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# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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## Tymoshenko tapped as prime minister

by Olga Nuzhinskaya

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV — A day after being sworn-in, Ukraine's President Viktor Yushchenko nominated the fiery 44-year-old politician Yulia Tymoshenko as acting prime minister and is expected to shortly ask Ukraine's Parliament to formally approve her.

"I'm up to the task of the prime minister's job," Ms. Tymoshenko told the media on January 25 and pledged that Ukraine would "become a more civilized country."

Mr. Yushchenko's office announced the decision while the president was in Moscow on his first foreign trip.

"Tymoshenko, of all the candidates that were proposed, was the most acceptable," President Yushchenko said after a meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin, "I hope that Yulia and her Cabinet will be successful."

Ms. Tymoshenko was the most visible of Mr. Yushchenko's allies in the Orange Revolution. Side-by-side with Mr. Yushchenko, and more than anyone else, Ms. Tymoshenko was the political face of the mass movement dubbed the Orange Revolution when tens of thousands of opposition supporters flooded the streets of Kyiv following the fraud-marred presidential run-off of November 21, 2004.

At her behest, protesters stayed on the streets to press for democracy and honest election. She jumped on the backs of trucks to rally the crowds and clamored over a riot police line. She repeatedly called for a seizure of power from the opposition's stage on Independence Square.

"I strongly helped the revolution ... I managed to demonstrate that politicians sometimes serve the people, not themselves," Ms. Tymoshenko said.

The charismatic Ms. Tymoshenko, who is considered to be the most radical person among Mr. Yushchenko's allies, is someone that almost no one feels neutral about.

Even as President Yushchenko walked to an outdoor rostrum on Sunday to give his inauguration speech, chants of "Tymoshenko!" and "Yulia for prime minister!" were a counterpoint to cheers for the new president.

"Together with Yulia our people can really change the country," said Vitalii Strutynskyi, 47, a businessman from Kyiv.

"A person involved in stealing state money and under prosecution cannot be our prime minister," said Irina Leshchenko, 20, a student from Donetsk.

Before joining the ranks of President Leonid Kuchma's foes, Ms. Tymoshenko headed the now-defunct United Energy Systems, the country's predominant gas dealer, where she pushed through energy sector reforms that angered influential tycoons but won praise from Western observers.

Ms. Tymoshenko served as deputy prime minister under Pavlo Lazarenko, who was convicted in June in San Francisco of fraud, money-laundering and extortion. She was ousted from government in 2001, turning against President Kuchma and forming a faction in the Parliament.

Since 2001, prosecutors have opened several probes against her, and she was jailed briefly on charges of bribery, money-laundering, corruption and abuse of power while working for UES. She has dismissed the charges as politically motivated.

However, President Yushchenko's choice for prime minister will sow fear among that part of Ukraine's

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## Yushchenko inaugurated as president

by Viktoria Voronovych

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV — As Viktor Yushchenko took the presidential oath of office on January 23 in the Ukrainian Parliament Building, promising to work for the Ukrainian nation and pledged to uphold national sovereignty, more than a half million Ukrainians, most wearing at least a swatch of orange somewhere, watched the event from Independence Square on big screens scattered throughout the area.

The quiet hush that had fallen on the crowd as Mr. Yushchenko began the oath turned to a rhythmic rumble as the throng erupted into chants of "Yushchenko!" after the new president completed the last words. It was a chant that was heard often on this festive yet solemn day as inaugural celebrations for Ukraine's third duly elected president took place across the city and the country.

As had happened during the heady days of the Orange Revolution that had propelled Mr. Yushchenko to the country's top post, the color of orange was evident everywhere: people dressed in it and buildings were covered in it. The Ukrainian Home looked like an orange creamsicle with orange bunting flowing across its roof and down its sides. The Tchaikovsky Conservatory's bold white columns were colored orange this day, as was the portico of the October Palace Convention Center.

After the short swearing-in ceremony in the Verkhovna Rada session hall, President Yushchenko, who remained reserved and serious in his demeanor during most of the official ceremonies, informed the lawmakers and official dignitaries present in the Verkhovna Rada — including outgoing President Leonid Kuchma, eight foreign state leaders and leaders of more than 60 international delegations — that he wanted to carry the rest of the inauguration out onto Independence Square to the people that had elected him.

"On this day, dear friends, I am looking for a way for us to be among the people. I am inviting all the national deputies, guests, friends, all of you present in this hall to



AP/Gleb Garanich, Pool

**Viktor Yushchenko sings the Ukrainian national anthem after taking the oath of office during his inauguration ceremony in the Verkhovna Rada.**

come to the maidan upon the closing of this session. I would like to share my oath, taken in this building, with the people. I am calling on every one of you: let us join the people. They are waiting for us; let us be together," explained Mr. Yushchenko at the conclusion of short remarks immediately after he took the presidential oath.

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## Yushchenko inauguration drives upturn in relations with U.S.

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON — The inauguration of Viktor Yushchenko as president of Ukraine on January 23 gave rise to a noticeable upturn in its bilateral relationship with the United States.

There were two high-level U.S. meetings with the new president, an exchange of invitations for presidential visits to Kyiv and Washington, and statements about supporting Ukraine's new government — albeit without specifics yet — both from the Bush administration and from Congress. As during the Orange Revolution, when Mr. Yushchenko's supporters were demanding free and fair elections on Kyiv's Independence Square, Secretary of State Colin Powell was the administration's point man at the inauguration as well.

He headed the U.S. presidential delegation, which, in addition to U.S. Ambassador John Herbst and Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs Paula Dobriansky, included three Ukrainian American representatives: Ukrainian Federation of America President Vera Andryczyk, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation President Nadia Komarnyckyj McConnell and Northern Illinois University Adjunct Professor Myron Kuropas.

On the eve of the inauguration, President Bush telephoned then President-elect Yushchenko to congratulate him on his hard-fought victory, which he termed

"democracy's victory" in Ukraine. Later, Secretary Powell told reporters in Kyiv that President Bush had also pledged "continuing support to Ukraine."

During his meeting with the new president on inauguration day, Secretary Powell said, they had a good discussion not only about all of the bilateral issues but also "about broader issues of Euro-Atlantic integration and how Ukraine will be moving to make sure that it becomes a valued member of the Euro-Atlantic communities."

Turning to President Yushchenko, who was standing beside him, he added: "I just want to assure you that you will continue to enjoy the full support of the American government and the American people, as you move forward now to undertake the efforts that the Ukrainian people are expecting."

President Yushchenko noted some of the specifics that were discussed at their meeting, among them prospects for Ukraine acquiring market-based economy status, being accepted into the World Trade Organization, the opening of the U.S. market to more Ukrainian goods and the repeal of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. Iraq was also on the agenda, he said.

Secretary Powell said that President Bush expressed his hope that President Yushchenko would be able to visit the United States "in the not-too-distant future," and added

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## ANALYSIS

## Did Ukraine's Security Service really prevent bloodshed during the Orange Revolution?

by **Taras Kuzio**

*Eurasia Daily Monitor*

On January 17, The New York Times published a sensational expose alleging that the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) had been key to preventing bloodshed during the Orange Revolution. The article was translated for *Ukrainska Pravda* the same day and has unleashed a debate as to whether the allegations are true or an attempt at whitewashing the SBU in time for Viktor Yushchenko's presidency.

The issue of whether bloodshed was contemplated is crucial to understanding the success of the Orange Revolution. In both the Serbian (November 2000) and Georgian (October-November 2003) democratic revolutions the security forces either stayed neutral or defected to the opposition. In October Russian political technologist Marat Gelman, who worked on Viktor Yanukovich's campaign, ruled out a Georgian scenario in Ukraine, predicting that the security forces would stay loyal to the authorities (*Ukrainska Pravda*, October 29, 2004). This prediction was wrong, and *Eurasia Daily Monitor* (December 1) was the first to identify the growing defection of security forces as likely to lead to a victory for the Orange Revolution.

A majority of the SBU did prefer Mr. Yushchenko to his main opponent, Viktor Yanukovich. For example, some 80 percent of officers enrolled in the SBU Academy in Kyiv voted for Mr. Yushchenko (*Zerkalo Nedeli*, November 20-26, 2004). Throughout the election campaign the Yushchenko camp had excellent contacts with the SBU, which gave them (and *Eurasia Daily Monitor*) internal

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documents from the Yanukovich camp. But, this was also true of the Internal Ministry, whose personnel kept relaying to the Mr. Yushchenko camp their opposition to using force against protesters.

Elements of the SBU taped Mr. Yanukovich's "shadow campaign" headquarters and the audiotapes were given over to the Yushchenko camp immediately after the second round of the presidential election. On November 25 the SBU issued a statement affirming its opposition to the official results that had declared a Yanukovich victory and stating their readiness to defend the protesters.

Nevertheless, four factors work against The New York Times exposé's ability to improve the image of SBU chief Ihor Smeshko. Already allegations have been raised that the article was merely a public relations exercise for Mr. Smeshko (*oligarch.net*, January 20).

First, outgoing president Leonid Kuchma is also claiming credit for not ordering a violent crackdown. President Kuchma "guaranteed" that there would be no violent crackdown "under any circumstances" (*UNIAN*, November 11, 2004).

Former deputy presidential administration head Vasyl Baziv revealed that it was actually Mr. Yanukovich and presidential administration head Viktor Medvedchuk who lobbied for a violent crackdown. The duo are undoubtedly the same officials who attempted to move Internal Affairs troops to Kyiv.

Besides Messrs. Yanukovich and Mr. Medvedchuk, then-Procurator-General Hennadii Vasilyev issued a statement on November 22, one day after Round 2, calling upon the authorities and the SBU to "firmly put an end to lawlessness." Three days later he ordered a criminal case to be launched against Mr. Yushchenko and his ally Yulia Tymoshenko for their "seizure of power." The order was never issued, because Deputy Procurator General Mykola Holomsha refused to implement it

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## Three challenges for the Crimean Tatars

by **Paul Goble**

*RFE/RL Newline*

The Crimean Tatars overwhelmingly backed the "Orange Revolution" in Ukraine, but in the wake of that victory they face three challenges to their national aspirations: first, the probability of increased Russian meddling on the peninsula; second, the likelihood of growing Islamic fundamentalism there; and third, the possibility of declining support by Western governments that now have a government in Kyiv they like.

The Crimean Tatars face increased Russian meddling in Crimea, some of it by the local Russian community but much of it clearly orchestrated by Moscow. Ethnic Russians – who constitute the majority of the peninsula's population – voted overwhelmingly against Viktor Yushchenko.

Some of the more extreme ethnic Russian opponents of the Orange Revolution there organized themselves as Cossack detachments to defend against

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what they said were Crimean Tatar threats, according to *religare.ru*, and others urged a vote to put Crimea under Russian control, *mignews.com* reported.

Even though the Ukrainian presidential election is now over and tempers may have cooled somewhat, Moscow's interests in maintaining its naval base there and in continuing to use Crimea as a counterweight to Kyiv make it likely that Russia will attempt to exacerbate problems there – a development that is likely to hurt rather than help the Crimean Tatars.

One reason for that conclusion involves the second challenge the Crimean Tatars now face, the growth of Islamic fundamentalism there and the ways in which the Russian authorities are seeking to exploit it through their media coverage of this trend.

The Crimean Tatars historically practice a very moderate form of Islam, but in the 1990s both domestic and foreign factors played a role in the appearance there of Wahhabism, and more recently followers of Hizb ut-Tahrir. Extreme poverty and a sense of hopelessness among many Crimean Tatars have contributed to the growing popularity of radical Islam, but so too have the activities of Muslim mis-

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## NEWSBRIEFS

### U.S. congratulates Yushchenko

WASHINGTON – The U.S. State Department on January 20 congratulated Viktor Yushchenko on his election as president of Ukraine in a message posted on its website (<http://www.state.gov>). "We congratulate President-elect Yushchenko on his historic victory and wish him all success for his term in office," the message read. "We also congratulate the Ukrainian people for the courage they displayed in standing up for their democratic rights. The United States stands ready to strengthen its cooperation with Ukraine and looks forward to working closely with Ukraine's new president." (RFE/RL Newline)

### Lukashenka offers congratulations

MIENSK – President Alyaksandr Lukashenka on January 20 congratulated Viktor Yushchenko on his election as Ukraine's president, Belapan reported, citing the presidential press service. "Belarus knows you as a prominent statesman and experienced politician," the Belarusian president said in his message. "I hope that you will contribute to the expansion of Belarusian-Ukrainian cooperation and the strengthening of the good-neighborly relations between our countries." This was the second congratulation Mr. Lukashenka sent to Kyiv on the occasion of the Ukrainian election. On November 23, 2004, Mr. Lukashenka congratulated Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich on winning the November 21 presidential run-off despite the lack of a final tally in that vote. (RFE/RL Newline)

### NATO secretary general sends congrats

BRUSSELS – The secretary general of NATO, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, on January 20 congratulated the president-elect of Ukraine, Viktor Yushchenko, with the following message: "Please accept my heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of Ukraine. I am confident that the trust the Ukrainian people have placed in you will provide a mandate to enact far-reaching political and economic reforms benefiting all citizens and all regions of Ukraine. I am also certain that under your leadership the special relationship between Ukraine and the alliance will gather further momentum. I wish you every success in facing the challenges that lie ahead. Please be assured that NATO stands ready to support your government's efforts to implement the ambitious common goals and principles that underpin our deepening relationship. I am sure that our close

cooperation will yield important results. I am very much looking forward to working with you." At the invitation of the Ukrainian authorities, the secretary general was to represent the alliance at the presidential inauguration ceremony. (NATO)

### Tymoshenko upbeat about her chances

MOSCOW – Yulia Tymoshenko, who was designated by President Viktor Yushchenko as Ukraine's acting prime minister, said in an interview with the Moscow-based *Izvestia* on January 26 that she will be approved in her post by the Verkhovna Rada with "many more" votes than the minimum 226 necessary for this procedure. "I have spoken with virtually all parliamentary forces; they are ready to back me," Ms. Tymoshenko said. She said the new government's key priorities will be to change Ukraine's taxation system and to reduce the shadow economy. "The main problem right now is not how to divide [government] posts," President Yushchenko said. "The basic question is where we are to find so many honest, patriotic, and devoted ... professionals in order to fill the posts that will be vacated by the old team." (RFE/RL Newline)

### Two major allies in line for posts

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko said at a news conference in Moscow on January 24 that Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz and Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs head Anatolii Kinakh, who pledged their support for him following the first presidential election round on October 31, 2004, will be rewarded with posts in Ukraine's government and "other power bodies," Interfax reported. "We have come to an agreement in consultations with them, and you will soon [see this agreement reflected] in my personnel decrees," Mr. Yushchenko said. (RFE/RL Newline)

### EU courts Ukraine with new action plan

BRUSSELS – European Union High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana and External Relations Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner have drawn up a 10-point addendum to the three-year EU-Ukraine Action Plan, taking account of pressure to respond to Ukraine's elevated expectations in the wake of the Ukrainian presidential election, an RFE/RL correspondent in Brussels reported on January 24. Ms. Ferrero-Waldner's spokeswoman Emma Udwin said the chief additions to

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## Yushchenko inaugurated...

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Mr. Yushchenko, who had promised that he would take the country back for the people from the entrenched business oligarchs, their cronies and the bureaucrats who had kept them in power for the last decade, took the first step toward that goal by keeping his inauguration as public as possible. He also made a distinct effort to imbue the presidential inauguration ceremony with Ukrainian historic symbolism.

Perhaps most importantly, the new Ukrainian president made a concerted initial effort to begin healing the festering political wound that had opened between the eastern and western regions of Ukraine over who was the country's duly elected leader. The split occurred after massive vote fraud and election manipulations forced Ukraine's Supreme Court to void the November 21 run-off and call for a third round of voting on December 26. The final count determined that Mr. Yushchenko had won the presidential election over his rival, former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, by a vote of 52 percent to 44 percent.

President Yushchenko filled his speech on Independence Square – where until only days before hundreds of thousands had protested and camped for weeks to demand free and fair elections – with references to the unity of the Ukrainian nation and the singleness of its national purpose. Mr. Yushchenko said that it was time to heal wounds. He underscored his intention to reconcile the differences between the regions.

"Everyone has the right to search for his vision of his country's path. Everyone has the right to choose those political colors that are dearest to him," exclaimed Mr. Yushchenko. "But, my dear friends, dear Ukrainians, our common choice are the colors of the Ukrainian flag. They unite all of us. Those who live in the east, and those who live in the west. Those who live in the north of Ukraine, and those who live in her south."

Mr. Yushchenko emphasized that the various scare scenarios promulgated by his opponents, graphically expressed in pre- and post-election propaganda campaigns, which over the last weeks had elicited a very real sense of fear and resentment in the regions of Donetsk, Luhansk, Odesa and in Crimea, were baseless and would never materialize.

"I vow that everyone will be able to teach their children in the language of their parents. Everyone will be able to pray in their own house of worship. Everyone will be guaranteed the right to hold their own views. We will be able to listen to one another because we will have freedom of expression and an independent press," explained Mr. Yushchenko.

He was directly addressing concerns in the Ukrainian east that the Russian language would soon be outlawed and the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church banned, and fears that the eastern regions would be overrun by ultra-nationalists from the west.

Mr. Yushchenko dedicated the first part of his remarks to giving thanks to the Ukrainian nation, whose Orange Revolution assured that the presidential chair he had rightfully won had not been taken away by vote manipulation.

In an emotional moment, he gave special thanks to his father, "whose true teachings guided me throughout my life and brought me to this high honor of leading my country," and asked forgiveness from his mother "for all the pain that her maternal heart has had to endure, especially in the past four months."

It was a day filled with emotion, but

also filled with tradition as Mr. Yushchenko tried to link his inauguration to the thousand years of Ukrainian history and culture.

The momentous day began with the arrival of Mr. Yushchenko at the Verkhovna Rada Building, where he was greeted by an honor guard dressed in the uniform of the Black Sea Kozak Corps from 1812. First to meet the president-elect was Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn, who had played a key if indirect role during the Orange Revolution in keeping the elections on a democratic track.

Before entering the session hall, Mr. Yushchenko reviewed a display of artifacts, including the official flag of the government of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, one of Ukraine's most prominent historic figures, which the Swedish government had loaned to Ukraine from its Swedish Army Museum in Stockholm for the inauguration. The artifacts were no small piece of symbolism linking Mr. Yushchenko presidency with the past.

After entering the session hall, where hundreds of lawmakers and domestic and foreign dignitaries awaited, Mr. Yushchenko took the presidential oath with his right hand on both the 1996 Constitution of Ukraine and the 500-year-old Peresopnytska Gospel, kissing both sacred books and making the sign of the cross after uttering the presidential oath. The solemn moment was followed by a rousing round of applause from the session hall amid chants of "Yushchenko!"

Constitutional Court Justice Mykola Selivon then placed a golden chain ornament made from the presidential emblem,

the trident, around Mr. Yushchenko's neck and handed him the symbol of his authority, a traditional Kozak mace (bula-va). A moment before, the Constitutional Court justice had declared in the session hall that there were no legal impediments to the new president assuming his post, and Central Election Commission Chairman Volodymyr Davydovych had announced the official vote tally from the December 26 election.

Among prominent foreign dignitaries on hand for the swearing-in were the presidents of Austria, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Lithuania, Estonia, Slovakia and Moldova, as well as U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, who led the U.S. delegation, former Czech President Vaclav Havel and NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer.

Among leading Ukrainian dignitaries present were outgoing President Kuchma and Ukraine's first president after independence in 1991, Leonid Kravchuk, who sat to the right of the podium, as well as representatives of all the judicial, executive and legislative bodies. Not present was Mr. Yushchenko's rival, Mr. Yanukovich, who later told the press that he had never received the invitation that the Yushchenko side maintained it had sent him.

Before asking everybody to join him to Independence Square, the new Ukrainian president made brief remarks in the Verkhovna Rada in which he thanked the parliamentary body for the resolutions it had passed in the last weeks condemning the fraudulent vote of November 21 and supporting a vote of no-confidence in Mr. Yanukovich, as prime minister, which had forced the government leader to

abandon any thought of using more government resources in his favor in the run-up to the final vote.

"You, esteemed national deputies, have defended Ukrainian democracy, defended unity, the sovereignty and independence of our Ukraine," exclaimed Mr. Yushchenko.

The newly elected president then walked the 100 yards from the Verkhovna Rada Building to the Mariinskyi Palace, his new official, if merely symbolic, residence (currently it functions as a museum). In the palace's courtyard Armed Forces Chief of Staff Colonel General Serhii Kyrychenko and dozens of military officials awaited their new commander-in-chief. With a canon salute in his honor echoing off the palace's walls, President Yushchenko reviewed military detachments from the three military branches, the army, navy and Air Force, before entering his presidential limousine for the first time and racing off to Independence Square, less than a mile away.

Mr. Yushchenko made his inaugural speech on Independence Square beneath the rotunda at the base of the 60-meter-high lady of freedom memorial. As Mr. Yushchenko spoke the final words his family joined him. As more than a half million Ukrainians applauded and chanted "Yushchenko!," hundreds of doves with orange ribbons tied to their tails, along with thousands of balloons, were set aloft into the partly sunny Kyiv sky.

The new Ukrainian president and his wife, Kateryna, then returned to Mariinskyi Palace for a private reception for foreign diplomats. At Mr. Yushchenko's request, the luncheon menu included such traditional Ukrainian delicacies as borsch soup with pampushky and varenyky with berries.

The official inaugural ceremony concluded that evening with a concert of classical music at the Palats Ukrainy (Ukraine Palace) concert hall. There, a young boy of about 6 began the performance by ascending the stairs from the audience to the stage and tapping out, key by key, the first notes of "Nas Ne Podolyat," the song that had become the anthem of the Orange Revolution.

Tourists and Kyivans alike celebrated on the streets of the capital from early morning to late at night on this historic day. Kyiv's city center began filling with celebrants as early as 8 a.m. for an inauguration that took place at noon. Many stayed well into the night to view one of the best fireworks displays ever presented here, or so those who were there later said.

For many it was a day spent with friends and family, taking photographs before the remnants of the tent city or before the orange-clad Ukrainian Home, and reminiscing and recalling the parts they had played in the Orange Revolution.

A man standing with his spouse and another couple on a berm overlooking Hrushevsky Street just above Dynamo Stadium told his rapt audience how he had first confronted Yanukovich supporters:

"We were walking here towards the Verkhovna Rada and saw the light blue flags," he explained, as a reporter eavesdropped a few yards away. "When they got about there we smiled, offered them cigarettes and suggested that we speak. Everything was okay. They were friendly."

A bit earlier, two women walking in a park behind the Verkhovna Rada spoke of the young militia officers who were lined up restricting access to an area where a battery of cannons had been placed in preparation for a salute to the new commander-in-chief

"The boys have done well. They are with us," said one elderly lady to the other, speaking as much to the young officers near them as to her friend.



Supporters of Viktor Yushchenko gathered on Independence Square watch a direct TV broadcast of his inauguration at the Verkhovna Rada.

AP/Efrem Lukatsky

## In Russia, on his first working visit as president, Yushchenko strives to counter pre-election myths

by **Maryna Makhnonos**

*Special to The Ukrainian Weekly*

MOSCOW – Ukraine's newly inaugurated president, Viktor Yushchenko, made a one-day working visit to Moscow to meet with Russian President Vladimir Putin on Monday, January 24. The two presidents discussed a range of topics in bilateral relations, as well as Mr. Yushchenko's poisoning, a criminal investigation by Russian prosecutors of business operations by Yushchenko ally and now Prime-Minister-designate Yulia Tymoshenko and Russia's Black Sea Fleet operations in Crimea.

Mr. Yushchenko was accompanied by State Secretary Oleksander Zinchenko, National Deputies Yevhen Chervonenko and Oleksander Tretiakov, and Ukraine's ambassador to Russia, Mykola Biloblotskyi.

The group met with Dmitrii Medvedev, chief of the Russian presidential administration; Mr. Putin's assistant Sergei Prikhodko; Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov; Industry and Energy Minister Victor Khristenko; Russia's ambassador to Ukraine Victor Chernomyrdin; and Aleksei Miller, head of Russia's gas monopoly Gazprom. Later in the day, Mr. Yushchenko met with Russian Orthodox Patriarch Aleksei II at the Danilov Monastery to under-

score his unbiased policy toward all confessions in Ukraine.

During his news conference at the President Hotel in Moscow at the conclusion of his visit, Mr. Yushchenko said: "I think we managed to turn over the pre-election page completely, to close it. Now it's not important what happened 30 days ago, it's important what will happen in the next five years."

Mr. Yushchenko said the purpose of his visit was "to improve bilateral relations and make them more sincere," as well as to fulfill his promise to Ukrainian voters. During the presidential campaign, Mr. Yushchenko said repeatedly that his first presidential visit abroad would be to Russia. At the Kremlin, Mr. Yushchenko confirmed his previous statements that Russia is Ukraine's crucial partner: "We stated always and will state that Russia is our eternal strategic partner."

Mr. Putin stated that Russia "never works behind the scenes in the post-Soviet space, only with the acting government and this completely relates to Ukraine. We have done what we were asked [to do] by the leadership." He added, "We hope that we will build the same relations based on trust with you, too."

The Ukrainian president said he discussed a range of issues in bilateral relations, including Russian gas transit, capi-

tal transfers, migration, the status of the Russian Black Sea Fleet, language issues, cooperation within the framework of the Single Economic Space (SES) and Ukraine's bids to enter European market. Mr. Yushchenko did not disclose any details of the talks, but indicated that he was "satisfied with the dialogue."

The appointment of Ms. Tymoshenko as Ukraine's prime minister seemed to be an unexpected event of the day as Mr. Yushchenko's press secretary first announced it before the media during the presidential talks at the Kremlin. Mr. Putin avoided comment on the issue, but Mr. Yushchenko said he discussed the possibility of an unobstructed visit by Ms. Tymoshenko to Russia and was "satisfied with the answer." Commenting on her appointment, President Yushchenko said he hopes she will successfully continue his economic reforms of 1999-2000.

Russia's Prosecutor's Office is investigating whether Ms. Tymoshenko bribed Russian military officers to favor some business operations. When she did not appear for questioning in Moscow in September 2004, Russian law-enforcement authorities announced an international warrant via Interpol and a Russian court sanctioned her arrest. Russia's chief prosecutor, Vladimir Ustinov, said on January 26 that his office will "continue the case according to Russian laws." Mr. Ustinov would not say whether Ms. Tymoshenko would be arrested if she crosses the Russian border, but noted that "the arrest was sanctioned by court decision."

There were two new curves in the two countries' relations, including the declaration of a new vector in Ukraine's foreign economic policy. According to Mr. Yushchenko, Ukraine welcomes the SES to the extent that the SES respect its economic interests and its cooperation with the European Union.

Mr. Yushchenko also said that Ukraine will divert the transport of oil via the Odesa-Brody pipeline, that is, from Odesa to Brody and on to Europe if corresponding agreements with oil suppliers in Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan are reached. Currently the pipeline works in reverse mode, transporting Russian oil to consumers from Brody to Odesa's oil terminal and via the Black Sea in tankers. "The current agreement [with Russian companies on oil transit via this pipeline] is temporary. It corresponds to Ukrainian

interests, but if they change, we will use the pipeline in the opposite direction," Mr. Yushchenko explained.

Mr. Yushchenko's visit to Russia was also aimed at countering the general impression that he is a radical nationalist – a theme that predominated on Russian TV channels and in public opinion in Russia and Ukraine's east.

Mr. Yushchenko told the news media that Ukraine's alleged ideological split between west and east is a myth. He said Ukrainians have been changed since the opposition protests, and the fact that his three little children sing "Together we are many and we cannot be defeated," gives hope for a good future.

At the end of his news conference, journalists surrounded Mr. Yushchenko to ask additional questions, standing merely a step away from the Ukrainian leader – a very unfamiliar situation in Russia as VIPs are usually tightly guarded by security.

One journalist asked: "Did you discuss the poisoning issue with Putin?" Mr. Yushchenko replied in the affirmative, but did not say anything more. Later, when a Los Angeles Times correspondent asked for details on this topic, Mr. Yushchenko responded that he "informed Mr. Putin about the story, we exchanged thoughts about possible variants of the poisoning, and I showed him the doctor's conclusions."

Mr. Yushchenko spoke frankly about his health, explaining that doctors have confirmed that he was poisoned by a dioxin-based substance. "If I survived 6,000 doses [of poison], I will live," he said. He also displayed his doctor's certificate and read it: "This disease is not infectious. President Yushchenko is able to fulfill his duties under appropriate medical observation."

Not many Russian TV cameras were seen at Mr. Yushchenko's news conference, limiting their coverage to the presidential talks at the Kremlin; most of the attendees were foreign journalists from all over the world.

The Russian media's interest in Ukrainian affairs has decreased since Mr. Yushchenko's official victory. However, Russian newspapers did discuss Ms. Tymoshenko's appointment, noting that Mr. Yushchenko may lose favor if his revolutionary ideas are blocked and the people of Ukraine become disappointed, but that he may gain public support if Ms. Tymoshenko succeeds in prodding economic growth.



AP/Mikhail Metzler

Russian President Vladimir Putin greets Viktor Yushchenko at the Kremlin on January 24, a day after he took office as Ukraine's president.

## Yushchenko addresses Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Viktor Yushchenko, speaking two days after he was inaugurated as president of Ukraine, called on the European Union to commit to setting a date for membership talks with Ukraine, the Associated Press reported.

"We have a three-year action plan. We would like it to end in 2007 with a concrete commitment," Mr. Yushchenko told the Associated Press and two European newspapers after a 15-minute speech before the 46-member Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), the continent's top human rights body.

While on his first trip to Europe as head of state, where he addressed council delegates in Strasbourg, France, on January 25, President Yushchenko pressed for Ukraine's ascension to the European Union and other European bodies.

Mr. Yushchenko has said previously

that a portion of his domestic policy would include further democratic reforms to aid Ukraine's bid to join the EU, and he said that once Ukraine proves itself, concrete talks should begin on Ukraine joining the 25-member European Union.

"At the end of the plan we would start accession negotiations. It would give us a prospect, a vision for Ukraine," said Mr. Yushchenko, who was to travel to the EU's headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, on January 27 to address the European Parliament.

While on his trip to France, President Yushchenko addressed critics who fear his aspirations to move Ukraine toward Europe will ignore Russia. Mr. Yushchenko stressed that he wants a "strategic relationship" with Ukraine's northern neighbor and trading partner.

"We have our eternal neighbor, Russia, with a huge market. Not understanding this market would be a huge mistake," Mr. Yushchenko told members of PACE.

However, Mr. Yushchenko's statements suggest the 50-year-old president is acting on his campaign pledge to move Ukraine toward European institutions. He has said his top priorities include the EU's recognition of Ukraine as a market economy and entry into the World Trade Organization.

The European Commission, the EU's administrative arm, in response to Mr. Yushchenko's comments "gave no firm commitments, proposing only more cooperation on trade, immigration, security and foreign relations," the Associated Press reported on January 25.

The European Union's external relations commissioner, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, rejected proposals that Ukraine be offered an association accord seen as a precondition to eventual accession.

"The EU is not disposed to do that for now," she said, but added that minor cooperation agreements would be put forward in the coming week.

## Correction

An unfortunate transcription/translation error improperly rendered the word "Swedish" as "Swiss" in the article headlined "Flag of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky on exhibit in National Historical Museum."

Below are the pertinent sentences in the story as they should have appeared:

"According to Dr. Yuriy Savchyk, 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. Savchyk, who has been studying flags of the Zaporozhian Sich in cooperation with Swiss 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 four feet wide and nine feet long, trimmed diagonally at the end."



# THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

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

Following is part of a series of excerpts from “Ukrainian-American Citadel: The First 100 Years of the Ukrainian National Association,” by Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, published in 1996 by East European Monographs of Boulder, Colo. The excerpts are reprinted with the permission of the author.

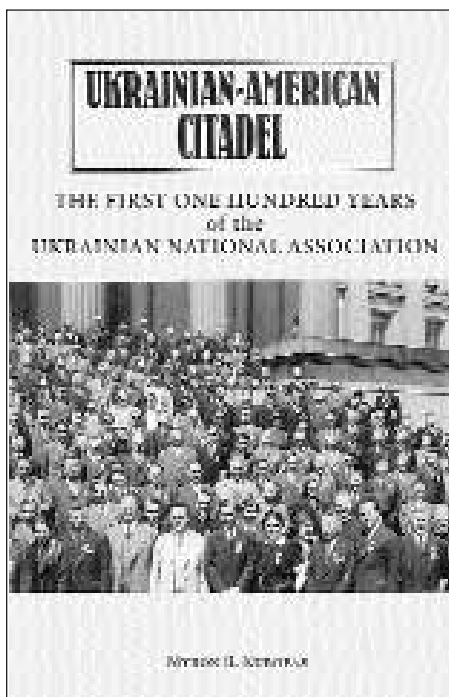
The book is available from the author for \$25, plus \$2.50 shipping, by writing to: Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, 107 Ileshamwood Drive, DeKalb, IL 60115. Also available is a newly released Ukrainian edition of the book; price: \$25 (including shipping).

### Chapter 11

#### The Defense of Human and Ethnic Rights

In 1969, tragedy struck the Ukrainian community of Yugoslavia and the UNA responded. An earthquake struck the town of Banja Luka, where some 2,000 Ukrainians resided, causing great damage to life and property. A letter from Archbishop Gabriel Bukatko pleading for assistance was published in Svoboda on January 9 under the headline “Give Assistance to Your Brothers in Yugoslavia.”

Supreme President Joseph Lesawyer, who was also the national vice-president of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (an organization headed by UNA Supreme Auditor Walter Gallan) traveled to Yugoslavia in January where he met with various officials including Archbishop Bukatko and U.S. Ambassador William Leonhart, covering an area of some 100 kilometers in radius to assess the damage. “While the victims are in urgent need of food, clothing and footwear,” The Ukrainian Weekly reported on January 31, “the problem of housing looms as one of equal importance to assure a return to normalcy. Homes, schools, churches, hospitals, must be rebuilt in view of the almost complete



destruction wrought by the earthquake that hit the region in two waves on October 27-28.” Soon after the UNA president’s return, a storage warehouse was opened in Jersey City where clothing was sent for delivery to Banja Luka. At the same time, the UUARTC announced that a fund-raising drive was being established to raise \$100,000 for relief to the stricken area.

In an editorial that concluded with a call for volunteer help at the Jersey City warehouse, The Ukrainian Weekly wrote:

“Now that the relief effort for Ukrainians in Yugoslavia has assumed streamlined and efficient forms, what is needed most is volunteer help. ... The response of our community here and in Canada has been most commendable, attesting both to the deep-seated concern of our people for their brothers in need and to the wholly remarkable ability to rally in times of disaster. ... Charitable and purely humanitarian action has enhanced considerably the image of our

community in the eyes of many people – from Washington to Belgrade. The obvious corollary is that it is precisely that kind of effort, non-political in nature, that goes a long way in furthering our cause. The analogy could well be extended to other fields – cultural, scholarly, athletic, to name but a few – where positive response and constructive action do more politically than politics itself.”

UNA volunteers from Jersey City and Bayonne came to the assistance of Marian Kots, the warehouse director, and on February 28, The Ukrainian Weekly reported that 170 crates with some 68,000 pounds of clothing, footwear and other items had been loaded onto a Yugoslavian transport ship and were on their way to needy Ukrainians. According to The Ukrainian Weekly, truckloads of goods were sent from Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Newark, Passaic, Perth Amboy, Jersey City, Syracuse, Staten Island, Amsterdam and Utica, N.Y., and Somerville, N.J. ...

Sen. [William] Brock’s mention of Leonid Pliusch and Valentyn Moroz at the convention banquet was no accident. By 1974, the UNA was heavily involved in the human rights crusade being waged by dissidents and political prisoners in Ukraine. The crusade got under way in 1972, when over 100 intellectuals in Ukraine were arrested for their protest regarding human rights abuses in Ukraine. The arrests triggered widespread protests around the world. In mid-January, when the news first reached the United States, both Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly published a series of editorials calling on Ukrainians in the free world to protest the arrests. At a meeting in February 1972, the UNA supreme executive allocated \$5,000 for human rights actions. Financial contributions by the UNA and its members mushroomed during the remainder of the decade.

On January 19, 1974, The Ukrainian

Weekly carried a banner headline sponsored by the executive boards of SUSTA, headed by Eugene Iwanciw, and TUSM, headed by Askold Lozynsky; to all Ukrainian businesses asking them to close down on January 22, 1974, in commemoration of the human-rights crusade. On March 23, 1974, The Ukrainian Weekly carried a front-page story titled “UNA tells international agencies of readiness to finance emigration of Pliusch, Moroz, others,” which printed letters sent by Supreme President Lesawyer to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, the International Red Cross and the International League for the Rights of Man “pledging the association’s readiness to underwrite the costs of their emigration from the USSR and subsequent medical costs.”

The crusade gained momentum after the 1974 UNA convention, prompting a Soviet Ukrainian writer in Literaturna Ukraina, published in Kyiv, to denounce the Ukrainian fraternal for encouraging Ukrainian “traitors” to work against their people. The June 22 issue of The Ukrainian Weekly carried the headline “Free Valentyn Moroz – Free Leonid Pliusch – Free Political Prisoners!”

The front page also featured large sketches of Moroz and Pliusch, as well as photos of dissidents Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Svitlychny, Sviatoslav Karavansky and Nadia Svitlychna. The lead story called on all UNA members and others to attend the national manifestation in defense of human rights in Ukraine and the protest march to the Soviet Embassy. Scheduled for June 27 in Washington, D.C., both events were sponsored by the UCCA.

The same issue carried a list of 70 Ukrainian intellectuals arrested by the KGB and a description of their “crimes.” A long editorial titled “Thus We Shall Fight” was also included in the special issue.

## Young UNA'ers



Natalia Skyba, daughter of Andrij and Lilia Skyba of Harwood Heights, Ill., is a new member of UNA Branch 399. She was enrolled by her father, who is a UNA advisor.



Alexandra Evdokia Ingrassia, daughter of Lida Poletz and Robert Ingrassia of St. Paul, Minn., is a new member of UNA Branch 345. She was enrolled by her grandparents Alexander and Valentina Poletz.

### IN MEMORIAM

#### Walter Ficyk

August 21, 1913 – November 9, 2004

The Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Association regrets to announce to the members of the General Assembly, members of Branch 380 and to the UNA membership at large that Walter Ficyk, secretary of Branch 380, died November 9, 2004, in his beloved Ukraine.

The Executive Committee and the entire UNA membership wish to express their sincerest sympathy to his son Ihor with his wife, his daughter Olexandra, their children and his great-grandchildren. Mr. Ficyk was buried in the village of his birth, Suchodil, Ukraine.

A panakhyda was held on December 18, 2004, at St. Mary the Protectress Ukrainian Catholic Church in Apopka, Fla., where Mr. Ficyk resided. Mr. Ficyk will be remembered for his long years of service, dedication and loyalty to the UNA.

*Vichna Yomu Pamiat!*

### MAY WE HELP YOU?

To reach The Ukrainian Weekly call (973) 292-9800, and dial the appropriate extension (as listed below).

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## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

# A historic inauguration

Sunday, January 23, marked a turning point in the history of Ukraine. A leader freely elected by the people, through myriad trials and tribulations – the man known as “the people’s president” – was inaugurated as the third president of Ukraine since the country re-established its independence in 1991.

Viktor Yushchenko was well aware that he was making history. And all his actions on inauguration day sent a powerful message both to the people of Ukraine and to leaders and people around the globe: a new Ukraine has been born. In President Yushchenko’s vision, it is a Ukraine that will determine its own destiny, a Ukraine that cares for all of its people, a Ukraine that is united.

In a trio of speeches delivered on his inauguration day before different audiences, the new president delivered his message clearly and eloquently.

At the Verkhovna Rada, the new president addressed national deputies and guests from the international community. He told them that Ukrainian democracy was “built with millions of Ukrainian hands,” and he explained that “The citizens of Ukraine have secured an honest election, and the transfer of government has been legitimate. This is a tremendous national victory.” But he also underscored that the Verkhovna Rada had played a crucial role, that the Rada proved it was “with its people,” and that national deputies had defended Ukraine’s democracy, as well as its unity, sovereignty and independence.

Then, in a concrete manifestation of his administration’s desire to work “with the people and for the people,” President Yushchenko invited Rada members and guests to go out onto the now famous maidan, where he would share the oath he had taken in the Parliament building with the people. “Let us join the people ... let us be together,” he encouraged his listeners.

On Independence Square, the crowd was silent as the people hung on every word spoken by their new president. “Today Ukraine is a free and independent nation. We have thrown the burdens of the past off our shoulders. No one will ever dare to dictate to us how we are to live and whom to elect,” Mr. Yushchenko began. Declaring the “victory of freedom over tyranny, of law over lawlessness, of the future over the past,” he pledged to “change Ukrainian life.”

The main inaugural address was notable also for its historic references: to the Rus’ka Pravda codex of laws dating to Ukraine’s Princely Era; to the world’s first constitution drawn up 300 years ago by the Kozaks; to the victims of the Famine-Genocide, the Holocaust and the gulag.

And it was a speech that sought to ensure all the people of Ukraine, no matter their ethnic or religious background, or their political persuasion, that the new Ukraine will protect their rights because it will be “a state governed by the rule of law” whose officials will “work for the good of the citizen and the state.”

Finally, at the Mariinskyi Palace, at a state reception for foreign dignitaries, President Yushchenko emphasized: “A new Ukrainian nation has been born in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century. We are starting a new epoch of Ukrainian and European history in the third millennium. This will be an epoch of solidarity, partnership and unification in one European house.”

“The people of Ukraine have put an end to the totalitarian past and have chosen democracy, human rights and freedoms,” he underscored. “We will build a new united Ukrainian nation that will become a natural part of the large European family.” Now, Ukraine is “ready to contribute to global cooperation,” he assured his audience and, by extension, the world.

January 23 was indeed a historic day. It marked the illustrious beginning of the Yushchenko administration – a new leadership that promises to steer Ukraine onto a course long-awaited and long-sought by its resilient and valiant people.

Jan.  
30  
2000

## Turning the pages back...

Five years ago we reported that Ukraine officially commemorated the historic events of 1918 and 1919 with Unity Day celebrations on January 22. The celebrations were relatively quiet and modest as the country officially remembered

the declaration of independence by the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) in Kyiv on January 22, 1918, and the union of its government with the Lviv-based Western Ukrainian National Republic that followed exactly a year later. President Leonid Kuchma had declared January 22 a permanent national holiday in January 1999, several days after the 80th anniversary commemorations of the 1919 Act of Union.

The turnouts in 2000 at various regional and local observances were low, and the ceremonies simple and short for the most part, especially in the southern and central oblasts, but that did not upset Yurii Bohutskyi, President Kuchma’s advisor on internal politics, who commented: “No normative act automatically creates a tradition. This comes with time. But it is a beginning, and in time customs and traditions will develop.”

The most extensive Unity Day observances took place in Kyiv. President Kuchma and a delegation of government officials, including recently appointed Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko, First Vice Prime Ministers Yurii Yekhanurov and Mykola Zhulynskyi, Minister of Foreign Affairs Borys Tarasyuk, Minister of Internal Affairs Yurii Kravchenko, as well as Second Vice-Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Viktor Medvedchuk, began the day with wreath-laying ceremonies, first at the Taras Shevchenko monument and then at the Mykhailo Hrushevsky monument.

An academic roundtable took place at the Teacher’s Building, which in 1918-1920 housed the Central Rada of the UNR. The official celebration culminated with a gala ceremony at the Kyiv National Opera House that evening. There, First Vice Prime Minister Zhulynskyi expanded on the theme of the day and emphasized that for Ukrainians unity is the paramount objective. “We are obliged by the great and tragic

(Continued on page 20)

## 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).*

### CONCLUSION

The role of outside forces had a significant impact, but, overall, these were far less important than that played by Ukrainian actors. [Russian President Vladimir] Putin’s interference had a negative effect. Russian pressure served to stiffen Ukrainian resolve and resistance, while the mediation efforts of Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, Javier Solana of the European Union, and others blunted efforts to take forceful police and military measures to maintain control on the part of the Yanukovich forces.

Over 7,000 foreign observers monitored the elections along with over 10,000 domestic observers. The cumulative effect of these foreign and domestic observers and of the foreign mediators was a third-round election that was relatively free, fair, and transparent.

All these measures helped stage the outcome, but the great victory was the result, principally, of the will of the majority of the Ukrainian people who knew they had to fight for their constitutional rights by protest and direct action if they were to elect the man they believed best reflected their view of what a decent, honest leader should be – a man like Viktor Yushchenko.

The “Maidan Parliament” was a spontaneous phenomenon that arose out of the immediate circumstances. It certainly was not planned. There had been talk, earlier, of taking to the streets to oppose with violence, if necessary, the efforts to close down these maidan meetings by the authorities if the authorities moved the militia and special forces against the Yushchenko group. But nothing like the Maidan million was ever imagined. The impetus came from the people themselves. ...

Putting together a legitimate, peaceful, popular, revolutionary mass into a well-organized political force was a triumph of intellect, determination, courage and, not least, restraint. Obviously, there is at least a paradox, if not a contradiction, in a movement that is both legitimate and revolutionary. In this case, the revolutionary action of overthrowing a corrupt regime that had abused the institutions of democratic governance was believed to be a legitimate course of action. How the maidan mass did this is one of the miracles of the Orange Revolution.

The organizational performance of the

maidan was another marvel. For example, just putting together the schedule each day in the context of a very volatile, rapidly changing political situation was impressive. Coordinating what was to be done, who would do it, who would speak at the maidan, when, who would perform, how the apparatus of the stage lighting, sound systems, camera work, printing of bulletins, communicating assignments, the making of banners, scarves, ribbons, the purchase and distribution of oranges, candles for candlelight meetings, camping equipment and supplies for the tent city of 1,000 plus tents. All of these elements were put together each day – and minute by minute. It was a miraculous organizational achievement. ...

All the various groups and interests that converged on the maidan were like nodes on the Internet – nodes connected by a common desire to rid the country of corruption and to support leaders who would offer the possibility of honest, decent government. Despite all the diversity among those who made up the maidan, there was a strongly evident willingness to join in common cause. As one person on the maidan, I could feel and see the pleasure and pride of the Ukrainians who surrounded me and believed they had risen up from their knees and were standing together as free men and women.

The Orange Revolution, in large measure, was a brilliant, largely spontaneous, and certainly colorful expression of popular will. The choice of orange as a color, as a theme, reflecting the fall season, perhaps, was understood to be certainly a totally new color for politics in Ukraine. This difference was seized upon by Yushchenko’s supporters and his popular supporters in Kyiv and throughout Ukraine, and used brilliantly. ...

It was a brilliant form of modern theater. The maidan very quickly became a powerful form of urban democratic theater of campaigning, but it quickly evolved into a unique kind of democratic political action. I couldn’t help thinking, as I stood on the maidan, that the maidan was, really, a modern form of Greek “demos,” the assembly of citizens I had read about that flourished at the time of Periclean democracy. The maidan million, as the daily populace that gathered was also called, could hear and see their leaders speak and perform. They also could interact directly like a Greek chorus. Like citizens in Athens, the Ukrainian citizens were not passive, they were thinking, reflective and purposeful actors in the drama they were also watching and hearing. This I thought was mass communication at its best; it was democratic discourse and dialogue at its best. ...

Yet, the question of the legitimacy of the maidan has been very much at issue. At the heart of the main questions concerning legitimacy was the thought: Can you have legitimate action against those in institutions that are democratic in form and intent, but that are so corrupt as those in Ukraine were – corrupted by bribes, selling of votes or judicial opinions, intimidation of various kinds, the threat and actual use of force and violence? Can the people legitimately reject the leaders of democratic institutions when these leaders are corrupted by massive conflicts of interests and extensive abuses of power in order to enrich themselves?

The maidan spoke out against the cor-

(Continued on page 23)

## NEWS AND VIEWS

## Of citizens and rights in Canada: a tale of two different classes

by Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk

There are only two of them. One is alive, the other long dead. Recently both have been in the news.

The living one caught our attention as he was lamenting a death, his son's, lost to the scourge of AIDS. The other was remembered on the day his life began to end, 60 years ago, January 17, 1945.

What ties these men – Nelson Mandela and Raoul Wallenberg – together is that both were distinguished by being made honorary Canadian citizens. Wallenberg posthumously, in 1985, Mandela in person, in 2001.

Now, once upon a time, Mr. Mandela admired Stalin, the very tyrant whose men murdered Wallenberg. But that moot punctilio should perhaps be left behind, for Mandela was also distinguished, in 1999, with Ukraine's highest decoration, the Order of Prince Yaroslav the Wise. If Ukraine can forgive one of Stalin's apologists, who am I to quibble?

But Canadian citizenship is another matter. It's precious. If you have it by birth, as I do, you enjoy certain inalienable rights. If, on the other hand, you became a Canadian through naturalization I shall now dispel a misconception you likely have. You are not my equal.

This will, of course, be unwelcome news for the millions who came from elsewhere and elected to become Canadians. But it is a fact. If you weren't born here you are a second-class citizen. Sorry.

What do I mean? Well let me tell you what is happening to one of your kind, a Torontonian. His name is Wasyl Odynsky. During the war he was press-ganged into serving the Nazi occupation in Ukraine. He never hurt anyone, was, in fact, revolted by what he saw. Ukraine lost more of its population than any other country in Nazi-occupied Europe – a fact still not widely understood.

Like many others, Mr. Odynsky sought a better life. No one asked what he did in the war when he immigrated in 1949. He has been a Canadian for over

*Having been born in Kingston, Ontario, Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk cannot be denaturalized or deported. He serves as director of research for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association.*

half a century and, all accounts agree, an exemplary citizen for all that time.

Then, a few years ago, they made him a target. Supposedly all post-war immigrants were screened, perfectly, and any who served the Nazis, even if under duress, were kept out. Because the relevant files were destroyed however, decades ago, no one can prove whether or not Mr. Odynsky lied. Nevertheless, based on a "balance of probabilities" argument, this senior citizen has been slated for denaturalization and deportation. And that despite the fact that a federal court judge, Andrew MacKay, found Mr. Odynsky had never been a Nazi, harmed no one in the war and has been a good Canadian.

If the worst thing Mr. Odynsky did was lie at our gates, is casting him out a fitting punishment? Assuming you think it is, shouldn't the same penalty be applied to others who committed the very same offense?

Government officials have confirmed that Canada screened out not only alleged Nazis but Communist collaborators, too. Yet, over the past several years, veterans of the NKVD, SMERSH and KGB – Soviet secret police organs responsible for mass murder, even genocide – have been found in Canada, largely because some of them, obligingly arrogant, wrote books and even gave interviews boasting of the services they rendered Stalin, before, during and just after the war. How many of them are here? We don't know. But even one is too many.

Last week Canadians were asked to remember Mr. Wallenberg's good deeds. Yet we are forgetting that it was SMERSH agents who kidnapped him 60 years ago in Budapest. They later liquidated him, either in the NKVD's infamous Lubianka prison in Moscow or in the gulag. Among those who wanted this righteous man honored with Canadian citizenship was our current minister of justice, Irwin Cotler.

Once upon a time, as president of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Mr. Cotler swore there were thousands of Nazi war criminals in Canada. The claims of that chorus were subsequently dismissed by Justice Jules Deschenes, who cast aside

(Continued on page 22)

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

### Kuropas column was a standout

Dear Editor:

In any column of Dr. Myron B. Kuropas we have come to take for granted interesting information and insightful analyses articulated in erudite English. His January 9 column "Anti-Orange Oracles," however, managed to exceed even these usual high standards. It stands out as a real winner.

In that column, Dr. Kuropas gathered the opinions of those naysayers who tried to inject notes of dissonance into the worldwide chorus of praise and admiration for Ukraine's Orange Revolution. With pedagogic skill he divided them into three distinct groups – opportunists, the misinformed and ideologues – and then proceeded to deflate their pro-Russian and Ukrainophobe positions in a manner that seemed both

effortless and effective.

Among those on the receiving end of Dr. Kuropas's punches was Patrick Buchanan, the well-known political figure and columnist who recently has unexpectedly adopted an anti-Ukrainian orientation.

I hope Mr. Buchanan gets to read the January 9 column by Dr. Kuropas, and not only for the sake of its political arguments. As a wordsmith, Mr. Buchanan would certainly enjoy the delightful elegance of Dr. Kuropas's language and style, which would be the envy of any mainstream media maven.

"Distressed, disturbed and dumb-founded" is how Dr. Kuropas characterized opponents of the Orange Revolution. Love that alliteration, Dr. Kuropas – keep it coming!

Dr. Orest Popovych  
Howell, N.J.

## PERSPECTIVES

BY ANDREW FEDYNSKY



### An answer to our prayers

My earliest memories include prayer. In the early 1950s, when I was a little boy and we had just moved to America, my father would take me to mass in a little town in Pennsylvania's Anthracite Coal Region where he worked as a cantor (diak). When they sang about holy mysteries ("taino yavliayetsia"), I thought it was about a neighbor's dog, "Tiny."

After we moved to Cleveland, we went to church every Sunday, every holy day of obligation and for a whole series of requiem masses. Never was church more onerous than October 31, the night in 1918 when Western Ukrainian military forces captured key points in the city of Lviv and proclaimed the Western Ukrainian National Republic. To commemorate that anniversary, my brothers, our parents and I drove from our home to Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church in Tremont for yet another service.

On the way there, we peered out the windows of our '52 Chevy to see kids in costume going house to house yelling, "Trick or Treat!" By the time the lugubrious tones of "Vichnaya Pamiat" had faded, all the porch lights were off and Halloween was over. We must have rebelled, because at some point we stopped going to that particular requiem and went trick or treating instead, but we never stopped going to church. And after every liturgy, the congregation sang "Bozhe Velyky" or some similar song entreating the Almighty's intervention to grant the Ukrainian people unity, sovereignty and freedom.

A lot of people believe sincerely in God's intervention. The Japanese believe God sent a typhoon, a divine wind (kami kaze) to save Japan from a Mongol invasion fleet in 1281. Gen. Patton ordered a military chaplain to compose a prayer for good weather in December 1944. As for me, I've prayed for loved ones entering surgery, for success in final exams, job interviews, athletic contests. I have learned that God answers all prayers. Sometimes the answer is "no."

Yet, we continue to pray. Many years ago, my good friend, Father Taras Lonchyna at Holy Family Church in Washington, delivered a memorable sermon where he cautioned that prayers don't necessarily change an objective situation. Instead, he said, prayer changes people, giving them strength and wisdom to address challenges for which they seek God's intervention. Then it's up to them.

Which brings me to another memory from childhood: Dr. Seuss. I discovered his wonderful books in the first or second grade. One of them, "Horton Hears a Who," has had an influence on my life ever since I first read it more than 50 years ago. No kidding.

In his wonderful, simple rhyme, Dr. Seuss tells how Horton the elephant discovers a clover with a speck of dust which harbors an infinitesimal world of creatures called "Who's." Only Horton, with his big ears and big heart, knows they exist, because only he can hear them. Other animals, callous and cruel, are determined to destroy the creatures they neither see nor hear. To avert their extinction, Horton exhorts the Whos to make as much noise as they possibly can to prove they exist. Led by their mayor, the tiny creatures yell, scream, bang on pots and pans, but to no avail. The mayor then rushes from door to door to see if he can find just one more Who to join the effort. Sure enough, he discovers a little girl twirling her yo-yo, oblivious to the campaign to save her life and that of the community. The mayor's

rebukes provoke the girl into crying, which turns out to be just enough for the outside world to hear the Whos. The animals concede: indeed, the Whos exist and have a right to live in freedom and safety.

I can't remember whether a light bulb went off in my own child's mind the first time or the hundredth time I read "Horton Hears a Who," but I've always identified with the tiny creatures who made enough noise to survive. To me that justified the endless requiem liturgies, the Saturday trek to the Ridna Shkola School, learning verses for a concert or "academia."

Seeing the Orange Revolution – indeed participating in it, albeit from a severe distance – I couldn't help but feel the power of Divine Providence. Everyone who ever attended a mass, a banquet, a vigil, a concert that ended in a hymn beseeching God to intervene on behalf of the Ukrainian people, had to have felt as I did that the Orange Revolution was the answer to several lifetimes of entreaties aimed at God's ear, asking that He redeem the faith of mothers and fathers, mentors and teachers who did the simple things to instill in their children the truth about their legacy, preparing them for the time when the dream that Taras Shevchenko and others defined would be theirs for the taking.

Truly, the millions who came to Independence Square in Kyiv and dozens of similar venues throughout Ukraine and around the world had been individually energized to physically add themselves to the mass of people who gathered in the unshakable conviction that together they would change a situation they were no longer willing to endure. So, like the little girl who stopped twirling her yo-yo and cried out, millions of Ukrainians everywhere dropped what they were doing and joined the common effort to assert their right to exist.

Yet how differently things might have been, were it not for Luck, Providence, Fortuna, Karma, or God Himself intervening at a critical time. Viktor Yushchenko, who promised reform, and with it freedom and Europe, was poisoned in the midst of the campaign with a dose of dioxin, apparently intended to kill him. Instead he survived and then, courageously and decisively, seized the moment, asking the Ukrainian people to rally to his leadership. And millions did, accepting him as the legitimate president of Ukraine who promises to lead his country toward a society that rejects coercion, deception and corruption and is guided instead by democracy, freedom and values. No small thing for Ukraine.

No one will ever know whether God intervened to spare Mr. Yushchenko's life and thereby gave people the opportunity to vote with their feet after their actual votes had been stolen. I do know that the hymn I heard reverberating on election night at Independence Square in Kyiv was the same one I sang as a child, exhorting God to grant Ukraine unity, freedom and peace. I'm convinced that prayer does transform people, giving them energy and strength to transform situations that beg to be changed. That's why I'm praying for President Viktor Yushchenko and the Ukrainian people to succeed in the years to come. God answers all prayers. Sometimes the answer is "yes."

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## COMMENTARY: Dispelling myths surrounding the Orange Revolution

by Prof. Michael M. Naydan

In my professional life, I am an educator and expert in two areas: Ukrainian and Russian literature. So I have an intimate knowledge of both languages and cultures, and have taught and published on them for over 25 years. From a personal perspective, though, as the Springsteen song goes, I was "born in the U.S.A.," I am the offspring of Ukrainian émigrés who survived the Nazi Ostarbeiter camps in World War II. My parents came to the United States to start a better life in the haven of American shores.

I am, in my outlook, part of the Western "conspiracy" for democracy, someone who fervently wants Ukraine to be represented by a democratic government deserving of its people. For that matter, I hope Russia someday attains that, too.

I am particularly proud of the Ukrainian people for rising up together in one voice to say "yes" to Viktor Yushchenko and "no" to the corrupt government of Leonid Kuchma, for standing together for weeks in the frigid cold of Kyiv's appropriately named Independence Square, to take back an election that had been stolen from them.

I am also indebted to the many journalists, governments and other individuals of conscience throughout the world who firmly cast their support for truth, for openness, for honest government in Ukraine. In a perverse kind of way, I am even indebted to Mr. Putin for his coercive meddling in

the Ukrainian election that brought Ukraine to the attention of the rest of the world and ignited the opposition forces.

It is hard to hide a nation of nearly 50 million people, but tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union managed to do so for three centuries. Mr. Putin's desire, in opposition to the entire civilized world, was to coerce Ukraine to become part of his mythical new Russian empire. But as a result of the recent turmoil, Ukraine, thankfully, has been discovered by Europe and the rest of the world.

The new Yushchenko government, once given the chance, will certainly strive to clean out the cadres of corrupt officials in Ukraine and open the doors of the country to trade and investment. The new Yushchenko government additionally will remove the media blockade against the truth in those Eastern areas of Ukraine to open up free discourse and to allow the notion of a civil society to expand throughout the country.

This will not happen overnight, as there will be opposition from the Yanukovich-led extremists and criminal elements, but with the moral will of the people, and the political and economic support of other democracies in the world, the path to reform will be set.

In the reporting on events in Ukraine, there are certain myths that have been propagated in the media that, I think, need correction. The major one is that Ukraine is sharply divided ethnically between Ukrainian "nationalists" and Russian speakers in the East. I offer the description of a brief meeting I recently had to show the flaws in the myth.

A Russian student from Kyiv came to my office a few days ago to discuss the language

requirement at Penn State. He said he had just arrived on campus two days earlier from demonstrations on Independence Square in Kyiv. When one of my colleagues asked him why he had been demonstrating, the student answered that it wasn't a Ukrainian vs. Russian issue; he was showing his support for democracy. He unplugged the earphones from the mp3 player attached to his belt and proudly played the Ukrainian rap-inspired chant sung by hundreds of thousands on Kyiv's Independence Square: "Together we are many, we cannot be defeated!" While this small exchange with the "orange" Russian student from the Ukrainian capital is anecdotal, it is representative of the larger picture.

There are many ethnic Russians in Ukraine (as well as those in Russia for that matter) who support the Orange Revolution. They are tired of corruption, tired of not having an honest government accountable to the people. Viktor Yushchenko offered the only hope for even a chance at that. And Mr. Yanukovich turned out to be the vilest of candidates – a common street thug from the Donetsk mafia who cannot even speak Ukrainian, the state language of the country, with a Russian vocabulary rife with untoward expressions from the criminal argot of his shady background. Mr. Yushchenko, in contrast, campaigned in both Ukrainian and Russian, firmly promising to protect the language and civil rights of all minorities in Ukraine.

A second major myth in the press has been that the conflict was between the heavily Catholic Western Ukraine vs. the Orthodox East. While it is true that the so-called Greek-Catholics (of the Byzantine

Rite), mostly located in Western Ukraine, heavily favored Mr. Yushchenko (who himself is Orthodox), Catholics comprise approximately only 11 percent of the population, while Orthodox believers make up about 55 percent. Therefore, vast numbers of Orthodox believers as well as other denominations had to have supported Mr. Yushchenko for him to win.

A third myth generated by Mr. Putin and his political operatives is that the United States meddled in the election on behalf of Mr. Yushchenko to overturn a Yanukovich victory. While the United States, in fact, has channeled money into organizations promoting democracy and civil society in Ukraine over the past decade, it has remained completely neutral in the campaign.

In Mr. Putin's warped logic, his own heavy-handed visits to Ukraine to support Mr. Yanukovich, his spending of an estimated \$300 million on behalf of Mr. Yanukovich's campaign, and his sending of cadres of his own "political technologists" to manipulate the media with disinformation and then to steal the election he fabricating of over 3 million votes in the second round, were not "meddling."

Need I say more?

The new Yushchenko government of Ukraine will need the continued support of the world to maintain its democratic momentum. Mr. Yushchenko's upcoming inauguration, however, does guarantee that there will be a fair Ukrainian election in five years. If, for some reason, he happens to fail in his term as president, the opposition will have the chance to make its case. And that is the major lesson of democracy.

*Prof. Michael M. Naydan is with the department of German and Slavic languages and literatures at The Pennsylvania State University.*

## FOR THE RECORD: Peace Corps volunteers' letter on supporting Ukraine

*Following is the full text of the letter by Peace Corps volunteers who formerly served in Ukraine that was sent on January 18 to President George W. Bush and members of the U.S. Congress. The number of signatories to the letter, which was reported in the previous issue of The Ukrainian Weekly, has grown from the 78 reported last week to 82.*

Dear President Bush, Senators, Representatives:

As former volunteers who served in Ukraine with the U.S. Peace Corps (RPCVs), we are writing to urge you to act now to actively support the historic and dramatic development of a true democracy in Ukraine.

Many factors have 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. These include more than 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. Recent events confirm that these investments in democracy were not only wise but also effective. Consequently, all Americans can take pride in Ukraine's success.

However, we realize that conducting a relatively free and peaceful presidential election is only the first step on Ukraine's road towards a stable democracy. To cement and build upon the gains already made by Ukraine's citizens, it is essential that the United States back up its congratulatory statements with solid financial, programmatic and policy support.

We recognize and fully appreciate the challenges facing the administration and the U.S. Congress as it grapples with a major budget deficit. Nonetheless, we believe 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 to be not only appropriate but absolutely essential.

As former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Steven Pifer recently observed: "The administration's aid request for Ukraine for fiscal 2005 is less than \$80 million. That compares with \$225 million per year in the late 1990s, when the opportunity to promote change was not as real as it is now."

Accordingly, we are offering the following recommendations.

Among the many Ukrainian citizens who were in the forefront of the effort to overturn the fraudulent election results of November 21 were hundreds who had studied in the United States during the past 12 years thanks to various educational exchange programs. Consequently funding that has been cut recently in such programs as Muskie, Freedom Support Act-Undergraduate, Junior Faculty Development Program, Fulbright and Contemporary Issues, among others, should not only be restored but also be increased. These programs are one of the best ways to expose Ukrainian students and young professionals to American culture and civil society and to facilitate its transfer back to Ukraine.

Other professional exchange and training programs, such as the "Assistant to Member of Parliament" and those directed at training local government officials in Western-style principles of management, public administration, and democratic governance should likewise be expanded. In many ways, these officials will be the persons who ultimately will be responsible for translating Ukraine's newfound democracy into action at the municipal and regional levels. Similarly, continued funding and technical support for non-governmental civic organizations is important for sustaining the growth of a nationwide civil society. Other U.S.-sponsored activities such as the TEA program

(U.S.-Ukraine Awards for Excellence in Teaching) for secondary school English and American studies teachers should likewise be maintained and enhanced.

One of the most exciting developments in recent weeks in Ukraine has been the dramatic demand by Ukrainian print and broadcast reporters to be allowed to report the news freely and fairly; the United States should aggressively support this. Consequently, funding for media development programs, including journalism training and exchange programs, should be expanded. Similarly, financial support for the Voice of America broadcasts in Ukraine should be strengthened.

With one of the fastest growing economies in Europe, coupled with a highly educated population of nearly 48 million people and extensive natural resources, Ukraine offers great investment potential for not only small and middle-sized Ukrainian businesses but also American and other international investors. In fact, stock prices in Ukraine reportedly have risen 30 percent since November 21. Tapping that investment potential, though, will require the continuation and expansion of programs such as BISNIS and SABIT and other U.S. Department of Commerce programs that help train Ukrainian entrepreneurs, support the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, and facilitate U.S. investment in all sectors of the Ukrainian economy.

More than 1,200 Americans have served as volunteers with the U.S. Peace Corps in Ukraine and have worked as English language, environmental, youth development, and business teachers and/or facilitators since 1992 with over 300 currently serving. This has perhaps been one of the best, lowest-cost, and non-political cross-cultural programs supported by the U.S. government. Yet, funding restrictions have made it difficult for Peace Corps-Ukraine to operate at full capacity. The program should be fully funded.

Ukraine suffers from extensive air and water pollution, soil contamination by industrial and military wastes, the lingering effects of the 1986 Chernobyl accident, and myriad other environmental and related public health problems. Moreover, its economy is highly energy inefficient – using 10 or more times energy per unit of GNP than its European neighbors – making its economy not only less competitive but also more dependent on imports from the Russian Federation and Turkmenistan. Therefore, environmental remediation programs, including those targeted at Ukraine's industrialized eastern sector such as the recently launched U.S. EPA Methane Partnership, should be greatly expanded.

Similarly, Ukraine suffers one of the highest rates of HIV infection in Europe which threatens to undermine the ability of the nation's inadequate public health infrastructure to cope. Other social problems, such as extensive human trafficking, also pose serious problems to Ukraine's long-term stability. Accordingly, U.S. programs designed to address these concerns need to be sustained and strengthened.

Beyond providing financial assistance for the above-mentioned and related programs, 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.

We appreciate your consideration of these recommendations and we thank you for your past support for those programs that have helped Ukraine to develop its own democratic form of government and civil society.



# The maidan welcomes the people's president



The stamp released to mark the Orange Revolution.

by Yana Sedova

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV – For the first time in the modern history of Ukraine, the country's president took a civic oath on Independence Square, beginning a new tradition in the inauguration ceremony. Viktor Yushchenko, who is known as the people's president, pledged "to change Ukrainian life" before hundreds of thousands of Ukraine's citizens – many of whom demonstrated for their rights and freedoms over the course of several weeks during the 2004 presidential election.

The swearing-in ceremony was originally expected to take place on January 22, Ukraine's Unity Day, but was scheduled for January 23, mainly because of the large number of foreign guests. The inauguration ceremony consisted of two parts: an official oath of office administered in the Parliament and the main inaugural address delivered in the capital's main square.

During the past week Kyivans saw the new president's message on hundreds of billboards. "Peace to you!" was written on an orange background bearing the now familiar exclamation point and horseshoe, the latter a symbol of Kozak fortune – the emblems of the Yushchenko camp. A few days before inauguration day, the National Conservatory building and Hotel Ukraina were decorated with orange bunting and national flags.

From early Sunday morning hundreds of buses from all over Ukraine moved into Kyiv; their license plates revealed their origins to be places such as Kharkiv, Rivne, Lviv, Ternopil, Poltava and other regions of Ukraine.

Columns of people dressed in orange and armed with cameras and flags walked to the heart of the capital – Independence Square. Many former "revolutionaries" came back to Kyiv as they promised to celebrate victory with Ukraine's new president.

From 9 a.m. the Khreschatyk was in a bustle, with happy faces and cheers of "Yushchenko!" everywhere. By 11 a.m., all the best positions in front of the stage were taken.

Mr. Yushchenko was going to deliver his speech under Kyiv's monument to independence – the figure atop a pedestal in the city's main square. Former president Leonid Kuchma once stated that by erecting this monument "Ukraine said 'no' to the totalitarian epoch and its attributes." On January 23 his words rang true.

After the official part of the inauguration ceremony in the Verkhovna Rada, most national deputies accepted the new president's invitation to go to the maidan. As they walked down Institutka Street to Independence Square, crowds of people lining the curbs greeted the deputies and guests. Russian politicians Anatolii Chubais and Boris Nemtsov also received a rousing welcome.

Mr. Nemtsov, who had been to Kyiv at the time of the Orange Revolution, said after the official inauguration that it was a historic day for Ukraine and for the Slavic world. He expressed hope that the new government would be honest. "If Ukraine manages to do its best, so will Russia some day," he said.

A special welcome was accorded to the most fiery revolutionaries, the leader of the band Okean Elzy, Sviatoslav Vakarchuk, and the "Orange Princess," Yulia Tymoshenko. Many held holding placards with inscriptions such as "Yulia is our prime minister."

The president's family, too, was on the square. Mr. Yushchenko's two little daughters, Khrystynka and Sofiyka, were running among the politicians and showing off their clothes to Ms. Tymoshenko. While awaiting the president's arrival, they all seemed to be one happy family.

Approximately 500,000 people were on the square and on the Khreschatyk that day. Big TV screens and 44 cameras were set up to record the action; all TV channels provided live broadcasts.

People flooded the center, and more and more kept arriving. The square was filled to capacity. There were many parents with their children, many of the kids sat up high on their fathers' shoulders to get a better view of the scene. Young men climbed onto telephone boxes and photographed the event from above. Others watched the crowd through shop windows.

As President Yushchenko arrived, the people began to chant "Yushchenko!" – as they had done so many times before. The waves of the chant created an echo that was heard far away.

The president's speech on maidan, unlike the one in the Verkhovna Rada, was longer and more informative.

(Continued on page 23)

## Music: the soul and the weapon of the Orange Revolution

by Yana Sedova

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV – Weeks of protests in Ukraine elicited strong emotions, national unity and a burst of folk, pop and rap music. Many Ukrainian singers joined the protests and became proponents of peaceful rallies. Some of them took part in blockades of administrative buildings, propagandized voters and gave free concerts. Other wrote songs that turned out to be the soul of the revolution.

New groups, singers and poets came to Kyiv with one purpose: to appear on the country's main stage on Independence Square, but only a few of them managed to take part in concerts with well-known Ukrainian musicians. Those who didn't make the cut entertained people on makeshift stages along the tent city.

A band of drummers set the mood in front of the Cabinet of Ministers building, and the sound could be heard far away. Anybody who wanted to take a turn as a drummer, beating a barrel with metal drumsticks, could. And the crowd of people who gathered around never waned. One of the barrels was recently sent to the National Museum of the History of Ukraine, where an exposition dedicated to the revolution has opened.

The slogan "Together we are many, we cannot be defeated" turned into an informal anthem of the Orange Revolution. A band called Hryndzholy (Sleigh) from Ivano-Frankivsk wrote a song and placed it on the Internet. Within a day the piece was picked up by the people on the "maidan," as Independence Square is known.

At the end of last year the band released its first single "We Are Together" with an orange egg on the cover as a symbol of the only weapon that was employed during the Orange Revolution.

Natalia Rumiantseva, a manager of the company Ukrainian Records, said that the 5,000-copy supply of the single did not even make the barest pretense of

satisfying demand. "We didn't expect such a response – our distributors asked for more and more copies," she said. "We are going to release an album in the middle of February."

Ms. Rumiantseva said the album will



The CD released by Hryndzholy.

not be politically oriented, but that the hit will definitely be included on it. "We also have many international projects and hope to release the track in English soon," she added.

Roman Kalin and Roman Kostyuk, the authors of the single, said that they didn't foresee the success of the song "We Are Together." Mr. Kalin explained: "We don't actually write revolutionary songs." "We started from reggae."

The huge success of the anthem became an entrance ticket for the musicians that opened the door for Ukrainian show business. The song also topped the list of songs on the album released by Our Ukraine headquarters at the height of the revolution. "Not for sale!" is written on the cover of the CD.

The band has now signed a contract with Ukrainian Records and is going on a tour of Europe in the spring.

The recording company Lavina Music and Comp Music also released a CD dedicated to the revolution. "Orange Songs of the Ukrainian Revolution" is a compilation of well-known Ukrainian songs that were created long before the revolution and became the soundtrack of the revolt. The project was initially

aimed at consumers in Western countries.

"We wanted to promote our Ukrainian artists, those who supported the revolution and who thus far are unknown abroad," said Edward Klim, the general director of Lavina Music, which represents most successful Ukrainian singers and groups like Ruslana, Ani Lorak, Mandry, Okean Elzy and others. "We couldn't pass up a chance to prove that we have worthy artists."

He said the songs were chosen as the mood dictated. In a week the idea grew into a CD with 12 songs written by singers who've gone a long way in show business. It was not a commercial project. "We rejected those young artists who bargained for financial reward," said Mr. Klim.

After the first weeks all the money was transferred for the needs of the tent city. But now, when there is no longer need to support revolutionaries, Lavina Music is going to pay royalties to musicians who participated in the project.

Mr. Klim added that this was the only CD with "orange songs" and that the company does not plan to continue with more such releases.

In the meantime, Kyiv's biggest book market, Petrivka, offered several versions of "orange songs," – mostly pirate CDs. There are three most popular albums – "Tak!," "Tak! 2" and "Tak! 3" that cost about 8 to 12 hrv. each. Some songs are duplicated on every CD. But this fact doesn't stop buyers.

"I sell about 50 copies every day," Oleksander said happily. The Petrivka vendor also said that compilations of "orange songs" are the most popular albums these days.

Dmitro, one of the last inhabitants of the tent city, who hails from the Vinnytsia region and celebrated the New Year on the maidan, said that all the songs that he heard are his favorites, because they are from the heart.

Ihor of Lviv said the songs reflected the people's mood and the spirit of the



A CD of songs released by Our Ukraine.

nation. "If we had no revolutionary music, it would be difficult for us to carry on," he said.

FM stations that previously had almost excluded Ukrainian music from the air could no longer stand aside, and broadcast songs "made in Ukraine," keeping up with the latest trend. Foma (as Serhiy Fomenko is known among musicians) of the group Mandry, which took part in Viktor Yushchenko's election campaign, said that the directors of FM stations jumped aboard the bandwagon.

"We have to transform what is the fashion into the mainstream," he said. "What we need is 50 percent of Ukrainian language product on the air of any radio station. The directors of our FM stations do not want to promote Ukrainian music. A musician needs inspiration to write a song, but expends more time and energy to outwork it."

Foma noted that music in effect became an all-purpose weapon of the Orange Revolution. He said that he had never felt events like these and called this the best experience of his life.

"I always communicated with people – I didn't just sing songs. I tried to explain why I was standing there under the orange flags. I wanted to assure people that this team is able to change things," he said. "Can you imagine? Generations of our ancestors dreamed about change and we finally attained freedom!"

## "Black Tie and Orange Ball" attended by 2,500 fetes new president

by Marta Kolomayets

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV – The tattered tents that served as steadfast bunkers for students on the Khreshchatyk, the handmade signs carried by delegations from such destinations as Buchach, Okhtyrka and Boryspil, the familiar beat of the catchy Orange Revolution rap, and the smell of pyramids of oranges – all these contributed to the atmosphere of the "Black Tie and Orange Ball," a private party for more than 2,500 supporters of newly inaugurated President Viktor Yushchenko on Sunday evening, January 23, at the Ukrainian House, just meters away from the historic Maidan Nezalezhnosti (Independence Square).

President Viktor Yushchenko and First Lady Kateryna Chumachenko Yushchenko made a brief, but soul-stirring appearance at Ukraine's first-ever inaugural ball, dubbed "Life in an Orange Instant," which was produced by artistic director Vasyl Vovkun and his creative team.

After a full day of official events, which included the presidential swearing-in ceremony in Parliament, an inaugural address to hundreds of thousands on the Maidan, a diplomatic reception for visiting dignitaries, followed by an inaugural concert and reception at the Palats Ukraina ball and a grand display of fireworks in Kyiv's city center, many of the Orange Revolution's leaders and supporters joined the first family at the Ukrainian House for the celebration of a new era.

The brainchild of Michael Bleyzer, president and CEO of SigmaBleyzer, an American-Ukrainian investment group that has been working in Ukraine for more than 10 years, the Black Tie and Orange Ball was organized in two short weeks by a committee of 25 organizations that work in Ukraine. The members included such companies as Softline, the Ukraine 3000 Foundation, the Ukrainian Grain Association, the Poltava Confectionery, Zaporizhia Meat Processing Plant, Channel 5 TV, ERA TV and Radio Company, Kiev Atlantic Ukraine – Atlantic Farms and the Center for Ukrainian Reform Education, as well as former Ambassadors Anton Buteiko and Yuri Shcherbak.

"The idea of the ball was not to send a message to the new administration; it had no hidden agenda, no business angle," explained Mr. Bleyzer. "It had but one aim: to celebrate this great victory."

"I believe that there is a time to work hard, a time to do business, a time to enjoy life and a time to celebrate," said the self-made businessman, who emigrated from Kharkiv to Houston as a young man in 1978.

"The key to making the ball a success was the genius of Vasyl Vovkun, who was able to convey the spirit of the Maidan by covering the Ukrainian House in orange cloth, by replicating moments of the revolution within the walls of the hall," commented Mr. Bleyzer.

"There was always such good energy on the Maidan," said Mr. Vovkun, whose aim was to recreate the same atmosphere at the ball in the Ukrainian House, which served as a shelter, soup kitchen and medical outpost during the revolution. He and his team knew the spirit of the Maidan quite well, since they spent two months working the stage for Ukraine's political leaders and musical stars. So, for the revolution's finale, they draped the Ukrainian House in broad strips of orange cloth.

"I believe that God's hand guided us through the revolution," he commented, "because Christian and moral values dominated on the Maidan. Viktor Yushchenko set an example of forgiveness and charity."

On his first day on the job, President Yushchenko was relaxed and charming, as he addressed supporters from all walks of life who attended the ball: poets and



Alexander Chapko

President Viktor Yushchenko and the first family on stage with musician/songwriter Taras Petrynenko and his group.

politicians, journalists and students, businesspeople and professionals who are forming Ukraine's rising middle-class.

"I am offering you a challenge: and this challenge concerns each and every one of you whose heart beats Ukrainian, no matter what your profession, no matter your age, no matter if you live in Toronto, or Kyiv, or in the village of Khoruzhivka ... Let us tell ourselves that we are ashamed to live in a Ukraine that has criminals in power; that we are ashamed to live in a country where 55 percent of the economy works in the shadows. This is no way to live," he said.

President Yushchenko said he is convinced that every Ukrainian wants rule of law, an independent judiciary that protects private property and investments and allows citizens to defend their rights, and a free media.

"I want us to live in a lawful state. This is not a romantic notion nor is it a fata morgana. I have one request: help me to do this. Together, we can make this country happy. Together we are many and we cannot be defeated," concluded Mr. Yushchenko to resounding applause and chants of "Yush-chen-ko!"

He then proceeded to hand over the microphone to his wife, who addressed the crowd as the new first lady of Ukraine, while her daughters, Sofiyka and Khrystynka, scrambled onto the stage, followed by Mr. Yushchenko's granddaughter Yaryna playing with the clouds of dry ice – testimony to the fact that this first family will be unpretentious and down to earth.

"I see in this hall a lot of friends, friends who have been with us through the good times and the difficult moments," said the first lady. Dressed in an elegant burgundy velvet gown, designed by Ukrainian fashion star Lillia Pustovit and adorned by 1,000-year-old gold treasures on loan from the Khersones Platonov collection, Mrs. Yushchenko thanked all of the revolution's supporters, noting that "today, we all feel the happiness, love and good will – and this feeling among us now will thrive in Ukraine for many years to come."

She raised a toast to all present to thank them for their support and asked all the guests, in turn, to lift their glasses to all of the people who were on the Maidan because "without them, we would not have the Ukraine we have today," she concluded, as the crowd greeted her with chants of "Ka-tya, Ka-tya!"

While the first family went off to view the exhibit of 300 photographs from the rev-

olution, which were also part of the "Orange Instant" event, to meet and greet the supporters of the Orange Revolution, and even offer autographs, the entertainment on the stage of the Ukrainian House continued with the sounds of Taras Petrynenko singing "Ukraino," a song he wrote in the early 1990s that became an unofficial anthem of the people on the Maidan.

Joining him on stage during the Orange Ball were many of the heroes of the revolution including emcee Yevhen Nyschuk, Okean Elzy, Mandry, Tartak, Oleksander Ponomariov, the Ars Nova drum band, the Revolution Orchestra and Grinzholli, who

partner/lawyer with Squire, Sanders & Dempsey, who has worked in Ukraine for 12 years. Ms. Kryshchalowych, who lives on the Khreshchatyk, walked to work past the tent city every day for a month, passing students who resolved that they would no longer put up with lies and corruption that prevailed in Ukraine over the last few years. "And, I knew early on – by their sheer determination – that this time Ukraine would emerge victorious," added Ms. Kryshchalowych.

Ivan Malkovych, a poet and founder of the children's book publishing company A-BA-BA-HA-LA-MA-HA, said that the rev-



AP/Sergei Grits

President Viktor Yushchenko passes by an honor guard during a military ceremony near the Mariinsky Palace.

wrote the rap song "Razom Nas Bahato" theme of Ukraine's revolutionary days.

Throughout the evening, entertainers, including clowns on stilts and troupes of performance artists in costume, conveyed the mood of a carnival as they mingled among the crowds, while waiters and waitresses provided wine, champagne and hors d'oeuvres to the guests.

But this carnival was also a living history and an opportunity for people to relive the emotions of their power and their commitment to democracy.

"For me, it was a chance to celebrate this pivotal moment in Ukrainian history, to savor the victory and inauguration in grand style with thousands of other euphoric people," said Dzvinika Kryshchalowych, a

revolution changed many people; they became nicer, friendlier and more open. "And such was the case with this ball," he said. "It wasn't stuffy, or Soviet, or bureaucratic – it was cozy and inviting," he said, as he pondered what he would do without the Maidan. "I was like a drug addict. I suffered from Maidan dependency," explaining that he didn't go to work for three weeks because he had to be in the revolution.

As for Mr. Vovkun, the producer of "Life in an Orange Instant," he said he is planning to produce "A Broadway-style musical on the Orange Revolution and then take it on tour to a variety of countries."

"This was a once-in-a-lifetime experience that changed so many lives forever," he underscored.

## FOR THE RECORD: Inaugural address by President Viktor Yushchenko

*The following is a transcript of President Viktor Yushchenko's inaugural address, as delivered on Kyiv's Independence Square on January 23. (Translated from the Ukrainian by George Sajewych.)*

My dear Ukrainian people!  
Esteemed guests!  
My esteemed Ukrainian community!  
Ukraine's Khreschatyk and Independence Square!

Today Ukraine is a free and independent nation. We have thrown the burdens of the past off our shoulders. No one will ever dare to dictate to us how we are to live and whom to elect. I became president through the will of the Ukrainian people. We – you and I – are its sons and daughters. Today I want to speak to you, looking directly into your eyes.

It is a great honor to be able to address a free people, who hold in their hands not only the Ukrainian flag but the destiny of their country as well. Here, in front of the people, I want to continue my oath of office. I pledge to you that we shall change Ukrainian life. My victory is the victory of all the Ukrainian people and of every citizen individually.

For this victory I thank the Lord God, who has given us faith, hope and love. It is through them that we triumphed. I pray that we shall preserve them forever in our hearts.

I thank the Ukrainian people for their great trust. I thank all and everyone who responded to my words: "I believe in Ukraine. I know what my duty is. And together we shall overcome." We have discovered for our country its road into the future.

I thank all and every citizen, no matter for whom he voted. My victory is everybody's victory. Everyone has the right to search for his vision of his country's path. Everyone has the right to choose those political colors that are dearest to him.

But, my dear friends, dear Ukrainians, our common choice are the colors of the Ukrainian flag. They unite all of us. Those who live in the east and those who live in the west. Those who live in the north of Ukraine and those who live in her south.

I thank my team, which worked for our win. You, my dear brethren, were unwavering on the road we traveled together. And I am confident that you will be as tireless in the work that lies ahead.

I thank my family, my wife, my children and grandchildren. They were with me in the most difficult days. You are here with me today at this celebration. I know you will always be my hope and my support.

I bow deeply before my father, Andriy Andriyovych Yushchenko – a teacher in the small village of Khoruzhivka in Sumy Oblast, a prisoner of Auschwitz, Dachau and Buchenwald – whose true teachings guided me throughout my life and brought me to this high honor of leading my country. I thank my mother, Varvara Tymofiyivna, for her love and her prayers, which have protected me. I beg her forgiveness for all the pain that her maternal heart has had to endure, especially in the past four months.

Dear friends! I am proud to stand together with you in this place! Two months ago, millions of people came out onto this square, as well as onto squares and streets all over Ukraine. Our brothers and sisters, parents and children, and neighbors stood day and night, in the snow and the bitter cold. Ukraine watched for every move and listened to every word that was spoken here. Ukraine's collective heart beat here on the square. Free people all over the world, as well as our countrymen scattered throughout distant lands, stood shoulder-to-shoulder with us. Here, on Independence Square, Ukrainians became, in the eyes of the world, a modern Ukrainian nation.

A courageous stand awakened our souls. We all felt ourselves as citizens of Ukraine.

Dignity, a sense of honor and charity were awakened in us. Armed only with faith and conviction, the people achieved a wonderful peaceful victory. This is a victory of freedom over tyranny, of law over lawlessness, of the future over the past.

Every citizen of Ukraine became a winner. We succeeded in gaining a fair election and on December 26 we met our destiny. We freely chose the path along which we are ready to proceed onward and upward.

Our choice was the result of our entire history.

***Armed only with faith and conviction, the people achieved a wonderful peaceful victory. This is a victory of freedom over tyranny, of law over lawlessness, of the future over the past.***

We chose prosperity, for poverty should not dishonor the soil tilled by a farmers' plow. We chose justice, for lawlessness should not become the norm in a land that saw its laws codified a thousand years ago in the "Truth of Rus." [Rus'ka Pravda].

We chose freedom, for tyranny should not rule over the successors to the Kozak republic that 300 years ago gave the world its first Constitution. We chose independence. For we are the heirs of generations of those who dreamed about a Ukrainian state, and fought for its freedom with their sweat and blood. The Ukrainian state is a reality, and with our choice we confirm this. Our victory is a celebration of its statehood.

On this day let us remember the heroes who sacrificed their lives for this victory: the martyrs of the Auschwitzes and Gulags, the victims of the Holodomor Famine-Genocide, the deportations and the Holocaust. They are looking at us today, from the heavens, and I'm sure they are proud of us!

We have made our choice, for we remember who we are, whose children and grandchildren. It is not in the past that we should search for answers to the challenges of the future. However, we shall always preserve our roots. Only thus will we remain true to ourselves. Only thus will we truly remain victorious!

Our choice has given rise to high expectations. They are proper. And they are absolutely realistic. We have everything we need to be successful. The riches of our land are inexhaustible. The talents of our countrymen are respected by the entire world. Through work and through will we shall accomplish all there is to accomplish!

I am president of all of Ukraine. I carry the responsibility for the functioning of the mines of the Donbas and the Dnipro regions, of Black Sea ports and of the trade routes of Halychyna. I will do everything in my power so that the farmers of Slobozhanshyna and Podillia always have a good harvest. The riches of Ukraine lie in the riches of its regions. I vow to preserve these riches and multiply them.

We, the citizens of Ukraine have become a united Ukrainian nation. We shall not be divided by the languages we speak, nor the religions we profess nor the political positions we choose. We have one Ukrainian destiny. We have one Ukrainian pride. We are proud to be Ukrainians.

We have taken an irreversible step toward democracy. Only democracy can preserve what is most dear to every human being – one's family and children, peace and tranquillity, work and prosperity. Only in a democratic state are human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity held in the highest esteem. Only in a democratic Ukraine will the brilliant palette of languages, cultures and views become the wealth of this country.

I vow that everyone will be able to teach their children in the language of their parents. Everyone will be able to pray in their own house of worship. Everyone will be guaranteed the right to hold their own views. We will be able to listen to one another because we will have freedom of expression and an independent press. We will all be equal before the law. Independent courts will protect the rights of every individual. I see Ukraine as a state governed by the rule of law.

We shall create a democratic govern-

ment – honest, professional and, certainly, patriotic.

The wall that separated elected officials from the people will be torn down. Our renewed government will be aware of its obligation to work for the good of the citizen and the state. Being in the government or in the opposition will be equally honorable, if one is serving one's country. We will have a moral government, able to unite society.

Only in unity and only in a democracy will we achieve our national goals. You have told me so at thousands of meetings. I shall carry out your will. You want to have jobs and a fair wage, and you feel bitterness when you are forced to leave your families in search of work abroad.

We will create new jobs. Everyone who wants to work will find a job and receive a fair wage. Nothing will limit your initiative, nor your desire to provide for your families. Everyone who provides jobs for others will get our support. Honest work will be respected.

We will become a prosperous nation.

You are seeking justice.

I will do everything so that no one is cheated. The fruits of economic growth will become accessible to all. We shall advance, but we will not leave behind those who have grown ill or tired in the autumn of their years. The government will return to the people every last kopyyka of its revenues. Pensions will increase, as will assistance and the scope of social programs. Public health, the protection of mothers and children will have the highest priority of my government. We shall become a nation united.

You seek to be free of constant extortion. You want to live and work honestly, and to legally receive the money you have earned.

We shall destroy the system of corruption in our country; we will take the economy out of the shadows. Taxes will be lowered, but everyone will pay them. Business will be separated from the government. Government funds will not be a feeding trough for anyone. Government jobs will go only to those whose expenses correspond to their declared incomes.

We shall become an honest nation.

You want to be masters of your own communities. You do not want high government officials to decide everything for you. We shall return power to local communities. The community will itself decide the affairs of its neighborhood, village or city. You will elect your own local leaders, you will raise your own revenues and you yourselves will spend them. We shall be a nation of self-governing communities.

You demand that your children be protected from decadence, you desire to live not by bread alone. We shall preserve our spiritual heritage. Along with you I will tirelessly tend Ukraine's cultural pre-

serves, protecting its ancient trees as well as its saplings. Our roots will not allow the winds of history to blow us about as tumbleweed. Through our culture the world must recognize our uniqueness. We shall be a nation of high culture.

We will be a modern nation in a dynamic global world, and we will become equal among equals. The future of Ukraine lies in the best possible educational system, high science and cutting-edge technology. I will do everything so that the intellectual potential of our nation is put to work. We shall become first and we shall become the best!

Ukrainians will find their rightful place in the community of nations. Ukraine will be neither a buffer, nor a field on which others will compete. We are ready to respect the interests of other countries. But for me, as well as for you, the national interests of Ukraine will be paramount!

We greet our neighbors, to the East as well as to the West, with good will and respect. I will do everything possible to develop stable cooperation with all countries. Ukraine will become a dependable partner in the fight against old and new threats: tyranny, war, poverty, natural disasters and terrorism. The universal search for ways to guarantee security and prosperity is a responsibility of Ukraine as well. We are ready for it.

Our path into the future lies on the road taken by a united Europe. Together with its peoples we belong to one civilization, we share the same values. History, economic prospects and the interests of the people give a clear answer to the question of where we are to seek our destiny. Our place is in the European Union. My goal is to see Ukraine in a United Europe!

Europe is where Ukraine can realize its historic chance to develop its potential. Our national strategy is to go toward that goal boldly, directly and with determination. European standards will become the norm in our social life, in our economy and in Ukrainian politics. Every step toward Europe opens up new possibilities for millions of Ukrainians.

Just recently, entry into the European Union seemed a very distant possibility, but free European peoples have more than once accelerated time. Chunks of the Berlin Wall, the Warsaw roundtable and our own Independence Square in Kyiv have become symbols of these rapid changes. Ukraine is discovering itself in the history of Europe in the third millennium. We are no longer on the periphery of Europe. We find ourselves in the center of Europe.

Dear friends! We have set for ourselves some ambitious goals. To the very last cell of my being I am convinced that these goals will soon turn into glorious deeds. I will do everything in my power so that all Ukrainians, without exception, come to believe in themselves, in their country, their homeland. We have already demonstrated that we can dream bold dreams and work tirelessly. We do not shun self-sacrifice and we can achieve success!

We are beginning a new chapter in Ukrainian history. It will be a wonderful chapter. It will describe our unity, our courage, our readiness to help one another.

There is a special place reserved in this history for this Kyiv square. It is here that we will multiply our strength and share our joy. This square is the symbol of a free nation, a nation that believes in its strengths and forges its future. Our national blue-and-yellow flag will always wave over us, as will resound above us with a million voices Ukraine's national anthem.

Everything that we hope for, my dear friends and countrymen, will come to pass. Believe in Ukraine, love Ukraine, serve Ukraine.

Glory to every one of you! Glory to the Lord God! And glory to Ukraine!

## INAUGURATION CEREMONY: The president's address to the Rada

Following is the text of President Viktor Yushchenko's address at the inauguration ceremony in the Verkhovna Rada on January 23. Source: [www.yuschenko.com.ua](http://www.yuschenko.com.ua).

Holy fathers, honorable head of the Verkhovna Rada, esteemed national deputies, honored guests and dear friends. For the first time I am speaking from this rostrum as the president of Ukraine. Until now I have had the honor of standing behind this rostrum as the head of the National Bank of Ukraine, as prime minister of Ukraine, as leader of the Our Ukraine faction of the current convocation. In this place I pronounced sweet and bitter words, experienced sadness and joyous moments. And every time I ascended to the parliamentary rostrum as if onto scaffolding because I wished my every word to strengthen our large home – democratic and independent Ukraine.

I am happy that my work was in vain.

It added to the work of my political brothers in arms, to the work of our Parliament, to the work of the people of Ukraine, to the work of every citizen. I think this is exactly a case when we are building the wall and the wall is building us.

Today's event has proven once more that the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian state have come through. The citizens of Ukraine have secured an honest election, and the transfer of government has been legitimate. This is a tremendous national victory.

Built with millions of Ukrainian hands, democracy has withstood the test of strength; the Verkhovna Rada, too, has passed a difficult test. In a time of ordeal it has found strength to come to the aid of justice. The Parliament was together with its people, supported its desires and hopes.

You, esteemed national deputies, have defended Ukrainian democracy, defended unity, the sovereignty and independence

of our Ukraine.

Sincere gratitude goes out to you for that.

Sincere gratitude goes out to every national deputy present in this hall.

I would like to extend my hand to you today. I would like to shake hands with every national deputy, every faction and

mon labor.

I am convinced that our work, dear friends, will continue. Together we are to work with the people and for the people.

On this day, dear friends, I am looking for a way for us to be among the people. I am inviting all the national deputies, guests, friends, all of you pres-

***We have a common goal – a prosperous and democratic Ukraine. I am convinced that Ukraine is above everything else for every national deputy in this hall.***

every faction leader and to call all of you to cooperation.

We have a common goal – a prosperous and democratic Ukraine. I am convinced that Ukraine is above everything else for every national deputy in this hall. This is a good object of our com-

ent in this hall to come to the maidan upon the closing of this session. I would like to share my oath, taken in this building, with the people. I am calling on every one of you: let us join the people. They are waiting for us; let us be together!

## STATE RECEPTION: President Yushchenko's address to foreign leaders

Following is the text of the address by President Viktor Yushchenko at the state reception held on the occasion of his assumption of the office of the president of Ukraine. The reception took place at the Mariinskyi Palace on January 23. Source: [www.razom.org.ua](http://www.razom.org.ua).

Your Excellencies!

Respected heads and representatives of foreign states and international organizations!

Allow me to welcome you as the new president of Ukraine on the behalf of the people of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian democratic revolution of the year 2004 was victorious thanks to the unconquerable power of the people, united by the ideals of freedom, democracy, human rights and sovereignty.

On these days, when our people celebrate their victory and the historic unification of the eastern and western regions of Ukraine into a single state, we can say the following with pride:

***A new Ukrainian nation has been born in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century.***

- A new Ukrainian nation has been born in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century. We are starting a new epoch of Ukrainian and European history in the third millennium. This will be an epoch of solidarity, partnership and unification in one European house.
- The people of Ukraine have put an

end to the totalitarian past and have chosen democracy, human rights and freedom.

- The new Ukraine has put an end to the policy of dependence.

- Our people take the fate of Ukraine into their own hands.

- Ukraine is and continues to be a large and united family of brotherly peoples.

- The new state and government will secure the real sovereignty of the people, justice and well-being for all.

- We will build a new united Ukrainian nation that will become a natural part of the large European family.

- We will be building the society of the future – a society of spirituality, knowledge, culture and well-being, a social state and a socially oriented economy, based on people's enterprise, economic democracy and competition.

- The national strategy of Ukraine will be based on the principles of effective advocacy of national interests, improvement of our sovereign statehood, and increase of the international competitiveness of Ukraine.

Your Excellencies! Allow me, on the behalf of the people of Ukraine, to thank you and your nations for the tremendous support in our struggle for democracy, justice and progress. We are now ready to contribute to global cooperation.

## Yushchenko inauguration...

(Continued from page 1)

that he would pass on to the President Bush President Yushchenko's invitation for him to visit Ukraine.

Three days later, President Yushchenko had his sec-



AP/Sergei Grits, Pool

**President-elect Viktor Yushchenko shakes hands with U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell during their meeting on January 23 prior to the inauguration.**

ond high-level U.S. meeting – with Vice-President Dick Cheney in Krakow, Poland, where both came to mark the 60th anniversary of the liberation of nearby Auschwitz and Birkenau Nazi extermination camps.

During a news conference following their meeting, the vice-president said that what President Yushchenko had accomplished was “remarkable and inspiring, and there are great tasks ahead.”

President Yushchenko is “an ally in freedom's cause, he said, adding that “President Bush and the American people stand with him.”

President Yushchenko also invited Vice-President Cheney to visit Ukraine “at a time convenient to him.”

Meanwhile in Washington, the Bush administration was putting the finishing touches on a request to Congress for an additional \$80 billion to help fund U.S. military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. According to press reports, administration and congressional officials indicated that the supplemental request would include funds for other needs as well, among them for assistance to Ukraine. While no specific amount for Ukraine was disclosed, sources close to the supplemental aid discussions were estimating the amount would be between \$50 million and \$80 million.

U.S. economic development assistance levels to Ukraine have been falling dramatically in recent years. In 2004 the total was \$80 million. This amount was to be cut by 40 percent in 2005. In the mid-1990s annual totals of U.S. aid to Ukraine were above \$200 million.

There are indications in Congress – at least in the form of a congressional resolution and individual statements – that U.S. lawmakers are ready to increase assistance funding for Ukraine and help it in other ways as well.

Two days after President Yushchenko's inauguration, on January 25, the House of Representatives passed a resolution congratulating him on his victory and the Ukrainian people “for conducting a democratic, transparent and fair run-off presidential election.”

The resolution, which passed by a vote of 392 to one,

also pledged U.S. assistance “to the strengthening of a fully free and open democratic system in Ukraine, the creation of a prosperous free market economy in Ukraine, the reaffirmation of Ukraine's independence and territorial sovereignty, and Ukraine's full integration into the international community of democracies.” (The single vote against the resolution was by Texas Republican Rep. Ron Paul.)

The only instance of discordant reporting in the U.S. press about recent events in Ukraine came on January 26, when Knight-Ridder Newspapers focused on the presence of Myron Kuropas on the U.S. presidential delegation. In a Knight-Ridder report, which ran in the Washington Post and was picked up by the Associated Press, Dr. Kuropas was characterized as a “Ukrainian-American activist who has accused Jews of manipulating the Holocaust for their gain and blamed them for Soviet-era atrocities in Ukraine.”

“His presence in the delegation was greeted with dismay by several U.S. officials and Jewish-American leaders, who learned about it after the fact,” the report said.

An un-named White House official told the Knight Ridder reporters that the White House was not aware of Dr. Kuropas's previous statements. “Had we been aware of such comments beforehand, we would not have invited Dr. Kuropas to be a member of the delegation,” he said.

The report quoted Dr. Kuropas as saying in a telephone interview that he was “dismayed” at the controversy. He worked for 12 years in a dialogue with Jewish community leaders, he said, and he received an award from the American Jewish Committee. In the mid-1970s, during President Gerald R. Ford's administration, Dr. Kuropas served as a White House special assistant for ethnic affairs.

“I do not criticize Jews, but certain Jewish behavior when I believe it defames the Ukrainian people. I particularly resent reading over and over again in Jewish periodicals and publications articles which present Ukraine, to paraphrase Elie Wiesel, as one big Babyn Yar,” Dr. Kuropas told The Weekly.

## REFLECTIONS OF ELECTION OBSERVERS

### On the maidan, and in Kharkiv

by **Borislav Bilash II**

**Wednesday, December 22**

... I arrived at the maidan just before 6 p.m. The crowd was enormous and continued to grow as I stood right in the middle of the action. They had gathered there to listen to Viktor Yushchenko. As an international election observer I have to remain impartial, however the law permits me to attend meetings, rallies, etc. I did not wear orange – the color of Yushchenko's supporters.

I never experienced anything like this. It was like a rock concert; like Woodstock must have been or perhaps like the day Martin Luther King spoke in Washington. We all stood so tightly together that it was practically impossible to move. Many times people tried to pass through us. It brings a whole new meaning to the fact that no two objects can occupy the same place at the same time (says who?). There was perfect order! I never saw one police officer anywhere. All the people were cheerful and polite to one another. I was in awe, as the crowd seemed to go on forever.

The speeches were breathtaking! The chanting was deafening! As an observer I could not participate – only witness the events. At one point I felt very self-conscious considering all the hand raising and cheers by everyone surrounding me. No one questioned my presence. In fact, as I raised my video camera to record the moment, people were kind enough to suck in their guts in so that I could spin around and pan my camera around. "Yush-chen-ko, Yush-chen-ko, Yush-chen-ko," the crowd cheered from time to time. They also shouted "Razom nas bahato i nas he podolaty" – we are many and we will not be defeated. In between they played music – songs written for the cause by leading Ukrainian musicians. It was almost hypnotic. I got the impression that it seemed cool to stand up for democracy. The world-boxing champion Volodymyr Klitschko eloquently spoke in support of Yushchenko, as did other celebrities and politicians. When Yushchenko came onto the stage the crowd cheered and chanted his name. His words were moving. He spoke with such authority and conviction. He clearly spelled out his plans for Ukraine. He promised to change the status quo by bringing the corrupt to justice and by moving Ukraine forward.

There were so many moments tonight that caused me to choke up – watching and listening to those who express a wish for the freedoms that democracy offers. The desires were heard in speeches; in their songs and in conversations with strangers I had today. The emotions I feel are difficult to describe.

Yulia Tymoshenko, a politician who is an avid supporter of Yushchenko, gave the most inspiring speech. When her name was announced the crowd went crazy. It almost seemed that they adored her more than Yushchenko. She had the

*Borislav Bilash II, a teacher who resides in Millburn, N.J., traveled to Ukraine in late December as an election observer with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. He explained his motivation: "For the most part, I was always asking others to do something for Ukraine. Today's it's my turn to step up to the plate." The article above is excerpted from Mr. Bilash's journal of the days leading up to his trip and his time in Ukraine.*

aura of a demigod. She told the mass that if the future government of Ukraine is not living up to the expectations of the people that they must express their needs to their representatives in the government (as in, "We the people..."). She said that if the government gives them a deaf ear that they should return to the maidan and loudly clarify their needs – as they have been doing for the past four weeks.

Upon leaving the maidan via the subway tunnels, I spotted a supporter of the candidate Viktor Yanukovich draped in a blue and white banner – the colors of the Yanukovich campaign. Although the lone gentleman turned many heads as the "Oranges" (as they are referred to) passed by, I was impressed that no one heckled him. Most smiled – but no dirty looks, as one may expect. ...

**Friday, December 24**

I paid a visit to the tent city on the Khreshchatyk. The tent city is built next to the maidan. The tents completely blockaded this eight-lane thoroughfare. The perimeter of the tent city was made from metal and concrete benches chained together along with wooden planks sewn together with rope and pallets that fenced off the area. Some of the tents were equipped with stacks with smoke billowing out from them. One tent was designated as a hospital, while another seemed to be a storehouse for food. It was pretty serious stuff! The compound had its own internal security guards – wearing badges identifying themselves as guards. Camouflaged-dressed men wearing orange armbands, identifying themselves with the Orange Revolution, patrolled outside the camp. No weapons were visible. No police. Everyone in and outside the camp was joyful.

One of the tents was set up as a monument to Heorhii Gongadze – the Ukrainian investigative journalist who wrote about the criminal actions of the Kuchma government. Gongadze was kidnapped and beheaded – allegedly under the orders of President Leonid Kuchma. After his death his wife and children received asylum in the U.S. My children attended summer camp with Gongadze's children a few years ago.

The inhabitants of this city sat around barrels of wood, burning fires, singing and talking to pass the time. There were men and women of all ages – but most of them in their 20s. I asked one of them about their experience. I was told that today there are about 1,000 "citizens" left. Most returned to their homes in other parts of Ukraine. I was told that as many as 10,000 people were living in the camp at the height of the protests. I asked why they were still there and was told that they would stay there until Yushchenko is inaugurated! "He is our president," he said. This is their 30th day!

I asked him if I could offer him money for food or clothing. He laughed and asked if I was joking. He told me how the day after the election Yushchenko called people to the streets to protest. He said that within 15 minutes the first tents were up. Obviously Yushchenko supporters expected a fraudulent election and were prepared to do something about it. He told me that right from the beginning no one was hungry or cold, despite the fact that the temperatures were -5°F at times. He said that restaurants brought in food for the protesters. People who could not stand to protest would come to the maidan and distribute food that they prepared in their homes. Old ladies, having

arrived by subway would bring in shopping bags filled with firewood for the campers. Companies brought in goods from their factories by the truckload to support the people. ...

As I walked down Khreshchatyk I spotted a gentleman waving a large Yushchenko flag as he handed out orange ribbons to passers-by. Everyone took a ribbon and tied it to their arm. As I passed he offered me a ribbon. I thanked him, but declined and informed him that as an international election observer it would be inappropriate for me to accept the ribbon. He then asked me to carry his flag promoting Yushchenko. I told him that I couldn't. I support his desire to do so, but that it would not be right for me to voice my support for any particular candidate. He kept insisting that I take the flag and then proceeded to question: who told me that I couldn't carry a flag – Kuchma? Bush? He was badgering me, but in a sweet way. He said that I should be free to carry whatever I wanted to. It almost seemed that he was scolding me for submitting to someone's will.

I continued to explain that my job in Ukraine was to help validate a democratic process – not to pick sides. I told him that he in particular would want for me to be recognized as being impartial so that I would be able to either point out infractions to the election law or validate that proper procedures were followed. By this time we had attracted the attention of others and some 20 people surrounded me. At first I was concerned about what I had gotten into, but was quickly relieved when people in the crowd came to my defense and tried convincing this gentleman of my mission. He kept with his insistence. Again I tried to explain to him how inappropriate it would be for me to show any support for a particular candidate, but I promised him that after the election was over I would return to the Maidan and seek him out. With this he finally backed down and I attempted to excuse myself. Now he begins following me and invites me to break bread with him. Ukrainians are insulted when you decline their offer for food. So I agreed – I figured it was harmless. He asked one of the people inside the compound to get us some tea. The service was instant! Another person brought us some crackers. They were all very inviting. The man was very happy with me, but at this point I had remembered what we were told at our training – NOT to accept food or drink from anyone. Probably a small risk, but nevertheless. ... I thanked him for the tea and crackers and said that it was time for me to leave. I disposed of the food once I was out of his sight.

**Saturday, December 25**

After dropping off our luggage at the Hotel Kharkiv, we went to the apartment of our local contacts – two Canadians, Laryssa and Brent, who were sent by UCC in October to prepare for the original election. By the third time they definitely proved themselves as experts. We spent the rest of the day being trained again (my third training session – 15 hours to date). In all there were about 50 observers they were coordinating – 15 from the States and 35 Canadians. The Canadians came earlier so they were already visiting polling stations the day before the election – simply to get to know the lay of the land and to "set a tone." We divided ourselves up into teams of three. ... Each group was assigned a driver/bodyguard who was to remain with the car at all times.

My team consisted of a professional singer from Atlanta, Will Ritter and a CBS journalist from Green Bay, Wis.,

Olga Halaburda. Will speaks 10 languages. Olga is working on a series of reports for CBS about the Orange Revolution and the Election: [www.wfrv.com/ukraine](http://www.wfrv.com/ukraine)

Once again we reviewed all of the tactics that were used in the previous election to perpetrate fraud. ...

**E-Day**

Our group met at 6 a.m. in the hotel lobby. Myroslav Serbin from Washington, a retired engineer joined our team. Our first stop was at the first polling station (PS No. 53) located in the village of Pischyn at 11 Nekrasov Road, about a half hour's drive away. We arrived in time for the opening meeting of the polling station commission (PS), held at 7:15 am. The commission verified that everything was in place, sealed the lids of the voting boxes, opened a safe containing the ballots, etc.

I questioned the integrity of the red security tags that sealed the voting boxes. They seemed loose enough to allow one to lift the lid – allowing one to easily tamper with the contents of the box. The commission wasn't concerned but they appeased me by tightening the tags, to which I insisted. We photographed and videotaped as much as we could for the purpose of documenting violations as well as to document that correct procedures were followed. If necessary our tapes would be used in the court of law by either candidate to argue their case. After the last election, the videotapes from the UCC observers proved to be crucial evidence that resulted in the last election being declared fraudulent. The polls opened at 8 a.m. ...

As expected everyone in Kharkiv seemed to speak Russian. I was lucky if I encountered five Ukrainian speakers all day. Heart-wrenching! I continued speaking Ukrainian (English would have been useless) and left the ones on them to makes us communicate. Many of them did speak a mixture of the two languages, known as "surzhyk." Somehow it worked out. Many apologized for not being able to speak Ukrainian. They said when they were growing up it was forbidden. I told them it is never too late to have their own children learn their native tongue. Whenever I got into a bind I relied on Will's knowledge of Russian. He was a great asset on our team.

There were a few dramatic moments at PS No. 53. First of all, one man having come out of the voting booth with his ballot pretended to have dropped his ballot into the voting box but instead placed it in his coat. A team of journalists from Razom who had just entered noticed and started yelling for police. The young man behaved oddly and had a thug-like appearance. The journalist physically struggled with the man while calling for assistance. During the struggle the man removed the ballot from his jacket and deposited the ballot into the voting box. At that point, the police officer quickly interceded and detained him. We videotaped much of the incident, but failed to catch the ballot placed inside the coat. We reviewed the videotape of the journalist, however it did not catch the man in the act on video – only audio. We recorded a statement of the journalist on our videotape, which we'll pass on to UCC for their report. When asked for his assessment, one of the Yanukovich observers suggested that the man was under the influence of drugs and that this is probably an isolated event. A Yushchenko observer concurred. Despite this, both observers wrote "skarhy"

(Continued on page 14)

## REFLECTIONS OF ELECTION OBSERVERS

### On the maidan...

(Continued from page 13)

(complaints) blaming each other's campaign for being behind the incident. In my judgment, the incident appeared to be isolated. ...

After visiting PS No. 23 located in the town of Bezliudivka, 177 Peremoha Road, and found everything in order, we visited PS No. 81 located in the town of Komunar, 1-a Myr Road, 1-a. The site was to serve 1,850 voters, but was merely 30 square meters. By law, a station serving this many voters was to be more than twice that – 75 square meters. Other violations included the fact that only four voting booths were present, rather than the prescribed six, and only two voting boxes were present rather than the six provided. We inquired about the other boxes and were told that they only received two. We asked to look around and were denied access to doors leading to other areas of the small building. ... Another problem that caught our attention was the fact that only one security tie loosely sealed one side of each voting box, rather than the required two. With only one tie, the lid of the voting box could be easily lifted allowing anyone to tamper with the votes. We inquired about this infraction and were told that this was sufficient. When further pressed on the issue and they claimed they only received two ties. We then brought the infractions to the attention of the Yanukovich and Yushchenko observers who remain on site the entire day, however they seemed disinterested. Upon videotaping the infractions and our queries to commission members and candidate's observers we continued to our next polling station.

At PS No. 40 in the town of Komunar (a different town, than PS No. 81) one voter created a loud commotion by claiming to have received a ballot that was already filled out. She claimed that the Yushchenko supporters were creating fraud. Commission members asked her why she did not point this out when she received her ballot, but rather waited until after she had approached the ballot box to deposit her ballot. Since she had not deposited her ballot yet, we pointed out that election law allows that this damaged ballot be destroyed and that she be given a new ballot. She did not seem satisfied with the simple solution. We felt the woman was putting on a display for our benefit. The three Yushchenko observers and the lone Yanukovich observer concurred. They also indicated that this was the most excitement they saw all day. We left for our next destination. ...

The counting of the ballots [at PS No. 98] was uneventful. All the proper procedures were followed. The atmosphere was pleasant among the Yanukovich and Yushchenko supporters. Everyone worked hard to get the job done – and done well. Two ballots were missing in the end; however, this did not seem to be an issue. No one felt that the missing ballots constituted any type of systematic fraud. Appropriate paperwork was prepared explaining the missing ballots, which would be attached to the Protocol. Yanukovich received 685 votes and Yushchenko received 394.

#### A long night for democracy

Once the ballots were counted and the protocol reporting the results was written, it was time to deliver it to the Territorial Election Commission (TEC). ... The head of the commission, accompanied by a police officer, one Yushchenko

commission member and one Yanukovich observer, delivered the protocol. ... We verified that no changes were made to the Protocol. We videotaped all copies of the protocol that was delivered to the TEC before and after delivery.

Once we arrived at the TEC we were escorted to a room where the protocol was to be presented. There was a 10-meter table. On one side sat members of the Territorial Commission, while on the other sat the heads of the polling stations as they came in to present their Protocol. All presentations of Protocols were done simultaneously. Once the TEC member reviewed the protocol and attachments and then verified that things were in order he would yell out the relevant numbers (numbers of ballots, votes for each candidate, spoiled ballots). It was explained to me that this process constituted the "meeting of the TEC" and that the secretary of the TEC would record this "motion" as a "vote to accept." In fact, we did not witness any formal voting to accept any of the Protocols. We approached one of the CANADEM observers (representing the Canadian Government) who verified our interpretation of the events. There was also an OSCE observer present.

The TEC rejected the protocol because the polling station included two missing ballots in their total ballot count. We had to return to the polling station to have the hand-written protocols rewritten – all 14 copies! Before we left the head of the PS had to get new protocol forms – unfortunately there where no extra copies on site, so we had to wait for them to be delivered from another territory. Ughhh! And I thought we were almost done! Once the forms arrived we returned to the polling station. The ballots remained at the TEC under the guard of the police officer and the Yanukovich observer. The Yushchenko commission member that traveled with the protocol apparently left. The head of the polling station first made a series of phone calls and then we returned to the station.

We arrived at the polling station to find that some members had left. There were enough members, however, to form a quorum. The fact that most of the commission members were wearing coats and hats made me suspect that commission members actually went home and recently returned. The protocols were re-written and we got back into our cars and returned to the TEC. Upon returning to the TEC it was discovered that the paperwork explaining the missing two ballots was now missing itself. Once again the head of the polling station had to return to the polling station to rewrite the paperwork. I could see it in his eyes and in the eyes of the Yanukovich observer that they were very apologetic for keeping me there. It was a very friendly mood.

Finally at 5:30 a.m. on December 27 the protocol was accepted. My job was done. I found our driver/body guard fast asleep in his running car outside the TEC. Since it was late (early?) we decided to go straight to the train station well in time for my 8 a.m. departure.

#### Preliminary results

At 5:30 a.m. 99 percent of the precincts had reported. Yushchenko was leading with 52 percent versus Yanukovich with 44 percent. A whopping 77 percent of eligible voters participated.

Did the presence of international election observers make a difference? We will never be able to answer this question. I would like to think so, but in my heart I believe that the citizens of Ukraine did it on their own. After reject-



Borislaw Bilash II (holding flag) with Sashko on the maidan.

ing the results of the last election, Secretary of State Colin Powell said something to the effect that the United States looks forward to seeing Ukrainians solve their own problems. I believe they did just that. They changed their election laws in such a way that it was more difficult to cheat at an election. I was impressed with how well these Yanukovich and Yushchenko supporters worked together to get through this election. If we were there or not, I am not sure that it would have made that much of a difference. I think they have a good handle on things – at least a good start! I hope we made a difference. Again, one will never know.

#### Monday, December 27

##### Back to the maidan

Once back in Kyiv I took a two-hour nap and then decided to return to the maidan – this time wearing orange! I

made a promise a few days ago to return to that man I had met on the maidan. It took about 30 minutes of searching, but I found him waving his flag – still handing out ribbons. I stood in front of him and smiled. He immediately recognized me and exclaimed that he didn't expect my return. I told him that I made a promise – I told him that I came to help him carry his flag.

We paraded up and down the Khreshchatyk for a short time during which he asked me about my family and I about his. His name is Sashko and he also has two daughters, Olena and Katia. He gave me Yushchenko banners and posters to take home for my girls so that they would have a part of history.

I told him that I am a teacher and he proceeded to give me packages of orange ribbons to share with my students. He said that my students should know how much Ukrainians desire freedom. My eyes welled with tears.

## The train experience to Zaporizhia

by Andrij Hluchowecy

As train No. 72 lurched slowly from the central train station in Kyiv en route to the city of Zaporizhia in Ukraine's southeast, the mood was jubilant and festive. The Orange Revolution celebrations on Kyiv's main street, the Khreshchatyk, and in the tent city may have had something to do with the overall atmosphere. Many of our 17-member Canada Corps delegation had witnessed the daily evening celebrations – from the orange scarves, toques, balloons and flags to the singing and dancing by tens of thousands of Ukrainians in and around Maidan Nezalezhnosity, or Independence Square.

Or perhaps it was the pent-up nervous anticipation of the upcoming Ukrainian presidential election on December 26 that had the Canadians in such a giddy mood. Rumors had been circulating the night before that "citizens' groups" and "Kozak" regiments in traditional dress would be working some polling stations to keep order and to "protect the Constitution, at all costs." We were, of course, heading to Zaporizhia, where the

*Andrij Hluchowecy was Canada Corps team leader for Zaporizhia. A resident of Gloucester, Ontario, he is chief of international business and policy development, International Division, Earth Sciences Sector, Natural Resources Canada.*

historic headquarters of the Zaporizhian Ukrainian Kozaks was located on Khortytsia Island before it was destroyed by the Russian armies in 1775.

In the end, the jubilant mood may have been due to the reality of the special day – it was, after all, Christmas Eve. The 10-hour overnight journey from Kyiv to Zaporizhia would see many of the Canadians celebrate their first Christmas away from their homes in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg and Edmonton, away from their husbands and wives, their children and friends in a faraway, unfamiliar country in the midst of a battle for democracy and freedom. This was certainly a big sacrifice on the part of these Canadians and the close to 500 others who comprised the Canadian observer delegation headed by former Canadian Prime Minister John Turner.

The train excursion on Christmas Eve was celebrated without the traditional Christmas turkey and trimmings or meat pies or, for that matter, the traditional 12 meatless dishes of Ukrainian Christmas, comprised of borscht with vushka, holubtsi, varenyky, fish and kutia. It was celebrated with cheese, crackers and smoked salmon, with Kyivskyi torte, chocolates and with bottles and bottles of Ukrainian red champagne. This must have been a sight to those Ukrainians travelling with

(Continued on page 23)

## REFLECTIONS OF ELECTION OBSERVERS

### From Kyiv to Dnipropetrovsk

by **Andriy Panas**

Mattey Rakowsky and I left for Ukraine on December 21 from Newark airport. We had a short layover in Warsaw and arrived in Kyiv on the afternoon of December 22. From Boryspil International Airport we went directly to the heart of Kyiv to register at the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America office located right off Khreschatyk at 2 Prorizna St.

At the UCCA office we received our accreditation that recognized us as official observers of the December 26 election, as well as information as to where we would be staying in Kyiv. That night we went to "Baraban," a local bar where we met other observers, some of whom were familiar faces from the New York metro area.

We heard there was a program on the maidan so we went. It was our first taste of the real sentiment in Kyiv – 80,000 plus people, most clad in orange, holding

*Andriy Panas of Budd Lake, N.J., is a member of the Chornomorska Sitch executive board, president of the Sitch Foundation and playing coach of the Chornomorska Sitch soccer team.*

flags, streamers, banners and balloons. The Klitschko brothers, Ruslana and other celebrities spoke, as did members of the Yushchenko team, including Yulia Tymoshenko.

When it was Viktor Yushchenko's turn he literally stopped time. When he spoke you could hear a pin drop, and when he paused the people began chanting "Yushchen-ko, Yushchen-ko" – you couldn't hear anything else. It was amazing to see such passion and to feel such energy from so many people.

The following day we attended a briefing sponsored by UCCA. It was a seminar dedicated to informing those in attendance of the expectations and responsibilities of an international observer. The session lasted some three hours, during which we received some good pointers, relevant documentation and reference material that would aid us on election day.

After a late dinner, it was decided that a group of fellow observers, 14 people, would talk to some of the people inside "tent city." Only a few individuals, mostly security, were active and when we spoke to one individual about being escorted inside, he was hesitant to let us in. After

some small talk and an explanation that we were official observers, they decided to let us in.

The organization of "tent city" was beyond comprehension. They had security personnel who checked IDs, as well as our bags. They were strict on two things – alcohol and weapons – there was to be none of any kind. It was the perfect example of civil resistance.

It was 2 a.m., so most of tent city was asleep. However, there were two individuals sitting around a fire – Mattey asked to take a picture and they asked him to sit down. Eventually everyone came back to sit around the fire. A guitar was brought out and everyone began to sing. The songs broke down all of the barriers about us being "Westerners." They were amazed that we knew the same traditional Ukrainian songs and hymns, and they brought out hot tea and sandwiches. In another tent where we were offered "salo," bread, garlic and onion. On our way out they let us sign the inside of the tent's walls, and gave us Yushchenko banners and other articles.

On Saturday, December 25, we took a 7:05 a.m. train that brought us directly to Dnipropetrovsk. Later that afternoon we joined the Ukrainian Canadian Congress contingent where we were given forms and documentation and assigned to a domestic observer named Larissa Chovnuk.

On the morning of December 26, I opened the polling station located at the school. The process began at 7:15 a.m. and lasted until the doors were opened for the election to begin. Larissa and I proceeded to go to 15 different stations, where we would talk to observers who were assigned to the particular polling station. If

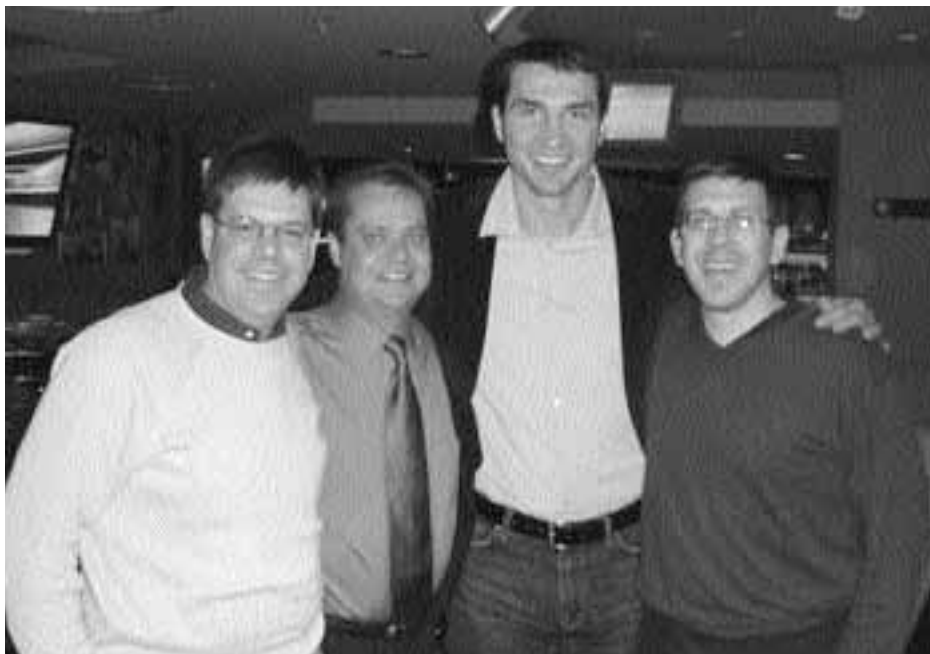
there were specific problems I would go to the commission and ask for clarification. Such clarification included questions on the voter list regarding who was registered to vote via the mobile ballot box, who was entitled to vote as an absentee, etc. Most violations were minor and I did not witness any of the blatant intimidation that was allegedly apparent in the first run-off.

I returned to the same polling station where I began in the morning so I could witness the closing and ballot counting. The station was closed at 8 p.m. and the process of sorting and counting the ballots lasted until 1:30 a.m. the next day. Once the ballots were properly counted and packaged, and protocols signed and stamped, we followed the van containing the ballots back to the election commission. I waited until the numbers were presented to the commission, which happened at 6 a.m. on Monday morning.

That same day all of the observers in Dnipropetrovsk had an official de-briefing, where they collected our forms, videotapes and commentary. We caught a 5 p.m. train back to Kyiv. The train station was packed with Yushchenko supporters who were happy with the preliminary results. We found a train car with local observers, befriended them and sang with them all the way back to Kyiv.

Our last night in Kyiv, December 28, was again spent on the maidan. Over 100,000 joined together to watch an elaborate program highlighted by several performers and speakers. Among the speakers were again Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Yushchenko. The program ended with a display of fireworks and the singing of the national anthem; many were crying and it was a very moving experience.

### Lessons learned in Kryvyi Rih



Election observer Taras Szmagala (left) with Andrew Futey, boxing champion Vladimir Klitschko and Peter Teluk.

by **Taras Szmagala Jr.**

I was fortunate to be stationed in Kryvyi Rih, a major industrial city in the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Watching the voters there, and, more importantly, speaking with many Yanukovich supporters (including his poll-watchers), it struck me that this election was less about Ukrainian vs. Russian (either language or culture) than about economics and demographics.

For instance, I found that most Yanukovich supporters were able to speak with me in Ukrainian (which is an accomplishment, as my Ukrainian is poor and my Russian practically non-existent). They expressed a genuine interest in the fact that we preserved our Ukrainian culture, and that we were interested in Ukraine. I did not find

*Taras Szmagala Jr. is a third-generation Ukrainian American from Cleveland. He spent December 24-26 in Kryvi Rih as an observer with the UCCA, as part of a delegation led by Ukrainian American and fellow member of the Ukrainian National Association Peter Teluk.*

the Yanukovich camp in any way "anti-Ukrainian."

However, I did notice significant demographic differences in the supporters of the candidates. Specifically, I cannot remember meeting one person under 40 who supported Yanukovich (although a few expressed their preference for "none of the above"). This was true even with Russian-speaking younger people. Older voters, however, were much more likely to resist change – perhaps thinking that "the devil you know is better than the devil you don't." Many Yanukovich supporters expressed concern that a Yushchenko administration would let Europeans buy their factories and shut them down. In sum, it seemed that age correlated with candidate selection more than language preference.

Reflecting on the experience, I think the idea that this election was about some sort of a geopolitical "tug-of-war" between Russia and Europe, or between speakers of different languages, is overblown. I suspect instead that the election had more to do with those things that traditionally motivate voters: economic insecurities and the acceptance or reluctance to change.

### Election observers in Sumy, too



SUMY – Election observers (from left) Olexa Hewryk, Marko Iwasykiw, Roman Hewryk, Orest Temnycky and Adrian Hewryk take time to pose before the Church of Resurrection in Sumy, built in 1702.

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## Three challenges....

(Continued from page 2)

sionaries from the Arab world and Central Asia, and of both the Russian and the Ukrainian governments, who at various points have shown themselves interested in splitting the Crimean Tatar national movement.

The number of Crimean Tatars involved in these two movements nonetheless remains very small – no more than 300 Wahhabis and far fewer adherents of Hizb ut-Tahrir are to be found in Crimea – and most of their leaders currently appear more interested in religious questions than in political action.

But their very existence, the intensive coverage they have received and the possibility that these groups could threaten or somehow be used to threaten the Crimean Tatar movement have combined to prompt the Crimean Tatar leadership to distance itself from these groups and seek to limit their activities.

Mustafa Jemilev, the leader of the Crimean Tatars, has repeatedly said that his people have been grateful for almost any outside help they could get, but that they have discovered that some of it from the Middle East either came with strings attached or threatened to divide the people and, therefore, had to be rejected.

As a result, the impact of fundamentalist Islam in Crimea thus far has been extremely limited, but Russian authors are increasingly playing up this threat both to frighten Kyiv and the West, and possibly to justify continuing Russian involvement there.

One article in the Russian-language Novyi Region-Krym suggested that Crimea is following “the Kosovo scenario,” a reference seconded by Spetsnaz Rossii and one more likely to have an impact on Western audiences than on a Ukrainian one.

Another article suggested by indirection how many in Moscow view the Crimean Tatar movement (<http://www.edinenie.kiev.ua/Actual19/za/mina.htm>). It warned that the new government in Kyiv should beware of trying to use the Crimean Tatars as a counterweight to Russian influence on the peninsula lest it embed a threat to its own existence.

There is also a third challenge confronting the Crimean Tatar movement, one with a precedent in this part of the world but not one that the Crimean Tatars have had to deal with before: the possibility that Western governments will be less inclined to support the Crimean Tatars – and may even actively oppose them – now that there is a pro-Western government in Kyiv.

“Now that the West considers Yushchenko to be the champion of Ukrainian reform,” Nadir Bekir, a member of the Crimean Tatar assembly, asked a European election monitor rhetorically “who will listen should he carry on the same policy of discrimination toward the Tatars?”

Indeed, Mr. Bekir suggested, many Western governments may now say to the Crimean Tatars something akin to what they said to the Ukrainians in Mikhail Gorbachev's time: “At least it's Yushchenko that you have now!” And the West will likely do so, he said, even if the new Ukrainian government does little or nothing to help the Crimean Tatars.

Should any such shift in policy happen – and reports about the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Crimea could certainly be used to justify it – that by itself might lead to a further growth in Islamic fundamentalism there. And that, in turn, could make the Crimea a new international flashpoint, a development that would threaten everyone involved.



## Did Ukraine's...

(Continued from page 2)

and was removed on November 29.

After he resigned on December 8, Mr. Vasilyev was interviewed and continued to refuse to describe the protests as a "revolution," instead calling them "compete bedlam" (Donetskiye novosti, January 10). Like his close ally Mr. Yanukovych, Mr. Vasilyev believes that Mr. Yushchenko seized power in a coup d'état and that the authorities should have resisted the protests in the first week of the Orange Revolution.

Are Messrs. Kuchma and Mr. Smeshko really though, the "good guys" and Messrs. Yanukovych, Medvedchuk, and Vasilyev the "bad guys"? The Ukrainian authorities completely underestimated the number of protesters in the crucial first days after Round 2 when they could have ostensibly blocked the movement of protesters traveling to Kyiv.

Last summer President Kuchma cynically recalled how the opposition had threatened him with 200,000 protesters during the Kuchmagate protests in 2000-2003 but had never mustered more than 20,000 to 50,000 (Den, July 20, 2004). Consequently, the SBU never expected more than 15,000-20,000 protesters to hit Kyiv's streets after the election fraud. The Ukrainian authorities also repeatedly stated that Ukraine was not the same as Georgia and that no revolution would take place in Ukraine.

It would have been one thing to put down 20,000 to 50,000 protesters and another to deal with 500,000 to 1 million. The first could have been done without bloodshed through the use of truncheons, water cannons and tear gas, but the second could not. By November 28 the authorities not only faced larger protests than they had expected but also could not count wholeheartedly on the loyalty of the security forces. Unlike the smaller protests, this crowd could not be put down without bloodshed.

Ukraine's most important Western military district (with its headquarters in Mr. Yushchenko's Lviv stronghold) defected to the Yushchenko camp early on, as did much of the Internal Affairs Ministry. Sending 10,000 Internal Affairs Troops against the protesters would have been too few to deal with such large crowds, and they would have been met by overwhelming resistance from pro-Yushchenko protesters and security forces.

Perhaps then, the commander of Ukraine's Internal Affairs troops, Lt.-Gen. Serhii Popkov, is being truthful when he

says the movement of Internal Affairs troops on November 28 was merely an "exercise" (Segodnya, December 16). Not surprisingly, speaking in defense of Mr. Smeshko, Vitalii Romanchenko, head of the SBU's military counterintelligence, confirmed The New York Times report that this was not a drill but a move on Kyiv (Segodnya, January 18).

But beyond civil war, The New York Times notes, a violent crackdown could also have led to a 1989 Romanian-style revolution in which the country's leader is executed.

Second, the exposé raises suspicions that Mr. Smeshko is seeking to distance himself from his former deputy chairman, Oleksander Satsiuk. Mr. Yushchenko believes he was poisoned during a dinner at Mr. Satsiuk's home; Mr. Smeshko also attended that fateful dinner. Mr. Satsiuk resigned from the SBU and has returned to Parliament, where he enjoys immunity.

Third, under Mr. Smeshko the SBU began to return to KGB-style tactics against the opposition. Instructions were sent to SBU officers stationed in Ukrainian embassies to place opposition members and even parliamentary deputies under surveillance if they visited abroad.

Long-time SBU officer Oleksander Tsvil defected in early 2004 to protest these orders, which he believed to be illegal. Mr. Tsvil returned to Ukraine during the elections and released his memoirs, "In the Center of the Cassette Scandal." Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn also complained that he and his family were placed under SBU surveillance through verbal orders issued by Deputy Chairman Satsiuk (Silski Visti, October 8, 2004).

Fourth, Mr. Tsvil had worked alongside presidential guard Mykola Melnychenko, whose illicit tape recordings had led to the Kuchmagate scandal in November 2000. Mr. Melnychenko, who is planning to follow Mr. Tsvil's example and return to Ukraine, claims that he was advised four times officially (presumably by the FBI) that his life was in danger. Mr. Melnychenko claimed that these threats "came directly from SBU head Smeshko" (Ukrainska Pravda, January 18).

The New York Times exposé brings together many different strands concerning the attitudes of the security forces toward the Orange Revolution. But it fails to make a convincing case that Mr. Smeshko saved Ukraine from bloodshed. The credit for this should go to Mr. Yushchenko and Ukraine's Orange Revolution protesters, who practiced non-violence.



In deep sorrow we announce that on Monday, January 3, 2005, at the age of 50, our most beloved wife, mother, daughter and sister passed away



## Natalka-Maria Kovch Lewytzke

Funeral services were held on Saturday, January 7, 2005, at Our Lady of Perpetual Help Ukrainian Catholic Church in Dearborn Heights, Mich.

In deep sorrow:

Husband – Craig  
Son – Stephen  
Daughters – Kathy and Diana  
Parents – Roman and Slava Kovch  
Brothers – George and Roman Jr.

For us, our sun will shine no more.

*Eternal Memory*

In memory of Natalka, the family asks that donations be directed to CCRF or for brain tumor research.



With deep sorrow we announce that on Thursday, January 20, 2005, our beloved mother, grandmother and great-grandmother entered into eternal rest.



## EUGENIA CHARCZENKO

(née Jarosewicz)

Born on March 12, 1922 in Peremyshl'

She was a summer camp nurse at Vovcha Trope Plast Camp for many years, an artist/instructor in Ukrainian ceramics, embroidery and Ukrainian Easter eggs in Jersey City, N.J., and a member of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America in Jersey City.

Viewing was held at the Gray-Parker Funeral Home in Port Jervis, N.Y. on Tuesday, January 25, 2005, at 2-6 p.m. A panakhyda was held at 6 p.m.

Funeral services were held on Wednesday, January 26, 2005 at 9 a.m. with Liturgy at St. Volodymyr's Ukrainian Church, Glen Spey, N.Y., followed by burial at St. Andrew's Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J.

Surviving are:

Children: Lida, Stefa and Walter  
Grandchildren: Elizabeth, Joseph, Lara and Roman  
Great-grandchildren: Cindy-Jo, Frankie and Michelle

*In lieu of flowers, the family suggests that donations be sent to Vovcha Trope Plast Camp.*



With deep sorrow we announce that on December 29, 2004, in Minneapolis, Minn.,

## Maksym Ambroziak

entered into eternal rest

Born April 7, 1922, in Stanyslaviv, Ukraine, he was predeceased by wife Olga (Haywa) Ambroziak.

Funeral services were officiated by the Very Rev. Evhen Kumka and took place on Monday, January 3, 2005, at St. Michael and St. George Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Interment was held at Sunset Memorial Park, Minneapolis, Minn.

Survived by:

Son - D. Ihor Ambroziak  
Daughters - Christine Tashchuk (J. Michael),  
Olenka Ambroziak-Blyszczak (Peter)  
Grandchildren - Lillia (George) Johnson, Mark Taschuk,  
Sophia and Stefanie Ambroziak,  
Volodymyr Blyszczak  
Relatives in Minnesota and Ukraine

VICHNA YOMU PAMIAT!  
ETERNAL MEMORY!

A 40-day Memorial Panakhyda will be held on Sunday, February 6, 2005, after the Liturgy at St. Michael and St. George Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Minneapolis, Minn.

### DEATH ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

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## BOOK NOTES

## Soon-to-be-released Volume 9 of "History of Ukraine-Rus' "

"History of Ukraine-Rus'," Volume 9, Book 1, by Mykhailo Hrushevsky. Edmonton-Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2005. \$80 (pre-publication price), \$119.95 after January 31.

No period in Bohdan Khmelnytsky's rule was as rich in international and dynastic plans as the years 1650 to 1653. After the Zboriv Agreement of 1649, when the hetman resolved to find a way to break forever with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, he set out to create the military and political conditions to achieve his goal.

From Venice to Moscow the wily hetman spun his diplomatic and military plans. In his search for allies and in pursuit of his goal of establishing a political system that would secure the Ukrainian Hetmanate, he looked above all to the Ottomans and their Danubian vassal states. Fusing the interests of his new state to those of his own family, the hetman aspired to found a new dynasty by marrying his son into the ruling house of Moldavia. And as Khmelnytsky pursued these goals and aspirations, the Kozaks' military victories and defeats were shaping the fate of a new Ukraine.

This turbulent and dramatic phase of Ukraine's history is covered in Volume 9, Book 1 of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's "History of Ukraine-Rus'." The English translation of this book has just been submitted to CIUS Press by the Hrushevsky Translation Project of the Peter Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Studies of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. The work was translated by the late Dr. Bohdan Struminski and edited by Dr. Frank E. Sysyn, Dr. Serhii Plokhly

and Uliana M. Pasicznyk. It includes an extensive historical introduction, a full bibliography of the sources used by Hrushevsky, three maps and an index. Preparation of the manuscript was generously sponsored by Sofiiia Wojtyna of Hamilton, Ontario, in memory of Vasyl Bilash, Mykhailo Charkivsky and Mykhailo Wojtyna.

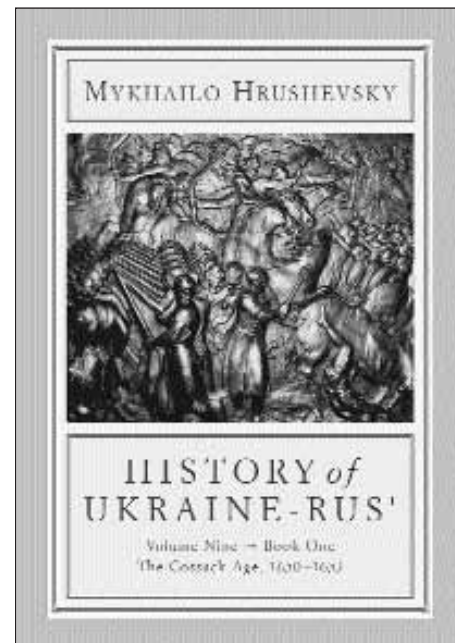
Volume 9 stands out as the longest and best-documented installment of the History. Hrushevsky undertook its writing following his controversial return from emigration to Ukraine in 1924. In the early 1920s, the Bolsheviks made limited concessions to Ukrainian culture and scholarship. Hrushevsky took advantage of these conditions to develop Ukrainian scholarly life and to assemble a new school of historians. At the same time, his return to Ukraine allowed Hrushevsky to continue work on his magnum opus. His greatest achievement was in researching and publishing the two books of Volume 9 of the History.

Hrushevsky's research, based predominantly on little-known or completely unknown sources, especially from the Moscow archives, allowed him to make a tremendous contribution to knowledge of the Khmelnytsky era. He shed new light on many events and trends of the mid-17th century, particularly in its diplomatic history. In this work the diplomatic relations of the Kozak state with Poland-Lithuania, Muscovy, the Ottoman Empire

and especially the Danube principalities are studied with unsurpassed thoroughness. Among the important historical events covered in book 1 of volume 9 are the disastrous Battle of Berestechko and the Bila Tserkva peace settlement (both in 1651) and the victorious Battle of Batih (1652), which restored Kozak rule in Right-Bank Ukraine and parts of Podillia and Volhynia.

The book also covers the dramatic development of Ukrainian-Moldavian relations in the years 1650-1653, beginning with the victorious campaign against Moldavia. The period witnessed the marriage of Tymish Khmelnytsky to Roksanda Lupu, the daughter of the Moldavian hospodar, and it ended with Tymish's tragic death during the siege of Suceava by allied Polish, Wallachian and Moldavian forces – a major blow not only to Khmelnytsky's policy in the Danube region, but also to his dynastic aspirations. In covering these events, Hrushevsky again proved himself an outstanding researcher with scrupulous attention to detail. His portrait of Tymish, whom Bohdan Khmelnytsky was grooming to become his successor, remains the most thorough in historical literature. The book concludes on the eve of the Battle of Zhvanets (1653) and the Pereiaslav Council of 1654, events crucial to the future of Ukraine.

The book is scheduled to appear in print in early 2005. It will be a most valuable and welcome gift for anyone with an interest in Ukrainian and eastern European history. Until January 31 CIUS Press offers a special pre-publication sale



of Volume 9, Book 1 of the History at the reduced price of \$80. Subsequently, the regular price of this volume will be \$119.95. Also, until January 31 the four volumes (in six books) of the "History of the Ukrainian Cossacks" (Volumes 7 through 10 of the entire History) can be purchased for \$500. Outside of Canada, prices are in U.S. dollars.

Orders can be placed online by credit card via a secure Internet connection at [www.utoronto.ca/cius](http://www.utoronto.ca/cius); by e-mail [cius@ualberta.ca](mailto:cius@ualberta.ca); by telephone, (780) 492-2973; or fax (780) 492-4967; or by mail, CIUS Press, 450 Athabasca Hall, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, Canada T6G 2E8.



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## Tymoshenko tapped...

(Continued from page 1)

business elite which was closely connected to the government of former President Kuchma, and it is also likely to be a bitter pill for Russia, where Ms. Tymoshenko is accused by prosecutors of bribery.



AP/Efrem Lukatsky

Yulia Tymoshenko, a top ally of Viktor Yushchenko, waves as she walks to the ceremony celebrating his inauguration on Independence Square.

"Especially in first months it will be a tough and offensive style of leadership that can affect some business elites and their interests," said Oleksander Dergachev, an analyst with the Kyiv-based Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies.

Ms. Tymoshenko pledged to crack down on wealthy coal and steel tycoons from Ukraine's east who backed Mr. Kuchma's hand-picked presidential candidate, former Prime Minister Yanukovich, and said she would likely look for reprisals, with Mr. Kuchma as a prime target.

The former president was implicated in several murky affairs, including the slaying of an investigative journalist. Mr. Kuchma has denied the allegations.

Although many speculated that Mr. Kuchma sought assurances for his immunity from prosecution from top opposition leaders, Ms. Tymoshenko claimed she "gave no guarantees" to the former president. "I believe that he must be accountable for everything he did with Ukraine," she said.

Ms. Tymoshenko has pledged to restart Ukraine's efforts to become a member of the European Union, a key aim of Mr. Yushchenko's presidency, and to improve Ukraine's ties with Russia.

Many observers expected Mr. Yushchenko to give the prime minister's job to one of his more moderate allies to avoid polarizing society. But the president gave the

nod to Ms. Tymoshenko and proposed other appointments to his allies.

Mr. Yushchenko created a presidential secretariat in place of the presidential administration, and tapped his campaign chief, Oleksander Zinchenko, for the top post of state secretary. Another close aide, businessman Petro Poroshenko, was put in charge of the National Security and Defense Council. Both men were candidates for the prime minister's job.

Now Ms. Tymoshenko will need to win a simple majority (226 votes) in the 450-seat legislature. The Verkhovna Rada is currently in recess, but resumes sessions next Tuesday. Current Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn has said repeatedly that lawmakers would support any candidate proposed by Mr. Yushchenko, who took office on January 23 after a bitterly fought campaign.

Even former rivals supported the appointment. Nestor Shufrych, a lawmaker and Mr. Yanukovich ally, called Ms. Tymoshenko's appointment "most inconvenient for the opposition, but "just," as she did a lot for Mr. Yushchenko's victory. He predicted that she would "strengthen Mr. Yushchenko's position."

"If you take into account her work in previous governments and in the parliamentary Budget Committee, she can solve Ukraine's main problems if she is really allowed to do her work," Mr. Shufrych said.

## Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

lessons of our history to be in unity; in political, spiritual and social unity, in linguistic unity, and to make it the consolidating force of the entire Ukrainian nation," stated Mr. Zhulynskyi in his keynote address.

The largest public commemoration in Kyiv took place around St. Sophia Square and along Volodymyr Street, which might be called "monument alley" for its half dozen statues representing figures from the past 1,000 years of Ukraine's history. Nearly 2,000 people joined hands in a "human chain" that stretched two kilometers from the Shevchenko Monument and passed by memorials to Hrushevsky and Bohdan Khmelnytsky onto Mykhailivsky Square, where statues of St. Olha and Ss. Cyril and Methodius stand.

The chain commemorated not only the 81st anniversary

of the union of Ukraine's lands in 1919, but the jubilee of an earlier human link, constructed from Lviv to Kyiv 10 years ago in which 3 million people took part. The 1990 chain organized by Rukh is considered one of the seminal events that consolidated the will of the Ukrainian people for a sovereign and independent state. The 2000 human chain and a public meeting that followed on St. Sophia Square were organized by the splinter Ukrainian National Rukh Party, led by Yurii Kostenko. However, Hennadii Udovenko's National Rukh of Ukraine Party also participated. Mr. Udovenko's Rukh, the Reform and Order Party and the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, also organized a commemoration near the statue of St. Volodymyr the Great that overlooks the Dnipro River. Some 200 took part in a symbolic union of the three parties' political forces.

Source: "Unity Day marked for first time as official holiday," by Roman Woronowycz, Kyiv Press Bureau, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, January 30, 2000, Vol. LXVIII, No. 5.

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## In search of the Hutsul koliady of Kryvorivnia



Alexander Khantaev

Yara's exhibit at La MaMa Galleria included photographs from Kryvorivnia by Alexander Khantaev, video by Andrea Odezhynska and installation by Watoku Ueno.

by Virlana Tkacz

NEW YORK – Yara Arts Group, which I direct, is a resident company at La MaMa Experimental Theater. We create modern theater pieces for New York audiences. Perhaps because I live in the era of the ever-new, instant and disposable, I am fascinated with the presence of the past in our lives and search for ways of making its presence a visceral force on stage. Trying to touch the past, I have created a show about water with Nina Matvienko and another based on the similarities we noticed between our own theater dreams and those of actors working in Ukraine in the 1920s. I also made a whole series of theater pieces with my Buryat colleagues based on legends that invade our lives. To collect these legends I traveled to remote villages in Siberia, Mongolia and China and listened to endless hours of storytelling and song. I have also spent several beautiful summer weeks in Ukrainian villages recording traditional songs and stories that resulted in several Yara shows. But in preparation for Yara's next show at La MaMa, for the past two years I headed in the dead of winter high up into the Carpathian Mountains.

In January 2003, I traveled together with photographer Alexander (Sasha) Khantaev to the village of Kryvorivnia to record the Hutsul koliada. Although I had spent my childhood caroling with my local Plast group in Newark, I was totally unprepared for what we witnessed in Kryvorivnia. After church on Christmas over 80 men (yes, all men) dressed in traditional winter outfits sang a koliada I had never heard. Then they split up into eight groups of ten, each with a fiddler and followed their lead singer in the group's favorite song as they circled the church. Afterwards, each group headed to the first home in their allotted part of the village.

Sasha and I followed one group that had trembity, mountain horns made of pine and birch that are over 10 feet long. We headed up a steep trail, sinking deep into the snow. I could barely keep up. Finally, the group stopped outside a home. First, the horns announced our presence. Then the group started singing:

Is the master home?  
We all know he's home

He is sitting at the head of the table  
At the head of the table made of maple  
And his table is beautifully set  
Beautifully set with braided breads  
With braided breads made of spring wheat  
On his table are three jugs  
The first jug holds sweet mead  
The second jug holds dark beer  
The third jug holds green wine  
(translated by Virlana Tkacz and Wanda Phipps)

The song continued on and on. Each verse was followed by the refrain "Oh, Lord may it be so." The master of the house came out and invited the group into the home. We were obviously expected, the room was set up with tables covered with food. The koliadnyky sat against one of the wall – all in a line with their lead singer in the center. They then sang a long song to the master, afterwards they sang another to the lady of the home. A separate song followed to each of the children. These were lengthy songs, many over 20 minutes, one almost 40 minutes. That day I heard a beautiful epic story about a dashing young man who rides a raven black horse around Kryvorivnia turning down gold and silver, but accepting the hand of a fine young lady. I also heard one about how the sun, moon and fine rain come to visit the mistress of the house. I was enchanted, but puzzled. What did any of this have to do with the story of Bethlehem?

Eventually, I learned that the koliady are part of a winter ritual that now coincides with Christmas, but is much older in its origin, traditions and symbolism. This ritual was considered to be the most important event of the year, since people believe that the spring would not come to the village unless these songs

were sung in every household to every person. Each song was chosen specifically for the person. Songs to the master of the house would be about prosperity and hard work, while those to the lady of the house, about skill and diligence. Songs to a young man would be about heroic deeds, courage, strength and good looks, while those to a young woman would be about a great beauty capable of magical feats. These songs were actually incantations that assumed the magical power of words: what is said will be so. Their striking poetic images were intended to secure the described qualities.

Beautiful Hutsul koliady were collect-

ed by ethnographers at the end of the 19th and beginning of 20th century in this region. Today, most people assume that these ancient songs are no longer remembered in the mountain villages. But, the tradition survived over 50 years of Soviet persecution and has recently experienced a revival.

Lesia Turyanska, who had been recording traditional music in the Carpathians since the 1960s, first told us about the Hutsul koliada, and arranged for us to stay in Kryvorivnia with Hanna Hotych, a local teacher. We arrived on Christmas Eve, as the preparations for

(Continued on page 22)



Alexander Lesin

Workshop of Yara's theater show "Koliada" in Kyiv: (from left) Oleh Drach, Mykola Shkaraban, Andrew Colteaux and Halyna Stefanova.



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## Organist from Ukraine to perform in Nevada and New Jersey



**Irina Kalinovskaya**

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The American recital debut of award-winning organist Irina Kalinovskaya – laureate of the first Republican Organist Competition (1982), who bears the title of Honorable Musician of Ukraine (1996) – will take place in Nevada at Doc Rando Recital Hall at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas on Sunday, February 6, and in New Jersey, at St. Cecelia Church, in Iselin, on Thursday, February 10.

The St. Cecelia concert program will feature selections by Albinoni, Bach,

Boellmann, Bortniansky, Mozart, Mussorgsky and Nazarov, performed on a 2-manual, 18-rank Peragallo pipe organ. Ms. Kalinovskaya's February 10 recital is the premiere performance in the St. Cecelia Concert Series.

A native of Ukraine, Ms. Kalinovskaya graduated from Kyiv State Tchaikovsky Conservatory after study with A. Yankelevich and A. Kotlyarevsky. Ms. Kalinovskaya's repertoire encompasses the full range of organ music from Baroque through 20th century. She delights not only in interpreting famous composers, but in introducing the works of little-known composers as well.

Her professional career includes concerts throughout Europe, including the Baltic republics, Moldova, Russia, Belarus, Germany, Italy, France, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Yugoslavia.

Ms. Kalinovskaya's recital at St. Cecelia Church begins at 8 p.m. There is no admission charge, however, donations will be accepted. For information and/or directions, please call MaryJane Kress at (732) 718-7081 or e-mail [stceceliaconcerts@yahoo.com](mailto:stceceliaconcerts@yahoo.com), SUBJECT: I. Kalinovskaya. St. Cecelia's Church, 45 Wilus Way, is located near Garden State Parkway Exit 131 and New Jersey Turnpike Exit 11; the church has ample off-street parking and is handicapped-accessible.

## In search of...

(Continued from page 21)

dinner were in full swing. The ritual meal included 12 dishes. I had read that traditionally, before the family sat down to this dinner the master would feed a little of each dish to the household animals. Then he would circle the house three times with the food and invites sorcerers, thunder, storms, wolves, bears and foxes to dinner. After repeating his invitation three times he would say: "If you don't want to come and taste all our delicious dishes and tasty drinks, if you won't come when we invite you, then don't come when we don't call you!" He then would invite to dinner the spirits of the dead and those lost on the road or at sea. A special place would be set for these spirits at the table and the dishes would remain on the table overnight in case the spirits come late. I assumed these beautiful details of the ritual could now only be seen in movies, but to my great surprise Hanna's youngest son, Mykhailyk, headed out with a bowl filled with a taste of each dish to the shed where he fed the bull. Slavko then carried some of the dinner to a relative. Ivan, the oldest son, took another bowl, covered it with a braided bread and circled the house inviting Nature to dinner.

During my stay in Kryvorivnia I was struck by how many of the rituals we witnessed were attempts to bring together the present with the past and to create a greater community that would include all the living (both human and animal), the spirits of the ancestors and forces of

nature. All would have to come together to create the next harvest and a bountiful future. This thought inspired Yara's theater piece, "Koliada." We started working on the piece in Kyiv with Yara and Kyiv actors, as well as several koliadnyky from Kryvorivnia. We presented a workshop of the piece at the Les Kurbas Center in Kyiv in December, as the future of Ukraine was being created in the square right outside our theater.

The koliada in Kryvorivnia also inspired our recent exhibit at La MaMa Galleria. The exhibit included photographs of the koliadnyky Alexander Khantaev took in Kryvorivnia and a short video called "The River Flows" that Andrea Odezhynska created using some of the material we shot in the village. Watoku Ueno created an installation, a frozen stream of wood and paper on which Andrea's video was shown.

We are now rehearsing a new version of "Koliada" to present in New York at La MaMa Experimental Theater March 4-20. Yara artists will soon be joined by actor Mykola Shkaraban from Kyiv, writer Serhiy Zhadan from Kharkiv and two koliadnyky from Kryvorivnia. My hope is that we will be able to create a new version of our theater piece that will include traditional moments we witnessed, but will also speak to our contemporary New York audience, reminding us all of the presence of the past in our own lives.

For more information on Yara's "Koliada" visit our website [www.brama.com/yara](http://www.brama.com/yara). For tickets call La MaMa box office (212) 475-7710.

## Of citizens and rights...

(Continued from page 7)

their cacophony of charges, describing it as "grossly exaggerated." Nevertheless, Mr. Cotler insists that hunting for Nazis remains a top priority for his Department of Justice. He wants you to believe that many are still hiding in our midst and

that they should, even now, be expelled. I agree, assuming Mr. Cotler can produce hard evidence of an alleged villain's wartime criminality. He hasn't.

Meanwhile what about Stalin's minions? How did they get into Canada? Why aren't they facing denaturalization and deportation hearings? Mum's the word from the Minister. Now why is that?



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next page for more information.**

## The maidan...

(Continued from page 9)

Hundreds of thousands of listeners were crammed together to hear his each and every word.

"Today I want to speak to you, looking directly into your eyes," Mr. Yushchenko said. "My victory is the victory of all the Ukrainian people."

The newly inaugurated president also had a message for the supporters of his rival Viktor Yanukovich: "Everyone has the right to search for his vision of his country's path. Everyone has the right to choose those political colors that are dearest to him. But, my dear friends, dear Ukrainians, our common choice are the colors of the Ukrainian flag. They unite all of us."

Addressing the people of Ukraine, he promised to put an end to corruption, to separate business from government. He compared the events of the Orange Revolution with the fall of the Berlin Wall, adding, "Ukraine is discovering itself in the history of Europe in the third millennium. We are no longer on the periphery of Europe. We find ourselves in the center of Europe."

"We are beginning a new chapter in Ukrainian history. It will be a wonderful chapter. It will describe our unity, our courage, our readiness to help one another," he continued.

At the conclusion of the address, the song "Ukraino," one of the anthems of the Orange Revolution, but one that actually predated the events of 2004, was sung by the well-known musician/songwriter Taras Petrynenko. The people on the maidan, and the new president sang along, many with tears in their eyes as they pledged love and loyalty to Ukraine.

A little girl in the crowd pointed at the stage and clapped her hands, saying "Look! Look!" At that moment, thousands of orange balloons in the form of a horseshoe flew into the sky.

Though not all of people gathered on or near Independence Square had the opportunity to see the president with their own eyes, most expressed their joy at being present during the ceremony.

"I couldn't miss it," said Volodymyr, a former resident of the tent city on the Khreschatyk who hails from Rivne. "It was an astonishing event, the biggest story of the century."

"There were two main events in my life: the first is the birth of my daughter

and the second – our revolution," said Maria who lives in Kyiv.

Ukraine's postal authorities released a stamp dedicated to the inauguration of the president of Ukraine. The stamp is composed of a photo depicting the Orange Revolution by UNIAN photographer Viktor Pobedinsky and the words "Independence Square, November-December 2004." The 45-kopiyka stamp was issued in an edition of 500,000; special cancellations were available on inauguration day.

"If you'd only seen what was going on here," said Olena, who works in the Main Post Office. "There were too many customers and not enough stamps and envelopes with the symbolic orange. Throngs of people occupied the post office from the early morning."

In the evening the president attended a celebratory one-hour concert in the Ukraina Palace concert hall. At the very beginning a small boy ran out onto the stage, played the melody "Together we are many; we cannot be defeated" on the piano, and presented an orange scarf to the orchestra's conductor. It was the only "revolutionary" song of the concert. All other selections were classic compositions, some of them in modern arrange-

ments.

The masses, meanwhile, went to an open-air concert on Independence Square to listen to "orange songs." In the late evening there was a huge fireworks show. Disk jockeys said on the air that the countdown of Ukraine's new history had begun.

\* \* \*

The last military tents of the now famous tent city in Kyiv were dismantled on Tuesday night, and the last revolutionaries, who saw their mission through to the end, went back home.

During his inauguration speech President Yushchenko observed that "Ukraine's collective heart beat here on the square. Free people all over the world, as well as our countrymen scattered throughout distant lands, stood shoulder-to-shoulder with us. Here, on Independence Square, Ukrainians became, in the eyes of the world, a modern Ukrainian nation."

The only physical remnant of these recent events is an orange flag atop the pedestal of Kyiv's independence monument. The flag continues to wave in the breeze above the square as the people of Ukraine look ahead to a new future.

## Ambassador Miller's...

(Continued from page 6)

ruption of their democracy and for proper constitutional legal governance. The Maidan took action – peaceful action – against the corrupt leaders of existing democratic institutions in order to halt the corruption.

What then is the difference between mob rule and legitimate direct popular action? Can direct peaceful popular action be institutionalized in an acceptable, democratic way?

Certainly, in the minds of many Ukrainians, those on the maidan share Yulia Tymoshenko's argument that the maidan was where true democratic legitimacy lay – a view that was proven, in their minds, by the successful corrective actions taken by the Verkhovna Rada, the Supreme Court decision of December 3, and the election results of the December 26 run-off.

The maidan, and its leaders, headed by now President Yushchenko, want the maidan to be both a symbol and institutional part of the new Ukrainian political

reality. Yushchenko took his first important public step, by joining the Maidan on New Year's Eve – speaking to them, as one New Year's Eve celebrant told me, directly looking into their eyes. It was the first time they had seen a president of Ukraine standing with ordinary people in the heart of the nation, looking at them eye-to-eye and standing with them shoulder-to-shoulder.

The next time will be at Yushchenko's inauguration in a week or so when he will take the oath in the presence of the people and they will look at each other eye-to-eye and stand shoulder-to-shoulder.

[While Ambassador Miller was making his presentation at the Woodrow Wilson Center, demonstrators were marching in front of the Center, down Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House to the Capitol building, protesting the Electoral College's confirmation that day of the 2004 U.S. presidential election results. The predominant color of the signs and protesters' attire was, conspicuously – orange – and some of the speakers were citing the protests in Ukraine in their remarks. – Yaro Bihun]

## The train...

(Continued from page 14)

us to Zaporizhia – an image of Canadians that they will never forget.

The train experience from Kyiv to Zaporizhia is just that – an experience. The sleeping quarters are cramped – a small compartment for four individuals with little room to move in. If you are given the honor of sleeping in the top bunk bed, not only do you feel the sudden stops and starts of the train better, but also you are given the luxury of your own sauna as the scientific concept of heat rising in a small-enclosed space becomes more understandable. This becomes an even hotter experience if you are situated close to the train hostess compartment of the train hostess who tends to keep her premises well heated and ready to serve hot chai (tea) to all on board.

Nonetheless, with every wanting experience there is a silver lining.

In my compartment was a young mother, Lydia, and her 7-year old son, Vadym, travelling to visit family in Zaporizhia. Her sole purpose for this trip was to cast her vote in the Ukrainian election. Though she works for a pharmaceutical firm in Boryspil near Kyiv, she considered it her duty and privilege to participate in a democratic process and undertook the 10-hour train trip to vote for Ukraine's next president. Her husband, who works in Luhansk, was making the same trip to Zaporizhia for the same purpose. The orange ribbon on her handbag revealed her sympathy and choice – a strong statement of the type of conviction of a Ukrainian population unwilling to stand for the corruption and fraud that was crippling their country.

As we arrived in Zaporizhia and the Canadian observers gathered to begin their exhausting and tireless work as international observers, Lydia's parting words were short and simple: "Freedom cannot be stopped." And perhaps it cannot be.

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## BOOK NOTES

*Memoirs by Alex Woskob: an account of triumph over adversity*

*"Memoirs of My Life: Alex Woskob," Ukrainian text by Alex Woskob, with Oleh Chornohuz; English translation by Michael M. Naydan and Oksana Tatsyak. Kyiv: WUS Publishers, 2004.*

by Michael Bernosky

Alex Woskob's account of his long life and noteworthy success is a poignant tale of triumph over adversity and obstacles that would defeat most ordinary people. The Ukrainian émigré communities of the United States and Canada have many such stories of hardships endured and tragedies overcome, of which this striking example serves as a reminder that the Ukrainians are tenacious survivors and above all a people of strong faith and hard working perseverance.

Memoirs are an elusive literary form, just as memories are themselves elusive. To sit back and recall the events of one's life is during the best of times a difficult endeavor, but certain episodes will emerge with startling clarity. This is certainly the case for these reminiscences. Readers should not expect the narrative clarity of a novelist, or the stylistic consistency of an essayist, and accept the rewards of reading this episodic account with all its variations for its absorbing content and insightful observations on both life and human nature.

Alex Woskob begins by offering a humble explanation of the change that led to the rendering of Oleksiy Voskobynik into a more "western" version of his name, a circumstance familiar to many in the various ethnic communities of North America. He then recounts the year of his birth, 1922, during the first years of Bolshevik rule in Ukraine, and the first of the famines caused by the Bolsheviks' violent seizure of the agricultural bounty of that fertile land, which he emphasizes was the "breadbasket of Europe." The following chapters recount his childhood and love for his grandparents, parents and his native city of Myrhorod with touching eloquence.

As his memories unfold, this picture of a devoted hard-working family and its equally industrious neighbors takes a reader back to the last days of a more bucolic Ukraine, before the onslaught of the Communist and Nazi horrors engulfed that world.

The segments that follow one after another attest to the sheer degradation that inundated Ukraine. Consider these subtitles: "Opium for the People," "The Murder of a Priest," "Deportation to Siberia," "Escape from Home," "The Year of the Great Terror," "Seeking Shelter – Homeless Again," "Under Escort in the Cattle Car," "1937: The Year of Executions," "The Horrible Word: War," "The Occupation," and "Untermensch," as well as others, all of which convey the precarious existence of those terror-drenched times.

Life was tenuous, disaster constantly loomed, nothing was certain except death, the truth of which is rendered in chilling memories such as the following account of being expelled from their home by the "Red Bolsheviks":

The beginning of this survivor's success in life began when as a young man with intelligence, native cunning, linguistic facility, and obvious entrepreneurial skills, he became, in effect, the chief electrical engineer at Myrhorod's power station during the German occupation. As he and his family fled into western Ukraine to escape the war raging near their home, he put those same valued skills to work as the director of the

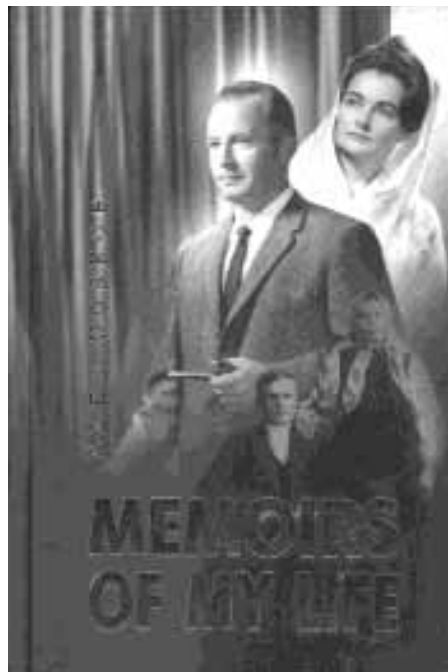
power station network in Halychyna, cooperating clandestinely with Ukrainian partisans fighting the Nazis.

Alex Woskob, his mother and brother, along with several other Ukrainian families, fled to the west when they heard "the remote sounds of cannons as the front moved closer to the Carpathians." Their determination never again to be under Communist rule propelled them on a harrowing journey through Slovakia, into Germany heading toward a hoped for haven in Switzerland.

A segment contributed by Mr. Woskob's wife, Helen, adds to this picture of unmitigated horror and devastation. "Finally we saw a silver strip of the Dniester River on the horizon. The river represented our salvation. We couldn't wait to get to the other side. As we approached the bridge crossing the Dniester, the number of carriages multiplied. It seemed that the whole of Ukraine was running away from Stalin."

"Soviet artillery began to boom in the forest. The Nazis panicked and without fighting began to flee with the crowd toward the river. Soviet tanks suddenly appeared from the edge of the forest and began to fire without discretion at the road. Then, without warning, the Soviet tanks moved straight toward the line of carts, smashing and rolling over everything in their way – carriages, carts, horses, cows, men, women and children – I thought the Last Judgment had begun. Unearthly screams and cries of despair filled the air. Sometimes even now I wake up in the middle of the night with nightmares about that day."

Surviving those tumultuous months at the end of World War II, both, though they had not yet met, relate anecdotes of their lives in the Displaced Persons' (DP) camps in Germany, and how again with courage and hard work they got on with their brutally disrupted lives. In the final three chapters, titled "Germany-Canada 1944-1953," "The USA 1953-2000" and a summation in "More Thoughts," Mr. Woskob tells of his successes as a mining engineer in remote Canada, of returning to Germany to woo his wife, and ulti-



mately of his success as a contractor and builder in Canada and then the United States. The chapters are filled with observations, realistic analyses and various axioms that do much to explain to the reader how he became such a highly successful man of business. Many readers, in fact, will be left with a curiosity to learn even more about Mr. Woskob's entrepreneurial gifts.

Many a business school graduate could benefit from a seminar dedicated to his realistic appraisal of how to found, manage and build a large-scale business enterprise. Take this example: "After starting my business in Philadelphia, I realized that business is always a risk. A businessman has to take risks but he has to risk with his head on his shoulders not just risk his head. Another thing I learned was that business requires character. If a person doesn't have character, he should not even try to get into business." What is most evident about Mr. Woskob's observations is their sound practicality combined with entrepreneurial vision that has served him well through his many endeavors.

The most heart-rending segment of these memoirs occurs near the end, when Mr. Woskob returned to newly independent Ukraine to try and discover what had been his father's ultimate fate

under the Soviets. He tells of entering the former KGB headquarters in Kyiv with dread, then to be sent on to Poltava where a Ukrainian State Security Service officer informed him that Voskobinik, Grigory Vasilevich, had been executed as a state criminal by order of a Soviet NKVD court in 1937. His crime, for which he had been denounced by a former friend and a neighbor, was to comment after Stalin's brutal purges that "The Red Army is very weak now. There are no commanders who can lead the army." A fact that proved only all too true when the Nazis invaded the USSR in 1941. And then with an irony that only the vicissitudes of history could supply, was informed that his father had been "rehabilitated" in 1989 by a decree of the Supreme Council of the USSR, not long before it too went to history's graveyard.

As he prepared to leave, the commanding general asked to speak with him, and in a final ironic moment told him – in impeccable Ukrainian – he had been a neighbor of theirs in Myrhorod, and revealed that his father's place of execution was only ten miles away, then added, "Please accept my condolences, 50 years after your father's death."

This deeply touching passage follows: "As we drove along the highway in the car, I thought that my father and thousands of my countrymen had been driven on that highway half a century ago to their executions. I call that highway the Road of Death. The blue Ukrainian sky was above us. Century-old oaks and evergreen fir trees were silent witnesses to the execution of innocents. I wondered what kind of country Ukraine would be if millions of Ukrainians who had perished in Siberia could return somehow. People are the most valued capital in capitalist countries, but in the Soviet Union the most intelligent and the most industrious people were eliminated."

"When we stepped out of the car a few minutes later, a forest of firs greeted us. Nothing suggested that the forest of Tryby was the second Ukrainian Bykivnia. In a clear glade we found five large black crosses. One cross faced each direction while the fifth cross stood in

(Continued on page 27)

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

the action plan include offering Ukraine market-economy status and stating clearly that upgrading the current Partnership and Cooperation Treaty with Ukraine is possible in the long run. However, Ms. Udwin emphasized that the added list does not amount to a full review of the action plan, which already includes plans for making it easier for Ukrainians to obtain visas. Solana told the European Parliament on January 24 that a new type of agreement with Ukraine will be put in place in early 2008. Meanwhile, Ms. Ferrero-Waldner told the European Parliament on January 25 that the European Union should not rush into "premature steps" to bring Ukraine into the 25-member bloc, Reuters reported. "Let us be realistic: a lot has to be done by Ukraine," she added. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Yanukovich calls for end to protests ...

DONETSK – Speaking on Donetsk-based Ukraina television channel on January 20, former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, who lost the December 26 presidential election to Viktor Yushchenko, called on supporters protesting in tent camps in some cities of eastern Ukraine against the Yushchenko victory to dismantle their tents. "Today we are entering a new stage of our struggle that will require different means," the Ukrainska Pravda website quoted him as saying. "Let us dismantle our tent camps and begin a new stage of our political struggle that requires no less perseverance and courage." Mr. Yanukovich suggested that he may file a legal protest with an international court against the Ukrainian Supreme Court's January 20 decision to confirm Mr. Yushchenko's victory. "We will certainly try to appeal [against the Supreme Court ruling]," Mr. Yanukovich said. "But we should realize that Europe will not defend

our choice." (RFE/RL Newswire)

### ... predicts hard times for Yushchenko

DONETSK – Viktor Yanukovich said on Ukraina television on January 20 that it will be very hard for President-elect Viktor Yushchenko to find a "common language" with the millions of voters who supported the prime minister in the presidential election, the Ukrainska Pravda website reported. "It will [also] be difficult for him to build relations with Russia," Mr. Yanukovich noted. "And with Europe, too. What can he propose? The orange lawlessness for export?" Mr. Yanukovich predicted that his party will win the parliamentary election in March 2006 and form a new government. "The orange horror won't last long, we will [soon] remember it as a [mere] nightmare." (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Yanukovich meets with Putin

MOSCOW – Former Ukrainian Prime Minister and pro-Moscow presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich, who lost the presidential race to Yushchenko, arrived on January 23 in Moscow for talks with Russian politicians, RosBalt and Regnum reported that day, citing a "source within the administration of the Ukrainian president [Viktor Yushchenko]." In Moscow, Mr. Yanukovich reportedly met on January 23 with President Vladimir Putin, presidential administration chief Dmitrii Medvedev, and Duma Speaker Boris Gryzlov. Mr. Yanukovich reportedly discussed his new role as leader of the opposition. He also reportedly asked Mr. Putin "to be tough" during forthcoming talks with Mr. Yushchenko and not to introduce "double citizenship" for residents of Ukraine, according to RosBalt's source. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### UNIAN prints power-sharing accord

KYIV – The Ukrainian news agency

UNIAN on January 20 published details of a coalition deal signed in July 2004 by Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, the leader of the eponymous opposition bloc, on their concerted efforts in the presidential election campaign and the distribution of government posts after an anticipated Yushchenko victory. Under the deal, Mr. Yushchenko pledged to nominate Ms. Tymoshenko for the post of prime minister, as well as use "the force of his moral authority" and "a balanced personnel policy" to persuade the Verkhovna Rada to approve her nomination. Oleksander Turchynov, Ms. Tymoshenko's partner in her bloc, confirmed that the deal was made. The deal also stipulates that 55 percent of the government and state administration cadres will be selected by Our Ukraine and 23 percent by the Tymoshenko Bloc. "The [remaining] 22 percent of posts is reserved by the founders of the coalition for ensuring the formation of a new parliamentary majority," UNIAN quoted from the Yushchenko-Tymoshenko accord. Mr. Turchynov said the priority for the bloc is to have Ms. Tymoshenko installed as prime minister. "We are aware that after the appointment of prime minister, the percentage quotas [mentioned in the deal] are to be revised, taking into account the interests of those political forces that will form and support the government," Mr. Turchynov told UNIAN. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Tymoshenko comments in Moscow daily

MOSCOW – Yulia Tymoshenko, a staunch political ally of Ukrainian President-elect Viktor Yushchenko, published an article on what Russia should expect from the Yushchenko presidency in the January 11 issue of Moscow-based Viedomosti daily, one of Russia's leading business newspapers. Ms. Tymoshenko wrote that the Yushchenko

entourage has unsuccessfully tried to get in touch with the Kremlin since the spring in order to deter the Russian presidential administration and President Vladimir Putin from taking "ill-considered" steps toward Mr. Yushchenko. According to Ms. Tymoshenko, Russia's strategic interests will not suffer from Mr. Yushchenko's presidency. She pledged that Mr. Yushchenko will propose new investment possibilities for "responsible" Russian capital in Ukraine, including in the military-industrial sphere. Ms. Tymoshenko also assured Viedomosti readers that under the Yushchenko presidency the rights of ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking Ukrainians in Ukraine will in no way be restricted. "I do not rule out that in the medium term Ukraine may become a member of NATO," Ms. Tymoshenko wrote. "However – jointly with Russia. My personal view is that Ukraine and Russia cannot find themselves in qualitatively different, let alone hostile to each other, defense [alliances]." (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Lukashenka: no revolutions

MIENSK – Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka said while attending an Orthodox Christmas service in the Holy Spirit Cathedral in Minsk on January 7 that there will be no revolutions in the country, Belapan reported on January 8, quoting the presidential press service. Mr. Lukashenka's assertion reportedly came in response to a letter from Orthodox clergy who called on him to preserve peace and stability in Belarus. "They draw my attention to what has happened in Ukraine," Mr. Lukashenka said. "I want to assure you that our country, the generations that live in our state, have exhausted the limit of wars and revolutions. I ask you to remember this and

(Continued on page 27)

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 26)

not to return to this subject. There will be no pink, orange, or banana revolutions in Belarus." (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Yushchenko expresses condolences

KYIV – President-elect Viktor Yushchenko has expressed condolences to the families and relatives of eight Ukrainian soldiers who were killed and six who were injured when a bomb exploded during a munitions-clearing operation in Iraq on January 9, Yushchenko's official website (<http://www.yushchenko.com.ua>) reported on January 10. Mr. Yushchenko pledged to personally see to it that "all social obligations" of the state to the casualties and their families are fulfilled. Mr. Yushchenko's press service said that he will tackle the pullout of Ukrainian troops from Iraq as soon as he is installed as president. The pullout of the 1,600-strong Ukrainian military contingent from Iraq, which was endorsed by a vote in the Verkhovna Rada in December, was one of Mr. Yushchenko's campaign pledges. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Putin on relations with Kyiv

MOSCOW – President Vladimir Putin said after a meeting with Ukrainian Parliament Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn in Moscow on January 8 that he hopes the "electoral rhetoric in Ukraine will be replaced by a pragmatic attitude" following the bitterly disputed presidential election that appears to have ushered reformists into power there, NTV reported. Mr. Putin added that Ukraine is an irreplaceable partner in terms of trade, and the two countries have ties on many levels. Mr. Lytvyn also met with Prime Minister Mikhail Fradkov, Duma Speaker Boris Gryzlov and Federation Council Chairman Sergei Mironov during his visit, which was timed to coincide with Orthodox Christmas celebrations. Mr. Mironov reportedly expressed admiration for Mr. Lytvyn's "wise and self-possessed" stance during the Ukrainian election standoff,

strana.ru reported. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Putin and Kwasniewski confer

MOSCOW – President Vladimir Putin spoke with his Polish counterpart, Aleksander Kwasniewski, by telephone on January 8 about bilateral and international relations, ITAR-TASS reported the same day. The two presidents also discussed upcoming Polish commemorations, which Putin is scheduled to attend, to mark the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the notorious Auschwitz death camp. The conversation was their first since the Russian president criticized his Polish counterpart on December 23 over reported comments by Mr. Kwasniewski on the Russian role in the Ukrainian presidential election. The Kremlin press service noted that the Polish side initiated the latest contact, according to ITAR-TASS. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Expert on Kyiv-Moscow relations

MOSCOW – Vyacheslav Nikonov, the president of Politika foundation, told TV-Tsentr on January 24 that Viktor Yushchenko made his first trip to Moscow for pragmatic considerations. First he would like to pacify the Russian-speaking southern and eastern parts of Ukraine which voted for his main opponent, Viktor Yanukovich. Second, economic ties with Russia are a top priority for Mr. Yushchenko, as up to 60 percent of Ukraine's foreign trade is with Russia. Therefore, Russia is a big factor in Ukrainian economic growth, Mr. Nikonov said. In the same vein, the appointments of Yulia Tymoshenko as prime minister, Petro Poroshenko as secretary of the National Security and Defense Council, and Oleksander Zinchenko as Ukrainian state secretary are also for economic reasons, as all three are key businesspeople who have personal business interests in Russia, Mr. Nikonov concluded. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Lukashenka on Bush's inaugural address

MIENSK – Addressing the Belarusian Security Council on January 21, President Alyaksandr Lukashenka said U.S.

President George W. Bush's call to expand freedom worldwide is "soaked in blood and smelling of oil," Reuters and Belapan reported. "It appears that they are prepared to offer something to the entire world," Mr. Lukashenka said. "Suppose someone or other didn't really want such freedom, soaked in blood and smelling of oil?" Mr. Lukashenka's words came one day after President Bush in his inauguration speech vowed to fight against "rulers of outlaw regimes" and "support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world." Earlier last week, Condoleezza Rice, President Bush's nominee for secretary of state, listed Belarus along with Cuba, Myanmar, Zimbabwe, Iran and North Korea as "outposts of tyranny." (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Russian leader on Ukraine's experience

MOSCOW – Russia officially sent Federation Council Speaker Sergei Mironov to the inauguration of Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko in Kyiv on January 23, while two former leaders of the Union of Rightist Forces, Boris Nemtsov and Anatolii Chubais, came on their own initiative, Russian media reported on January 23. Mr. Nemtsov said that "the Ukrainian experience is invaluable for Russia" and that "if Ukraine succeeds, Russia also will have a chance to manage it," uteri .ru reported. He added that the inauguration of Mr. Yushchenko is an "historic day for Ukraine and the whole Slavic world. ... We are witness to the birth of a new Ukrainian nation." Meanwhile, Mr. Yushchenko said on the eve of his visit to Moscow that he will offer President Vladimir Putin "a new format of negotia-

tions for deepening our relations," ITAR-TASS reported on January 23. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### UOC-MP on letter to Constantinople

KYIV – The press service of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP) on January 5 demanded that the Single Fatherland organization correct false information saying that a group of UOC-MP priests authored a letter asking Patriarch Bartholomew I of Constantinople to create parishes in Ukraine. The UOC-MP press service also demanded that an apology be made to the priests, who were mentioned by name by Single Fatherland. According to the UOC-MP press service, the Revs. Petro Zuyev and Andrii Dudchenko, and Deacon Andrii Hluschenko said they are not the authors of the letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, nor did they sign it. The office of the Kyiv Metropolitanate of the UOC-MP asked other information agencies and publications to refrain from politicizing Church life, and spreading unconfirmed and provocative information, and asked them to be unbiased in their commentaries. [A news item about the letter to Patriarch Bartholomew disseminated by the Religious Information Service of Ukraine was published in the January 9 Newsbriefs section of The Ukrainian Weekly. RISU explained that it was one of the first to post the information about the letter to Patriarch Bartholomew on its website, saying it was a statement from UOC-MP faithful. As the authors of the letter said in a telephone conversation, none of them is a clergyman and the letter was the initiative of several laypeople.] (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

## Memoirs...

(Continued from page 25)

the center, rising above the mass grave."

"The Bolsheviks destroyed 40,000 innocent people in the forest of Tryby in 1937. The victim's common offense was their heritage: they belonged to the freedom-loving Ukrainian nation that wanted to govern its own land."

These memoirs, which carry the reader from the fertile steppe home of the young Oleksiy Woskobynik to the American construction business and real estate fortune built by Alex Woskob, offer a very real and very readable account of his fascinating life. Many Ukrainian émigrés could tell equally interesting stories, of that there is little doubt, but Alex Woskob has taken the time and effort to offer his story to history, and it is a story well

worth reading, particularly for readers of Ukrainian heritage. For despite his many successes, a profound contemplative sadness pervades these memoirs. As Mr. Woskob notes, "Halya often says, "There is nothing worse than being cut off from your homeland."

The book is available for purchase at <http://www.webstersbookstorecafe.com> or from: Bahriany Foundation, 811 S. Roosevelt Ave., Arlington Heights, IL 60005. Price: \$12.

Michael Procanin Bernosky is a writer, director and actor currently completing a play based on the life of Taras Shevchenko. Mr. Bernosky's Ukrainian grandparents were from Halychyna and Lemkivshchyna, having emigrated to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th century. Mr. Bernosky was Fulbright Scholar to Ukraine, 2002-2003.

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## Soyuzivka's Datebook

- February 4-6, 2005**  
Church of Annunciation Family  
Weekend, Flushing, N.Y. Madison, N.J. – Men's Retreat
- February 12, 2005**  
Valentine's Day Weekend -  
5 Course Dinner and Dance  
featuring Askold Buk Trio, \$24.95+  
**April 15-17, 2005**  
Plast Kurin "Chortopolokhy"  
Annual Meeting
- February 19-20, 2005**  
Family Winter Weekend and Ski Trip  
**April 16, 2005**  
Rochester Fire Company Banquet
- February 26, 2005**  
Napanoch Fire Company Banquet  
**April 20-22, 2005**  
SUNY at New Paltz, Migrant  
Education Program and Retreat
- March 5-6, 2005**  
Plast Kurin "Khmelnynchenky"  
Annual Winter Rada  
**April 23, 2005**  
TAP New York Beer Festival at  
Hunter Mountain, round trip bus  
from Soyuzivka
- March 27, 2005**  
Easter Day Brunch – Doors open  
at 11:30 a.m.  
**May 1, 2005**  
Traditional Blessed Ukrainian  
Easter Brunch
- April 1-2, 2005**  
UNA District Meeting and  
Secretarial Course  
**May 20, 2005**  
Ellenville High School Junior Prom
- April 8-10, 2005**  
Grace Episcopal Church,  
**May 27-30, 2005**  
Memorial Day Weekend BBQ  
and Zabava



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### An open invitation to the KLK Annual Ski Races The Orange Races

When: **Saturday, February 26**  
Where: **Windham Mountain**  
Registration: **8:00 - 9:30 a.m. at the ski lodge**

Lift ticket and races:	adults, \$50;	juniors (under 18), \$45
Race tickets only:	adults, \$10;	juniors, \$5
Lift ticket only:	adults, \$45;	juniors, \$40

Please wear something orange in the spirit of Ukraine's true freedom.

**Dinner and Awards Ceremony**  
will be held at Hunter Mountain Ski Lodge at 6:30 p.m.  
Adults, \$40; children (under 12) \$20,



For additional information please contact:  
Severin Palydowycz, (518) 263-4866  
Orest Fedash, (973) 386-5622

**SEE YOU AT THE RACES!**

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

### Thursday, February 3

**NEW YORK:** An exhibition of 25 plein air oil landscape paintings by Andrei Kushnir titled "Painted History" will open at the Andrei Kushnir Michele Taylor: American Painting Gallery. The exhibit, which comprises paintings of the historic Valley View Farm in Virginia's Piedmont region, was originally presented at the Virginia Historical Society (February 21-August 15, 2004), in what was a first show accorded to a single artist at the society's museum in its history, with 50 paintings on display. The exhibit was also featured on Voice of America, with a videotape on the artist produced by Slavko Nowytski. The gallery is located at 208 E. Sixth St., (several doors down from the new Ukrainian Museum building). The exhibit will be on view through February 6. Gallery hours: Wednesday-Sunday, noon-8 p.m., or by appointment. For additional information call the gallery, (212) 254-2628.

### Thursday, February 10

**EDMONTON:** The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) presents a lecture by Dr. Viktor Krevs, Preparatory School for International Students, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, on "Ivan Franko National University of Lviv and Its Role in the Orange Revolution." The lecture will be held in the Heritage Lounge, Athabasca Hall, at 3:30 p.m. For more information call CIUS, (780) 492-2972, or e-mail cius@ualberta.ca.

**ISELIN, N.J.:** Award-winning organist Irina Kalinovskaya – laureate of the first Republican Organist Competition (1982) and Honorable Musician of Ukraine (1996) – will appear in recital in a program of works by Albinoni, Bach, Boellmann, Bortniansky, Mozart, Mussorgsky and Nazarov in a premiere performance in the St. Cecelia Concert Series. The recital begins at 8 p.m. There is no admission charge; however, donations will be accepted. For information and/or directions, call MaryJane Kress, (732) 718-7081, or e-mail steeceliaconcerts@yahoo.com, SUBJECT: I. Kalinovskaya. St. Cecelia Church, 45 Wilus Way, is located near Garden State Parkway Exit 131 and New Jersey Turnpike Exit 11; the church has ample off-street parking and is handicapped-accessible.

### Friday, February 11

**NEW YORK:** The Ukrainian Art and Literary Club and Mayana Gallery, in collaboration with Yara Arts Group and the New York Bandura Ensemble, present the first concert in the 2005 season of the Bandura Downtown series, titled "Kobzar of the Orange Revolution." The concert will feature Kyiv bandurist Jurij Fedynskyj, who will share ancient songs and new stories from the events of the last months of the Ukrainian elections and Kyiv's maiden. Donation: \$10. Reception with the artists to follow. The concert will take place at 7:30 p.m. at the Mayana Gallery, 136 Second Ave., fourth floor. Opening in the Gallery: "Orange Revolution" photography exhibition, featuring photos by Alexander Khantayev. For more information call (212) 260-4490 or (212) 995-2640; website, <http://www.geocities.com/ukrartlitclub/>; <http://www.brama.com/yara/>; e-mail: nybandura@aol.com.

### Saturday, February 12

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites the public to a lecture by Mykola Marychevsky, editor-in-chief of the Kyiv fine arts magazine Obrazotvorche Mystetstvo (Fine Arts), who will speak on the topic "Contemporary Ukrainian Fine Arts: Trends, Tendencies, Currents." The lecture 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.

### Sunday, February 13

**CHICAGO:** "A Day of Reflection and 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 are required. The event is sponsored by St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral Parish Centennial Committee. For information call (773) 276-9500.

### PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:

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

To have an event listed in Preview of Events please send information, in English, written in Preview format. Items should be no more than 100 words long; all submissions are subject to editing. Items not written in Preview format or submitted without all required information will not be published.

Preview items must be received no later than one week before the desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Items will be published only once, unless otherwise indicated. Please include payment of \$20 for each time the item is to appear and indicate date(s) of issue(s) in which the item is to be published. Also, please include the phone number of a person who may be contacted by The Weekly during daytime hours. Information should be sent to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

Items may be e-mailed to [preview@ukrweekly.com](mailto:preview@ukrweekly.com).

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