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SUNDAY, JANUARY 23, 2005

\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

In about-face, European Parliament votes to give Ukraine 'clear European perspective'

by Vasyl Pawlowsky

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV – As most Ukrainians both here and abroad awaited the decision of Ukraine's Supreme Court on Viktor Yanukovich's final legal appeal against the Central Election Commission's declaration of Viktor Yushchenko as the winner of Ukraine's presidential election, the European Parliament took a 180-degree turn in its attitude towards Ukraine. On January 13 the European Parliament voted 467 to 19 in favor of a resolution calling for Ukraine to be given "a clear European perspective" and the possibility of entering the European Union.

Such good news from Brussels has been long awaited, and local media have avidly reported developments regarding Europe's reactions to the new reality in Ukraine. It is clearly an about-face from an attitude held by Europe for some time – and particularly the position of former European Commission President Romano Prodi, who at one time said that Ukraine had as much chance as New Zealand of joining the European Union.

The European Commission stated, however, that there would be no change

in a timetable for Ukraine's accession to the EU. EC spokeswoman Françoise Le Bail, stated that changing the plan for Ukraine's entrance into the EU was not on the agenda at the current time, but added, "The plan may be renewed and discussed with the new government."

Both Brussels, where the EU is based, and Strasbourg, home to the Council of Europe, have been hesitant to act too quickly on Ukraine moving closer to Europe, but with Mr. Yushchenko scheduled to address the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) during its next sitting in Strasbourg on January 24-28, these discussions are certain to begin.

Oleh Rybachuk, who headed Mr. Yushchenko's campaign team, told *Stolychni Novosti* that a special committee would be formed in order to push for Ukraine's accession to Europe. Mr. Rybachuk stated that he plans to head the committee.

The vote of the European Parliament is not the only signal that is being sent. EU Trade Commissioner Peter Mandelson said on January 17: "I want to

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Yushchenko's inauguration scheduled for January 23



AP/Sergei Chuzavkov

National Deputies Mykola Katerynychuk (left) and Petro Poroshenko (right) hold official newspapers declaring Viktor Yushchenko Ukraine's president-elect.

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV – Viktor Yushchenko will be inaugurated on Sunday, January 23, as Ukraine's third president since the country declared independence in 1991.

The inauguration date was set by the Verkhovna Rada on Thursday, January 20, when 309 of the national deputies present in Parliament voted that the ceremony should be held that Sunday.

The Rada vote came in the wake of the Supreme Court's rejection just before dawn that day of the final appeal by Mr. Yushchenko's challenger, former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. Ukraine's top court had begun hearing the appeal – which argued that there were numerous procedural violations in the third round of voting in Ukraine's presidential election – on January 17.

A major focus of the Yanukovich appeal was the alleged denial of voters' rights during the repeat run-off of the presidential

election. The Supreme Court's decision noted "the complainant's demands as to the unlawfulness of actions and decisions by the Central Election Commission in establishing the results of the repeat vote in the Ukrainian presidential election on December 26, 2004, and violations of his rights have not been proven" and ruled that the appeal should be rejected.

In announcing the Supreme Court's decision, the presiding justice, Anatolii Yarema, said, "The decision is final and cannot be appealed."

Earlier, on Tuesday, January 18, the Supreme Court had approved the publication in *Uriadovi Kurier* and *Holos Ukrainy* – the official newspapers, respectively, of the government and the Parliament – of the official protocol of the presidential election results released by the Central Election Commission. The court said the official results, which showed Mr. Yushchenko as

(Continued on page 3)

Former Peace Corps volunteers urge more U.S. support for Ukraine

by Ken Bossong

WASHINGTON – In a letter delivered on January 18, 78 former U.S. Peace Corps volunteers, who earlier served in Ukraine, urged President George W. Bush and members of Congress to increase federal support for a cross-section of programs designed to reinforce that country's emerging democracy.

The signers wrote that "12 years of American investment, both public and private, in a wide variety of programs to train and support Ukrainian students, teachers, government officials, business leaders, journalists, NGOs, and others ... contributed to the evolution of a strong and vibrant civil society in Ukraine that manifested itself recently in the successful demands by its citizens for free, fair, and transparent elections. ... [T]hese investments in democracy were not only wise but also effective; consequently, all Americans can take pride in Ukraine's success."

However, they also noted that the administration's aid request for Ukraine for fiscal 2005 is less than \$80 million, compared with \$225 million per year in the late 1990s. Accordingly, they note, "it is essential that the United States back up its congratulatory statements [regarding Ukraine's] relatively free and peaceful presidential election with solid financial,

programmatic and policy support."

The letter argues that "increased funding for targeted programs that have been demonstrated to be particularly effective in helping Ukraine to make the transition from a former Soviet republic to a Western democracy [is] not only appropriate but absolutely essential."

The letter outlines a wide range of programs that the signers believe should be supported and expanded. These include educational scholarship and exchange programs, professional and teacher training programs, media development programs and Voice of America broadcasts, trade and business development programs, environmental remediation programs, public health and social service programs, and the Peace Corps program.

The letter further recommends that "the United States should be prepared to strongly support Ukraine's aspirations to secure market-economy status from the U.S. Department of Commerce, to end the Jackson-Vanik Amendment restrictions and confer permanent most-favored-nation trading status, and to join the World Trade Organization. Assuming it is the wish of Ukraine's elected leadership, the United States should also assist Ukraine to further integrate into other major Western institutions such as NATO and the European Union."

Flag of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky on exhibit in National Historical Museum

by Tatiana Matviichuk

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV – Over the course of the past 300 years, Bohdan Khmelnytsky's flag, which for many symbolizes the beginnings of Ukrainian statehood, has been in Ukraine only twice. The flag is the property of the Stockholm Military Museum, where it is part of its collection of ancient flags – considered the largest collection in Europe.

Khmelnytsky's flag traveled to Ukraine for the first time March 5, 2002, and it was exhibited in Kyiv,

Dnipropetrovsk, Lviv and Chyhyryn along with other ancient attributes of Kozak authority.

Now the historic flag is in Kyiv once more. A solemn ceremony that unveiled the flag took place at the entrance hall of the State National Historical Museum of Ukraine on January 12. The flag will be on display here until the end of March, together with the hetman's bulava, or mace, which came to Kyiv two weeks ago from the Warsaw Military Museum in Poland.

(Continued on page 3)

ANALYSIS

Poroshenko seeks Ukraine's next post-election prize

by Jan Maksymiuk
RFE/RL Newsline

Ukrainian lawmaker and businessman Petro Poroshenko announced in early January on Channel 5 that he is prepared to accept the post of prime minister from Viktor Yushchenko, whom the Central Election Commission on January 10 declared the official winner of the December 26 presidential vote.

Mr. Poroshenko's public declaration of readiness to head Ukraine's new Cabinet followed similar signals from two other political allies of Mr. Yushchenko: Yulia Tymoshenko and Anatolii Kinakh. Ukrainian political observers mention two more potential candidates for the post of prime minister: Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz and Our Ukraine Party head Viktor Pynzenyk. Mr. Yushchenko might thus develop a headache over the number of hopefuls for the premiership now that he is back from his vacation in the Carpathian Mountains.

Just who is Petro Poroshenko? And why does he think he might be taken seriously by Mr. Yushchenko in the company of such political heavyweights as Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Moroz? Indeed, even Messrs. Kinakh and Pynzenyk are better known in the Ukrainian political arena than Mr. Poroshenko.

All of Mr. Poroshenko's would-be rivals for the post of prime minister have previous experience in senior government jobs: Mr. Moroz was Rada chairman in 1994-1998; Ms. Tymoshenko was

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

vice prime minister in the Yushchenko Cabinet in 2000; Mr. Kinakh was prime minister in 2001-2002; and Mr. Pynzenyk served in the government as a minister and vice prime minister in 1992-1993 and 1994-1997.

As for Mr. Poroshenko, his most prestigious public post to date has been his leadership of the Parliament's Budget Committee, which he has headed since 2002.

To begin with, Mr. Poroshenko is the owner of the Channel 5 television station, which contributed mightily to the success of the Yushchenko-driven Orange Revolution in Ukraine. Channel 5 was the country's only TV channel sympathetic to Mr. Yushchenko's presidential bid throughout the 2004 election campaign and in the first week of the Orange Revolution that followed the discredited presidential run-off of November 21, 2004, that went to then-Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

It was only in the second week of protests by orange-clad Ukrainians on Independence Square in Kyiv that journalists on other television channels, both private and state-controlled, rebelled against official censorship and started to cover events in Ukraine in a more unbiased manner. Channel 5 spearheaded a major breakthrough in Ukraine's electronic media sector toward more pluralistic and balanced news coverage, which clearly benefited the opposition presidential candidate Mr. Yushchenko.

Notably, Mr. Poroshenko is also a wealthy businessman whose financial contribution to the Yushchenko presidential campaign – in addition to that from Ms. Tymoshenko – was surely hefty,

(Continued on page 14)

Tymoshenko leaves few unmoved

by Jeremy Bransten

RFE/RL Belarus and Ukraine Report

Admired by her supporters as a charismatic leader and castigated by her opponents as a corrupt turncoat, Ukraine's Yulia Tymoshenko leaves few people indifferent. Now, Ms. Tymoshenko, who does not mince words, says she expects to be Ukraine's next prime minister.

She has compared herself to Joan of Arc and called outgoing Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma a "red-haired cockroach."

But Ms. Tymoshenko can turn on the charm and win over an audience – even in enemy territory – as she demonstrated with a recent visit to the eastern city of Donetsk.

At the height of opposition demonstrations in Kyiv in December 2004 that forced a rerun of the presidential election, adoring crowds dubbed her the "Orange Princess." Ms. Tymoshenko portrays herself as a tough-talking crusader, a passionate Ukrainian nationalist, and woman of the people who is on a mission to clean up the country's morass of government and business corruption.

It has been an amazing transformation. A decade ago, Ms. Tymoshenko had no nationalist credentials. In fact, she spoke no Ukrainian and had no more than a pragmatic interest in politics. A trained economist from the eastern city of Dnipropetrovsk, she used her connections to former Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko to build a natural gas trading

empire that made her the country's richest businesswoman – until her ambitions ran up against the designs of President Kuchma.

RFE/RL regional analyst Jan Maksymiuk explained: "In the 1990s Ms. Tymoshenko was generally perceived as one of the most powerful oligarchs in Ukraine. Reportedly, in 1996, when she was the chairwoman of Ukraine's United Energy Systems, her company controlled one-fourth of the Ukrainian economy. But then she got into conflict with other oligarchs who were supported by Mr. Kuchma, and her career as a businesswoman ended."

While her career as a businesswoman may have been cut short, she proved more deft than Mr. Lazarenko, who had to step down. He ended up fleeing the country, only to be tried and convicted on 29 extortion and money-laundering charges in the United States, which he is now appealing.

In 1999 Ms. Tymoshenko joined the new reformist Cabinet of Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko and turned against her former business partners with a vengeance. Ms. Tymoshenko was credited with forcing Ukraine's energy sector to pay back some \$2 billion into state coffers and stripping the oligarchs of some of their power.

Soon after she left the government in 2001, her legal troubles began. She was indicted on fraud and money-laundering charges and jailed for several weeks. A Kyiv judge eventually dismissed the

(Continued on page 15)

NEWSBRIEFS

Court OKs publication of results

KYIV – The Supreme Court – while still considering the appeal by presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich against the victory of his rival, Viktor Yushchenko – decided on January 18 to lift its ban on publication of the official results of the December 26 vote. The court said the results may be published in *Uriadovyi Kurier* and *Holos Ukrainy* after January 19, thus clearing the way for Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration. The decision is widely regarded as a signal that the court will soon reject Mr. Yanukovich's appeal. "This is a brutal violation of our rights. Now we know what the final verdict of the court will be," Mr. Yanukovich's proxy Nestor Shufrych told *Agence France-Presse* on January 18. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yanukovich supporters pitch tents

DONETSK – Some 5,000 people took part in a rally in Donetsk on January 18 to express support for former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, whom they believe to be the elected president of Ukraine, the *Ukrainska Pravda* website reported. Mr. Yanukovich's supporters have also pitched some 90 tents on Donetsk's central square for the past week. They are collecting signatures under a petition to hold a referendum on establishing a federal system in Ukraine. According to *ITAR-TASS*, more than 50,000 Donetsk residents signed by January 18. A previous rally in Donetsk on January 13 attracted 6,000 people. Speakers at that rally, which was organized by the Progressive Socialist Party led by Natalia Vitrenko, called for autonomy for the Donbas coal-mining region and for annulling the official results of the December 26 presidential election, whose winner was declared to be Viktor Yushchenko. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kyiv tent city is dismantled

KYIV – The residents of the tent camp on *Khreshchatyk*, Kyiv's main thoroughfare, have begun dismantling their tents, following a January 15 directive from President-elect Viktor Yushchenko, the *Ukrainska Pravda* website reported, quoting Yushchenko spokeswoman Tetiana Mokridi. Ms. Mokridi said some 100 tents remain on *Khreshchatyk*, out of more than 450 pitched there by Yushchenko supporters after the second round of the presidential election on November 21, 2004. According to Ukrainian news agencies, some residents of the tent camp have decided to remain there until Mr. Yushchenko's inaugura-

tion. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Yushchenko to speak in Strasbourg

KYIV – President-elect Viktor Yushchenko is scheduled to address the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) in Strasbourg on January 25, Council of Europe press officer Andrew Cutting reported. The same day, Mr. Yushchenko will hold a joint news conference with Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili, who will address the PACE on January 26. National Deputy Oleh Rybachuk from Mr. Yushchenko's *Our Ukraine* bloc told *Interfax* that in Strasbourg Mr. Yushchenko will present his five-year action plan. "[Ukraine's] full membership in the European Union has been and remains the strategic aim of Viktor Yushchenko as president," Mr. Rybachuk said. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Pope gives blessing for Yushchenko

VATICAN CITY – Pope John Paul II on January 10 transmitted his blessing for Ukraine's President-elect Viktor Yushchenko to Ukraine's ambassador to the Vatican, Hryhorii Khoruzhii. The pope and the ambassador met during a traditional New Year's reception for the diplomatic corps accredited by the Holy See. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Court reviews Yanukovich appeal

KYIV – The Supreme Court on January 17 began examining the appeal by presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich against the official results of the December 26 presidential run-off. The first day of the proceedings was devoted to procedural and formal matters. The Supreme Court rejected numerous motions by the Yanukovich side, including challenges against the judges, a request to postpone the hearing and a motion to transfer the case to another court. By law, the Supreme Court has to make its ruling by January 21. (RFE/RL Newsline)

EU not to change action plan for Ukraine

KYIV – The European Commission is not going to modify its European Union-Ukraine Action Plan within the EU's New Neighborhood Policy, *Ukrainska Pravda* reported on January 18, quoting European Commission spokeswoman Françoise Le Bail. Ms. Le Bail was commenting on rumors that such a change might take place following last week's European

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Yushchenko's inauguration...

(Continued from page 1)

the winner by 8 percent of the vote, could be published in the two newspapers of record after January 19, thus clearing the way for the Verkhovna Rada to set the inauguration date, which most observers had expected would occur either on Saturday, January 22, or the following day.

Reuters reported that Mr. Yushchenko had told his supporters January 22 would be an appropriate day for the inauguration as it marks the anniversary of the 1919 proclamation of the unity of all Ukrainian lands in one Ukrainian National Republic. Indeed, January 22 is celebrated in Ukraine as the Day of Unity (Sobornist).

On January 20 Yushchenko supporter Petro Poroshenko brought proofs of Uriadovyi Kurier and Holos Ukrainy to the Supreme Court, where supporters cheered and signed the papers. According

to the Associated Press, Mr. Poroshenko stated: "This means the presidential campaign, which should have been over last year, is finally over."

However, the Yanukovich camp continued to deny that Mr. Yushchenko was the freely and fairly elected president of Ukraine. Mr. Yanukovich's representative Nestor Shufrych was quoted by the AP as saying that Mr. Yushchenko would be "an illegitimate president." The manager of the Yanukovich campaign, Taras Chornovil, commented: "The only remedy after such an inauguration would be an impeachment process."

Mr. Shufrych also noted that the Yanukovich campaign would take its case to the European Court of Human Rights.

The Supreme Court's hearings

Ukraine's Supreme Court held three days of hearings and four hours of deliberations on Mr. Yanukovich's final appeal.

Flag of Hetman...

(Continued from page 1)

The arrival of such an important historical artifact of Ukrainian authority right before Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration as Ukraine's new president was seen by some as symbolic.

"These relics show not only the spiritual unity of our people, but they symbolize positive historical changes in the country, both in the 17th century and today," said Bohdan Hubsykyi, a national deputy in the Verkhovna Rada and the head of the company Ukraine – 21st Century, which organized the event.

The private flag of the renowned Ukrainian hetman is approximately 350 years old; an abbreviation of Khmelnytsky's name and title appear on the flag. The main characteristic of this ancient flag – one that makes it so unique and symbolic – is the absence of any symbols of other foreign states (Poland or Russia), elements of which used to be depicted on other Zaporozhian flags.

Moreover, the cross in the center of the banner is the same as the cross on the sarcophagus of Kyivan Rus' Grand Prince Yaroslav Mudryi (the Wise). Therefore, the flag is considered by some to be the symbol of the beginnings of Ukrainian statehood. It was made in approximately 1649, at the time of the hetman state under the Zboriv Agreement, which concluded a revolt against Polish rulers.

Mr. Hubsykyi explained that the historic attributes of Khmelnytsky's power – his bulava and flag – were to be used only for the one-time unveiling. But Mr. Hubsykyi said it might be possible, and symbolic, to use them during the presi-

dential inauguration. Negotiations on this subject are already taking place, but many obstacles remain unresolved.

Representatives of the military museums of Warsaw and Stockholm avoided questions about permanently returning the valuable artifacts to the Ukrainian people.

The atmosphere surrounding the flag's unveiling was reflected in the writer Yurii Mushketyk's words, which elicited images of brave Kozaks on a battlefield united under the unique banner. "Standing near it, we could feel the courage and new strength that might fill the Kozaks gathered under this flag," he noted.

According to Dr. Yuriy Savchuk, a professor of history at Ukraine's National Academy of Sciences, the flag came to Stockholm as a trophy during the second Swedish-Polish War (1655-1660) with many other Zaporozhian flags and was mentioned together with the trophy list of Swedish royalty in 1685. Dr. Savchuk, who has been studying flags of the Zaporozhian Sich in cooperation with Swedish specialists for 10 years, said the flag is made of flax – white with crimson borders – and is colored with natural pigments. The flag is about 4 feet wide and 9 feet long, trimmed diagonally at the end.

In the 19th century Khmelnytsky's flag, together with banners of other European countries, was almost destroyed after being kept in poor conditions that included excessive humidity. But, thanks to journalists who raised the issue throughout Europe, the artifacts were saved. The edges of flag bear indications of exposure to humidity and light. Today, taking flash photographs of the ancient flag is not allowed because of the banner's age.



AP/Sergei Chuzavkov

Supreme Court Judges Anatolii Yarema (left) and Viktor Kryvenko during the hearing of an appeal by Viktor Yanukovich.

Even before the hearings had begun, Mr. Yanukovich accused the court of "adopting a biased position beforehand." The court previously had rejected an array of minor appeals from the Yanukovich camp.

Mr. Yanukovich's legal team included three Swiss lawyers – a visible reminder of his stated intention to take the case to the European Court of Human Rights if the Ukrainian court ruled against him.

Yushchenko representative Yurii Kliuchkovskiy complained about the Swiss lawyers' participation: "They don't know Ukrainian law, they are not familiar with the court proceedings, and they don't speak Ukrainian."

The lawyers' translator spoke Russian rather than Ukrainian, but Mr. Shufrych of the Yanukovich team said the attorneys had been "studying Ukrainian law for 10 days."

The first day of hearings was taken up with procedural maneuvers, including attempts to remove one of the Supreme Court justices from the case and a challenge to the court's jurisdiction. Both motions were rejected.

The court also rejected a motion to call the head of the Central Election Commission as a witness, and it turned down a request for one of the judges to be excluded for saying the court had already dealt with major elements of the Yanukovich complaint.

On the second day of hearings the court began considering the substance of the appeal. Unexpectedly for the

Yanukovich team, the court ruled that the presidential election results could be published before it completed hearing the appeal filed by the losing candidate, thus paving the way for the Verkhovna Rada to set the date for Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration.

"This is a shock. After this decision the Yanukovich representatives should stand up and leave the court hearing. There's no sense in it now," said Olena Lukash, a lawyer who represented Mr. Yanukovich in a previous Supreme Court hearing.

The Yanukovich appeal consisted of more than 600 volumes of documents, including statements about procedural violations in the December election, as well as other complaints.

Svetlana Kustova, who represented Mr. Yushchenko in court, argued that the veracity of many of the documents was in doubt, saying that many of the complaints were written in a suspiciously similar format.

After the court announced its decision, Yushchenko representative Mykola Katerynchuk said, "This is a real victory for democracy, whether you voted for Yushchenko or for Yanukovich. Everybody will feel the hopes of this victory."

"I never had a single doubt about Yushchenko's victory. Yushchenko is a real chance for Ukraine," said student Masha Borisova.

– Olga Nuzhinskaya contributed to this report.



UNIAN

The historic flag of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky is shown to the press in Kyiv.

UNA praises election monitoring project

Below is the full text of a letter sent on January 17 by the Ukrainian National Association to Michael Sawkiw, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, commending the UCCA on its coordination of election monitors for Ukraine's presidential election.

Dear Mr. Sawkiw:

On behalf of the Ukrainian National Association Inc. we would like to thank you for the tremendous effort put forth by you and your staff with regard to organizing and coordinating election observers for all three rounds of Ukraine's election for president. We would like to acknowledge the massive effort and personal dedication of your tireless staff and volunteers in New York, New Jersey, Washington and Kyiv.

Specifically, we appreciate the awe-inspiring effort that was involved in organizing the election observers for

the unexpected third round of elections held on December 26, 2004, in which an unprecedented 2,400 Ukrainian Americans participated under the auspices of UCCA.

I, personally, was especially proud to have taken part in this effort as an UCCA-sponsored election observer to Kirovohrad.

Your willingness to undertake the tremendous task of coordinating and organizing the election observers is appreciated by the community at large for, without this effort, the outcome of the historic vote on December 26, 2004, may have been entirely different.

Please accept this letter as a sincere acknowledgement of our gratitude for your efforts.

For the Executive Committee:
Stefan Kaczaraj
President

Ukrainians carol at Rockefeller Center to celebrate Julian calendar Christmas



Taras Ferencevych

Six-year-old Michael Popovych holds the traditional Ukrainian "zivzda" (star) during carolling in front of the Christmas tree at New York's Rockefeller Center.

by Deanna Yurchuk

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

NEW YORK – An estimated 350 New York Ukrainians, most sporting orange scarves in support of Ukraine's President-elect Viktor Yushchenko, ended their Christmas day on January 7 by carolling at Rockefeller Center. This was the first time that the renowned tree was left illuminated for the Julian calendar Christmas celebration.

The event took place thanks to the efforts of Olena Turkalo of Ridgefield, Conn., who back in December started an e-mail campaign

to the Property Management Offices of Rockefeller Center asking for the tree to be kept lit in honor of all those Eastern rite Christians who celebrate Christmas according to the old Julian calendar.

When Peter Dillon, director of marketing at Rockefeller Center Tishman Speyer Properties, notified Ms. Turkalo on December 17 that the tree would remain standing through the evening of January 7, the news quickly spread through the Ukrainian grapevine. According to Ms. Turkalo, people were so moved by having their request granted that they made plans to bring their Ukrainian Christmas celebrations to Rockefeller Center.

In addition to an article that appeared in The Ukrainian Weekly in late December, many organizations announced the event through mass e-mailings, and priests urged their faithful on Christmas Day to participate in this historic event.

Ukrainian carolers started encircling the famed light-bedecked Christmas tree around 7 p.m. on Friday, joining in the festive singing of traditional Ukrainian carols. Some attendees brought candles and songbooks, which they graciously shared. After about an hour, as most carolers headed home, lingering participants huddled together in smaller circles and continued caroling.

Orest Stashkevych, originally from Lviv and now from Brooklyn, noted that he was glad the caroling took place, but he would have liked to see it organized more practically. According to Mr. Stashkevych, it would have been better if someone had led the singing with an explanation of the event announced over a megaphone for the American public. Then the carolers would have stayed longer.

Slavko Kiciuk of Yonkers, N.Y.

noted that it was inspiring to see such a crowd of people from all segments of the Ukrainian community. He noted that the events of the "Orange democratic movement have unified the earlier waves of Ukrainian immigrants with the [the most recent] Fourth Wave." Indeed, immigrants of all waves, as well as American-born Ukrainians, were represented, celebrating and caroling in unison.

Members of the Fourth Wave seemed particularly energized by the event. It was another opportunity for them to gather together to celebrate the recent democratic victory in Ukraine. Olha Azarova, who hails from Ivano-Frankivsk and now lives in Brooklyn with her husband, said, "A great future awaits Ukraine, and we can't wait to go back to help to realize it."

Ms. Turkalo noted that thank-you letters were sent to officials at Rockefeller Center, including Mr. Dillon and Alison Wechsler.

Postcard recalls Raoul Wallenberg

TORONTO – January 17 marks the 60th anniversary of the disappearance in Budapest of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, who saved tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust.

Kidnapped by the Soviet secret police, SMERSH, Wallenberg was subsequently tortured and then murdered, reportedly in Moscow's infamous Lubyanka prison (NKVD).

In 1981 Wallenberg was named an honorary citizen of the United States and in 1985 of Canada.

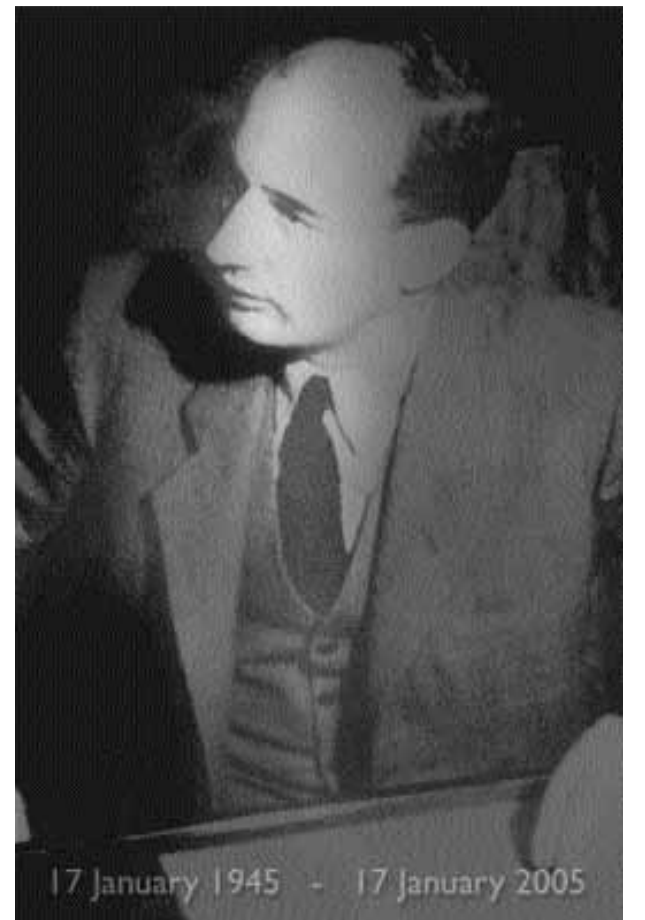
North America's Ukrainian community on January 17 launched thousands of postcards addressed to politicians, the media, writers and others, reminding them of Wallenberg's death and calling attention to the presence in North America, Western Europe and elsewhere, of veterans of SMERSH, the NKVD and KGB, who remain unpunished. The postcards were released by the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association and the Ukrainian American Civil Liberties Association.

UCCLA Director of Research Lubomyr Luciuk, said: "We know that veterans of SMERSH, the NKVD and KGB are living in Canada, the U.S.A. and elsewhere in the West. Whether they are war criminals is for our judicial systems to determine but, undeniably, the various organs of the Soviet secret police were responsible for mass murder and even genocide, on a scale comparable to, and probably in excess of, what the Nazis did."

"These are people no one would want as a neighbor. As for how many there are we don't know and we have no intention of inflaming public sentiment by claiming that thousands of such villains are in our midst. One is too many."

"As for how they came to be here that, too, is an

(Continued on page 15)



Postcard marking the 60th anniversary of the disappearance of Raoul Wallenberg.

The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: December

Amount	Name	City
\$200.00	UNA Branch 125 Sisterhood of Annunciation	Chicago, Ill.
\$100.00	Yuriy and Irena Deychakiwsky John Nowadly Sophie Worobec	North Potomac, Md. Fairfax, Va. Chicago, Ill.
\$75.00	Roman Sorobay	New York, N.Y.
\$55.00	Jaroslav Didoszak Ihor Szeremeta	Livonia, Mich. Princeton, N.J.
\$50.00	Tom Hawrylko Marika Jurach Roman Olijnyk	Clifton, N.J. Alexandria, Va. Radnor, Pa.
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THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Young UNA'ers



Otto and Damian Fisher, children of Ania and Otto Fisher of East Brunswick, N.J., are new members of UNA Branch 234. They were enrolled by Maria and Eugene Oscislawski.



Andrey Mark and Roman Andriy Jakubowycz, children of Marko and Daria Jakubowycz of West Lafayette, Ind., are new members of UNA Branch 358. They were enrolled by their grandparents Dr. Alexander and Daria Jakubowycz.



Anna Alexandra Vera Salewycz, daughter of Alexander and Ksenia Salewycz of Clifton, N.J., is a new member of UNA Branch 134. She was enrolled by her parents.



Natalie Catherine Conway, daughter of Chrystyna T. Fedorijczuk and Daniel Conway of Philadelphia, is a new member of UNA Branch 162. Natalie is particularly lucky as she was enrolled twice: by her great-grandmother Katerina Jankowski, and by her grandparents Jurij B. and Jolanta T. Fedorijczuk. Her grandfather is the branch secretary.

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Insurance Matters

by Joseph Hawryluk

Who should be the beneficiary?

Dear Osyp:

I'm getting ready to buy some life insurance. Who should be the beneficiary?

Jurij

Dear Jurij:

Congratulations on a very important step! With funeral costs approaching \$10,000 (funeral home, clergy fee, cemetery plot, final medical expenses, funeral breakfast, attorney fee, etc.), I recommend that you designate as beneficiary the person who would be paying all these bills (sibling, spouse, parent, etc.).

Another popular practice is to make your favorite charity a beneficiary. Unlike a will – which can be contested, beneficiary proceeds are not part of the insured-donor's probate estate and are paid directly to the named beneficiary. Additionally, if you assign your policy to the charitable institution, you can deduct your insurance premiums from your taxes.

A business owner can designate his business as beneficiary (for business continuation purposes). The insured's estate can be designated as beneficiary (to help heirs pay off loans, taxes, etc.). The insured's children can be designated as beneficiaries (specifying an adult guardian is recommended).

You can change your beneficiary (unless assigned) as many times as necessary.

Until next time,
Osyp

Joseph (Osyp in Ukrainian) Hawryluk is an advisor on the UNA General Assembly, chairman of the Buffalo UNA District Committee and secretary of UNA Branch 360. He is also a New York State licensed agent. Readers may reach him at osyp@unamember.com.



Kalyna Woloszyn, daughter of Marianka and Gregory Woloszyn of Forest Hills, N.Y., is a new member of UNA Branch 88. She was enrolled by her grandparents Wasyl Sosiak and Anna Woloszyn.



Nicholas Jarosewich, son of Tania and Andrew Jarosewich of North Royalton, Ohio, is a new member of UNA Branch 15 in Washington. He was enrolled by his grandparents Lydia and Eugene Jarosewich.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Of inaugurations and freedom

On January 20 George W. Bush took the oath of office for his second term as president of the United States. As our staff listened to his well-crafted philosophical address, we could not help but think about another inauguration just three days hence. No, it wasn't because President Bush mentioned Ukraine – though we must admit there were times when the words and ideas he expressed were so fitting that we thought he just might. It was because the theme of his second inaugural address was freedom – a topic near and dear to every Ukrainian.

President Bush eloquently expressed America's commitment to the world to support freedom and promote democracy. He drew upon the founding principles of the United States: "From the day of our founding, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this earth has rights, and dignity, and matchless value, because they bear the image of the Maker of heaven and earth. Across the generations we have proclaimed the imperative of self-government, because no one is fit to be a master, and no one deserves to be a slave. Advancing these ideals is the mission that created our nation."

And he pledged: "So, it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in the world."

When the president said, "Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen, and defended by citizens, and sustained by the rule of law..." our thoughts immediately turned to Ukraine and the Orange Revolution, the most recent shining example of the people making that choice and standing firm. He continued: "... there is no justice without freedom, and there can be no human rights without human liberty."

Citing events of the past four decades, which he said were "defined by the swiftest advance of freedom ever seen," President Bush underscored: "Liberty will come to those who love it." And so it has come to Ukraine – to a nation that has endured for decades, whose national anthem bears witness to long years of suffering and yet proclaims: "Ukraine has not died. ... Fate will yet smile upon us. ... We will lay down our souls and bodies for our freedom." Indeed, generations of Ukrainians have given their lives for the cause of freedom, and today that freedom seems closer than ever before as Ukraine inaugurates its president on January 23.

To be sure, the proclamation of August 24, 1991, brought independence to today's Ukraine, and the referendum of December 1, 1991, affirmed that independence. But it is the presidential election of 2004 and the Orange Revolution to which it gave birth that we believe has brought freedom to the people. Moreover, it is a freedom that was not given, but a freedom that was earned. It is tangible proof of the truths in President Bush's inaugural address: the belief in the "eventual triumph of freedom," the idea that "freedom is the permanent hope of mankind."

Toward the end of President Bush's inauguration day, word came from Washington that outgoing Secretary of State Colin Powell, who spoke out so ardently against the fraudulent Ukrainian presidential election of November 24, will lead the U.S. delegation to the inauguration of Viktor Yushchenko. A statement issued by the State Department congratulated "President-elect Yushchenko on his historic victory" and "the Ukrainian people for the courage they displayed in standing up for their democratic rights."

On Sunday, January 23, all Ukrainians around the world will be with the people of Ukraine in spirit. The United States, too, will be there, offering its wishes of success and support to a promising new leader of a newly reborn, and free, Ukraine. Freedom is on the march.

Jan.
26
2003

Turning the pages back...

Two years ago, on January 26, 2003, The Ukrainian Weekly's Roman Woronowycz reported that "A culture of corruption is settling upon Ukraine."

A national survey developed by the Ukrainian Institute for Social Research and the Social Monitoring Center in conjunction with the United Nations Development Program, showed that 78 percent of the respondents believed that all or nearly all government officials had accepted bribes. More than 80 percent stated that corruption was prevalent within the judicial branch of government, as well, while 71 percent responded in the affirmative to a query about whether they believed that most government officials were tied to the mafia or private family business relations.

The survey, conducted in late November and early December 2002, included 3,063 respondents from 83 cities and 69 villages across Ukraine. The margin of error was between 1.1 percent and 1.83 percent.

The most telling finding was that a good portion of Ukraine's populace seemed inclined to accept bribery and corruption as a normal part of everyday life. Some 23 percent of the respondents indicated that making additional payments beyond the assigned cost of a government service was tolerable. About 44 percent indicated they paid bribes or made gifts in one form or another at least once in the last year. "Today bribes have become the norm for society," explained Olha Balakirieva, director of the Social Monitoring Center. "This is one of the phenomena of contemporary Ukrainian society that we need to research. We cannot ignore it."

Ms. Balakirieva said that a majority of the respondents accepted the situation because they believed their government was incapable of change. Nearly two-thirds responded that in their estimation government actively resists popular control and refuses to listen to its citizens. Most citizens believed the government lacks democratic values, has little transparency in day-to-day activities and is all but bereft of professionalism. She noted that about 44 percent of respondents replied that central government authorities were incapable of resolving individual and societal problems, and a like number, 45 percent, could not do so at the oblast and local level.

Source: "Nationwide survey reveals culture of corruption in Ukraine," by Roman Woronowycz, Kyiv Press Bureau, The Ukrainian Weekly, January 26, 2003, Vol. LXXI, No. 4.

FOR THE RECORD

Ambassador Miller's observations on Ukraine's Orange Revolution

William Green Miller, who served as America's second ambassador to Ukraine (1993-1998), spent six of the last seven weeks of 2004 in Ukraine. He was an eyewitness to the Orange Revolution as an observer during the three rounds of Ukraine's presidential election, which pitted Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, representing the party in power, against the reformist opponent Viktor Yushchenko. He also discussed the developments there with the major political figures directly involved in those events, which had dominated the front pages of the world's leading newspapers and news broadcasts throughout the process.

Upon his return to Washington, where he is the senior policy fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Ambassador Miller was invited to share his observations at a Director's Forum at the Center on January 6. Following are excerpts from a transcript of his presentation (to be published in two parts).

PART I

Shortly after the 2002 parliamentary elections, I had a long conversation with the wisest and most astute of senior Ukrainian national security officials, Volodymyr Horbulin, who had been the national security advisor to President Leonid Kuchma, and his lifelong friend. ... On that occasion, Horbulin said to me, "There has been a profound change in the nature of Ukrainian politics. These recently concluded parliamentary elections showed that the party of power has lost majority popular support. Over 75 percent of the electorate is for new leaders like Yushchenko, or are opposed to the government and the existing system of governance."

Certainly, the majority of those who ran for the Parliament were supported by new groups other than the long dominant "party of power," or the successor Communists and Socialists. For the first time, too, votes were cast by large numbers of voters whose livelihood did not depend on employment in state organizations. The 2002 elections marked, in a definitive way, the time when a majority of emancipated voters emerged out of the swamp of docile, single-party voters so reminiscent of Soviet times.

Strong, coherent opposition parties – other than the party of power and allied lesser factions the party of power supported or allowed to function – did not exist, although a formidable opposition to the pervasive corruption and abuses of power was beginning to take shape. The Nasha Ukraina [Our Ukraine] coalition led by Viktor Yushchenko (who declared he was not head of any party) had not yet fully formed, but the key personalities had already emerged. ...

At the same time, the grassroots organizations so necessary for democratic political action were beginning to coalesce, building in part on the youth groups from earlier national movements like Rukh and the environmental organizations arising out of the Chernobyl catastrophe. For over 10 years observer groups for elections were trained, helped in part by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, National Democratic Institute, International Republican Institute, and other U.S. and European non-governmental organizations. These observer groups, largely made up of students and young people, became a formidable element in the

demand for free, fair, transparent, and honest elections. ...

During the two years between the parliamentary and the October 21, 2004, presidential elections, the party of power did everything possible to destroy the popular support for Yushchenko. They used the media and controlled press to picture Yushchenko as weak, a pawn of the United States and the West, spreading rumors that his American-born wife was a CIA agent. He was characterized as a dilettante, more interested in painting and raising bees than doing the hard work of running a nation. He would be too soft, not tough enough to run Ukraine. This characterization and evaluation of Yushchenko's abilities was held by many in Ukraine, as well as in U.S. government circles and in European capitals. ...

Yushchenko would have to maintain his popularity by proving his strength of character, integrity and abilities through two years of intense campaigning. He would have to survive several assassination attempts, including a near fatal poisoning. Further, his campaign would face enormous organizational difficulties, a press and TV blockade, shortage of funds, a massive disinformation campaign aimed at destroying his popularity among the Ukrainian people, opposition from many Russians, including President Putin and, until the last months before election, a relatively hands-off attitude from the United States government and the West.

Yet, it was more and more evident that the more the party of power led by President Kuchma and the oligarchs and clans that supported Viktor Yanukovich used illegal and brutal means to block Nasha Ukraina's efforts to campaign, the stronger Yushchenko seemed to get. Under adversity he proved his durability. When he started his campaign, he often sounded like an economics professor lecturing to a graduate school seminar, but from daily necessity to communicate, his speaking style grew more passionate, tighter in structure and more persuasive. Yushchenko learned and was able to speak surrounded by crowds used to pressure and adversity, as one of the people. I witnessed this remarkable transformation. ...

Independence Square

Day after day, night after night, the maidan crowd shared a glorious uplifting spirit and a determination to rid their country of criminality and corruption. As they said in some of their slogans, "bandu het" (thieves, crooks – out), and "nas bahato, nas ne podolaty," (we are many and we will not be overcome). To those who were on the street, on the maidan, who shared this experience, it was not surprising that this mass of hundreds of thousands, at times over a million, was transformed into a "Maidan Parliament." The creation of the maidan phenomenon would not have been possible unless certain key conditions had existed. The mayor of Kyiv, Oleksander Omelchenko, allowed the Maidan to be used by Nasha Ukraina for its gathering. The mayor and City Council allowed the Kreshchatyk to be occupied by the Pora tent city. Omelchenko, the City Council and the chiefs of militia and SBU [Security Service of Ukraine] could have moved to support Yanukovich, but they sided with Yushchenko. This was a crucial political decision.

The majority of police and militia of Kyiv were clearly in sympathy with

(Continued on page 16)

POST-ELECTION REFLECTIONS: This year's Julian calendar Christmas had meaning

by Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk

This year my first Christmas had mettle, my second, meaning.

Many Ukrainians religiously observe Christmas, or "Rizdvo," according to the Julian calendar, on January 7. Yet, like a majority of Canadians, we also celebrate Christmas on December 25.

When I was a boy that was a very good thing. Living within two traditions meant enjoying two feasts, two rounds of gift-getting, even three, for our community also gathered on December 19 in St. Mary's School in Kingston, to mark St. Nicholas Day. He is known as Sviaty Mykolai to Ukrainians. Good kids got treats, bad ones a thorny twig, bestowed by Black Peter, the Devil himself. I am pretty certain that, even then, I knew it was just Mr. Polywkan in black face, but I can't say the prospect of being on the receiving end of what he had to confer was agreeable. At least I now admit I wasn't always good for goodness' sake. Not then.

This year's holidays were different. Enraged over the ham-fisted meddling of Russian President Vladimir Putin in Ukraine's affairs, and particularly over how Moscow's man in Kyiv, Viktor Yanukovich, attempted to vitiate the October 31 national election, millions of Ukrainians took to the streets in peaceful

Lubomyr Luciuk teaches political geography at the Royal Military College of Canada.

protest. Their Orange Revolution forced the powers-that-were to hold a re-run, on December 26. This time, predictably, the majority's choice, Viktor Yushchenko, won decisively. For weeks, as never before, the world's media carried stories about Ukraine.

Hundreds of Ukrainian Canadians went overseas as election observers, forgoing Christmas at home. I could have gone, but did not. Watching when you don't have the equipment to intervene is just not my style. Still, collectively, those volunteers ensured the fraudsters were foiled. And they achieved more. They focused international attention on Ukraine. I told my teenaged daughter how, when I was her age, many said Ukraine did not exist or was, at best, southern Russia, or a Soviet land. I am certain no one will ever tell her there never was and never will be a Ukraine.

But, as we awaited the results, the Boxing Day tsunami washed all news of Ukraine off the front pages, then brought in a tide of Western aid the likes of which has never been seen. And so, between my first Christmas and my second, global attention properly was diverted from Ukraine. As the horrors that befell our neighbours in South Asia became better known, many were moved to wonder where God went this Christmas. I suspect the answer is that He was there in all that giving. And He certainly brought the gift

(Continued on page 14)

NEW RELEASE

Educational Council publishes new textbook "Ukrainian Culture"

NEW YORK – Educational Council of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America announced the release of a new textbook – the work of Prof. Ihor Mirchuk, titled "Ukrainian Culture" (New York: Educational Council, 2004, 258 pp., 18 color plates).

This work is the first volume of the planned textbook for upper classes of Schools of Ukrainian Studies. It covers ethnography, (pages 1-125) and architecture (pages 126-249) for the first two levels of the study of Ukrainian culture. The first part has 20 lessons, and the second part 18 lessons. After each part there is a review with a dictionary, English translations and a bibliography. The textbook has many illustrations, with eight

pages of color plates.

In the first part of the textbook the author gives information about the ethnographic regions of Ukraine, traditional occupations, customs and rituals, village life, housing, food and clothing. Pre-Christian beliefs and folk customs are described according to cycles, along with Easter eggs, ceramics, embroidery and woodcarving. After each lesson there are explanations, exercises and creative projects. There are crosswords and other puzzles as well as graphs, which give the textbook a contemporary feel.

The second part begins with the definition of culture and early architecture in Ukraine. The author concentrates on the Kyivan; Renaissance, Romanesque and Gothic styles follow. The Baroque Era is covered in several chapters, along with the Rococo and Classical styles and the 19th-20th centuries. Wooden architecture also has its own chapter.

There are three chapters devoted to woodcarving and an interesting discussion about the importance of Alexander Archipenko to world sculpture. A separate word list of architectural and sculptural terms is added for the students' convenience. There is also a general glossary.

The author, Prof. Mirchuk, teaches college-level art courses and has taught culture courses at the Ukrainian Studies School in Philadelphia. Hopefully, the second volume of the series, covering music, theater and painting, will appear in 2005.

Orders may be sent to the UCCA Educational Council, P.O. Box 391 – Cooper Station, New York, NY 10276; (212) 477-1200. Price: \$16.



Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Marta's Christmas card

As a third grade teacher many years ago, I often had foreign students in my class. Most were from Mexico, but occasionally students from Russia and even from the People's Republic of China would appear.

One foreign student I remember most fondly is Marta, a charming little girl from Poznan, Poland. Her father was completing his studies at Northern Illinois University, and Marta and her mother were in America for his final year.

Third graders are delightful creatures: eager, enthusiastic, sponges for knowledge, a joy to teach. I often tell my classes at NIU that when teachers die and go to heaven, God assigns them a third grade class.

If ever there was a perfect third grade student, it was Marta. At the beginning of the school year she barely spoke English. By the end of May, she was fluent. An engaged learner, Marta memorized the names of all the U.S. presidents, all on her own, just for the fun of it, because she could. She was happy to recite the list in front of the class. My American-born students, who instinctively liked Marta, were impressed and enthusiastically applauded her performance. Third graders are like that.

Marta returned to Poland at the end of the year. Just before she left, I told her I expected her to be the president of Poland someday. "In your inaugural address," I advised her, "I would like you to say that you owe all of your success to your Ukrainian third grade teacher in America." She laughed and promised she would. Every year since then, she and I have exchanged Christmas cards. And every year I asked her how her presidential campaign was coming along.

This year's card from Marta was extra special. As I opened to read it, an orange ribbon fell out. Marta wrote: "I have enclosed an orange ribbon I have recently been wearing, like numerous other Poles, in support of the democratic transformation that we are now witnessing in Ukraine." Lesia and I were moved to tears.

Unlike Russians, many of whom still seem unable to accept Ukraine's independence, Poles have welcomed Ukraine's newfound freedom. They want a strong Ukraine, if for no other reason than to serve as a bulwark against Russian imperialism, an ever-present threat. A new rapprochement is emerging between Ukraine and Poland, and that is good for both nations.

This year, Wprost, a leading Polish news magazine, had "Wiktor Juszczenko" as their "Czlowiek Roku." The multi-page lead article, titled "Hetman of Freedom," was devoted to Mr. Yushchenko's life and accomplishments. Included were pictures of his family (wife, children and grandchildren), his birthplace and family home, as well as laudatory commentary from past person-of-the-year honorees such as Lech Walesa, Leszek Miller, Hanna Suchocka, Jerzy Buzek, Leszek Balcerowicz, Jan Rokita, other distinguished Poles, Americans, Europeans and Ukrainians such as Jurij Pawlenko, Julia Tymoshenko and Oleh Rybachuk. The entire Polish issue was a fitting tribute to an extraordinary Ukrainian. Amazing!

Ukrainian-Polish relations have never been good. Galicia and Volynia were once part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Polish king and the "shliakhta" exploited the land, enslaving, for all practical purposes, the Ukrainian

peasant. Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky secured Ukraine's independence for a brief period in 1648 by defeating the Poles at the battles of Zhovti Vody and Kherson. He lost it all in an ill-advised alliance with Muscovy in 1654. The Treaty of Pereiaslav led, ultimately, to Ukraine's incorporation into the Russian empire. In 1667, Russia concluded a separate treaty with Poland at Andrusiv, formalizing the partition of Ukraine along the Dnipro – left-bank to Muscovy, right-bank to Poland.

Poland was later partitioned and much of right-bank Ukraine became part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. When the Austro-Hungarian empire collapsed in 1918, Ukrainian Galicia (Halychyna) declared its independence and hostilities broke out between a newly constituted Polish government and Ukraine for control of Ukrainian territory.

Eastern Ukraine declared its independence in 1918, and by 1920 was under the control of Symon Petliura's Directory. A treaty with Warsaw recognized Ukraine's independence. Soon after the Bolsheviks captured Kyiv, a combined Ukrainian-Polish military force drove the Red Army out of Ukraine's capital. The victory, however, was short-lived. The Reds regrouped, drove the Ukrainian-Polish armies out of Kyiv and rolled into Poland, finally stopping at the gates of Warsaw. In a treaty concluded with the Bolsheviks at Riga in 1921, Poland scrapped the earlier treaty with Ukraine and recognized the Ukrainian SSR as the legitimate government of the Ukrainian people.

The Council of Ambassadors in Paris awarded Ukrainian Galicia to Poland in 1923. The Polish government initiated a program of structural Polonization, resulting in blatant discrimination against Ukrainians and their organizations. When non-violent Ukrainian protests were ignored, a group of Ukrainian war veterans established the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1929 and initiated military action. The Polish response was the brutal "pacification" of the Ukrainian people. Ukrainian schools were closed, cops destroyed and OUN leaders hanged or imprisoned. When the Nazis invaded Poland, few Ukrainians wept.

During the Nazi and Soviet occupations of Halychyna and Volyn, both the Poles and Ukrainians formed guerrilla units which not only fought their oppressors but each other. The Polish side of this conflict has been recorded by Tadeusz Piotrowski in his monumental study, "Poland's Holocaust." Dr. Piotrowski accuses OUN and UPA of "ethnic cleansing." Ukrainians make similar claims by pointing to the 1947 Akcja Wisla, when some 150,000 Ukrainian residents of Poland were forcibly deported to Soviet Ukraine.

Despite a horrific shared history, atrocities and mutual condemnations, Poles and Ukrainians in Europe appear content, for now at least, to move on. And that, dear reader, is a reason for optimism.

Back to Marta. She ended her letter as follows: "As for my presidential campaign, it is now going to be deferred until a later period, as I will probably soon be coming back to the United States, having been admitted to Harvard University." Sto lat, Marta!

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

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Ukrainian-Jewish relations: observations

Dear Editor:

Discussions in the press of Ukrainian-Jewish relations have suffered from some imprecision. While I expect that Prof. John-Paul Himka will reply to Dr. Bohdan Vitvitsky's response (December 19, 2004) to his letter (December 12, 2004) prompted by Dr. Myron Kuropas' column, I would like to offer a few observations of my own that might help clarify the discussion.

It is appropriate that of the three individuals mentioned above one is a historian, one is a lawyer, and all have written on ethical or religious matters. For, in order to deal adequately with this complex and delicate topic, one must consider the historical, legal, and moral perspectives.

"How can the truth be anti-anything, much less anti-Semitic?" asks Dr. Vitvitsky. Quite so. But as every historian knows, the selection of facts is prone to bias. One must, therefore, question the relevance of the facts selected to the matter at issue. Why, as Dr. Vitvitsky rightly asks, is the ethnic identity of John Demjanjuk relevant to the issue of his guilt while that of Leon Trotsky or Lazar Kaganovich is irrelevant to theirs? One reason might be that since Mr. Demjanjuk identifies himself as a Ukrainian, his ethnic identity could have influenced his actions, while in the case of Trotsky and Kaganovich, who apparently had little regard for their Jewishness, this would have been less likely. But in what way does ethnic identity influence behavior? Discounting racial and genetic theories, does one's cultural and historical background predispose one towards certain attitudes and consequent behavior – perhaps regardless of whether one consciously identifies with that background or not? Does Ukrainian Christian culture, for example, predispose one to be anti-Semitic, and does Ukrainian Jewish culture predispose one to be pro-Bolshevik, pro-Russian or Ukrainophobic?

True, the term "anti-Semitism" is so vague and overbroad as to be almost meaningless, spanning everything from folk humor to genocide. If some fixed attitude towards Jews is inscribed in Ukrainian ethnic culture, it is surely closer to folk humor than to genocide. It even includes an element of admiration. Similar attitudes can be found among virtually all populations with a sizeable Jewish minority. Historical experience with the well-known Jewish role in the socio-economic structures of Poland-Lithuania and Austria-Hungary, and with the disproportionate percentage of Jews in the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet secret police, has conditioned Ukrainian attitudes. Jewish culture, too, has its predispositions. It is understandable that folk memory of massacres from the Khmelnytsky uprising to the Nazi occupation still makes Jews a bit nervous about Ukrainians.

But while we may note how historical experiences have formed mutual stereotypes and prejudices, we need not ratify that process. We are free to interpret those events in a more objective manner. Need we believe that Jews deliberately served Polish landlords in order to exploit Ukrainian peasants? Jewish participation in Soviet institutions was more likely due to concrete historical circumstances than to some innate proclivity to evil. And if, as the Jerusalem Post has asserted, Ukraine has seen more anti-Semitism than other lands, it is chiefly because it harbored a larger Jewish population, not because Ukrainians are congenitally nastier than other peoples. In fact, as historian Yuri

Slezkine has suggested, relations between Slavic peasants and East European Jews may be part of a broader pattern of conflict between settled "Apollonian" peoples and nomadic, mercantile "Mercurian" ones, the latter including Gypsies, Indians in East Africa, and Chinese in Southeast Asia, as well as European Jews. In other words, Jewish-Ukrainian relations are neither inexplicable nor exceptional. Furthermore, historians tend to highlight moments of violent conflict; they often ignore the centuries of interethnic peace and harmony. Both Jews and Ukrainians need a clearer and better proportioned vision of their common history.

If history can explain mutual attitudes, it cannot justify mutual recriminations. Whatever his cultural predispositions, the individual remains responsible for his words and actions. In the moral perspective, guilt is personal, not collective. Of course, the members of a criminal organization acting in concert can all be found guilty. But the law of conspiracy still focuses on the individual's conscious acts. To hold members of an entire nation or ethnic group collectively responsible for "historical wrongs" is untenable, because nations and ethnic groups do not act in concert. To be sure, attempts have been made to concoct international conspiracies by "the Jews," most notably the bogus "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Such attempts only reveal a desire to invent a collective enemy where one does not exist. By the same token, Jews cannot justly blame "the Ukrainians" for their tragedies. One cannot hold "the Ukrainians" collectively responsible for the pogroms any more than one can blame "the Jews" for the Crucifixion.

I hope that these elementary points can help move the discussion into more fruitful areas.

Andrew Sorokowski
Rockville, Md.

Kuropas deserves commendations

Dear Editor:

The recent spate of attacks on Dr. Myron Kuropas for daring to point out the problematic role of Jews in the destruction of the Ukrainian nation appears to be motivated by a desire for political correctness. After all, Dr. Kuropas simply pointed out some inconvenient historical facts. The issue boils down to this: when an influential minority group tends to historically side with a nation's oppressors, then there is hell to pay when that nation throws off the yoke of the oppressors.

Undoubtedly, much has changed since Ukraine's independence, and Ukrainian-Jewish relations have experienced many positive developments. The events in Ukraine the last two months are just as momentous as the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in 1989. Significantly, some Jewish groups have sided with the popular Orange Revolution that amazed the whole world. Just as significantly, other Jewish groups, as well as segments of Ukrainian society, are having difficulties in shedding the pro-Russian complex in which they were raised and brainwashed.

This is clearly illustrated in a special article by Vladimir Matveyev in the January 1 issue of the Baltimore Jewish Times. On one hand, the article notes Jewish support in Ukraine for Viktor Yushchenko. On the other hand, the same article twice mentions alleged anti-Semitism in Ukraine, even claiming to find it among Yushchenko supporters, without any attempt to explain the causes of this alleged phenomenon. The article clearly

states that "many Ukrainian Jews – perhaps the majority – backed [Viktor] Yanukovich, who campaigned under anti-liberal, populist and pro-Russian slogans." Furthermore, Vitaliy Nachmanovich, a journalist and head of the Babi Yar Memorial Committee in Kyiv, is quoted as saying: "Most Jews backed Yanukovich because he represented the Soviet regime."

It is precisely this type of historical support for regimes that oppressed and destroyed Ukrainians that has caused serious problems in Jewish-Ukrainian relations. Dr. Kuropas should be commended, not condemned, for his articles that focus on various aspects of this topic.

Leo Iwaskiw
Philadelphia

About those Virsky program notes

Dear Editor:

I read with much curiosity Nestor Wolansky's review of the Virsky Dancers because I recently saw them perform at the Macomb Center for the Performing Arts in the Detroit metropolitan area. My family and I greatly admired the dance performance; however, we were quite distressed by the program notes and it really put a damper on the occasion.

As Mr. Wolansky states, the program brochure, in several places, uses the word "Russian" instead of Ukrainian to describe the dances that they performed. Mr. Wolansky blames this on "Cal Performances," the organization responsible for booking cultural events at the University of California at Berkeley. Since the same errors appeared in the program brochure in Michigan, I don't think this was the fault of Cal Performances.

If it has not been done already, I think that Ukrainian organizations in the United States need to contact the Virsky-Ukrainian National Dance Company and tell them that the Ukrainian community will no longer attend their performances unless they correct their program brochure. Then, I think Ukrainian organizations need to make sure this information is shared throughout the community.

In looking around at the audience at the Macomb Center, I think the majority of the attendees were Ukrainian, so if Ukrainians had not attended, the audience would have been very small. The Virsky Dancers officially bill themselves, in their program brochure, as the "Virsky Ukrainian National Dance Company" and state they are on the "Official Tour of the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts of Ukraine." As the national dance company on an official tour representing the country of Ukraine, the mistakes in their program brochure are unacceptable.

Kathy Babak
Dearborn, Mich.

Time for Ukraine to exit from the CIS

Dear Editor:

The Orange Revolution and Viktor Yushchenko's electoral victory are epochal events. But the hefty showing of Viktor Yanukovich (44 percent of the vote) is troublesome evidence of a gaping split along familiar geographic lines. Ironically, and contrary to some overly confident diaspora predictions, the actual pro-Yanukovich constituency did not diminish during the four weeks of mostly balanced media coverage before the re-run election

on December 26. This adds weight to the significance of electoral safeguards obtained in the deal between Mr. Yushchenko and President Leonid Kuchma.

Most importantly, for the first time since the declaration of independence in 1991, Ukraine's government is on the way to become Ukrainian in content and substance. The ingenuously durable kleptocratic, Soviet-incubated elite is on the way out. Paradoxically, but not surprisingly, this change is precisely what is blatantly defined as "unacceptable" within the "Little Russian" syndrome of Mr. Yanukovich and in much of Ukraine's south and east with its sizable ethnic Russian base. But there is no question that many ethnic Russians, fed up with Mr. Kuchma's autocracy, voted for the Orange Revolution.

In the south and east, it can be said without exaggeration that the disdain toward the Ukrainian quintessence is deeply ingrained in the psychology, the folksy grass-roots Russian ethnic awareness, and the history of that large region. It would be a mistake to expect that this antipathy will quickly, if ever, melt away as a result of probable economic improvements and reforms or lavish pandering. Time and again in various countries, large population segments voted against their own economic interests because of cultural, emotional and language issues – although not in the extremely debilitating circumstances.

Living alongside this Gordian knot will be a huge obstacle to the new leadership in Kyiv and Ukraine as a whole. It is immensely more politically and socially disruptive to democratic norms than a relatively minuscule "Jews for Yanukovich" that sent some folks into a tizzy.

And then there is Russia itself. Normalization of relations between Ukraine and Russia is an oxymoron as long as the Kremlin's think-tanks are figuring new ways of destabilizing Ukraine. More Ukrainians are beginning, reluctantly, to recognize that NATO membership may be a necessity for Ukraine, although polls show only 30 percent in favor. Given a blanket nay-saying in the south and east, the support level may not rise above 50.

The challenge for President Yushchenko will be to generate and sustain the forward motion towards NATO and not be distracted by Moscow's overtures or by George W. Bush's confused notions about Europe and Vladimir Putin's Russia. This is a historic opportunity to blunt the perennial menace in the East. Never before in 1,000 years has such a constellation existed.

One debate on which no time should be wasted is when to exit from the Commonwealth of Independent States. Post-Soviet wisdom says that such a move would alienate Russia and cause economic disruptions. Quite the opposite may actually occur as a result: Moscow could become perceptibly serious about normalizing the relations. It is manifestly not normal for Ukraine to stay in a commonwealth of autocratic regimes, and is glaringly inconsistent (although seldom said so) with its announced Westward aspirations. It is also ultimately self-destructive.

There is at least one more urgent order of business. Ukraine's security requires rapid reshaping of its post-Soviet military establishment, the disbanding of the Internal Affairs Ministry's ex-KGB pretorian battalions, and establishing the Ukrainian language in the army. Yes, language. These steps would not only be consistent with NATO membership, but are essential to Ukraine's existence as a nation.

Boris Danik
North Caldwell, N.J.

OSCE chairman-in-office calls for revitalization and reform

VIENNA – The OSCE chairman-in-office, Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, on January 13 called for the “revitalization, reform and rebalancing” of the 55-nation security organization.

In his first address to the Permanent Council of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe since Slovenia took on the chairmanship on January 1, the Chairman-in-Office singled out issues including fighting terrorism, developing a new border security concept, combating human trafficking, and encouraging migration and integration as key issues for 2005.

“The OSCE is faced with new security, political and economic challenges which are putting new pressures on the organization,” he said. “The organization needs to be reformed; particularly in terms of redefining some of our priorities and refocusing our efforts.”

Minister Rupel said more balanced attention and resources should be devoted to all three dimensions of the OSCE’s comprehensive approach to security: the politico-military, economic and environmental, and the human dimension.

“At the same time, our commitment to the human dimension must remain,” he said. “The human dimension is at the core of OSCE activities and we cannot afford to erode our common principles and commitments.”

The chairman-in-office called for the completion of an OSCE border security and management concept, and continued efforts to combat terrorism. He also said the problems of surplus conventional ammunition, small arms and light weapons should be tackled.

“Changes in the security environment have influenced development of military doctrines. Let us consider possibilities to intensify our discussions in that regard,” he added.

Minister Rupel said the OSCE’s work in the economic and environmental dimension should be strengthened. “We are open for consideration of new initia-

tives in this area, such as for instance the proposal to convene a conference on energy security,” he said.

The minister described the OSCE’s 18 field missions as the “jewel in the crown” of the organization and said every effort should be made to ensure that they maintain their effectiveness.

Trafficking in human beings remains a concern. “This year we will pay added attention to the special needs of child victims of trafficking,” he said.

The chairman-in-office said he was concerned about the continued lack of consensus on some key issues but encouraged by the tone of statements made at the Permanent Council meeting. “We must work together to prevent political fault lines from reappearing,” he said.

Minister Rupel said the fact that his first two visits as OSCE chairman had been to Ukraine and Kosovo reflected the importance the chairmanship attached to the situation in both regions.

On Ukraine, he said there was now a good opportunity for the OSCE to strengthen cooperation across a range of issues, including freedom of the media, national minorities, democratization, the political-military dimension and regional security. “This opportunity should not be missed,” he underscored.

Kosovo, home to the largest OSCE mission, would be another major issue in 2005. “The 2005 review of standards may influence the consideration of future status of Kosovo and, therefore, means a big investment for the OSCE,” the chairman-in-office said. “It is clear to me that the OSCE should be actively involved in the standards review process and any re-structuring of the international presence in Kosovo.”

In southeastern Europe generally the OSCE should promote solutions to issues with regional significance. “I am thinking in particular of issues such as refugee return, protection of national minorities, capacity building – particularly the judiciary and police – as well as elections,” Minister Rupel said.

In about-face...

(Continued from page 1)

deepen trade and economic relations with a reforming Ukraine.” There is even talk about granting Ukraine market economy status, however, this is dependent on a number of steps that Ukraine will have to take. Ukraine will have to eliminate its price-fixing practices, reform its bankruptcy procedures and institute the refunding of the value-added tax (VAT), the last of which has long been a thorn in the side of many foreigner businesses on the ground in Ukraine.

And it’s not just the Europeans who are taking note of Ukraine. According to reports by various wire services, the U.S. administration will back a bill to be introduced in Congress that will exempt Ukraine from the Jackson-Vanik Amendment of the 1974 Trade Act, which limits U.S. trade with countries that do not allow free emigration of their citizens. This would further improve Ukraine’s investment climate.

While the positive signals being sent to Ukraine have been well received, Ukraine’s Parliament also has been paving the way for improving relations with its neighbors. As reported by Interfax, Ukraine ratified an intergovernmental agreement on financial cooperation with Germany on January 20. The agreement will allow Ukraine to benefit from up to 11 million euros for projects supporting farming and private enterprise

in rural areas, and the efficient use of energy in small and medium-size enterprises. In addition, the agreement will provide 3 million euros in grants to implement these projects.

* * *

Early on January 20, Ukraine’s highest court announced its judgment.

“The civil chamber of the Supreme Court of Ukraine has ruled that the appeal by presidential candidate Viktor Fedorovych Yanukovich, alleging inaction by the Central Election Commission concerning the outcome of the presidential election of December 26 and the resolution adopted by the commission regarding the outcome of the presidential election and the disclosure of the results on January 10, is hereby rejected. The decision is final and not subject to appeal,” Anatolii Yarema, the court’s chairman announced.

The decision paved the way for President-elect Yushchenko to be inaugurated on Sunday, January 23, as Ukraine’s third president since the country proclaimed its independence in 1991.

Thus, President Yushchenko will address the PACE next week during his first official trip abroad. After that the new president will attend observances in Poland of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi death camp in Auschwitz, and will participate in the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

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REFLECTIONS OF ELECTION OBSERVERS

Ukraine's citizens express optimism, gratitude

by Adrianna Melnyk

On December 22, my first night in Kyiv as an international election observer, my friend Natalya, a Ukrainian-speaking, Georgian-born, ethnic Russian, told me that psychologists and sociologists descended upon Kyiv in those first days of the Orange Revolution to study the behavioral dynamics of the crowd. I could see why. Standing on the maidan that evening, after days of watching events unfold on TV, on the Internet, and in the papers, I felt uplifted, euphoric, as if I had stepped outside myself and into a dream – but one with a cast of thousands. The cameras that scanned the crowd and projected faces up on the huge screens on both sides of the stage served to unite everyone, and had the effect of making the crowd appear even larger than it actually was.

Much has been written about the smiling faces, the joyous crowds, the excitement, the hope and anticipation of a freer and more democratic future. The days leading up to December 26 were indeed about that both for the citizens of Ukraine and for all of those that had come to support them: election observers, foreign journalists, students from countries that had recently undergone their own transformations such as Georgia and Serbia, and those from countries that were waiting in the wings, such as Belarus and Azerbaijan.

But for those who had come from the

Adrianna Melnyk was in Ukraine on December 22-31 and in Hadiach on December 25-27. She is a manager of interactive strategy at American Express in New York.

Ukrainian diaspora, they were also about contributing to a cause that had occupied our every waking moment for weeks.

Arriving in Kyiv, I was immediately struck by the mood on the street. I had never particularly liked Kyiv. Somehow the city, despite its majestic beauty and history, had always felt cold and unwelcoming to me. This time, there was an energy, an electricity that permeated people's faces and that confirmed for me that there was nowhere in the world I would rather be.

On the evening of the 22nd, Yulia Tymoshenko told the crowds that the maidan would always belong to them, that they would always have the right to demonstrate against the government, and that this right included expressing dissatisfaction with the new administration once it came into power. Three men in their 60s standing next to me expressed their surprise. "How can this be?" one asked. Another said that it didn't make sense to come to the maidan once their government of choice was in power. At that moment, I suddenly understood the degree to which the mindset of the older generation would have to change. For them, the fact that they could come to the maidan to fight against a corrupt regime was a miracle in and of itself; taking it one step further and being granted the right to protest an administration that they had freely chosen was simply incomprehensible.

Until we left Kyiv for our respective voting districts, the other observers and I spent time socializing with one another, with diaspora Ukrainians from all over the world and with foreign journalists who were anxious to learn everything

they could about us, about Ukrainian history and politics, and about the current situation in Ukraine. They, too, were missing Christmas and had left their families behind, but in the words of one Italian journalist, would have stopped at nothing to be part of what was at that time "the most important story in the world."

In an interview with a Polish journalist, I mentioned Lech Walesa and told her how thankful the Ukrainian people were for his support. She stopped her tape, and said that events in Ukraine had served to unify the Polish people and to remind them of their own hard-won freedom. She told me that she had traveled to Ukraine not only to report on events, but also to be reminded of and to witness the incredible spirit of a nation yearning for democratic change and standing up for its basic human rights. She had tears in her eyes as she recalled and shared with me her own memories of the early days of Poles taking to the streets, of the beginnings of their Solidarity movement, and of the excitement and energy that filled cafes, nightclubs and every home in Poland just a few decades earlier.

Late one evening before the election, we visited the tent city.

The tent city is lined with signs of all kinds: "The Truth is Yushchenko"; "We are united, Crimea and Karpaty, we are united across space and time, we are united and no one can defeat us, Ukraine unites us"; "Fight and you will win, God is with you – Taras Shevchenko"; "My nation exists, my nation always will – Vasyl Symonenko"; "The truth will be known! Freedom will conquer! – Taras Schevchenko"; "Democratic world, don't stay aside"; and this, next to a picture of Yulia Tymoshenko: "Beauty will save the world."

After passing through "security," which consisted of showing our passports and our official observer badges, we spent many hours with the residents of the camp. We sang, some of us played volleyball in the snow (with no visible net), and the tent city residents took us in, served us hot tea and sandwiches, and bombarded us with orange memorabilia.

On one orange banner that was given to me as a souvenir, someone wrote "Virte v peremohu i vy peremozhete" – Believe in victory and you will be victorious. These words of inspiration, words that clearly had kept the occupants of the tent city going through snow, rain, sub-zero temperatures and the possibility of danger, are ones that will stay etched in my memory forever, not because of their meaning, but because of the context in which they were written.

As we were leaving, I asked one of our new friends if they were or had been scared to be there, and he matter-of-factly replied that there is fear only where there is doubt, and that, from the time the tents were set up, the residents of the tent city had not had a moment of doubt about their mission.

I was assigned to observe in Hadiach, a small city of about 30,000 an hour and a half from Poltava, and a stronghold of Yushchenko support. Viktor Yuschenko's headquarters in Hadiach was based in the living room of an apartment, and was recognizable only by the orange ribbons tied to a tree in front of the Soviet-style apartment building. The night before the election, in the apartment, a group of 20-some-things chaotically worked on computers, talked endlessly on their cellphones and

(Continued on page 11)



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REFLECTIONS OF ELECTION OBSERVERS

In Chernihiv Oblast: voters savor the process

by Nadia and Askold Haywas

Sunday December 26, 2004, Kovpyta Chernihiv raion, Chernihiv Oblast; 15 kilometers to Belarus; 48 kilometers east of Chornobyl:

It's approaching midnight. Tension is extreme. The temperature, as it was all day – freezing. The ballots are to be counted.

Our group of observers, several from the U.S. and several from Australia, arrived in Chernihiv on December 25. After discussions, we decided to approach the job of observation in two different ways. We would split into two-person groups. One group remaining in Chernihiv would visit several polling stations during the day, all others would spread out throughout the oblast and dedicate themselves to one primary location for the whole day.

We were given the village of Kovpyta, 1,222 registered voters, a Yanukovich stronghold, where the candidate received over 65 percent of the count during the second round.

It was still dark when we arrived at the village Culture Hall that morning. The hall where the polling station was established was unheated and remained refrigerator-like throughout the day. All poll workers wore everything they had. Cheeks were red, noses were running. Food and drink was what you brought with you. Toilets were a block away – outside; they were rustic, unmaintained outhouses.

Our arrival was welcomed by a Yushchenko observer. The Yanukovich ones were standoffish. The appearance of our cameras and video equipment had a distinct impact on them.

Askold Haywas is a high school teacher of history/civics in Oceanside, Calif. His wife, Nadia, is a middle school special education specialist/teacher in Oceanside. They traveled to Ukraine as election observers of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

The first voters arrived at 8 a.m. It became obvious as the day wore on that the poorest voted earlier, the more well-to-do (and fewer in numbers) voted later in the day. By midday most had voted. There was eagerness in their behavior – all wanted to vote, all were serious. There was something in the way many held their filled-in ballot, partly in and partly out of the ballot box, as if to extend their moment within the voting process. It seemed that they were savoring the moment and wanted to prolong it to the max.

The visual appearance of the majority of villagers was dismal. Hunched, haggard, wearing a variety of clothes, layer upon layer. Many held crooked sticks as canes. Many needed glasses. Quite a few asked for help in marking their ballot. They were told by the poll workers that this “can no longer be done” (an indication of what kind of help had been provided in the past).

Intimidation also was evident. The head of the Village Council (a Yanukovich supporter) was present from before the opening of the polls until well past. She stood outside the door of the building, making her presence known to all voters. She entered the polling place repeatedly – once to vote herself, plus a dozen times for other purposes and illegally.

She talked to the poll workers, she asked several to step outside with her. We recommended that a complaint be filed. This was done.

More intimidation came from the continued presence of Viktor Yanukovich's trusted party member, the former head of the collective farm (kolhosp). His presence was overpowering. His image was still Soviet, comfortable, well-cared-for, in harsh contrast to that of the villagers.

During the day, we visited a small neighboring village, Chervone. As we approached it became obvious that this was Yushchenko territory. The trees were festooned with orange streamers. The polling place was an old wooden building in need of a coat of paint. In contrast to the cavelike, stone, freezing cold cul-

We returned to Kyiv early in the morning of the 27th. People were once again gathering, and the mood on the streets was different than it had been before we left. People were a bit more on edge, but their spirit was still characterized by an underlying optimism and hope. Later in the day and on the next day, once it became clear that this time the elections had been fair and that Mr. Yushchenko had won the vote, the celebration began for real. Too-close-for-comfort fireworks and monkeys with orange ribbons around their necks are two images that I have had trouble shaking since I returned home.

Before I left, my friend Natalya told me how her mother, who had died on November 21 and had been a huge supporter of Yushchenko and a survivor of the Holodomor (the Famine-Genocide), said on her deathbed that if the Kuchma regime were to continue, there was a real possibility of another Holodomor, either literal or figurative. She didn't live to see Mr. Yushchenko's victory, but I believe that the real credit for the revolution should go not only to those on the streets, but also to their parents and grandparents, and to those, like Natalya's mother, who had held onto hope through one of the most brutal regimes in history.

And the real work is still ahead. Natalya told me that her husband, who



Villagers in Kovpyta await their turn to vote.

tural center in Kovpyta, this one was warm and cozy. I wondered whether the difference had any meaning.

Now was the moment of truth. We had endured 12 plus hours of bitter cold and the cold shoulder of the Yanukovich supporters. The count began.

Systematically, the clear voting boxes were again checked for breaks in the seals – security was confirmed, the seals were broken, the contents emptied out onto a table. The overall count was held. Correct. Then came the count by candidate. Ballot by ballot – each time the name was read aloud by the head of the election commission. Each ballot was stacked in its place.

The results were announced aloud by the head of the commission. Yushchenko, 516; Yanukovich, 324; invalidated, 32; abstained, 16.

Was our presence necessary?

Absolutely.

Falsifications occurred and collectively could have changed the vote. We found it

odd that of the invalidated ballots a majority was signed by a certain poll worker. The votes were all for Viktor Yushchenko, yet they were invalidated because the poll worker's initials were missing on the ballot. Was this done purposefully? Did she know the intentions of the voters and, therefore, conveniently forgot to sign?

When talking with the people, no matter the location, the age, their preferred language, all were thankful for our observer participation. They did not question our veracity, but were only amazed at our presence, that we had paid our own way, taken the time, made the effort, subjected ourselves to the hardships. They asked whether we were afraid to have come. They expressed their thanks in many ways: by words, handshakes, hot tea and a cloak over our shoulders.

What an incredible experience in Ukrainian history! We are honored to have been a part of it.

Ukraine's citizens...

(Continued from page 10)

coordinated logistics for the next day.

Hadiach is steeped in history: it is the birthplace of both Lesia Ukrainka and her mother, Olena Pchilka; was once the capital of the left bank of Ukraine; was the site of the 1658 Treaty of Hadiach, which if it had been successfully implemented, would have created a loose confederation of Poles, Lithuanians and Ruthenians. Our hosts were eager to share with us all of their knowledge of the history of their home town.

As we visited polling districts in small villages, we were told over and over again by villagers that they had heard that many observers were coming to Ukraine, but didn't think that any would actually come to their remote part of the country. I don't think I have ever heard so many words of gratitude in my life. As everywhere else throughout Ukraine, the villages are poor, but the people are hospitable beyond belief. The older generation all expressed the same sentiment: this vote and their support for the opposition were not for them, but for their children and grandchildren. Despite years under Russian rule, the residents of this part of Poltavshyna exhibited such a pride in their language (the most beautiful Ukrainian I have ever heard spoken), their land, and their history and traditions that all reports of an east-west divide in Ukraine seemed incongruous.

had never visited the countryside before last week, came back to Kyiv depressed, despite the jubilation in the city. She had packed him kovbasa for his three-day trip, which he put on the table of his hosts and which disappeared within moments. He could not believe the drinking water, the poverty and the abysmal conditions only a few hours outside Kyiv.

Development in Kyiv itself is uneven: I had dinner one evening on Andriyivskiy Uzviz, called by guidebooks “the most charming street in Kyiv.” The street is named for the Baroque cathedral that stands atop the hill, whose site was chosen because it was there that the Apostle Andrew raised a cross and predicted that a great city, full of churches, would one day rise from that spot. The street is steep and winding and made of cobblestones – and totally unlit and deserted at night. In any other European city, this would be a street lined with cafes, restaurants, bars. In Kyiv, it remains a prime development opportunity.

This was a revolution, as some have said, that was won by music, laughter, song and dance. Once the euphoria wears off, the work must begin. The Pora students who were helped by Serbian Otpor and by Georgian Kmara must, in turn, pass their knowledge and experiences to the Belarussian Zubr opposition movement, to the Azerbaijanis and to the Kazaks. The pride and excitement that brought people out of their homes and

onto the streets must not wane if the policies of the new government do not bring immediate changes and results.

The diaspora that so readily and admirably gave up its Christmas holidays that donated time and money during the elections must stand ready to share its educational resources and professional experiences. As I was leaving, I was asked by a friend in Kyiv to encourage everyone – but especially the youth in the diaspora – to consider spending more time in Ukraine in the coming months and years. “We need you,” he said.

The sheer number of young observers of Ukrainian descent from all over the world who were willing to travel to Ukraine for the elections, at their own cost, was a testament to the love that our parents and grandparents instilled in us for our country and for our people.

May 2005 usher in a new period of cooperation between Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora. May it go down in history as the year when a new Ukraine was born, one in which Ukrainian citizens can live comfortably and freely. May Ukraine become a country which our children and grandchildren visit not to take part in democracy-building missions, but to rent summer vacation homes in the countryside, to be educated, to conduct business in a fair and transparent environment, and to eat dinner on a well-lit and bustling Andriyivskiy Uzviz.

Canada-Ukraine archaeological expedition in Baturyn continues its work

by Dr. Volodymyr Mezentsev

TORONTO – Last summer the Canada-Ukraine archaeological expedition (2001-2004) continued its excavations in Baturyn. This project is sponsored by the Kowalsky Program for the Study of Eastern Ukraine at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS), the Shevchenko Scientific Society of America, and the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto. In 2003-2004, the Peter Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research supported research on Baturyn with a donation. Dr. Zenon Kohut, director of CIUS, is the academic adviser of the Baturyn project.

About 70 students and scholars from the universities of Chernihiv, Nizhyn, Luhansk and the Kyiv Mohyla Academy participated in the excavations. Dr. Volodymyr Kovalenko (University of Chernihiv) is the expedition leader, while Dr. Volodymyr Mezentsev (University of Toronto) participated as the CIUS research fellow responsible for the Baturyn project. Prof. Martin Dimnik (Pontifical Institute) has overseen the funding and helps to publicize the expedition's findings.

Located in the Chernihiv region, Baturyn was the official capital of the Kozak Hetman state in Left-Bank Ukraine in 1669-1708 and 1750-1764. The town reached its zenith during the reign of Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687-1708). In 1708, after Mazepa rebelled against the growing Russian domination of the Hetmanate, Tsar Peter I destroyed Baturyn completely. Tsarist troops mas-

become possible, beginning in 1995.

By 2004 archaeologists had completed excavations of the remnants of the hetman's central palace in the town's citadel. The palace was commissioned by Hetman Demian Mnohohrishny (1669-1672) and burned during the Russian attack on Baturyn. Researchers have established that this one-story brick structure was 26 by 20 meters in size and had porches, a central corridor and several rooms or halls with brick flooring and tiled stoves. This palace was likely designed in the Ukrainian or Kozak Baroque style. Its closest extant analogies are the office of the Kozak regiment (1690s) in Chernihiv and the Mazepa Mansion in Kyiv.

Nearby, the team has discovered the foundation trench and the adjacent graveyard of the wooden Resurrection Church. It was endowed by Mazepa in the 1690s and ruined in 1708. Close to the church site, the old well was excavated in 2003. At its bottom, human bones, likely belonging to some casualty of the tragedy of 1708, were revealed.

The expedition excavated the basement walls and foundations of the Kochubei House. This sole surviving architectural monument of 17th century Baturyn was built by Mnohohrishny as a state court house with a jail in the basement. General Judge Vasyl Kochubei, however, turned it into his private residence ca. 1700. Researchers have reconstructed the original plan of the structure and excavated the underground massive brick buttresses, which reinforce each corner of its founda-

Within the fortress' defenses, archaeologists unearthed a spacious grain-storage substructure with an area of over 100 square meters. They believe this was the state granary supplying the garrison during the siege, and was looted after the fall of Baturyn. Historical sources also mention large stores of provisions and arms in the Baturyn fortress that were pillaged and

and multi-colored glazed ceramic tiles ("kakhli") of the 17th-18th centuries decorating the heating stoves in the palaces and dwellings of the wealthy. A chemical and spectrum analysis of 56 samples of the Baturyn tiles was conducted at the Institute of Geology of the National Academy of Sciences in Kyiv and the Faculty of Geology at the University of Toronto. The



Excavations of the pits for storing of the grain at the hetman's fortress.

burned down by the tsarist army in 1708.

The expedition excavated fragments of the brick foundations of Mazepa's palace (1700) in the Baturyn suburb of Honcharivka. It, too, was plundered by Peter's forces. A 1744 drawing of still-standing façade walls of this palace has been preserved at the National Museum in Stockholm. An analysis of this unique depiction together with archaeological data show that Mazepa's magnificent palace was 20 by 15 meters in size and, consisted of three floors with an attic, plus a basement. It was the earliest

preliminary report on the tests completed in Canada was published in Ukraine in 2004.

In 2003-2004, on the grounds of the fortress and citadel, the expedition excavated 32 graves of inhabitants of the late 17th or early 18th centuries (the Mazepa era). Thirteen of them – especially those bearing signs of a violent death and the unburied human remains – have been identified as victims of the slaughter of 1708. In total, between 1996 and 2004, archaeologists unearthed 59 graves dating to the late 17th- early 18th centuries in Baturyn. Most of them – 31 skeletons,



Archaeological explorations of the basement wall of the Kochubei House in Baturyn.

sacred its Kozak garrison, as well as the civilian population of about 15,000. The town was rebuilt as a capital of the waning hetman state during the rule of the last hetman, Kyrilo Rozumovsky (1750-1764). However, following the abolition of the Hetmanate by Catherine II in 1764, Baturyn gradually declined.

Only after Ukraine established its independence, did excavations of Baturyn

tions. This method of supporting the foundations is a new feature of the hitherto little studied construction techniques of Ukrainian Baroque masonry edifices.

On the site of the fortress, the remnants of five timber dwellings and about 20 store-houses which were burned down, apparently during the sack of the hetman capital, were discovered. One skeleton of a victim was found inside the structure's ruins.



Fragments of the ceramic tiles (kakhli) with relief patterns of the Mazepa era discovered in Baturyn.

known palace designed and embellished in the Western European Baroque style in Left-Bank Ukraine. The excavations of this structure's remnants will continue.

The brick footing of one wing of the palace erected by Hetman Rozumovsky in 1799 also has been discovered. This luxurious palatial complex was designed by the famous Scottish architect Charles Cameron in the style of Classicism. The two wing buildings were demolished in 1914 and 1930s. The extant main palatial edifice is currently being restored.

In the last two seasons, archaeologists found 10 Polish and Russian coins, and four neck crosses made of silver and copper, as well as many fragments of glassware

mainly of children, women, and elderly men – belonged to the victims of the Muscovite assault on this town.

Thus, the Canada-Ukraine expedition in Baturyn has yielded valuable archaeological materials for exploring the urban development of the capital of the Kozak Hetman state, particularly during its golden age under the rule of Ivan Mazepa. The excavations have also brought to light much new evidence of the total devastation of this distinguished Ukrainian town in 1708.

The expedition plans to continue its field research in Baturyn. For more information on this archaeological project, please contact Dr. Mezentsev: telephone, (416) 766-1408; e-mail: v.mezentsev@utoronto.ca.

UCCA plans committee on Ukrainian Genocide

NEW YORK – Three years from now, in 2008, Ukrainians throughout the world will commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Ukrainian Genocide of 1932-1933. For this occasion, on the initiative of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, representatives from all major Ukrainian American organizations are invited to a special meeting to establish a National Committee to Commemorate the 75th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Genocide.

The meeting will be held on Saturday, February 12, at 1 p.m. at the UCCA

office at 203 Second Ave. New York.

The national committee will be charged with preparing a host of events to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Ukrainian Genocide, including exhibits, academic conferences and other initiatives.

For further information, or to register an organization's participation at the meeting, readers are asked to contact Tamara Gallo-Olexy, UCCA executive director, by phone at (212) 228-6840, or via e-mail at unis@ucca.org.

Opera singer Pavlo Hunka of England now known around the globe

by Olena Wawryshyn

TORONTO – Eighteen years ago, international opera singer Pavlo Hunka had almost resigned himself to a life in jurisprudence. Upon seeing his legal exam results in England's *The Times* newspaper, he called his parents and brother. They came over to celebrate his success, opened a bottle of champagne and drank to his future.

"At that moment, I realized that I could not continue in the law," said the 45-year old Mr. Hunka. "I wanted to know more about singing, to be able to explain to the choir I was teaching about how the voice works and to help them to improve."

Some might have thought it was folly to leave a stable career for a chance to pursue a life in the unpredictable music field, but Mr. Hunka's passion for music won out. "I fell in love with singing as soon as I sang in church as a kid; I loved everything about it," he says.

Following his heart has paid off handsomely for Mr. Hunka. The bass-baritone has sung in more than 50 operas, including in 30 major operatic roles in the world's leading opera houses in Paris, Vienna, Munich, Florence, London and Salzburg and has performed under the baton of such eminent conductors as Claudio Abbado, Jeffrey Tate and Zubin Mehta.

Last year Mr. Hunka made his Toronto debut to great critical acclaim in the title role in the Canadian Opera Company's (COC) production of "Falstaff" and as Hunding in Wagner's "Die Walküre."

Back in Toronto, on a day off, dressed in sweat pants and a hockey shirt, the larger-than-life singer has just come from a downtown gym where he works out in between rehearsals. Mr. Hunka has been preparing for his upcoming appearance as Alberich in the COC's production of Wagner's "Siegfried" (January 27-February 11). It is the second Ring Cycle opera in which Mr. Hunka has been cast by the COC, and he will be singing both roles again in Toronto's new opera house in 2006.

The message Mr. Hunka projects to audiences is always his foremost concern. He chooses roles based on their dramatic potential. "It's real theater that I want to do, and that's why I turn down an

awful lot of work. I only do things now where I can really show the theatrical side of it," says Mr. Hunka, who has been called "one of the great singing actors of our time," by the COC's General Director Richard Bradshaw. And, he is fluent in the languages he sings in, including French, Spanish, Italian and German.

Mr. Hunka also speaks Ukrainian, which he learned at home. His father, Wasyl Hunka, was born in a village in the Ternopil Oblast, Ukraine. Taken by the Nazis to Leipzig as a forced laborer, he left Germany to return to Ukraine, but en route was arrested in Poland and sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he was from 1942 to 1945. He joined the Polish forces after World War II, was demobilized in Italy, then sailed to England where he was in a Displaced Persons camp in Hereford, near the Welsh border.

Mr. Hunka's father settled in Coventry, where he met his English wife, Irene, and found work with Jaguar Cars. The couple had two sons, Stefan and Pavlo; both boys were active in the local Ukrainian community.

Growing up in Coventry, Mr. Hunka sang in the Ukrainian Catholic Church choir and later with the Manchester-based Homin, travelling to North America in the late 1970s with the choir's tour.

Homin's director, Jaroslav Babuniak, befriended Mr. Hunka. Mr. Hunka noted that Mr. Babuniak, "wanted to be an opera singer but things didn't quite work out for him. When he saw that I could possibly get there he put an awful lot of energy into me," "encouraging me, showing me what he felt was needed to be a singer."

It was with Mr. Babuniak that Mr. Hunka went to the decisive audition, at England's Royal Northern College of Music (RNCM), that launched his singing career, when Mr. Hunka wanted to get an assessment of his vocal talent.

As part of the audition Mr. Hunka sang a Ukrainian song "Hude Viter Velmy v Poli" (A Strong Wind Blows). After the first verse, the head of vocal studies, Joe Ward, asked Mr. Hunka to stop. "He [Ward] left the room and came back with the principal of the college," recalled Mr. Hunka. "I sang again and



Michael Cooper

Pavlo Hunka as Hunding in the COC's production of *Die Walküre* during the 2003/04 season.

Joe was moved to tears. They promised that if I came to study they would support me financially. I was stunned."

The college secured him scholarships, including one from the Lord Wolfson Foundation. Through the foundation, he met the late Adele Leigh, a well-connected retired soprano, who, Mr. Hunka said, "eventually came to be one of the four ladies who helped me run my career for nearly 14 years."

Early in Mr. Hunka's career, Mr. Leigh introduced him to Sir Peter Moores, an heir to the Littlewoods mail order and pools empire and one of the richest people in England. For years, Sir Moores funded Mr. Hunka's singing lessons. Mr. Hunka says his benefactor told him: "If you can pass your law exams then you can become a successful singer."

Ms. Leigh advised Mr. Hunka to leave England after he completed his studies. "She told me: 'If you get to somewhere in the center of Europe you can find 25-30 opera houses within three-four hours of you and you've got a chance to work to learn your trade,'" Mr. Hunka noted.

Graduating with distinction from the RNCM, Mr. Hunka heeded Ms. Leigh's advice. He turned down an offer to sing with Covent Garden, and signed an 18-month contract in Basel. There he met the second of the four women who defined his career: the late Maria

Sandulescu, a Romanian mezzo-soprano vocal teacher who helped him hone his vocal skills.

Mr. Hunka met the third influential woman in his life, Rita Schütz, who became his manager, in 1995 when she introduced herself after his performance at the Bregenz Opera Festival in Austria.

The fourth woman, Larysa, his British-born Ukrainian wife, has been the most instrumental to Mr. Hunka's professional success and personal happiness. Larysa attends her husband's rehearsals and performances, giving him feedback. "I'm very fortunate that Larysa creates a home for me everywhere we go," said Mr. Hunka.

Recently, during Mr. Hunka's rehearsals for "Siegfried," Larysa made the traditional repast to celebrate Sviat Vechir (Ukrainian Christmas Eve) with friends. "If she, God forbid, passed away tomorrow, I'd pack it in immediately. I don't think I would sing again. She's my lifeline," says Mr. Hunka of his wife. "She knows what it means to be a singer."

The Hunkas are very gracious and generous people. Mr. Hunka invites friends back stage and the couple often hosts after-performance parties. Though

(Continued on page 20)

Natalia Pohrebinska exhibits work evocative of Orange Revolution

WINDHAM, N.Y. – Paintings and sculpture by Natalia Pohrebinska are on view at the Roshkowska Galleries, in an exhibit that opened on January 22, with a reception with the artist on January 29 at 4-7 p.m. The highlight of the exhibition is Ms. Pohrebinska's recently completed painting, titled "The Resurrection Song," a poetic evocation of Ukraine's Orange Revolution of 2004.

Although Ms. Pohrebinska matured as a painter in the New York School of Action Painting, her childhood images come from Ukraine, where she was born. According to the artist, that provenance combined with a love of nature, her ultimate teacher, remains a constant in her work.

In a statement about her work, Ms. Pohrebinska notes the following:

"Abstract Expressionism is to painting what jazz is to music. Both are about improvisation and meditation through which I better understand space, time and the relationship of things. Painting as such opens doors within and spotlights images, as in dreams. I do not see the canvas, I see through the canvas. Paint is my pool of deep waters. Visual intelligence is my guide and

pilot. My eyes do the thinking. My mind observes as I reach for my subconscious.

"For me art is another reality – a mystic experience. It is a search beyond the obvious, the known, through the unfamiliar to a new awareness of integrity, which has a light and a function of its own."

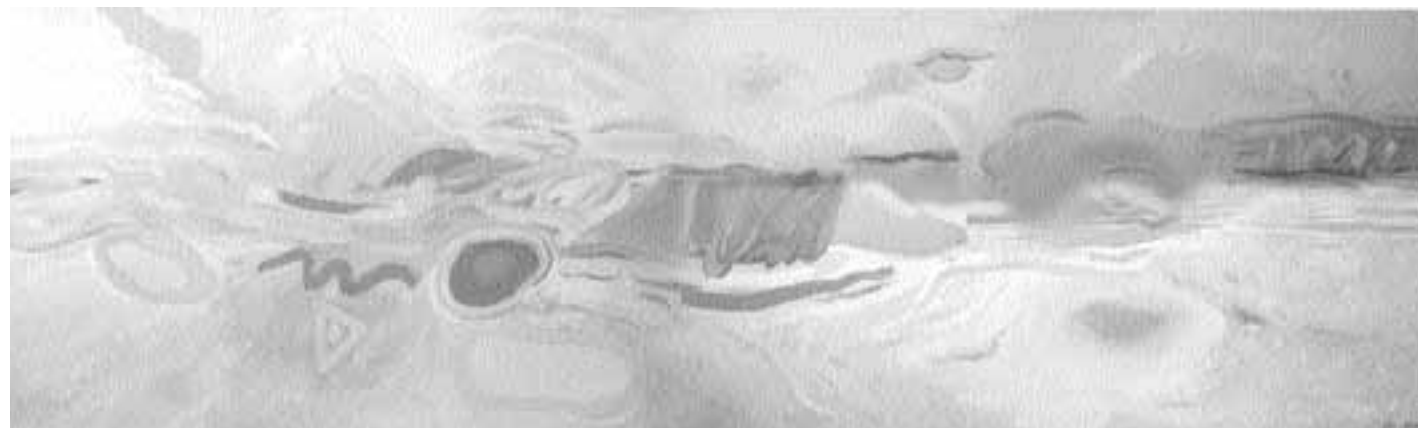
Ms. Pohrebinska, a graduate of Pratt Institute, with a master of fine arts degree, studied with painters Richard Linder, George McNeil, Robert Richtenberg and Bob Plate, sculptors

Alexander Archipenko and Calvin Albert, and graphic artist Jack Landau. She is a recipient of the Harry Abrams Award, the Doris Duke Foundation Award and the Pratt Institute Graduate Fellowship.

Ms. Pohrebinska taught painting at Pratt Institute in 1959-1963. In 1963-1964, under President Kennedy's cultural exchange program, she exhibited and lectured at the United States Information Agency Graphic Arts exhibition held in Moscow, Alma-Ata and Yerevan.

Ms. Pohrebinska has exhibited solo and in group shows in North America, Ukraine and Russia. For the last 30 years she has lived and shown her works at The Stone House in Lexington, N.Y.

The exhibition will be on view through February 28. Roshkowska Galleries is located at 533 Main St. in Windham, N.Y. For additional information call (518) 734-9669, e-mail roshkowska@mhonline.net or visit www.roshkowsagalleries.com.



"The Resurrection Song," oil on canvas, 4.5 feet x 16 feet, 1988-2004.

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Poroshenko...

(Continued from page 2)

although we will most likely never learn exactly who paid what in sponsoring Mr. Yushchenko's campaign. Mr. Poroshenko runs the Ukrprominvest concern, which includes five confectionery plants and a business that sells foreign-made automobiles and motorcycles, and also manufactures domestic motor vehicles and ships. Mr. Poroshenko is the largest confectionery manufacturer in Ukraine and has been dubbed the country's "Chocolate King." He once said that "more than \$100 million" has been invested in Ukrprominvest.

Asked by Channel 5 to comment on Mr. Yushchenko's requirement that the next prime minister not have business connections, Mr. Poroshenko said he has no business interests "from a formal point of view." Some Ukrainian media have reported that a significant portion of Ukrprominvest assets legally belong to Mr. Poroshenko's father, Oleksii Poroshenko, who is now general director of Ukrprominvest.

Petro Poroshenko was born on September 20, 1965, in the city of Bolhrad, Odesa Oblast, near the Ukrainian-Moldovan border and near the Danube Delta. He debuted in national politics in March 1998, when he was elected to the Verkhovna Rada from a first-past-the-post constituency in Vinnytsia Oblast. At the time, Mr. Poroshenko was a member of the Social Democratic Party-United (SDPU) led by Viktor Medvedchuk and was a member of its political bureau.

In 2000 Mr. Poroshenko quit the SDPU to form his own parliamentary caucus, called Solidarity, and a political party called the Party of Solidarity of Ukraine. By the end of 2000, his party had joined the Party of Regions of Ukraine (now headed by Mr. Yanukovich), of which he became a co-chairman.

In 2001, Mr. Poroshenko left the Party of Regions, recast his former party into the Solidarity Party and joined Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine election bloc. Mr. Poroshenko became manager of the Our Ukraine parliamentary campaign staff in 2002 and, after his election to the Verkhovna Rada in March 2002, became head of the Budget Committee.

Mr. Poroshenko, who was deputy manager of Mr. Yushchenko's landmark presidential campaign in 2004, is gener-

ally described as a highly influential person in the Mr. Yushchenko entourage. He is also regarded as a moderate, particularly in comparison with radical populist Ms. Tymoshenko. Although Mr. Poroshenko has kept a low political profile so far, his maneuverings in party politics and the Verkhovna Rada have demonstrated that, if nothing else, he is capable of forging political alliances with oligarchic groups – a talent that no doubt boosts his stock as a potential prime minister.

Mr. Poroshenko's constructive political relations with Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn are another advantage, especially as Lytvyn's 30-strong National Agrarian Party caucus is tapped to join a pro-Yushchenko coalition in Parliament; Mr. Lytvyn, whose political stature has risen markedly during the 2004 election standoff, is expected to guarantee the stability of the pro-Yushchenko parliamentary coalition in the first year of his presidency.

Mr. Poroshenko's strong business ties arguably represent his most serious shortcoming as a candidate for the top Cabinet post, regardless of his freedom from the "formal point of view." Too many businessmen in Ukraine appear to perceive the Yushchenko victory as an opportunity for revenge against the oligarchs who supported the Kuchma-Yanukovich regime and for a "redivision" of the spheres of economic influence under the new regime. Would Mr. Poroshenko be similarly tempted to mete out "economic justice" and promote his "wronged" associates to the posts and benefits they were denied during the era of President Leonid Kuchma?

In other words, Mr. Yushchenko must think long and hard before any possible decision to nominate Mr. Poroshenko to the prime minister's post. Mr. Yushchenko needs not a war with Ukrainian oligarchs, but rather their cooperation, primarily in replenishing the state budget.

Mr. Poroshenko told an interviewer in mid-2004 that it is entirely possible for the Ukrainian budget to post annual revenues of 100 billion hrv (\$19 billion) by reclaiming some of the money circulating in the country's shadow economy. (Budget revenues for 2005 are expected to total 86.5 billion hrv.) To make that happen, the government arguably needs to cajole the old oligarchs out of the shadow economy and into the light, rather than to replace them with new, formerly "wronged" substitutes.

This year's...

(Continued from page 7)

of hope to Ukraine.

So, as our family has done as far back as I can remember, we gathered on January 6 for Sviat Vechir. According to custom we began when the first star appeared in the eastern sky, leading us to the table just as another star once guided Three Magi to a manger. Father brought in the "didukh," a decorated wheat sheaf, the Grandfather Spirit, linking us to ancestors in a land once known as the breadbasket of Europe. The table was sprinkled with hay, then covered with an embroidered cloth, a reminder that Jesus was born in a stable. After we said our "Lord's Prayer" we exchanged a joyful salutation: "Khrystos Razhdayetsia!" (Christ is Born!) and in reply "Slavite Yoho!" (Let us glorify Him!). Our meal consisted of 12 meatless dishes, the 12 Apostles of the Last Supper, ending with kutia, a porridge of cracked wheat, honey, lemon and poppy seeds – an echo of pagan times.

What set this Sviat Vecher apart were my father's simple words. All his life, he reminded us, he was part of the struggle

for Ukraine's independence. Fourteen years ago, with the collapse of the Soviet regime, Ukraine re-emerged in Europe – an internationally recognized state. He hoped – we all did – that Ukraine was free at last. We discovered otherwise.

Yesterday's men were not expectorated, as they should have been. Camouflaged, they and their cronies secured control over Ukraine's wealth, influence over the levers of state power. For over a decade they batted on and corrupted civil society, even killing those who exposed them. But they went too far. Desperate to win this fall's election they poisoned their democratic opponent.

Yet, as Mr. Yushchenko's once-hand-some face was disfigured, it became less a horror than an icon, a reminder to the nation of the price of liberty. His agony undid apathy, unleashed the power of the people. And so, as my father said, freedom finally came to Ukraine.

Like our family did this Christmas, many Ukrainians around the world will pause tonight during their celebrations of Ukrainian New Year's Eve, "Malanka," to remember all who helped Ukraine become free. We could not have done it alone. Thank you.

Tymoshenko...

(Continued from page 2)

charges against her.

Still, questions remain over what happened to Ms. Tymoshenko's share of the United Energy System profits. "Nobody knows for sure. At one time, she was indicted for channeling more than \$1 billion abroad to foreign accounts. Some of those accounts were controlled by the infamous former Ukrainian Prime Minister Lazarenko. She was also indicted for gas smuggling, tax evasion and a lot of other crimes. But she was able to shake off all those allegations. Everybody believes that she's a very rich person in Ukraine. But apparently, she doesn't pursue any business activity right now," Mr. Maksymiuk said.

Observers say Ms. Tymoshenko's short time in prison and the destruction of her business empire by President Kuchma's allies – which she calls politically motivated persecution – had a profound psychological impact.

While such events might have crushed weaker personalities, Ms. Tymoshenko used them as a springboard to forge a new identity as an opposition crusader and born-again nationalist advocate, complete with traditionally braided hair and flawless Ukrainian. So who is the real Ms. Tymoshenko? Cunning businesswoman or genuine reformer? That has yet to be determined. But one thing is for certain: she is one of the smartest public figures in Ukraine and has always been fiercely determined to attain her goals – be they in business or politics.

"No doubt she's a pragmatist. But she's also a very passionate and determined pragmatist, and whatever she sets her eyes on, she goes for it in a big way – in a very determined, systematic and effective way," said Kataryna Wolczuk, a Ukraine analyst

at Britain's University of Birmingham. "So, from that point of view, when she was a 'gas princess,' she did it in an extremely competent way – milking the system to the extent it was possible under Mr. Lazarenko. When she became the deputy prime minister and tried to deal with the system which was created in the mid-1990s, again she was extremely competent and effective. And she trampled on many vested interests in Ukraine. So, in a way, she is a pragmatist, but whatever she does, she does it without compromising, and that's perhaps her greatest strength. But from the outgoing regime's point of view, it's the greatest threat she presents to them."

Ms. Tymoshenko told the Associated Press that she has a formal agreement with Mr. Yushchenko that leaves no alternative than for her to become prime minister after he is inaugurated as the country's new president.

Ms. Wolczuk says this demand poses a dilemma for Mr. Yushchenko. Ms. Tymoshenko is more than competent, but her polarizing nature means it could be difficult for the Yushchenko camp to win enough support among former Mr. Kuchma backers, who fear her.

Ironically, said Mr. Maksymiuk, Ms. Tymoshenko could also prove a threat to Mr. Yushchenko himself – especially if reforms that cut the president's powers are enacted as planned.

"In the longer term, yes. If Tymoshenko becomes prime minister and if the political reform goes into action, as it is planned in 2006, then, of course, Tymoshenko could become the most powerful figure in Ukraine. So, that's perhaps why she's willing to be prime minister," Mr. Maksymiuk noted.

Mr. Yushchenko's office has so far declined to say who will be nominated for prime minister.

Postcard recalls...

(Continued from page 4)

unresolved issue," Dr. Luciuk said. "Our immigration officials supposedly screened all post-war immigrants. Yet there are men and women in Canada who served in SMERSH, the NKVD and KGB. That is undeniable. Some have admitted to their involvement, even written books or given public interviews confirming that fact. Did they lie about their wartime activities when they came here? Again, we don't know."

Dr. Luciuk explained that "in Canada we are calling upon the minister of jus-

tice, the Honourable Irwin Cotler, who was amongst those who championed having Raoul Wallenberg made an honorary Canadian citizen, to investigate and then report publicly on his findings. Surely no one wants Canada or the U.S.A. to become havens for any war criminals, particularly persons who were members of or otherwise supported organizations that indulged in torture, ran concentration camps and murdered innocents by the millions. On the 60th anniversary of Raoul Wallenberg's sad fate let's make sure that neither the U.S.A. nor Canada remain haven for Soviet war criminals and communist collaborators."



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брат – АНДРІЙ МИКЕТЕЙ з родиною
внуки – КРІСТОФЕР і ВІЛЬЯМ-АРТУР

Вічна їй пам'ять!



We share with you sorrowful news, that on
December 17, 2004, our dearest wife and mother

Lidia Slavomyra Artymiw née Roik

left us into eternity.

Born January 6, 1918, in Przemysl, Poland. She was the chief bookkeeper for many years at the United Ukrainian Cooperative Business in Skole, Lviv Oblast. In the United States, she worked for the Ukrainian Women's Association in Philadelphia. She also worked for many years at Cigna Insurance in the Computerized Office Bureau.

Lidia was the mother of Lydia Artymiw Grayson, internationally known concert pianist, now distinguished professor of piano at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

A requiem service was held on Monday, December 20, 2004, at 7:00 p.m. at the David G. Richardson Funeral Home.

Burial services took place on Tuesday, December 21, 2004, in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Melrose Park, Pa., and then at the Cemetery of St. Mary in Fox Chase, Pa.

Holy Liturgy was celebrated by our parish priest, the Rev. Msgr. Father J.T. Melnik.

Remaining in profound grief and sorrow:

Husband – Modest Artymiw, pharmacist-apothecary

Daughter – Lydia Tamara Artymiw Grayson

Son – Orest Markian Artymiw, graduate of Music College – violinist

Son-in-law – Dr. David Grayson, musicologist-professor, graduate of
Harvard University

Extended family in Ukraine.

May she rest in our memory and eternal peace forever.



У глибокому смутку ділимося сумною вісткою з родиною, друзями, приятелями і знайомими, що в неділю, 26 грудня 2004 р. відійшла від нас у Божу вічність, проживши 43 роки, наша найдорожча
ДРУЖИНА, любляча та улюблена ДОНЯ, СЕСТРА,
ТЕТА, СЕСТРИНКА та ШВАГЕРКА

бл. п.

МАРУСЯ СТЕРЧО ГІЛЕСПІ

ПАРАСТАС відбувся в середу, 29 грудня 2004 р. в Hubbard Funeral Home в Baltimore, MD, а ПОХОРОННА ЛІТУРГІЯ в четвер, 30 грудня 2004 р. в українській католицькій церкві св. Михаїла в Балтиморі, Мд.

У великому болю залишені:

чоловік – ПАВЛО ГІЛЕСПІ з дітьми і внуками
мама – ІРЕНА СТЕРЧО
брат – ЮРІЙ СТЕРЧО з дружиною ДІЯНОЮ і сином ПЕТРУСЕМ
вуйко – МИХАЙЛО УРБАН
швагер – ПЕТРО ХОМА
приятелі родини – ОЛЬГА ХОМА
– ОРЕСТА ФЕДИНЯК
– ЛЕСЯ ІВАХІВ з донькою СОЛОМІСЮ
та дальша родина у розсіянні і в Україні.

Про молитви за спокій душі Покійної Марусі просять: муж і родина.

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Heritage Foundation answers call for assistance to seminary

CHICAGO – In late November 2004 Metropolitan Archbishop Stefan Soroka issued an appeal for assistance to help fund the much-needed extensive renovations of St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Washington.

The seminary opened 60 years ago and has functioned for generations of Ukrainian Catholic priests who serve the faithful in America. The aging building underwent a complete renovation, replacement of plumbing and heating systems, asbestos removal, elevator installation and extensive landscaping to improve the utility and aesthetics of the facility. Because of the sizeable amount of money needed to fund the improvements, it was determined to be beyond what could be raised in fundraising among parishioners.

The Heritage Foundation of First Security Federal Savings Bank, based in Chicago, responded to the request with a contribution of \$25,000. Although the Heritage Foundation made total donations to the Ukrainian community approaching \$600,000 in 2004, the ability to make this

additional grant was possible because of the merger earlier in the year between First Security Federal Savings Bank and MB Financial Bank. That transaction significantly increased the assets of the foundation and consequently permitted distributions much greater than in prior years.

Archbishop Soroka thanked the Heritage Foundation for responding to the appeal, stating "Your support will not only significantly assist in the theological formation of priests to serve the faithful in the United States of America, but will also provide for the development of a facility that will be open for the service of all Eastern Churches in the ongoing education of priests."

Julian E. Kulas, president of the Heritage Foundation of First Security Federal Savings Bank, stated: "This is a good example of need that the founders anticipated when the foundation was formed. Thanks to the merger between MB Financial Bank and First Security, we will be able to assist the Ukrainian community in America for generations to come."

Ambassador Miller's...

(Continued from page 6)

Yushchenko and his Nasha Ukraina coalition supporters. The army and the SBU were held in check. Further, requests for the use of force to clear the maidan of demonstrations and to limit Yushchenko's activities by Yanukovych and his supporters were not agreed to by President Kuchma.

The speaker of the Rada, Volodymyr

Lytvyn, allowed the Rada to be convened to discuss and vote on the fraudulent elections, and he brokered a consensus agreement on election and constitutional reform that was crucial to holding the winning coalition together. Oleksander Moroz played a vital role in supporting Yushchenko, while pressing for electoral and constitutional reform. Ivan Pliusch was one of several who worked tirelessly behind the scenes working out the compromises needed to allow the December 26 election to take place.



У К Р А І Н А

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 Lviv (4), KYIV (4)

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	<p>UKRAINE, RUSSIA and FINLAND via Czech Airlines from Newark 12 Day All Inclusive Tour Tw from \$3290 KYIV (2), MOSCOW (2), ST. PETERSBURG (3), HELSINKI (2) plus: Pelerhoff *WHITE NIGHTS in St. Petersburg + Facilitated by Dr. Walter Karpinich. Departures: May 20*, Aug 12 and Sep 23</p>
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CONCERT NOTES: Works by Bohdana Filts performed at Ukrainian Institute of America



Composer Bohdana Filts is flanked by violinist Oleksandr Abayev and pianist Maryna Rohozhyna.

by Adrian Bryttan

NEW YORK – On Sunday, November 7, 2004, music lovers filled the Ukrainian Institute of America to hear a concert devoted to the works of composer Bohdana Filts.

This was the composer's first visit to the United States. Judging by the variety of attractive works heard that afternoon in New York, it is a shame we had to wait so long to become acquainted with this composer's creative output.

Ms. Filts currently resides in Kyiv and is well-known throughout Ukraine for her contributions to Ukrainian vocal and

choral music, art songs, music for piano and solo instruments and large scale symphonic works.

Ms. Filts was born in Yavoriv in the Lviv region, was orphaned in childhood and forcibly expatriated to Kazakstan. Upon returning to Lviv she entered the Lviv Musical Academy to study composition with Stanislav Liudkevych. Currently, she also works as a musicologist at the Kyiv National Institute of the Arts.

The UIA concert featured assured performances of works for piano solo, art songs and violin piano duets. Perhaps the musical style of Ms. Filts can be best

described as combining a modern idiom with accessibility for the listener.

Her "Six Vignettes" for piano were particularly attractive in creating self-contained miniatures that often started with dissonant, brittle themes but were always interestingly and logically worked out. The compact and whimsical writing played with convincing verve by pianist Maryna Rohozhyna.

In the art songs, Ms. Filts revealed an impressive feel for the vocal line and a romantic sweep that sensitively colored the various texts. Soprano Lyubov

Shchybchuk's appealing lyric voice was well-suited to two groups of songs: "Ya Ne Tebe Liubliu" (Ivan Franko), "Zhuravlyni Sny" (Oleksandr Malandii), "Teche Voda z-pid Yavora" (Shevchenko), Nasha Duma, Nasha Pisia (Taras Shevchenko) and "Vesnianyi Viter" (Oleksander Oles), "Nizhno, Nizhno, Jak Podykh Bylyny" (Oles) and "Syrityka" (Shevchenko).

Both performers successfully communicated the thrust of each song as well as

(Continued on page 22)

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

Parliament vote calling on the EU authorities to give Ukraine "a clear European perspective, possibly leading to EU membership." The vote reflected "the great sympathy among the populations and governments of democratic countries towards the Orange Revolution," commented Borys Tarasyuk, President-elect Viktor Yushchenko's top foreign-policy adviser. Meanwhile, EU Trade Commissioner Peter Mandelson told Reuters that he wants to deepen trade and economic relations with Ukraine and grant it market-economy status once the country has showed a commitment to reforms. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Candidates report election expenses

KYIV – President-elect Viktor Yushchenko spent 16.8 million hrv (\$3.2

million) for his election campaign, while his rival Viktor Yanukovich spent 14.4 million hrv (\$2.7 million), Interfax reported, citing their official financial reports published in the January 14 issues of Holos Ukrainy and Uriadovi Kurier. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Moroz, too, aspires to be PM

KYIV – Socialist Party head Oleksander Moroz said on the NTN television channel on January 12 that he is ready to assume the post of prime minister if he is offered it by Viktor Yushchenko following the latter's presidential inauguration. "I can name dozens of states that are being run not by economists or business managers," Mr. Moroz said in a reference to his lack of experience as a Cabinet member or business executive. "Possibly, this is why they have more successes than we do," he added. Mr. Moroz, who served as chair-

man of the Verkhovna Rada in 1994-1998, has been in opposition to the government and President Leonid Kuchma since then. Mr. Moroz is the fourth politician, after Yulia Tymoshenko, Anatolii Kinakh and Petro Poroshenko, who has publicly announced his desire to head a new Cabinet. Mr. Yushchenko vowed on January 5 that within days he would name a new prime minister. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Wrangling begins over portfolios

KYIV – Ihor Yefremeyev, head of the parliamentary caucus of the National Agrarian Party of Ukraine (NAPU), told Interfax on January 5 that his party will demand no fewer than three ministerial posts in exchange for supporting a new Cabinet formed by President-elect Viktor Yushchenko. "I suppose that a new [parliamentary] majority will consist of 280 deputies," Mr. Yefremeyev said. "I am convinced that the NAPU caucus will be in the new majority." The NAPU, which is led by Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn, has 29 lawmakers. It is still not clear which parties could form a new pro-government majority. Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine and his current political allies – Oleksander Moroz's Socialist Party, the Yulia Tymoshenko

Bloc and Anatolii Kinakh's Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs – have some 150 deputies in the Verkhovna Rada, well below the 226 votes necessary to pass most legislative resolutions. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Patriots seek blessing of Rada

ODESA – The Organization of Ukrainian Patriots, a civic union operating in numerous areas of the country, is asking that Ukraine's Parliament building be solemnly blessed, with the participation of all the country's Christian denominations, on January 22, which is celebrated in Ukraine as the Day of Unity (Sobornist). The organization sent an appeal regarding the matter to President-elect Viktor Yushchenko, Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn and the Christian denominations of Ukraine. At a press conference in Odesa, Hanna Semeniuk, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Patriots, stated that "The greatest force of unity for the Ukrainian people remains prayer, spirituality. So, to re-create Ukraine, with its high culture, art and national traditions, is the most important assignment of the newly elected president of Ukraine." She added that the newly elected president of Ukraine "will become a symbol of the union of Ukraine, west and east." (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Notice to publishers and authors

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

Send new releases and information (where publication may be purchased, cost, etc.) to: Editorial Staff, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.



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Saturday

March 5, 2005

Opera singer...

(Continued from page 13)

he's a star, recognized by fans the world over, Mr. Hunka rarely forgets a name. An animated storyteller, he dominates a room, whether it's an opera hall seating thousands or a church basement. His enthusiasm for his pet projects is infectious.

In England, he is the artistic director of the Bulava Choir, which was started when he returned after 10 years in Europe. The choir performs Ukrainian folk, classical and religious works. Though it began as an all-male choir, now women also sing with the group. All choristers audition and pay a membership fee, and many travel from all over England to attend rehearsals. "The idea is to have something in England that still holds the torch on the cultural side," said Mr. Hunka.

In the Ukrainian community in Toronto, Mr. Hunka has generated a similar buzz. His arrival in Toronto for "Falstaff" spurred a group of Ukrainian Canadians to organize the Art of Singing Master Class, which was taught by Mr. Hunka in September 2004. Mr. Hunka plans to be in Toronto frequently as he will be performing in several leading COC roles, including Berg's Wozzeck, over the next five years.

The Toronto group is now rallying around Mr. Hunka's newest project, recordings of a series of Ukrainian art songs, starting with those of composer Kyrylo Stetsenko (1882-1922). "This is an excellent opportunity to document Stetsenko's unique songs. Almost all his art songs are completely unknown to the world. It is high time they were all recorded in one complete document," noted Mr. Hunka, who plans to record about 40 of them with world-renowned

pianist Albert Krywolt. The lyrics of the songs are poems, many by Oleksander Oles (1878-1944).

Afterwards, Mr. Hunka aims to record songs of Mykola Lysenko (1842-1912) and other Ukrainian composers.

As for Ukrainian opera, Mr. Hunka said he finds Kostiantyn Dankevych's opera "Bohdan Khmelnytsky" (1951; new version, 1953) and the works of Kereyko, Maiboroda and Meytus impressive. "Lysenko has moments that are masterpieces, like the aria of Ostap [Scho Ty Vchynyv,] from "Taras Bulba" - it's fantastic," he added.

"Ukrainian opera has to be brought to the fore not only for its music but for its dramatic content," said Mr. Hunka. He believes the universal messages within Ukrainian operas must be conveyed and that non-Ukrainian directors could do this more readily. "Unless a Ukrainian has a lot of experience in life outside the Ukrainian cocoon that we all grow up in, they will be very much drawn to clichés of traditional costumes and setting," he observed.

"Directors need to take risks with productions and make people think that Taras Bulba is beyond the steppes, "sharavary," "chupryna," and see it for what [universal] themes it's representing. The narrow message of Taras Bulba will always be there. The issues of greed, love, hate, ambition - those things are never brought out - that's what makes something universal because greed and ambition are characteristics present in every society," he explained.

"We've got to show through our culture how similar we are to the world as opposed to trying to make out how different we are," said Mr. Hunka. "When I was growing up I was always taught Ukrainians are different - and that's wrong - on the cultural side, you have to show that universal streak."

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Saskatchewan UCC honors 10 as "Nation Builders"



Honorees at the Nation Builders Awards ceremony are: (standing, from left) Morris Korpan, Nick Federko (for son Bernie), Dr. Fred Cenaiko, Wayne Lenhardt (for mother Molly); (seated, from left) Stan Klopoushak, Vera Chyzowski (for husband John), Stella Whelan (for sister Olga Andruschak), Iryna Lazaruko and Ben Hladun.

SASKATOON – What started out a decade ago as a neat idea has turned into a tradition. Sunday, November 7, 2004, marked the 10th time that the Ukrainian Canadian Congress – Saskatchewan Provincial Council (UCC-SPC) has held its annual recognition event, the Nation Builders Award (NBA) luncheon.

This year, 10 individuals from the province were formally acknowledged for outstanding achievement and for service to their community. Over 200 family members, friends, guests and community representatives gathered at St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Cultural

Center in Yorkton to pay tribute to the following:

- the late Olga Andruschak (Hafford), a community organizer who spent much of her life as a teacher and leader in women's and youth organizations plus the Ukrainian Arts Program of the UCC-SPC;
- Dr. Fred Cenaiko (Wakaw), a long-time physician from Wakaw who has supported the community generously, financially and professionally plus working with charitable organizations overseas;
- the late John Chyzowski (Saskatoon), an educator by profession and community worker who over the

years helped numerous parishes and projects like the St. Volodymyr Villa succeed;

- Bernie Federko (Foam Lake/St. Louis, Mo.), the NHL star from Foam Lake who brought fame and glory to the St. Louis Blues;

- Ben Hladun (Prince Albert), an artist and architect whose art creations and architectural works have been acknowledged internationally;

- the late Hon. Ray Hnatyshyn (Saskatoon/Ottawa), Canada's 24th governor general and supporter of the arts and volunteerism and recognized internationally for his contribution to justice and liberty;

- Dr. Ed Klopoushak (Regina), University of Regina professor emeritus, acknowledged supporter of numerous Ukrainian institutions and charitable organizations and a tireless community worker;

- Morris Korpan (Saskatoon), an ardent supporter of a wide range of Ukrainian community and church organizations, as well as provider of aid to Ukrainians in Ukraine;

- Iryna Lazaruko (Canora), a teacher of Ukrainian language and culture an organizer of cultural events and a tireless supporter of community and church organizations;

- the late Molly Lenhardt (Melville), the acclaimed artist who expressed a deep passion for her Ukrainian heritage and compassion for Ukrainian pioneer women through her paintings.

Also attending were Sen. A. Raynell Andreychuk and Councillor Janet Hill, who brought greetings from the City of Yorkton.

The dining hall was tastefully decorated and guests were greeted at the door by Harry and Evelyn Kardynal, the host and hostess for the event, while in the lobby a tsymbalist and violinist played a medley of traditional favorites.

The master of ceremonies for the afternoon was Ed Kucey and official greetings were brought by UCC-SPC

(Continued on page 22)



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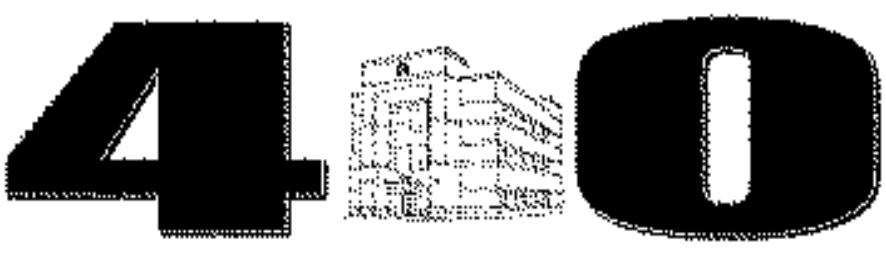
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Saskatchewan...

(Continued from page 21)

President Eugene Krenosky. Citing the contributions of the honorees were Harry Kardynal, Merle Maximiuk and Paul Ortynsky. Each honoree, or their representative, received a trophy acknowledging the bestowed recognition.

Concluding the formal portion of the program was NBA Recognition Committee Chair Dr. Tony Harras, who acknowledged the work of the volunteers in staging the event and the generous support of donors.

Among the attendees were clergy – from Holy Transfiguration Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Yorkton, the Rev. Roman Kocur, who led the opening prayer and the singing of Vichnaya Pamiat in memory of those who gave their lives in all wars; from the Descent of the Holy Spirit Ukrainian Orthodox Sobor in Regina, the Rev. Brent Kuzyk; and, from St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Yorkton, the Rev. Methodius Kushko, CSsR, who led the closing prayer.

The NBA program was established by the UCC-SPC to recognize individuals who have provided outstanding service or exceptional community involvement in an area that is beyond the performance

of the individual's normal duties or the exercise of the responsibilities of a profession to which that individual belongs, and/or who have made a lasting impact on Saskatchewan and/or Canada through their contribution to Canadian or Ukrainian-Canadian community development, goals and ideals.

Honourees hail from all parts of Saskatchewan and represent a broad range of volunteer and professional activities including the arts, community advocacy, community and/or political leadership and sports. One hundred and fifteen such individuals have now been honored since the program's inception in 1995. Information on honorees can be viewed at www.ucc.sk.ca/programs/NBA.htm.

The Nation Builders Awards project is made possible by funding through Saskatchewan Lotteries and the generous donations of many individuals, organizations and businesses from within the Saskatchewan Ukrainian Canadian community.

The UCC-SPC is an inclusive, self-sustaining, vibrant organization that serves the Saskatchewan Ukrainian community to maintain, develop and share its Ukrainian Canadian identity, culture and aspirations.

Works by Bohdana Filts...

(Continued from page 17)

many of the nuances, although Ms. Rohozhyna's accompaniment was too thick in texture and volume.

Violinist Oleksandr Abayev contributed somewhat tentative renditions of the violin pieces on the program: "Spring Romance," Scherzo and "Legend." He was more convincing in the Arkan, which also featured idiomatic Hutsul style writing by the composer.

The concert also included several more piano compositions: a colorful use of piquant rhythms and harmonies in the spirited "Transcarpathian Novelettes," a "Melancholy Waltz" and Scherzo. All three performers combined in "Oi, Na Kupala, Kupalochka" – an evocative and beautiful setting of the ritual Kupalo song first recorded by Lesia Ukrainka.

The audience rewarded the composer and performers with enthusiastic applause. This concert was also scheduled to be repeated at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington on December 9.

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UIA to co-host exhibit and conference on the Yalta Conference of 1945

by Roman Czajkowsky

NEW YORK – Yalta is a name with wide resonance in European and U.S. history. In Central and Eastern Europe it is associated with the perceived abandonment of countries and peoples to Stalin's brutal regime. For the Balts, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians and other Central Europeans, Yalta had come to mean the sanctioning of their absorption into the Soviet system.

But Yalta was also a conference of allies who had defeated a terrible scourge – Hitler's Nazi Reich. And it was a conference in which two of the 20th century's democratic leaders – Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt – sought to build a foundation for global peace through the creation of the United Nations system.

Yalta also had many implications for Ukrainians, who remember Joseph Stalin as the man responsible for the deaths of some 7 million Ukrainians in the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, for his destruction of Ukraine's intelligentsia, and his attacks on Ukraine's language and culture. But one of the unintended legacies of Yalta was that it unified most ethnographically Ukrainian lands by absorbing Galicia (Halychyna) into the Ukrainian SSR. Many scholars believe it was this Ukrainian Piedmont, together with the Baltic states, that played the leading role in advancing the aims of state independence that led to the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

The history and legacy of the Yalta Conference in all of its aspects will be the focus of an exhibit of rarely seen photographs from the conference and a symposium of distinguished academics in early February at the premises of the Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA) in New York City. A complementary exhibit will provide an overview of Crimea, the Black

Sea peninsula on which Yalta is located, that is now part of independent Ukraine.

The photo exhibit and symposium are being co-sponsored by the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute and the Ukrainian Institute of America. The Ukrainian Institute is organizing the exhibit on Yalta.

"Now, on the 60th anniversary of the summit at Yalta, is an appropriate time for the Ukrainian Institute of America to examine this landmark event in 20th century history," said Walter Nazarewicz, the institute's president. "That it occurred on what is now Ukrainian soil, and that the Yalta conference had implications for the world we have known, make the UIA's co-sponsorship of a photo exhibit and related historians' conference an appropriate and timely way to remember an event that to this day is as controversial as it was significant."

Mr. Nazarewicz added that when the Roosevelt Institute first approached the UIA about holding the photo exhibit there, the institute readily agreed but insisted that a historians' symposium be organized to provide a balanced view of the conference. He also said the institute welcomed the symbolism of holding such an event at a recognized center of Ukrainian culture and history rather than at a Russian institution. Crimea formally became part of the Ukrainian SSR only in 1954, a land transfer that still rankles many Russians.

The Yalta photo exhibit, which opens to the public on February 4 and runs through March 4, will feature stills taken during the second tripartite meeting of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin by Sgt. Robert Hopkins and other U.S. Signal Corps photographers who accompanied President Roosevelt. The images are drawn from the photographic collections at the FDR Presidential Library and the National Archives.

Scheduled speakers and panelists at the symposium include Ambassador William J. van den Heuvel, co-chair of the Roosevelt Institute and former deputy U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations; Brig. Gen. Charles F. Brower IV U.S. Army (ret.), former professor and department head at the United States Military Academy, aide to President Ronald Reagan and author of "World War II in Europe: The Final Year"; Prof. Robert Dallek, currently of Boston University, winner of the Bancroft Prize and author of such books as "Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy," "Flawed Giant" and "An Unfinished Life: JFK 1917-1963"; Prof. Charles Gati of the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, and a fellow of the John Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute who was senior advisor to the U.S. Department of State in the Clinton adminis-

tration and is author of such books as "The Bloc That Failed," "Eastern Europe and the World" and "The International Politics of Eastern Europe"; and Prof. Alexander J. Motyl, deputy director of the Center for Global Change and Governance and co-director of the Central and East European Studies Program at Rutgers-Newark and the author of "Imperial Ends: The Decline, Collapse, and Revival of Empires" and "Revolutions, Nations, Empires; Conceptual Limits and Theoretical Possibilities."

Prof. Gati is scheduled to speak on the view of Yalta as an act of betrayal of the people of Central and Eastern Europe, while Prof. Motyl is scheduled to address the moral ambiguities of the democratic West's bargain with a man who murdered millions.

The symposium will be moderated by Adrian Karatnycky, counselor senior scholar and former president of Freedom House.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

(Continued from page 24)

of Despair," which deals with the 1932-1933 Famine in Ukraine, will be shown the library, 125 Symmes Drive (off Route 9 South) at 1 p.m. A discussion and refreshments will follow the film screening. For more information call the library, (732) 431-7220, or the UNWLA office, (732) 441-9530. UNWLA Branch 98, which was established in 1988, is hosting the program in celebration of the 80th anniversary of the UNWLA, which was founded in Philadelphia in 1925.

Renewal: A Celebration of the Mystery of Woman," will be held at St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic School, 2200 W. Rice St., at 9:45 a.m.-3:45 p.m. Guest speaker will be Dr. Lesya Nahachewsky, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. Prof. Nahachewsky, who has an extensive background in Eastern Christian theology, history, spirituality, iconography, world religions and non-violence – has taught in Lviv and Bangkok. Cost of the day is \$20 per person, which includes a continental breakfast and lunch. Reservations required. The event is sponsored by St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral Parish Centennial Committee. For additional information, call (773) 276-9500.

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Sunday, February 13

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Soyuzivka's Datebook

February 4-6, 2005 Church of Annunciation Family Weekend, Flushing, N.Y.	Secretarial Course
February 11-13, 2005 Valentine's Day Weekend	April 8-10, 2005 Grace Episcopal Church, Madison, N.J. – Men's Retreat
February 19-20, 2005 Family Winter Weekend and Ski Trip	April 15-17, 2005 Plast Kurin "Chortopolokhy" Annual Meeting
February 26, 2005 Napanoch Fire Company Banquet	April 16, 2005 Rochester Fire Company Banquet
March 5-6, 2005 Plast Kurin "Khmelnynchenky" Annual Winter Rada	April 20-22, 2005 SUNY at New Paltz, Migrant Education Program and Retreat
March 27, 2005 Easter Day Brunch – Doors open at 11:30 a.m.	April 23, 2005 TAP New York Beer Festival at Hunter Mountain, round trip bus from Soyuzivka
April 1-2, 2005 UNA District Meeting and	



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August 8 return August 23	EXPLORATION OF FOLK ART & CULTURE Kyiv 3: including Shevchenko's Memorial in Kaniv; Pecherska Lavra. Ternopil 3: Borshchiv; Kamianets- Podilskyi; Fort Khotyn. Ivano-Frankivsk 4: Kolomyia; Carpathian towns & villages; Yaremche Bazaar; Kosiv; and others. Lviv 4: UNESCO heritage city. Tour Escort: Orysia Tracz	16 days	\$3650.00
Sept 6 return Sept 21	ADVENTURES IN OLD AND NEW UKRAINE Lviv 4: UNESCO heritage city; Ivano-Frankivsk. Kolomyia 4: Carpathians; Hutsulshchyna; Kosiv; Yaremche Bazaar; unique village praznyk in Kryvche. Chernivtsi 2: Kamianets-Podilskyi; Fort Khotyn; Kalinivskiy Bazaar. Kyiv 4: Independence Square; Village Pyrohovo; Pecherska Lavra; Shevchenko Museum. Tour Escort: Peter Drosdowech	16 days	\$3695.00

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Thursday, January 27

WASHINGTON: The Washington Group Cultural Fund, in cooperation with the Embassy of Ukraine, invites the public to a presentation titled "Ukrainian Jazz" by Larry Appelbaum, host of WPFW's "The Sound of Surprise" program. The U.S. Library of Congress jazz music expert will speak about his music discoveries during a recent trip to Ukraine. The presentation will take place at 7 p.m. at the Embassy of Ukraine, 3350 M St., NW; reception to follow. Suggested donation: \$10; students, free. RSVP by January 24 by calling (202) 349-2961 or by e-mailing nholub@ukremb.com.

Saturday, January 29

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, Section of Mathematics, Physics and Technology, invites the public to a conference on forestry in Ukraine. Among topics covered are: "Ukrainian Forests at a Crossroads: Challenges in the Development of Forest Policy in a Transition Economy," Dr. Ihor Soloviy, Ukrainian State University of Forestry, Institute of Ecological Economics, and Fulbright Fellow, North Carolina State University; "Challenges for Sustainable Forest Management in Ukraine," Dr. Sergiy Zibtsev, National Agrarian University, Institute of Forestry, Orchards' and Parks' Management, and Fulbright Fellow, Yale University; and, "The Carpathian Arc: Challenges to the Sustainable Management of Ukraine's Mountain Forests," Yuriy Bihun, forestry resources analyst and director, Shelterwood Systems Company, Jericho, Vt.; with introductory remarks, Dr. Roman Andrushkiw, section head. The conference will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call (212) 254-5130.

CHICAGO: The Ukrainian American Medical Association, Illinois Chapter, is holding a banquet and ball with presentation of the 2005 debutantes at the Palmer House Hilton, Grand Ballroom. Cocktails, 6 p.m.; dinner, 7 pm. Evening attire is required. Banquet and ball: \$125 per person; student rate, \$80 per person; ball only, \$30 per person. All proceeds from this year's debutante ball will be donated to The Foundation of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America. For additional information call Katia Hrynewycz, (312) 829-1457 or e-mail: kathyhry@aol.com.

Saturday, February 5

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific

Society invites the public to a lecture by Olena Dzhydzhora, dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv and Fulbright scholar, Columbia University, on the topic "The Reform of University Education in Post-Soviet Ukraine." The talk will be held at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call (212) 254-5130.

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 on Saturday, February 5, at the Hilton Hotel, in Glendale, Calif. All proceeds are designated for the support of the "Wheelchairs for Ukraine" program. The formal affair includes cocktail hour, silent auction, dinner and dancing to the music of Vorony. Tickets: \$95, adult; \$85, student. Mail your 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 the hotel's three-letter code). With other inquiries call Luba Keske, (818) 884-3836, or Shannon Micevych, (818) 774-9378.

ONGOING

NEW YORK: A photography exhibition of images of Ukraine's Orange Revolution, featuring the work of three photographers from Ukraine – Alexandr Glyadyelov, Ihor Palamarchuk and Mykola Zhuravel – is on view at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 E. 79th St. Comprising the exhibit, titled "Orange Revolution," are some 40 photographs. The exhibit, which opened January 16, will be on view through March 4. Gallery hours: noon-6 p.m. daily (closed Mondays). For additional information call (212) 288-8660, visit www.ukrainianinstitute.org or e-mail programs@ukrainianinstitute.org

MANALAPAN, N.J.: Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) Branch 98, Holmdel-Middletown, N.J., and the Monmouth County Library Headquarters are co-sponsoring a Ukrainian Arts and Crafts exhibit in the upper lobby of the library during the month of January. The exhibit opened January 4 and will be on view through January 30. Library hours: Monday-Thursday, 9 a.m.- 9 p.m.; Friday-Saturday, 9 a.m.- 5 p.m.; and Sunday, 1-5 p.m. On January 29, the documentary film "Harvest

(Continued on page 23)

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