," came out as a joint publication of the National Museum of Ukraine in Kyiv and The Ukrainian Museum in New York in a bilingual, Ukrainian-English, edition. The book, which offers 100 full-page reproductions, traces the artist's development from her formative years to maturity, providing examples of the artist's work throughout her 40 creative years. The publication was edited by the poet Bohdan Boychuk of the New York Group; with a foreword and introductory essay by Jaroslaw Leshko, professor of art history at Smith College; and book design by Ihor and Severyn Barabakh of New York.

The works of internationally recognized Ukrainian artist Oleksa Hryshchenko, aka Alexis Gritchenko, (1883-1977), which forms part of important collections and is represented in major museums of Europe and North America, were donated to museums in Ukraine in accordance with the artist's wish that his work return to his homeland upon Ukraine's independence. The transfer entailed the largest single collection of the artist's paintings and archival material that comprise the holdings of the New York-based Alexis Gritchenko Foundation, founded by the artist in 1963. A commemorative exhibition titled "Alexis Gritchenko (1883-1977). Travels in Europe: From Cubism to Expressionism," was held on the occasion of the transfer at the Ukrainian Institute of America, where the collection had been housed. The exhibition was on view October 22 through November 14; a 15-page catalogue, featuring 63 works, has been published in a bilingual, English-Ukrainian, edition in conjunction with the exhibition.

Dance

Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky was posthumously hon-



Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky in a classic pose.

ored by the Ukrainian Institute of America with its first "Lifetime Achievement Award" at a banquet held in the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on September 12. A former prima ballerina and soloist in Europe and North America, Ms. Pryma-Bohachevsky devoted 40 years of her life to ballet and Ukrainian folk dance instruction, 25 of those as director of the Syzokryli Ukrainian Dancers of New York. Ms. Pryma-Bohachevsky, ubiquitously known as "Pani Roma," was teacher and mentor to two generations of Ukrainian children and young adults who attended her schools, dance camps and workshops in the New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut tri-state area. As choreographer, Ms. Pryma-Bohachevsky's work encompassed Ukraine's regional dances, as well as stylized interpretations that drew upon Ukrainian dance forms, classical ballet and modern dance, among them, such ballet productions as "Kvit Paporoti" (Fern Flower) and "Peer Gynt" and the dramatic work "Ikona." Apart from tours in the United States, her advanced corps, the Syzokryli dancers, went on a tour of Ukraine in 1992. On November 13, in a special 40th anniversary jubilee concert, some 150 dancers celebrated the lifework of their late teacher-choreographer in a concert at Lincoln Center's Alice Tully Hall in New York. As an enduring tribute, the Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky Foundation of Ukrainian Dance has been established, with Ania Bohachevsky Lonkevych, executive director and Boris Bohachevsky, Andriy Cybyk, Kristine A. Izak and Orlando Pagan, artistic advisors.

The renowned Virsky Ukrainian National Dance Company, a premiere professional dance troupe known for the virtuosity and technical brilliance of its choreography, was on an extensive 70-city concert tour of the United States and several Canadian venues, garnering superlative acclaim of audiences and critics alike. Described by The New York Times dance critic Anna Kisselgoff "as a showcase for national pride" (November 9), the company of 60 dancers, who are professionally trained in ballet, as well as traditional folk dance, presented a diverse program drawing on Ukraine's rich heritage. Founded in 1937, the company has been under the direction of Myroslav Vantukh since 1980. The concert tour, which was officially sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts of Ukraine and produced in the United States by Columbia Artists Management LLC, was marred by a total lack of publicity of the tour's complete itinerary in the press, as well as by a mistake-riddled program full of errors as well as inaccuracies with regard to individual dance numbers and to Ukraine in general.

Film and documentaries

The documentary "Chernobyl Heart," produced and directed by independent American film director Maryann DeLeo, won an Academy Award for best short documentary film at the award presentations on February 29. In calling attention to the sharp rise in radiation-related illnesses over the past few years, especially among children, the film underscored the fact that

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international aid and attention to the problems extant in the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster have been progressively diminishing. The film, which was shot predominantly in Belarus between 2001 and 2003, focuses on the plight of children in Belarus, Ukraine and parts of western Russia. A special screening of the award-winning documentary took place at the United Nations as part of a series of events that commemorated the 18th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear accident.

Oscar award-winning actor Jack Palance rejected the Russian award he was slated to receive during the "Russian Nights" festival held in Los Angeles on April 22 in celebration of Russian contributions to the world of art, in an event held under the partial sponsorship of the Russian Ministry of Culture. Mr. Palance's rejection was more than a personal statement that he is Ukrainian and not Russian and an objection to the mislabeling and slandering of Ukrainians. As referenced in the concurrent article "Opinion: Ukraine faces a 'Cultural Holodomor,'" (The Ukrainian Weekly, September 5), penned by Peter Borisow with Mr. Palance – the two men are president and chairman, respectively, of the Hollywood Trident Foundation – the rejection was a refusal to lend oneself to endorsing a festival that provided an opportunity to what is, in effect, the centuries-old effort to make Ukraine seem part and parcel of Russia and to co-opt its history and culture. As noted in the article, Mr. Palance also refused to view Vladimir Khotinenko's 2003 film "Siemdesiat-Dva Metra" (72 Meters), which was screened at the festival, as it denigrates Ukrainians. Also screened at the festival was the film "Aerograd" (1935) by world-renowned Ukrainian filmmaker Aleksander Dovzhenko, who is customarily passed off as Russian. As part of the continuing onslaught on Ukrainian culture and identity, the article also reported on the dismal state of Ukrainian film and television in Ukraine. Citing statistics on Ukrainian language programming and underscoring that not a single Ukrainian-language film was made last year, the article points out that it is virtually impossible to get financing for Ukrainian films and equally impossible to get them shown in motion picture theaters in Ukraine, as all distribution continues to be controlled from Moscow and Ukrainians have no influence over distribution.

The Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University in New York launched the Ukrainian Film Club, with the screening of Oles Sanin's film "Mamai" (a 2003 Academy Awards submission) at the Harriman Institute on October 21. Ukrainian Film Club was founded on the initiative of Dr. Yuri Shevchuk, lecturer of Ukrainian language and culture at Columbia, with the aim to promote Ukrainian cinema and culture within the Columbia and greater New York City community, and to showcase the best of Ukraine's classical and new cinema. Among films screened since the club's inception were a series on the newest documentary films, including "Kinomania" (director Hanna Yarovenko); "Red Soil" (director Serhyi Bukovsky); "Old People" (directors Valentyn and Maxym Vasyanovych), as well as such classic films as "White Bird with a Black Mark" (director Yuri Illienko) and "Babylon XX" (director Ivan Mykolaychuk).

A review of Yuri Illienko's film "The Prayer for Hetman Mazepa" by Alexandra Hawryluk, writer for Radio Canada International in Montreal, appeared in the January 9 issue of The Weekly. The film's North American premiere was in 2002; it was screened for Ukrainian audiences in North America in 2004.

Literature

The inaugural issue of Ukrainian Literature: A Journal of Translations, was presented at the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York on December 11. A corresponding Internet edition (www.shevchenko.org or www.UkrainianLiterature.org) was launched in August. The first-ever publication devoted exclusively to English translations of Ukrainian literature, is scheduled to appear biennially, as a publication of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh), with Maxim Tarnawsky, editor and editorial board members: Prof. Taras Koznarsky, Askold Melnyczuk, Prof. Michael N. Naydan and Prof. Marko Pavlyshyn.

Museum

The Ukrainian Museum in New York City received a 2004 Museums for America grant in the amount of \$91,360 from the Institute of Museum and Library Services, a federal granting agency. As noted by museum director Maria Shust, the grant came at a most opportune time with the museum ready to undertake the

task of implementing an expanded and enriched agenda upon relocating to its modern new three-story facility on East Sixth Street.

Music

"Liturgy No. 2" (The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom) by Roman Hurko, Toronto-based composer and opera stage director, was released on the Right Angel Records, a Canadian label specializing in sacred choral music. "Liturgy No. 2" is Mr. Hurko's third major composition of sacred choral music, following the critically acclaimed "Liturgy 2000" and "Requiem for the Victims of Chernobyl" (2001). "Liturgy No. 2" premiered on August 24, 2003, at St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral in Kyiv, in a performance by the world-renowned Vydubychi Church Chorus, under the direction of Volodymyr Viniar.

Ukrainian Canadian singer Alexis Kochan and her Winnipeg-based ensemble, Paris to Kyiv, appeared in performance with the Rosheen ensemble and the Shanon Irish Dancers at the 50th anniversary celebration of Quebec City's world-famous winter Carnaval at Le Capitole on February 12, in a concert featuring Irish, Ukrainian and French-Canadian music held before an appreciative audience of 1,200.

The New York-based and internationally acclaimed music ensemble Continuum, under the co-direction of Cheryl Seltzer and Joel Sachs, presented a concert of leading Ukrainian contemporary composers Valentin Bibik (1940-2003) and Leonid Hrabovsky (1935-) on March 6 at New York City's Merkin Concert Hall, in cooperation with the Ukrainian Institute of America as part of its "Music at the Institute" series. An informative article on the two composers and their music as well as on Continuum's history of commitment to Ukrainian contemporary music, appeared in the February 29 issue of The Weekly. CDs of Messrs. Bibik's and Hrabovsky's work have been produced by Continuum for the TNC recording label.

Concert pianist Juliana Osinchuk, a native New Yorker and now a resident of Anchorage, was featured soloist in the world premiere of Piano Concerto No. 1 Op. 72, a programmatic work by contemporary Alaskan composer Philip Munger, in a concert with the Anchorage Symphony Orchestra, Randall Craig Fleischer, music director, held March 6 in the Atwood Concert Hall in Anchorage.

A memorial concert in honor of the internationally known mezzo-soprano Renata Babak was held on February 19 at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington, featuring eight soloists, former students of Ms. Babak, performing operatic arias, duets and art songs.

A gala concert featuring pianists Alexander Slobodyanik and Laryssa Krupa, and opera soloists soprano Oksana Krovtytska and baritone Oleh Chmyr was held as part of the 10th anniversary celebrations of The Morristown Community Theater on September 29. Mr. Slobodyanik and Ms. Krupa were featured in the opening night celebrations as co-founders of the Morris International Festival of the Arts, which reopened the theater in historic Morristown, N.J. in 1994.

The Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus of Detroit, under the direction of conductor-composer Oleh Mahlay, returned to New York after an absence of six years, appearing in concert at The Cooper Union on April 5 before an appreciative and enthusiastic audience. A review of the concert by Bohdana Wolanska titled "Concert Review: Of Yankees, the Met, and Bandura" appeared in the June 6 issue of The Weekly.

The works of Ukrainian composer and musicologist Bohdana Filts, laureate of the Viktor Kosenko (2003), Lev Revutsky (2003) and the Mykola Lysenko (1993) prizes, were presented in the United States for the first time in concerts at the Ukrainian Institute of America in New York on November 7 and at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington, on December 9. The composer is best known for her vocal works and large body of choral work, written mostly for children's and youth choirs.

The Kyiv Chamber Choir, Ukraine's premiere a capella choir which, since its founding in 1990, has earned international recognition as one of the outstanding chamber choirs in Europe, made its Canada debut in a series of concerts performing in 14 cities in five provinces across Canada, on November 3-28, including appearances in Weston Recital Hall in Toronto's Center for the Arts and the Notre Dame Basilica in Montreal. Under the direction of Mykola Hobdych, the choir has gained international renown for performing many of the best choral works found in Ukrainian music history and for its high level of professionalism.

Symphony No. 2, "Red Earth" by prominent Ukrainian American composer and conductor Virko Baley, was premiered by the New Juilliard Ensemble, under the direction of Joel Sachs, as part of a program of music by five contemporary composers at a concert held at Lincoln Center's Alice Tully Hall on November 19. An interview with Mr. Baley, who lives and works in Nevada, in which he discusses his recent compositions with WNYC radio host John Schaefer, appeared in the November 7 issue of The Weekly. On November 21 four of Mr. Baley's compositions, including several premieres, were performed at the Ukrainian Institute of America. A review of the world premiere of Mr. Baley's Symphony No. 2, written by Oles Kuzyzsyn, appeared in the November 28 issue of The Weekly.

Bass Stefan Szkafarowsky sang the title role in the premiere production of "Agamemnon," an opera by Sergey Taneyev (1856-1915), in a concert performance at Carnegie Hall on June 16 with the Manhattan Philharmonic, under the direction of Peter Tiboris.

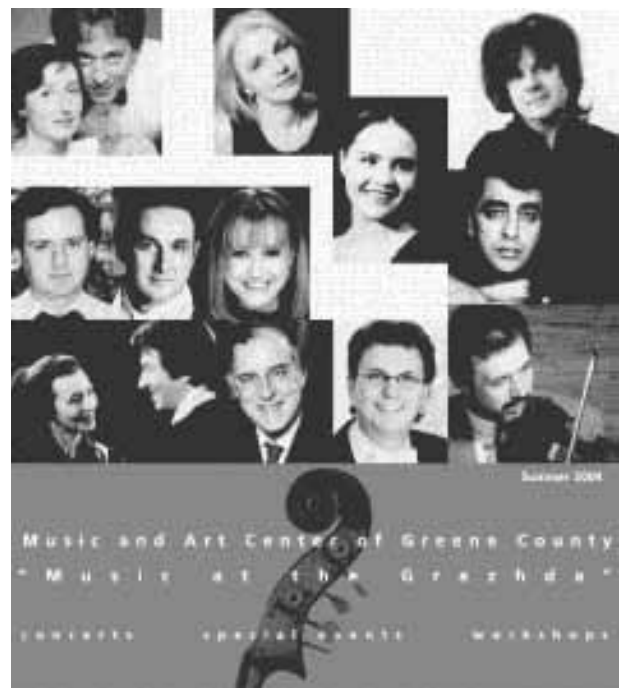
Ukrainian baritone Vassily Gerello, a star of the Kirov Opera since 1990, has issued his first solo CD album, titled "Favorite Ukrainian Songs," on the U.S. Delos International label, with the Moscow Chamber Orchestra under the direction of the Armenian American conductor Constantine Orbelian.

Soprano Nataliya Kovalova, 28, and baritone Vitaliy Bilyy, 29, both from Ukraine, were among the top winners at the 12th annual Operalia 2004: World Opera Competition, held in Los Angeles on August 23-28. Ms. Kovalova was winner of both the second prize and the "People's Choice" award, and Mr. Bilyy was a fourth-prize winner at the competition. Founded by Plácido Domingo in 1992, Operalia is one of the leading international contests for opera singers who are in the early stages of their careers.

The "Music at the Institute" concert series held under the auspices of the Ukrainian Institute of America in New York (Mykola Suk, music director), presented the following concerts: "Restructuring Chopin," with Valida Rassoulova-Suk, piano, Oksana Krovtytska, soprano, and the Manhattan-based Cassatt String Quartet (January 24); Mozart Piano Quartet of Germany, (April 25); "Opening Concert" – Nadia Shpachenko, piano, Yuri Kharenko, violin, Ah Ling Neu, viola, and Wanda Glowacka, (October 16); "Tapestry" – Laui Monahan, mezzo-soprano, harp and director, Christi Catt, soprano, Daniela Tosic, alto, with Takaaki Masuko, percussion (December 4).

The Washington Group Cultural Fund (Svitlana Fedko) director, presented the following concerts, held under the patronage of the Embassy of Ukraine, at the Lyceum in Old Town Alexandria, Va., as part of its music series: The Forte String Quartet – Mikhail Kuchuk, violin, Alexander Abayev, violin, Rumi Petrova, viola and Kalin Ivanov, cello (October 17); Taras Kulish, bass baritone (November 14); Valentina Lisitsa, piano (March 14); and Olexandr Abayev, violin, and Maryna Rohozhyna, piano (May 23).

The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art in Chicago (Oleh Kowerko, president) presented the following concerts as part of their fourteenth music concert season:



Cover of an informative brochure on the Music and Art Center of Greene County "Music at the Grahda" summer concert series 2004, including special events and workshops. (Design by Ihor Barabakh)

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Oksana Kroyvtska, soprano (February 15); "Natalia Khoma and Friends" (March 14); Roman Rudnytsky, piano (October 17); The Cerberus Trio – Mykola Suk, piano, Byron Tauchi, violin, and Andrew Smith, cello (December 5).

The Music at the Grazhda classical concert series, held under the auspices of the Music and Art Center of Greene County (Volodymyr Vynnytsky, music director and Ika Koznarska Casanova, executive director), presented 10 concerts as part of its 22nd summer season, held July 3 through September 4. Featured performers were: Solomiya Soroka, violin, and Arthur Greene, piano (July 3); Stefania Dovhan, soprano (July 19); Alexandre Brussilovsky, violin (July 17); Luba and Ireneus Zuk, piano duo (July 24); Vagram Saradjian, cello (August 7); Roman Rudnytsky, piano (August 14); Music at the Grazhda Chamber Music Society – Natalia Khoma, cello, Solomiya Ivakhiv, violin, Yuri Kharenko, violin, Randolph Kelly, viola, and Mr. Vynnytsky, piano (August 21 and August 28); and in a solo recital, Mr. Vynnytsky (September 4). Among special events forming part of the season was the opening of an art exhibition held in celebration of the centennial of the birth of Mykhailo Moroz (1904-1992), (July 4-July 23) and an exhibition of architectural drawings and photographs titled "Radoslav Zuk – Tradition and the Present – Ukrainian Churches in North America and Museum Projects in Ukraine," (July 25-September 6) with an accompanying lecture by Prof. Zuk, an internationally recognized architect and a professor of architecture at McGill University, on the topic "Music of Architecture: Harmony and Rhythm in Space."

Ukraine's pop singing sensation Ruslana, winner of the 2004 EuroVision Song Contest held in Istanbul May 15, won the competition with the hit song "Dyki Tantsi" (Wild Dances), which is based on traditional Hutsul folk rhythms. Following her EuroVision success, which was broadcast in 36 countries with 170 million European viewers, Ruslana was named best-selling recording artist from Ukraine at the 2004 World Music Awards held in Las Vegas on September 15. She was presented with the award's golden statuette by Volodymyr Klitschko, the world-renowned Ukrainian boxer, in a ceremony that was televised in 160 countries. The first performer in Ukraine to have officially received a platinum record for sales of more than 1 million discs by the International Recording Industry in 2003, her album "Dyki Tantsi" went double platinum in 2004. In Canada, Ruslana wowed rain-drenched crowds in Toronto as the featured performer at the Bloor Street Village Ukrainian Festival on August 28, in a non-stop, energy-filled, 90-minute "Dyki Tantsi" stage show. At a press conference in Kyiv on September 27, the 25-year-old native of Lviv underscored that through her music and her various successes, she hopes to shine a positive light on Ukraine as an effective musical ambassador. Ruslana



Portion of a Ruslana poster.

took center stage on possibly the greatest stage ever – the "maidan," showing her support for presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko, in solidarity with the hundreds of thousands of protesters on Independence Square in Kyiv in the early days of the Orange Revolution.

Photography

As part of a group exhibition titled "Don't Look Away," three young photographers of Ukrainian descent – Alexandr Glyadyelov from Kyiv, and two Ukrainian Americans, Adrienne Kovalsky and Joseph Sywenkyj – documented, in unflinching and profound images, the plight of children and adults in Ukraine ravaged by disease, poverty and pain as victims of Chornobyl, AIDS and other trauma. The exhibition, curated by Anya Antonovych, was held at Chicago's Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art on March 12-May 2.

The work of 17 photographers of Ukrainian descent from across Canada, who have made a significant contribution to the world of photography both nationally and internationally, was shown in the first photography exhibition of its kind at the Ukrainian Canadian Art Foundation Gallery in Toronto May 15-June 30. The exhibition was held in conjunction with Toronto's CONTACT Photography Festival, the largest annual photo-graphy event in North America. Curator for the exhibition was Darka Maleckyj Griffin. Featured artists in the exhibition were: Edward Burtynsky, Sandra Semchuk, Michael Semak, Ken Shumka, Orest Semchishen, Laura Letinsky, George Styranka, Terry Pidsadny, Vera Elyjiw Sytch, Paul Osadchuk, George Nitefor, Christine Laptuta, Christine Kudryk, Ivaan Kotulsky, Daniel Dutka, John Paskievich and David Firman.

Television/animation

Olexa Hewryk received the prestigious 2004 Daytime Emmy Award for Nickelodeon's preschool television show "Little Bill" at the awards ceremony held May 21 at the Art Deco music hall in New York City. Mr. Hewryk was one of three directors at Nickelodeon Animation Studio East singled out for his work on the show in the "Outstanding Children's Animated Program" category.

Theater

MN2 Productions of Cleveland premiered its latest dance theater piece, "Forest Song," at Cleveland Public Theater's Old Parish Hall on June 11-13. An English-language adaptation of Lesia Ukrainka's "Forest Song" (Lisova Pisnia), a classic of the Ukrainian theater, the play was staged by Michael D. Flohr in a production aimed at an American audience, with English translation of text by Nadia Tarnawsky. The production featured a soundtrack of Ukrainian folk songs and folk music as performed by Beata Begeniova, Alexander Fedoriouk, Andrei Pidkivka, Ms. Tarnawsky and Mr. Flohr. Choreography was by Natalie M. Kapeluck of the Mary Miller Modern Dance Company, who is also artistic director of the Slava Modern Dance Company and the Kyiv Ukrainian Dance Ensemble of Pittsburgh.

Derek Adam Gregor along with his collaborator, Sam Carner, were named winners in the Richard Rodgers Awards competition for musical theater by the American Academy of Arts and Letters. Messrs. Gregor and Carner, graduates of the Tisch School of the Arts at New York University, collaborated in a work titled "Unlocked," an adaptation of Alexander Pope's mock-epic poem "The Rape of the Lock," set in 18th century England. Mr. Gregor composed the music, while Mr. Carner, a graduate of the Yale theater program, wrote the book and lyrics. Messrs. Carner and Gregor received their awards at the academy's ceremonial in New York City on May 19.

The play "The Marinated Aristocrat" by Irena Kowal had its premiere performance in Kyiv, where it played during spring and the fall-winter season. The play deals with the clash of Anglo-Saxon and Slavic cultures, as well as contemporary issues in Ukraine such as unemployment, working abroad, stress on family life and the role of women in a changing society. The play is grounded in the author's observations and experiences after living for the past 10 years in Kyiv, and previously, for a number of years, in England. Features in the lead roles are Oleksii Vertynskyi and Viktoria Avdeyenko; staging is by Stanislav Moiseev. A review of the play by Jaryna Turko appeared in the October 3 issue of The Weekly.

Much ado in the world of Ukrainian scholarship

Development in the realm of Ukrainian scholarship both in the U.S. and abroad. From the new business school and school of public health at Kyiv Mohyla Academy in Ukraine, to a new visiting professor and a reached endowment goal at Columbia University in New York, young Ukrainians have more and more academic opportunities. Conferences such as "Ukraine in Europe and the World," the 24th annual Shevchenko conference, the 23rd Conference on Ukrainian Subjects and the Ottawa conference on Ukrainian transformation, provide a forum for scholars who study various issues related to Ukraine, to gather and exchange knowledge.

On February 18 Kyiv Mohyla Business School (KMBS) announced its partnership with Pryvat Bank, one of Ukraine's largest banks, to develop a corporate university. This cooperative effort demonstrates the corporate awareness that now permeates the Ukrainian business world – the knowledge that well-educated managers are necessary in the ever more competitive environment. Pryvat Bank and KMBS will develop programs in management training and executive development for Pryvat Bank's 19,000 employees and more than 3,000 managers.

KMBS students are required to have at least three years' managerial experience, a college degree and fluency in English and Ukrainian. The school, also offers undergraduate level business classes to National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy students.

In December 2002, in an effort to make KMBS an international leader, program director Pavlo Sheremeta had developed a partnership with Northwestern University's Center for Technology Innovation Management (CTIM), which provided KMBS access to huge academic, informational and technological resources. CTIM is closely associated with Northwestern's Kellogg School of Business, considered the best business school in the world. In order to help KMBS attain world-class stature Mr. Sheremeta plans to expand the faculty to allow individual professors to spend more time on research and publishing. Two KMBS professors, however, have already published in the Ivey Business School Journal, considered the second best in the world after the Harvard Business Journal.

This past January the first visiting professor to teach Ukrainian history was appointed at Columbia University. Dr. Frank Sysyn, director of the Petro Jacyk Center for the Ukrainian Historical Research at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, accepted the Columbia appointment for the spring 2004 semester. Prof. Sysyn received his Ph.D. in history from Harvard and is author of highly regarded publications on Ukrainian history. He taught two courses in the history department: a graduate colloquium, "The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Ukraine and Muscovy-Russia in the Early Modern Period" and an undergraduate lecture course, co-taught with Prof. Mark von Hagen, on the subject "Ukraine and Russia: Encounters and Controversies in History."

The new endowed fund supporting courses in Ukrainian history is to be the first of several at Columbia for teaching, research, library acquisitions and outreach – activities that would be conducted in a center dedicated to Ukrainian studies. The Ukrainian Studies Fund recently raised thousands of dollars for this purpose, with over 300 donors nationwide contributing to the campaign.

On February 20-21, 17 European experts in politics, economics and social issues and three Americans – former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William Miller and current U.S. Ambassador John Herbst – convened in Kyiv to assess Ukraine's future relationship with its European neighbors and the larger democratic world.

Titled "Ukraine in Europe and the World," the conference provided the government with its most recent report card, delivered openly and unvarnished by diplomatic ambiguities. Speakers voiced their concerns about corruption in the elections. Many conference participants also noted Ukraine's recent crackdown on the press. Most of the conference's discussion, however, focused on which positive and affirmative steps Ukraine must take for full acceptance into and integration within the community of democratic nations.

This was to be the first time that Ukraine's opposition forces gathered at the same forum to discuss their

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Former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright with Dr. Viacheslav Briukhovetsky of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy during a conference in Kyiv on "Ukraine in Europe and the World."

differences through dialogue rather than confrontation, an approach that has long been missing in the political culture of the country.

The Ukrainian government was reluctant to participate in the conference, and organizers were not notified until hours before its convening that government officials would participate.

Stanford University embarked in 2004 on a serious fund-raising effort to support the expansion of Ukrainian studies. Nancy Shields Kollmann, a professor in the department of history at Stanford University and a fellow at the Stanford Institute for International Studies, was interviewed in May by *The Weekly* about new developments at the university regarding Ukrainian studies.

Since the lecture series that kicked off the Ukrainian studies program-building effort, a third lecture series on contemporary Ukraine was initiated, with a monthly lecture through May. Stanford sponsored a public symposium on the Ukrainian Famine in the autumn of 2003, and in 2004 Stanford's outreach program for high school teachers – a daylong symposium on Stalinism – included significant attention to the Famine in Ukraine. Stanford also continues to offer courses that include Ukrainian materials. Stamford's Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies (CREEES) sponsors the current public lectures and symposia in Ukrainian studies that the university offers.

The initiative to work toward establishing Ukrainian studies at Stanford came from members of the community, and at Stanford, by Prof. Kollmann and Prof. Amir Weiner, whose research focuses on Ukraine in the 20th century.

Prof. Kollmann's hopes for the program include the training of several successful Ph.D. and M.A. students; sufficient funds to support a CREEES staff member dedicated to Ukrainian studies, who would organize an active calendar of events; and to have hosted visiting professors in several departments for courses in Ukrainian studies.

On March 6, the 24th annual scholarly conference dedicated to Taras Shevchenko was held at the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) headquarters. In accordance with established practice, the conference was co-hosted by the NTSh, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. (UVAN), the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI) and the Harriman Institute of Columbia University (HICU).

Dr. Olexa Bilaniuk, the president of UVAN, delivered the opening speech, in which he described Shevchenko as an indestructible symbol of the Ukrainian people, their language and culture, as well as their aspirations for an independent state with a Ukrainian face. Dr. Bilaniuk concluded that appropriate Shevchenko conferences need to be staged throughout the Russified cities of Ukraine in order to raise the Ukrainian national consciousness there.

Dr. John Fizer (NTSh), a professor of literature at Rutgers University, was the first of the featured speakers, whose topic was "Shevchenko Studies in the 1990s." Giovanna Siedina, a Ph.D. candidate in the department of Slavic languages and literatures at

Harvard University, where her mentor is Prof. George Grabowicz of HURI, followed Dr. Fizer. She described in great detail the complexities and pitfalls facing a translator who is trying to retain the spirit of the original. "Foreigners on Shevchenko" was the topic tackled next by Dr. Eugene Fedorenko of UVAN. He quoted German, Austrian, Danish and Swedish critics from the 19th century who extolled Shevchenko's poetry in superlatives, calling him a genius, an artist of boundless talent, unique in the world of literature, a poet reflecting the soul of the Ukrainian people, but also a luminary of universal significance to humanity. The last speaker was Rory Finin (HICU), a Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature at Columbia University. His talk was titled "Shevchenko's Poem 'Kavkaz' and Jacob De Balmen." De Balmen was himself a general in the Russian army, but was 'Ukrainized' and a friend of Shevchenko.

The National University of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy established a School of Management of Public Health to advance the management of public health in Ukraine – this is in response to the alarming increase in health problems and mortality throughout the Ukrainian population, within the last decade. The school's academic program began on September 1 by offering a two-year master's degree program in management of public health.

The NUKMA School of Public Health's mission is to undertake an intensive study of Ukraine's health care and service delivery system with the purpose of identifying solutions to the problems of institutional reform and professional training of health care providers. The School of Public Health faculty will carry the burden of providing high-quality teaching, research and advisory activities.

With the assistance of Dr. Daniel Hryhorchuk, the School of Public Health of the University of Illinois in Chicago also became a partner of the program. Dr. Hryhorchuk received a grant from the Association Liaison Office for the University Cooperation and Development (through the U.S. Agency for International Development) to carry out joint programs in public health with Ukraine. Dr. Hryhorchuk is a member of the board of directors of the Kyiv Mohyla Foundation of America.

Mykola Ryabchuk delivered this year's Taras Shevchenko lecture, "From 'Dysfunctional' to 'Blackmail' State: Paradoxes of the Post-Soviet Transition," on March 12 at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. The Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Edmonton sponsors the annual Shevchenko Lecture, while the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) organizes it.

Mr. Ryabchuk concluded that following the Soviet Union's collapse, to maintain power the post-Soviet nomenklatura created what can be characterized as a 'blackmail state,' where the law and organs of the state, such as the tax police and prosecutors, are used selectively and arbitrarily to repress political opponents of the regime and maintain loyalty. The corrupt relationship that exists between business and government is one of the pillars of support and means of control within the country. This is why the regime cannot be counted on to effectively fight corruption or other white-collar crimes, like money laundering. Furthermore, the regime's interests, as well as those of its supporters, he pointed out, lie in stemming or arresting the development of civil society and democracy, the entrenchment of which threatens the existence of the 'blackmail state' and the power of those who benefit from and are tied to its existence.

Mr. Ryabchuk is a prominent political commentator, editor and journalist who lives in Kyiv. He is the author of numerous articles on contemporary Ukrainian politics and culture, and Ukrainian language books.

On May 8, in somewhat of a surprise announcement made toward the end of the gala fund-raising banquet at Columbia University, Dr. Bohdan Kekish, president and CEO of the Self Reliance (New York) Federal Credit Union, said that his organization had agreed to donate \$140,000. This donation, coupled with an earlier gift of \$250,000, put the credit union's total contribution to the endowment fund at \$390,000, and the endowment at its \$1 million goal.

Dr. Mark von Hagen, a professor of history at Columbia, also announced the launching of a campaign for the George Y. Shevelov endowed instructorship in the Ukrainian language. Prof. Shevelov (1908-2002) was eminent linguist whose monumental work "A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language" was first published in 1979. He was also a professor of Slavic philology at Harvard, and at Columbia

University from 1958 to 1977.

"Culture, Nation and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter, 1600-1945," a volume co-edited by Andreas Kappeler, Zenon E. Kohut, Frank E. Sysyn and Dr. von Hagen, was presented on May 1 at the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh). The book comprises 16 essays by an international cast of historians, with the subject matter subdivided into three major categories: the early modern period, the imperial period and the 20th century. It was published on April 1 by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS).

While the book is heavily annotated to be of value to a specialist, it also elaborates on a number of general topics, such as: the development of Ukrainian and Russian national identities; the cultural influence of Ukrainians on Russia; the question of the colonial status of Ukraine; the role of Russian-Ukrainian relations in Soviet policies; the Soviet secret police as an anti-Ukrainian instrument; and the effect of the German occupation policy during World War II.

The latest addition to the Ukrainian Research Institute's multi-volume series *The Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature* was a monumental edition of the *Rus' Primary Chronicle* ("Povest Vremennykh Let"), the oldest of the historical chronicles from Ukraine. The Harvard edition is the first to offer the chronicle in the original language with all variant readings from an edition prepared by a Ukrainian research institution. Dr. Donald Ostrowski, research associate at the Ukrainian Research Institute, research advisor in the social sciences and lecturer in extension studies at Harvard, prepared the current edition. He transcribed the texts, word for word, from each microfilm into computer files and later checked the veracity of the transcription by inspecting the original manuscripts.

This process took over 20 years to complete. Dr. Ostrowski meticulously compared thousands of lines of text from both northern and southern chronicle copies. He noted the various duplications, omissions and spellings, and reworked passages of these manuscripts that later copyists of the Middle Ages made in their copies of the text. In observing these discrepancies, Dr. Ostrowski concluded that the southern Rus' (Ukrainian) manuscripts cannot be ignored and that they have independent authority in determining substantive readings of the "Povest." This is seen from the line-by-line comparisons and forms a sound basis for doubting at least some of the 200 years of Russian scholarship on the "Povest."

On the initiative of the Library and Archives of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the U.S., a dozen specialists from several cities in the Northeast gathered recently at the society's headquarters in New York City for a first roundtable meeting to discuss the state of Ukrainian archives in the United States. Librarians, archivists and researchers shared information about archival holdings in their respective institutions and discussed such topics as preservation techniques for fragile materials, cataloguing of the contents of archives and the use of new technologies such as CDs to increase longevity of materials, and online catalogues and websites to enhance information-sharing and accessibility to researchers.

The participants at the roundtable came to the conclusion that the major challenges facing Ukrainian archival institutions in the U.S. today are the need for more funding, the urgent need for more young archivists with a requisite background in Ukrainian matters to carry on this work, and the fragility of some archived materials that should be transferred to CDs or other stable media soon in order to be preserved for the future. The group decided to focus on a feasible project that could be initiated immediately: the creation of an inventory of Ukrainian archival holdings in the U.S. that would include both the institutions represented at the meeting, as well as all other archives in the U.S., without which such an inventory would be incomplete. When completed, the inventory will be made available online as well as in catalog form, and will provide researchers with a starting point for inquiries about archival sources in the U.S. A standardized form will be developed at the Shevchenko Scientific Society and mailed to all repositories of Ukrainian materials for their input and response.

On April 27 Prof. Mark von Hagen, president of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies, presented a lecture titled "I Love Russia but Want Ukraine: or How a Russian General Became Hetman Skoropadsky of the Ukrainian State." The lecture also celebrated the 25th anniversary of such presentations supported by the Maria Palij Memorial fund that was established by Dr.

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The conference at the University of Ottawa on "Understanding the Transformation of Ukraine."

Michael Palij, a longtime Slavic librarian and professor of Ukrainian history at the University of Kansas. The event was hosted by the university's department of history and the Center for Russian and East European Studies.

The 23rd annual Conference on Ukrainian Subjects took place at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign on July 16-19, attracting scholars whose professional interests are related to Ukrainian subjects from various countries, including Ukraine, Canada, Germany, Poland, Australia and Yugoslavia. The general topic of the 2004 conference was "Contemporary Ukraine and Its Diaspora as Seen by Scholars in Ukraine and Abroad," and was dedicated to the 130th anniversary of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the 110th anniversary of the birth of Dmytro Chyzhevskyi.

The most important topics discussed during the conference were: the contemporary economic and political situation in Ukraine, the upcoming presidential election, cultural developments in Ukraine and problems of the Fourth Wave of Ukrainian immigrants. One of the major events of the conference was the presentation of the book "Ukraine: The Challenges of World War II" edited by Dr. Taras Hunczak and Prof. Shtohryn and published with the financial support of Walter and Raisa Bratkiv. The book is the first volume of conference papers of the Ukrainian Research Program at the University of Illinois. The book's 20 chapters – which deal with a variety of topics, including religion, literature, theater and Ukraine's relationship with neighboring countries during World War II are predominantly a compilation of papers that were prepared for and read at scholarly conferences organized by the Ukrainian Research Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Several chapters were written specifically for the book, while two chapters, as well as five valuable documents included as part of the appendix to the book, are reprints from publications of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press.

On May 21, a document was signed in Munich in which Ukraine accredited the Ukrainian Free University (UFU). Dr. Leonid Rudnytsky, acting rector of the UFU, and Dr. Volodymyr Machulin, president of the High Accreditation Commission (VAK-Vyscha Atestasiyna Komisia), the official agency that accredits institutions of higher learning in Ukraine, signed an agreement that de facto and de jure fully validates all academic degrees of the UFU. Dr. Anatolii Pohribny, dean of the Faculty of Ukrainian Studies at the UFU and head of the Ukrainian Writers Union, brokered the agreement – the culmination of a five-year process of negotiations between the two institutions. Although the UFU was officially recognized by Ukraine's Ministry of Education as early as November 12, 1992, the VAK had refused to confirm the validity of the University's degrees until now. This accreditation now allows qualified graduate students to obtain academic degrees from

UFU that they can fully benefit from in the future.

Dr. William Kirby, dean of Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences, on July 1, named Prof. Michael Flier as director of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University. Dr. Flier is the Oleksander Potebnja Professor of Ukrainian Philology at Harvard University. His areas of specialization include the history of the Ukrainian language, as well as comparative morphology (the study of word forms) and phonology (the study of distinctive speech sounds) of Slavic languages. Prof. Flier is the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute's fourth director.

Since becoming the Potebnja Professor of Ukrainian Philology in 1991, Dr. Flier has taken an active role in the various areas of academic life at Harvard. From 1994 to 1999 he chaired the department of linguistics, and from 1999 to the present, he has headed the department of Slavic languages and literatures. He is also a member of the editorial board of the journal *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (25 volumes of which have already been published), and oversaw a special edition of the journal on linguistics, philology, dialectology and historical linguistics. He is now preparing the next thematic issue on studies of the Ukrainian language, which is scheduled to come out this year. Prof. Flier outlined important priorities for the institute in publications, support for research in Ukrainian studies, development of Harvard's *Ucrainica* (one of the best Ukrainian library collections in the world), and advocating Ukrainian culture and art in the Cambridge and Boston area.

A portion of Ivan Mazepa's archive, which was thought to have been lost during the destruction of Baturyn by the armies of Peter I in 1708, has been found in St. Petersburg. Dr. Tatiana Yakovleva of St. Petersburg University reported the fascinating discovery at an international conference held in St. Petersburg. The conference, "Ukraine and its Neighbors in the 17th Century" was held on May 27-29.

Dr. Yakovleva discovered papers from Mazepa's archive early in 2004, during her research on Kozak-era documents in the archive of Aleksandr Menshikov – Peter I's right-hand man and the commander of the Russian troops that captured and burned Hetman Mazepa's capital, Baturyn. The discovery of unknown letters by and to the Ukrainian hetman led Dr. Yakovleva to conclude that Mazepa's archive was not burned in Baturyn, but was appropriated by Menshikov. She also believes that Menshikov, a notoriously greedy man, took not only Mazepa's papers, but also his valuable library. The Kowalsky program, one of the conference's sponsors, will co-sponsor further efforts by Dr. Yakovleva and her colleagues to search for and reconstruct Mazepa's archive and library.

"The impacts [of Chernobyl] on the historical and cultural heritage of the region have almost never been discussed," according to Myron Stachiw, director of the project to preserve Polissia's unique cultural heritage. An area of northwestern Ukraine roughly the size of

state of Maine, Polissia is known for its old-growth forests rich with mushrooms, berries and medicinal herbs. An associate professor of historic preservation at Roger Williams University in Bristol, R.I., Prof. Stachiw believes the region has been overlooked by ethnographers. And while data was collected there in the years following the accident, he said little has been done to study it or examine the methods used to collect it. Additionally, he fears other factors have worked against preservation. Looters have reportedly been active in the region, and their bounty stripped Polissia of the artifacts ethnographers often use to document a region's cultural heritage. Buildings, left unoccupied for nearly 20 years, are deteriorating and falling apart, Prof. Stachiw added.

Prof. Stachiw was most recently awarded a Fulbright Research Fellowship to begin the first phase of his work in Ukraine. The fellowship sent him to Kyiv and Lviv from November 2004 to June 2005.

A collaborative duplication project between the Rylskyi Institute of Art, Folklore and Ethnography (Kyiv) and the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress has provided folk music enthusiasts the opportunity to listen to rare field recordings at the Ukrainian cylinder collection which features original archival materials loaned by the Rylskyi Institute to the Folklife Center for restoration and duplication. The recordings from the cylinder collection are culturally and historically significant and indicative of the pre-eminent status Ukrainian folk music scholarship already enjoyed in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, which included the early adoption of the Edison phonograph in fieldwork practice, transcription and musical analysis. The collaborative project was funded in part by several private foundations including the Maria Yasinsky Murowany Foundation, the REX Foundation, the Soros Foundation and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

Dr. Andrii Krawchuk was appointed to succeed Dr. Kenneth-Roy Bonin, who left his position on July 31 after five years, as president of the University of Sudbury. Born in Montreal, Dr. Krawchuk obtained degrees in linguistics and theology from McGill University. He continued his studies at the Academia Alfonsania (Lateran University in Rome), the University of Ottawa and St. Paul University. Dr. Krawchuk also studied at the Grand Séminaire de Montréal and the Seminary of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Dr. Krawchuk has a doctorate in theology, and his specialization is in religious ethics.

On October 15-16, 2004, historians, economists, political scientists, anthropologists and sociologists from Europe and North America gathered in Ottawa for the conference "Understanding the Transformation of Ukraine" organized by the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa. Discussions centered on the evaluation of civil society in Ukraine, addressed by Dr. Wsewolod Isajiw and Dr. Catherine Wanner, among others.

Dr. Isajiw, the long-time professor of sociology at the University of Toronto, stated that the development of a new civil society in Ukraine is incumbent on the development of free media, a fair legal system, uniform law enforcement and the proliferation of community organizations – "NGB's, non-governmental bodies" as Prof. Isajiw put it – which in the case of Ukraine would include private businesses, private schools and hospitals. Dr. Isajiw suggested that the building of civil society does not necessarily have to be associated with NGOs, as it is in Western democracies, but rather with private small business and community projects because they are producing new civil consciousness.

Dr. Wanner, professor of history and religious studies at Penn State University, suggested that the re-building of civil society could start at the level of the family. Ukrainian families, though skeletal in form from the days of the Soviet Union, form cohesive groups which could enable their members to become pro-active on many issues, thus building a new civil order. According to Dr. Wanner, who researches the Evangelical movement in Ukraine, religious tolerance and respect for human rights in the religious domain results in civil society being born and functioning.

"I remain convinced that if the American public were better educated about Ukrainian history, the Pulitzer Committee might have decided differently [about not revoking Walter Duranty's Pulitzer]," said Dr. von Hagen, a professor of Soviet history at Columbia University. In November 2003, after an international postcard and letter-writing campaign asked the Pulitzer Prize Board to revoke Duranty's award, a statement by

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the board announced that it had decided against revocation. The statement said: "In its review of the 13 articles, the board determined that Mr. Duranty's 1931 work, measured by today's standards for foreign reporting, falls seriously short. In that regard, the board's view is similar to that of The New York Times itself and of some scholars who have examined his 1931 reports. However, the board concluded that there was not clear and convincing evidence of deliberate deception, the relevant standard in this case."

The Ukrainian experience in Canada continues to be the focus of research by the Ukrainian Canadian Program (UCP) of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. The writing of the second volume of the history of Ukrainians in Canada – dealing with the turbulent years from the 1920s to the onset of the Cold War – is under way and progressing steadily. The book is being authored by Orest Martynowych, who has already produced a manuscript that is currently in the process of being edited, on the father of Ukrainian Canadian dance and cinema, Vasile Avramenko.

Gene Fishel, a senior analyst for the U.S. State Department, on Thursday, December 2, discussed the current crisis revolving around Ukraine's presidential election at an event sponsored by the Ukraine Study Group (USG) of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI). The lecture attracted some 80 people from the Harvard community, including the Harvard Law School, the Kennedy School of Government, the Harvard Divinity School and the Harvard Slavic Department; from the Ukrainian diaspora in the greater Boston area; and from news outlets, including reporters from the Providence Journal and Ukrainska Pravda.

Whatever the outcome, Mr. Fishel emphasized that through the non-violent protests in Kyiv and elsewhere "the Ukrainians have shown that there is a civil society in Ukraine."

The UNA celebrates its 110th anniversary

One hundred ten – that is the anniversary observed by the Ukrainian National Association in 2004. The UNA, which was founded on February 22, 1894, began the anniversary year with a greeting to its members and a statement addressed to the Ukrainian community at large published on the front pages of its two newspapers, Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly.

"The founding ideals of the Ukrainian National Association – to help the ailing; to pay benefits after members' deaths so their families could be assured of a brighter future; to promote enlightenment among our people through the means of publications; to educate our youth and people with regard to their heritage; to preserve the culture, language and traditions of our native land; and to be a representative voice in the American political arena in order to help our countrymen both here and in Ukraine – have proved to be the guiding principles that remain relevant for our community today."

"110 years – a milestone! And, as such, a time for reflection. 110 years filled with achievements, successes, development and growth," wrote the UNA's Executive Committee. "In the next decade we would like to ensure the UNA's role as the most recognized and effective Ukrainian organization in the United States. We want to redefine ourselves as the central hub organization for all Ukrainian Americans interested in preserving their culture and heritage. We strongly believe that the UNA, with its well-developed infrastructure and expansive and diverse membership, is in the best position to unify our disconnected diaspora community. Our publications provide a well-developed communications network. Building on this as a foundation, the UNA can be the conduit that ties together the widely dispersed community through a new global and electronic communications network. As such, we will continue adhering to the UNA's original purpose: preserving our unique culture heritage, extending charity and maintaining fellowship."

For its part, The Ukrainian Weekly marked the historic landmark by preparing a special issue on the anniversary date and publishing special features highlighting the UNA's 110 years of service to the community throughout the year. And, the design of the "Ukrainian National Association Forum" section in our paper was altered to reflect the anniversary. During 2004 and into the beginning of 2005 The Weekly pub-

lished "Highlights from the UNA's 110-year anniversary" and excerpts of Dr. Myron B. Kuropas' comprehensive history of the UNA under the heading "Ukrainian-American Citadel": from the pages of UNA history." The histories of several UNA branches were also highlighted under the heading "Spotlight on UNA branches."

A Ukrainian-language edition of Dr. Kuropas' book was released in 2004, and the official book launch was held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Warren, Mich., on October 2 under the sponsorship of three Detroit organizations: the Ukrainian National Association's Detroit District Committee, the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Graduates of Detroit and Windsor. The evening marked the 110th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Association.

Svoboda released the 2004 Almanac of the Ukrainian National Association, which was dedicated first and foremost to the 110th anniversary of the establishment of the largest and oldest Ukrainian fraternal organization. The book's first section was devoted to the UNA and included an article by UNA President Stefan Kaczaraj, as well as anniversary greetings from the New Jersey Gov. James McGreevey and the editorial staffs of Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly. The almanac's editor was Petro Chasto of the Svoboda staff.

The oldest work of Ukrainian prose fiction written and set in Canada was made available in March in an English translation by Jars Balan of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. Titled "Ruthenian Easter – and a French Catholic Priest," the short story was authored on May 8, 1897, by the Rev. Nestor Dmytriw, editor of Svoboda, during his historic tour of Ukrainian pioneer settlements in western Canada. Published 12 days later at Mount Carmel, Pa., in the newspaper Svoboda, the story depicts an attempt by immigrants to celebrate a traditional Easter in Calgary while making their way to homesteads in the Kalyna Country region of east central Alberta. The translation appeared in the March-April issue of Alberta Views, a Calgary-based magazine devoted to provincial affairs and the arts. "Ruthenian Easter" was the first installment of a series of anecdotal sketches that appeared in a series called "Scenes from Canada." The Rev. Dmytriw (1863-1925) was a Greek-Catholic priest who was the first Ukrainian clergyman to travel to Canada. He celebrated the first Ukrainian liturgy in Canada in Terebowla, now Valley Spring, Manitoba.

The biggest news of 2004 regarding the UNA concerned its renewed membership in the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, with which it had severed its ties back in 1980. At its 2003 annual meeting the UNA General Assembly had voted to restore the UNA's decades-long relationship with the UCCA on the same basis and status as had been established during its original membership. A UNA statement released after this important vote noted: "It is our sincere hope that this step will serve as an incentive for others to seek common ground on which to build mutual cooperation for the good of our community. For, let us remember, only with unity comes strength." The statement also underscored: "Only from a position of strength and cooperation can we, as a community, have a powerful, united voice in the public arena. As such, the Ukrainian National Association, mindful of the fact it represents a body of over 45,000 members of diverse and varied viewpoints, believes it is essential to foster a cooperative and unifying spirit within our community."

Thus, the UNA's delegates headed to Philadelphia for the 19th Congress of Ukrainian Americans – the quadrennial convention of the UCCA – on September 24-26.

There the UNA's delegates played an active role in the proceedings and three representatives of the UNA were elected to positions on the UCCA National Executive Board. President Kaczaraj was elected first vice-president, a position that also made him, ex officio, the chairman of the UCCA National Council; Treasurer Roma Lisovich was elected a vice-president; and Honorary Member of the General Assembly Kuropas was voted to serve as a member at large.

UNA'ers also succeeded in having the UCCA amend its by-laws. Three amendments were adopted: the first stipulates that the post of first vice-president on the National Executive Board be reserved for a representative of the largest, both in terms of membership and branches, central national organization within the UCCA system; the second provided that a central or national organization has the right to send additional delegates to the Congress of Ukrainians in America based on the number of its members (an organization is entitled to one delegate for the first 5,000 or less members; two del-

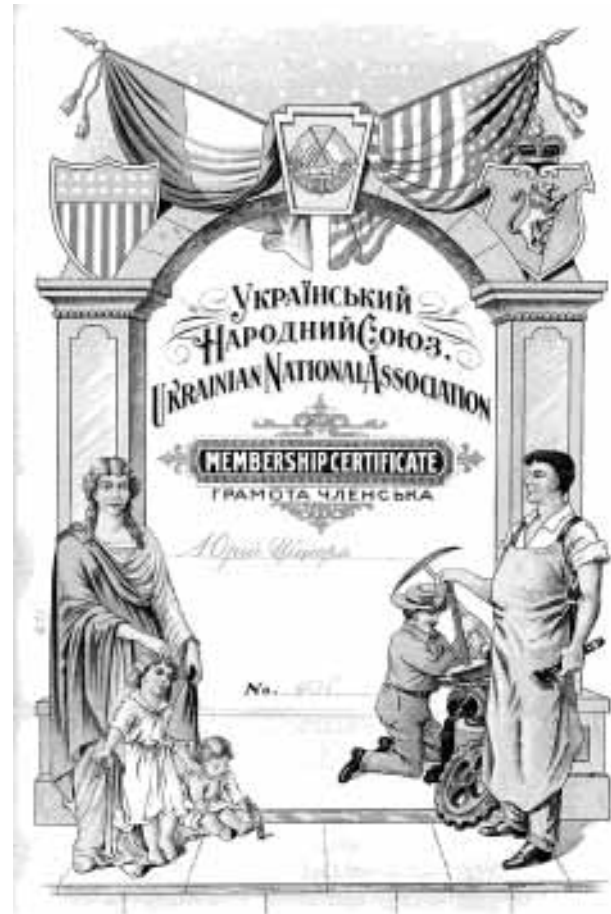
egates for up to 10,000 members; and additional delegates for each additional or partial 5,000 members); and the third amendment stipulated that each national central organization with 2,000 or more members and with a minimum of five branches is entitled to the seat of a vice-president on the National Executive Board.

The congress also drafted a resolution that dealt with the renewed relationship between the UCCA and the UNA. It read: "The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America acknowledges the steps taken by the Ukrainian National Association at its convention in May 2002 in Chicago to undertake the process of renewing its relationship with the UCCA and acknowledges the decision by the UNA General Assembly in November 2003 to vote unanimously to re-establish its membership with the UCCA. The 19th Congress of the UCCA further appreciates the contribution of the UNA and appreciates the good faith efforts made so far which have led to the participation of the UNA in the 19th Congress of the UCCA. The Congress also acknowledges that further refinement of outstanding issues must take place, which will serve to strengthen the relationship and will serve as a means by which to unify Ukrainian American organizations in our community under one central umbrella organization."

The UNA Executive Committee released a statement about the UCCA conclave, noting: "As mandated by the UNA Convention of May 2002 and the General Assembly decision of November 2003 to renew our relationship with the UCCA, the Ukrainian National Association is pleased to have participated in the 19th Congress of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on September 24-26 in Philadelphia. The Ukrainian National Association is pleased also to have taken this historic step toward bringing about unity in our Ukrainian American community. We look forward to continuing the development of an umbrella organization that serves to represent the multiple constituencies in our community."

The 2004 annual meeting of the UNA General Assembly took place on November 19-21 at Soyuzivka. Addressing the sessions, President Kaczaraj summarized his written report, expanded on the financial status of the UNA and reassured the General Assembly members that the UNA is slowly moving in the right direction. He reminded all that the fraternal industry has been suffering in the last decade due to the recession, and many fraternal organizations did not survive. The UNA had not only survived, but slowly is recovering. He emphasized the importance of a qualified sales force to increase UNA insurance sales.

Treasurer Lisovich strongly emphasized working together toward the UNA's success, as well as the success of Soyuzivka and the UNA's publications. She encouraged every secretary and district chairman, and all members of the board to participate in this grand effort, and explained that the UNA's strategy is to



A historic UNA membership certificate dated 1915 – one of many in the 110-year-old organization's archives.

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become more visible in the community, regain its integral role and again become the motivating force of the community. A close partnership with the community serves the UNA well, it was once and is now a successful strategy, she said. The treasurer reported that the financial figures were a little disappointing for the first nine months of 2004. She noted, however, that for the year ending December 2003 – for the first time in a decade – there was a surplus increase. However, this year, due to contributing factors that surplus will not appear, she added. The slow economic recovery has made consumer demand for insurance and annuity products lower. Therefore, premium income decreased from \$3,722,000 in 2003 to \$3,042,000 in 2004.

National Secretary Christine E. Kozak reported on the membership status of the UNA, noting a slow upturn in sales of policies – 54 more policies were sold in the first nine months of 2004 than in 2003 for the same time frame for a total face amount of \$5,230,062. The UNA annuity product, she said, had been doing rather well, with a total of 76 annuities sold in nine months of 2004 for premiums collected of \$1,428,849. Ms. Kozak pointed out that the slow upswing in sales is credited to the professional sales force hired by Western Catholic Union that is working primarily in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Florida.

Besides reviewing all facets of UNA activity, the General Assembly set the date of the 36th UNA Convention for May 24-28, 2006, at Soyuzivka.

Other news related to the General Assembly included the naming of Gloria Horbaty of New Haven, Conn., as a UNA advisor. Ms. Horbaty, who comes from a long-standing active UNA family and has been the secretary of Branch 414, since 1998, replaced Advisor Barbara Bachynsky, who has served on the General Assembly board since 1998 but resigned in 2004. The announcement of her appointment appeared in *The Weekly* on October 10.

Meanwhile, at the Home Office, Oksana Trytjak, previously the UNA's special projects and fraternal activities coordinator, was tapped on September 1 for the new position of national organizer. The role of the national organizer was described in a UNA news release published on October 3 as "working on a national level to increase awareness of the UNA within the Ukrainian community." Among the projects undertaken by Ms. Trytjak: coordination of the UNA's mailing of Christmas cards and New Year's greetings to Ukrainian American men and women serving in U.S. armed forces around the globe.

Also during 2004, the UNA Auditing Committee conducted two reviews of UNA operations: on May 24-27 and on November 16-18. The Auditing Committee reviewed the implementation of resolutions of the 35th Convention of the UNA, the activity of the financial and organizing departments, UNA publications, and the administrative and financial state of the UNA resort Soyuzivka, among other matters.

Meanwhile, the full Executive Committee of the UNA – that is the three execs who work full-time at the Home Office, president, national secretary and treasurer;

plus the UNA's vice-presidents and its director for Canada – met thrice: on March 26, July 9 and September 17.

In terms of fraternal benefits to UNA members, there were a few developments during 2004. First, new UNA member benefit was launched on April 12, as announced by National Secretary Christine E. Kozak: "This is an extremely exciting time for the UNA. In honor of the UNA's 110th anniversary, and as always, keeping the UNA's membership in mind, we are proud to announce the ScriptSave Prescription Drug Discount Card." The discount card that is accepted in over 33,000 participating pharmacies in the United States; it not only offers instant savings on prescriptions, it also offers savings on vision care, hearing care, diabetes supplies and health aids. The ScriptSave program was free to all members who chose to enroll by simply contacting the UNA Home Office.

Later in the year, in September, the UNA rolled out its Guaranteed Issue Whole Life Plan. The plan is available to UNA members for \$3,000 or \$5,000 of coverage. Members between the ages of 35 and 90 who already have an active premium-paying policy, a single-premium policy, a paid-up policy or an annuity, are eligible to purchase the Guaranteed Issue Whole Life Plan regardless of their past or current health status. National Secretary Kozak explained that the "Guaranteed Issue Whole Life Plan is a way for the UNA to show appreciation to its members for their continued support during the past 110 years, by offering a no-questions-asked policy."

Also in September, UNA executive officers approved a new member benefit for UNA annuity holders: along with the 10 percent free withdrawal offered by the UNA, the UNA would now provide free withdrawals of funds for terminal illness, nursing home confinement and medical expenses.

At the UNA's upstate New York resort, Soyuzivka, there was news about new activities, especially in the form of new camps for children and teens. The resort inaugurated an Exploration Day Camp, a supervised day camp for children age 7-10; Adventure Camp, a sleepover camp geared for youths age 13-16 that focused on outdoor activities; and Discovery Camp, a new sleepover program modeled after the Adventure Camp but geared for children age 8-12. Overseeing Soyuzivka's camps, as well as a host of activities for the resort's guests, was Walter Nalywayko, who began working with the resort as its activities director during Memorial Day weekend of 2003.

The Ukrainian Weekly's "Soyuzivka Scrapbook" feature attempted to keep up with all the goings on and new developments at the resort via photos and brief news items.

In April the Brooklyn Ukrainian Group (BUG) gathered 13 volunteers to rake the grounds, clean out the hiking trails and haul away old appliances at Soyuzivka. "They saved me \$10,000," Soyuzivka's general manager, Nestor Paslawsky, said. Maya Lew, the organizer of BUG's clean-up campaign, commented on what motivated the group: "Anyone who has even one fond mem-

ory of Soyuzivka does not want to lose the resort and wants to see it succeed. Volunteering our time helps to lighten some of their workload while hopefully saving money for the UNA, and gives us the opportunity to feel as though we're an active part of Soyuzivka's continued success. It's a win-win situation."

Members of other groups, such as Plast and SUM, cleared new hiking trails. Other Soyuzivka benefactors took a more traditional route, purchasing benches (a \$2,000 donation recognizes the donor with a plaque on the bench) or bricks (a \$250 donation recognizes the donor with an inscription on the brick).

Meanwhile, the UNA announced long-term plans to build condo townhouses on the resort's property. The sale of the townhouses will allow the UNA to put money back into Soyuzivka and will serve as a hub for the community. The townhouses will be sold in groups of 40, with the first phase to be built near the Kyiv villa, the second behind the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the third down the hill from the resort.

In other news during 2004, former Ukrainian National Association sales agent Joseph Binczak, who pleaded guilty to stealing from the association, was sentenced on January 7 to three years in state prison. The judge also imposed a condition of restitution, requiring Mr. Binczak to pay approximately \$570,000 to the UNA. As Mr. Binczak currently had no assets, according to the state prosecutor's office, the UNA said it would continue to pursue Mr. Binczak and any of his future assets through actions in civil court.

It was in November of 2002 that the UNA had informed its members that the State of New Jersey had brought criminal charges against Mr. Binczak, accusing him of theft, forging signatures and falsifying documents in a scheme to fraudulently obtain funds from the annuity accounts of seven UNA members. In September 2003, Mr. Binczak voluntarily pleaded guilty to charges of theft by deception and awaited sentencing.

UNA President Kaczaraj commented on the sentencing: "The UNA is pleased that this case is coming to an end. Nonetheless, we remain stunned by Mr. Binczak's deep violation of our community's trust. For almost two years the UNA quietly cooperated with New Jersey state authorities to gather evidence about these acts of theft that occurred between 1996 and 2000. No Ukrainian National Association policyholder suffered any financial loss, since the UNA made full and immediate restitution to our victimized members."

Other developments at the UNA included the following:

- Local and regional officers, along with employees of the Ukrainian National Association, attended a special seminar on annuities held at the UNA Corporate Headquarters on Saturday, January 31. The daylong seminar featured Robert Mitchell, a certified senior advisor (CSA), who covered the technical aspects of the annuities and IRAs, as well as presented ideas on how to market annuities. The seminar was designed to give participants answers to all those questions they face when selling annuities. Attendees included UNAers from Connecticut, New Jersey and New York state, including the metro New York City area, as well as regions upstate and in the western part of the state.

- The February 29 (yes the 29th – it was a leap year) included a four-page pull-out section on the UNA's 2003-2004 scholarship program and the 123 students who received a total of \$23,550 in scholarship awards for that academic year. (Look for the 2004-2005 scholarship winners in a special section to be released in early 2005.)

- The "Insurance Matters" column by UNA Advisor Joseph Hawryluk, a New York State licensed insurance agent, was introduced to readers of the "Ukrainian National Association Forum" on April 4.

- In June the UNA nominated Anna Chopek, honorary member of the Ukrainian National Association's General Assembly, for the 2004 Fraternalist of the Year Award to be presented by the National Fraternal Congress of America. Ms. Chopek, who turned 92 in 2004, was a UNA supreme advisor from 1958 to 1978; she has been an honorary member of the General Assembly since 1978. In addition, she is president of the UNA Seniors, a post she has held since 1996. UNA National Secretary Christine E. Kozak wrote in her nomination letter that Ms. Chopek "is a woman deserving of the title [of Fraternalist of the Year] for her constant activity in the community and fraternal association for over 60 years." The NFCA website, which carried news of Ms. Chopek's nomination, noted that the UNA was the first membership society to submit a nomination for the 2004 award.

- The 30th Conference of UNA Seniors was held at



Roma Hadzewycz

UNA President Stefan Kaczaraj addresses the opening session of the 19th Congress of Ukrainians in America – the first UCCA congress since 1980 in which the Ukrainian National Association participated.

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Camp director Walter Nalywayko with children enrolled in the Exploration Day Camp during a hike to the cliffs of Soyuzivka, the resort of the Ukrainian National Association.

Soyuzivka on June 13-18. Anna Chopek, who had led the organization since 1996, stepped down, and Oksana Trytjak was elected in her stead. The new president pledged to increase membership in the organization.

- On June 18-20 the UNA hosted American families who had adopted children from Ukraine at an Adoptive Families Weekend at Soyuzivka. The retreat had several goals, but foremost it was meant to help American parents learn more about the culture and traditions of their Ukrainian children, according to officials from the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington, Ukraine's Consulate General in New York and the UNA, who together organized the inaugural event. "We saw that some American families have no information about Ukraine, but we also saw that they want to know [about the country]," Ukraine's vice consul in New York, Andrii Nadzhos said. Martha Lysko, first vice-president of the UNA, said some 30 families, for a total of 120 people, attended the event.

- On November 3 the UNA announced a new joint project with the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund. Representatives of the two organizations met on November 3 at the UNA Corporate Headquarters to ratify the agreement, launching a nationwide campaign to sign up new members who would designate CCRF as a beneficiary of their life insurance policy. "For 110 years, the Ukrainian National Association has worked for the benefit of the Ukrainian community throughout North America and around the world," said UNA National Organizer Trytjak. "With this in mind, the UNA has begun a program of gift-giving to various organizations through our UNA insurance gift giving program." This program was initiated with the approval of UNA executives and the president of the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund, Dr. Zenon Matkiwsky. The UNA Gift-Giving Program was officially launched at CCRF's National Convention on November 20 as part of a gala fund-raising banquet celebrating the 15th anniversary of the fund's first medical shipment to Ukraine.

- The UNA designed a similar charitable program to support the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine's elite national university. That new program was announced at a ceremony attended by UNA President Kaczaraj, National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy president Dr. Viacheslav Briukhovetsky and Kyiv Mohyla Foundation president Ihor Wyslotsky at the Ukrainian Institute of America on November 5. The program provides the opportunity to purchase a life insurance policy, name the Kyiv Mohyla Foundation as the beneficiary for the benefit of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, and deduct the full amount of premium payment from income taxes.

- In early December, with Ukraine headed for the

third round of its presidential election, the UNA issued an appeal to its members and the community at large to support the participants of the Orange Revolution who were demonstrating for fairness and justice in Ukraine. The UNA sought donations to help the cause of free and fair elections through its Ukrainian National Foundation.

- In late December UNA President Kaczaraj of New Jersey and UNA Director for Canada Al Kachkowski of Saskatchewan were among the thousands of election monitors sent from various parts of the world to observe the December 26 election. In addition, the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Association decided to donate \$5,000 in support of young election observers who would be traveling to Ukraine as part of the group organized by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. The funds, \$500 each to help defray costs of airfare, were to be distributed to 10 young activists who are members of the UNA and active in Ukrainian community life. In a letter to the UCCA, UNA Treasurer Lisovich underscored: "We commend them for their ardent passion and their efforts in ensuring that the democratic process in Ukraine is upheld. We are especially proud that many of these young activists are also UNA members. ... We are proud of our young people and commend them for their commitment and support of Ukraine in its fight for democracy."

Sports: individual and team triumphs

This year saw many triumphs for Ukrainian sports. From individual achievements to great national successes, 2004 is a year that will be remembered fondly in the annals of sports history.

Boxing

Or should this section simply be called "The Klitschkos"?

The retirement of Lennox Lewis in early 2004 crushed the hopes of many in seeing a rematch with Vitalii Klitschko, leaving many questions to the legitimacy of Lewis' championship. This forced Vitalii to seek a different opponent. Discussions began about a fight with South Africa Corey Sanders, who knocked out the younger Klitschko, Volodymyr nearly a year ago.

On April 10 Volodymyr Klitschko (42-3-0) lost by TKO to Lamon Brewster, who captured the World Boxing Organization (WBO) belt. Klitschko had dominated the fight but lost his strength just after the fifth round. After the fight a blood sample revealed an unchar-

acteristically high level of sugar in his blood. This loss, together with the previous, to Sanders, left many in the boxing world questioning Volodymyr's boxing future. Volodymyr later spoke of his desire for a rematch.

On April 24 Vitalii Klitschko (34-2-0) won the highly regarded World Boxing Council (WBC) heavyweight championship by pummeling Sanders at the Staples Center in Los Angeles. Klitschko landed 230 punches, while Sanders managed to land only 51. After the dominating performance, Vitalii challenged Lewis to fight the re-match he was promised.

This win further catapulted the national star to glory as Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma signed a decree on April 26 awarding Vitalii Klitschko the Order of Courage medal for his victory against Sanders. The decree said that Klitschko's achievements have made him an example of courage, self-sacrifice and the will to win.

On April 25, the day after his championship fight, Vitalii Klitschko flew to Chicago, where thousands of blue and yellow balloons and flags greeted the newly anointed heavyweight champ. Vitalii was in town for two city events: first, a welcoming ceremony to be attended by hundreds of Klitschko boxing fans and, later that evening, a formal banquet with 400 guests who would convene at Chicago's elegant Union League Club to celebrate Vitalii and Volodymyr Klitschko and their longtime advisor and confidante, Mayor Oleksander O. Omelchenko of Kyiv.

Meanwhile, in New York City, the Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA) will honor Vitalii and Volodymyr Klitschko with its 2004 "Man of the Year" Award, it was announced on July 12. The ceremony will be held early in 2005.

On November 15 the Klitschko brothers endorsed democratic opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko's bid for the presidency of Ukraine. Their appeal to fellow Ukrainians appeared on their website saying: "Put aside your affairs and go to the polling stations to cast your vote for the future of Ukraine – for Viktor Yushchenko!"

On December 11 Vitalii Klitschko defeated Danny Williams in the heaviest heavyweight fight ever, with a total of 520 pounds in the ring. Klitschko's victory by technical knockout came at 1:26 of the eighth round, after Williams was knocked down for the fourth time. Klitschko dedicated his victory to democracy in Ukraine.

The Associated Press quoted him in saying "I feel this was the best performance of my career, but this victory was not just for me, but also for democracy in Ukraine." Vitalii, who wore an orange flag on his trunks, dominated his opponent by outboxing Williams 296 to 44. Now Klitschko is seen as the top heavyweight boxer in the world.

In November, on the third day of the Orange Revolution, crowd of over 100,000 Ukrainians went wild when Vladimir Klitschko took the stage in Kyiv's Independence Square. Wearing a bright orange scarf and tie, he addressed the crowd: "Just as in sports, political battles are fought according to clearly defined rules. If an athlete breaks those rules, then he is disqualified and the results are annulled." The political involvement of the heavyweight boxing brothers surprised many, but also galvanized the immense crowds that had been protesting for weeks.

Olympics

Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich announced on June 18 that Ukraine would pay double what it offered four years ago to athletes winning medals at the 2004 Summer Olympic Games in Athens. It meant that Ukrainian athletes received \$100,000 for each gold medal won, \$70,000 for a silver medal and \$50,000 for a bronze, while coaches received half that amount.

Thousands of Ukrainians lined the streets on July 5 to watch as the official Olympic Flame made its way through the streets of Kyiv on its way to Athens for the opening ceremonies of the 2004 Summer Olympic Games. Past Olympians, as well as regular citizens, had the honor of carrying the flame.

A couple of thousand people gathered on Independence Square in Kyiv on August 10 for a gala send-off for the 243 athletes who comprised Ukraine's Olympic team as they prepared to leave for the 28th Summer Games.

Once in Athens, Olena Kostevych, won Ukraine's first gold medal in sharp shooting (10-meter air pistol), while swimmer Yana Klochkova won two gold medals (400-meter and 200-meter individual medley). Other Olympic champion performances were turned in by: Yurii Bilonoh in shot put, Natalia Skakun in weightlifting (63 kg), Yurii Nikitin in trampoline, Valerii

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On stage at Kyiv's Independence Square during the Orange Revolution: presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko with boxing champion Vladimir Klitschko and award-winning singer Ruslana.



Vitalii Klitschko is welcomed to Chicago by the Ukrainian community.

Honcharov on the parallel bars, Iryna Merleni in freestyle wrestling (48 kg), and Elbrus Tedeyev in freestyle wrestling (66 kg).

Olena Krasovska hurdled to a silver medal (100 meters), while Roman Hontiuk fought to a silver in judo (81 kg). Ihor Razorionov earned silver in weightlifting (105 kg). Ukraine also earned two silver medals in sailing (yngling and 49er).

Vladyslav Tretyak added a bronze in fencing (saber), as did Andrii Serdinov in swimming (100-meter butterfly), Tetiana Tereschuk-Antypova in the hurdles (400 meters), Hanna Bezsonova in rhythmic gymnastics and Viktoriya Stiopina in the high jump. Likewise, Ukraine earned bronze medals in men's team archery, women's team handball, men's rowing (quadruple sculls) and women's kayak fours (500).

Ultimately, Ukraine finished in the first dozen in both the gold medal (9) standings with nine and in the overall medal count with 23.

Hockey

Ukrainian Ruslan Fedotenko helped the Tampa Bay Lightning win the Stanley Cup by scoring twice in the seventh game of the final. The win marked a victory also for Ukrainian Canadian Dave Andreychuk in his 22nd NHL season.

The Stanley Cup arrived in Kyiv on July 19 accompanied by Fedorenko, a Kyiv native. At a ceremony at the Hall of Columns in Kyiv's City Hall, Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko offered congratulatory words and then presented Mr. Fedotenko, his wife, Debbie, and his father,

Viktor Fedotenko, who had accompanied the hockey star to the ceremony, with watches. The mayor also bestowed the city's highest honor, the "Znak Poshany," or Award of Reverence, to the Stanley Cup champion, who also garnered the title of Merited Sportsman of Ukraine.

World's Strongest Man

Kyivan Vasyl Virastyuk, who hails originally from Ivano-Frankivsk, claimed the title of "World's Strongest Man" at the World Strongman Championship in the Bahamas on October 3.

Gymnastics

Ukrainian gymnast and Olympic medalist Oleksander Beresh was killed in a car accident when his Peugeot collided with a BMW on February 29 in Kyiv. Beresh, 26, won an individual bronze medal in the men's all-around competition and shared a silver medal with teammates Valerii Honcharov, Ruslan Mezentsev, Valerii Pereshkura, Oleksander Svitlychnyi and Roman Zozulia in the men's team competition at the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, Australia.

Ukraine's Alina Kozich took the gold medal in the all-around competition at the 2004 European Women's Gymnastics Championships held in Amsterdam on April 29-May 2. Ukraine took second place in the women's senior team competition, finishing with a combined score of 111.247. The Romanian team took first place with a score of 112.772.

In individual competition: Ukraine's Iryna Krasnynskaya took third place in the uneven bars; Olha

Sherbatykh of Ukraine took fourth place in the vault; and Iryna Krasnynskaya earned fourth place in the balance beam.

Swimming

Ukrainian Olympian Serhii Fesenko trained in Michigan in preparation for the 2004 Summer Olympics in Athens. From the beginning of January until the middle of February, he trained with the Wolverine Club, a group of Olympic-caliber, non-collegiate swimmers from all over the globe. The club trains in Ann Arbor on the campus of the University of Michigan at Canham Natatorium, a world-class facility. Other individuals and institutions of the Ukrainian American community of southeastern Michigan welcomed Fesenko to the area, arranging visits to Detroit and to local Ukrainian churches, a radio interview, a visit to Saturday school to meet with Ukrainian American students and other such social events. "The Ukrainian community here left me with very nice impressions," said Fesenko. "They are hospitable, helpful and genuinely care about Ukraine despite their geographical distance from it."

Yana Klochkova took four first-place finishes and a second in various events at a Federation Internationale de Natation (FINA) World Cup event held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on February 6-8.

Ukraine's Fesenko took two third-place finishes at a FINA World Cup event held in New York on January 30-31.

Klochkova took two first places, a third and a fourth at the same New York FINA event. Ukrainian Canadian Joanne Malar took a second and a third as well.



Ruslan Fedotenko of the Tampa Bay Lightning raises the Stanley Cup in Kyiv.



Ukraine's Iryna Melnyk Merleni is jubilant after winning the Olympic gold medal in women's freestyle 48kg wrestling.

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Ukraine captured the team title at the 2004 European Swimming Championships held in Madrid on May 5-16 with a total of 12 gold medals, two silver and two bronze.

The Ukrainian pair of Roman Volodkov and Anton Zakharov took first place in the men's 10-meter synchronized platform competition at the same event. Volodkov added another first in the individual 10-meter event, Kristina Ischenko and Olena Fedorova took third in the women's three-meter competition, while Olena Zhupina of Ukraine took second place in the women's 10-meter platform

Figure skating

Ukraine's Elena Hrushina and Ruslan Honcharov took fourth place in the ice dance competition at the 2004 World Championships held in Dortmund, Germany, on March 22-28.

Track and field

Ivan Heshko of Ukraine took first place in the men's 1,500-meter event at the Norwich Union Grand Prix in Birmingham, England, on February 20.

Ukraine's Vita Pavlysh took first place in the women's shot put at the 10th International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) World Indoor Championships held in Budapest, Hungary, on March 5-7 with a throw of 67.22 feet.

Also in Budapest, in the men's 1,500-meter event, Ukraine's Heshko took second place, finishing the race in 3 minutes and 52.34 seconds. Ukraine's Denys Yurchenko took third place in the men's pole vault by clearing a height of 18.70 feet. Natalia Dobrynska of Ukraine took second place in the women's pentathlon, finishing the five-event competition with 4,727 points.

Pavlysh, a two-time European champion, was banned from international competition for life and stripped of her world indoor title after having twice tested positive for steroids, the Associated Press reported on July 2. "From now on, she will never ... have any relations with athletics, even coaching or participating in any delegation," Yuri Karpiuk, head of the Ukrainian shot put federation, told the AP.

Cycling

Ukraine's Serhii Honchar took second place in the Tour of Italy bike race on May 31. At several points during the multi-stage race Ukraine's Yaroslav Popovich had the over all lead of the multi-stage bike race, but he could not beat back a surging Italian team that eventually took first and third place.

Volleyball

Ukrainian Lena Ustylenko was named to the American Volleyball Coaches Association (AVCA) All-Midwest Region First Team on December 10, 2003. Ustylenko is a sophomore middle blocker and outside hitter on the University of Louisville's varsity volleyball team. Additionally, Ustylenko earned First All-Conference USA honors and was named Conference USA tournament most valuable player, leading her team in kills and attacks. The Louisville Cardinals volleyball team won the Conference USA tournament title and a share of the regular season crown.

Baseball

Baseball has become quite popular in Ukraine, where the Ukrainian Little League Championship celebrated its 10th anniversary. The Little League team from Kirovohrad won its third consecutive championship by defeating the Kyiv entry 11-2 in the finals. U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Herbst awarded the first-place medals to the winners. Also noteworthy was the first ever appearance of Little League teams from two orphanages who played a series of exhibition games. The teams from the Zhytomyr and Radomyshl orphanages played their first games on a Little League field. Some of the players actually ran toward third base instead of first after hitting the ball, but after a little coaching all went well.

On July 20-25 Ukraine's National Junior Team traveled to Zagreb, Croatia, to compete at the European Junior Baseball Championships, Group B. Ukraine faced Austria, Hungary and Moldova in group play and won all three games with a combined score of 72-6. Next up was Croatia, host country, in the semifinal. Ukraine won easily 17-0. Only Poland stood in the way of Ukraine winning its second European title. Ukraine eked out a 4-3 victory to capture the European Championship.

On July 31-August 6 the Senior European Baseball

Championships were held in Rybnik - Zory, Poland, where Ukraine won regardless of a three-way tie for the best record.

Sports in the diaspora

- The Carpathian Ski Club held its 50th anniversary ski races at Ski Windham in upstate New York on February 28, with racing in age groups ranging from 6 and under to 55 and over. Ninety-nine competitors signed up for the jubilee races – the vast majority of them skiers, although there was a sprinkling of snowboarders among the participants. That evening, approximately 180 people – athletes of all ages, their families and friends, as well as supporters of KLC who had traveled from near and far, including such cities as Reno, Nev., and Ternopil, Ukraine – attended the awards banquet held at nearby Hunter Mountain Ski Lodge.

- On May 29 and 30 the Ukrainian Sport Club Chernyk was home to the ninth annual Great Lakes Cup soccer tournament. The games and festivities were held at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic School in Warren, Mich. Thirteen teams competed in the Great Lakes Cup men's open and men's over-30 divisions. In the championship game of the men's open Toronto Ukraina faced Yonkers Krylati. The match ended in a 1-1 tie and continued through overtime. Ultimately, the tie was resolved through penalty shots, which resulted in Krylati's victory.

- The Ukrainian Athletic-Educational Association Chornomorska Sitch of Newark, N.J., celebrated its 80th anniversary this year. It was also the 35th anniversary of the Chornomorska Sitch Sports School held at Verkhovyna, N.Y.

Anniversary celebrations consisted of several stages: the first was a series of jubilee sports events: the chess championship of the Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S.A. and Canada (USCAK); the USCAK-East soccer championship hosted by Sitch; and the USCAK swimming and tennis championships held at Soyuzivka. In the summer months there was also a three-week jubilee training camp for Ukrainian youth at the Chornomorska Sitch Sports School. The jubilee celebrations were topped off with a banquet and ball on October 2 attended by some 200 guests, including representatives of other Ukrainian sports organizations, as well as individual sports activists, at the Ramada Hotel in East Hanover, N.J.

- The 48th annual swimming championships of the Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S.A. and Canada (USCAK) was held on September 4 at the Soyuzivka resort, where more than 60 swimmers participated.

It was also the site of the 49th annual Tennis Tournament, where 67 entrants battled the heat and each other in friendly tennis competition. The winner of the men's final was Eric Matkiwsky of New Jersey, who overcame Rostyslav Orach 6-2, 6-2. Last year's women's winner, 14-year-old Maryana Milchutske, originally from Kryvyi Rih, Ukraine, won both the women's and girls' final without losing a single set.

- The fifth annual Co-Ed Quads Volleyball Tournament sponsored by the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM) was held on August 9, at the SUM resort (Oselia) in Ellenville, N.Y. Nine teams played in the tournament.

The noteworthy: people and events

Our "Year in Review" section is divided into various distinct categories. However, there are plenty of notable stories that can never quite fit into any of those categories. The following are noteworthy events, listed in the order in which they reported, cited by The Weekly in 2004:

Canadian Ukrainian Myroslaw Tracz of Winnipeg received the Canadian Peacekeeping Service Medal (CPSM) in a private ceremony in January for his work as an elections officer in Kosovo. From February to April 1999, Mr. Tracz helped set the conditions for peaceful, successful democratic elections in a part of the world that had been for too long unfamiliar with democratic procedures. The award was presented by Dr. Ray Pagtakham, minister of western economic diversification and member of Parliament for Winnipeg North-St. Paul. The CPSM was established by the Queen in 1988, following the award of that year's Nobel Peace Prize to all peacekeepers, to specifically honor Canadians sent abroad in United Nations peacekeeping missions.

Author Victor Malarek completed an eye-opening



Victor Malarek

book on the trafficking of women for the sex trade titled, "The Natashas – The new Global Sex Trade." Within two weeks, a second printing of the book by Viking Press in Canada was needed due to the high demand. Arcade Publishing, based in New York City, purchased U.S. rights to the book. Mr. Malarek and numerous TV and radio appearances, as well as speaking engagements, to raise awareness of the tragedy of the sex trade. The author donated proceeds from the Toronto book launch to establish a fund for Help Us Help the Children's "Anti-Trafficking Initiative."

- Australian-born actor and movie producer Mel Gibson made headlines worldwide with his highly successful movie on Christ's crucifixion, "The Passion of the Christ." The movie stirred up much controversy, as did a comment made by Mr. Gibson during an interview with Peggy Noonan for the March issue of Reader's Digest. In that interview, the movie producer acknowledged the tragedy that was the Holocaust, and went on to state that other genocides also must not be forgotten. Mr. Gibson explained how "several million starved to death between 1932 and 1933 [during the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide], and that "during the last century some 20 million people died in the Soviet Union." For acknowledging these other acts of genocide and, in some people's eyes, downplaying the importance of the Holocaust, Mr. Gibson was condemned by Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Los Angeles-based Simon Wiesenthal Center and by Abraham Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League.

- In February The Ukrainian Weekly reported on how 33-year-old Ternopil-born electromechanical engineer Vasyl Kapeniak fulfilled a dream of his – to start a TV channel dedicated to Ukrainian happenings in sports, culture and current events. A 1992 immigrant from Ukraine, Mr. Kapeniak was upset by the lack of Ukrainian programming coming into America and the lack of press freedom in Ukraine, so he decided to take action and create a website, www.ukrainatv.com, that would fill the gap.

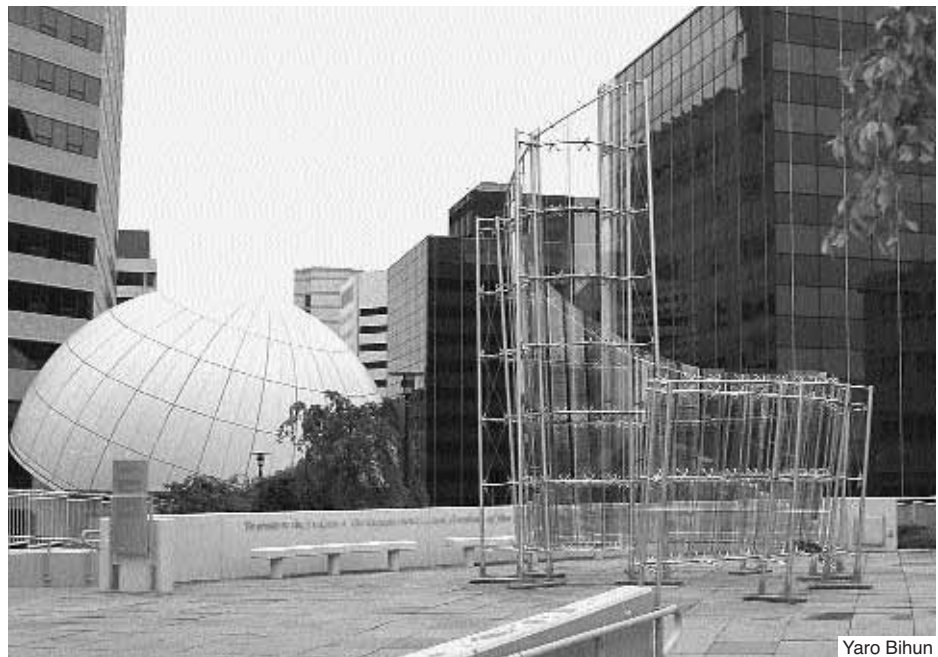
- The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee was blessed with an award of \$600,000 from the estate of Sylvia Blake of the Detroit area. Ms. Blake, born to Ukrainian parents, spent 35 years teaching. However, after her retirement she became fascinated by the stock market and did very well, with an estate worth about \$1 million at the time of her death in 2000. She got in touch with her Ukrainian roots after visiting Soviet Ukraine in 1971. The UUARTC decided to focus its efforts on more remote, underdeveloped parts of Ukraine that were in desperate need of even basic medications and medical equipment. The first \$100,000 was invested in ambulances for 14 county hospitals from Kharkiv to Ivano-Frankivsk, crucial to remote villages that are often many kilometers from anything resembling a medical facility.

- The American Egg Board chose Ukrainian American Ruth Olienyk Radebaugh to design an egg to represent the state of North Dakota. All 50 states were to submit one egg that would be exhibited at the White House in April. Dividing the egg into four panels, Ms. Radebaugh filled in each panel with a symbol of North Dakota: a map of the state; a buffalo, an eagle and wheat stalks; a wild rose; and the explorers Lewis and Clark.

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The name of Taras Protsyuk, among the 53 journalists killed during 2003, was added in 2004 to the Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial near Washington.



The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial near Washington also added the name of Gareth Jones, who reported the truth about Ukraine's Famine-Genocide.

- Ukrainian Canadian Bohdanna Zwonok submitted Mount Kilimanjaro – Africa's highest peak at 19,340 feet – in mid-February to raise money and awareness for victims of the 1986 Chernobyl disaster. Ms. Zwonok and a Canadian climbing friend, Vivian Elferink, planned to raise \$19,340, one dollar for each vertical foot, for various rehabilitation programs, medical clinics and equipment, as well as orphanages and summer camps in Ukraine. The money was to be donated to two charities, the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund and the Children of Chernobyl Canadian Fund.

- Across the Potomac River from Washington, is the Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, a series of panels listing the names of all known journalists who were killed in the line of duty since 1812. This year 53 new names were added to the 1,475 already present, making 2003 the deadliest year for journalists since World War II. Among the 53 names was that of 35-year-old Reuters television cameraman Taras Protsyuk, who was one of 20 journalists killed during the war in Iraq last year. Two journalists were belatedly recognized and honored during the ceremony, including 30-year-old Gareth Jones, a Welsh freelance journalist who reported the truth about the Famine-Genocide in Ukraine. His stories appeared in the London Evening Standard and other newspapers. In 1935 Jones was killed by Chinese bandits while reporting in the Far East.

- Volodymyr Starosolsky – Ukrainian lawyer, sociologist, and civil and political leader – was honored with a plaque at his old home on 14 Copernicus St. in Lviv, where he lived and worked from 1905 through 1918. The Shevchenko Scientific Society, to which Mr. Starosolsky belonged to since 1923, led the effort to install a plaque commemorating the leading Ukrainian

figure, who was arrested by the Soviets in 1939, sentenced to hard labor and died in Siberia in 1942. Mr. Starosolsky's deeds included being the first president of the paramilitary Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and acting as a defense lawyer for Ukrainians arrested by the authorities for opposing the Polish occupation of western Ukrainian lands.

- In June a plaque commemorating Mykola Dosinchuk-Chorny (1918-1999) was unveiled at the building on Lviv's Market Square where he lived in the 1930s. After joining the insurgency fighting the Soviets, Mr. Dosinchuk-Chorny was forced to flee to America after World War II, where he took up the cause of promoting Ukraine's cultural heritage. From his home in New York City, he began a life-long pursuit of promoting Ukraine's national instrument, the bandura. In 1973 he established the New York School of Bandura, and in 1981 began publishing a quarterly called Bandura Magazine. He toured extensively through the Western hemisphere and Europe to promote the instrument, frequently meeting with other bandura instructors or personally delivering banduras to eager students.

- In March 2000 Captain Dmytron Biriukovich and his schooner *Batkivschyna* left Kyiv with a simple mission: to raise the world's awareness of Ukraine, its culture, history and people. As of August 2004, the storm-battered schooner (believed to have been lost on several occasions) had sailed through the Mediterranean, across the Atlantic to North America, down to the Panama Canal, across the Pacific to Hawaii and New Zealand, and was docked in Sydney, seeking a crew and funds for repair. Up to then the captain had relied heavily on the generosity of Ukrainians in the countries he visited for financial support, but Mr. Biriukovich still needed approximately \$100,000 to repair his schooner and complete the Discover Ukraine Project.

- Burke's Peerage, a British research group of ancestry and aristocracy, claimed that in every U.S. presidential race, the candidate with more blood ties to European royalty has won the race to the White House. At the conclusion of their research, they predicted the Democratic presidential candidate Sen. John Kerry would triumph. According to Harold Brooks-Baker, the director of Burke's Peerage, Sen. Kerry had more royal blood than George W. Bush, being able to claim as relatives such figures as Richard the Lionhearted, Ivan the Terrible, and the shahs of Iran. Interestingly enough, Sen. Kerry is also related to Henry I of France and his wife, Anna Yaroslavna, the daughter of Kyivan-Rus' ruler Yaroslav Mudryi (the Wise). Nonetheless, Sen. Kerry lost the election, breaking a presidential election trend of over 220 years.

- In the world of philately, an unusual joint Ukrainian-Estonian issue showing the "Rout From the Varangians to the Greeks" won the prestigious Heorhiy Narbut prize for 2003, breaking a six-year trend of souvenir sheets winning first place. The Narbut prize is sponsored by the Ukrainian Philatelic and Numismatic Society (UPNS), a U.S.-based group recognized as the premier philatelic art award in Ukraine. Inger Kuzych, the man behind *The Weekly's* "Focus on Philately" column, established the Narbut prize in 1993 and is currently the chair of UPNS.

- Ukrainians again were prominently featured on a list of Central and Eastern Europe's 50 richest persons. *Wprost*, a Polish weekly magazine, had five Ukrainians

on the list, with the richest Ukrainian being Rynat Akhmetov, who doubled his capital in 2004 to \$3.5 billion, putting him sixth on the list of 50. Viktor Pinchuk, a national deputy and President Kuchma's son-in-law, ranked 10th with \$2.5 billion. Other Ukrainians included Ihor Kolomoiskii, the major stockholder of Privat Group (12th with \$2.2 billion), Serhey Taruta, the co-owner of the Industrial Union of Donbas (15th with \$1.9 billion) and Oleksander Yaroslavskyy ranked 27th with \$850 million.

- The second presidential debate between candidates Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich was rebroadcast with a voice-over translation by the American network C-SPAN several days after the live broadcast in Ukraine on December 20.

- According to Accuracy in Media (AIM), "The New York Times' refusal to return a Pulitzer Prize awarded to a Times correspondent, Walter Duranty, whose dispatches lied about the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian famine" was one of the top underreported/buried stories of 2004. Out of a list of 20 items, the Duranty scandal was rated No. 10.

- Time Magazine named opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko among "People who Mattered 2004" – a listing of individuals who are runner-ups to the "Person of the Year" award. Mr. Yushchenko got a two-page photograph and a paragraph mention in the magazine.

- The Polish weekly magazine *Wprost* named Viktor Yushchenko Man of the Year 2004. *Wprost's* chief editor, Marek Mrol, wrote a congratulatory letter to Mr. Yushchenko on December 23, addressing him as "Mr. President" three days before the third round of voting in Ukraine's presidential election. Mr. Yushchenko received the honor for "making the largest impact on our reality ..., for reviving the civil movement for democracy ..., and for reminding Poles about the energy and enthusiasm of the times of the Solidarity movement." *Wprost* is Poland's most popular opinion weekly magazine, with a readership of around 2.5 million per month.

- Every year the Associated Press lists the top 10 stories of the year, as ranked by the world's journalists. Ukraine's presidential election was ranked ninth, with the citation reading: "Ukraine's Supreme Court ordered a new presidential election after tens of thousands of people took to the streets to protest fraud in a November run-off won by Russian-backed Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. The drama intensified amid revelations that the opposition candidate, Viktor Yushchenko, was poisoned."

- The Financial Times on December 24 wrote that it could not choose the FT Person of the Year because "no politician this year has had what it takes to capture the title." Nonetheless, the London-based newspaper listed what it called its top "outliers." Among them were U.S. President George W. Bush, who the Financial Times said is the "best outlier," scoring the maximum 100 points in terms of his "country's importance," and second best in terms of "leader's personality." Another "high outlier" was Viktor Yushchenko, who FT noted "is as yet only potential, although he is a favorite to win Ukraine's election on Sunday" [December 26]. FT noted that Mr. Yushchenko's "perseverance through electoral fraud, intimidation and poisoning to gain the chance of a re-run vote puts him near to the top of the personality axis, somewhat offsetting his country's modest importance."



The Narbut Prize-winning philatelic issue titled "Route from the Varangians to the Greeks."

2004: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

Our community mourns their passing

We mourned the deaths during 2004 of many people in our community who were engaged in various fields of endeavor. Among them were the following.

- Michael Waris, 82, specialist in federal and international tax legislation and tax litigation, associate tax legislative counsel in the office of the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, partner at the Washington office of the international law firm Baker and McKenzie, and founding member of the Ukrainian American Bar Association – Bethesda, Md., January 9.

- Dr. Stephen Dudiak, 79, physician and co-founder with his wife, Lusya, née Korybutiak, of the humanitarian project Medical Clinic on Wheels to benefit Ukraine, and of scholarships at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy and the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv – Madison, Wisc., January 16.

- William Rybak, 82, Pennsylvania state legislator representing the 135th District in the Pennsylvania House and chair of numerous committees during his five-term tenure, founder of the Rybak Handicapped Children's Fund and active member of the Ukrainian American community of the Lehigh Valley – Bethlehem, February 3.

- Dr. Ilarion Cholhan, 85, physician and author/playwright, member of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America and the Writers' Union of Ukraine – Brooklyn, N.Y., February 12.

- Theodor V. Shumeyko, 81, a public relations and advertising specialist, director of the marketing/communications firm The Shumeyko Group and vice-president of T.J. Ross & Associates, community and cultural activist; president of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America (1940s) – New York, March 16.

- Dr. Oleh Wolansky, 90, physician and active member of the Ukrainian community and member of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America – Kerhonkson, N.Y., March 9.

- The Very Rev. Protopresbyter William Czekaluk, 85, longtime pastor of St. Mary Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Allentown, Pa. – Allentown, March 31.

- Mykola Rudenko, 83, writer, and human rights activist, founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and former Soviet political prisoner, contributor to the Ukrainian-language Svoboda (1987-1990) and active member, with his wife, Raissa, an editor at Svoboda, of the Ukrainian community – Kyiv, April 1.

- John Taras, 84, internationally known choreographer and balletmaster at New York City Ballet (NYCB), American Ballet Theater (ABT) and leading companies abroad, including the Paris Opera Ballet and the Deutsche Opera Ballet in West Berlin – New York, April 2.

- Andriy Lesiw, 81, former chef at the Ukrainian National Association resort, Soyuzivka, and former member of the Galicia Division during World War II – Kerhonkson, N.Y., April 26.

- Dr. James E. Mace, 52, professor of history, author and English editor at the Kyiv newspaper Den, who, as staff director of the United States Commission on the Ukraine Famine and author of its Report to Congress, was broadly regarded as the individual whose scholarly research gave the world the first detailed documentation on the artificially induced Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine. A memorial service for Dr. Mace, a native Oklahoman of partial American Indian ancestry, was



Dr. James E. Mace



John Taras



Mykola Rudenko

held at the Teacher's Building in Kyiv with more than 1,000 people in attendance, including leading political and academic leaders; interment was at Kyiv's historic Baikove Cemetery – Kyiv, May 6.

- Danylo Shumuk, 89, a veteran national and human rights activist – the longest serving Ukrainian prisoner of conscience, known as “the eternal prisoner” – who served 42 years in various prisons and camps of Poland, Germany and the Soviet Union for his political activity, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; upon emigrating to Canada in 1987, an outspoken advocate for human and national rights causes – Krasnoarmiisk, Ukraine, May 21.

- Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky, 77, doyenne of Ukrainian dance in America, former prima ballerina and soloist in Europe and North America, choreographer and artistic director; as founder of the School of Ballet and Ukrainian Dance (1963), a leading North American instructor of Ukrainian folk dance and director of the Syzokryli Ukrainian Dance Ensemble – New York, May 23.

- Mary Lesawyer, 91, a former opera singer with the New York City Opera and wife of former longtime president of the Ukrainian National Association Joseph Lesawyer – Orlando, Fla., June 13.

- Vira Levytska, 88, stage actress and Merited Artist of Ukraine, whose career included engagements with the Zahrava, Kotliarevsky, Lesia Ukrainka and Lviv Opera theaters in Ukraine, as a postwar refugee with the Ensemble of Ukrainian Actors in West Germany (1945-1949), and as an émigré to the United States with the Teatr u Piatnytsiu in Philadelphia – Philadelphia, May 26.

- Yaroslav Haywas, 93, political commentator and active participant in the Ukrainian liberation struggle since his youth, a leading member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, member of the national executive of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and editorial staff member of the Svoboda daily newspaper – Hunter, N.Y., June 14.

- Olga Diadyniuk, 101, artist, and wife of Ukrainian artist Vasyl Diadyniuk (1900-1941) – Jersey City, N.J., June 17.

- Dr. Modest Ripetsky, 83, physician, head of Litopys UPA publication committee and member of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council – Chicago, June 28.

- William J. Pastuszek, 78, real estate developer and member of the General Assembly of the Ukrainian National Association, UNA advisor and auditor with over 20 years of service, and president of UNA Branch

231; member of the Metropolitan Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.; and a prominent leader in civic and community activities in Delaware County, Pa. – Swarthmore, Pa., July 14.

- Helen Olek-Scott, 91, honorary member of the Ukrainian National Association (UNA) General Assembly, an UNA advisor with 24 years of service and secretary of UNA Branch 22 – Chicago, July 31.

- Oksana Komanovska, 70, chemist and active member of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization and the Pershi Stezhi Plast Sorority, and member of the Tabir Ptashat Camp Committee – Bluebell, Pa., September 8.

- Eugene Harasymiw, 63, a leader within the Ukrainian Canadian community and Edmonton representative of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association – Edmonton, October 2.

- The Very Rev. Protopresbyter Serhiy Neprel, 88, ordained to the priesthood in 1939 in Kremianets, Volyn region, Ukraine where he subsequently served in a pastoral capacity; upon emigrating, longtime pastor of Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, New York, and Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Irvington, N.J., – New York, October 5.

- Nicholas L. Fr.- Chirovsky, 85, professor of economics at Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J. and author of numerous articles and books on East European history and economy – Tempe, Ariz., November 3.

- Wolodymyr Zyla, 85, professor of languages and comparative literature at Texas Tech University, literary scholar, editor, political activist and former minister of the Ukrainian government in exile – Lubbock, Texas, November 16.

- Dr. Michael Marunchak, 80, archivist and author, a Ukrainian nationalist and a Holocaust survivor, former president of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, and editor of “Ukrainian Canadians: A History” (1982) – Winnipeg, November 21.

- Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk, 79, eparch of Kolomyia-Chernivtsi (1993-2001) and leader for four decades in the underground Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church during the Soviet period – Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, December 12.

- Maria Anna Spolska, 88, community leader, who as president of the Social Services of Ukrainians in Canada, Toronto Branch, organized a range of humanitarian programs and funds that continue to function to this day, including Pomich Ukraini (Aid to Ukraine) and Kharyatyvnyi Fond (Charitable Fund) – Toronto, November 23.



Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk



Danylo Shumuk



Yaroslav Haywas



Michael Waris



William Pastuszek

2004: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

Meanwhile, here at The Ukrainian Weekly

Zowie! Another year-in-review issue completed. And right on schedule: today (January 13) is New Year's Eve according to the Julian calendar.

This year we brought you the usual 52 issues of The Ukrainian Weekly, including one with the date of February 29 – that's right, a leap year issue! Among those issues for 2004 – and on those 1,500 pages, among those 1,437,913 words – were our now traditional special issues devoted to the “Year in Review” (for 2003), “A Ukrainian Summer” and Ukrainian Independence Day, as well as the annual section on Ukrainian debutante balls. In addition, we brought you numerous special sections, including one dedicated to the 110th anniversary of the our publisher, the Ukrainian National Association (February 22); the 40th anniversary of the unveiling Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington (June 27); and a section prepared with the Ukrainian American Veterans (August 15). The Shevchenko issue was particularly notable as it reprinted historic materials related to the 1964 unveiling of the monument, as well as some new materials that highlighted the event's significance.

During the year The Weekly published articles on a huge range of topics, from updates on Senate Resolution 202 on the Famine-Genocide in Ukraine to an article on a blight threatening Kyiv's famed horse chestnut trees; from news of the closings of schools in Newark, N.J., and Northampton, Pa.; to the success of a Ukrainian Canadian radio program in Ottawa.

Readers also saw stories on topics ranging from Russian President Vladimir Putin's neo-Soviet policies as they pertain to Ukraine and the “near abroad” to Ruslana's appearance on the international music scene; from tributes to the late Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky to the first ever Soyuzivka weekend for adoptive parents of children from Ukraine; from the arrival of the Stanley Cup in Kyiv courtesy of Ruslan Fedotenko of the Tampa Bay Lightning to the donation of works by the renowned Oleksa Hryshchenko (Alexis Gritchenko) to museums in Ukraine.

The Weekly also published materials that included Andrew Nynka's interviews with Ken Daneyko, three-time Stanley Cup winner with the New Jersey Devils, and soccer superstar Andriy Shevchenko; and stories about Ukraine's participation in the 2004 Summer Olympics in Athens.

In 2004 we at The Ukrainian Weekly had not one, but two, elections on our minds.

Thus we devoted much space on our pages to discussions of the relative merits of the presidential candidates in the United States, incumbent George W. Bush and Sen. John Kerry. Some of the discussions were quite heated, we might add. On the eve of the presidential election we published responses by the Bush and Kerry campaigns to questions posed by The Ukrainian Weekly's editors on issues of concern to the Ukrainian American community (the responses appeared in our issues dated October 24 and 31). The campaign of Ralph Nader did not respond.

The U.S. election was simple compared to what happened in Ukraine as there the presidential election went from the first round to the second, and then to a rerun of the run-off (which everyone started calling the third round). We covered all of that, plus our Kyiv correspondent Roman Woronowycz provided exclusive pieces on the top two presidential candidates, offering readers an interview with Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and a feature about a day on the campaign trail with opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko. In addition, in July we began a special section of brief news items related to the presidential campaign in Ukraine which we dubbed “Election Watch.”

There were at least two features during the year that could be categorized as stories that made a difference. In March, Yaro Bihun reported the story of “Dmytre Z,” a post-World War II Ukrainian immigrant who was among 12 deceased people identified in an exhibit called “Lost Cases, Recovered Lives: Suitcases From a State Hospital Attic” that profiled the lives of former patients of the Willard Psychiatric Center. Mr. Bihun decided to do a bit of journalistic sleuthing to determine who “Dmytre Z” was. He succeeded and wrote a story about his research. On the fourth anniversary of Dmytro Zacharuk's death, a local photographer, Frank Speziale, whom Mr. Bihun had contacted for help on the story, placed flowers on his grave.

Later in the year, The Weekly was happy to report the success story of Ihor Lobok, the 15-year-old street violinist whose story last year captured the hearts of dozens of Ukrainian Americans. On September 1 the wunderkind musician began studies at the world-renowned Gliere Music Academy in Kyiv. In 2003 Roman Woronowycz of

The Weekly's Kyiv Press Bureau filed a story about how Ihor had played a school-issued violin on Kyiv's streets in his off-hours for money to support himself, his sick mother and his older sister. Ukrainian Americans spontaneously reacted to the moving story and contributed nearly \$1,200 to purchase a violin for Ihor.

On June 27, we reported back to our readers on the results of our quinquennial questionnaire (we publish a reader survey once every five years on the occasions of The Weekly's anniversaries; it was our 70th anniversary in 2003). We noted that, for the most part, our readers are happy with The Weekly's content. True, some like sports and some do not; some love columns by Myron Kuropas, while others hate them. At the end of the day, however, one has to consider that no newspaper can please all its readers all of the time – no matter how hard it tries. We express our sincere appreciation to those of you who took time out of their busy schedules to help us evaluate our performance.

In February we unveiled the full texts of 1,676 articles published during 2003 on our official website, www.ukrweekly.com. That brought the number of full text articles on the site – called The Ukrainian Weekly Archive – to 14,506. The site includes the full texts of articles published from 1996 through 2003, plus articles from various other special issues from 1933 to the present. Also online are highlights of each week's issue during the current year. (Look for our 2004 full text to go online in late February.)

Staff news

Layout artist Larissa Oprysko, joined our staff on May 10. Ms. Oprysko, who has a B.A. in communications and design from the University of Connecticut, is a wonderful addition to our team. The position had been vacant since June 2003, when our colleague Markian Rybak broke his leg and did not return; we advertised the opening on our production staff in March of this year.

In early December Roman Woronowycz, an editor at The Ukrainian Weekly since June 1992, left us for a new position as head of public information for the U.S. Agency for International Development regional office for Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. Mr. Woronowycz had served as The Weekly's Kyiv Press Bureau chief since August 1997. Prior to that he was a staff writer/editor at The Ukrainian Weekly's home office in Parsippany, N.J., and was the paper's Kyiv correspondent from December 1993 through June 1994 and August 1996 through July 1997. He covered the Atlanta Olympic Games for The Weekly in 1996.

Editor Andrew Nynka, who came aboard in March 2001, volunteered to serve at the Kyiv Press Bureau in the interim (through mid-January), while we search for a full-time replacement.

The rest of the staff remains the same: Editor-in-Chief Roma Hadzewycz, who joined the staff full-time in 1977 and has been editor-in-chief since 1980; and Editor Ika Koznarska Casanova, who was on our staff full time in

1980-1981, and since 1990 has worked on a part-time basis, is also our arts editor. Rounding out The Weekly's production staff is Awilda Rolon, who does typesetting and layout, and has been with us since December 1980. And then there's our webmaster and special projects guy, Serge Polishchuk, who in another life was our full-time layout artist and computer troubleshooter. Somehow we kept things going and the paper continued to come out.

Stats

As is our tradition in this section of the “Year in Review,” we hereby report that during 2004 the word “Ukraine” appeared 12,891 times, while “Ukrainian” appeared 13,635 times and “Ukrainians” 1,462. As it was a very special year, we also note that “Yushchenko” appeared 2,678 times, while “Yanukovich” was in the paper 2,024 times. The word “orange” was used 242 times.

Ah, yes, we should mention that four issues during 2004 had orange spot color in the form of slogans on our front page that said either “For Fairness and Justice in Ukraine” or “For Democracy in Ukraine.” (The fifth time orange was used it was for a simple “Слава Україні!” that appeared in the first issue of 2005.)

Our thank-yous

During 2004, The Weekly received donations to its press fund totaling \$30,715. We are extremely grateful for this significant show of support from our readers.

Our administration – Walter Honcharyk, administrator; Maria Oscislawski, advertising manager; and Maria Pendzola, subscriptions/circulation manager – continues to play a key role in the day-to-day, week-to-week functioning of The Ukrainian Weekly. We commend their dedication and cooperation.

Thanks also go to our summer intern for 2004, Roxolana Woloszyn, who also worked with us in 2003. Also helping out for a short period during the summer of 2004 was another veteran intern, Peter Steciuk.

Credits

Finally, credit is due to all those responsible for helping prepare this issue: our staff at our editorial offices in Parsippany, N.J., Ms. Hadzewycz and Ms. Casanova; Mr. Nynka, on interim assignment in Kyiv; our colleagues Yaro Bihun in Washington and Chris Guly in the Ottawa area; and contributors Deanna Yurchuk, Yarema Belej, Roxolana Woloszyn and Markian Hadzewycz.

Not to be forgotten, of course, is our production crew, Ms. Rolon and Ms. Oprysko, assisted by Mr. Polishchuk, who always lends a hand on special projects like these.

As you, Dear Readers, enjoy this mega-issue, we'll take a little breather over the weekend. Then, it's back to work on Monday, when we begin work on a “normal” issue. But, before we go, let us convey this message: Happy New Year to you all and a Happy New Era for Ukraine!



At year's end, The Ukrainian Weekly received the postcard reproduced above. Released by the Ukrainian American Civil Liberties Association and the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the card celebrates the success of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine. The message on the back of the card reads: “Dear Friend of Ukraine: Thank you for supporting freedom for Ukraine! Millions of Ukrainians have shown the world that they will have their liberty, that they will not tolerate corruption, that they want Ukraine to remain in Europe. Please continue to stand with them and defend democracy in Ukraine. Thanks!”

THE UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

PRESENTS

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Messages from...

(Continued from page 4)

for all history be known as the last day of the Orange Revolution. Yes, the elections are still ahead of us, but the fact that Yushchenko's demands laid out on November 22 have all been met signals a victory for the movement (in Yush's eyes anyway). Demonstrators have been asked to go back to their home cities and to promote the Yushchenko campaign. Tent villages, presidential admin. blockade and stage on maidan will all remain until final victory, for which all of our help is required. If you have the interest and the ability to be an election monitor (no experience required), or to support an election monitor, and have not yet received any applications, please let me know.

Parliament (Verkhovna Rada): In the morning of Day 17 Danyo was able to get us into Parliament for the session (courtesy of Member of Parliament Ivan Stepanovych Pliusch). With our newly printed passes we were permitted past the fence and onto the main courtyard in front. It was a strange sight to see the masses of demonstrators from the "other side," behind the line of police separating them from the Parliament building.

The passes worked (despite my internal doubts) and soon we were milling around with the MPs on the second floor outside the session chamber. It felt strange being in a suit after 16 days in combat boots and army pants. When the MPs started filing in, we went upstairs to the balcony and found a spot in the second row that was soon surrounded by photographers and video cameramen. Good view of the MPs' desktops that were littered with newspapers, photocopies of the laws up for vote and crossword puzzles. "Just another day at the office," said Danyo. Virtually all the MPs were present. A record attendance of 446 out of 450. Yushchenko entered the room with a serious, non-festive demeanor, chatting here and there with various MP's.

Lytvyn controlled the crowd of unruly MPs like a school master. Kuchma entered the room and was (strangely) greeted with applause. He first announced that he had accepted the resignation of the prosecutor general of Ukraine – more applause. It was strange being so close to Kuchma, he was right below us. I felt like Forrest Gump. Danyo says "we had the opportunity to yell "hanba!" across the whole room." That temptation existed, but somehow "ne vypadalo." Kuchma watched the law packet be passed, MP's of all fractions cheering, and then signed the laws right there on the podium, with Lytvyn before disappearing out the back door. I won't



A denizen of the tent city holds a sign reading "Seeking fiancée" on Day 15.

go into the details of the laws, it seems to be well covered elsewhere.

Another highlight of the session was the voting for the new members of the CEC. Kivalov was actually proposed for the new CEC staff. When his name was announced the chamber erupted in "Hanba! Hanba!" chants. Nasha Ukraina MPs were slamming their fists on their desks. He was soundly voted down. When the voting results were shown the hanba chants erupted again and some MPs even did these flicking away motions with their hands directed at Kivalov. (Sidenote: today I was told by someone that Kivalov's payout was 2.5 million U.S. – seems low to sell out 48 million people doesn't it?)

The session ended and we went down to the second-floor lobby areas and watched all the key MPs get interviewed. Each interview had one TV camera per MP, except Yulia in the corner. There must have been 20 TV cameras, dozens of voice recorders, microphones, etc. aimed at her. The gist of her statement was that it is an undeniable victory, but she still doesn't agree with the constitu-

tional changes, and will fight their legality in the court system.

Final night on maidan

The final night on Maidan was a testament to Yush's ability to draw a crowd at the snap of his fingers. Maidan was refreshingly mobbed again – like the "old" days of the revolution a few nights back. Taras Chubai led us in singing "Chervona Ruta" (yes, all of maidan singing "Chervona Ruta"), and then an UPA song, "Lenta za Lentoyu."

They started the speeches by giving the mike to Dr. Biukhovetsky (dean of Kyiv Mohyla Academy). He officially lifted the university's political strike and quoted Skovoroda, who once said that "Ukraine is a country that is asleep. But one day it will awaken."

He also said that Kyiv Mohyla will spearhead the "Orange Revolution Museum" and made a request for all the "artifacts," signs etc. to be submitted for the museum, where we will one day take our grandchildren.

Yushchenko's speech consisted of thanking multiple different people, organizations, etc., then he reiterated his Nov. 22 demands which were all met. He did not go into the details of constitutional reform, or whether or not he considered it a compromise, etc.

Then a teary-eyed, loud and strong "Sche Ne Vmerla Ukraina." After which the speakers cranked out the songs of the revolution – Ukraina (actually sung by Petrynenko on stage), "My Idemo" (actually sung by Marika Burmaka), and about four other songs while fireworks exploded overhead. Yush, Yulia and the others on stage were dancing around and gyrating to the beat!

Ola and I were actually standing near the stage where Yush exited and entered his Mercedes. There were two human chains creating a corridor for the car and a convoy of other cars to leave the area. (on the attached crappy picture – you will at least see Yushchenko's fingers in a "V" sign under the windshield.)

Then, suddenly MP Lutsenko (probably my favorite player in the revolution) took the mike and announced the pres-

admin. blockade would remain and that tonight everyone is authorized a temporary exemption from the no alcohol principle and should drink 50 grams to accompany the toast "Kuchma Kaput." Of course, we headed to a local pub to comply!

Recap

What has the Orange Revolution achieved? For one thing if the people did not come out on maidan, Yanukovych would be president right now. TV stations would still be allowing their programming to be censored. And the Kuchma/Medvechuk/Akhmetov team would continue exploiting Ukraine and selling it out to Russia (in fact, of all the parties in this struggle, Putin lost face more than anyone) without any accountability to anyone.

I am not sure yet what the philosophical impact will be in the long-term. I guess that remains to be seen. My feeling right now (which is not reliable since I am sleep-deprived and emotional) is that some of the "heavy aura" that starts when one lands in Boryspil has at least partially dissipated. Ukraine appears different to me already. I believe people will be less scared to state their opinions, and more convinced Ukraine can be built honestly, with dignity. Can this really happen overnight though? Time will tell.

For me? It has been an honor to stand on maidan shoulder to shoulder with regular Ukrainians who had the guts to finally say enough is enough and to stand up to a regime which is frightening in its disregard for human life and for Ukraine as a country.

Singing "Sche Ne Vmerla Ukraina" on maidan with hundreds of thousands of people, with a leader on stage who I believe is actually proud to sing it, had an affect on me that will always remain a part of me. I am proud to be Ukrainian in a different, somehow new way.

For now it's time to pack up my revolution hat for Briukhovetsky's museum, shave my revolution beard and get some sleep. In the morning I will drive the kids to school. It was on just such a drive a month ago that Romchyk said "Tato, of course Yushchenko will win."

"Why is that Romchyku?"

"Because all of the leaves are voting and look at their color – they're orange!"

Thank you for all of your e-mails, your thoughts, your interest and support of maidan. As one student in the tent city told me: "The Orange Revolution is all of ours, together."

Svobodu ne spyntyty!

Petro over and out. Kyiv, December 9, 2004.

EPILOGUE: Around midday today, Day 18, I took a stroll back to maidan and Khreschatyk. There was a line by the tent city where the students were still feeding people. The stage remains (as promised) but the big diamond vision screens on both sides have been removed. In front of the stage were a few dozen people circulating around, taking pictures of each other leaning on the fence directly in front. I actually saw a couple of different groups gathered around these weary, but smiling, individuals who were explaining what it was like in the first few days of the Orange Revolution. "The snow, the freezing cold, the fears of attacks by busloads of drunk hooligans from Donetsk."

I paused and looked around at the oddly empty maidan: dozens of colorful hand-made signs covering statues and traffic light posts sticking out of virtually every conceivable place. Countless banners, stickers and graffiti everywhere. Omelchenko likes a tidy city, and soon the cleaning crew will come through.

But no matter, things will never be the same here again. Ever.



A varenyky feeding frenzy on Day 16.

Moscow ponders...

(Continued from page 2)

extremely limited opportunities: They spent only three months working with Mr. Yanukovich," he said.

But the biggest problem, according to Mr. Markov, was not the candidate or any lack of time but that Russia and its spin doctors were outnumbered and outgunned by the West. In the gazeta.ru interview, Mr. Markov claimed that "Americans and Poles spent several years working with Mr. Yushchenko." Asked to explain what he meant by Poles and Americans, Mr. Markov said that there was "American and European collaboration with elite structures and the public across a broad front." Mr. Markov also said that while Russia spent only millions of dollars on the campaign, the United States and European Union spent hundreds of millions of dollars in Ukraine. Therefore, according to Mr. Markov, Mr. Yanukovich's defeat was not a defeat for Russian spin doctors but for "Russia's ruling class, which proved incapable of achieving such a major strategic task."

Mr. Pavlovskii put forth a more obscure defense of his and other spin doctors' roles in Ukraine. In an interview with Nezavisimaya Gazeta on December 7, 2004, he faulted himself and others merely for being unable to "draw the attention of our partners in Ukraine that an 'overthrow' project was in preparation." He continued, "The point is that the opposition circles were not preparing for elections. They were preparing for the seizure of power, in the guise of elections." He then claimed that neither he nor his colleagues "had the power to advise our Ukrainian partners on preventive counterrevolution and not only on elections, [otherwise] this misfortune would not have happened."

In a later interview with gazeta.ru on December 28, when asked whether he was willing to share responsibility for the defeat of Mr. Yanukovich, Mr. Pavlovskii responded, "Yes, but as a politician, not as a spin doctor. Unfortunately, I did not work in the latter role in Ukraine." What he was doing, he said, was "liaising with the group of politicians that put Mr. Yanukovich forward. Unfortunately, this was not enough. You need to have the powers to make decisions." So, in Mr. Pavlovskii's view, he did not have the power to inform his Ukrainian colleagues of what was going on, even though by his own admission he was acting as a liaison with

Mr. Yanukovich's supporters.

Of course, if Mr. Yanukovich were about to assume Ukraine's presidency, it is not difficult to imagine Mr. Pavlovskii and others taking credit for his victory. In an interview with The Washington Post on January 2, former political adviser Dick Morris explained how he managed to contribute a key element of President-elect Viktor Yushchenko's strategy without ever managing to actually visit Ukraine. Mr. Morris told the paper that an acquaintance from a previous overseas campaign put him in touch with Mr. Yushchenko's campaign manager. Because of unspecified "security concerns," he met with Yushchenko campaign officials in an undisclosed East European capital. According to Mr. Morris, his main contribution to the campaign was to urge exit polling on election day and the immediate publication of those results. In this way, according to Mr. Morris, Mr. Yushchenko's campaign would draw supporters to the streets to celebrate – thus presenting Ukrainian authorities with an angry mob if they tried to tamper with the vote.


So far, though, it's the CIA's acumen rather than Mr. Morris's that is being hailed in Moscow. In an interview with Radio Rossii on December 7, 2004, Aleksandr Konovalov, president of Moscow's Institute for Strategic Assessments, suggested that Russia believes "the myths created by our spin doctors" and "now we probably will believe their explanations, the main one being [that Ukraine was lost because of] a CIA conspiracy." He asked ironically, "How can poor Gleb Pavlovskii handle the whole Central Intelligence Agency on his own?"

In an interview with RFE/RL's Russian Service on December 9, 2004, former leader of the Union of Rightist Forces Boris Nemtsov suggested that the stories of excessive Western influence in Ukraine might be more than just a yarn by Russian spin doctors to avoid taking responsibility for losing a key election.

According to Mr. Nemtsov, it might be a device that the Russian authorities are using to avoid telling the truth about what really happened in Ukraine. He said Russian authorities "treat their own people cynically and invent such arguments of the type that the West influenced [events], or the campaign consultants worked poorly – anything but the truth that the people were tired of Mr. Kuchma's regime, that people were living in despair and lawlessness and their last drop of patience went when the election was falsified."

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Details emerge...

(Continued from page 2)

of terrorism against the UNP and youth groups were false (Ukrainska Pravda, December 16, razom.org.ua, December 23, 2004).

As Channel 5 has now documented, the real terrorists were the authorities acting in cahoots with the Russian Security Service (FSB). It would be naive to believe that President Vladimir Putin was unaware of what was taking place. An illicitly transcribed telephone conversation, cited at length in the "Zakryta Zona" documentary, between a Ukrainian informant and an FSB officer showed how the Russian authorities were fully aware of the dirty tricks being used by Russian political technologists working for Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

Russian political technologists, such as Gleb Pavlovsky and Marat Gelman, worked with Mr. Yanukovich's "shadow (real) campaign headquarters" headed by Deputy Prime Minister Andrii Kluyev. Messrs. Pavlovsky's and Gelman's Ukrainian contact was Viktor Medvedchuk, presidential administration head and Social Democratic United Party (SDPU) leader.

As this illicitly taped conversation reveals, assassinations and similar dirty tricks are understood by Messrs. Gelman and Pavlovsky as normal components of their range of "technologies" that they use in Russian elections and in elections in other CIS countries. The FSB officer in Moscow discusses the poisoning of Mr. Yushchenko and the role of these political technologists in such technologies.

The bomb attempt may have been conceived after the poisoning failed to kill Mr. Yushchenko prior to the first round of the election. The unearthing of the planned bomb attack came about only after a burglar alarm went off and a spetsnaz unit of the Internal Affairs Ministry (State Defense Service [DSO]) was sent to investigate. The alarm went off near one of the three offices used by the Yushchenko campaign.

The DSO noticed a car with Russian number plates close by and asked the two occupants for their documents. After checking their Russian and Ukrainian passports, the DSO found them to be false. A search of the car's trunk found 3 kilos of plastic explosives – enough to destroy everything within a 500-meter space.

After the arrest of both of the car's passengers, an investigation revealed that they were both Russian citizens: Mikhail M. Shugay and Marat B. Moskvitin, both from the Moscow region. Their only contact in Moscow had been a certain "Surguchov" who had hired them in September for the bombing operation on Yushchenko and his ally, Yulia Tymoshenko. The terrorists were to obtain \$50,000 after the bomb plot was undertaken.

After smuggling the explosives through the Russian-Ukrainian border,

both FSB operatives set up a base of operations in the village of Dudarkiv, 15 kilometers from Kyiv. A search of these premises found pistols, a radio station and details on how to make bombs.

The plot thickened when additional illicitly made telephone conversations were played in the "Zakryta Zona" documentary. The conversations were made by the SBU during the elections and handed over to Mr. Yushchenko after Round 2.

Mr. Kluyev is heard discussing with unknown individuals the whereabouts of Mr. Yushchenko's office and the location where the leadership of the Yushchenko camp meets. The producers of "Zakryta Zona" believe that Mr. Kluyev was seeking this intelligence to pass on to the Russian bomb assassination team so that any planted bomb would murder not only Mr. Yushchenko, but other members of his team, such as Ms. Tymoshenko.

Mr. Yushchenko has described his poisoning as, "a project of political murder prepared by the authorities" (AP, December 17, 2004). In December the Vienna clinic that treated Mr. Yushchenko concluded that he had, in fact, been poisoned by TCDD, the most toxic form of dioxin. His dioxin level was 6,000 times higher than normal and the second highest recorded in history. TCDD was a key ingredient of Agent Orange.

Alexander V. Litvinenko, who served in the KGB and the FSB before defecting to the United Kingdom, has revealed that the FSB has a secret laboratory in Moscow that specializes in the study of poisons. A former dissident scientist now living in the U.S., Vil S. Mirzayanov, stated that this institute studied dioxins while developing defoliants for the military. SBU defector Valerii Kravchenko also pointed to this FSB laboratory as the likely source of the dioxin that poisoned Mr. Yushchenko (The New York Times, December 15, 2004).

Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Yushchenko also have pointed to a Russian connection in the poisoning (Ukrainska Pravda, December 24, 2004 and January 4). In a discussion on Novyi Kanal TV (December 21, 2004), former SBU Chairman Yevhen Marchuk ruled out the possibility that the dioxin originated from inside Ukraine.

Mr. Yushchenko has alleged that the poisoning took place during a September 5, 2004, dinner at the home of SBU Deputy Chairman Volodymyr Satsiuk, a member of the SDPU. This again reveals the involvement of Mr. Medvedchuk and Russian political technologists working with Mr. Yanukovich's shadow campaign headquarters headed by Mr. Kluyev. Not surprisingly, Messrs. Satsiuk and Kluyev have hurriedly abandoned their government positions to return to Parliament, where they enjoy immunity.

Russia's involvement in two terrorist attacks in Ukraine, a poisoning and bombing' make a mockery of President Putin's commitment since 9/11 to work alongside the United States in the international campaign against terrorism.

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No celebration...

(Continued from page 1)

on January 10. He also said that Mr. Yushchenko's team was working on the timing of the inauguration, as there was concern that certain dates could conflict with presidential inaugurations in other countries.

A number of countries, including the United States, are expected to send large delegations – a sign of confidence in Mr. Yushchenko's presidency and hope that he will follow through on campaign pledges to move the country closer to Europe.

Markian Lubkivskyi, a spokesman for Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said on January 11 that Ukraine officially invited a number of leaders of foreign states and international organizations to attend the ceremony, noting that a precise guest list would be released "in the future."

During a U.S. Department of State press briefing in Washington, Spokesman Richard Boucher was asked if Secretary

of State Colin Powell intended to be at Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration.

"I don't want to speculate at this point. We'll have to see what happens in Ukraine. It's certainly been a major – a matter of great importance to the secretary and to the president to see that the Ukrainian people got an opportunity for a fair and free election, that they got an opportunity to decide on their leaders. ... And I'm sure the United States in whatever appropriate fashion will continue to support ... a government that's brought to power by a free vote of the Ukrainian people," Mr. Boucher said.

Mr. Lubkivskyi also noted that "an important element of the inauguration will be an address by the president to the Ukrainian people." While the official inauguration and Mr. Yushchenko's swearing in will take place in the Parliament, his camp has also said Mr. Yushchenko will have a symbolic inauguration and swearing in event on Independence Square, which has become symbolic to Ukrainians as the epicenter of the "Orange Revolution."

Earlier in the week, leading deputies in the Verkhovna Rada gathered on January 10 to discuss the possibility of extending the current session of Parliament in connection with the inauguration. The meeting was led by Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn and included the heads of political parties and factions.

The proposal to extend the current session of Parliament, possibly until January 19 or 20, was made by Mr. Lytvyn and was supported by the participants of the meeting. At press time, no decision had been made on the extension. Parliament is scheduled to conclude its current session on January 14.

Before President-elect Yushchenko and a new Ukrainian government can officially take office and begin working, the Verkhovna Rada will need to convene two separate meetings, Mr. Lytvyn said.

The first session of Parliament would be held in connection with the official inauguration and would give deputies the opportunity to clarify the procedures and

rules surrounding Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration. A second session would approve Mr. Yushchenko's candidate for the post of prime minister, who can then begin forming a government in consultation with parliamentary factions and political parties.

A candidate for the post of prime minister would need to pass the scrutiny of the Verkhovna Rada, where a simple majority of the 450 national deputies would need to approve Mr. Yushchenko's nomination.

Mr. Lytvyn said on January 10 that he believed a new majority was forming in the Parliament, though he declined to specify which political parties or factions make up the group.

The Parliament chairman said further that such a majority would approve Mr. Yushchenko's candidate for the post of prime minister no later than the week after the inauguration. "I think the new president will have such a vote of trust, that the Verkhovna Rada will support the candidate he nominates, and with at least 250 votes," Mr. Lytvyn said.



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CEC announces...

(Continued from page 1)

According to the CEC's official tally, Mr. Yushchenko won 51.99 percent of the votes (15,115,712 votes), while his opponent, Mr. Yanukovich, took 44.20 percent (12,848,528 votes). A total of 29,068,971 people, out of an eligible 37,657,704, voted. Additionally, 682,239 people voted against both candidates.

"This is the happiest day of my life," said Petro Poroshenko, a member of Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine political bloc and a deputy in the Verkhovna Rada.

"Ukraine has proved that it is a European country ... A new country and a new government were born today," he said.

Others, however, were not so happy with the outcome of the election. "We will never agree with the results of the third tour," Mr. Yanukovich said on January 11 at a press conference in Kyiv. "We cannot recognize the legitimacy of this election and the legitimacy of a president who was elected with violations to the Constitution and the rights and freedoms of millions of Ukrainians," Mr. Yanukovich said during his first public appearance since resigning as prime minister on New Year's Eve.

"The results declared by the Central Election Commission give us a convincing basis to file a complaint with the Supreme Court," he added.

Both candidates have seven days from the time of the CEC decision to appeal to the Supreme Court. The court then has five days to rule on an appeal.

In the aftermath of the CEC announcement, Mr. Yanukovich's supporters said they would launch a "massive" appeal that would call into ques-

tion the legitimacy of the overall election and the CEC's ruling. Mr. Yanukovich's critics have charged him with purposefully delaying Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration.

Nestor Shufrych, Mr. Yanukovich's representative to the CEC, said the Yanukovich team had no intention of stalling and said that they intended to file their appeal with the Supreme Court "immediately." The team has twice promised to file but did not.

"We will appeal to the Supreme Court tomorrow for sure," Mr. Shufrych said on January 11, though no appeal came the following day.

"We are not interested in drawing out this process. We are all tired of this election. I believe we will be prepared to submit our formal appeal tomorrow," said Taras Chornovil, Mr. Yanukovich's campaign manager, on January 12. Late on January 13 a spokeswoman for the Supreme Court, Liana Shliaposhnikova, said Mr. Yanukovich still had not submitted an appeal.

However, members of Mr. Yushchenko's team maintain that Mr. Yanukovich intends to drag out the process as long as possible. "We forecast that the appeal will be submitted on the last day, the deadline for submitting such an appeal," said Mykola Katerinchyk, Mr. Yushchenko's legal representative, on January 12.

Ukrainian law gives Mr. Yanukovich until 11:30 p.m. on January 17 to file an appeal with the Supreme Court. Mr. Chornovil said it would consist of more than 600 volumes of documents and some 240 videotapes.

Once that appeal has been submitted, the Supreme Court can deliberate on the matter for up to five days. The court can also decide to dismiss the case outright.

Following the Supreme Court's action, the CEC's official protocol on the election will be published – officially announcing the results to the public – and the Verkhovna Rada can then set a date for Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration.

Prior to filing an appeal, Mr. Yanukovich petitioned the Supreme Court, asking that publication of the official results be temporarily blocked. Supreme Court Judge Lilia Hryhorieva ruled in Mr. Yanukovich's favor on January 11.

Mr. Yushchenko's allies said the decision was fair and the right choice. "The court acted logically. The court did not differentiate between Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich. This step is necessary in order to establish the truth," Mr. Katerinchyk said.

Mr. Shufrych assured members of the press after the commission's announcement that his team would appeal to both the Supreme Court and the European Court of Human Rights, employing the services of "a respected Swiss law firm" to help their legal battle.

Widely believed to be the tour de force of Mr. Yanukovich's bid to contest the election, the expected appeal would differ from other, innumerable appeals the Yanukovich team had filed earlier, either with the CEC or the Supreme Court.

The appeal to the country's top court, identical to one used by Mr. Yushchenko after the November 21 election, is expected to contest the December 26 vote by characterizing the election and the CEC's ruling on the matter as plagued by fraud. The appeal is also considered to be more meaningful because it calls into question the election only after the official results were released by the CEC.

Previous attempts to appeal by Mr.

Yanukovich's team targeted only portions of the election and were filed before the results were certified by the CEC. Therefore, they were considered to carry less weight in trying to change the outcome of the election.

On January 10 the Supreme Court of Ukraine threw out four of Mr. Yanukovich's appeals. The appeals, numbered 1389, 1390, 1391 and 1393, focused on a procedural decision by the CEC on December 30, said court spokeswoman Shliaposhnikova.

With that Supreme Court decision backing them, CEC members voted unanimously the same day to release the official election results. All 15 members of the CEC signed the protocol, but two added additional remarks.

Yuriy Donchenko and Bronyslav Raykowsky both said the CEC failed to promptly inform regional election commissions about a Constitutional Court ruling made less than a day before the election.

The court earlier ruled unconstitutional a provision on home voting, saying that all people who were unable to reach polling stations because of disability or poor health must be allowed to vote at home.

Though all of the court decisions concerning the December 26 election have gone against Mr. Yanukovich, Mr. Chornovil said that Yanukovich supporters from Donetsk were expected to protest in Kyiv if the Supreme Court ruled in Mr. Yushchenko's favor. As of January 13, supporters of the former prime minister had erected 18 tents there to protest the CEC's decision.

"We will not turn to violent actions, but we are hearing about radical moves from Donetsk. We will not be able to control the people," Mr. Chornovil said.



La MaMa Galleria and Yara Arts Group present:

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The UNA is thankful and proud of the loyal Ukrainian American service personnel who are committed to their duty and the task at hand. We applaud these service people who defend our freedoms wherever they may be. Among the military personnel there are hundreds of men and women of Ukrainian descent. We contacted but a few of them, letting them know that we appreciate their dedication, bravery and patriotism.

We hope that in the very near future all of them will return safely to their homes and families.

Oksana Trytjak
UNA National Organizer

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Ireneus and Luba Zuk, piano duo.

MONTREAL – Luba Zuk, professor on the faculty of music at McGill University in Montreal and Ireneus Zuk, professor and former director of the School of Music at Queen’s University in Kingston, Ontario – who have appeared as the Zuk Piano Duo in concerts to critical acclaim in North America, Europe and the Far East, are well-known for their commitment to the introduction of music by Ukrainian and Canadian composers to international audiences.

As part of their activities this past year they performed as a piano duo in Europe and North America, served as adjudicators in international piano competitions in Portugal and Italy, and engaged in individual activities in the field of music education such as lecture-recital presentations at music conferences and external examining in Ukraine.

A highlight of the duo’s engagements in Europe in 2004 was a concert performance at the International Piano Festival of Great Pianists held on June 22 at the University of Aveiro in Portugal. The program included the premieres of works by, respectively, Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian composers – “Ancient Dances of Verkhovyna” by Yevhen Stankovych (first performance in Europe) and Piano Sonata No.1 by George Fiala (first performance in Portugal); as well as the work of French Canadian composer Clermont Pépin, titled “Ronde Villageoise.”

In the United States, the piano duo appeared in concert at “Music at the Grazhda” as part of the Music and Art Center of Greene County summer concert series on July 24, in a program of works by Bruch, Fiala, Pépin, Stankovych, Pärt and Liszt.

Ireneus Zuk appeared in a solo concert at the “Piano Week” Festival at the Dana School of Music at Youngstown State University in a program that included works by Ukrainian composer Viktor Kosenko (1896-1938), and also presented a master class at the festival on March 5. In the fall of last year, Dr. Zuk presented a lecture-recital titled “Viktor Kosenko: Composer-Pianist” at the 26th European Conference of European Piano Teachers Association (EPTA) in Rome (October 15-18).

Last spring, Luba Zuk, at the invitation of the Ministry of Arts and Culture of Ukraine, served as head of the State Examining Commission (Derzhavna Examinatsiyina Komisya, or DEK) at the Mykola Lysenko State Music Academy in Lviv (May 6 - 16, 2004). Prof. Zuk previously served in that capacity at the Sergei Prokofiev Conservatory in Donetsk (2000, 2001), and at the Antonina Nezhdanova State Conservatory (2002) and the Antonina Nezhdanova State Music Academy (2003) in Odesa.

Frequent adjudicators in Canada and at international music competitions, Luba Zuk and Ireneus Zuk were invited last year as members of the jury at the Helena Sá e Costa International Piano Competition in Aveiro, Portugal (June 19-21) and at the 2004 IBLA Grand Prize International Piano Competition in Ragusa Ibla, Italy

(Continued on page 46)

Radoslav Zuk featured in journal Church Building

MONTREAL – Radoslav Zuk, an emeritus professor of architecture at McGill University and recipient of the Ida and Samuel Fromson Award for Outstanding Teaching at the university’s faculty of engineering, is a frequent guest lecturer at various universities and institutions abroad and participant in international interdisciplinary conferences.

(Continued on page 46)



Title page of an article on the award-winning Ukrainian churches designed by Radoslav Zuk that appeared in the British journal Church Building.

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Radoslav Zuk...

(Continued from page 45)

As guest lecturer this spring in Turkey and Ukraine, Prof. Zuk spoke on the architecture of 20th century museums, in presentations that included an analysis of critical issues in the design of new museums in America and Western Europe, with lectures delivered at the Yildiz Technical University in Istanbul, the Technical University of Lviv and at the Academy of Fine Arts and Architecture in Kyiv.

In the context of the interrelationships between architecture, mathematics, and music, Prof. Zuk, who has a background in music studies, gave several presentations on the topic, among them a lecture on "The Mathematics of Music and Architecture" at the Yildiz Technical University in Istanbul in the department of mathematics and a lecture titled "The Third Dimension in Palladio's Quattro Libri and the Beginnings of Tonal Music," which was presented at the Technical University in Vienna on April 29.

At the interdisciplinary conference Nexus 2004, held in Mexico City at the Tecnológico de Monterrey (June 23), Prof. Zuk presented a paper in which he examined the structure of musical chords as a means of shedding light on systems of

architectural proportions from the Renaissance to the 20th century in a presentation titled "From Renaissance Musical Proportions to Polytonality in 20th Century Architecture." The article has since appeared in print in "Nexus V: Architecture and Mathematics," with Kim Williams and Francisco J. Delgado Cepeda, editors, as a publication of Kim Williams Books, Fucecchio (Florence), Italy.

Prof. Zuk's presentation at the 16th International Conference on Systems Research, Informatics and Cybernetics, Sixth Annual Symposium on Systems Research in the Arts, held in Baden-Baden, Germany (August 2), was titled "Beyond Proportion: Non-harmonic Structures in Music and Architecture."

Addressing a topic that is of abiding interest, Prof. Zuk spoke on "Problems of Contemporary Development of Ukrainian Culture in the Diaspora," in a presentation at the 23rd annual Conference on Ukrainian Subjects held June 16-19 at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

A feature on the internationally recognized architect, titled "Focus on Radoslav Zuk: a devotee of Ukrainian architecture in North America," appeared in the British journal Church Building (March/April issue).

Zuk piano duo...

(Continued from page 45)

(June 28-July 11). Dr. Ireneus Zuk also was chair of the jury at the Thousand Islands International Piano Competition held in New York State (September 10-12).

At the XXI Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) held in Winnipeg October 1-3, 2004, Ireneus Zuk was awarded the Shevchenko Medal "in

recognition of performances of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian music in Canada and abroad." For her contribution in the field of music to the development of Ukrainian culture in Canada and abroad, Luba Zuk was awarded the UCC Shevchenko Medal in 2001. Earlier, in 1999, in recognition of their significant artistic achievement, the Zuk Duo was awarded a medal and the title "Merited Artist of Ukraine."

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Annual Meeting |
| February 19-20, 2005
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| February 26, 2005
Napanoch Fire Company Banquet | April 20-22, 2005
SUNY at New Paltz, Migrant
Education Program and Retreat |
| March 5-6, 2005
Plast Kurin "Khmelnynchenky"
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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Sunday, January 16

PASSAIC, N.J.: The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), Passaic/Bergen County, invites the public to a "Yushchenko Victory Party" to be held at the Ukrainian Center, 240 Hope Ave., starting at 4 p.m. Free admission; buffet and refreshments. The event will offer an opportunity to meet with election observers.

Friday, January 21

TORONTO: The Center for Russian and East European Studies (CREES) at the University of Toronto presents a workshop titled, "Ukrainian Presidential Elections of 2004 in Comparative Perspective." Featured participants: Daniel Bilak (Gowling Lafleur Henderson LLP), Paul D'Anieri (University of Western Ontario, CREES Fellow), Taras Kuzio (George Washington University), Michael McFaul (Stanford University), as well as scholars from Kyiv via live hook-up and CREES experts. To register contact Alesia Kachur, (416) 946-8113 or e-mail jacyk.program@utoronto.ca The workshop will be held at the University of Toronto, Vivian and David Campbell Conference Facility, Munk Center, 1 Devonshire Place, at 1-6 p.m. Co-sponsors of the event are the Petro Jacyk Program for the Study of Ukraine and the Wolodymyr George Danyliw Foundation.

Saturday, January 22

NEW YORK: The "Music at the Institute" concert series will present a concert by pianist Valida Rassoulova-Suk at Weill Recital Hall at Carnegie Hall. The concert program features works by Scarlatti, Haydn, Mozart, Debussy, Chopin and the leading Azerbaijani composer Kara Karaev (New York premiere of his selected Preludes). The concert will be held at 8:30 p.m. Tickets are available at Carnegie Hall Box Office, 154 W. 57th St.; telephone: (212) 247-7800, or on line at www.carnegiehall.org. Prices: Orchestra, \$30; Balcony, \$25. For additional information call the UIA, (212) 288-8660 or visit <http://www.ukrainianinstitute.org>.

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, NJ 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.

Sunday, January 23

NEW YORK: The closing party for "Koliada: Winter Rituals in a Carpathian Village," an exhibit of photographs from Kryvorinia by Alexander Khantaev, video by Andrea Odezynska and installation designed by Watoku Ueno, will feature a special concert of Ukrainian early music. The party is slated for 2 p.m. at La MaMa Galleria, 6 E. First St. (between Bowery and Second Avenue). Call Yara, at (212) 475-6474, or e-mail yara@prodigy.net. For more information and updates log onto www.brama.com/yara

ONGOING

Saturday-Sunday, January 15-23

NEW YORK: La MaMa and Yara Arts Group presents "Koliada: Winter Rituals in a Carpathian Village," an exhibit of photographs from Kryvorinia by Alexander Khantaev, video by Andrea Odezynska and installation designed by Watoku Ueno. The exhibit opened at 3 p.m. Saturday, January 15, with a talk on Hutsul koliady (carols) by Virlana Tkacz and a concert of koliadas from other regions. The exhibit is on view at La MaMa Galleria, 6 E. First St. (between Bowery and Second Avenue); it will be on view through January 23. Galleria hours: Thursday-Sunday, 1-6 p.m. Call Yara, (212) 475-6474, or e-mail yara@prodigy.net. For general information and updates visit www.brama.com/yara.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Saturday, February 5

LOS ANGELES: The California Association to Aid Ukraine invites you to plan a weekend get away in sunny, southern California in February. CAAU will host the annual Ball and Presentation of Debutantes 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, adult; \$85, student. Mail check 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 "CAU" as per hotel's three-letter code). With other inquiries call Luba Keske, (818) 884-3836, or Shannon Micevych, (818) 774-9378.

Friday, March 4

NEW YORK: Yara Arts Groups new show at La MaMa Experimental Theatre, "Koliada: Winter Songs," will perform March 4-20. For tickets and information call La MaMa Box Office, (212) 475-7710.

PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:

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

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

Preview items must be received no later than one week before the desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Items will be published only once, unless otherwise indicated. Please include payment of \$20 for each time the item is to appear and indicate date(s) of issue(s) in which the item is to be published. Also, please include the phone number of a person who may be contacted by The Weekly during daytime hours. Information should be sent to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

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

“МОЛИТВА ЗА УКРАЇНУ”
Проща до Люрду
під патронатом
Стемфордської Епархії

May 18 - 29, 2005
Madrid, Barcelona, Andorra,
Lourdes, Logrono

All inclusive escorted tour
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