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# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## Cabinet acts to annul sale of Kryvorizhstal

by Olga Nuzhinskaya

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV — Ukraine's new prime minister, Yulia Tymoshenko, ordered the government during its first meeting to begin the process of returning Kryvorizhstal to state control so that Ukraine's largest steel mill can go back on the market at a higher price.

"All the documents that the former government approved illegally have been canceled," Ms. Tymoshenko said after the February 5 meeting. "This means that we have begun the process of returning Kryvorizhstal to be state property."

Preparations will then be made to resell the mill during an open, transparent auction, the prime minister said. She pledged that the process would proceed as quickly as the law allowed.

The order by Ms. Tymoshenko is the latest in a series of maneuvers surrounding the Kryvorizhstal steel mill, which was bought at a highly understated price last year by a consortium that included the son-in-law of former President Leonid Kuchma.

Many Ukrainians consider the deal one of the most corrupt of this country's post-Soviet privatization deals.

A Ukrainian court had already frozen shares in Kryvorizhstal, and newly elected President Viktor Yushchenko repeatedly vowed to re-examine the deals in which prize industries were sold at unexpectedly low prices. However, these actions have elicited fears that the move could devolve into political revenge and thereby scare off investors.

Viktor Medvedchuk, former President Kuchma's powerful former chief-of-staff, warned that, if the government appeared to be on a witch-hunt, "the investment climate could significantly deteriorate."

Kryvorizhstal was sold last year for \$800 million (U.S.) to coal and steel tycoons Viktor Pinchuk, the son-in-law of President Kuchma, and Rynat Akhmetov, who reportedly was a contributor to the campaign of presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich. Analysts have said the mill was worth twice the winning bid.

Other bidders at the auction of Kryvorizhstal, including Russia's OAO Severstal and a consortium of LNM Group and United States Steel Corp., cried foul, claiming they had offered more than Messrs. Pinchuk and Akhmetov.

But Mr. Pinchuk said the government's decision to choose his consortium "was a strategic decision ... in the interest of the Ukrainian economy." He argued that "The price paid for Kryvorizhstal is two times higher than the sum paid for all the other metallurgical factories in Ukraine."

A peculiar tender requirement that successful bidders must have produced at least 1 million tons of coking coal annually in Ukraine during the past three years shut the door to all but a handful of homegrown companies.

The sale sparked outrage in Ukraine and abroad, and is currently being challenged by a Ukrainian parliamentary commission in the courts. "Without competition, without a realistic price ... I don't consider that privatization," said Prime Minister Tymoshenko.

Kryvorizhstal produces about 20 percent of Ukraine's steel and had a pretax profit of about \$300 million in 2003.

Speaking during the vote in the Verkhovna Rada at the time of the appointment of a new government, President Yushchenko assured lawmakers: "All those enterprises that were stolen will be returned to the state, beginning with Kryvorizhstal."

Mr. Pinchuk stated that he was not "concerned or worried" about Kryvorizhstal's possible reprivatization, and said that he would accept any ruling, "provided the court acts according to law." He added that he also hopes that President Yushchenko will "accept any court decision."

## New Cabinet headed by Tymoshenko is named



Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko speaks during the first meeting of the new Cabinet of ministers on Saturday, February 5.

by Olga Nuzhinskaya

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV — Yulia Tymoshenko, President Viktor Yushchenko's choice for prime minister, was approved by 373 national deputies voting in the Verkhovna Rada on Friday, February 4, with not a single vote cast against her. Her confirmation vote had been delayed by a day as various factions negotiated the composition of the Cabinet of Ministers that she now heads.

Prime Minister Tymoshenko, 44, has been the leader of the Batkivshchyna Party since 1999. She previously served in the Ukrainian government, in the Cabinet headed by then Prime Minister Yushchenko, from December 1999 through January 2001; she held the post of vice prime minister for fuel and energy. She was

elected to the Verkhovna Rada in April 2002 at the top of the list of candidates from the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc.

Ms. Tymoshenko was born on November 27, 1960, in Dnipropetrovsk. She majored in economics at Dnipropetrovsk State University and completed a doctorate in the field in 1999. After working at the Lenin Machine Building Plant, the Terminal youth center and the Ukrainian Petroleum Corp. in her native city, she became head of Unified Energy Systems of Ukraine. For a short time she was a member of the Hromada Party once led by former Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko and was the party's first vice-chairperson.

Ms. Tymoshenko later became a co-founder with Mr.

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## ANALYSIS: Generational shift follows Orange Revolution

by Taras Kuzio

*Eurasia Daily Monitor*

Now that the Ukrainian Parliament has confirmed Yulia Tymoshenko as prime minister, the country is witnessing a radical generational change. New people, pro-Western and not tainted by Soviet rule, are entering the political system (*Zerkalo Nedeli*, February 5, includes biographies of each member). As the *Wall Street Journal* (February 6) wrote, Prime Minister Tymoshenko "will preside over a Cabinet packed with other street-protest organizers and pro-democracy leaders."

Revolutions such as in Serbia (2000), Georgia (2003) and Ukraine create a profoundly close, but ultimately complicated, relationship between the younger and middle generations who are jointly battling the older. The middle generation came to power

in all three countries only with the help of democratic revolutions that prevented election fraud.

The revolutions themselves would be impossible without the energy of young people. Two-thirds of the Orange Revolution crowds were young people. President Viktor Yushchenko would not be in power today without the help of Ukraine's youth. His gratitude for this support was evident when he greeted the crowds after his official inauguration and when he sent greetings to the congress of the Pora (It's Time) youth group.

All three revolutions saw similar trends. The old guard removed by these revolutions was born in the 1930s and 1940s. This generation — Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia, Eduard Shevardnadze in Georgia and Leonid Kravchuk and Leonid Kuchma in Ukraine

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## ANALYSIS

**Pora takes two different paths**by **Taras Kuzio***Eurasia Daily Monitor*

The radical youth group and anti-Kuchma youth movement Pora (It's Time) has been acclaimed for its contribution to Viktor Yushchenko's victory in Ukraine's recent presidential elections. The two wings of the group, known as "Black" Pora and "Yellow" Pora, held a united congress on January 28-29 to reflect on recent events and to decide where to go from here. The significance of Pora's contribution to Mr. Yushchenko's election victory could be seen from the high-profile guests who attended it, namely Chief of Staff Oleksander Zinchenko, soon-to-be-named Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk, National Security and Defense Council Secretary Petro Poroshenko, businessman and financial backer Davyd Zhvania (subsequently named emergencies minister), Mykola Tomenko (later named vice prime minister for humanitarian and social issues), and Socialist activist Yurii Lutsenko (later tapped as internal affairs minister...)

President Yushchenko sent a greeting to the congress, stating: "Together with you I underwent a difficult path of struggle. Together with you I stood on

*Taras Kuzio is visiting professor at the Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University. The article above, which originally appeared in The Jamestown Foundation's Eurasia Daily Monitor, is reprinted here with permission from the foundation (www.jamestown.org).*

Independence Square (maidan). Every day I saw alongside other flags the flags of Pora. This gave me, and all of those who rose up, confidence and strength. We knew in those days that, wherever there was Pora, there would be victory" (pora.org.ua, January 31).

Pora was organized in 2002-2003 from the hard-core activists who had participated in the Ukraine Without Kuchma and For Truth movements in 2000-2001, the 2002 parliamentary elections, and the Arise Ukraine protests of 2002-2003. In 2003 they established links to Serbia's Otpor (Resistance), a youth group that had played a central role in mobilizing Serbs in the October 2000 democratic revolution against Slobodan Milosevic. In fact, Otpor activist Marko Markovych was denied entry into Ukraine in October because of his assistance to Black Pora, then accused of being "terrorists." He returned to Ukraine for the Pora congress and announced his intention to become a Ukrainian citizen.

Otpor established links with the group that became known as Black Pora (kuchmizm.info). Mykhailo Svistovych, editor of the maidan.org.ua website that also grew out of the Ukraine Without Kuchma movement, provided key backing and is one of the wing's founders (Lvivska Hazeta, February 1).

Black Pora's main financial support has come from domestic sources, despite Russian claims to the contrary. Interviewed in the newspaper 2000 (January 21) Vladyslav Kaskiv, leader of

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**What has Yushchenko promised Ukrainians?**by **Jan Maksymiuk***RFE/RL Newsline*

There had been four or five "serious" candidates for the post of the Ukrainian prime minister and at least as many "potential" ones mentioned in the Ukrainian media before President Viktor Yushchenko designated Yulia Tymoshenko for the job on January 24, shortly before his trip to meet Russian President Vladimir Putin in Moscow.

Many have seen this nomination as Mr. Yushchenko's gesture of defiance in the face of Moscow's apparent dislike of Ms. Tymoshenko (she is still on Russian prosecutors' list of wanted people). However, there were also analysts who argued that Ms. Tymoshenko is the best person to run a new Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers because of her immense working energy and political optimism.

Indeed, judging by the massive load of Mr. Yushchenko's election promises, the new government will have to possess first and foremost extraordinary vigor and self-confidence in order to begin delivering on what Mr. Yushchenko promised his compatriots in last year's presidential campaign.

To make his election manifesto – "Ten Steps Toward the People" – more comprehensible and digestible for ordinary Ukrainians, in November 2004 Mr. Yushchenko publicized a dozen draft decrees that he pledged to sign immediately after his inauguration. Propagandistically, it proved to be a very

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

good move, which was subsequently emulated by his main presidential rival, then Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych. The texts of these decrees are still available on Mr. Yushchenko's personal website (<http://www.yuschenko.com.ua>). They have also been recently republished or summarized by many Ukrainian media outlets, primarily those unsympathetic to or critical of Mr. Yushchenko, with ironic comments suggesting that he now may not be so eager to remember them. True or not, Ukraine's new president indeed seems to be presently concerned more with decrees appointing and sacking state officials than those shaping a new socioeconomic system in the country.

What has Mr. Yushchenko pledged to change in the socioeconomic sphere in order to make people feel that his presidency will contribute to a palpable and fast improvement of their lives? First of all, Mr. Yushchenko pledged to maintain the lavish increase in pensions made in September 2004 by then Prime Minister Yanukovych. The move, which was clearly intended to win over pensioners, doubled the minimum monthly pension from 137 hrv to 284.6 hrv (\$53.6) and appropriately increased all other pensions for more than 11 million people. At that time, the pension jump increased the pension fund's monthly expenses by 1.1 billion hrv (\$207 million) to 4.1 billion hrv.

Mr. Yushchenko promised that his first presidential decree will establish the subsistence minimum for 2005 at 423 hrv (\$80) per month, additionally stipulating that the minimum monthly wage and pension should not be lower than the sub-

(Continued on page 17)

**NEWSBRIEFS****Austria ready to help investigation**

KYIV – Austria's Justice Ministry is ready to assist Ukraine in investigating the circumstances of President Viktor Yushchenko's poisoning, according to a spokesman for the ministry, speaking in Vienna on February 9. If asked, the Austrian party may provide for questioning witnesses, he said. At the same time, the ministry's spokesman noted that the government couldn't force Rudolfinerhaus, a private clinic, to submit Mr. Yushchenko's medical records to Ukraine's public prosecutor. These are the medical documents that Ukrainian Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun wants to obtain during his visit to Austria, reported Deutsche Welle. Mr. Piskun left Kyiv on February 7 for a three-day working visit to Austria. He was scheduled to meet with the Austrian justice minister and other Austrian officials. Mr. Piskun also planned to meet with his Austrian counterpart in regard to the Yushchenko investigation. (Interfax-Ukraine)

**Rice congratulates Tarasyuk**

KYIV – U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice congratulated Borys Tarasyuk on his appointment as Ukraine's foreign minister. On February 6 Dr. Rice and Mr. Tarasyuk had a phone conversation, the press service of Ukraine Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported. Dr. Rice assured her Ukrainian counterpart of her intention to have close cooperation and expressed hope that the new foreign minister will actively take part in such cooperation. The two parties discussed the agenda of contacts between U.S. President George W. Bush and Ukraine's President Viktor Yushchenko. Mr. Tarasyuk invited Dr. Rice to visit Ukraine. (Interfax-Ukraine)

**A pledge to create public TV**

ZHYTOMYR – President Viktor Yushchenko told journalists in Zhytomyr on February 8 that the new Ukrainian government's policy will be oriented toward creating a competitive media environment in the country, Interfax reported. "We will not spare effort, time or finances to create such an environment," Mr. Yushchenko said. The president said the government will support the recently announced project to create a "public television" channel in Ukraine, but he advised against the liquidation of the state-run UT-1 and UT-2 channels. "The main thing is that the project [of a public television channel] should not imply losing the first [UT-1] and second

[UT-2] channels," Mr. Yushchenko said. "They should not become some sort of technical victims [of the public-television project]." (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Unofficial capital to be legalized**

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko told journalists in Kyiv on February 8 that he is ready to legalize unofficial capital in order to reduce the shadow economy sector in Ukraine, Interfax reported. "We are ready to go for capital amnesty and fiscal amnesty, but in return we want to reduce the shadow economy," Mr. Yushchenko said. He said the government will do its best to make the national budget deficit-free and will revise its policy on free economic zones, which he described as "black holes" in the economy. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Iraq pullout slated for "near future"**

KYIV – Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk told journalists in Kyiv on February 8 that the government will announce the pullout of the Ukrainian military contingent from Iraq "in the near future," Interfax reported. Mr. Tarasyuk added that President Viktor Yushchenko will consult Washington, as well as the authorities in Baghdad before the pullout starts. "Ukraine's military presence [in Iraq] is gradually to be reduced and to be replaced with instructors, diplomats and businessmen," Reuters quoted Mr. Tarasyuk as saying. "I plan to visit Iraq in order to examine the situation." (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Ukraine may receive \$88 M in aid**

KYIV – U.S. President George Bush has proposed to Congress a draft budget for 2006 envisaging \$88 million of aid to Ukraine. President Bush's proposal requests the highest amount of assistance among CIS countries for Ukraine. Georgia is likely to receive \$67 million, Russia – \$48 million, Belarus – \$7 million, with Turkmenistan getting \$5.5 million, the Voice of America reported. President Viktor Yushchenko's election as Ukraine's president will provide broad opportunities for economic and democratic reforms in Ukraine, labeled a "state of strategic importance," according to the draft budget. The U.S. is planning to help the new Ukrainian government and to encourage its program of reforms. (Interfax-Ukraine)

**Government probes arms sales**

KYIV – A government probe into ille-

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## Congressional Ukrainian Caucus sponsors briefing on Ukraine's future

by Serhiy Zhykharev

Ukrainian National Information Service

WASHINGTON – The Congressional Ukrainian Caucus (CUC), in co-sponsorship with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), hosted a congressional briefing on Wednesday afternoon, January 25, titled "Ukraine: Then and Now."

The two-hour briefing was dedicated to the results of the Ukrainian presiden-

Serhiy Korsunsky, stated that Ukraine has now entered a new phase of cooperation with Western countries. "The United States, could help Ukraine immensely by granting it Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) status, as well as recognizing it as a country with a market economy. This would pave the way for Ukraine to accede to the WTO and other Euro-Atlantic structures," he said.

Mr. Korsunsky also thanked the UCCA for its useful work in coordinat-



Rep. Steve Rothman addresses the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus briefing on Ukraine's future, as UCCA President Michael Sawkiw Jr. looks on.

tial elections and the future of U.S.-Ukraine relations. Attended by representatives of nearly three dozen congressional offices and held at the Rayburn House Office Building, the briefing featured several members of Congress and a handful of international election observers who spoke about their experiences in Ukraine.

Michael Sawkiw Jr., UCCA president, opened the briefing, describing the feeling of elation that dominated the streets of Kyiv and all of Ukraine on Sunday, January 23, when President Viktor Yushchenko was inaugurated the third President of Ukraine. "That day of celebration, however, was preceded by a peaceful struggle as the nation protested the corrupt and rigged electoral results of the November 21 run-off elections and took on the popular movement described as the "Orange Revolution," stated Mr. Sawkiw. "In one unifying voice," he said, "the Ukrainian people ended the rule of lawlessness and corruption."

The UCCA president also invited the Bush administration, the U.S. Congress and American businesses to re-affirm their dedication to working with Ukraine and helping to transform Ukraine into a full-fledged democracy by granting Ukraine market-economy status, revoking the Jackson-Vanik amendment, increasing U.S. foreign assistance, supporting Ukraine's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), expanding trade and business investment in Ukraine, and working towards a Member Action Plan (MAP) for NATO accession.

Since the hearing was largely dedicated to the future of U.S.-Ukraine relations, all of the speakers agreed that with the change of governments in Ukraine and Ukraine's new image in the world, U.S.-Ukraine relations are bound to develop more steadily.

The deputy chief of mission of the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington,

ing international election observers during the election and recommended the UCCA as the point of contact between congressional offices, the greater Ukrainian American community, parliamentarians in Ukraine, as well as Ukraine's civic society.

Rep. Steven Rothman (D-N.J.), a member of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, spoke about the new course of U.S.-Ukraine relations. "The Ukrainian nation stared down tyranny," he said, "and stared down the forces of evil – now comes a great opportunity for the Ukrainian people."

The northern New Jersey congressman pledged his support for U.S.-Ukraine issues and encouraged his fellow members of Congress to join the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus.

In thanking Rep. Rothman for his participation, the UCCA president acknowledged the congressman's initiation of a bi-partisan letter to request that President George W. Bush invite President Yushchenko for an official state visit to Washington.

Rep. Curt Weldon (R-Pa.), co-chair of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, also acknowledged the resourcefulness of the Ukrainian people as he exclaimed: "In the long-run, the Ukrainian people won!"

In particular, Rep. Weldon mentioned the issue of the Jackson-Vanik amendment and the need for its revocation. Rep. Weldon mentioned that this issue has been on the table for several years; the main condition – free emigration of Ukraine's citizens – has been fulfilled, and now Ukraine should be granted permanent normal trade relations status. "Give Ukraine a gift – something of substance to the Ukrainian people for their stellar defense of democratic values," stated Rep. Weldon.

Many of the speakers at the briefing focused on the dynamic role of the

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## FOR THE RECORD: McCain interviewed by Voice of America

Following are excerpts of an interview with Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) that was conducted on February 4 by Adrian Karmazyn, program manager, Ukrainian Service of Voice of America. The full text is available on the VOA webpage: [www.holosus.us](http://www.holosus.us).

**You and Sen. [Hillary] Clinton have nominated Presidents [Viktor] Yushchenko of Ukraine and [Mikhail] Saakashvili of Georgia for the Nobel Peace Prize. Why did you decide to do that?**

We think that both presidents represent the very finest – courage, dedication and leadership which brings about freedom and democracy. We think that these two individuals represent exactly what Mr. Nobel had in mind when he started this prize many years ago.

**The Orange Revolution in Ukraine has been an inspiration for many people around the world. Do you think it will also inspire the U.S. Congress and the U.S. government to help Ukraine – which has been kind of difficult for the last few years with President Kuchma in power?**

I don't think that there's any doubt that we will be providing assistance to the Ukrainian government and people. We are grateful for the principles and the efforts that they are making. We also need to help Ukraine because they are so dependent on Russia for energy supplies in particular that they are going to need our assistance. But there has been a great upsurge in feeling throughout the United States of America as they observe this Orange Revolution take place, and particularly amongst our young people.

**You recently returned from a trip to Europe. I'm wondering, when you talked to the European leaders, did you have the sense that Europeans now are going to be more welcoming in terms of trying to integrate Ukraine into the European Union, because I know that that has been a big issue for Ukraine?**

I think Eastern European governments are very supportive and will be of significant assistance. The more Western countries, such as Germany and France, haven't been quite as supportive, but throughout Europe young people have celebrated this movement and this monumental achievement. And I would also add that there are many of us that believe that what happened in Ukraine and in Georgia can have a beneficial effect in Belarus, in Armenia, in Azerbaijan and

other countries in the region.

Democracy is contagious. And so, I think it's pretty clear that what happened in Ukraine and Georgia could very easily spread throughout the region.

**What advice might you have for President Yushchenko? He faces many challenges. Perhaps you've seen how other countries over the years have faced these challenges, these kind of transitions when they tried to take advantage of a historic opportunity?**

I think that the transition is going to be very difficult. There [are] problems with corruption. We know there are oligarchies throughout Ukraine that have enormous power. But Mr. Yushchenko has the support of the Ukrainian people. I think there is a window of opportunity here that he is very well aware of that he has to take advantage of. And he has the goodwill and support of the entire West.

**Will you be supporting measures to graduate Ukraine from Jackson-Vanik and to perhaps provide some supplemental assistance to Ukraine this year?**

I would be very strongly supportive of [the] repeal of Jackson-Vanik. It had its place during the Cold War and I am sure that there will be additional assistance proposed by the administration to Ukraine. The important thing in Ukraine is [the] restoration of the rule of law, [the] break-up of the oligarchies – at least those that attained their wealth illegally. And there is a huge, huge issue about a journalist whose body has been found, but his head never has been. And I think that that story has to be pursued not only on behalf of him and his family, but also on behalf of a free press, which is an integral part of any democracy, a vital part.

**It's my understanding that you plan to visit Ukraine next week.**

Yes, we go every year to a conference [International Conference on Security Policy] in Munich, and we'll be going to Ukraine and then back to Munich and have a chance to meet with President Yushchenko and others and am looking forward to it. I was there last August and we had a very, very profitable trip.

**Are there any particular issues that you would like to raise with President Yushchenko?**

I think at this time we [will be] there to congratulate him and wish him well. Advice is a very inexpensive commodity.

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## Quotable notes

"As a new Congress gathers, all of us in the elected branches of government share a great privilege: We have been placed in office by the votes of the people we serve. And tonight that is a privilege we share with newly elected leaders of Afghanistan, the Palestinian territories, Ukraine and a free and sovereign Iraq.

"Two weeks ago, I stood on the steps of this Capitol and renewed the commitment of our nation to the guiding ideal of liberty for all. This evening I will set forth policies to advance that ideal at home and around the world."

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"Our aim is to build and preserve a community of free and independent nations, with governments that answer to their citizens, and reflect their own cultures. And because democracies respect their own people and their neighbors, the advance of freedom will lead to peace.

"That advance has great momentum in our time, shown by women voting in Afghanistan, and Palestinians choosing a new direction, and the people of Ukraine asserting their democratic rights and electing a president. We are witnessing landmark events in the history of liberty. And in the coming years, we will add to that story."

– President George W. Bush in his state of the union address on February 2.

## Amnesty International urges Yushchenko to improve human rights

LONDON – In a letter to the new president of Ukraine, Viktor Yushchenko, Amnesty International urged him to take concrete steps to improve human rights in Ukraine.

“The new administration has the opportunity to significantly improve the protection of human rights in Ukraine, including by bringing relevant legislation in line with the Constitution of the country, as well as with international human rights law and standards,” said Irene Khan, secretary general of Amnesty International.

Amnesty International called on the new administration to take concrete steps on the most pressing human rights challenges facing Ukraine at present.

- Torture and ill-treatment in police custody: Anybody detained by the police is at risk of being tortured and conditions in pre-trial detention centers have been described as “intolerable” by the Committee for the Prevention of Torture. In recent months Amnesty International has documented cases of torture and ill-treatment in police custody. The organization calls on the new administration to take steps to set up an independent body to monitor places of detention and to ensure that detainees are fully informed of their rights and given access to medical examinations.

- Curtailment of freedom of expression and assembly: Ukraine has a bad record on freedom of expression, and the new administration must ensure that journalists and editors of independent news media are not subjected to

unnecessary controls and prosecutions. The organization also calls for an impartial investigation into the “disappearance” of the investigative journalist Heorhii Gongadze in 2000. During the election period Amnesty International publicized cases of arbitrary detention of opposition activists, the new administration must strive to ensure that nobody is detained or harassed by law enforcement officers for the peaceful expression of their views.

- Violence against women: Amnesty International calls for improvements to the law on domestic violence to ensure that the rights of women are better protected. The new administration must also tackle the problem of trafficking in human beings and must ensure that judges are trained in the issue and that law enforcement officers are provided with adequate resources and training. Women and girls who wish to testify must be offered effective witness protection measures.

- Refugees: In June 2004 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe recommended that Ukraine observe the fundamental principles of international law concerning the protection of refugees and asylum seekers. Amnesty International calls on the new administration to improve the implementation of the Refugee Convention and to improve its law on asylum seekers.

- International justice: Amnesty International urges Ukraine to ratify the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which would ensure an end to impunity for crimes under international law.

## UNIS is organizing Ukrainian Days in D.C.

by Serhiy Zhykharev

Ukrainian National Information Service

WASHINGTON – Following a successful “Ukrainian Days” advocacy program last year in Washington, and building upon the current mainstream enthusiasm regarding the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, the Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS) is organizing Ukrainian Days in Washington on March 2-3.

The intent of Ukrainian Days is to promote the concerns of the Ukrainian American community, as well as to establish better contacts with officials in Washington.

The Ukrainian Days agenda will consist of several events. On Wednesday morning, March 2, UNIS will organize presentations by American government officials and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Of particular interest will be a discussion of topics of concern to the community: increased U.S. foreign assistance to Ukraine; graduation from the Jackson-Vanik amendment (permanent normal trade relations) between Ukraine and the United States; market economy status for Ukraine; legislation to construct a monument in Washington to the victims of the Ukrainian Genocide; as well as the overall context of U.S.-Ukraine relations.

In the evening of March 2, a reception will be held at the Embassy of Ukraine, where Ukrainian Days participants will have a chance to meet with Ukrainian diplomats and discuss their ideas regarding U.S.-Ukraine relations.

On Thursday morning, March 3, participants of Ukrainian Days will partake in a breakfast meeting with members of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus (CUC), an officially registered group of the U.S. House of Representatives that is interested in enhancing relations between Ukraine and the United States.

CUC representatives will discuss issues such as: the commemoration the 1932-1933 Ukrainian Genocide, as well as constructing a memorial to its victims; awarding a federal charter to the Ukrainian American Veterans (UAV) organization; U.S. foreign assistance programs to Ukraine; permanent normal trade relations status for Ukraine; and overall relations with Ukraine, especially in context of the recent Orange Revolution. Briefing papers on various topics will be supplied to the participants by UNIS.

During their two days in Washington participants will meet with their corresponding members of the House of Representatives and Senate in order to communicate to them the issues that concern the Ukrainian American community.

For further information, as well as hotel accommodations, readers may contact UNIS at (202) 547-0018 or unis@ucca.org.

## Wrzesnewskyj attends Yushchenko inauguration

OTTAWA – Member of Parliament Borys Wrzesnewskyj (Liberal-Etobicoke Center), who played a key role in garnering the support of the Canadian government to assist the efforts of the people of Ukraine in their fight for democracy during the recent “Orange Revolution,” attended the inauguration of newly elected Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko. Mr. Wrzesnewskyj was among the group of 40 heads of state invited to the inauguration ceremony and the reception that followed.

“I was deeply honored to have been invited to attend President Yushchenko’s swearing in ceremony both in Parliament and Independence Square, the heart of the revolution; and to meet with him personally at the official reception for heads of state and other politicians that followed,” stated Mr. Wrzesnewskyj.

Mr. Wrzesnewskyj also met with most of the soon-to-be-named Cabinet ministers, and discussed the general state of Canada-Ukraine relations with newly appointed Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and President Yushchenko.

“The goodwill Canada established during this election process in Ukraine has not gone unnoticed by Ukrainian President Yushchenko and incoming Prime Minister Tymoshenko. Personal friendships have been established and the ‘special relationship’ between our two countries has been solidified. There exists a great desire to work toward a state visit of the Ukrainian president to Canada and a reciprocal state visit of Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin to Ukraine,” said the MP.

During the inauguration ceremony Mr. Wrzesnewskyj spoke with and exchanged ideas on

(Continued on page 20)

## Fire damages Ukrainian club in England

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – A fire burned through a Ukrainian cultural center in a suburb of London on February 2, BBC News reported the following day.

No one was injured, but firefighters had been working to control a major blaze that destroyed a large part of the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Cheetham Hill, Manchester, England.

Some 30 firefighters reportedly worked to tackle the fire but were forced to leave when a roof of one of the cultural center’s rooms collapsed. They fought to stop the blaze from spreading to a bar and museum building next to the club.

Residents in the neighborhood had been evacuated

from their homes after the fire broke out at the cultural center in the afternoon, the news service said. The buildings associated with the blaze were the property of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

An investigation was opened into the cause of the fire, which could be seen three miles away across the city center, the BBC reported.

Lubomyr Mazur confirmed on February 3 that the fire the previous day occurred in Manchester – one of the two biggest Ukrainian communities in England.

“I have had the opportunity to see the extent of the

(Continued on page 12)

### The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: January

Amount	Name	City
\$250.00	Daniel Kashimer	Brooklyn, N.Y.
\$200.00	Melanne Vermeer	Washington, D.C.
\$145.00	Bohdan Kraynyk	Pond Eddy, N.Y.
\$105.00	Jaroslav and Vera Kryshchalsky	Forest Hills, N.Y.
\$100.00	Anna Harmaty	Chatham, N.J.
	Thomas Urchuk	North Bergen, N.J.
\$55.00	Zenon and Dozia Krislaty	Cleveland, Ohio
	Roman Voronka	Maplewood, N.J.
\$50.00	Stefan Hawrysz (Christmas gift)	Philadelphia, Pa.
	Chrystyna Sarachman	Philadelphia, Pa.
	Myroslaw Smorodsky	Ho-Ho-Kus, N.J.
\$45.00	Sofia Malachowsky	Newport Beach, Calif.
	Michael Sosiak	Curitiba, Brazil
	Michael Zaparyniuk	Lake Worth, Fla.
\$42.50	Olga Hayetskyj	Bronx, N.Y.
\$35.00	Luba Melnyk	Elmhurst, N.Y.
	Ulana Sos	San Antonio, Tex.
\$30.00	Yarema Kelebay	Montreal, Quebec
\$25.00	D. Chromowsky	Little Egg Harbor, N.J.
	Zirka Clark	Bloomfield Hills, Mich.
	Ihor and Natalie Gawdiak	Columbia, Md.
	Oleh Karawan	Inverness, Ill.
	Eugene Lylak	Rochester, N.Y.
	Myron and Christina Melnyk	New Haven, Conn.
	Melane Sarachman	Philadelphia, Pa.
	Ihor Strutytsky	Bronx, N.Y.
	Alice Yarysh	Rocky Hill, Conn.
	Inia Yevich	Coeburn, Va.
	Zenon Zachar	West Bloomfield, Mich.
\$20.00	George Dydynsky	Lehigh, Pa.
	Olenka Kmetyk-Byramji	Mountain Lakes, N.J.
	Roman Knysh	Ellicott, Md.
	Oleh Mahlay	Hinckley, Ohio
	Roman Ninowsky	Detroit, Mich.
	Jean Ochrym	Etobicoke, Ontario
	Maria Oharenko	Redondo Beach, Calif.
	Vera and Alexander Pokora	Pickerington, Ohio
	John Teleshefsky	Carrollton, Tex.
\$15.00	Ihor Chorneyko	Dundas, Ontario
	Anna Gach	Buffalo, N.Y.
	Stephen Hneyda	White House Station, N.J.
	Myron Komarynsky	Kirkwood, Mo.
	Theodore Kuzio	Granby, Conn.
	M. Lapichak-Kocylowska	Alpine, N.J.
	Tamara Marchuk-Farrell	Mount Kisco, N.Y.
	Eugene Repeta	Warren, Mich.
	Ann Zinich	Berwick, Pa.
\$10.00	Astro Travel Services	Toronto, Ontario
	Joseph Bohdanyk	Chicago, Ill.
	Maria Dychdala	Norristown, Pa.
	Natalie Guran	Orchard Park, N.Y.
	Wasy and Stanislaw Kovach	Stratford, Conn.
	Maria Kril	Fresno, Calif.
	Cornel Osada	Grafton, Mass.
	Maria Rymaruk	Herndon, Va.
	Joseph Sachno	Lookout Mountain, Ga.
	Stefania Tur	Astoria, N.Y.
	Peter Woloschuk	Dorchester, Mass.
\$5.00	Mary Gaboda	Belvidere, Vt.
	Merle and Bonnie Jurkiewicz	Toledo, Ohio
	Christine Lukowsky	Kerhonkson, N.Y.
	Chrystyna Lysobey	Cherry Hill, N.J.
	Helen Petryshyn	Sarasota, Fla.
	Damian Platosh	Arlington, Va.
	George Rub	Dearborn, Mich.
	O. Rudenko	Phoenix, Ariz.
	Bohdan Sklepkovych	Rutherford, N.J.
	Stephanie Tatchyn	Timonium, Md.
	Nadia Trojan	Watertown, Conn.
	Myron Trotch	Trenton, Ohio

**TOTAL: \$2,197.50**

*Sincere thanks to all contributors to The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund.*

*The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund is the only fund dedicated exclusively to supporting the work of this publication.*



# 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.

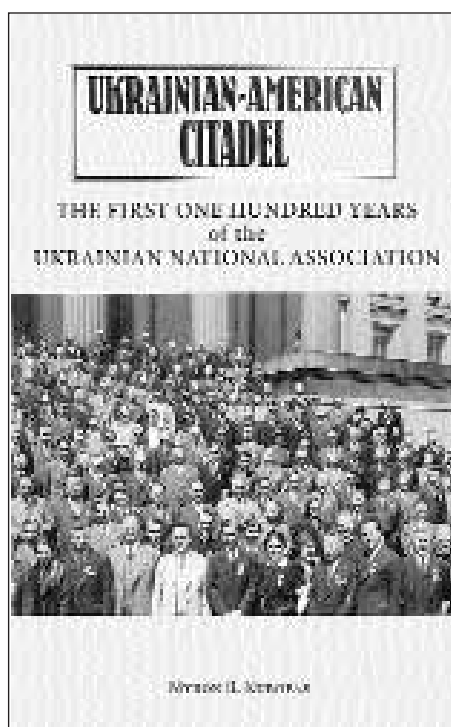
The book is available from the author for \$25, plus \$2.50 shipping, by writing to: Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, 107 Ileshamwood Drive, DeKalb, IL 60115. Also available is a newly released Ukrainian edition of the book; price: \$25 (including shipping).

### Chapter 13

#### Toward the 21st Century

##### The UNA in Ukraine

In October 1990, the UNA received an invitation to attend the Second Rukh Congress in Kyiv. Supreme President Ulana Diachuk, Supreme Secretary Walter Sochan, Supreme Advisors Eugene Iwanciw, director of the UNA Washington office, and Roma Hadzewycz, editor of The Ukrainian Weekly, made the trip. During their stay, they discussed the UNA's intention to open a press bureau in Kyiv with the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry. On January



13, 1991, Marta Kolomayets, associate editor of The Ukrainian Weekly, moved to Kyiv to serve as the UNA press bureau's first correspondent in Kyiv. During her pioneering six-month assignment, she provided information for both The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda. ...

Responding to a resolution passed at the 1990 convention, the UNA established the Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine. By the end of 1991, UNA members donated \$280,000 and the UNA set aside the sum of \$200,000. By the end of 1992, \$360,527 had been donated and \$288,981 had been paid out. Consistent with the guidelines developed during the special meeting of the UNA Supreme Assembly in September 1990, the aim of the fund was to support various activities of a religious, charitable, educational, and scholarly nature as set forth in the UNA Constitution and By-Laws. All applications for aid required approval by the Supreme Executive. ...

#### The UNA and America's political arena

Concerned with the posture of the Bush administration regarding developments in Ukraine, UNA Supreme Auditor Taras Szmaga arranged a meeting with the president on November 27, 1991. A number of present and former UNA leaders, including Szmaga, Ulana Diachuk, Eugene Iwanciw, Joseph Lesawyer, Bohdan Futey and Askold Lozynskyj, met with [George H.W.] Bush and made it clear that, on the eve of the Ukrainian referendum, U.S. recognition of Ukraine was the “gut issue” in the community. Not long into the meeting, which was

also attended by Veterans Administration Secretary Edward Derwinski, Chief of Staff John Sununu and Brent Scowcroft, President Bush announced his decision. “We will salute the passage of the independence referendum on December 1,” declared the president, “and immediately start moving expeditiously to full recognition.”

The news soon hit the press and [Soviet leader Mikhail] Gorbachev was stunned. He called Bush and, controlling his temper, indicated his disappointment, adding that many in Moscow believed the American president was attempting to “stimulate separatism in Ukraine.” Secretary of State James Baker wrung his hands and told his aides that Gorbachev's complaint had some merit. Scowcroft agreed. “I think we've signaled a more forward-leaning policy than we had in mind,” he moaned, telling Bush that the shift “may prejudice relations between Kyiv and Moscow.” It was too late. The people of Ukraine apparently heard the message and voted for independence.

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This concludes The Weekly's series of excerpts of Dr. Kuropas's book. Next week the UNA will mark its 111th anniversary.

## Another fraternal benefit for our children: Print Pal

by Oksana Trytjak

UNA National Organizer

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Unfortunately, we live in a time when we must be aware

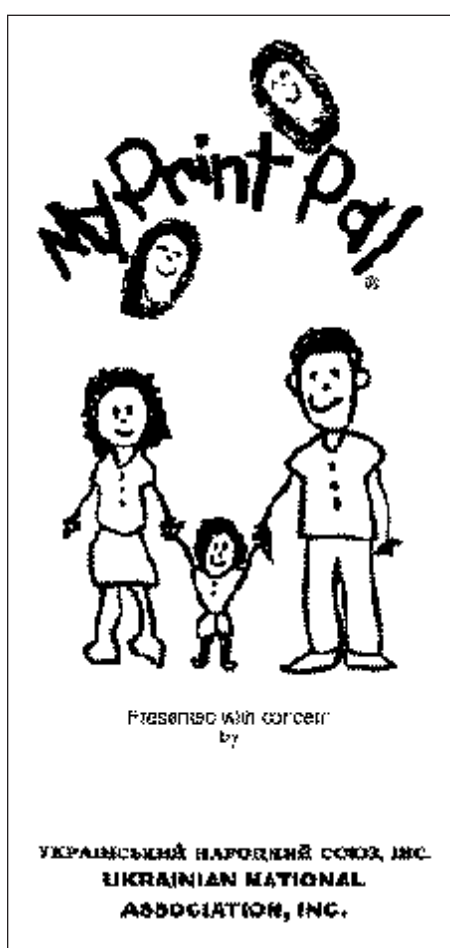
of many hideous crimes in our midst. One of them is the real tragedy of child exploitation and kidnapping. The UNA has joined many other organizations in supplying its members with a child fingerprinting kit. The UNA includes this special fingerprinting booklet with every new juvenile policy.

The kit is part of a child identification and safety promotion program. Similar programs are promoted by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children. The objectives of this program are to increase awareness of the issue of missing and exploited children, and to educate both parents and children about prevention.

This program centers on the fingerprinting aspect, which is a booklet that is filled with comprehensive information describing the child, including everything from physical descriptions and locations of birthmarks, scars, etc., to detailed information on the parents, school and personal physician. The booklet includes instructions on how to fingerprint the child.

Parents are advised to include a current photo of the child in this packet. This booklet should be kept in a safe place in the home. Prevention, education and awareness are key.

This is yet another of UNA's fraternal benefits, specifically geared to our juvenile members. Persons interested in receiving one of these kits may call our Home Office at (973) 292-9800, ext. 3071.



### УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ НАРОДНИЙ СОЮЗ, Інк. THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, Inc.

The largest and oldest Ukrainian fraternal, founded in 1894.

P.O. Box 280, 2200 Route 10, Parsippany, NJ 07054

tel: (800) 253-9862; fax: (973) 292-0900; website: [www.unamember.com](http://www.unamember.com); e-mail: [una@unamember.com](mailto:una@unamember.com)

#### The Ukrainian National Association

cordially invites the parishioners of  
St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church  
and the community  
to attend a UNA archival photo exhibit.



Sunday, February 13, 2005

after the first and second liturgies at 9 and 10:30 a.m.

at St. John's (Newark) Parish Hall

UNA representatives in attendance:

Christine Kozak - National Secretary

Oksana Trytjak - National Organizer

Other UNA representatives and secretaries will be present and will be happy to answer questions relating to the UNA.

We invite you to visit the photo exhibit  
and hope you take part in our raffle.

#### Need a back issue?

If you'd like to obtain a back issue of The Ukrainian Weekly, send \$2 per copy (first-class postage included) to: Administration, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### Yushchenko in Europe

Immediately after his first trip abroad (in fulfillment of a campaign promise to visit Russia first), President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine journeyed to Europe, where he had a successful series of public appearances and meetings with world leaders.

The new president addressed the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), which is based in Strasbourg, France, and the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. In addition, he participated in observances of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, which were held in Krakow, Poland, and at the site of the Nazi death camp. His message to all underscored that a new Ukraine has arisen in the aftermath of the Orange Revolution and that this Ukraine is ready to take its rightful place in Europe as a valued and respected member of the international community.

Addressing PACE just two days after his inauguration, President Yushchenko stated "we have been able to build a democratic and law-abiding civil society in Ukraine, and to approach the high standards of the Council of Europe, to implement the humanist ideals on which the Council of Europe is based. I am confident that Ukraine's Orange Revolution was possible in large part thanks to the fact that European values, and first of all freedom and democracy, have firmly taken root in my people's mentality. Ukrainians ... stood up and defended their right to a free and honest election, freedom of speech and freedom to build their future."

He pledged that as Ukraine's president he would do all he could "to make sure that the democratic transformations in my country are irreversible, ... that human rights, pluralistic democracy and the rule of law are protected," and he assured his audience: "I have a clear plan for transformations in Ukraine for the next five years, and I have a team capable of fulfilling it." That plan, he added, is based on achieving the foreign policy goal of membership in the European Union.

Speaking of his next stop in Europe, President Yushchenko said Auschwitz is "a symbol of Europe's pain" – and for him a personal one also, as his father was one of its prisoners. "Auschwitz and Hitlerism, the gulag and Soviet totalitarianism, the Holocaust and the Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933, which took up to 10 million human lives and was concealed for many years by the Stalin regime behind the Iron Curtain, the deportation of entire peoples and shooting of peaceful demonstrators, persecution of opponents and other horrors Europe saw in the 20th century make us remember, first of all, our common responsibility for the fate of every European country," he underlined. "We must never allow new division lines or new Berlin walls to be built, behind which any crimes can be committed in secret and go unpunished," he added.

In Krakow, where he addressed a forum held before the ceremonies in Auschwitz, President Yushchenko stated: "I will guarantee that in Ukraine there will never be anti-Semitism, xenophobia or hatred between people. ... There will never again be a Jewish question in my country."

Finally, at the World Economic Forum, a prestigious gathering of the world's movers and shakers, Mr. Yushchenko – noting that he had the honor of addressing the gathering as Ukraine's president chosen "by the will of its people" – told his audience: "Ukrainians have shown that European values unite people on the orange square in Kyiv. ... Ukraine's European choice was made in the hearts and minds of Ukrainians." In addition to European integration and membership in the European Union, President Yushchenko said his goals include transforming Ukraine's economy into a "social and market-oriented system." He enumerated the steps toward the latter goal: eliminating the black economy, renewing the foundation of macroeconomic stability, fighting corruption, establishing "honest justice" and attracting investment.

Outlining all of the above, President Yushchenko emphasized that he was acting in accordance with his primary goal: to implement the will of the people of Ukraine, "a free European nation" that "threw down the burden of the past."

By all accounts, the new president of Ukraine made a strongly favorable impression during his European sojourn, both through his words and through his demeanor. We can only hope that Mr. Yushchenko's words at the conclusion of his address in Davos – "help Ukraine and you will soon see a beautiful European nation" – are taken to heart by the international community.

Feb.  
18  
2004

### Turning the pages back...

It was merely a year ago, on February 18, 2004, that the political parties and factions that comprise the Verkhovna Rada majority signed a political agreement to support a single candidate in the October 31, 2004, presidential election in Ukraine.

The 13 leaders, including Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, who also headed the Party of Regions, agreed to form a coalition for both the October presidential election and the parliamentary elections in 2006. They also pledged to continue to support passage of a controversial law on political reform that would amend the Constitution of Ukraine.

"Today we have begun the establishment of a wide coalition of democratic powers, which I am sure will become the core of a larger unity movement throughout Ukraine," explained Mr. Yanukovich at the outset of a press conference after the signing. Prime Minister Yanukovich said that because the coalition had been able to hold together for more than a year under difficult conditions – all the while showing its ability to find compromise – he was optimistic that it would remain united through October and beyond.

National Deputy Leonid Kravchuk, head of the Social Democratic (United) faction and a prominent leader of the majority coalition, said he believed a specific candidate for president would be named during an upcoming forum of the majority forces.

Four oppositionist political groupings within the Verkhovna Rada, the Socialist, Communist, Our Ukraine and Yulia Tymoshenko factions did not sign the document.

Source: "Rada majority to support single presidential candidate," by Roman Woronowycz, Kyiv Press Bureau, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, February 22, 2004, Vol. LXXII, No. 8.

## FOR THE RECORD

### American Chamber of Commerce supports granting of normal trade relations to Ukraine

KYIV – The American Chamber of Commerce (AmCham) in Ukraine addressed U.S. Sens. Richard Lugar and Carl Levin on their recent statements regarding the introduction of legislation to grant normal trade relations to Ukraine.

The AmCham Board of directors and membership voiced their opinion that the graduation of Ukraine from the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act of 1974 is timely and underscored that they fully support the normalization of trade relations with Ukraine.

Such a move will send a strong signal to the leadership and people of Ukraine that continued reform and upholding of democratic principles will further Ukraine's stated Euro-Atlantic aspirations and bring them closer to the global community in which they belong, AmCham noted.

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Following is the full text of the American Chamber of Commerce letter, dated January 25, to Sens. Lugar and Levin.

Dear Sens. Lugar and Levin:

The American Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine (AmCham Ukraine) is pleased to see your recent statements regarding the introduction of legislation to grant normal trade relations to Ukraine.

The American Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine is among the most active non-government, non-profit business organizations operating in Ukraine. One of our principal activities is to represent the foreign investment community, as well as to facilitate the entrance of potential new investors into the Ukrainian market. We advocate on behalf of our members not only to the Ukrainian government, but also to all other governments which are economic partners of Ukraine, on matters of trade, commerce and economic reform.

The over 425 member-organizations of AmCham represent many of the largest companies operating in Ukraine with a majority of the foreign direct investment. Our members collectively employ hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, provid-

ing them with exposure to international business practices and the opportunity to develop into leading Ukrainian professionals. Our members also bring international expertise and business knowledge to Ukraine, are among some of the largest taxpayers in Ukraine, and strive to be good corporate citizens.

Our members have been pleased to witness the transformation of Ukraine, which began upon independence in 1991, from a Soviet-style command and control economy and authoritarian state to an independent market-oriented economy. This transition has been difficult at times, and one of the largest hurdles that needed to be overcome was the opportunity for Ukrainians to cast their ballots in a free and fair election for the presidency of Ukraine.

That is why AmCham was pleased to witness the inauguration of President Yushchenko last Sunday, January 23. It was truly a momentous time in the history of Ukraine that has seen a strong movement towards establishing a free market economy and providing Ukrainian citizens with protections against various forms of discrimination, participation in democratic elections, as well as providing the right to emigrate freely.

The AmCham board of directors and membership believe that the graduation of Ukraine from the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act of 1974 is timely, and we fully support the normalization of trade relations with Ukraine. It will send a strong signal to the leadership and people of Ukraine that continued reform and upholding of democratic principles will further Ukraine's stated Euro-Atlantic aspirations and bring them closer to the global community in which they belong.

Thank you for introducing legislation that will grant normal trade relations to Ukraine. The AmCham Ukraine business community stands behind this decision and are pleased to provide any support that may be necessary to pass this important bill.

Sincerely,  
Jorge Zukoski  
President

## ACTION ITEM

### Genocide memorial

The lessons and memory of the Ukrainian Genocide of 1932-1933 should be a permanent fixture within world history. Just recently, newly elected President Viktor Yushchenko stated in Zhytomyr: "When will we learn of our own Holodomor?" No matter how painful, the knowledge of this despicable crime needs to be publicized and passed on to future generations.

Rep. Sander Levin (D-Mich.), co-chair of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, has introduced a bill to construct a memorial in Washington to honor the memory of the Ukrainian Genocide of 1932-1933. The Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS) urges the Ukrainian community to contact their members of Congress in the U.S. House of Representatives and encourage them to co-sponsor H.R. 562. It is critical that each member of the Ukrainian American community encourage his/her legislators to support this critically important project in our nation's capital.

Below is a sample letter to members of Congress. Letters may be e-mailed directly to your member of Congress from the following site: <http://www.house.gov/writerep/>. For further information readers may contact UNIS by phone at (202) 547-0018 or via e-mail at [unis@ucca.org](mailto:unis@ucca.org).

#### SAMPLE LETTER

The Honorable (Name)  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515  
Dear Representative (Name):

In the 20th century, Ukraine endured several colossal tragedies. Unfortunately, one of

(Continued on page 25)

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Self-pity leads to self-destruction

Dear Editor:

"Bullies are still out there. Those who thrive on hate will continue their evil work, but they won't triumph."

I can't agree more with those words by Dr. Myron Kuropas, whose selection to the official U.S. delegation to the Yushchenko inauguration generated yet another exchange of resentments between some Americans of Ukrainian and Jewish heritage, and between Americans divided by their partisan politics or views relative to the current administration.

Thankfully, the vast majority of Ukrainian and Jewish Americans have moved beyond the old stereotypes and are engaged in constructive dialogue and mutual support. We often overlook this, especially when our emotions are easily aroused. Unfortunately, a minority still is stuck grinding old axes and perpetuating mutual finger-pointing, blaming and labeling each other as anti-Semites and Ukrainophobes. Many have lost sight of the positive developments and potential for future progress.

As Ukrainians, we can't control the responses of some members of the Jewish community. But we can make the decision to unilaterally cease our "retaliation." Forgive them and their ancestors and just let it go! (Even if some are incapable of forgiving us or our ancestors.) Focus on the positives! Quit whining about how "they" treat us poor Ukrainians.

We can choose to end our national "self-pity," for it leads only to national "self-destruction."

Perhaps Dr. Kuropas can try a different type of approach and tone in his future writings in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, so that "they won't triumph."

**Dr. Yuri Deychakiwsky**  
Washington

### Allegations against Kuropas unfounded

Dear Editor:

I have known Dr. Myron B. Kuropas for years and know he is not anti-Semitic or anti-Jewish. He is a well-respected educator and scholar with several well received books, as well as being a lively columnist for *The Ukrainian Weekly*. For years he was involved in Ukrainian-Jewish community dialogue, often a trying chore.

I must ask if the unfounded allegations being bandied about against him did not, in point of fact, originate from a few disgruntled Ukrainian American supporters of the Democratic Party, intent on discrediting the Republicans by picking on Dr. Kuropas, who is widely known to be a lifelong Republican?

And when other scholars like Dr. Peter Novick write books, e.g., "The Holocaust in American Life," which describe how the horrors of the second world war have been used to forge ethnic solidarity and mobilize some sectors of the American Jewish community, and all Dr. Kuropas does is agree with him, what's wrong with that?

In no story cited have I found precisely who it was that leveled these allegations against him and on what basis. Those ready to accuse Dr. Kuropas of prejudice should at least have the courage of their convictions and identify themselves, and then, of course, accept the legal consequences.

I ask these questions as a Canadian

who believes not only in freedom of speech but also in the importance of integrity in journalism. Dr. Kuropas is being denied both.

**Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk**  
Kingston, Ontario

### Correct information about Akcja Wisla

Dear Editor:

We would like to point out that Dr. Myron Kuropas' facts are incorrect when, in his January 23 column "Marta's Christmas card," he writes, "Ukrainians make similar claims by pointing to the 1947 Akcja Wisla, when some 150,000 Ukrainian residents of Poland were forcibly deported to Soviet Ukraine." In actuality, during the 1947 relocation campaign known as Akcja Wisla, approximately 150,000 Ukrainian residents of Poland were forcibly deported within Poland, sent to the new northern and western territories that Poland acquired from Germany after World War II (referred to as the "Ziemie Odzyskane," or "Recovered Territories").

What Dr. Kuropas is referring to when he writes that residents of Poland were forcibly deported to Soviet Ukraine is not Akcja Wisla, but the official agreement between Poland and the USSR to conduct population exchanges between 1944 and 1946. During this period, the number of Ukrainians from Poland who were relocated to Soviet Ukraine was close to 520,000, while approximately 1 million Poles from the USSR were relocated to Poland, according to historian Orest Subtelny. These population exchanges ended in August 1946, when the Soviet Union refused to prolong them despite diplomatic pressure from Poland, according to historian Eugeniusz Misilo. (The Polish government then conducted Akcja Wisla from late April to early August of 1947.)

Please print this corrected information in the next edition of *The Ukrainian Weekly*, as it is possible to begin to analyze Polish-Ukrainian relations only when facts are straight and individuals are using the same, appropriate terms.

**Diana and Lena Howansky**  
New York

*The letter-writers, whose parents and grandparents were relocated through Akcja Wisla, are both affiliated with the Organization for the Defense of Lemkivschyna. Additionally, Diana Howansky was a Fulbright Scholar to Poland in 1998-2000, who, in affiliation with Jagiellonian University's Institute of History, researched Akcja Wisla and conducted interviews with individuals relocated in 1947.*

**The Ukrainian Weekly welcomes letters to the editor and commentaries on a variety of topics of concern to the Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian communities. Opinions expressed by columnists, commentators and letter-writers are their own and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of either The Weekly editorial staff or its publisher, the Ukrainian National Association.**

**Letters should be typed (double-spaced) and signed (anonymous letters are not published). Letters are accepted also via e-mail at [staff@ukrweekly.com](mailto:staff@ukrweekly.com). The daytime phone number and address of the letter-writer must be given for verification purposes. Please note that a daytime phone number is essential in order for editors to contact letter-writers regarding clarifications or questions.**

## Double Exposure

by Kristina Lew

### In through the out door

The Orange Revolution has prompted many of us to revisit what it means to be Ukrainian. In this space we've explored what it means to be American with Ukrainian roots, or Ukrainian newly immigrated to America. What about those of us who were born in the United States to Ukrainian parents and now live in Ukraine?

I spoke to four such Ukrainian American Ukrainians in October of last year, before the revolution. They, too, struggle with their identity.

All four were raised with a love for their ancestral homeland. All four took part in Ukrainian diaspora activities. All four came to Ukraine and had their perceptions of Ukraine, and themselves, turned upside down.

Peter Charchalis began working with Ukraine in 1998 and came to Kyiv for good in 2000 with a large multinational corporation. He is currently with the Western NIS Fund. He says he was raised to believe in a Ukraine that was "some sort of legend". For example, he said "I was never led to understand the poverty of Ukraine – I was always taught that Ukraine was a large wealthy country that had been subjugated."

"Ukrainians are hard workers," he says. "I drive around the country a lot, and when I leave for a trip at 6 in the morning, I see many people in the field. When I return at 8 at night, they're still out there. They work very hard to eke out a living. It hurts me to see that."

Mr. Charchalis speaks of the spirituality of the country and the fact that Ukrainians help one another out a great deal. He is disappointed, however, by the lack of nationalist pride. "Nationalism," he says, "is a dirty word here. There is definitely an identity crisis among Ukrainians. It is only in the past 15 years that Ukrainians are starting to form a national identity outside of western Ukraine. But forming a national idea takes time," he adds.

Lydia Matiaszek, who, with her husband, Petro, has lived and worked in Kyiv for 10 years, is most struck by how diverse Ukraine is. She, too, has traveled extensively throughout the country with her jobs with CARITAS, IREX and USAID, and recalls a visit to a village in the Sumy Oblast named Sontse (Sun) to illustrate her point: "The people in the village sang Ukrainian songs but spoke Russian in everyday life. The stereotypes have changed. Sure the Ukrainian language is an issue, but I have met a lot of Russian-language speakers who are better patriots and better Ukrainians than Ukrainian speakers. Just as I have met Ukrainians in the east who are very positive about Ukraine and Ukrainians in the west who are very cynical."

Mrs. Matiaszek emphasizes that the east/west divide in Ukraine "is hyped – people tend to fulfill that prophecy," she says. "The fact of the matter is that Ukrainians still identify with the same culture."

When Borys Gudziak first arrived in Ukraine in 1988 "it was not the romantic, idyllic homeland of my parents and grandparents but a complex, extremely fascinating society." He says that people

were "passionately thirsty for the Good News, the Gospel, and very hungry for the authentic presentation of its history, which for an aspiring priest and professional historian was a very attractive world." He was ordained a priest in Lviv in 1998, 10 years after first coming to Ukraine, and today is rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv.

The Rev. Gudziak says that in the early days "religion was the forbidden fruit" and people were incredibly interested in Bibles. Today many Ukrainians do not go to Church – the statistics are especially low in central and eastern Ukraine, he says – but he is moved by the "spiritual journeys of people looking for accompaniment."

Journalistic curiosity and love of her ancestral roots first brought Marta Kolomayets to Ukraine in the mid-1980s. Ms. Kolomayets opened the Kyiv Press Bureau of *The Ukrainian Weekly* in 1991 and currently works with the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation.

"I saw this great love my grandparents had for Ukraine, and if it was important to them, it was important to me. When I first began traveling to Ukraine I saw that these were normal people with everyday problems living in a closed society without democratic principles, openness and the ability to see the outside world. These were opportunities that America had offered me, and I wanted to see that for Ukraine," she says.

Since her time in Ukraine, Ms. Kolomayets has seen the creation of a middle class. "People are more open, curious – some have seen the world. I feel that Ukraine is really part of Europe, and that it's the only direction it can go."

So are our compatriots Ukrainians or Americans? Mr. Charchalis says that in a strange way, he no longer fits into either society. "When I'm in Ukraine I feel very American, and when I'm in the U.S., a Ukrainian. I feel much more of a foreigner when I return to the U.S. because I've changed, as has the U.S."

Mrs. Matiaszek says that "with each year I become more of a tourist in the U.S. and in the diaspora. I no longer identify with the same priorities [as the diaspora]. People's good intentions aren't always focused in the right direction. Ukraine is very different from what we've imagined."

The Rev. Gudziak echoes Mrs. Matiaszek's sentiment: "today, with all its paradoxes, Ukraine is changing, growing, and needs to speak for itself. We may not always like how Ukraine's position is articulated, but it is unrealistic to neglect contemporary Ukraine's social and cultural expression."

Ms. Kolomayets finds herself in a unique position: "I can't be considered American any more, or Ukrainian. I've accepted it. I can live in two cultures and, because of that, I can promote what is good about America and what is good about Ukraine – as well as criticize both."

We define ourselves in the context in which we live. Sometimes we are Ukrainians. Sometimes Americans. Sometimes both.

### Tired of searching and surfing?

*The Ukrainian Weekly - your one reliable source for all the news about Ukraine and Ukrainians.*

## PRESIDENT VIKTOR YUSHCHENKO ADDRESSES EUROPE

# Address to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

Following is the text of President Viktor Yushchenko's address to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on January 25. The text is from BBC Monitoring based on a live broadcast on Ukraine's Channel 5.

Mr. Chairman, esteemed members of parliamentary delegations! It is a great honor for me to start my work as president of Ukraine by visiting the ancient city of Strasbourg and speaking to you here, within the walls of the oldest European political institution. The strategy of European unity formulated in 1946 by Sir Winston Churchill – to find a means that, like a miracle, would make the whole of Europe free and happy – has been fully embodied by the Council of Europe (CE). When Ukraine joined the Council of Europe in 1995, its intention was to become part of such a Europe, to share its values and to make a contribution to solving common problems.

Thanks to our membership in the Council of Europe – and we will mark a decade of it since the autumn of 1995 – thanks to the unwavering attention paid to us by CE institutions, and especially European parliamentarians, Ukraine has been able to survive a difficult transition period. Ukraine has been able to overcome the illnesses it inherited from its totalitarian past, as well as the teething pains of a young democracy. We are sincerely grateful to the Parliamentary Assembly for its support and encouraging signals, as well for its fair and some-

times tough criticism over the past 10 difficult years.

We are grateful to you because you sounded the alarm when the horrible tragedy of journalist Heorhii Gongadze happened, because you stood in the way of a final assault on freedom of speech in my country, and for your constant attention to Ukrainian constitutional reform. I would like to say special thanks to two courageous PACE rapporteurs, Hanne Severinsen and Renate Wohlwend, who were Europe's eyes, voice and conscience in Ukraine.

All together, despite all obstacles, we have been able to build a democratic and law-abiding civil society in Ukraine, and to approach the high standards of the Council of Europe, to implement the humanist ideals on which the Council of Europe is based. I am confident that Ukraine's Orange Revolution was possible in large part thanks to the fact that European values, and first of all freedom and democracy, have firmly taken root in my people's mentality. Ukrainians as a free European nation, a signatory of the European convention on human rights, could not tolerate an assault on their freedoms. They stood up and defended their right to a free and honest election, freedom of speech and freedom to build their future.

I would like to convey the Ukrainian people's heartfelt thanks to all representatives of the Council of Europe, parliamentarians and observers for your support and assistance in that difficult time for Ukraine. Thank you for sacrificing

your Christmas holidays to travel all around Ukraine, from the east to the west, for your compassion and solidarity.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Right after Strasbourg, a symbol of Europe's conscience, reconciliation and democracy, I will be travelling to Auschwitz, a symbol of Europe's pain, the site of the Nazi's worst death camp. I will honor the memory of its prisoners – my father was one of them – and pay tribute to the people who liberated this camp and the whole Europe from Fascism. For me, Auschwitz is a personal pain. It is in the

protected.

Based on these principles, the Ukrainian government will work to ensure further democratization of government institutions, independence of the judiciary, real freedom of speech and improvement of the situation with the media. We will work to strengthen civil society and fight corruption, organized crime and illegal migration. Of course, we count on further support from the Council of Europe in achieving these ambitious goals, on using its powerful expert potential to speed up the adaptation of Ukrainian legislation and prac-



AP/Christian Lutz

**Ukraine's new President, Viktor Yushchenko, left, waves as he is greeted by supporters upon his arrival at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France, on January 25. Mr. Yushchenko said Ukraine can meet requirements to join the European Union and called on the 25-nation bloc to offer the prospect of full membership.**

### Quotable notes

"My father was a wounded soldier and he was in Auschwitz. He had a tattoo, 11367, on his chest. ... This is not my first time here. I came here with my children and I hope to come many more times, even with my grandchildren. This is a sacred place for me and my family. This is the place where my father suffered. ...

"Ukrainians know of the danger involved with intolerance and in losing one's checks and balances. We came to Independence Square to defend those sacred values – liberty, human rights. ...

"And I will guarantee that in Ukraine there will never be anti-Semitism, xenophobia or hatred between people. ... There will never again be a Jewish question in my country. The tragedy of the past will never be repeated on the soil of Ukraine."

– Viktor Yushchenko, addressing a forum in Krakow on January 27 before ceremonies marking the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, as quoted by the Associated Press. The Ukrainian president's father, Andriy, was a prisoner of war at Auschwitz from February to July 1944; he was also imprisoned in Dachau and Buchenwald.



AP/Alik Keplicz

**President Viktor Yushchenko speaks in Krakow on January 27 during a forum to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi death camp Auschwitz-Birkenau.**

details of my father's memories, which I pass on to my children.

It is in the handful of earth on which I swore never to allow any manifestations of anti-Semitism or intolerance to other nations, religions, languages or cultures in Ukraine. Auschwitz and Hitlerism, the Gulag and Soviet totalitarianism, the Holocaust and the Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, which took up to 10 million human lives and was concealed for many years by the Stalin regime behind the Iron Curtain, the deportation of entire peoples and shooting of peaceful demonstrators, persecution of opponents and other horrors Europe saw in the 20th century make us remember, first of all, our common responsibility for the fate of every European country.

It makes us remember that we must never allow new division lines or new Berlin walls to be built, behind which any crimes can be committed in secret and go unpunished. And the main thing: it makes us remember that we must ensure the law prevails, that any violations of human rights are unacceptable, because the consequences can be irreparable.

In connection with this I would like to repeat your words, Mr Chairman, that our strength is in our commitment to human rights and democracy not as abstract values or empty words, which are often spoken but mean little, but in responsibility based on mandatory rights and demonstrated in practice. I would like to reassure you that I, as president of Ukraine, will do all I can to make sure that the democratic transformations in my country are irreversible, that the fundamental principles of the Council of Europe prevail, that human rights, pluralistic democracy and the rule of law are

Ukraine's new government will closely cooperate with all the other branches of power, especially the legislative branch, to carry out the last two commitments we undertook when joining the Council of Europe.

I also believe it is my moral duty to provide maximum assistance to the investigation of the Gongadze case and other high-profile investigations of violence against journalists and to bringing the culprits to justice.

It is my deep belief that the truly democratic nature of the changes that you have witnessed in Ukraine, the maturity demonstrated by Ukrainian society during the election, the Ukrainian leadership's commitment to European values and the principles of democracy are vivid proof of the need for qualitative changes in our country's cooperation with the Council of Europe and, above all, its Parliamentary Assembly beyond the framework of procedures established decades ago under very different circumstances and for putting it on a foundation of true partnership.

Such a step would not only confirm Ukraine's progress along the path of democratic reforms but would prove true evolution of the assembly itself and its ability to provide an appropriate response to today's realities. This would also become a significant incentive for Ukraine's progress along the path of the single European area of democratic stability, creating which is perhaps the organization's most important goal.

The end of the presidential election in Ukraine is only the beginning of a healing process until full recovery as a fully

(Continued on page 25)



## PRESIDENT VIKTOR YUSHCHENKO ADDRESSES EUROPE

# Speech at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland

*Below is the text of President Viktor Yushchenko's speech at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, as carried live by Ukraine's Channel 5 TV on January 28. The English text was prepared by BBC Monitoring.*

Dear presidium, dear friends, guests and colleagues in this hall. One hundred and fifty years ago the Ukrainian prophet, Taras Shevchenko, said these words: "Fight, and you shall win, God will help you; truth, strength and holy will are with you." We fought and we have won. This is perhaps the most important event in Ukraine in recent months.

You have just seen a unique, probably unexpected for many of you, video [shown before the speech]. Millions of Ukrainians on the square in Kyiv defended their rights, their dignity and justice. They demonstrated courage, tolerance and mercy. An interesting fact is that people came to the streets not to demand bread.

They were united by their desire to have freedom. For the sake of it they overcame hunger, cold and fear. They shared bread and warmth with everybody who came to the square and stood next to them. Armed only with belief in their righteousness, they defeated tyranny and lawlessness peacefully and elegantly. The whole world applauded them. A modern Ukrainian nation has revealed itself to the world. But this victory does not belong to my people only.

Ukrainians have shown that European values unite people on the orange square in Kyiv just as they did during the Velvet Revolution on Vaclav Square in Prague. If we believe that the history of mankind is the history of freedom, then Ukraine is beginning the third millennium. Ukraine has shown that it belongs to the civilization of European nations. We are not on the way to it and not on the sidelines. We are in the center of Europe. We are on a straight path now. Ukraine's European choice was made in the hearts and minds of Ukrainians.

I have the honor to speak to you today on behalf of a free Ukraine. I became president by the will of its people, who chose democracy and well-being. I have only one goal – to implement their will.

I represent one of the biggest countries in Europe. Europe's geographic center is located in Ukraine. Ukrainians are one of the world's best-educated nations.



**German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder shakes hands with Ukraine's President Viktor Yushchenko at a local hotel on the sidelines of the World Economic Forum on January 28.**

We have everything it takes to be on par with the leaders of the modern globalized world. My country has long been a wise and powerful, but sleeping giant.

Today it is awakening. Democracy paves the way to realizing its potential. I am convinced that one of the most modern European markets is being currently formed in Ukraine.

Back in 2000, my government led Ukraine along the path of economic growth. The foundations of stable GDP growth were laid at that time. Last year GDP grew by 12.4 percent. There are all grounds for an optimistic



**President Victor Yushchenko presents his special message to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, on January 28.**

forecast for the future. However, many opportunities for economic growth were lost in the past years. As a result, the economy remained disproportional and social standards were very low. An oligarchic economic model was being formed in Ukraine, its black market growing and corruption spreading.

Investors had a natural reaction to these things. The amount of direct foreign investment in Ukraine is much lower than in our neighbors. It is \$165 per capita in Ukraine. In Russia this figure is \$280, in Poland \$2,100 and in the Czech Republic \$2,200.

Dear friends, the time of missed chances is over. We, together with you, are starting the time of realized opportunities. Our goal is to turn the Ukrainian economy into a social and market-oriented system that will ensure its stable growth. This is our first strategic goal. To achieve this goal we are going to take a number of steps soon.

- First, eliminating the black economy. About 55 percent of the national economy is in the black sector now. Taxes will be cut, but everybody will pay them. Privileges for the selected few will be cancelled soon. Taxation will be transparent and stable.

- The second step is renewing the foundation of macroeconomic stability. The budget will be balanced and its stabilizing role will be increased by using tough budget restrictions and stricter principles for state loans.

- The third step is the fight against corruption. My government will not steal. Local governments will not steal. Business will be separated from politics. We will remove excessive obstacles and excessive regulation, which are the origin of corruption. Administrative reform will make the authorities at all levels transparent.

- The fourth step is the establishment of honest justice. We will establish an independent judiciary and complete judicial reform. Courts will become effective legal means to resolve conflicts.

- The fifth step is attracting investment. We are interested in modern technology and business culture coming to our country. We will promote investment using legislation and economic incentives. Privatization will be transparent. Competition of investors for lucrative companies will be honest. A few days ago a court froze the accounts of the Kryvorizhstal plant, the privatization of which was quite dubious.

To achieve our goal we are ready to cooperate with partners from various parts of the globe.

Our next strategy is to integrate more into the world economy. We will work to receive the market economy

status as soon as possible and speed up our entry into the World Trade Organization. This is the task for 2005.

Ukraine wants to strengthen mutually beneficial partnership with all its neighbors, both in the east and in the west. We are ready to widely develop Ukrainian-Russian partnership, with a view to realizing our economic interests and maintaining peace and security in Europe. I am convinced that this approach of ours was received with understanding during my visit to Moscow.

The Orange Revolution paved the way to a new quality of our partnership with the united Europe. Our third strategic goal is Ukraine in the European Union. History, economic prospects and people's interests show that the Ukrainian way to the future is the way of the united Europe. A renovated Ukraine hopes for support by European institutions and highly praises the signal given by the European Parliament on January 13. I believe that everyone will support its call for giving Ukraine a clear European perspective. We welcome EU plans to develop a new strategy of relations with Ukraine. We want this strategy to aim at opening the European Union's doors for Ukraine. Ukraine is going to officially apply for EU membership soon.

I would like to emphasize that Ukraine can significantly contribute to the development of a new united Europe. I will name some of these opportunities as examples.

- First, we are proposing our help to maintain peace and security, especially in the regions that are our common neighbors.

- Second, Ukraine is ready to take part in the implementation of European security and defense goals even more actively. Our contribution to peacekeeping efforts in the Balkans has already been highly praised. Ukraine is ready to maintain stable energy supplies to Europe, offering its great transit potential. We can now start a high-level dialogue with everyone on all energy issues. We consider it promising to involve partners from EU countries to form a gas transport consortium.

Without a doubt, our country will remain a reliable partner of the EU in the joint fight against international terrorism and organized crime. I am convinced that we have great potential to implement the formula a "flourishing Ukraine in a successful united Europe." We are ready to confirm the announced intentions with day-to-day work. I want to make every decision of the new authorities a step toward the implementation of our goal.

The introduction of European social, economic and political standards will be the alpha and omega in the work of the new Ukrainian authorities. I have a team capable of implementing my plan.

We have worked out a national strategy of European integration, which is aimed at quickly achieving the requirement for EU membership. The strategy takes into account the experience of our neighbors. It envisages specific ways to achieve political and economic requirements set out in Copenhagen – harmonizing the judicial system, reforming justice and law-enforcement agencies, pursuing a balanced foreign policy and implementing necessary changes in the work of the Ukrainian government bodies.

The new government will be working in line with this strategy. Its implementation will be the criterion for assessing the work of all the ministries. I have introduced the post of vice prime minister for European integration to coordinate their actions. I expect convincing results of this work very soon.

Dear Friends, Ukraine is beginning its movement towards extremely ambitious goals. But I'm convinced that they are real for my government and for my nation. The will of Ukrainians who threw down the burden of the past makes them real. The will of Ukrainians, a free European nation, makes them real.

You have seen reports from [Independence] Square. Ukrainian flags were beside the flags of all the European countries, from Portugal to Poland. This is a glance into the future. Ukraine opened the third millennium of European history. On behalf of Ukraine, I salute you. I invite you to Ukraine.

Dear Friends, it is very important to us that you stand beside us at this moment – which I am sure is historic not only for my country and my nation but also for Europe. I am addressing you as president – help Ukraine and you will soon see a beautiful European nation. Thank you.

## REFLECTIONS OF ELECTION OBSERVERS

### *In the city of Dnipropetrovsk*

by Michael Kostiuk

Shortly after the second round of the Ukrainian presidential election was officially invalidated by the Supreme Court of Ukraine, the government of Canada announced that it would send 500 Canadians to be election observers for the repeat second round election. Approximately 100 of these Canadians would be assigned to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) while the remaining 400 would be part of the Canada Corps mission to Ukraine. I was one of the Canadians chosen to be an OSCE observer. After receiving a day and a half of training in Ottawa, the observer group left on two charter flights for Kyiv on the evening of December 22. Shortly after our flight landed in Kyiv we were separated into OSCE and Canada Corps teams and bussed to our assigned hotels. From this point I did not see any other Canada Corps members until the return to Ottawa flight on December 29.

On December 23 a one-day OSCE election orientation session was held at the Ukrainian Aviation University in Kyiv. One of the most important rules that we were told to observe in both the Ottawa and Kyiv training sessions was the rule of impartiality. In fact we were told that "we shouldn't give a damn" who wins the election as long as it is carried out in a fair and open manner. We were not to take sides in the election, nor were we to be seen to be favoring one side or the other. That meant, among other things, to avoid wearing partisan colors of the two candidates such as white, light blue or orange.

The OSCE in Ukraine supplied the OSCE short-term observers with an election kit that required each two-person OSCE team to record various important observations on election day. Some teams were also assigned to monitor the activities of the Territorial Election Commissions (or TECs) and that meant staying there overnight, often until noon the next day. I was part of an OSCE group that was

*Michael Kostiuk of Ottawa was a short-term observer for the OSCE.*

assigned to the city of Dnipropetrovsk. We travelled there via the overnight train on the same evening as our OSCE orientation session in Kyiv. I was teamed with Aurore Chaigneau, a law professor from Paris.

The city of Dnipropetrovsk was founded in 1787 by Count Potemkin on the order of Catherine the Great on the site of a Kozak fortress. To this day the local people still take pride in their Kozak heritage. The region has a population of 3.7 million, and the main industries are heavy machinery, chemicals, food products, as well as rockets.

For the many rich citizens there are many expensive shops and high-quality restaurants situated around the city's main street, Karl Marx Prospect. The main square of the city is Lenin Square, which contains a very large statue of Lenin. The square, as well as many parts of the city, are being transformed by the additions of many new modern structures. Construction cranes dot the skyline. The McDonald's restaurant is a very popular spot on the square, as are the huge outdoor electronic advertising billboards, which display "loud" rock videos and an assortment of commercial messages to the delight of the young people who frequent the area.

The city also has a very good streetcar/tram line that runs on dedicated "right of ways" and on very wide tree-lined boulevards in the center of the city. The tramlines also extend across the Dnipro River to the suburban and peri-urban areas. These tram lines and wide boulevards are a legacy of Soviet city planning, and most Canadian cities would love to have them. However, while the center of the city appears to be booming, the peripheral areas show signs of decay with poorly lit roads.

On the day before the December 26 vote our OSCE team, consisting of Aurore, our driver, our interpreter and me, visited our assigned polling stations to let the polling station personnel know we were coming the next day. I dressed in proper business attire, wearing an OSCE armband and with election observer accreditation clearly visible. Having worked in Ukraine before I know the importance of presenting oneself as a competent professional.

At 7:30 a.m. on election day we went to our first polling station. We asked permis-



A scene from the city center of Kyiv.

sion to take pictures and videos at every poll, even though the election law allowed it. Throughout the day every polling station played loud, fun-style (even disco) music, and there were also bake sales in the lobbies of the schools. The idea here is that election day can be a fun day as well. With the exception of one nervous and agitated polling commissioner, we were treated extremely well in our visits to the polling

stations. Most of these visits were also recorded on my digital video camera.

Our team recorded the opening of two polling stations, observed and made written reports of 18 polling stations, and observed the closing of Polling Station No. 6 in TEC No. 25. A copy of the vote protocol was obtained from Polling

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### *Monitoring in Kirovohrad*

by Helena Schultz

I am in a passenger van bouncing down the bumpy highway between Kirovohrad and Kyiv in Ukraine. After observing elections all day on December 26, and the tallying and reporting of the results into the early morning hours of December 27, my teammates and I had attempted to catch a few hours of sleep at our heatless hotel (we joked that the only way we could get warmer air into our rooms was to open the windows) before heading back to Kyiv. Now the five others and I were tired and mostly silent or asleep. On the trip down we had chatted and joked as we got acquainted and speculated on what awaited us. Now, after the initial exhilaration of reporting overwhelmingly favorable results for Viktor Yushchenko in all of our precincts, we were anxious to learn how the election went in the rest of the country.

After having witnessed the peaceful

*Helena Schultz, a lawyer from Colorado, traveled to Ukraine as an election observer of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.*

demonstrations of the Orange Revolution on behalf of Viktor Yushchenko, my group of observers was anything if not biased in his favor. The hope for a free and democratic Ukraine was the reason our forebears had preserved their beloved culture and language after fleeing to escape the oppression of the Communist era.

Despite anticipating the worst in terms of election violations, our experience in Kirovohrad was anti-climactic. A local coordinator assigned teams of two to visit some six precincts each. Each precinct we visited received us with politeness and even warmth, except for the director of Precinct No. 38 who was facially polite but could not conceal his disdain. I believe just the fact that we had cameras and camcorders and used them liberally was our greatest contribution.

My partner was Stefan Kaczaraj, president of the Ukrainian National Association. At each precinct he immediately sought out the local Yushchenko observers, of which there were generally also two, and went into a huddle with them. I used my limited knowledge of Russian to speak with some of the commissioners and observers for whom

Ukrainian did not come readily.

My partner and I opened Precinct No. 12 at which Igor Valentinovich, who was from the Yushchenko camp, was director. Under the new rules, the director and secretary of each precinct had to be from different sides, in addition to which the commission members had to be equally balanced as did the numbers of local observers.

The most serious violation I witnessed occurred later, when we returned to Precinct No. 12 about an hour before the polls closed at 8 p.m. By then everyone was comfortable enough to engage in some banter. When I asked the secretary, Ludmilla, who was of the Yanukovich persuasion, how many votes had been cast so far, she indicated some 1,700 as of 6 p.m., then added, "but we expect another 1,700 before 8." This, in a precinct with only a little over 2,000 registered voters, so clearly she was joking!

A little later, a gentleman came in with a voter registration for his wife who was in Kyiv and could not get back to Kirovohrad to vote, so he wanted to vote in her place. Clearly, what he proposed was a violation, but as an observer I hung back to see how the locals would handle it. Ludmilla first told him no, but then relented and started to lead him over to the appropriate commissioners. At that point,

I interrupted and announced that was not allowed. Ludmilla acted surprised, and said, "Oh, it's not allowed? Well then, I guess we can't do it." The gentleman took it well because he knew what he was asking was against the rules, but the election commissioner who had started to prepare his ballot and who was a Yushchenko person threw down her pencil in anger.

I concluded that the gentleman was a probable Yushchenko vote and that was reinforced when later another Yushchenko commissioner came and asked me whose side I was on. My response was that I was there to promote an honest election and uphold the laws. I was left wondering how many incidents of this type happened while my partner and I were at other polling places and how many of them favored Viktor Yanukovich since Ludmilla was making the decisions.

The closing presented challenges of its own. We had some communications with other observers during the day, and the general consensus was that things were going cleanly. Nevertheless, there was concern that, at the end, results could get lost, stolen, misreported, or a serious irregularity could be intentionally introduced to

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## REFLECTIONS OF ELECTION OBSERVERS

### *Kyiv to Cherkasy and back*

by Marko W. Kipa

I was an observer at the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington for the second round of the presidential election and was invited on December 8, 2004, to serve as a delegate for the International Republican Institute's (IRI) Ukraine Presidential Election Observation Mission. My decision to accept and serve as an election observer for the repeat second round meant that I would not be home for Christmas for the first time in my life, but my family never expressed any reservation about my decision. My parents, having been born in Ukraine and maintaining active roles in matters Ukrainian, fully supported my decision even after reading numerous reports warning of unrest during and after the election. This scene was not uncommon – it played itself out several thousand times as aspiring observers informed their families of their "observer" intentions.

I arrived in Kyiv early in the afternoon on Friday, December 23. A wintery greyness hung over the city and would remain there for the duration of my stay. The trip from Kyiv's Boryspil airport took longer than usual because traffic had clogged the city's thoroughfares due to the "tent city" on Kyiv's main street, the Khreschatyk.

*Marko Kipa, an attorney licensed to practice in Maryland and in the District of Columbia, is a law clerk for Judge Bohdan A. Futey at the U.S. Court of Federal Claims. He was a delegate for the International Republican Institute's Ukraine Presidential Election Observation Mission, serving as an observer at the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington for the second round and in Cherkasy, Ukraine, for the repeat second round of the Ukrainian presidential election.*

The extra time gave me the opportunity to better observe what was taking place on the streets. I gazed in amazement at the ubiquitous orange propaganda splattered about town: ribbons on arms, banners and posters on buildings, and political billboards. Students from the group Pora fervently waved their flags as our convoy passed one of their rallies. The city was energized by the developments of the previous weeks and the awareness of the historical significance of the upcoming election.

\* \* \*

The next day, the delegations parted ways and each team began its journey to its appointed region. My team would be traveling two and a half hours southeast from Kyiv to Cherkasy. Approximately half an hour after leaving Kyiv, the landscape changed dramatically. The "highway" narrowed to two lanes, one in each direction, and the dark-soiled, lightly snow-covered fields extended as far as the eye could see. The grandiose vistas of Kyiv gave way to small, drab deteriorating villages, and roadside carts replaced the Besarabskyi Bazaar. We passed a makeshift memorial which still marked the exact place where the popular and fiery leader of the Rukh movement, Vyacheslav Chornovil, lost his life on a tragic night five years ago.

Early Sunday morning, armed with our questionnaires, we began our work. Over the course of the day, we visited 14 polling stations: in the city, in the surrounding villages, and even in a jail. For the most part, the reception from newly appointed election commission members was non-hostile, even cordial. We were permitted to enter every polling station we visited and representatives from both sides were eager to answer our questions. Although there were some minor prob-

lems with the voting list, they were not as pronounced as in the previous two rounds.

One episode we encountered had been the subject of several recent rumors and involved a reporter affiliated with the Yanukovych camp. The reporter had a stack of alleged violations in her hand and was seeking to have the head and secretary of the election commission at the polling station sign the complaints. When they refused to sign her complaints, she turned to us and asked us to tell the commission members to sign the complaints or to sign the complaints ourselves. We informed her that we were only there to observe and that we were not authorized to sign any documentation. Although she would eventually let the issue rest, she did not do so before devoting approximately 20 minutes to trying to persuade us of her position. After she finished speaking with us, I noticed that she had an extended conversation with our facilitator. He later told us that the reason she was so adamantly seeking to have the complaints signed was that she would be paid 10 hrv for every complaint that was endorsed.

We observed the vote count and accompanied the final tally to the Territorial Election Commission. We contacted IRI Kyiv to provide them with our final tally, and IRI Kyiv would verify the numbers once they arrived at the Central Election Commission. This procedure was employed in all the oblasts where IRI deployed its delegates. Our day had officially come to an end.

\* \* \*

We returned to Kyiv mid-afternoon on Monday. Not surprisingly, political discourse dominated every discussion and even filled the air. The "Tak!" movable TV trucks, which were parked on the Khreschatyk were already broadcasting a Yushchenko victory. The people gathered

around the TV screens to catch the latest news. The tenants of tent city milled about and talked with anyone who would listen or had anything to say. The maids began to slowly fill with people in anticipation of a Yushchenko victory speech and celebration. Unfortunately, 100 percent of the precincts had not yet reported, and no speech was forthcoming. We received word, however, that Yushchenko would be speaking the next day at 7 p.m.

On Tuesday, December 28, shortly before the appointed hour, we arrived at the maids. It was an ocean of people with more than its share of flags. The crowd encompassed every generation. Grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren filled the square. They eagerly awaited their candidate, their president-elect. They would not be disappointed.

President-elect Yushchenko, building on his speech which proclaimed Ukraine "independent and free," told the crowd that "we are living in a different world." He expressed gratitude to his supporters for enduring hardship and yet remaining on the maids during those tense days that followed the November 21, 2004, second round of voting. While he indicated that democracy was about to triumph in Ukraine, he cautioned that the struggle was not over. Mr. Yushchenko noted that the current government continued to function despite the Parliament's vote of no-confidence. He asked his supporters to prevent an "illegal" government meeting, which Mr. Yanukovych was supposed to attend, from occurring at the Cabinet of Ministers by blockading the building. Mr. Yushchenko concluded his remarks by inviting everyone to the maids for New Year's Eve and also for his upcoming public inauguration.

That evening on the maids was special for me. I was allowed to listen to Mr.

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### *This was only the beginning*

by Stefan Kaczaraj

As our plane flew over the Atlantic, I visualized the cities of Ukraine, now in the heat of the presidential election, and Kyiv's orange-bedecked Independence Square. I had been deeply moved by the accounts of the Orange Revolution that I had read in Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, and now I was preparing to become a part of this human wave. But I wondered: How would they look upon me, a foreigner, a Ukrainian from the United States, who would be serving as an election monitor?

At the Kyiv office of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America I learned that I had been assigned to Kirovohrad. During the campaign and in the first two rounds of the presidential election, it had not been peaceful in this city. The local authorities supported the current prime minister, Viktor Yanukovych, and had gone as far as to suppress the opposition press. ...

Upon arrival in Kirovohrad, I went to the bazaar to purchase some bread, kovbasa, cheese and water. I was immediately recognized as a foreigner and this elicited great interest on the part of the people I met. My interlocutors spoke with me in Ukrainian. And what was

*Stefan Kaczaraj is president of the Ukrainian National Association. He traveled to Ukraine as an election observer with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.*

notable was that the people around me easily switched from Russian to Ukrainian, depending on whom they were speaking with. From conversations at the bazaar I learned that the territory here was supportive of Viktor Yushchenko. The people were tired of corruption and cheating; they wanted to live like the people do in the rest of Europe.

In Kirovohrad my co-monitor, Helena Schultz, and I spent most of our time at Precinct No. 12, but we also visited Precinct Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 10. We were among the more than 30 election observers who were assigned to Kirovohrad.

[You can read more about our experiences at the polling places in Ms. Schultz's account on the preceding page.]

... We finished our work as monitors at almost 4 a.m. and headed for the hotel. Being in a strange city, we lost our way and decided to ask a trio of young men who were walking down the street. We barely finished asking directions to our hotel on Karl Marx Street when the young men started chanting: "Yushchenko!" Then they showed us the way. ...

After returning to Kyiv I went to the now famous tent city and spent some time in the tents. I remembered how Kyivans had taken care of the tent city and its inhabitants. In the tents it was warm, there was food. We heard Ukrainian carols everywhere. Although the results of the election were not yet known, on the maids there was a calm expectation of victory. ...

On the last night of 2004 I was invited to spend the evening with a couple from Kyiv whom my wife and I have known for many years. After dinner we headed for the maids, which was so full of people that it was not possible to even come near the main stage. So we stood back, but we saw everything on the huge screen: speeches were delivered by Viktor Yushchenko, Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili, Oleksander Moroz, Yulia Tymoshenko. Everyone around us was in a good mood; everyone was sharing treats and champagne.

It was not my first time in Kyiv, but it

was the first time that I felt that I was among my people in my dear Ukraine. Until then I had known Kyiv only as a Ukrainian city, but had not felt at home there. Now everything had changed. We sang, we talked with so many people. At about 2 a.m. I walked down the Khreschatyk toward the Bessarabka to Lesia Ukrainka Boulevard, where my hotel was located. Everywhere there were groups of people who were inviting others to join them in a toast, in caroling. The atmosphere was of one united Ukrainian family – although everyone understood that this was just the beginning and that much work lay ahead.



UNA President Stefan Kaczaraj (fourth from right) with revelers on the maids on New Year's Eve.

## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

gal weapons sales by officials loyal to former President Leonid Kuchma has led to secret indictments or arrests of at least six arms dealers accused of selling nuclear-capable missiles to Iran and China, a high-ranking intelligence official said on February 4, according to the

Associated Press. The deals with Moscow-allied states violate international non-proliferation treaties. The Security Service of Ukraine launched an investigation of the case involving Iran and China on February 14, 2004, but the probe was not publicized until this week, when National Deputy Hryhorii Omelchenko wrote to newly inaugurated Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko to ask him to pursue a full investigation.

Mr. Omelchenko made his letter available to The Associated Press. Mr. Yushchenko has promised to investigate illegal arms sales, including a U.S. allegation that his predecessor approved the sale of a sophisticated Kolchuha radar system to Iraq. Mr. Kuchma has denied the allegations. (Associated Press)

### Foreign minister is introduced

KYIV – While introducing newly appointed Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk to the Foreign Ministry staff on February 8, President Viktor Yushchenko stressed that European integration is the country's strategic course, Interfax reported. He added, however, that in order to take this course, Ukraine first needs to resolve its problems in its relations with Russia, which he called Ukraine's "eternal strategic partner." He added, "We cannot go to Europe with three or four valises of problems with Russia." Speaking about Ukraine's integration with Europe and potential EU membership, Mr. Yushchenko said it is a policy "not for one year," adding that "the answer to the question of when Ukraine will become an EU member is in Kyiv, not in Brussels." The president said he is fully convinced that Mr. Tarasyuk will be able to ensure the implementation of all Ukrainian foreign-policy interests. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### SBU to tackle corruption and crime

KYIV – While presenting the newly appointed chief of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), Oleksander Turchynov, to the SBU staff on February 8, President Viktor Yushchenko said he wants the SBU to focus primarily on fighting corruption and crime in the state, Interfax reported. "This is your sacrosanct duty – begin with the customs service and police," President Yushchenko said. "My goal is to have specific results by December. ... Begin with three or four cases that are known to all people. I'm sure that several successful investigations regarding embezzlement of public funds will help prevent thousands of wrongdoings." The previous day Mr. Yushchenko said that the appointment of Mr. Turchynov was a "very successful decision," explaining that "Turchynov is a well-known public politician, a kind of detonator, who will not let anyone feel safe. On the other hand, he will act fairly and openly, which is the main thing to restore people's trust in the work of [the SBU]." (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Privatization deals to be reviewed

KYIV – Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko said on February 8 that the government has requested that the Procurator General's Office examine all privatization deals made in the country in the past, Interfax reported. "This examination will be concluded by February 14, and the Procurator General's Office (PGO) will be able to provide the government with a full picture of how legally the privatization was conducted," Ms. Tymoshenko said. The prime minister added that the PGO has already appealed to the Supreme Court against a decision of the High Economic Court of October that acknowledged the controversial privatization of the Kryvorizhstal metallurgical giant as lawful. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### New Cabinet takes over

KYIV – Following the approval of Yulia Tymoshenko as prime minister and the appointment of a new Cabinet of Ministers by President Viktor Yushchenko on February 4, 357 deputies endorsed the Cabinet program presented earlier by Ms. Tymoshenko in the Parliament, Ukrainian media reported. The vote gave the Tymoshenko Cabinet

immunity from no-confidence motions for a year. During its first working meeting on February 5, the Cabinet decided to annul last year's highly controversial privatization of the Kryvorizhstal steel mill, Ukrainian media reported. Kryvorizhstal, the country's largest metallurgical plant, was sold for \$800 million to political allies of former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, Viktor Pinchuk and Rynat Akhmetov, despite much higher bids from foreign investors. "[The decision] means that we have started the process of returning Kryvorizhstal to the state," Interfax quoted Ms. Tymoshenko as saying. She added that the details of the government's decision on Kryvorizhstal will be given in a separate press release. Simultaneously, the prime minister stressed that there will be no mass reprivatizations in the country. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### President to install new oblast chairs

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko on February 7 left Kyiv for Sumy, his native region, to present the newly appointed chairman of the Sumy Oblast to the regional administration staff, Interfax reported. State Secretary Oleksander Zinchenko and Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk accompanied the president on the trip. On February 4, following the appointment of new ministers to Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko's Cabinet, President Yushchenko signed decrees replacing with loyalists 24 chairmen of Ukrainian regions and the head of the Sevastopol City Administration. Kyiv Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko, a Yushchenko ally during the Orange Revolution, retained his post as head of the Kyiv City Administration. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### SBU chief vows to solve high-profile cases

KYIV – The newly appointed chief of the Security Service of Ukraine, Oleksander Turchynov, pledged that investigations on all cases that have not been solved or have been hushed up will be brought to a logical end. "All high-profile cases, all issues that have been pigeonholed or hushed up for a long time must be brought to their logical end," Mr. Turchynov told journalists after he learned about his appointment on February 4. "There will be no cases that will be dropped or that will be impossible to investigate," he said. Mr. Turchynov said he is not going to make any radical changes in the operations of the Security Service for some time. "Before making radical changes, it is necessary to thoroughly study all the nuances of the agency's operations and only then make some proposals," he said. The fight against crime and corruption and protection of the people's security will be priorities for the service, he said. "I believe the law enforcement and security agencies will start a new life with today's appointment, and every citizen should feel this," he said. (Interfax-Ukraine)

### A "government of people's trust"

KYIV – Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko has said the new Cabinet that was endorsed by the Parliament on February 4 can be called "a government of people's trust." He told reporters following the first Cabinet meeting that "The new government has been made up of the leading players who represent various political forces." The No. 1 problem in Ukraine is corruption, and the new team is determined not only to defeat this problem but also "develop a system for making healthy public decisions that will serve the nation," he added. Meanwhile, the Cabinet unanimously approved a program of activity titled "Meeting the People." (Interfax-Ukraine)

## Generational shift...

(Continued from page 1)

— were holdovers from the Communist era. Their formative careers took place in the 1960s and 1970s, during the Brezhnev "era of stagnation." In Ukraine this torpor was made doubly worse by the rule of hard-line Ukrainian Communist leader Volodymyr Shcherbytsky from 1972 to 1989.

These formative years certainly had a negative influence on Mr. Kravchuk, then ideological secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and Mr. Kuchma, then director of Pivdenmash, the world's largest producer of nuclear weapons. Ukraine began its post-Soviet development led by de-ideologized former Communists, who shared a lack of vision, an inability to break with Soviet ways of thinking and acting, and tolerance of corruption. They demonstrated "Little Russian" inferiority complexes, favored deception and were prone to cynicism. President Kravchuk aptly titled his memoirs, "We Have What We Have."

Ukraine's neo-Soviet generation has been replaced by one that was born in the 1950s and 1960s, whose formative careers were under Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the 1980s and independent Ukraine in the 1990s (Ukrainska Pravda, February 4). Their background and socialization are totally different – a factor that will have a profound and positive impact on Ukraine's domestic and foreign policies.

The new Cabinet includes individuals who are committed to "Europeanizing" Ukraine. Mykola Tomenko (Humanitarian Affairs), former U.S. citizen Roman Zvarych (Justice), Serhii Teriokhin (Economy), and Viktor Pynzenyk (Finance) are committed to breaking with the Soviet methods that still exist in many areas of government by introducing European standards and making government more accountable and transparent.

Ms. Tymoshenko's Cabinet of Ministers includes 10 members born in the 1950s and eight born in the 1960s. President Yushchenko is 50, and Prime Minister Tymoshenko is 44. The new Cabinet also includes two younger members, born in the 1970s, appropriately dealing with the portfolios of the environment and families and youth.

The new Cabinet's most radical departure from the Kravchuk-Kuchma era rests in placing the "power ministries" in the hands of young civilians. Internal Affairs, probably the most corrupt of these min-

istries, is in the hands of young Socialist Party activist Yurii Lutsenko, who is committed to rooting out corruption and resolving the murder of journalist Heorhii Gongadze. Mr. Lutsenko was an active organizer in the Orange Revolution.

Mr. Lutsenko replaces Mykola Bilokin, whose reputation is, according to U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Herbst, "unacceptable." Mr. Lutsenko has vowed to de-criminalize and de-politicize the Internal Affairs Ministry (known by its Ukrainian acronym as MVS). When he presented Mr. Lutsenko to the MVS, Mr. Yushchenko declared that the ministry should now serve "not the authorities, not criminal groups, but people" (maidan.org.ua, February 7).

The Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) is to be run by Ms. Tymoshenko's right-hand man, Oleksander Turchynov. (Ms. Tymoshenko is nicknamed "the Terminator," while Mr. Turchynov is known as "the Detonator.") Mr. Turchynov inherits a power ministry that did play a positive role in uncovering fraud in the 2004 elections. Presenting Mr. Turchynov to the SBU, President Yushchenko said, "In the SBU there was much that was not undertaken in the national interest, because individuals managed to get into it who were influenced not by state interests, but the interests of certain groups" (Ukrainska Pravda, February 7).

Ukraine's new minister of defense, Anatolii Hrytsenko, is a former military officer who recently led Kyiv's best think-tank, the Center for Economic and Political Studies. Commonly known as the Razumkov Center, the institute specialized in national security issues (uceps.com.ua). Mr. Hrytsenko headed the analytical-research wing of the Yushchenko election team.

The common thread uniting these new ministers, along with Oleh Rybachuk, vice prime minister for European integration, as well as the returned foreign affairs minister, Borys Tarasyuk, is a real commitment to democratization, rooting out corruption and integration with Europe. The Kuchma-era mismatch between un-European domestic policies combined with the stated foreign policy goals of joining the EU and NATO will no longer exist.

President Yushchenko's positive reception in the West shows that Western leaders accept that Ukraine is finally serious about "returning to Europe." The generation shift in Ukraine corroborates this new orientation.

"The bad news is that the Assembly Hall building, with its associated bar, kitchen, restaurant, school rooms and function rooms, has been completely destroyed, even though, remarkably, it is still standing. Having said that, though, the building is in a very precarious position, indeed, and will inevitably need to be demolished," he observed.

Mr. Mazur said he spoke with fire officials and confirmed that there were no indications as to the cause of the fire, and added that there was no speculation of wrongdoing with regard to how the fire started.

## Fire damages...

(Continued from page 4)

fire damage for myself, to monitor what is and should be happening at this early stage and to offer the community my own personal and the association's moral support," Mr. Mazur said in an e-mail message.

"The good news is that nobody was injured as a result of the fire and also that the original building, which housed a social club, some function rooms and school rooms, has remained essentially intact and functional," Mr. Mazur said.

## New Cabinet...

(Continued from page 1)

Yushchenko of the People's Power political coalition, and was seen by many throughout Ukraine as the soul of the Orange Revolution.

Ms. Tymoshenko's new Cabinet of Ministers includes three members of the Socialist Party of Ukraine, 15 members of the Our Ukraine coalition, one member of the Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, and one additional member of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc.

Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz's politically risky decision to throw his support behind Viktor Yushchenko during Ukraine's mass protests paid big dividends as he won key government positions for his party.

Socialists will head the powerful Internal Affairs Ministry, which oversees the police, and the Agriculture Ministry, a key agency in the country formerly known as "the breadbasket of Europe" and one of the world's top grain exporters today. Those ministries will be headed by, respectively, Yurii Lutsenko and Oleksander Baranivskiy.

The party also received oblast chairmen's posts in the strategically important Black Sea port region of Odesa and the Poltava region. Mr. Moroz said that his party will also take over leadership of the State Property Fund, which is expected to play a key role in the new government's plans to reconsider some of Ukraine's murky post-Soviet privatization deals.

"I am convinced the participation of the Socialists will be essential," said Mykola Rudkovskiy, a Socialist member of the Verkhovna Rada. "I am sure that with such government positions, the Socialists will have influence on Cabinet policy."

The announcement of the top government positions on Friday, February 4, came after a 24-hour delay, sparked by haggling with the Socialists who threatened to move into opposition to the new government unless they were handed influential Cabinet positions.



Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko

Mr. Moroz played a crucial role in Mr. Yushchenko's presidential victory. After coming in third place in the first round of the presidential election, Mr. Moroz threw his support behind the Our Ukraine leader, even though they were mostly united only in their disdain for former President Leonid Kuchma's corruption-tainted rule.

After Mr. Yushchenko's rival, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, was declared the winner of the November 21 balloting, prompting mass protests, Mr. Moroz and his team joined Mr. Yushchenko in condemning the stolen votes. He became a regular figure alongside Mr. Yushchenko on Independence Square, where hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians gathered around-the-clock for weeks.

"Their positions are equal to their contribution," said Oleksander Dergachev, an analyst with the Kyiv-based Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies. "Now they can play an essential role in improving the situation in the country."

Mr. Moroz played down his party's success saying "we entered the govern-

ment modestly today, but with very worthy people."

But the Socialist Party's win of the Internal Affairs Ministry post was seen as a major victory, especially because new Prime Minister Tymoshenko's ally, Oleksander Turchynov, also was angling for the job.

"The more you have, the more you want, of course," said Stanislav Nikolayenko, the newly named minister of science and education. "But we think that for the current stage, this is enough."

The Socialists, who have never held real power in post-Soviet Ukraine, said their aim is to prove that they are up to the task. "I hope that we will be professional enough and have the honor to prove that Socialists are able to build, and not only tents," said the new internal affairs minister, Mr. Lutsenko.

Socialist Party Chairman Moroz described the appointment of the new government as a good start for reforms that the country needs. "This is also the

beginning of preparations for democratizing all of society and the entire sphere of public affairs in Ukraine, after which the next elections will be held on a different basis and on different principles, and a coalition government will be put together," Mr. Moroz told journalists on February 4, according to Interfax-Ukraine.

At the same time, Mr. Moroz added: "I cannot say that I am fully satisfied with the quotas of positions in the government." He suggested that, in making government appointments, the president proceeded from "a balance of interests between the authorities and political forces."

National Deputy Viktor Pinchuk of the People's Will parliamentary faction told journalists he believes the appointment of the new government is a kind of carte blanche given to the president. "I believe everybody is giving carte blanche to the president," Mr. Pinchuk said. Of the new government's composition, he said, "I like the young faces."

## CABINET OF MINISTERS

### Prime Minister:

Yulia Tymoshenko

### First Vice Prime Minister:

Anatolii Kinakh (Industrialists and Entrepreneurs)

### Vice Prime Ministers:

European Integration: Oleh Rybachuk (Our Ukraine)

Humanitarian and Social Issues: Mykola Tomenko (Our Ukraine)

Administrative-Territorial Reform: Roman Bezsmertnyi (Our Ukraine)

### Ministers:

Agrarian Policy: Oleksander Baranivskiy (Socialist)

Internal Affairs: Yurii Lutsenko (Socialist)

Foreign Affairs: Borys Tarasyuk (Our Ukraine)

Economy and European Integration: Serhii Teriokhin (Our Ukraine)

Culture and Arts: Oksana Bilozir (Our Ukraine)

Defense: Anatolii Hrytsenko (Razumkov Center)

Science and Education: Stanislav Nikolayenko (Socialist)

Health Minister: Mykola Polischuk (Our Ukraine)

Environment: Pavlo Ihnatenko (Our Ukraine)

Fuel and Energy Minister: Ivan Plachkov (KyivEnerho)

Labor and Social Policy: Viacheslav Kyrylenko (Our Ukraine)

Finance Minister: Viktor Pynzenyk (Our Ukraine)

Justice: Roman Zvarych (Our Ukraine)

Family, Children and Youth: Yurii Pavlenko (Our Ukraine)

Emergencies Minister: Davyd Zhvania (Our Ukraine)

Industrial Policy: Volodymyr Shandra (Our Ukraine)

Transport and Communications: Yevhen Chervonenko (Our Ukraine)

Security Service of Ukraine: Oleksander Turchynov (Tymoshenko Bloc)

## CHAIRS OF OBLAST ADMINISTRATIONS

Vinnitsia: Oleksander Dombrovskiy

Volyn: Volodymyr Bondar

Dnipropetrovsk: Serhii Kasianov

Donetsk: Vadym Chuprun

Luhansk: Oleksii Danylov

Kharkiv: Arsen Avakov

Cherkasy: Oleksander Cherevko

Chernihiv: Vladyslav Atroschenko

Chernivtsi: Mykola Tkach

Kherson: Borys Selynkov

Khmelnitskiy: Vitalii Oluiko

Kyiv: Yevhen Zhovtiak

Zhytomyr: Pavlo Zhebrivskiy

Zakarpattia: Viktor Baloha

Zaporizhia: Yurii Artemenko

Ivano-Frankivsk: Roman Tkach

Kirovohrad: Eduard Zainalov

Lviv: Petro Oliinyk

Mykolaiv: Oleksander Sadyba

Poltava: Stepan Bulba

Rivne: Vasyl Chervonii

Odesa: Vasyl Tsushko

Sumy: Mykola Lavryk

Ternopil: Ivan Stoiko

## HEADS OF CITY ADMINISTRATIONS

Kyiv: Oleksander Omelchenko

Sevastopol: Serhii Ivanov

Source: Consulate General of Ukraine in Toronto



Viktor Yushchenko and Oleksander Moroz during a pro-opposition rally in Kyiv on November 6, 2004.

## Orange Revolution sparks creative impulse in Ukraine

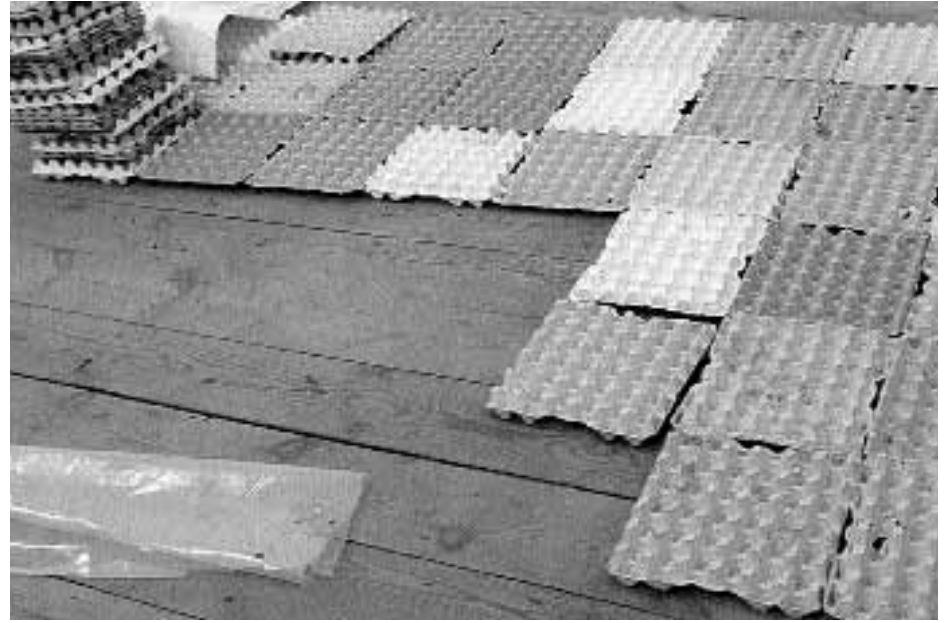


One maidan artist's depiction of demonstrators on line for food.

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – The Center for Contemporary Art in Kyiv became the site of an artistic happening called the Revolutionary Experimental Space (Revolutsiynyi Eksperymentalnyi Prostrir – R.E.P. – in Ukrainian) as the gallery was transformed into a venue for artists from the maidan, said Yuri Onuch, director of the center, who was recently in Toronto.

On December 4 the center invited artists taking part in the demonstrations on Independence Square to use the gallery space and its technical resources to create works of art inspired by their participation in the maidan events. Then, from December 18 to December 26 (the day of third round of the presidential election) the works, including installations, objects, painted canvases and graphics on paper, were shown in an exhibit open to the public. As art historian Halyna Skliarenko



Another artist created an installation of egg crates, a reference, no doubt, to the egging of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

wrote, the art works "recreated the mood of the maidan in images – its bitter, often brutal, humor, its tension and openness, and its carnivalesque ambiance."

According to the artists taking part, the main idea of their project, which was open to all regardless of age or education, was its process – the opportunity to

communicate and work together.

The photos on this page give only an idea of the works on view, most of which were in vivid color (no secret which color dominated). Mr. Onuch said that at the end of the exhibit most of the works were sold – many were bought by visiting foreign election observers.



A work of art serves as a backdrop for two young men seated at the makeshift drums used during the Orange Revolution.



A view of some of the other art works on display in the Kyiv gallery.

### In the city...

(Continued from page 10)

Station No. 6 after the vote count. The vote protocol contains the official results of the vote and is signed by the polling commissioners. Two of the polling stations also had specific problems that required the completion of a special comments form. After observing the vote count, we faxed our completed reports for the day's events back to Kyiv at 1:30 a.m. the next morning. We then had a debriefing session with the long-term observer for the region at 2:30 a.m. Hard copies of polling station reports and the protocol were dropped off at the OSCE desk when we returned to Kyiv on December 28.

One of the issues that stood out in our visits was the problem of access that older and disabled people have in getting to the polling stations. All of the polling stations that our OSCE team visited were located in schools, and many of the polls were located on the second or even third floors. As well, in a winter election, night comes early and the suburban and rural streets often have no streetlights. That is why some older people (in my opinion) did not get out to vote. Many of the manholes have also been stolen for scrap metal, making nighttime walking a hazard to say the least. Perhaps having the election in the late spring or early fall would allow more people the ability to get to the polls. As well, moving the polls to the first floors and installing ramps at the entrance to the schools would help

older and disabled people gain better access to their polling stations.

The common language in the region is Russian, although most people understand Ukrainian. Ukrainian is also the language of instruction in Ukrainian schools. According to the OSCE, the political situation in the region is somewhat complex. This is partly due to the fact that Viktor Yanukovich originates from neighboring Donetsk, which is a regional rival to Dnipropetrovsk. Consequently, Viktor Yushchenko is supported by some elements of the Dnipropetrovsk business community who are in competition with businesses in the Donetsk region. In the first run-off of the election Mr. Yanukovich received 60.94 percent, Mr. Yushchenko received 31.02 percent and 6.39 percent voted for

"against all." There is also a large student population attending the city's 26 universities and post-secondary institutions, and it is presumed that many are opposition supporters. There was even a small protest tent city situated near the Lenin statue.

Therefore, the vote split is not so much Ukrainian versus Russian, as it is region against region and between the younger-set (who do not know communism) and the older generations (who are still thinking about the long-term linkages to Moscow). It is also not so much about whether there needs to be change in Ukraine but what degree of change is needed and how quickly it should occur.

I feel fortunate that I was an election observer and look forward to other observer missions in the future.

# Panelists assess Ukraine's election and Orange Revolution

by Oksana Zakydalsky

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

TORONTO – Debriefings and discussions on the Orange Revolution continue. On January 24, St. Vladimir's Institute organized a public forum titled "Ukraine's Orange Revolution: An Expert Assessment of the 2004 Presidential Elections."

The four panelists were Mark Mackinnon, *Globe and Mail* correspondent stationed in Ukraine throughout the election events; Prof. Olya Andriewska, Trent University; University of Toronto graduate student Alesia Kachur; and lawyer Daniel Bilak. Prof. Frank Sysyn chaired the panel.

Prof. Andriewska was an election observer under the Canadian government spon-



Prof. Olya Andriewska

sored CANADEM program and was sent to Zaporizhia. She disagreed with the image of a deeply divided Ukraine that became a cornerstone of analysis in the West.

"It's a stereotype that's absolutely wrong but was repeated nonetheless – a Catholic, pro-Western Ukrainian-speaking western Ukraine on the one hand, and a pro-Russian Orthodox Russian-speaking eastern Ukraine, on the other. There was very good reason to treat this division or this stereotype with some skepticism. For one thing, the results of the election were fixed, and the worst excesses took place in eastern Ukraine. Secondly, the specter of secession was being raised by a particular group of people – Kuchma appointees. A permanent, east-west divide had always been one of Kuchma's favorite political cards and this theme was picked up by the Yanukovich campaign," she said.

What was getting much less coverage in the Western press was the fact that Viktor Yushchenko himself was from eastern Ukraine and that he was Orthodox. Many of the leaders of the political opposition, like Yulia Tymoshenko, were also from eastern Ukraine, Prof. Andriewska added.

Although Prof. Andriewska admitted that there are significant regional differences in Ukraine, she expressed doubt about whether these differences have actually consolidated into any kind of political identity. Viktor Yanukovich had received the highest percentage of votes in Zaporizhia after Donetsk, Luhansk and Crimea – 70 percent on both November 21 and December 26. But after talking to Yanukovich observers, supporters and voters, she said she was surprised by their lukewarm endorsement of the candidate.

"People there did not seem terribly excited about either Yanukovich or about voting. We typically asked the head of each electoral commission whom they represented. I was surprised by how many people said: I represent Yanukovich, but I'm really neu-

tral. This lack of intensity and passion was a real contrast to Kyiv. There was a real energy in Kyiv, and this was completely missing in Zaporizhia," she said.

Prof. Andriewska also noticed a generational divide. Yanukovich people were, for the most part, pensioners, and the most important issue for them was the fact that Yanukovich had raised pensions two months before the elections.

"I didn't get a sense that language was good predictor of political sentiments. Yanukovich drew his greatest support in the countryside where Ukrainian, or at least surzhyk, predominates. My experience seems to suggest that Zaporizhia was its own world. The Yanukovich supporters that I spoke to were appalled by what was going on in Kyiv; they were distraught by the young people who were demonstrating, but I never got the sense that they were actually looking to Donetsk for any sort of leadership," she added.

"Looking forward to the 2006 elections, there is no monolithic eastern Ukrainian culture, no single narrative of eastern Ukrainian history. At least not yet. Yet, there is a basis for this kind of identity, a basis for this kind of narrative. It would be built around the idea of Orthodoxy, in particular the cultural unity of Eastern Orthodox Slavs, an identity that can easily be fueled by an anti-Kyiv regionalism. What lends this strength is that there is an institutional component – the Orthodox Church, Moscow Patriarchate, that is promoting this identity," she concluded.

Mr. Bilak was in Ukraine as an observer for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and saw the election result as a vote on values. Mr. Yushchenko's answer to the question of where is Ukraine going was very clear: toward a united Europe.



Mark Mackinnon

"This European choice is not just about meeting the technical requirements of the EU, it's a choice of a set of values that Ukrainians believe they share with the rest of Europe – liberal democratic rather than Asiatic authoritarian values. Fifty-two percent of Ukrainians chose the European values, but 44 percent did not. The national unity issue revolves about how to reconcile these competing values, and managing this will be President Yushchenko's greatest challenge," Mr. Bilak said.

In order to start implementing these values there are, according to Mr. Bilak, two key priorities: changes in governance and political reform. Governance means changing the fundamental relationship between the citizen and the state, where the state serves the interest of the citizen and not the other way around.

Political reform can be divided into:

administrative reform and, at its core, the fight against corruption where corruption is tackled as an institutional rather than a people factor; judicial reform and the creation of an independent judiciary; the movement



Daniel Bilak

toward a parliamentary system of government and a deconcentration of power in line with most European countries. A free press and the creation of a civil society giving the citizen a voice should also be part of this reform, Mr. Bilak underlined.

Ms. Kachur described the role of students in the Orange Revolution, particularly the student organization Pora, which began organizing long before the opposition cried foul over the presidential elections. She said that it was the activists of Pora who orchestrated the mass demonstrations in Kyiv and set up tent camps throughout the city. She mentioned that the movement drew some of its inspiration and tactics from the booklet "From Dictatorship to Democracy" by Gene Sharp, a senior scholar at the (Soros-funded) Albert Einstein Institution in Boston.

Originally published in 1993 in Thailand for distribution among Burmese dissidents, "From Dictatorship to Democracy" played a role in galvanizing the opposition move-

ments in Serbia in 2000 and Georgia in 2003. (The book is available in English, Ukrainian and several other languages on the Internet). It espouses the concept of civil disobedience against dictatorships, arguing that dictators are never as strong as they tell you they are. They have internal weaknesses and problems that can be deliberately aggravated by intelligent opposition tactics.

Mr. Mackinnon was the only Canadian journalist who was stationed in Ukraine throughout the election events. After his first reports on the election appeared in the paper under the dateline of Moscow (he was the foreign correspondent for all countries of the former Soviet Union), he said that the hostile reaction of the Ukrainian community in Canada to his not being in Kyiv was instru-



Alesia Kachur

mental in convincing his editor that this was an important story for Canadians. He described the difficult situation of foreign correspondents with respect to stories in "countries of second importance" as newspapers and TV networks cut back funding to their foreign offices. He agreed that the election events in Ukraine was one of the top stories of the year.

## Silvestrov recording up for Grammys

by Yaro Bihun

WASHINGTON – A recording of a contemporary Ukrainian classical music composition has been nominated for two of this year's Grammy awards to be announced on Sunday, February 13. The CD recording of Valentin Silvestrov's "Requiem for Larissa" was nominated for best choral performance and best classical contemporary composition.

Valentin Silvestrov (born 1937) composed the work for mixed choir and orchestra between 1997 and 1999, after the sudden death in 1996 of his wife, musicologist Larissa Bondarenko. It was recorded in Kyiv in 2001 with the Dumka Ukrainian National Choir (Yevhen Savchuk, choirmaster) and the National Symphony Orchestra of Ukraine (Volodymyr Sirenko, conductor). The recording was released by ECM Records in 2004.

Mr. Silvestrov wrote all but one of the seven movements to well-known Latin liturgical texts "Requiem Aeternam," "Agnus Dei" and others. The fourth movement features the mournful verse of Taras Shevchenko's "Son" (The Dream), beginning with

the words "Farewell, O world! Farewell, O earth!"

While most of the public's attention is focused on the Grammy award winners and nominees in popular music categories, the awards – in 107 categories – are presented by the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences to honor the best recordings in all genres. President Bill Clinton is among the nominees in the Spoken Word Album category for the recording of his biography "My Life."



Cover of the Grammy-nominated recording of Valentin Silvestrov's "Requiem for Larissa."

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## Congressional...

(Continued from page 3)

Ukrainian American community in the U.S.-Ukraine relationship and agreed that the role of community-based organizations should be expanded.

In a statement distributed to the participants at the briefing, UCCA's Executive Director Tamara Gallo Olexy described the UCCA pre-election civic education program, as well as the methods used to organize its 2,408-member delegation of international election observers for the three rounds of the Ukrainian presidential elections. "Foreign assistance should be undertaken by USAID, USIA and other funding agencies to initiate outreach programs to Ukrainian American community organizations and procedures should be streamlined to facilitate their participation," she stated.

David Lorello, one of the UCCA observers who monitored the elections in the eastern city of Kremenchuk, spoke of his experience in Ukraine during the final two rounds. He concluded his observations by challenging the U.S. Congress on those items mentioned earlier in the briefing to help Ukraine during this crucial period in its history. He also pointed out the important role that youths and young professionals played in the Orange Revolution, and insisted that exchanges would be exceptionally useful for Ukraine and beneficial for the United States as well.

UCCA election observers Bohdanna Urbanovych and Ulana Mazurkevich shared their experiences in monitoring Ukraine's elections. They also offered their opinions as to the future of U.S.-Ukraine relations. Ms. Urbanovych stated: "We ask that the United States and the Paris Club of donor countries assist President Yushchenko and the people of Ukraine with implementing new initiatives." Ms. Mazurkevich underscored the importance of expanding U.S.-Ukraine relations in order to demonstrate "that we are here to assist [Ukraine] on this road toward true democracy and free enterprise."

Also attending the congressional briefing was Rep. Timothy Murphy (R-Pa.) who mentioned how "refreshing and rewarding [it is] that democracy has spoken in Ukraine." He mentioned the enthusiasm in his district, which encompasses the greater Pittsburgh area, from the Ukrainian community as the dramatic events in Ukraine were unfolding. The congressman also reflected upon the opportunities that lie ahead for Ukraine.

Concluding the briefing, Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), co-chair of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, remarked on the need for exchange programs between Ukraine and the United States. She described the cooperation that already exists between the U.S. Congress and the Ukrainian Parliament as being "crucially important in the past few months in allowing the transition to true democracy to happen and working toward enhancing those critical relations between our two countries." She emphasized the importance of exchanges, not only for the development of the state, but on a personal level, to help the general public in both countries learn more about each other's societies and their cultures. The congresswoman from Ohio thanked the UCCA "for helping to facilitate our [U.S. Congress] cooperation with the Rada."

The attendance at the briefing of a large number of staffers from various congressional offices that are not yet members of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus (CUC) indicated a growing interest in Ukraine.



## Pora takes...

(Continued from page 2)

Yellow Pora, also denied receiving funding from abroad. However, Yellow Pora was able to tap into Western funds sent to the Freedom of Choice Coalition, a bloc of NGOs created to combat election fraud. Freedom House helped train the Coalition's election monitors last August in the Crimea, an event that also benefited Yellow Pora.

Black Pora first showed itself publicly in March 2004, when it posted leaflets throughout Ukraine calling upon Ukrainians to remove "Kuchma-ism" from Ukraine. One month later a second group, Yellow Pora, emerged as a component of the Freedom of Choice Coalition.

Both Black and Yellow Pora underwent baptism by fire in the April 2004 mayoral election in the town of Mukachiv in Zakarpattia. Although Yushchenko's candidate won the election, the authorities declared their candidate victorious and backed their words by dispatching organized crime skinheads to intimidate and beat up officials and destroy evidence.

The Mukachiv elections were a precursor to the fraud attempted in the second round of the presidential election on November 21, 2004. Then, Mr. Yushchenko won, but the authorities attempted to impose Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych upon Ukrainians. This time their scheme failed. Pora played a crucial role in providing a dedicated, hard-core group of activists who were the first to hit the streets on November 22 and put up tents to wait out the election dispute. These hard-core Pora activists, together with other NGOs such as Znayu (I Know!) and Chysta Ukraina (Clean Ukraine), helped mobilize over a million Ukrainians in Kyiv and the provinces to participate in the Orange Revolution.

Pora's unified congress split over

where to take Pora now. Black Pora has remained the more idealistic and better respected of the two, and it has resolutely opposed creating a political party. They know that the party created by Otpor flopped after it obtained just over 1 percent in subsequent Serbian elections. Another reason is the fear that the creation of a party would dissipate energy away from the vital task of continuing to "de-Kuchma-ize" Ukraine – a task that both wings of Pora see as important for entrenching the Orange Revolution. Both Poras support the introduction of lustration to weed out officials who have committed crimes, and both wings compiled "blacklists" of officials who were involved in election fraud (pora.org.ua, January 20 and 26). Mr. Yanukovych's Regions of Ukraine parliamentary faction has already asked the Security Service to ban Pora because of these blacklists.

Yellow Pora advocates creating a political party and appointed Andrii Yusov, regional coordinator of Yellow Pora, to be the main organizer of the new party (Lvivska Hazeta, February 1). Yellow Pora also seeks to continue its activities as an NGO and thereby continue the same activities as Black Pora.

The group also plans to establish a Center in Support of Weak Democracies, an initiative clearly geared toward Russia and the CIS. A Russian version of Pora has already been established (pora.org.ru), which has a website suspiciously similar to that of Yellow Pora (pora.org.ua).

When asked last week about the lessons Ukraine's revolution could offer to other CIS states, President Yushchenko replied, "I think the Orange Revolution has set a very good example for many citizens outside Ukraine because it showed a way to protect one's rights. It's an example applicable to any country where human rights are not respected" (Associated Press January 29). Is Russia next?

likely to remain sympathetic to Mr. Yushchenko for more than one political season.

Where is President Yushchenko going to get the money to finance his generous social payments? An exact economic plan of the new government has not yet been revealed, but there are some clues in his election manifesto. According to Mr. Yushchenko, some 55 percent of the country's economy remains in the shadow sector. Therefore, Mr. Yushchenko intends to stimulate the process of reducing this sector as much as possible. The stimulation may include extensive tax amnesties and tax-burden reductions. Second, Mr. Yushchenko intends to cancel preferences in paying value-added tax by investors in the so-called free economic zones. Mr. Yushchenko expects that this move will bring an additional 5 billion hrv (\$940 million) into the state coffers annually.

## What has Yushchenko...

(Continued from page 2)

sistence minimum. In fact, this promise was already endorsed by the Verkhovna Rada in October 2004, when 250 lawmakers voted to pass a bill increasing the average monthly subsistence minimum from 362 hryvnias to 432 hryvnias as of 2005. The bill will put an additional burden on the 2005 budget, comparable to that connected with the pension hike in September.

Moreover, Mr. Yushchenko pledged to compensate Ukrainians for their Soviet-era savings that were lost or devalued after the break-up of the Soviet Union. According to one of Mr. Yushchenko's draft decrees, the state is to immediately recognize those savings as its internal debt and begin repaying it with "additional budget revenues" and money obtained after a review of some dishonest privatizations. The list of dishonest privatizations is unknown but this review is sure to include the notorious privatization of the Kryvorizhstal metallurgical giant; the state is expected to obtain an additional \$500 million either from the current owners of Kryvorizhstal – oligarchs Viktor Pinchuk and Rynat Akhmetov – or from new investors if the previous privatization deal is canceled altogether.

Last but not least, Mr. Yushchenko promised to increase the one-time social payment to the parents of a newborn child, from the current 725 hrv to 8,460 hrv (that is, almost 12-fold). If Ukraine's Orange Revolution is followed by a baby boom – as some Ukrainian commentators have already predicted – the parents are

Mr. Yushchenko and Ms. Tymoshenko have already proven that their cooperation in the government can be fruitful and appreciated by ordinary voters. When Mr. Yushchenko was prime minister and Ms. Tymoshenko his deputy for energy issues in 2000, they managed to divert some "additional revenues" from the shadow economy by skillful fiscal and administrative management – the results of this were immediately felt by millions of Ukrainians. They will now have to use their skills, as well as their enhanced political prerogatives, to a much greater extent. The stakes – which include not only the political fate of a new cabinet, but also the geo-political destiny of the country as a whole – are now incomparably higher.



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-Lewitzke

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

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*Eternal Memory*

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



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## JULIA NAWROTZKY

age 95, formerly of Sunnyside, Staten Island, died Wednesday, February 2, 2005, at the Roscoe Community Nursing Home, Roscoe, N.Y., where she had resided for the past year. Prior to this, she resided at St. Joseph's Home in Sloatsburg, NY, for several years.

Born Julia Bakun in Bayonne, N.J., she moved as a child to the village of Luschny in the oblast of Lviv, Ukraine, before moving back to the United States in 1931. She became a parishioner at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church in Manhattan when she returned to the United States. In 1968 she moved to Staten Island and lived there for over 30 years. She was a parishioner at Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic Church in Staten Island.

Mrs. Nawrotzky worked for many years in Manhattan and was a member of the Local 32BJ union. She was a dedicated wife, mother and grandmother, and was known for her sense of humor and love for her family. She enjoyed gardening, drawing, cooking and walking in the park.

Mrs. Nawrotzky's husband of 40 years, Walter, died in 1977. Her daughter, Olga Medwid, died in 1974. She had two sisters in Ukraine, Mary and Ksenia, who predeceased her. Her parents were Phillip and Mary Bakun.

Surviving are:

Son – Nicholas Nawrotzky of Clifton, VA  
Grandsons – Steven Medwid of Fall River, Mass  
Kirk Medwid of Clifton, VA  
Granddaughters – Diane Medwid of Callicoon, NY  
Nancy Medwid of Bayonne, NJ  
Shayna Nawrotzky of Clifton, VA  
Great-grandson – Mark Medwid

The funeral liturgy was held on Saturday, February 5, at Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic Church in Staten Island, followed by burial services at St. Peter's Cemetery in Staten Island.

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## UNWLA slates 27th national convention

by Marianna Zajac

ALBANY, N.Y. – In 2005 the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America will celebrate 80 years of a long, fruitful history of giving to the community both here and in Ukraine. On May 27-30 the Central New York Regional Council will host the UNWLA’s 27th national convention at the Albany Marriott in Albany, N.Y.

It’s been over 20 years since New York state has hosted the triennial convention, and this will present a great opportunity for many women and visitors from the tri-state area and beyond to attend the convention. In addition, the New York capitol area has many historical and interesting sights to offer; convention delegates will be offered a tour of the Capitol.

The pre-convention program on Friday evening will feature “Ukrainian Women in the American Media” with representatives

from TV, radio and publishing. At Sunday’s banquet, the Young Ukrainian Women’s Achievement Awards will be presented to nominees from around the country.

Delegates to the 27th convention will elect a slate of officers to lead the organization into the ninth decade of its all-volunteer humanitarian activities. The organization’s past three years of activities will be reviewed and plans for the future will be laid out.

The 2005 convention’s slogan, “From all the yesterdays, through all the tomorrows,” says it all: UNWLA members are very excited about honoring and revisiting the organization’s rich past of accomplishments, as well as celebrating the achievements of today’s young talented women.

For more information, readers may contact the registration chairperson, Vera Staruch at lvstaruch@aol.com or (845) 626-2058.

## McCain...

(Continued from page 3)

Many of our viewers and listeners might not be aware of your Vietnam experience and, I’m wondering, might you share with our audience how that experience has influenced your interest in world affairs, perhaps some other people – it might have turned them into isolationists?

Well, we lost the Vietnam War. It was a noble cause, in my view, to try to bring democracy to the people of South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese paid a heavy price when we lost. Thousands were executed, millions [put] in re-education camps, but it also gave me an appreciation for both the power of ideas and the limits of military

strength when it’s not accompanied by the kinds of ideals and principles that lead to success over time. I believe that Ho Chi Minh won because he had the support of the Vietnamese people, because they viewed him as a nationalist and not a communist. In South Vietnam we never had that kind of leadership that people could rally behind. That’s why, I think, President Yushchenko epitomizes the kind of leadership that can rally the entire people.

**Anything else you would like to share with our Ukrainian audience today?**

I find Ukraine to be a magnificently beautiful country. I visited Kyiv, but also the Crimea, and I recommend to all of my constituents, if they want to take a beautiful vacation in the summertime, Crimea is a wonderful place to go.



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## Crimean artist's work on display at Embassy of Ukraine in D.C.



WASHINGTON – Alla Rogers (right), owner of the Alla Rogers Gallery, which is located a few blocks from the Embassy of Ukraine, talks about the paintings of Ramazan Useinov with Natalie Sluzar during a one-day exhibit of the Crimean artist's works at the Embassy on January 27. As of February 4, these paintings, as well as the works of Alexander Andreev, Alexander Shurinov and Natalia Perova, were scheduled to be on exhibit at the Ukrainian Institute of America in New York. The exhibit, "Contemporary Art of Crimea," will be on display until March 4, after which the paintings will return to the Alla Rogers Gallery.

– Yaro Bihun



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	<p><b>WESTERN UKRAINE and POLAND</b>                  via Czech Airlines from Newark                  15 Day Air/land all Inclusive Tour \$2950 tw  <b>KYIV (3), LVIV (3), YAREMCHE (2), LVIV (2), KRAKOW (3)</b>                  plus: Ivano Frankivsk, Rohatyn, Vorokhta, Kolomyja, Zarvanyticia and Wielicka Salt Mines  <b>Departures:</b> Jun 24, Jul 29 and Aug 12</p>		<p><b>UKRAINE – BUDGET TOURS</b>                  via Czech Airlines from Newark                  10 Day: Air, Hotel and RT transfers \$1490 Tw  <b>LVIV (5) and KYIV (4)</b>                  Great for visiting friends and relatives!                  Explore Ukraine on your own!  <b>Departures:</b> May 20 and Sep 23</p>
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	<p><b>UKRAINE, POLAND and HUNGARY</b>                  via Malev Airlines from New York                  12 Day All Inclusive Tour Tw from \$2350  <b>KYIV (3), LVIV (3), KRAKOW (2), BUDAPEST (2)</b>                  plus: Weliczka Salt Mines and Szentandre Village  <b>Departures:</b> May 25, Jul 13 and Sep 07</p>		<p><b>MINI UKRAINE plus BUDAPEST</b>                  via Malev Airlines from New York                  10 Day All Inclusive Tour Tw from \$1990  <b>ODESA (3), KYIV (3), BUDAPEST (2)</b> plus: Bilhorod Dnistrovski and Szentandre Village  <b>Departures:</b> Jun 12, Sep 18</p>
	<p><b>UKRAINE, RUSSIA and FINLAND</b>                  via Czech Airlines from Newark                  12 Day All Inclusive Tour Tw from \$3290  <b>KYIV (2), MOSCOW (2), ST. PETERSBURG (3), HELSINKI (2)</b> plus: Peterhoff                  *WHITE NIGHTS in St. Petersburg + Escorted by Dr. Walter Karpinich. <b>Departures:</b> May 20*, Aug 12 and Sep 23</p>		<p><b>TAK – YOUTH TOUR (Age: 20-35)</b>                  via Czech Airlines from Newark                  19 Day All Inclusive Tour Tw \$ 2990  <b>DONETSK (3), ZAPORIZZHIA (2), KYIV (3), LVIV (4), KARPATY (2), KRAKOW (3)</b> plus                  Travel w. <b>MYRON DEPUTAT</b> and his musicians                  Sing and perform in Ukraine!!  <b>Only one departure:</b> June 13- July 01</p>

**NEW!**

## Ukrainian Medical Association's Illinois Branch elects new officers



UMANA-Illinois officers (from left): Drs. Maria Hrycelak, UMANA liaison; Bohdan Charkewycz, past president; George Kuritza, president; Roman Saldan, vice president; George Charuk, treasurer; and Theresa Kuritza, secretary.

by George Hrycelak

CHICAGO – The Illinois Branch of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) celebrated its traditional annual “Yalynka” and general meeting with election of officers on January 9 at the

Ukrainian National Museum in Chicago.

This yearly assembly attracted over 80 members of UMANA-Illinois with their families. The Ukrainian Cultural Center in Chicago catered a delicious warm traditional brunch that helped satisfy appetites while enhancing meetings with

friends and colleagues.

The participants had the opportunity to view the museum's ongoing photographic exhibition “The New Tone of Democracy: Ukraine's Orange Revolution” by Adrienne Kovalsky. This young local photographer not only served as an election observer, but also found time to document glimpses into the lives of the Ukrainian people who powered this movement.

The annual business meeting took place in the museum library's boardroom. Bohdan Charkewycz, M.D., outgoing president, delivered a summary of his four-year term in office, and thanked his supporting administration. After brief discussion, a unanimous vote ushered in the nominated slate of candidates for the next two years. Elected were: George Kuritza, M.D., president; Roman Saldan, M.D., vice-president; Theresa Kuritza, M.D., secretary; George Charuk, D.O., treasurer; and Maria Hrycelak, M.D., national office liaison.

Dr. Kuritza thanked his colleagues for their trust. The immediate plans of the

Illinois Branch include sponsoring the annual banquet and ball with presentation of debutantes on January 29; the Spring Scientific Conference and Ski Outing at Crested Butte, Colo., March 26-April 2; and a medical presentation on “The Poisoning of Viktor Yushchenko – Dermatopathology and Toxicology of Dioxin” by Danylo Hryhorczuk, M.D. and Sophie Worobec, M.D. (date to be announced).

Finally, Dr. Kuritza urged members and their families to make plans to attend the upcoming 38th Scientific Conference and 31st Assembly of Delegates at the Chateau Louis Hotel and Conference Center in Edmonton, on June 29-July 3. This conference is shaping up to be the largest in recent history, with many members from across the U.S. and Canada participating.

The president concluded the day's activities by wishing all present a healthy, happy New Year and pleasant holidays. For event details, readers may visit the UMANA website at [www.umana.org](http://www.umana.org).

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## Winnipeg doctor to be honored

WINNIPEG – The Catholic Foundation of Manitoba board of directors has awarded the 2005 Caritas Award to Dr. Jaroslaw Barwinsky of Winnipeg. Dr. Barwinsky will be honored at the 27th annual Caritas Award Dinner to be held on Tuesday, April 12, at the Winnipeg Convention Center.

Dr. Barwinsky was born on October 15, 1926, in Ukraine. In 1948 the family immigrated to Canada and settled in Winnipeg. In 1955, he graduated with the degree of doctor of medicine and was accepted by the department of surgery, University of Manitoba, as a resident for further post-graduate studies in surgery.

Since then, Dr. Barwinsky has become a teacher, a writer, a community leader and a leader in the medical community. As a distinguished surgeon he set a record of having personally performed over 5,500 surgical operations.

Dr. Barwinsky has received many awards and honors throughout the world. He is a great Canadian citizen who cherishes his roots and love of Ukrainian culture and heritage. His service to the community and his contribution to the field of medicine are exceptional, noted the foundation.

The Catholic Foundation of Manitoba is an incorporated body dedicated to administering funds held in trust for religious, educational and cultural purposes. The foundation's objectives are to provide for the needy, to better the situation of the underprivileged, to promote educational advancement and scientific research, and to promote the cultural life of the province of Manitoba.

For more information readers may contact the Catholic Foundation of Manitoba, (204) 233-4268, e-mail, [cfmb@mts.net](mailto:cfmb@mts.net).

## Wrzesnewskyj...

(Continued from page 4)

NATO and European Union expansion with U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, Latvian President Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Irish Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Conor Lenihan, Greek Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Evripidis Stylianidis, and former Russian Prime Minister and presidential candidate Boris Nemtsov.

## Kyiv to Cherkasy...

(Continued from page 11)

Yushchenko's speech backstage and to greet him afterwards. I had met him two years ago in Washington. At the time, the former prime minister and chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine was a national deputy and was merely contemplating a run for president. This time around would be quite different. He was now the unofficial president-elect of Ukraine and security was tight. As he approached, I saw in person what I had seen in the media over the last several months – the face that reflected the price of democracy. A handshake, a quick "congratulations" and "thank you" in response became a memorable encounter, a highlight of my trip.

The poisoning did not cripple him; it emboldened him! It did not cause him to abandon the campaign trail; it caused him to seize it with even greater resolve and conviction! His tone reflected the sentiments of an individual who realized that the long-term danger to Ukraine and its citizens outweighed any danger to his own well-being, should he have chosen to abandon his campaign for president. His words demonstrated his commitment to core democratic beliefs, the conviction that an individual governs not for personal gain, but for the benefit of his people. While it is commendable to voice this principle in a developing democracy, it is heroic to do so in the face of grave danger to one's life.

As I left the backstage area, I walked down a corridor artificially created by Mr. Yushchenko's security detail. Dressed in all green with orange arm bands, they stood in long rows linked at the arms. They were holding back thousands of people. Suddenly, as Mr. Yushchenko was being ushered to his car,

the loudspeakers on the maidan began blaring one of the unofficial campaign songs "I've Broken Through The Wall." The entire crowd began to sway back and forth, and the rows of security could not stand still against the force of the crowd swinging to the music. The image of walking down that corridor, several steps behind the president-elect, the music blaring, the crowd reacting to the music, the guards struggling to hold the line, is one that is permanently etched into my memory.

\*\*\*

As I left Kyiv several days later on another cold, snowy January morning, it was pitch black outside and the city was still sound asleep. I reflected on my trip and pondered whether international election observers had truly made a difference in the repeat second round of Ukraine's presidential election. Although our team received information about fraud, we did not personally witness any unlawful activity when we went to investigate the allegations. The thought raised several questions: Was the fraud sophisticated enough to evade our detection? Was the fraud so well concealed that we simply failed to see it? Were the perpetrators "tipped off" that we were coming and temporarily ceased their activity? Were we misinformed and was there actually no fraud?

We will never know the true import of our actions. It simply is not possible to accurately assess what may not have occurred. I believe that our presence in and of itself, however, did make a difference. The continued and unannounced arrival of international election observers at a minimum reduced the extent of the fraud, for even if the fraud only ceased during our physical presence at the polling station, it would have occurred

during that time had we not visited that polling station. While the individual visits may seem insignificant, their cumulative effect over the course of the day and into the night cannot be overlooked. Moreover, we can take solace in the reports issued by international monitoring organizations which concluded that the repeat second round was exponentially more democratic and transparent than the original second round.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the people of Ukraine believed that our presence had made a difference. Whether it came from a member of an election commission in Cherkasy, from a taxi cab

driver in Kyiv, or from strangers with whom I had struck up a conversation on the maidan, they all expressed thanks and gratitude for the sacrifices we had made to observe the election and for simply being there. They believed that our presence deterred fraud. In turn, this belief will transform itself into the knowledge that their president was elected "by the will of people" – the very principle which, when denied, inspired and set off the Orange Revolution. As I fell asleep on the plane, I was content that international election observers played a role in securing, in Mr. Yushchenko's words, "an independent and free Ukraine."

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

(Continued from page 28)

required for this introductory class, which will focus on basic method and simple design. Each student will complete an egg in class. The class is offered in early March to allow participants time to create their own unique Easter gifts. A fee – \$15; \$10 for museum members – covers classroom instruction, materials and a take-home tool kit. Class size is limited. Reservations required by February 26. The Pennsylvania Anthracite Heritage Museum is located in McDade Park, off Keyser Avenue; (Exits 182 or 191-B off I-81, and Exit 122, Keyser Avenue, from I-476). The museum is open year-round, Monday-Saturday, 9 a.m. - 5 p.m., and Sunday, noon - 5 p.m. To register or for information call Ruth Cummings, museum educator, (570) 963-4804, or visit [www.anthracitemuseum.org](http://www.anthracitemuseum.org).

### CORRECTION

Tuesday, February 15

NEW YORK: Yara Arts Group and the Bowery Poetry Club present Serhiy

Zhadan, one of hottest young poets writing in Ukraine today, who will read his new work. Virlana Tkacz and Wanda Phipps, who are translating Mr. Zhadan's new work into English, will read their translations. Time: 7 p.m.; place: Bowery Poetry Club, 308 Bowery (at First Street). The event is free. For more information call Yara, (212) 475-6474, or e-mail [yara@prodigy.net](mailto:yara@prodigy.net). (Note: The event was previously incorrectly listed as taking place on February 17.)

### ADVANCE NOTICE

Friday, March 4-Sunday, March 20

NEW YORK: Yara Arts Group's new show, "Koliada: Winter Songs," will be staged at La MaMa Experimental Theater, 74A E. Fourth St. For more information on Yara Arts Group and its events visit the website: <http://www.brama.com/yara> or [www.brama.com/yara](http://www.brama.com/yara). For tickets to the Koliada theater piece call the La MaMa Box Office, (212) 475-7710.

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## Monitoring...

(Continued from page 10)

void the votes of an entire precinct.

In Precinct No. 12, the count of the voters from the lists and the number of talons which had to be separated from each ballot before it was given to the voter was off by one. The secretary narrowed the error down to one table of two commissioners, and then spent at least an hour counting and recounting, and checking and rechecking, the result. Still, the count was off by one, and then the accusations and innuendoes and recriminations began. I did not perceive the inability to reconcile one vote as a serious matter and noted separately to both the director and the secretary that the rules provided for the commission to adopt a resolution in such an event. After another hour of raised voices, the commission adopted a resolution with respect to the missing talon.

In the counting process, a ballot surfaced that still had the talon attached. Clearly, one of the commissioners had failed to separate it from the ballot before giving it to the voter, thus creating the inability to reconcile the voting lists with the talons. Given the clear win for Mr. Yushchenko in the precinct, the director was not inclined to argue over the disputed ballots and gave in when the Yanukovych camp wanted to allow the Yanukovych votes and disallow the Yushchenko votes. Six ballots did not have the commission stamp on them, clearly an error on the part of the commission members who handed out those ballots and not a voter error. It was the consensus of the commissioners to go ahead and supply the missing stamp to validate those ballots, which was done.

However, after the protocol tallying up the election results was prepared for signature by the commissioners and observers, and the envelopes containing the ballots

were ready to be sealed, the Yanukovych commissioners raised a ruckus about the irregularity of supplying the missing stamps. This looked and smelled like a pre-planned effort to try to invalidate the election results. Another two hours of yelling back and forth at each other followed. I could not believe my eyes and ears, and longed helplessly for the presence of a parliamentarian or a sergeant at arms. Finally, the Yanukovych camp drew up some kind of objection to present to the territorial election commission.

We were then able to get into our vehicle to follow the director and the Yanukovych representative to the territorial commission with the results. The territorial commission accepted our results, and at about 3 a.m. my experience as an election observer came to an end. My partner and I went looking for a bar to have a drink by way of celebrating, but besides being 3 a.m. it was a Sunday, so nothing was open. We returned to our cold hotel rooms to bundle up even more and watch the televised results come in.

I would like to think that I, along with the other 12,000 or so observers, made a difference in that election. However, I believe I got more out of the experience than I gave. It was truly a revelation to me to become acquainted with the other observers who were so much more fluent in Ukrainian than I and could go easily from one language to the other. Besides Ukrainian Americans, there were also Ukrainian Canadians, Ukrainian Australians, Ukrainian Brits, etc. I was inspired just to be where history was being made, where Ukrainians, young and old, had taken to the streets in their bid for a democratic society. I was impressed with the orderly and non-violent way the elections were actually conducted.

Finally, after years of maintaining the hope for a Ukraine that is independent and fair and free, may it be so.

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# ACTION ITEM

(Continued from page 6)

the more unknown chapters in world history is the 1932-1933 Ukrainian Famine-Genocide inflicted by the Stalinist regime in order to suppress the national consciousness of the Ukrainian nation. Statistically in those years, one person died every six minutes in Ukraine. Innocent children, the elderly, women and men, starved in the "breadbasket of Europe" while the Soviet Union was exporting grain to the West. Journalists such as Walter Duranty of The New York Times promulgated Soviet propaganda and concealed the facts of the

Ukrainian Famine-Genocide. The world must know about the horror survived by the Ukrainian people, and the memory of these victims must be honored.

As your constituent, I respectfully urge you to support H.R. 562, a bill to construct a memorial to honor the victims of the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 and make every effort to facilitate its passing. As a champion of democracy, the United States must bring to light the crimes of totalitarianism as part of its struggle to end oppression in all corners of the world. I request your support in this vital endeavor.

Sincerely,  
(your name)

# Address to the Parliamentary...

(Continued from page 8)

grown healthy system, immune to the viruses of corruption, autocracy, censorship and any violations of human rights. This is the beginning of confident movement towards economic prosperity, social guarantees and a dignified life for each Ukrainian.

This path is difficult, but not necessarily a lengthy one. I know how to do it. I believe that Ukrainians can do it. I have a clear plan for transformations in Ukraine for the next five years, and I have a team capable of fulfilling it. I will not dwell on it in detail. I will only note that it is based on achieving a strategic foreign-policy goal: membership in the European Union. This is a simple and understandable formula for the well-being and security of Ukrainians. Bodies of state power inside the country will be reorganized to give a real, rather than declarative, dimension and content to the process of integration into the European Union.

We welcome the European Union's intention to develop a new strategy of relations with Ukraine. I am convinced that it should contain the prospect of

membership. In this regard, we view the Ukraine-EU action plan within the European Neighborhood policy as the first step towards attaining this goal. In the near future, we are counting on getting the status of a market economy and by the end of 2005 on joining the WTO [World Trade Organization] and concluding an agreement on a free trade area with the European Union.

An important psychological factor would be a simplified visa procedure between Ukraine and the countries of the European Union. As living standards in Ukraine improve, the wave of labor migration to the West will be reversed, and Ukrainians will travel to Europe on holiday, to study and to exchange experience. This goal is consistent with the huge effort made within our organization to facilitate freedom of travel in Europe.

The initiative to make Europe a visa-free area for Council of Europe member-states will become the most convincing and humanist proof that the integration processes on the continent are viable. I believe these serious geopolitical and democratic processes will become a wonderful background to our organization's third summit, which I will attend by all means. Thank you for your attention.

## КОНЦЕРТ - ЗУСТРІЧ

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# UKELODEON

FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

## Plast group in Yonkers celebrates "Svichechka"



The Plast group of Yonkers with directors from the SUMA Federal Credit Union.

by Lesia Lopatynsky

YONKERS, N.Y. – On Friday, January 14, members of the recently reactivated Plast group in Yonkers, N.Y., joined together to celebrate their first annual "Svichechka" held at the spacious new SUMA Federal Credit Union building. The gathering of novatstvo (age 6-11) and

ptashata (age 4-6), their counselors and parents, was held to mark Christmas and the New Year with a holiday program and "koliadvannia," or caroling.

The holiday gathering provided an excellent forum for officially welcoming the group's newest members of novatstvo: Olena Kocur,

Maya Lopatynsky and Greg Lopatynsky. The three recited their pledge, promising to strive to be good novaky/novachky as they join the circle of Plast members. They proudly wore the yellow neckerchiefs placed on them by "Hnizdova" Lesia Lopatynsky and basked in the warm congratulations from "Sestrychka" Lesia and "Bratchyk" Ivas Shmotolocha, the group leader. ("Sestrychka" and "bratchyk" are what the youngest Plast members call their counselors.)

Novachka Lesia Danyluk offered a "vinshuvannia" (Christmas greeting) to the evening's hosts, the directors and employees of the SUMA Federal Credit Union. A winter poem, recited by ptashata Terenia Hankewycz and Zorianna Makarenko, was warmly received by all. The plastuny held candles and also handed out candles to all those present. Bratchyk Ivas lit the candles and led the group in some joyous koliady. Later, everyone shared some "kutia" (a traditional Christmas Eve dish).

Walter Kozicky, president of the credit union, thanked the Plast members for their caroling and welcomed the newly revived Plast group from a long hiatus in the Yonkers community. In turn, Bratchyk Ivas and Bratchyk Tymish Hankewycz thanked the credit union for all of their support and for allowing the group to hold their "Svichechka" in the new credit union building.

It was evident that the Plast kids had a wonderful time, and the group plans to make "Svichechka" an annual event.

## Assumption School celebrates Catholic Schools Week

by Andrea Mullen

PERTH AMBOY, N.J. – Catholic Schools Week was held here at Ukrainian Assumption School during the week of January 31-February 4.

As part of the festivities, the school held a Fairy Tale Festival. The seventh and eighth graders constructed a carnival of games and fun food, and decorated the school auditorium. This special event was enjoyed by the students, as well as the faculty and staff, who dressed up as their favorite fairy tale characters for the day.

Other activities included a "Luau Luncheon" for family and friends of the primary grades, Groundhog Day festivities, a basketball game pitting the eighth graders against the seventh graders, a bake sale organized by the Sodality to benefit the tsunami victims, a Pre-K pajama day, Kindergarten Appreciation Day and Reading Buddies ice cream social.

Ukrainian Assumption Catholic School, which is attended by about 170 students from pre-kindergarten through grade 8, is affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Assumption.



Seen at Assumption School's celebration of Catholic Schools Week are: (front row) Melannie Meneses, Danny Flood, Andrew Shumny, Lauren Muniz, Patrick Astarita, (second row) Marissa Castro, Paul Rosato, Michael Wutkowski, Valeria Acevedo, (back row) Dalina Cruz, Ms. Egan, Jessica Castro, Raquel Diaz, Damian Moskwo, Gerry Wutkowski, Mathew Tartza and Ms. Bucior.

# 85 Plast youths attend 50th anniversary ski camp

GLENS FALLS, N.Y. – Eight-five young skiers and a staff of some 35 camp directors, counselors and administrators on December 25-31, 2004 participated in the annual Plast Ski Camp organized by the Burlaky Fraternity of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization. The campers skied at Gore Mountain in North Creek, N.Y., and were lodged at the Landmark Motor Inn in nearby Glens Falls. If you haven't guessed just by looking at the photo on the right, the camp's theme was the Orange Revolution in Ukraine. Note the big "Tak!" (Yes!) slogan of Viktor Yushchenko at the bottom of the group photo. The campers also learned songs of the Orange Revolution, including the now historic rap song "Razom Nas Bahato" (Together We Are Many). The year 2004 marked the 50th anniversary of Plast Ski Camps organized by the Burlaky. According to the Burlaky, approximately 4,000 Plast youths have attended the camps during that half-century. The camp is ever-popular, attracting skiers and snowboarders (as well as those who wish to learn) from as far away as California, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Maryland and the District of Columbia, and of course from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Massachusetts. The director of the 2004 camp was Myron Deputat.



## Barvinok's youngest kids hone their dance skills

by Roma Krauth

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J. – The youngest members of the Barvinok Dance Group enjoyed a pizza party with their parents on a cold day in January. The children, age 4-8, delight in learning dance under the instruction of Hryhorij Momot of Unist, and formerly director of the Chaika dance troupe in Yonkers, N.Y.

Last year the youngest Barvinok group was a new addition to Mr. Momot's older age groups. The youngsters successfully performed at such events as the Yonkers Ukrainian Heritage Festival and the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union

Annual Picnic.

This year, these fresh, smiling, young faces hope to improve their dance skills even more, all the while continuing an important aspect of Ukrainian culture. Maybe you'll see them at a festival near you!

If you are between 4 and 8 years old – or the parent of a child in that age range – you may be interested in dance instruction by Mr. Momot in South Bound Brook on Mondays. For information call Karolyn Telyczka at (732) 568-9161. New members are urged to join before the end of February, so as to not interfere with the learning of choreography for new performances.



Members of Barvinok's youngest group are: Adia Hirniak, Andriyko Hrabowyj, Marianka Nedoszytko, Oleksa Hirniak, Alexis Telyczka, Luka Krauth, and Julianna Hirniak. (The group also includes Julia Krisak, Natalia Livcha and Marta Myroniuk.)

**OUR NEXT ISSUE:** UKELODEON is published on the second Sunday of every month. To make it into our next issue, dated March 13, please send in your materials by March 4. We especially encourage kids and teens to submit articles and see their names in print. And don't forget to send a photo!

## Mishanyna

To solve this month's Mishanyna, find the capitalized words on the list below in the Mishanyna grid. Hint: all the words have something to do with the month of February.

- GROUNDHOG DAY
- WINTER
- VALENTINE'S DAY
- SECOND month
- LINCOLN'S birthday
- PRESIDENTS' DAY
- GREAT FAST
- SNOW
- COLD
- LENT
- AMETHYST birthstone
- WASHINGTON's birthday
- TWENTY-EIGHT days

S	N	O	O	C	O	L	T	R	O	P	I	C	Y	L
L	A	B	O	N	S	N	O	W	A	R	T	A	E	A
A	B	S	N	O	V	A	I	T	A	E	D	M	A	P
L	I	N	C	O	L	N	S	W	O	S	T	E	R	D
D	R	O	R	O	T	O	N	E	E	I	R	T	L	O
A	T	T	E	E	N	T	O	N	O	D	E	H	A	L
Y	H	G	R	E	A	T	I	T	R	E	E	Y	T	A
D	O	N	O	T	U	T	T	Y	R	N	I	S	S	U
I	D	I	S	U	N	T	R	E	A	T	S	T	A	G
S	W	H	T	E	Y	E	O	I	H	S	I	D	F	H
H	I	S	L	U	C	C	L	G	O	D	I	S	T	A
A	N	A	I	T	L	O	C	H	R	A	R	T	A	B
L	V	W	E	D	E	L	N	T	O	Y	E	A	E	O
B	O	Y	H	O	O	D	O	D	I	S	O	N	R	U
S	Y	Y	A	D	G	O	H	D	N	U	O	R	G	T

# Soyuzivka's Datebook

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>February 12, 2005</b><br/>Valentine's Day Weekend -<br/>Five-course dinner and dance<br/>featuring Askold Buk Trio, \$24.95+</p> <p><b>February 18, 2005</b><br/>Kerhonkson/Accord First Aid<br/>Squad Banquet</p> <p><b>February 18-21, 2005</b><br/>Family Winter Weekend and Ski Trip,<br/>Three-Night Package -<br/>\$125/per person, double occupancy</p> <p><b>February 26, 2005</b><br/>Napanoch Fire Company Banquet</p> <p><b>March 5-6, 2005</b><br/>Plast Kurin "Khmelnynchenky"<br/>Annual Winter Rada</p> <p><b>March 27, 2005</b><br/>Traditional Ukrainian Easter Day<br/>Brunch, doors open at 11:30 a.m.</p> <p><b>April 1-2, 2005</b><br/>UNA District Meeting and<br/>Secretarial Course</p> <p><b>April 8-10, 2005</b><br/>Grace Episcopal Church,<br/>Madison, N.J. - Men's Retreat<br/>Road Rally Weekend - an Epicurean,<br/>motorized scavenger hunt</p> | <p><b>April 9, 2005</b><br/>SUNY New Paltz Alpha Kappa Phi<br/>Sorority Formal Banquet</p> <p><b>April 15-17, 2005</b><br/>Plast Kurin "Chortopolokhy"<br/>Annual Meeting</p> <p><b>April 16, 2005</b><br/>Rochester Fire Company Banquet</p> <p><b>April 20-22, 2005</b><br/>SUNY at New Paltz, Migrant<br/>Education Program and Retreat</p> <p><b>April 23, 2005</b><br/>TAP New York Beer Festival at<br/>Hunter Mountain, round-trip bus<br/>from Soyuzivka, special room<br/>rate - \$60/night</p> <p><b>May 1, 2005</b><br/>Traditional Blessed Ukrainian<br/>Easter Day Brunch, doors open<br/>at 11:30 a.m.</p> <p><b>May 20, 2005</b><br/>Ellenville High School Junior Prom</p> <p><b>May 27-30, 2005</b><br/>Memorial Day Weekend BBQ<br/>and Zabava<br/>Adoptive Parents Weekend, sponsored<br/>by the Embassy of Ukraine and<br/>the UNA</p> |
|--|--|



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## Attention Debutante Ball Organizers!

As in the past, The Ukrainian Weekly  
is planning to publish a special section  
devoted to the Ukrainian community's debutantes.  
The 2005 debutante ball section will be published in March.  
The deadline for submission of stories and photos is March 1.

# PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Wednesday, February 16

**NEW YORK:** The Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University will hold the fourth annual Grigorenko Reading on the topic "From the Ukrainian Human Rights Movement of the 1970s to the Orange Revolution." Featured panelists will include: Nadia Svitlychna, president, Human Rights in the 20th Century, "General Petro Grigorenko and National Problems in the Soviet Human Rights Movement"; Andrew Grigorenko, president, Gen. Petro Grigorenko Foundation, "Petro Grigorenko as Ambassador of Democratic Ukraine and the Orange Revolution"; Adrian Hewryk, president, East-West Management Institute, New York, "The Orange Revolution as Seen by an American Observer"; and Dr. Pavel Litvinov, physicist and human rights activist, "The Influence and Consequences of the Orange Revolution on Events in Russia"; with Prof. Mark von Hagen, professor of history and director of the Ukrainian Studies Program, Columbia University, as moderator. The presentation will be held in Room 1219, International Affairs Building, at 6:30 p.m.

Friday, February 18

**NEW YORK:** The Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University will launch the photography exhibit "Faces of the Orange Revolution" at 7 p.m. in the West Reading Room, Lehman Library, International Affairs Building (third floor), Columbia University, 420 W. 118th St. The exhibit will feature works by Kyiv photographer Kyrilo Kysliakov, who documented the people participating in Ukraine's peaceful campaign of civil disobedience in November-December 2004. The exhibit will be open for public viewing at 6:30-8:30 p.m., with a wine/cheese

reception starting at 7:30 p.m. at the Harriman Institute on the 12th floor. RSVP to Diana Howansky, Ukrainian Studies Program, at (212) 854-4697 or ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu.

Sunday, February 20

**WARREN, Mich.:** The Ukrainian American Museum and Archives (UAMA), Detroit, is hosting a talk by Prof. Taras Kuzio, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, on the topic "Ukraine's Orange Democratic Revolution." The talk will be held at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic School Auditorium, 29400 Westbrook, at 1:30 p.m. Concurrently, an exhibition of photographs, posters and memorabilia from the Orange Revolution, compiled by local election monitors, will also be on view. As part of the UAMA program, there will be an inauguration of the newly established UAMA Room at the school, with a special exhibition featuring a full range of Hutsul folk art from private collections of artists in the Detroit metropolitan area, as well as in Ukraine. The opening reception, with refreshments served, will be held in the school auditorium. For additional information contact Chrystyna Nykorak, UAMA executive director, (313) 366-9764.

Saturday, March 5

**SCRANTON, Pa.:** Pysanky, the art of decorating Easter eggs, will be taught for ages 12 and older at the Pennsylvania Anthracite Heritage Museum, at 10 a.m. Lisa and Paul Mundy will instruct participants in this ancient method which employs wax and layers of color to transform eggs into works of art which glow with vivid colors. No experience is

(Continued on page 21)



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