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As fifth anniversary passes, Gongadze case still not over



Zenon Zawada

Two Gongadze supporters light their candles on Independence Square during a September 16 vigil marking the fifth anniversary of his murder.

by Yana Sedova and Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — It has been five years since Heorhii Gongadze's gruesome slaying.

Three of the four suspected in his murder await trial, while the Security Service of Ukraine is still trying to track down Oleksii Pukach, the man suspected of strangling Gongadze to death who is believed to be hiding in Israel.

After the first month of President Viktor Yushchenko's administration, it appeared progress was under way.

However, after eight months, the arrests of three suspects are the only noteworthy achievements. Gongadze's head has yet to be found, his body has yet to be buried, and Ukrainian prosecutors have yet to arrest a single person responsible for organizing or ordering the murder.

Considering that Mr. Yushchenko declared the Gongadze investigation was a "matter of honor" for him personally that "required immediate response" from the Ukrainian government, Gongadze's advocates believe not enough has been done so far.

"I am very worried with the president's position in this matter," Myroslava Gongadze, the slain journalist's widow, said at a September 9 Kyiv press conference. "I feel there is still no political will to call into account the orderers of this crime."

Mykola Tomenko, the former vice prime minister for humanitarian affairs, echoed her concerns a few days later, declaring that Verkhovna Rada

Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn and Mr. Yushchenko's entourage "did everything to prevent this case from being heard in the Rada or the mass media."

These people believe wholeheartedly that the Gongadze matter "is buried," Mr. Tomenko said.

In response, Mr. Yushchenko took a very defensive stance on his administration's performance, repeating that "more has been done in the last five months than in the previous four years."

Ms. Gongadze also demanded the resignation of Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun, calling on him "to stop his legal stupidity and non-professionalism." She is particularly opposed to his decision to divide the criminal investigation into two phases, criticizing it as a "political manipulation."

The first phase, which Mr. Piskun announced was completed on August 1, involved investigating and arresting those who carried out Gongadze's murder.

The second phase will investigate those who ordered the murder, Mr. Piskun said.

Observers say the decision to divide the case appeared as though Mr. Piskun were under political pressure.

As early as May he said in an interview with Ukrayina Moloda, a daily national newspaper, there would be "a common trial for those who committed the murder and its organizers."

Defending his subsequent decision, Mr. Piskun said he divided the investigation in order to expedite the case's trans-

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President announces appointees to his new team in government

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — President Viktor Yushchenko formed most of his new government by September 28, selecting a team he expects will work pragmatically and without the vicious in-fighting their predecessors engaged in.

To serve that cause, Mr. Yushchenko mostly chose appointees that belong to his Our Ukraine People's Union party or its allies.

Of 24 Cabinet positions, Mr. Yushchenko has replaced eight. Another 12 ministers will remain; among them are two switching their job titles.

Mr. Yushchenko has yet to name replacements for three positions, including that of justice minister, which was held by American-born Roman Zvarych. The president also created a Ministry of Construction and Architecture.

"The government of Mr. Yekhanurov will be one of stability and understanding, without large-scale plans for reform," said Vasyl Stoyakin, director of the Center for Political Marketing, which is financed by clients who pay for political research. "Yushchenko will be the ideologue, and Mr. Yekhanurov will be the implementer," he added.

Independent National Deputy Stanislav Stashevskyi became Ukraine's first vice prime minister, replacing Anatolii Kinakh, who took Petro Poroshenko's position as secretary of the National Security and Defense Council.

Mr. Stashevskyi and Mr. Yekhanurov are like-minded thinkers, Mr. Stoyakin said.

Appearing to fulfill his commitment to remove wealthy businessmen with conflicts of interest, Mr. Yushchenko relieved trucking magnate Yevhen Chervonenko from the post of transportation minister and David Zhvania from the emergency situations minister post.

Yet, Mr. Yushchenko tapped another businessman, Viktor Baloha of the Our Ukraine faction, to replace Mr. Zhvania.

Mr. Baloha is a partner in a family business, Barva, which engages in wholesale trade of food products. He served as oblast administration chair for the Zakarpattia Oblast. In his Who's Who in Ukraine submission, Mr. Baloha stated that he was chair between May 1999 and June 2001.

"In the place of one businessman, another is appointed," Mr. Stoyakin commented.

"He hasn't separated business and politics, because to some extent everyone in government has their own business interests," said Ivan Lozowy, president of the Kyiv-based Institute of Statehood and Democracy, which is exclusively financed by Ukrainian business donations.

Mr. Yushchenko also signed an order relieving Mr. Zvarych, Culture and Tourism Minister Oksana Bilozir and Health Minister Mykola Polishchuk without naming their successors.

Mr. Zvarych began lobbying for former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko in

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Tarasyuk says sacking of Cabinet was process of political 'catharsis'

by Andrew Nynka

NEW YORK — Nearly two weeks after President Viktor Yushchenko sacked his Cabinet, Ukraine's top diplomat said the country was stable and undergoing a democratic process akin to political "catharsis."

The change in the government, made by Mr. Yushchenko on September 8, has not destabilized Ukraine, acting Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk said. Rather, the move is part of a process of "self-cleaning of authorities," and an effort to "return to the ideals and principles of the 'maidan,'" the foreign minister said, referring to Kyiv's Independence Square, the focal point of the Orange Revolution.

Those ideals and principles largely revolve around rooting out corruption and reforming Ukraine so that it is more in line with Western European standards of democracy, he explained.

In that regard, Ukraine is not lacking in strategies, Mr. Tarasyuk said. "We

have a lot of strategies. We sometimes are lacking consistency in implementing those strategies."

Moreover, the "economy, the fiscal and monetary systems and the stock exchange don't mind these events and continue to run smoothly," Mr. Tarasyuk said during a speech at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs on September 21. The economy, he added, had slowed throughout all of Europe.

While Mr. Tarasyuk's comments painted an optimistic picture of the situation in Ukraine, experts and analysts who focus their work on Ukraine characterized it in more uncertain terms.

"I hope that President Yushchenko is able to take advantage of the political crises in Kyiv to put Ukraine back on the track to democracy, justice and the dignity that the Orange Revolution demanded this past winter," said Mark von Hagen, the Boris Bakhmeteff Professor of

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ANALYSIS

Parliament commission says Kuchma was behind Gongadze's abduction

by Jeremy Bransten

RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova Report

A Ukrainian parliamentary commission investigating the murder of journalist Heorhii Gongadze dropped a bombshell on September 20 when it officially concluded that former President Leonid Kuchma organized the reporter's abduction. The commission also accused current Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn – President Kuchma's former chief of staff – of instigating the kidnapping.

The British are generally thought to be the masters of the "stiff upper lip" – maintaining glacial composure and showing little reaction, no matter how shocking the news. But Ukraine's political establishment could teach them a lesson or two. The reaction to the ad hoc parliamentary commission's shocking conclusions, presented by lawmaker Hryhorii Omelchenko, has been deafening silence.

President Viktor Yushchenko, who came into office at the start of the year vowing to resolve the Gongadze case – no matter what the political consequences – has not commented. Outgoing Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, asked on September 21 for her reaction, said she had other things to worry about. Neither the Internal Affairs Ministry nor any other law-enforcement agency has said a word.

When the Yushchenko administration came into office nine months ago, the situation seemed very different. Gongadze's abduction and his murder symbolized the corrupt past that Ukraine's new leaders promised to put behind them. Resolving the case, and bringing to justice the planners and perpetrators, appeared to be of key importance. Gongadze, founder of the Ukrayinska Pravda website, was well-known for his arti-

cles about alleged high-level corruption. He was abducted in Kyiv in September 2000. His decapitated body was later found in a forest outside the capital.

Weeks later, recordings said to be made by one of Mr. Kuchma's bodyguards were released in public and played in Parliament. The so-called "Melnychenko tapes" shocked many who heard them. On the recordings, a voice resembling Mr. Kuchma's tells another man, who sounds like former Internal Affairs Minister Yuriy Kravchenko, to have Gongadze "removed and thrown to the Chechens."

The fact that a parliamentary commission has now lent credence to the tapes and confirmed what many ordinary Ukrainians have long believed – that Mr. Kuchma was behind the murder – should be huge news.

The fact that it passed almost unnoticed says much about the disappointed hopes of Ukraine's Orange Revolution, according to Viktoria Syumar of the Kyiv-based Institute of Mass Information. She says it is particularly sad that even Gongadze's fellow journalists took little notice.

"The commission's final report was presented to a half-empty hall and it didn't get much notice from journalists, although I remind you that five years ago, in September 2000, it was the journalists themselves who were the ones who pushed for the creation of this very commission," Ms. Syumar said.

Ms. Syumar said that unfortunately, the silence of Ukraine's new political establishment and Mr. Kuchma's recent behavior would seem to confirm suspicions that the two sides may have struck a secret peace deal over the case.

"It appears [Kuchma] is very relaxed

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No clear winners from government crisis

by Robert Parsons

RFE/RL Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova Report

The Verkhovna Rada on September 22 voted in favor of President Viktor Yushchenko's candidate for prime minister, Yuriy Yekhanurov.

Deputies had narrowly rejected Mr. Yekhanurov on September 20, but this time gave him a comfortable majority. Mr. Yekhanurov replaces Yulia Tymoshenko, one of the heroes of the Orange Revolution, who was sacked by the president earlier this month.

Mr. Yekhanurov, an oblast administrator leader has promised to keep big business out of government.

Hours of talks on September 21 with the political groups that had opposed Mr. Yekhanurov in the first vote ensured that the obstacles were swept away. Viktor Yanukovich, who stood against Mr. Yushchenko in the presidential election, said he was ready to work in the interests of a stable government:

"The forces represented in Parliament are ready today to assume responsibility for forming a government, ready to bear responsibility for creating an efficient, responsible government, and to share that responsibility with the president," Mr. Yanukovich said.

The political ruction of the last two weeks has set back the course of reform in Ukraine, and revealed a country so torn by division that, before the September 22 televised vote, President Yushchenko felt impelled to appeal yet again for unity.

"I appeal to you as political leaders, I appeal to the civil and business circles – we must bury the hatchet of war, hide it far under the bench and forget where it is," Mr. Yushchenko said.

What place he will find for Ms. Tymoshenko, whose dismissal earlier this month precipitated the crisis, is not yet clear. On September 21 she said she wanted to put aside their differences, adding this was not a time for personal ambition.

"I think a new coalition government is an urgent, pressing issue. A coalition government should include people who will work as professionals, who will represent all political forces in Ukraine, because what is happening in Ukraine now calls for unity," Ms. Tymoshenko said.

Does that mean, though, that she is ready to respond to Mr. Yushchenko's call for reviving the "team spirit" of the Orange Revolution? Or will she turn her attention now to winning the parliamentary elections in March?

Those ballots have more than usual significance in a region of rubber-stamp Parliaments, because they'll be followed by constitutional changes transferring much of the president's power to Parliament. The battle between Mr. Yushchenko and Ms. Tymoshenko may merely have been postponed.

The new prime minister at last has his stamp of approval from Parliament, but there are no clear winners from Ukraine's latest crisis.

There are plenty of losers though – not

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NEWSBRIEFS

Yulia speaks of political plans

KYIV – Former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko said on the 1+1 television channel on September 26 that she is planning to regain her post after the 2006 parliamentary elections, ITAR-TASS reported. Answering a question about her political allies in the elections, Ms. Tymoshenko said they will include – apart from members of her eponymous bloc – former State Secretary Oleksander Zinchenko, ex-Security Service of Ukraine chief Oleksander Turchynov and ex-Vice Prime Minister Mykola Tomenko. She added that she will also hold talks on forging an election coalition with the Reforms and Order Party, the Pora movement and other forces that "will help fulfill the tasks set by the 'maidan' [Kyiv's Independence Square, the main rostrum of the Orange Revolution]." Ms. Tymoshenko stressed that she is not going to form an election alliance with the Party of the Regions of Ukraine of ex-Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich or the Social Democratic Party – United of former presidential administration chief Viktor Medvedchuk. (RFE/RL Newline)

Russia rescinds warrant for Yulia

MOSCOW – Russian military prosecutors announced on September 26 that they are no longer seeking the arrest of former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko on suspicion of fraud and bribery, gazeta.ru and other media reported. The investigators reportedly said an international arrest warrant is also being rescinded. Ms. Tymoshenko voluntarily came to the military prosecutors' offices in Moscow on September 24, provided adequate explanations and agreed to cooperate in the investigation, prosecutors said. Ms. Tymoshenko's Moscow visit was kept quiet but was coordinated with Russian authorities, as she passed through customs and border checkpoints, gazeta.ru reported. The Embassy of Ukraine in Russia declined to comment on the visit, noting that it was a private affair. But Tymoshenko adviser Dmitrii Vydrin suggested to gazeta.ru that the recently dismissed prime minister might have met with President Vladimir Putin while in the Russian capital. "I cannot exclude that she met with Putin; in any case, such a meeting could have happened," Mr. Vydrin said. Moscow

has long regarded Ms. Tymoshenko as an anti-Russian politician, but her new role as a possible counterweight to Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko "is a very valuable quality" in Moscow's eyes, NTV commented on September 26. In an interview with the Ukrainian television station 1+1 on September 26, Ms. Tymoshenko said she intentionally came to Moscow to protest her innocence now that she no longer enjoys diplomatic immunity, adding that she did not see any other officials besides investigators. (RFE/RL Newline)

Tymoshenko Bloc expels deputies

KYIV – Six national deputies were expelled from the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc's [parliamentary] faction, a UNIAN correspondent reported. Verkhovna Rada First Vice-Chairman Adam Martyniuk announced the expulsions in Parliament. The following were expelled from the faction: Mykola Budahians, Serhii Holovatyi, Anatolii Kozlovskiyi, Ihor Smiyanenko, Mykola Soloshenko and Enver Tskitishvili. On September 22 these deputies voted in favor of Yuriy Yekhanurov's candidacy for prime minister, although the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc faction had decided not to vote for Mr. Yekhanurov. (BBC Monitoring, Action Ukraine Report)

Crimean Rada approves new PM

SYMFEROPOL – The Crimean Parliament on September 23 voted by 90-2, with seven abstentions, to appoint Anatolii Burdiuhov as the new prime minister of the autonomous republic, Interfax-Ukraine reported. Mr. Burdiuhov heads the Crimean branch of the National Bank of Ukraine and the Our Ukraine People's Union group in the Crimean legislature. He will replace Anatolii Matvienko, who resigned earlier last week. (RFE/RL Newline)

Tarasjuk meets with Russian counterpart

MOSCOW – During talks between acting Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasjuk of Ukraine and his Russian counterpart, Sergei Lavrov, in Moscow Mr. Tarasjuk said the parties agreed to spare no effort to preserve the positive atmosphere of Ukrainian-Russian relations. An agreement was reached on holding a meeting of experts before the two

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NEWS ANALYSIS: Yushchenko's deal with Yanukovich secures Yekhanurov's approval

by Taras Kuzio

Eurasia Daily Monitor

The Ukrainian Parliament confirmed Yurii Yekhanurov as prime minister on September 22 with 289 votes. His candidacy had been rejected by Parliament two days earlier when only 223 members of the 450-seat legislature voted for him (see *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, September 21).

Without enough votes on his own, President Viktor Yushchenko had to reach a compromise with either former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko or the centrists that had supported former President Leonid Kuchma. Ms. Tymoshenko had held out a hand of friendship to Mr. Yushchenko after the failed first vote, calling for them to conduct negotiations and "return to our cooperation, our program" (*Ukrayinska Pravda*, September 21). Mr. Yushchenko needed a new prime minister after firing Ms. Tymoshenko earlier this month.

Nevertheless, members of the business wing of the Yushchenko camp refused

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any dealings with Ms. Tymoshenko. Acting Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk, whose Rukh faction voted on both occasions for Mr. Yekhanurov, said in Washington on September 20 that he hoped Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Yushchenko would re-unite.

Instead, Mr. Yushchenko struck a deal with his rival for the presidency in 2004, Viktor Yanukovich, head of the Party of the Regions of Ukraine. The 50 votes from the Party of the Regions faction, the second largest in Parliament, tipped the vote decisively in favor of a "yes" on the second vote. In the first vote, three Party of the Regions deputies had voted for Mr. Yekhanurov and, ironically, were expelled from the faction a day later.

Why did Party of the Regions accommodate Mr. Yushchenko in the second vote? Regions had already expressed a willingness to work with Mr. Yushchenko when they, alone among the hard-line opposition, signed the bombastically titled "Declaration of Unity and Cooperation for the Sake of Ukraine's Future" after the removal of the Tymoshenko government.

The Party of the Regions and Mr. Yekhanurov signed a 10-point declaration that convinced the party to throw its weight behind the vote (partyofregions.org.ua). The declaration,

however, ties President Yushchenko's hands and leaves him vulnerable to charges of betraying the Orange Revolution.

The 10 points include support for constitutional reform, ending "political repression" against the opposition, introducing an amnesty and preventing pressure on courts. Other points outline the adoption of laws on local government, the opposition, the Cabinet of Ministers and the president of Ukraine. The government is to be based on "professionalism and the separation of business from politics," while the right to private property will be guaranteed. Finally, there is a commitment to hold free parliamentary elections in 2006.

Why did Mr. Yushchenko take this potentially dangerous step towards Mr. Yanukovich?

First, the outgoing government left the economy in crisis and immediate action was needed. Economic growth had plummeted, inflation was high and high populist social spending depleted budgetary revenues.

Second, Mr. Yushchenko was losing high-ranking allies. He had signed a decree reducing the unconstitutional additional powers of the National Security and Defense Council and the State Secretariat. Oleksander Tretiakov's positions as first adviser

and the state secretary were abolished. Mr. Tretiakov had been accused of corruption, but was cleared by the prosecutor's office.

Third, the deal with Mr. Yanukovich severely fractured the unity of the hard-line opposition. The Social Democratic Party-United (SDPU) and the Party of the Regions will now enter the 2006 elections separately, rather than in the same bloc (*Ukrayinska Pravda*, September 22).

The Party of the Regions agreement with Mr. Yushchenko reveals how shallow the party's commitment was to its "opposition" stance. The Party of the Regions had always reluctantly opposed President Yushchenko, because the oligarchs who supported it want to be on friendly terms with the executive. Mr. Yanukovich praised the agreement as a major victory for his party (regionsofukraine.org.ua).

The reaction of the "Orange" opposition was predictable and harsh. Outgoing First Vice Prime Minister Mykola Tomenko described the agreement as a betrayal of the Orange Revolution. In place of Ms. Tymoshenko, he argued, Mr. Yushchenko had brought in Mr. Kuchma and Mr. Yanukovich. Mr. Tomenko advised Mr. Yushchenko to replace his

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Yushchenko-Yanukovich pact: what exactly does it entail?

by Yana Sedova

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – So just what was it that President Viktor Yushchenko and his former nemesis Viktor Yanukovich signed?

The one-page Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government and Opposition, already nicknamed the Yushchenko-Yanukovich Pact, contains 10 points. A few are critical, and most are redundant, political experts said. Much of the agreement needs to be read between the lines, they said.

"There were some secret agreements behind this pact," said Volodymyr Kornilov, a political expert and director of the Center for Strategic Planning.

Perhaps no other part of the agreement raised more alarm than the condition that President Yushchenko submit to the Verkhovna Rada a bill providing amnesty to those responsible for committing election fraud in last year's presidential election.

Amnesty would apply to everyone except those who ordered the falsifications, said Mykola Martynenko, a national deputy and leader of the Our Ukraine faction in the Rada.

"Unfortunately, several thousand criminal cases concern people who were ordinary (election) commission members," Mr. Martynenko said. "Among them are teachers, cleaning women who threw two ballots when the trains were running all over Ukraine," he said, referring to those who engaged in massive falsification from city to city.

The clause on amnesty most directly applies to ordinary Ukrainians who received orders to violate the law, said Vasyl Stoyakin, the director of the Center for Political Marketing.

When informing the press about the amnesty provision, Party of the Regions National Deputy Vitalii Khomutynnyk said it applies to representatives of election commissions, without offering more specifics.

His press secretary, Ihor Khokhych,

said the amnesty provision refers to ordinary people who worked in election commissions.

Politicians and their observers questioned whether Mr. Yushchenko had the right to single-handedly grant amnesty when an entire judicial system exists to determine whether crimes were committed.

"The pact cannot grant amnesty, even if it is signed by top officials," said Yurii Kliuchkovskiy, a national deputy of the Our Ukraine faction. "Only the law can do this."

In the memorandum, Mr. Yushchenko also agreed to expand immunity from prosecution to city council deputies, many of whom played key roles in the electoral falsification.

The immunity would extend from the local level all the way to Rada deputies, alleged leaders of the Pora political party at a September 27 press conference.

They sharply criticized the memorandum, saying Mr. Yushchenko "betrayed the 'maidan's' values," and said they would fight to ensure punishment for all who engaged in voting fraud. They demanded that Mr. Yushchenko veto any bill that would provide criminal and administrative immunity, particularly the provision in the memorandum that referred to protecting local council deputies.

It's highly unlikely that the top organizers of vote falsification will face prosecution because proving it will be extremely difficult in court, Mr. Stoyakin said. Too many people were involved, he said.

The memorandum also contained a provision urging a law about the status and rights of the opposition, which would guarantee that opposition leaders chair Rada committees in matters such as the budget and freedom of the press.

The Party of the Regions, headed by Mr. Yanukovich, needed "immunity guarantees for business elites at the local level," Mr. Kornilov said.

Such immunity means ceasing the

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FOR THE RECORD: Memorandum signed by Yushchenko, Yanukovich

Below is the text of the memorandum signed by President Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich, leader of the Party of the Regions, on September 22, a few hours before the vote on Yurii Yekhanurov's candidacy for the post of prime minister. The translation below is from Ukrayinska Pravda.

Realizing responsibility before the Ukrainian people in a time of political crisis that poses a threat to the future of the country, we consider the beginning of a constructive dialogue between the government and the opposition to be our patriotic duty. The main subject of this dialogue is to cooperate on working out a strategy for resolving the crisis and to take Ukraine toward the goal of developing thriving society, civil accord and consolidation of political forces mindful of the country's needs.

We view the provisions of this memorandum as adding specific content to the "Declaration on Unity and Cooperation for the Sake of Ukraine's Future" [signed by leaders of parliamentary groups and factions on September 13, before the first vote on Mr. Yekhanurov's candidacy], as a mechanism to carry out the declaration's terms, as a step forward in restoring understanding between the sides and as our wish for constructive dialogue for the good of the Ukrainian people.

To this effect, we deem necessary and agree on the following:

1. Political reform [which would delegate some power from the president to the government and Parliament] should be implemented.
2. Political persecution of the opposition should stop.
3. A draft law of Ukraine "On amnesty" covering Articles 157 and 158 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine [punishing vote-rigging as a criminal offence] should be submitted.
4. The law on amendments to the

law of Ukraine "On the status of people's deputies of local councils," which would establish procedures for charging people's deputies of local councils with committing offenses, should be put into effect immediately.

5. The adoption of the law of Ukraine "On the status and rights of the opposition" (which would provide for the opposition retaining the posts of heads of the following parliamentary committees – the Committee on Freedom of Expression and Information, Budget Committee, Committee on Combating Organized Crime and Corruption, and the Special Controlling Committee of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for privatization) should be speeded up.

6. The adoption of the laws of Ukraine "On the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine" and "On the president of Ukraine" should be speeded up.

7. The Cabinet should be formed transparently on the principles of professionalism and separation of power from business.

8. The issue of legal guarantees of ownership rights should be resolved.

9. Pressure on the judiciary should be precluded.

10. Neither the government nor government officials should intervene in the process of preparation for the parliamentary election and the election of national deputies of all levels on March 26, 2006. The government apparatus should not be used for electoral purposes.

The complete and unconditional fulfillment of the agreement is evidence of the possibility of a consensus between the government and the opposition and the ability to put people's interests ahead of personal ambitions.

[Signed by acting Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov, Viktor Yanukovich on behalf of the Party of the Regions and Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko.]

As fifth anniversary...

(Continued from page 1)

fer to the courts. The first phase's criminal file has already been submitted for trial.

However, Ms. Gongadze said she fears the second phase will never be investigated because of political pressures to protect suspects such as former President Leonid Kuchma, Mr. Lytvyn and former Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) Chair Leonid Derkach.

"We consider this step ineffective and we will appeal it," Ms. Gongadze said.

An intrepid journalist

Heorhii Gongadze was born in Tbilisi in 1969, and graduated from Ivan Franko University in Lviv. He began his journalistic career in Lviv before moving to Kyiv.

As he gained experience in both tele-

vision and print journalism, Gongadze became a provocative and aggressive journalist, pursuing controversial stories most other journalists avoided.

He was also extremely outgoing and friendly, his colleagues said.

Government officials are believed to have targeted Gongadze because he was an intrepid and enterprising journalist who penned muckraking articles exposing the corruption of the Kuchma government.

After 10 years as a political journalist in Ukraine, Gongadze joined experienced reporter Olena Prytula in launching the Internet news site *Ukrayinska Pravda* on April 17, 2000, with funding from such sources as the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington. Gongadze was editor-in-chief.

For months, Gongadze was well aware that he was being followed and spied upon. In July 2000 Gongadze even wrote a

letter to former Procurator General Mykhailo Potebenko, reporting that he was being followed and needed government protection. His requests were ignored.

Gongadze was kidnapped and murdered the night of September 16, 2000.

After leaving the Lesia Ukrayinka Boulevard apartment of Ms. Prytula, Gongadze approached a parked car strategically placed by his stalkers. He thought it was a taxicab and asked for a ride.

The driver then told him the seat was broken and he should sit in the back seat instead, Mr. Piskun said. Once Mr. Gongadze switched seats, three police officers jumped into the back of the sports jeep and sped off.

"They beat him along the way," Mr. Piskun said. "Then they brought him to their place, tied his hands, killed him, poured gasoline on his body and set it on fire."

Gongadze died while being choked to death with his own belt, Mr. Piskun said. Afterwards, Gongadze's head was severed from his body and buried separately. It has yet to be found.

Within a few days after his disappearance, more than 80 journalists signed an open letter to Mr. Kuchma and the Verkhovna Rada demanding an investigation into Gongadze's disappearance by Internal Affairs Minister Yuriy Kravchenko and Mr. Potebenko.

Neither the journalists' appeal, nor a September 23 rally dubbed "Find Journalist Heorhii Gongadze!" caused the Kuchma government to take any concrete steps.

Tensions between the Kuchma government and Ukrainian society heightened dramatically after a local villager on November 2, 2000, found a headless body in a shallow grave dug in the Tarascha forest and reported it to police.

Among the initial clues that it might have been Gongadze's body was that its hands bore his bracelet and seal ring.

After Ms. Gongadze examined the body on December 18, she said she wasn't sure if it was her husband's because it had been burned and mutilated so severely.

During the next several months experts in Ukraine, the United States, Switzerland and Russia performed independent examinations that involved DNA testing and concluded with 99.6 percent probability that the body was Gongadze's.

His mother, Lesia Gongadze, however, said she didn't believe the examinations and refused to bury the body until she had 100 percent confidence.

Just weeks after the headless corpse appeared, Socialist Party Chairman Oleksander Moroz launched a political bombshell when he declared that he had obtained secret recordings of high government officials discussing Gongadze.

At a November 28, 2000, press conference, Mr. Moroz revealed the now-infamous Melnychenko tapes to the world.

Maj. Mykola Melnychenko, who led Mr. Kuchma's security detail, had either recorded or participated in recording hundreds of hours of conversations among high-level officials in the government. He said he decided to make the recordings and release them because he could no longer stand by and watch Mr. Kuchma engage in criminal activity.

Among the most scandalous parts of the recording were voices similar to those of Messrs. Kuchma, Kravchenko, Lytvyn and Derkach crustily ruminating and discussing Gongadze and his critical articles.

The most incriminating dialogue involved the voice similar to Mr. Kuchma's talking to the voice believed to be Mr. Kravchenko's.

"We are working on him," said the voice similar to Mr. Kravchenko's.

"I am telling you, haul him out, throw him out," said the voice similar to Mr. Kuchma's.

"Give him to the Chechens, (inaudi-

ble), and then ransom."

The voice similar to Mr. Kravchenko's several seconds later stated, "I have this fighting team right now, these Orly, who will take care of everything you want."

Rada begins inquiry

On July 11, 2002, the Verkhovna Rada appointed an ad hoc investigation commission of 12 national deputies, which was chaired by Hryhorii Omelchenko of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc.

The same month Mr. Kuchma appointed Mr. Piskun as procurator general, the government's lead prosecutor.

By September 2002, Mr. Omelchenko had submitted the committee's report and gathered evidence to the Procurator General's Office.

Mr. Omelchenko tried delivering the committee's conclusions to the Rada several times, but to no avail. The Rada's chairman, who determines the agenda, happened to be Mr. Lytvyn, one of the officials the report implicated in Gongadze's murder. The Rada had elected Mr. Lytvyn as its chairman in May 2002.

Mr. Omelchenko finally got the opportunity to present the findings on September 20, 2005 – more than three years after the committee was formed.

Mr. Lytvyn was conveniently absent when Mr. Omelchenko read the committee's conclusions.

Mr. Omelchenko accused Mr. Lytvyn of provoking President Kuchma to order Gongadze's murder, and repeated the commission's demand that Mr. Lytvyn resign from his post.

According to testimony that Mr. Melnychenko gave the commission in August 2002, Mr. Lytvyn systematically placed Gongadze's articles on Mr. Kuchma's table and reported on his writings, Mr. Omelchenko said. "With his words and actions, (Mr. Lytvyn) set Mr. Kuchma against Gongadze," he said.

When the voice similar to Mr. Kuchma's said he is considering suing Gongadze for his articles, as his lawyers had advised him, the voice similar to Mr. Lytvyn's said, "No, we don't need to do that."

"I know what to do with Heorhii Gongadze," the voice similar to Mr. Lytvyn's said. "Allow Yuriy Kravchenko to visit me."

In response to the accusation, Mr. Lytvyn issued a statement in which he accused Mr. Omelchenko of political provocation.

Incidentally, when Mr. Moroz played the Melnychenko tapes in November 2000, Mr. Lytvyn filed a slander suit against him.

Mr. Lytvyn was not alone in reporting to Mr. Kuchma, Mr. Omelchenko said. Former Internal Affairs Minister Kravchenko and former SBU Chief Derkach also played an active role.

Their large government agencies colluded in spying on Gongadze, acting "illegally and unconstitutionally," he said. At one point, 30 officers within the Internal Affairs Ministry were assigned to Gongadze.

"Almost every day Kravchenko reported actions against Heorhii Gongadze and other opposition journalists and mass media," Mr. Omelchenko said.

The four men arrested in Gongadze's murder were Internal Affairs Ministry officials under Mr. Kravchenko's oversight.

The Criminal and Procedural Code of Ukraine obligated the Procurator General's Office to either prosecute or drop a case within 10 days of receiving a Rada commission's report. "Three years have passed but no decision has been made," said Mr. Omelchenko.

While the commission has twice called for Mr. Lytvyn to step down and for President Kuchma's impeachment, its recommendations were ignored.

The Rada dismissed the commission right after Mr. Omelchenko's report.

Mr. Omelchenko reminded the Rada that

(Continued on page 21)

TIMELINE: The Gongadze case

September 16, 2000

Enterprising journalist Heorhii Gongadze leaves the home of *Ukrayinska Pravda* editor Olena Prytula and disappears.

November 2, 2000

A body believed to be Gongadze's is found in a forest in the Tarascha region of the Kyiv Oblast.

November 28, 2000

Socialist Party Chair Oleksander Moroz plays the Melnychenko recordings for the Verkhovna Rada, containing voices resembling those of top government leaders, discussing Gongadze and his fate.

April 26, 2001

U.S. Armed Forces experts from the Institute of Pathology confirm the body found in the Tarascha forest is Gongadze's. That same month the U.S. government grants Mykola Melnychenko political asylum.

July 6, 2002

President Kuchma appoints Sviatoslav Piskun as procurator general. Three days earlier he promised to complete an investigation into Gongadze's murder within six months.

July 11, 2002

The Verkhovna Rada appoints an ad hoc investigation commission on the Gongadze case, which is chaired by National Deputy Hryhorii Omelchenko.

October 23, 2003

Gen. Oleksii Pukach is arrested and accused of eliminating documents that could have proved a special department was created in the Internal Affairs Ministry to shadow Gongadze. Two weeks later a Kyiv appeals court releases Mr. Pukach, who flees to Israel soon afterwards.

March 1, 2005

President Viktor Yushchenko announces the arrest of those suspected in carrying out Gongadze's murder.

March 4, 2005

Former Internal Affairs Minister Kravchenko is found dead at his home the day he was scheduled to testify as a witness at the Procurator General's Office. Police conclude he shot himself, despite the fact that there are two bullet wounds to his head.

August 1, 2005

The Procurator General's Office announces the completion of the first phase of the Gongadze inquiry, consisting of the investigation and arrest of those who committed the murder.

September 20, 2005

National Deputy Omelchenko reads his commission's report in the Verkhovna Rada and accuses Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn, among others, of complicity in the Gongadze murder.

Corrections

In the story by Zenon Zawada headlined "Yushchenko Sacks Tymoshenko and Cabinet of Ministers" (September 11), it was incorrectly noted that Yuriy Yekhanurov had worked closely with Viktor Medvedchuk and that he was first assistant to Mr. Medvedchuk when he chaired the presidential administration of President Leonid Kuchma. In the following week's story by Mr. Zawada headlined "Yushchenko promises new government focused on economic stability, pragmatism" (September 18), it was also incorrectly noted that Mr. Yekhanurov served as chief of staff Oleksander Zinchenko's first assistant in 2001. In fact, between June and November 2001, Mr. Yekhanurov served as first assistant to the presidential administration chair, who was Volodymyr Lytvyn at that time.

In last week's installment of "Turning the pages back..." (September 25) the date of the newspaper article cited was missing. The excerpt was taken from *The Ukrainian Weekly's* issue of October 7, 1990.

Ukrainian American activist's dream is realized with publication of 'Wormwood Forest'

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Back plugging away in her Khreschatyk office, it's hardly imaginable that a confident Mary Mycio was the victim of a life-threatening attack just two weeks ago, except for the fact she's started smoking again.

A thug had crashed a concrete block across her head as she was leaving her apartment near Independence Square at about 1 p.m. on September 15. A struggle ensued, but the attacker failed to subdue Ms. Mycio, an avid horseback rider, and fled.

The tenacious woman she is, Ms. Mycio received three stitches to her head and was back at work the next day. "Luckily, there was no concussion and I didn't lose consciousness," Ms. Mycio said. "But there was lots of blood. I'm still covered with bruises."

The last two weeks have been a bitter-sweet mix of highly anticipated achievement and violence in Ms. Mycio's life.

Among the first wave of Ukrainian Americans to re-settle in the newly independent Ukraine, Ms. Mycio's years of freelance journalism had paid off with her first book, "Wormwood Forest," published in late September.

The 242-page exploration of the 30-kilometer zone surrounding the shutdown Chernobyl nuclear power plant is available on amazon.com and at Barnes & Noble.

"What I tried to do was weave personal travels with lyrical explanations of the natural history and science of Chernobyl," Ms. Mycio said. "It's the story of my travels in a radioactive wilderness."

Just after the book was published, a man waiting by the apartment door assaulted Ms. Mycio on a sunny Thursday afternoon. After striking Ms. Mycio, the thug tried to slam the apartment door shut to prolong the attack.

Using her strength, athleticism and quick wit, Ms. Mycio lodged herself in the doorway, preventing the attacker from shutting the door behind him. Her ear-piercing shrieks caused him to flee after about a minute of violent struggle, or what Ms. Mycio said seemed to have been an eternity.

After her hospital visit, Ms. Mycio returned to her apartment the very same night, accompanied by friends. "I just wanted to be at home with familiar surroundings," Ms. Mycio said.

She suspects she may have been targeted, though she said she's confident the attack wasn't related to her book.

The day after the attack, Ms. Mycio was back at the offices of International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), where she serves as a media law advisor.

She soon decided to recruit the services of "Zhenia," a handsome, 6-foot, 2-inch bodyguard decked in tight blue jeans, a white t-shirt and a weapon under his black leather jacket. He now accompanies Ms. Mycio wherever she goes.

Just two days after the attack, Ms. Mycio led an NBC television crew into the 30-kilometer "exclusion zone." The program, a feature on Chernobyl tourism, will air on the NBC Today show either on October 1 or some time soon afterwards.

Ms. Mycio has traveled into the zone at least 19 times, she said, and was able to point out places and natural phenomenon that the crew otherwise wouldn't have noticed. For example, forests are now devouring entire villages that had been evacuated, she said.

While the film crew was filming great white egrets, a moose suddenly appeared. "I like going there because it's

a beautiful, haunting place," Ms. Mycio said.

"Wormwood Forest" is a dream she'd been trying to realize for almost two decades, ever since the Chernobyl nuclear reactor exploded on April 26, 1986, sending flames, sparks and red-hot chunks of nuclear fuel and graphite into the air.

Ms. Mycio is a Long Island native, but spent most of her college and post-college years in the East Village of New York, the epicenter of the East Coast Ukrainian community.

She spent those years active in promoting Ukrainian affairs and issues with future leaders, including former Justice Minister Roman Zvarych and Ukrainian World Congress President Askold Lozynskyj.

She earned a bachelor's degree in biology from Hunter College and a law degree from New York University in 1984. It was while she was practicing law that the Chernobyl disaster occurred.

She immediately became a "bi-coastal Chernobyl junkie," collecting any information she could about the accident and the Soviet Union's cover-up. Her hope was to write a book exposing the engineering mistakes and criminal negligence committed by the Soviet govern-



Author Mary Mycio stands in her office alongside her bodyguard, "Zhenia," a week after her book, "Wormwood Forest," was published.

ment.

"In 1989, the book was going to be 'The Truth About Chernobyl,'" Ms. Mycio said. "You know, exposing Soviet

lies."

When Ukraine became open to the West in 1989, Ms. Mycio immediately

(Continued on page 23)

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

The Ukrainian Weekly at 72

On October 6 The Ukrainian Weekly turns 72. That's a lot of candles on a birthday cake. But nothing compared to the number of stories this newspaper has published through the years. (Why, just last year The Weekly brought its readers 1,918 articles.)

Through the more than seven decades it has been published, The Weekly has covered myriad developments here within our Ukrainian community in the United States and Canada; U.S., Canadian and other international developments that affect Ukraine and Ukrainians; and, of course, the major news from Ukraine. The latter coverage has been much more effective and, indeed, exceptional since our Kyiv Press Bureau began its work in January of 1991. Think about it: our paper was on the ground in Kyiv when Ukraine proclaimed its independence. That, Dear Readers, was due both to persistence on the part of The Weekly's editors and a bit of lucky timing.

The late Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil wrote in 1993, on the occasion of The Weekly's 60th anniversary: "Your paper is one of the best Ukrainian publications issued outside of Ukraine. In making information on Ukraine accessible to the English-speaking world, it has contributed to Ukraine's achievement of independence and world recognition." In fact, The Weekly will go down in history as the first foreign newspaper to establish a bureau in Kyiv.

We can't help but be proud of our paper's illustrious history, which was made possible by visionaries who brought this newspaper into existence, including activists of the Ukrainian National Association and Editor-in-Chief Luke Myshuha of Svoboda, our sister publication. The Weekly's anniversary is a fitting time to pay tribute to these leaders who understood that an English-language newspaper could accomplish two very important tasks: reach beyond the Ukrainian community to tell the truth about Ukraine and its people, and keep a new generation of Ukrainians who no longer were fluent in the Ukrainian language involved in Ukrainian affairs.

We also recall all the dedicated staffers of this paper, beginning with its pioneering editor, Stephen Shumeyko. Each and every member of The Weekly's editorial staff has contributed to making this paper what it is. Since its first issue rolled off the presses way back on October 6, 1933, The Weekly has undergone many changes to keep up with the times and the needs of its readers. That simply could not have been done without first-rate editors who were willing to work selflessly for the Ukrainian cause.

Our birthday is also a wonderful time to express thanks to our champions – most importantly our loyal subscribers, including some who have read this paper since its founding. Because the income from subscription fees alone cannot cover the costs of producing this paper, we must also thank our advertisers, who help with the bottom line, and donors to The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund, who in 2004 alone contributed a very appreciated \$30,715 in very tangible support of our work.

As a parting note, we must underscore that, as The Weekly celebrates its 72nd anniversary, it also celebrates the continuation of the UNA's tradition of caring for its members and our Ukrainian community. Simply put, there would be no Ukrainian Weekly without the UNA, a fraternal organization that deserves the support of all our community members.

We are proud to be a part of the Ukrainian National Association's long history of service, and – with the help of our supporters and the UNA – The Ukrainian Weekly, at age 72, looks ahead to serving new generations of readers.

Oct.
2
1994

Turning the pages back...

Back on October 2, 1994, The Ukrainian Weekly reported that members of the American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee had held their second plenary meeting in Kyiv, reaffirming America's commitment to Ukraine's independence.

Leaders such as Zbigniew Brzezinski (U.S. national security advisor under President Jimmy Carter), Henry Kissinger (U.S. secretary of state under President Richard Nixon) and international businessman/philanthropist George Soros conveyed the message that a strong, stable and secure Ukraine serves the interests of peace and stability in Europe and is a critical factor in the post-Communist transition.

The committee issued a 10-point communiqué. The committee praised President Leonid Kuchma's "courageous decision to take charge of economic policy." Mr. Soros explained: "President [Leonid] Kravchuk always avoided taking personal responsibility for economic policy and so did President [Boris] Yeltsin. President Kuchma is taking a step forward, which we applaud."

The discussions focused on the need to strengthen U.S.-Ukraine relations and the importance of Ukraine's role in aiding the peaceful and democratic redefinition of Russia. The committee commended recent improvements in Ukrainian-Russian relations.

"Members of this committee support a strong, independent Ukraine, which redefines the very nature of Russia. It changes Russia into a normal, national state from a traditionally imperial state," said Dr. Brzezinski, adding that the pursuit of an imperial objective would be a historical disaster for Russia. Dr. Brzezinski underscored that "The independence and sovereignty of Ukraine is clearly the policy of the U.S. government and clearly one which enjoys bipartisan political support."

The leaders quelled fears that the republics of the former Soviet Union will fall under "the Russian sphere of influence," as had been reported by the news media in the West and Russia. Russia needs excellent relations with the United States, explained Dr. Kissinger. "Certainly one aspect of Russian strategy is to make independence painful for at least some of the former members of the Soviet Union, so they rejoin some sort of new system. This cannot be in U.S. interests, and I believe that Russia wants a good relationship with the U.S. That means that Russia must stay within its borders."

Source: "American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee visits Kyiv, convenes meeting, issues communiqué," by Marta Kolomayets, Kyiv Press Bureau, The Ukrainian Weekly, October 2, 1994, Vol. LXII, No. 40.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A reader's reaction to Aslund's response

Dear Editor:

Re "Assessing Ukraine: Anders Aslund responds to Alexander Motyl" (September 25), it is indisputable that Ukraine's leaders have not exactly distinguished themselves over the last several weeks, and with respect to the state of the Ukrainian economy and its causes, I simply am not competent to judge Dr. Aslund's assessments. I do, however, know that Dr. Aslund should avoid making silly historical generalizations about matters with which he seems to have but a superficial acquaintance.

To compare what Ukraine experienced in the 20th century to, for example, Poland, or Ukraine's other neighbors betrays a rather remarkable degree of historical illiteracy. What follows for purposes of evaluating current events from the depredations visited upon Ukraine until very recently is another matter, but let's at least get the history right.

Bohdan Vitvitsky
Summit, N.J.

Motyl's answer to Aslund's response

Dear Editor:

Anders Aslund appears to have misunderstood my article, "Reassessing Ukraine, or why the big picture matters." So, let me clarify a few points.

First, the article was decidedly not about him or his scholarship. That should be obvious. I used the title of his op-ed piece as an example of a larger alarmist trend in analysis of Ukraine. I trust that The Ukrainian Weekly's readers know that it is standard practice in both journalism and scholarship to illustrate a point by citing an illustrious example.

Second, the article is about putting recent events in Ukraine into perspective, or what I call the "big picture." I make a few simple, and to my mind yawningly obvious, claims: 1) that "Ukraine's policy-makers are little different from policy-makers in any other country of the world"; 2) that "all policy-makers in all democratic countries must always balance at least two competing priorities – rational economic policies versus the necessity of getting re-elected"; 3) that "President [Viktor] Yushchenko and Prime Minister [Yulia] Tymoshenko are not Ukraine."

The thrust of these claims should be obvious: that we should view day-to-day politics in Ukraine in comparison to other countries and in light of larger institutional trends in Ukraine as a whole. If we do, the picture looks rather less dire than the alarmist language of much recent analysis would suggest.

Third, my article does anything but "whine." Quite the contrary, I argue that Ukraine has made enormous progress in the last few decades. Indeed, I even hazard the wildly optimistic prognosis that Ukraine "in about 15 years ... should be no worse off than Poland today." Gosh, if that's whining, let us all by all means whine.

One final point: The change in Ukraine's government – and the response it's provoked among analysts – only proves my point about intemperate language and the importance of the big picture. How many times have we been told recently that Ukraine is in crisis, that the Orange Revolution is dead, that its ideals have been betrayed? But consider what happened. A president and prime minister disagreed. The president fired the prime minister, as he is constitutionally entitled

to do. The president found a replacement. Parliament refused to approve him. So the president cut a deal with the opposition in order to get his candidate approved. Sound familiar? It should. That's the way all functioning democracies behave.

In sum, if you really want to understand what's going on in Ukraine, try leaving the trenches and looking at a map from time to time.

Alexander J. Motyl
New York

Questioning writers' qualifications

Dear Editor:

Much time and space could have been spared, had Taras Kuzio and Orest Deychakiwsky (August 7) prefaced their community remarks with their personal credentials. I may be accused of thinking like an attorney, but it seems to me that opinions on subjects should be offered by experts. I know both gentlemen including their background and expertise. I dare say they simply do not qualify.

Askold S. Lozynskyj
New York

Editor's note: In fact, the authors' credentials were given in the italic paragraphs that accompanied the article.

Re: labor leader's true sympathies

Dear Editor:

During the Liberty Medal award ceremony in Philadelphia, Congressman Curt Weldon described with unbridled enthusiasm the "solid support in the [Verkhovna] Rada" that President Viktor Yushchenko received from a man Mr. Weldon called, apparently mistakenly, a "leader of the Solidarity labor movement" in Ukraine, Mykhailo Volynets. He then pointed Mr. Volynets out in the crowd and asked him to join Mr. Yushchenko on the stage.

Mr. Volynets, hastily put on his jacket and scurried up the stage steps, graciously kissing the hand of Ukraine's first lady, before smilingly bear hugging Mr. Yushchenko. It turned out to be a replay of Brezhnevite mendacity.

Just three days later, Mr. Volynets, actually a member of Yulia Tymoshenko's party, was not present to vote as the Verkhovna Rada failed to confirm Mr. Yushchenko's choice for prime minister, Yuriy Yekhanurov.

If Mr. Volynets was still in the U.S., perhaps we should have bought him a one-way ticket to Kyiv so that he could have put his vote where his hug was.

Andrew Fylypovych
Philadelphia

We welcome your opinion

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 and signed (anonymous letters are not published). Letters are accepted also via e-mail at staff@ukrweekly.com. The daytime phone number and address of the letter-writer must be given for verification purposes.

View from the

Trembita Lounge

by Taras Szmagala Jr.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



A letter to the Russian patriarch

This week I'd like to share an open letter to His Holiness Alexei II, patriarch of Moscow and All Russia.

* * *

Your Holiness:

I know it may seem strange to you to receive this letter – I suspect not many Ukrainian Catholics from Cleveland find their way to drop you a line. But you've been having some rough times as of late, and even we "Uniates" have been feeling a bit sorry for you.

We know it's hard to keep telling someone they're not wanted, especially when they can't take a hint. And popes sure can't take hints, can they? They keep angling for that Moscow invite, regardless of how many negative vibes you throw their way. And I can only imagine that this whole "religious freedom" thing has been pretty difficult for you to accept. After all, during Soviet times, you had a monopoly on religion. If someone wanted to believe in God, your Church was the only game in town. But now, there are a variety of faiths from which to choose – different Orthodox Churches, Catholics, Baptists, Evangelicals, and lots of non-Christian alternatives, too. I suspect that competition can take a lot out of a patriarch.

But when Cardinal Lubomyr Husar decided to move the headquarters of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church to Kyiv, well, even we in the U.S. were surprised by the shrillness of your response. You immediately condemned the move as evidence of Catholic proselytism on Orthodox lands. And in a line that only a lawyer could love, the Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church under your control had this to say: "We view the transfer of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church residence to Kyiv as a blatant challenge to the confessional self-awareness of Orthodox Ukrainians, which provokes social, political and religious instability." Now, your Holiness, I will be the first to admit that Ukraine has its share of social, political and religious instability, but do you really think that all this instability has been caused by the construction of a church on the left bank of the Dniipro?

I admit I am coming at this issue from a decidedly American and Catholic perspective. I cannot claim to understand the religious issues facing Christian believers in Ukraine and Russia, and I certainly do not have your theological background. But all this concern over Catholic "proselytism" in Ukraine seems just a bit overblown to me. Call me naive, but can we realistically expect a flood of converts from Ukrainian Orthodoxy to Ukrainian Catholicism simply because Cardinal Husar now calls Kyiv home? Truthfully, Your Holiness, I wouldn't worry too much about losing believers on account of the cardinal's transfer.

Please don't misunderstand me – I am not saying that your Church doesn't have serious issues with which it must con-

tend. It does, as does my Church, and the other Orthodox Churches on Ukrainian soil. The most pressing issue, perhaps, is the gradual integration of Ukraine into European culture. While I think this integration is inherently good (although I suspect you disagree with me on this point), that process is not without considerable spiritual risk. Specifically, Christianity in Europe is on the decline. Church attendance is down and secularism is on the rise. As European clerics have themselves often admitted, nowadays being a Christian in Europe is passé.

So how can Ukraine preserve and nurture its Christian heritage, even as it seeks to improve its standard of living and draw closer to Europe? I wish I had a simple answer. After all, materialism and secularism are formidable foes, and conspicuous consumption seems to be the order of the day in Kyiv. Perhaps it is to be expected; after so many years of Soviet economic stagnation, it's easy for Ukrainians to think that "stuff" will make them happy.

I am sure Your Holiness and other religious leaders know better. You know that worldly goods don't provide true, long-term satisfaction. And you are keenly aware that, at this turbulent time in Ukraine's history, Ukrainians need a reliable moral compass to help them find their way. Isn't it the role of our Churches, regardless of allegiance to pope or patriarch, to provide that compass? I'd like to think that, after reflection and prayer, Your Holiness would realize that spending time and effort battling a fellow Christian Church diverts crucial resources from the true matter at hand: filling the spiritual void felt by so many Ukrainians during this period of change and transition.

If you ask Cardinal Husar, I suspect he'd tell you that he's not seeking to grab a larger share of your pie. Rather, he's trying to figure out a way to grow the size of the pie as a whole. And I am sure the Orthodox Churches, including your own, are trying to accomplish the same thing. Given this, perhaps our Churches would be better off by cooperating, rather than competing, with one another. How better to demonstrate to the Ukrainian people the love of Christ than by working together, hand in hand, to serve the poor, educate the youth, and set a consistent moral and ethical standard that crosses sectarian boundaries?

Again, Your Holiness, maybe I am being naive. But what do you have to lose? For if you continue to see us Catholics as your enemy, one day you will discover that your believers have not been stolen by a Catholic cardinal, but by a more powerful foe named indifference.

Sincerely,
Taras Szmagala, Jr.
Cleveland, Ohio

Taras Szmagala Jr. may be reached at Szmagala@yahoo.com.

Lies and delusions live on

During the Great Depression many American intellectuals, media moguls and religious leaders believed capitalism was dead. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was mecca, the center of the future, a harbinger of what should happen next in America. A command economy was the path to compassion, true equality and individual liberty.

During Soviet times, few people in the United States heard of Ukraine's Famine-Genocide and many among those who did hear, refused to believe it, preferring instead to accept the lies of New York Times correspondent Walter Duranty and others like him.

Even today, some Americans remain skeptical. One of the questions I am often asked by teachers and students during presentations on Ukraine's Famine-Genocide is "Why haven't we heard about this sooner?" When I tell them about the cover-up by the Soviet and American press, especially The New York Times, I'm not always certain that all in my audience are convinced. One teacher during a University of Denver seminar, for example, protested that she had taken Russian history courses in college and the topic of Ukraine's Famine-Genocide never came up!

The Soviet cover-up was consistent, complete and masterful. In his book "Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics," for example, Russian writer Felix Chuev records a December 1972 interview with Viacheslav Molotov, once Stalin's closest confidant. Turning to Ukraine, Mr. Chuev comments: "Among writers, some say the famine of 1933 was deliberately organized by Stalin and the whole of your leadership."

"Enemies of Communism say that!" explodes Mr. Molotov. "They are enemies of communism! People who are not politically aware, who are politically blind. No, in collectivization, you can be sure, hands cannot tremble, you cannot quake in your boots, and if anyone begins to shiver – beware!"

"But nearly 12 million perished of hunger in 1933..." continues the interviewer.

"The figures have not been substantiated!"

"Not substantiated?" asks Mr. Chuev.

"No, no, not at all. In those years I was out in the country on grain procurement trips. Those things could not have escaped me. They simply couldn't. I twice traveled to Ukraine ... Of course I saw nothing of the kind there. Those allegations are absurd! Absurd! ... No, those figures are an exaggeration, though such deaths had been reported in some places. It was a year of terrible hardships," said Mr. Molotov.

As Robert Conquest writes in "Dragons of Expectations: Reality and Delusion in the Course of History," however, the truth of the matter is quite different: "We now have a document that records the decision of the Politburo in July 1932, when Molotov, just back from the Ukraine, reported, 'We definitely face the specter of famine, especially in the rich bread areas,' after which a Politburo decision ordered that 'whatever the cost, the confirmed plan for grain requisition must be fulfilled.'"

"Further such evidence," continues Prof. Conquest, "appears in a letter written by Dnepropetrovsk [sic] party secretary Mikhail Khatkevych in November 1932, which states that in order to ensure the state's production future, 'we must

take into account the minimum needs of the kolkhozniks, for otherwise there will be no one left to sow and ensure production.' Molotov's answer was, 'your position is profoundly incorrect, un-Bolshevik. We Bolsheviks cannot put the needs of the state – needs precisely defined in party resolutions – in the 10th or even the second place.'"

"Stalin's concern was to make sure the foreign press got no wind of these horrors," writes Donald Rayfield in "Stalin and His Hangmen: The Tyrant And Those Who Killed For Him." According to the book, Stalin wrote furiously in 1933: "Molotov, Kaganovich! Do you know who let the American correspondents in Moscow go to the Kuban? They have cooked up some filth about the situation in the Kuban ... This must be put a stop to and these gentlemen must be banned from traveling all over the USSR. There are enough spies as it is ..."

"Down in the Ukraine what disturbed Stalin was not the deaths of millions of his subjects," continues Prof. Rayfield, "but the vacillating local leaders who grumbled that plans for grain procurement were 'unreal.' 'What is this? This isn't a party, it's a parliament, a caricature of a parliament,' he wrote to Kaganovich," another of his trusted hangmen.

"As for Kaganovich and Molotov, their murderousness ... stemmed not from any inner compulsion to kill, but from a total, doglike submission to their psychopathic master," concludes Dr. Rayfield. According to one American historian, Mr. Molotov "could sign the death warrants of 3,187 people in one night and then watch Western movies with Stalin with a pure conscience."

Molotov was born Viacheslav Skryabin in a small town in the Kirov Oblast in 1890. He joined the Bolsheviks in 1916, taking the party name Molotov (derived from the word for hammer). Despite his humble beginnings, Molotov achieved high party positions following the Bolshevik coup d'état in 1917, including foreign minister. Architect of the infamous Molotov/Ribbentrop pact between Hitler and Stalin in 1939, he was at Stalin's side at Yalta in 1945 when the Soviet leader was awarded Eastern Europe. The "Molotov cocktail," a gasoline-filled bottle hurled at German tanks during the war was named after him. Molotov was the only person to have met not only Stalin, but Adolf Hitler, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Mao Zedong and Kim il Sung.

Described by Lenin as "the best file clerk in Russia," Molotov was one of Stalin's many faithful henchmen. He betrayed close Bolshevik friends during Stalin's many purges, and he divorced his Jewish wife when Stalin demanded it. He died in 1986, praising Stalin to the end.

Has anything changed among certain members of the American media? Consider this: CNN mogul Ted Turner described his recent trip to North Korea during an interview with Wolf Blitzer, claiming he saw nothing amiss. True, the people were thin and rode bicycles, and there were few cars, he noted. Asked about Kim Jong il, Mr. Turner admitted he never met him but from his pictures he concluded that the North Korean tyrant looked pretty normal. Right.

Who said history doesn't repeat?

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A LOOK AT THE NUMBERS: Is foreign direct investment into Ukraine plummeting?

by Alexander J. Motyl

Among the many charges being made against the government of Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, one is especially serious. Foreign direct investment (FDI) is supposed to have fallen on their watch. Indeed, FDI is often said to have “plummeted.” Use of that word conveys the impression that FDI was steadily rising over the last few years and that, thanks to their misguided policies, it is now in free fall. If true, the charge would imply that the orange government “squandered” its post-revolutionary legitimacy and “lost” an ideal opportunity to attract the foreign capital considered to be a precondition of Ukraine’s economic revival.

As with so many of the charges made against the Orange government, this one is also vastly overstated. As one can see from the tables below, the data tell a rather more complicated story. (The data are available on the website of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, www.ukrstat.gov.ua.)

	2003 1/1	2003 4/1	2003 7/1	2003 10/1	2004 1/1	2004 4/1	2004 7/1	2004 10/1	2005 1/1	2005 4/1	2005 7/1
Total FDI, mil., US\$	5339	5605	6038	6213	6658	6947	7325	7762	8354	8797	9061
Quarterly increase mil., US\$		266	433	175	445	289	378	437	592	444	264
% increase		5.0	7.7	2.9	7.2	4.3	5.4	6.0	7.6	5.3	3.0

Table 1. Total Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) into Ukraine, 2003-2005

Table 1 shows overall FDI flows into Ukraine. Note that the volume of FDI (Row 1) has increased steadily for the last three years. The quarterly FDI increases (Row 2) are not spectacular, and we know Ukraine can do better, but at no time has the volume actually decreased.

Note as well that the rate of increase (Row 3) has hardly “plummeted” either. There is no obvious consistently upward secular trend in 2003-2004 to justify such an alarming word. The rate of increase did rise steadily in 2004, but it fluctuated in 2003. Since the last quarter of 2004, when the rate stood at 7.6 percent, it has fallen to 5.3 percent and 3.0 percent in 2005 – but it is clearly too soon to conclude that these two data points portend a free fall.

If, as the Orange government expects, Kryvorizhstal and several other plants will be privatized in the second half of 2005, the rate of increase will jump.

If, as seems to be the case, several foreign hotels will be built in Kyiv, the rate will rise as well. Will those investments be evidence of a “skyrocketing” trend? Alas, no. Ukraine will have to sustain improvement for a while, at least a year or two, for such an optimistic conclusion to hold.

But who’s doing the investing, and what can those data tell us?

	2003 1/1	2003 4/1	2003 7/1	2003 10/1	2004 1/1	2004 4/1	2004 7/1	2004 10/1	2005 1/1	2005 4/1	2005 7/1
Total FDI, mil., US\$	940	901	1113	1019	1160	1342	1440	1568	1579	1800	1961
Quarterly increase mil., US\$		-39	212	-93	141	182	98	128	12	221	161
% increase		-4.1	23.5	-8.4	13.8	15.7	7.3	8.9	0.7	14.0	9.0

Table 2. FDI from Cyprus and the Virgin Islands, 2003-2005

Table 2 shows FDI flows from Cyprus and the Virgin Islands – both countries that serve as havens for illegally (and legally) acquired Ukrainian (and Russian) capital. These numbers tell a very different story from those in Table 1.

Ukrainian capitalists were anything but bullish about the Kuchma period. Their investments fluctuated wildly in 2003, and then went into decline in 2004. In contrast, Ukrainian FDI rose by 14.0 percent in the first quarter of 2005 and by a still healthy 9.0 percent in the second quarter. If we believe that Ukrainian capitalists, especially those whose gains were illegal, are both most knowledgeable about investment conditions in their country and most sensitive to risk, then we may want to conclude that the investment climate in Orange Ukraine has actually improved.

	2003 1/1	2003 4/1	2003 7/1	2003 10/1	2004 1/1	2004 4/1	2004 7/1	2004 10/1	2005 1/1	2005 4/1	2005 7/1
Total FDI, mil., US\$	323	335	343	355	378	386	411	428	458	511	546
Quarterly increase mil., US\$		12	8	12	23	8	25	17	30	54	35
% increase		3.8	2.4	3.5	6.4	2.2	6.4	4.2	6.9	11.7	6.8

Table 3. FDI from Russia into Ukraine, 2003-2005

As Table 3 shows, Russian investors would appear to agree that money can still be made in Orange Ukraine. Their volume of investments has increased in every quarter since early 2003, though erratically so. The rate of increase was low in 2003, went up

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	2003 1/1	2003 4/1	2003 7/1	2003 10/1	2004 1/1	2004 4/1	2004 7/1	2004 10/1	2005 1/1	2005 4/1	2005 7/1
Total FDI, mil., US\$	2603	2841	2876	3029	3238	3300	3518	3632	3986	4098	4110
Quarterly increase mil., US\$		238	36	153	209	62	218	114	355	111	12
% increase		9.1	1.2	5.3	6.9	1.9	6.6	3.2	9.8	2.8	0.3

Table 4. FDI from West (U.S., U.K., Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Austria) into Ukraine, 2003-2005

and down throughout 2004, and has actually registered its most impressive gains in 2005. Since we may assume that island-based Russian investors, like their Ukrainian counterparts, know Ukraine and are sensitive to risk, their investment behavior may warrant the conclusion that the investment climate under the Yushchenko administration is hardly disastrous.

Unfortunately, Western investors may disagree. Their rate of FDI increase has fallen in 2005, reaching a piddling 0.3 percent in the second quarter. But, before we all start panicking, note two things. First, Western rates of increase have been tiny – 1.2 percent and 1.9 percent – in the past as well. Second, Western investments – both total quarterly volumes and quarterly rates – have fluctuated wildly since early 2003. The figures for 2005 may portend a secular trend or they may only represent a blip. It’s too soon to tell.

	2003 1/1	2003 4/1	2003 7/1	2003 10/1	2004 1/1	2004 4/1	2004 7/1	2004 10/1	2005 1/1	2005 4/1	2005 7/1
Total	5339	5605	6038	6213	6658	6947	7325	7762	8354	8797	9061
Cyprus/V. Islands	940 17.6%	901 16.1%	1113 18.4%	1019 16.4%	1160 17.4%	1342 19.3%	1440 19.7%	1568 20.2%	1579 18.9%	1800 20.5%	1961 21.6%
Russia	323 6.0%	335 6.0%	343 5.7%	355 5.7%	378 5.7%	386 5.6%	411 5.6%	428 5.5%	458 5.5%	511 5.8%	546 6.0%
West	2603 48.8%	2841 50.7%	2876 47.6%	3029 48.8%	3238 48.6%	3300 47.5%	3518 48.0%	3632 46.8%	3986 47.7%	4098 46.6%	4110 45.4%

Table 5. Total Volume and Percent of FDI per Quarter, 2003-2005

Finally, consider Table 5, which compares investment flows from Cyprus and the Virgin Islands, Russia and the West. Here we may see some secular trends. The Ukrainian share of total FDI appears to be growing since early 2003, while the Western share appears to be declining. That may be both good and bad news. It’s good if you believe that Ukrainian capital has to be brought back home for the Ukrainian economy to function. It’s bad if you believe that the West is indispensable to Ukraine’s economic growth. Note, finally, that the Russian share of total FDI has fluctuated between 5.5 percent and 6.0 percent in this three-year period. If nothing else, that suggests that reports of an imminent Russian takeover of Ukraine’s economy may be slightly exaggerated.

Conclusion

In sum, the data tell us that, while the volume of foreign direct investment has risen steadily since early 2003, it is simply too soon to conclude anything meaningful about the rate of increase of FDI under the orange government.

Should Ukraine be doing better? Of course. Could President Yushchenko and Prime Minister Tymoshenko have done better? Well, yes, and well, maybe not.

They could have done better because, as the conventional wisdom has it, they did enjoy widespread popularity and the Orange Revolution did generate a sense of euphoria about Ukraine’s prospects. Those feelings of warmth and good will should have helped increase foreign, and especially Western, FDI.

But not necessarily. First of all, investors do not invest because they feel warm about countries. They invest because they think they can make a profit. Second, investors fear change – and orange Ukraine, simply by being a society in transition, was always going to be a changing society. Third, investors like certainty – both because it increases their chances of making a profit and because, in general, they lack knowledge about countries.

Small wonder, therefore, that Russians and Ukrainians, who know Ukraine, are far less skittish than Westerners about investing in Orange Ukraine. Let me suggest that Western investors would have been skittish about Orange Ukraine even if Mr. Yushchenko and Ms. Tymoshenko had held their hands and done absolutely everything just right.

One final point. As my last comment suggests, the willingness to invest is as much – if not more – a function of perception as of knowledge. If investors believe a place is worthy of investment, it is. That belief is only partly the product of a deep familiarity with a country or of the “objective” nature of a country’s conditions or policies. Instead, that belief is as much, if not more, the product of “subjective” perceptions and, thus, of a country’s image.

While the Yushchenko administration can, and should, make Ukraine more “objectively” attractive to Western investors, it has already made it more “subjectively” attractive. Its interactions with Western policy-makers, journalists, and media have placed Ukraine on the “mental map” of people in the West. After all, no one will invest in a country whose only claim to fame is Chernobyl.

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COMMENTARY

The irrational exuberance of Orange

by Roman Solchanyk

All of those bandits who were in power will wind up in prison.

— Viktor Yushchenko, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, April 11.

I give my word that no one from among the members of the government will take advantage of his position in order to further his own business [interests].

— Viktor Yushchenko, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, April 11.

The renewal of cadres will be continued.

— Viktor Yushchenko, *speech on Independence Square marking the anniversary of Ukraine's independence*, August 24.

Thus far, of the three above-mentioned promises made by President Viktor Yushchenko, the only one that he has followed up on is the last. The cadres are indeed being “renewed,” but not the ones that either he or we had in mind. Instead, the president has dismissed the entire Cabinet of Ministers, and the chief of his administration, the secretary of the National Security and Defense Council, and the head of the Security Service of Ukraine are now all in the category of “former.”

The spark that touched off what is now being routinely described as a crisis is directly related to the second promise noted above — namely, charges and counter-charges of widespread corruption among the heroes of the Orange Revolution that have been made public by the heroes themselves, including the Ukrainian President.

It is impossible, of course, to determine who is lying and who is not; these are, after all, politicians. But what is strikingly obvious is that at the core of most

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of the accusations and counter-accusations is the question of money: how to get as much of it as possible and in any way possible. For those who may have forgotten, the Orange revolutionaries came to power via the maidan (Independence Square) by focusing, among other things, on the illicit wedding of political power to shady money, which was the hallmark of the previous regime.

In light of what can only be described as a kind of a Ukrainian cum Soviet “bardak” that is presently unfolding in Kyiv, I decided to go back and reread some of the reports and commentaries that appeared in *The Weekly* and in other publications last fall and winter, when the word “orange” took on a new meaning (and Orange-related paraphernalia apparently brought in handsome profits for Mr. Yushchenko’s immediate family). What I found there is perhaps best described by a phrase made famous by the chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve — namely, “irrational exuberance.”

The overall thrust of much of this happy talk, including that of individuals in the U.S. and Canada whose names are preceded by the word “professor,” was that a new Ukraine and a new nation had arisen in the aftermath of a successful and peaceful national uprising against the bad guys — those whose primary purpose for seeking and maintaining political power was grand larceny.

I place emphasis on the word “national,” because, among other things, we were cheerily told that the notion of a Ukraine divided along an east-west axis was absolutely wrong, a stereotype, and the like. Yes, there are regional differences in Ukraine, went the story, but these are unimportant. The errant ways of former President Leonid Kuchma and his gang of thieves were being reversed, the people had spoken and they were victorious, and the good guys (?) were now in power. There is a light at the end of the tunnel, as the new president assured his listeners in his August 24 speech.

Ukraine was finally going to resemble what these people in places like Philadelphia and Toronto always imagined it to be.

The euphoria was not limited to Ukrainian Americans or Ukrainian Canadians. A well-known professor in Ukraine, jousting with an equally well-known essayist in Ukraine, wrote in the December 2004 issue of a well-known Ukrainian-language monthly that “the time has come to stage a symbolic public funeral” for the notion of two Ukraines — that is, one kind of Ukraine in the east and a rather different kind in the west.

But if only it were all so simple.

The irrational exuberance brought about by the maidan seemed not to notice that nearly half of the votes in the final round of the presidential election last December were cast against the maidan. Further, the bulk of these votes were in the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine. No one in the Yushchenko camp was seriously disputing the validity of these votes. Moreover, we have seen a similar pattern of voting behavior in previous Ukrainian elections. As Yogi Berra would say, it was *déjà vu* all over again.

Public opinion studies serve only to confirm what the election made plain and what should be painfully obvious: Ukraine is politically divided and the division has a very clear geographic component. A survey conducted by the Razumkov Center in Kyiv and the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology in May revealed that 78 percent of respondents in the western part of the country sympathized with those political forces that supported the Yushchenko camp; the corresponding figure for the east was only 15 percent.

The glaring differences between east and west are obvious.

Nearly 72 percent of respondents in the western part of the country support membership in the European Union; the corresponding figure for the east is slightly over 30 percent. As for joining the Single Economic Space with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, more than 86 percent in the

east are for it while the corresponding number in the west is just above 32 percent. In the east, 79 percent want dual citizenship with Russia; in the west it is just over 20 percent. And so it goes down the line.

One does not need to be a mathematical genius to arrive at the conclusion that there is a disparity here insofar as the political culture of the eastern and western parts of Ukraine.

More disconcerting perhaps is the tenacity of certain long-term trends in the country as a whole.

The results of a recently concluded study covering the period 1994-2005 by the Institute of Sociology in Kyiv and the Democratic Initiatives Foundation found that more than 50 percent of the population would like Ukraine to join in a union with Russia and Belarus. More than 50 percent means a majority. Over the course of the last year, the proportion of opponents of integration into Europe has nearly doubled. Problems of culture and language are the last thing that people in Ukraine are concerned about; half of the population supports official status for the Russian language. (I wonder how that would go over in Poland — or even Slovakia.)

The report ends by saying that “Ukrainian society is developing in a non-European direction.” What? All those fine new buildings going up in Kyiv, the expensive restaurants, and the president’s 19-year-old son brandishing a cellphone that sells for a minimum of \$6,000 (he has a part-time job) do not amount to Europe?

Clearly, there will be those who do not place much trust in public opinion polls. Fine. But discounting opinion surveys as a matter of course brings to mind certain people who are uncomfortable with what they disdainfully characterize as “reality-based” news. The consequences of that approach have not been altogether happy. In any case, results from the ballot box in Ukraine tell the same story.

There will also be those who may argue that, well, after all, we do have so-

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Political divorce Ukrainian style

by Hryhoriy Tsipka

The soap opera of Ukrainian politics is often melodramatic and at times hilarious, but never as grand as during the week of September 11-17. It simply does not get any better.

Every possible idiotic statement made by such political dinosaurs as Leonid Kravchuk and snake oil salesmen as Yuri Boyko, the former manager of Mr. Kuchma’s Naftohaz Ukrainy, and Taras Chornovil were picked up by the unscrupulous press in a frantic media fox hunt. At times I wondered if they were after the crooks in President Viktor Yushchenko’s back room or out to get Yulia Tymoshenko for being a rich crooked woman, and then it dawned on me that the most important motivation for the owners of the media was to increase ratings.

Political divorces are great moments for boosting ratings in Ukraine, where the Kuchma years were, by-and-large, dull; the exception being when Leonid Danylovych Kuchma appeared to be stoned in front of a camera, it was a refreshing change.

The best performance by far was Ms. Tymoshenko’s. Standing alone, a petit

Hryhoriy Tsipka is the pseudonym of a journalist from Central Europe who recently returned from a trip to Kyiv.

beautiful woman, a tiny nightingale, hurt by the evil, insensitive and burly men from Mr. Yushchenko’s back room. She was marvelous. And boy did she lash out at them! She called them all sorts of funny names, and they must have cringed as they watched her performance. And did the rating jump that night! It was the most widely watched television show in the history of independent Ukraine. Viktor Medvedchuk, the well-known prince of darkness and owner of the TV station, must have racked in the bucks from that one.

I suppose it was clear from the start that there would be a divorce between Mr. Yushchenko and Ms. Tymoshenko. A match formed in front of millions of people who stand watching and freezing their backsides off does not last very long.

Most divorces are ugly events that drag on and on as does the name-calling and the recriminations. (This is common, so nobody should be shocked or surprised.) The only question was when Yushchenko-Tymoshenko would part ways.

It was fascinating to watch Mr. Yushchenko being brought down a few notches by this episode. I have always suspected he was not the idol the Orange Revolution made him out to be, and I have good reasons to believe this.

• He behaved like a jerk when he signed that infamous letter in 2002 calling

anti-Kuchma demonstrators “fascists.”

• He lied when he said that he never shook hands with Mykola Melnychenko in Washington in 2003 when about a dozen eyewitnesses saw him do it.

• He surrounded himself with sleazebags and pimps, and allowed all sorts of gangsters to join the Orange people.

• He took on the totally discredited Sviatoslav Piskun as his procurator general.

• Last but not least, he called Mr. Kuchma last month to wish him a happy birthday.

Having said all this, I still insist that Mr. Yushchenko was then, and remains today, far better than that unreformed Viktor Yanukovich. Imagine Al Capone running for president of the United States. There you have it — that was Vitya Yanukovich.

As to the loud and glorious Orangemen’s “fight against corruption” — well now, let’s be reasonable. There is no need to overdo such things.

At first they arrested anyone who even spit on the sidewalk, and then they picked up some select heavies — a few were asked to die which they conveniently did — and some of the slicker ones ran off to hide behind Vladimir Putin’s light blue Russian eyes or to sit it out in Florida with the FBI protecting them from terrorists. One ran off to the Promised Land, where for a few bucks he bought himself protection and a nice apartment overlooking the Sea of Galilee.

Then they rounded up the third echelon ballot fixers to show that the new

regime will not tolerate such scum walking the streets. But the men who told them to rig the elections — well now, it’s difficult to prove, we can’t lock up everyone. And so they went free.

Then the heavies who had been arrested were released — some on bail, others just like that — the prison gates opened and they walked.

The Gongadze investigation went in the right direction at first, the murderers, all high-ranking cops, were nabbed and they confessed — but who ordered them to kill the journalist?

The answer was a blank stare from Messrs. Yushchenko, Piskun, Poroshenko and the rest. Even the head of the Parliament’s committee fighting corruption, Volodymyr Stretovych, stated that the men had merely “misunderstood Kuchma’s words” — it was a failure to communicate. Gongadze was simply killed in a brawl, it was unpremeditated — second-degree murder.

There was no need for Columbo to solve the crime — it was all on tape — Mr. Kuchma telling Kravchenko to kidnap Gongadze. The SBU said the tapes were authentic, the FBI lab said the same thing, as did BekTek, a private company in Virginia — and still they hemmed and hawed, and finally named a street in Kyiv after Gongadze as if to clean their rotten collective consciences, while Mr. Kuchma, the kidnapper, whooped it up in Dnipropetrovsk, hugging and kissing Yuri

(Continued on page 16)

Ukraine's Orange legacy is dissected at the Shevchenko Society

by Dr. Orest Popovych

NEW YORK – Commenting that the timing of this program is terrific, Eugene Fishel delivered a lecture titled “After the Orange Revolution: Progress to Date

In the words of Mr. Fishel, Ukraine’s progress since the Orange Revolution has been phenomenal: the political scene has been transformed so that ordinary people feel they do have an impact; freedom of the media has improved, as witnessed by the

required for Ukraine’s WTO membership.

The challenges facing Ukraine now are no less formidable, continued Mr. Fishel. The overriding challenge is to deliver on the promises of the Orange Revolution, which raised high expectations. While the revolution did show Ukraine to be a nation, its momentum must be maintained through effective reforms, lest it be squandered away. President Yushchenko’s team that existed prior to September 8 obviously did not work well together, and the president must now create a real working coalition, said the speaker.

Mr. Yushchenko’s dismissal of his Prime Minister, Yulia Tymoshenko, who was the fire behind the Orange Revolution, represents much more than the departure of one individual; it signals the collapse of the Orange Coalition, said Mr. Fishel. This development has evoked concerns in Washington because it has created openings for former Kuchma people to fill.

According to Mr. Fishel, the Tymoshenko crisis occurred because she and Petro Poroshenko, the secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, had pursued very ambitious agendas that exceeded their legitimate powers. Thus, the crisis of September 8 was predetermined. It is unfortunate, said the lecturer, that Mr. Yushchenko accepted the resignation of Mr. Zinchenko, who in his opinion is a very clean person who was right on target with his accusations of corruption.

Mr. Fishel noted that it is hoped the elections to the Verkhovna Rada next March are a triumph of Ukrainian democracy, demonstrating that the Orange Revolution was not a fluke, while pointing out that a stable pro-reform majority in the Verkhovna Rada took a hit with the departure of Ms. Tymoshenko.

Very significant for the future of Ukraine is the Russia factor, continued Mr. Fishel. Originally, the Orange Revolution seemed to be the last nail in the coffin of the Soviet Union and Russian imperialism, but a re-evaluation of the Orange Revolution is now taking place in Moscow. If the Orange Revolution should fail, it would encourage all the wrong instincts in Russia, which are

directed against Ukraine’s European tendencies. Furthermore, concerns have been raised by the statement of Ukraine’s new acting prime minister, Yuriy Yekhanurov, that under his guidance Ukraine’s relations with Russia will improve. Mr. Fishel warned that Western attention spans are very short and that senior policy-makers in Washington often make decisions based on today’s headlines. Therefore, the window of opportunity for Ukraine may be closing quickly.

In tackling the topic of Ukraine’s future outlook, Mr. Fishel hedged his prognostications: the purge of Ukraine’s Cabinet can be viewed as a good opportunity, or as a crisis, if it leads to the complete dissolution of the Orange coalition. The current crisis could be overcome, or it could get worse up to the elections to the Verkhovna Rada. The only certainty is that Ukraine is clearly at a crossroads, he said.

Much of Ukraine’s future will depend on President Yushchenko’s leadership style, which has been very active lately, continued Mr. Fishel. Mr. Yekhanurov is described as a technocrat, an administrator, so that it will be up to Mr. Yushchenko to provide the vision for Ukraine. He must do so by taking advantage of his high poll ratings, but without reviving the cult of personality. Ukraine cannot afford to have a triumph of personality over the ideals of the Orange Revolution, concluded Mr. Fishel.

The lecture was followed by a lengthy period of discussion, which was opened by the Shevchenko Scientific Society’s president, Dr. Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych. Mr. Fishel, who was born in Ukraine, addressed the audience in English, but did accept questions in Ukrainian as well. The discussion was especially enriched by the participation of Adrian Karatnycky, counselor and senior scholar at Freedom House, who expressed views that in a few instances challenged those of the lecturer. Thus, the audience was treated to a friendly tussle between two specialists on Ukrainian politics.

Prof. Vasyl Makhno, who emceed the program, upon closing the formal discussion, invited all to continue their exchange of ideas at a social hour.



At the Shevchenko Scientific Society (from left) are: Vasyl Makhno, Orest Popovych, Eugene Fishel and Larissa Onyshkevych.

and the Challenges Ahead,” at the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) headquarters on September 17.

Mr. Fishel, an analyst with the U.S. Department of State and a specialist on Ukraine, was referring to the confluence of several momentous events that thrust Ukraine into the spotlight. These included the recent major crisis in the government of Ukraine, the arrival in New York of a number of Ukrainian officials for the opening of the U.N. General Assembly, the two banquets that had just taken place in New York in honor of President Viktor Yushchenko, and the presentation that very day of the Philadelphia Liberty Medal to the Ukrainian president.

Calling NTSh “a bastion of learning and Ukrainian ideas,” Mr. Fishel noted a common thread between that day’s topic and the NTSh conference on Mr. Yushchenko’s poisoning, which he had attended earlier this year.

live TV coverage of the resignation of Ukraine’s State Secretary Oleksander Zinchenko, a happening that would have been unthinkable under Ukraine’s previous regimes; the oligarchs have gone largely on the defensive; there have been legislative successes, including the passage of seven bills required for Ukraine’s accession to the World Trade Organization; and Ukraine-U.S. bilateral agreements have multiplied.

The U.S. wholeheartedly supports Ukraine’s goal of membership in the WTO, said Mr. Fishel, backing it up with the Ukraine-watchers’ joke that “Ukraine’s best friend in Europe is America.”

He did, however, mitigate this rhapsody about Ukraine’s progress with a few caveats: Mr. Yushchenko still has to learn how to handle the media, having been unable to provide a satisfactory answer to the accusations about the extravagant lifestyle of his son Andriy. The legislature still has to pass nine additional bills

IN THE PRESS: Commentaries about Ukraine’s political crisis

Wall Street Journal Europe editorial of September 22 titled “Orange Crushed”:

The “Orange Revolution,” a color so improbably apt, brought to life a new Ukraine eager to shed its Soviet dross and claim its freedoms. Less than a year later, the good vibrations are gone.

The return of politics as usual came earlier than Ukrainians might have wanted, but in itself isn’t surprising. The two heroes of Kiev’s [sic] Independence Square demonstrations, Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, have acrimoniously parted ways. ...

Many people have rushed to pronounce the Orange Revolution dead. Opponents of Ukrainian democracy – foremost in a Kremlin visibly nervous that this experiment might catch on in the neighborhood – want to declare last year’s political turnover a fatal mistake. ...

To these doubters, Ukrainians can respond that democracies are seldom placid. ... Ukraine’s current crisis grew out of the Orange Revolution. It’s not a betrayal of it.

A little context helps put the recent news in perspective. As in every other peaceful turnover in Europe over the last 16 years, the pro-democracy forces in Ukraine were a motley group united by a single objective: the overthrow of the ancien regime. Once President Leonid Kuchma and his cronies surrendered power in the face of massive

street demonstrations against fraudulent elections last year, the glue that held this coalition together weakened. ... In an ideal world, this marriage of convenience might have lasted longer to reassure the populace and investors. ...

By moving to clean house now, Mr. Yushchenko gains extra time to position his allies for next spring’s parliamentary elections, which are unusually important. ...

The Washington Post editorial of September 19 titled “Ukraine’s Orange Split”:

Ukraine’s democratic revolution has ended the way most do, with the victorious coalition dividing into factions that are now battling each other. For the most part, this is a healthy development. The Orange Revolution movement that overturned a corrupt and autocratic regime last year was united by the cause of democracy and independence from Russia.

Once that was achieved, ideological and policy differences were bound to surface. In Ukraine’s case, President Viktor Yushchenko, a moderate and market-oriented reformer, has finally split with Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, who espouses populist and statist policies. No violence has accompanied their rupture, and a parliamentary election scheduled for March provides a good opportunity for the country to choose between them. ...

Transitions Online (Prague) commentary of September 12 titled “Ukraine: A Tintin Moment”:

... Yushchenko’s problem is in part because of the lifestyle of his son, Andriy. A liking of a playboy lifestyle is in itself nothing exceptional and there are limits to the paternal influence of even a president. The problem is how 19-year-old Andriy is thought to have come to his money (and platinum mobile phone): by copyrighting some of the symbols of the Orange Revolution.

When the president’s family effectively privatizes the revolution, ordinary people can legitimately ask whether the president will also privatize the presidency.

There also have to be questions about how much Yushchenko has understood that the revolution involved setting radically better standards. As a recent book by the Ukraine expert Andrew Wilson indicates, politics in the post-Soviet region is often “virtual politics,” a world of manipulation and deceit.

But at some point, the world of “virtual politics” ends and real politics begins; some accusations need real answers. At least twice, Yushchenko has failed to understand that journalists have asked legitimate questions about people close to him: first, when earlier this year he labeled questions about Justice Minister

Roman Zvarych “intrigues” and then when he called a journalist “a hitman” when he asked about his son’s income (an echo of Tymoshenko, as it happens, as she had accused journalists of acting as “hired killers” in the Zvarych affair). ...

The Economist, “Ukraine’s Political Crisis: And then they woke up,” September 15:

... The political event that has divided the government, which Mr. Poroshenko says is the root cause of the debacle, is the parliamentary elections next March. Under a constitutional reform agreed last year, some powers are to be transferred from the presidency to a prime minister nominated by Parliament.

The Yushchenko and Tymoshenko factions were supposed to stand together; Mrs. Tymoshenko, who never met a rabble she didn’t try to rouse, will now be a formidable opposition leader. In a turnaround startling even by the standards of Ukrainian politics, Mr. Yushchenko is flirting with supporters of his opponent in last year’s president vote, Viktor Yanukovich.

Mrs. Tymoshenko has taken to sporting a blue ribbon alongside her orange one. Previously opposed to the constitutional reform, she now says it may be a lesser evil than an over-mighty presidency.

Who will benefit from this farce?...

TV documentary series on religious architecture includes episode on Ukrainian churches

by Ika Kozmarska Casanova

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The multicultural make-up of urban Canada provides the setting for the 13-part documentary series “Building Faith” – a multilingual exploration of the world’s religious architecture produced for broadcast on OMNI television.

The series, which started airing on September 3 and runs through December 5, traces the history of the world’s great religions, the large-scale movement of people and the origins of many of the

dominant language of the local faith community.

The “Building Faith” series was produced for OMNI Television by Angus Skene, architect and director of Rewind Inc., in collaboration with producer Catherine Drillis.

Architect Walter Daschko of Toronto is a consultant to the program and narrator of the Ukrainian-language episode. A former associate professor at the University of Toronto, and an executive member of the Canadian Society for Ukrainian Architecture, Mr. Daschko has

Spirit Orthodox Church, Regina, Saskatchewan; St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Memorial Church, South Bound Brook, N.J.; and Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church, Burlington, Ontario.

itage architectural topics throughout Ontario.

It is worth noting that in addition to Prof. Greenberg’s contribution to the design of St. Elias, it is generally acknowledged “that the driving force



St. Demetrius Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Long Branch, Ontario (1958), Yurii Kodak, architect.

city’s communities. It relates how people from around the world have brought the distinctive forms of their temples, churches, mosques and synagogues to North America.

The series, which provides an in-depth look at the architectural traditions of 13 local religious communities in and around Toronto, comprises the following episodes: Hindu temples, Sikh gurdwaras, Coptic Christian churches, Chinese Buddhist temples, Zoroastrian fire temples, Islamic mosques, Sinhala Buddhist temples, Greek Orthodox churches, Ukrainian churches, Jewish synagogues, as well as Armenian, German Lutheran and Slovak churches.

The three churches that are presented in the segment on Ukrainian church architecture are: St. Demetrius Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Long Branch, Ontario – Yurii Kodak, architect; St. Elias the Prophet Ukrainian Catholic Church, Brampton, Ontario – Robert Greenberg, architect; and, Holy Eucharist Ukrainian Catholic Church, Toronto – Radoslav Zuk, architect.

The presentations include the identification of the major exterior and interior features of the churches, an outline of the fundamental liturgical design concepts, as well as their historical development and classic examples or precedents of the buildings presented. Computer-animated models and still photographs of various ancient buildings are used extensively.

Each of the 13 episodes is being broadcast in two languages: English and

lectured and written extensively about Ukrainian architecture. As a professional architect with his own practice since 1993, he has helped design and implement major commissions in Canada and the United States.

The Ukrainian episode of “Building Faith,” with narration in Ukrainian, airs on Saturday, October 8, at 10-10:30 p.m., on OMNI 1; and again on October 13 at 2-2:30 p.m. Subsequent air dates, with English narration, are: Saturday, November 19, at 10-10:30 p.m. and Sunday, November 20, at 8-8:30 p.m.

(Note: in Toronto Rogers Cable ONMI 1 is on Channel 4; if in doubt, check with your local cable supplier. OMNI 1 is available across Canada to Starchoice subscribers on Channel 343 and to ExpressVu subscribers on channel 215. LOOK carries OMNI 1 on Channel 65 in Ontario.)

A brief profile of the architects whose churches are featured in the “Building Faith” series, along with commentary by Mr. Daschko, follows.

Yurii Kodak (1916-1991): A graduate of the Kyiv State Art Institute (1940), Mr. Kodak established his own architectural firm in Germany in 1946 and, upon emigrating from Ukraine, conducted his practice in Canada (1949-mid-1970s). Mr. Kodak is the designer of, among others, the following churches: St. Volodymyr Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Hamilton, Ontario; Descent of the Holy



St. Elias the Prophet Ukrainian Catholic Church, Brampton, Ontario (1995), Robert Greenberg, architect.

Mr. Daschko refers to Mr. Kodak’s collective work as that of “the most skilled and accomplished practitioner of the Neo-Ukrainian-Baroque style, hybridizing historicist elements of Ukrainian architecture, with contemporary methods and materials.”

Robert Greenberg, the architect for the Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Elias in Brampton, Ontario, is emeritus professor of architecture and longtime chairman of the department of architecture at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute (now Ryerson University) in Toronto. An avid student and teacher of cultural history for over 50 years, Prof. Greenberg has been a consultant on numerous heritage-related architectural projects and continues to lecture on cultural, historical and her-

itage architectural topics throughout Ontario.

behind the construction of St. Elias in the fashion that was done” is the pastor, the Rev. Roman Galadza, as well as the parish’s protodeacon, David Kennedy. Mr. Daschko suggests that “in addition to the hard-working local designers, credit for this striking church should also go to the real ‘conceptual’ architect for St. Elias Church – the original architect/builder of the beautiful, diminutive, old wooden Church of St. George in Drohobych, Ukraine (originally built in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast and moved to Drohobych in the late 18th century), on which St. Elias appears to be modeled but significantly enlarged.”

Radoslav Zuk, an internationally rec-

(Continued on page 19)



Holy Eucharist Ukrainian Catholic Church, Toronto, (1967), Radoslav Zuk, architect.



Diplomatic mail of the Western Ukrainian National Republic

Background

In the closing days of World War I (late October-early November 1918), the empires facing defeat – known collectively as the Central Powers (Ottoman, German and Austro-Hungarian) all began to disintegrate. The latter was the most ethnically diverse and its demise enabled several new nations to emerge, including Czechoslovakia, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia), Hungary and Austria (the latter two greatly reduced in size). In the easternmost part of the former Austrian crownland of Galicia the dominant Ukrainian populace also declared its independence as the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) on November 1, 1918.

Although the eastern part of Galicia was overwhelmingly Ukrainian, the western part was predominantly Polish, and the Poles claimed all of Galicia as their historical patrimony. In Lviv (formerly Lemberg), the capital of the new Western Ukrainian republic, the Poles formed a strong underground military organization. Not long after the Western Ukrainian declaration of independence, the Poles began an armed uprising. Aided by reinforcements from Poland proper, the insurrection was ultimately successful, and on the night of November 21-22, 1918, Ukrainian forces were compelled to withdraw from the city.

The Polish-Ukrainian War continued with varying fortune through the first several months of 1919, but the Poles, in general, only held certain areas north and west of Lviv; nearly all of the rest of Western Ukraine remained in Ukrainian hands. It was during this time that most Western Ukrainian stamps were created in Kolomyia (December 1918-March 1919) and Stanyslaviv (today Ivano-Frankivsk; March-May 1919).

The situation changed in mid-April, when the Polish army received vital aid from fresh Polish divisions that had been recruited, trained and equipped in France for defense against Russian Bolsheviks. Breaking a promise made to international peacekeepers, the Poles sent these forces against the Ukrainians. Despite stiff resistance, the Ukrainian Galician forces were eventually driven into central Ukraine (held by a separate Ukrainian National Republic, UNR) during July 16-18, 1919. These forces then aided the UNR in its struggle against the Russian Bolsheviks who invaded from the northeast.

Meanwhile the ZUNR government in exile, headed by Eugene Petrushevych, carried on diplomatic efforts on behalf of eastern Galicia.



Figure 1. Osyp Nazaruk

Missions were set up in Paris at the ongoing peace conferences, in Great Britain, at the Conference of Ambassadors (an executive body of the Allied Powers that oversaw the fulfillment of the peace treaties of World War I) and before the League of Nations. Representatives were also sent to the U.S. and Canada, where large diasporas from Galicia provided moral and financial support over a period of several years. Eventually however, all these efforts proved insufficient and in mid-March 1923¹ the Council of Ambassadors declared for the incorporation of eastern Galicia (Western Ukraine) into Poland.

Although full autonomy for the region's Ukrainian population was stipulated, the Poles failed to honor the terms of the declaration.

Diplomatic mails

One of Western Ukraine's finest representatives during these uncertain years between 1919 and 1923 was Osyp Nazaruk (Figure 1). He was born in Nahiriianka, Buchach county, Galicia, in 1883 and studied law at the Vienna and Lviv universities. He originally enlisted



Figure 2. Registered letter sent to Dr. Nazaruk, then in Washington from the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic.

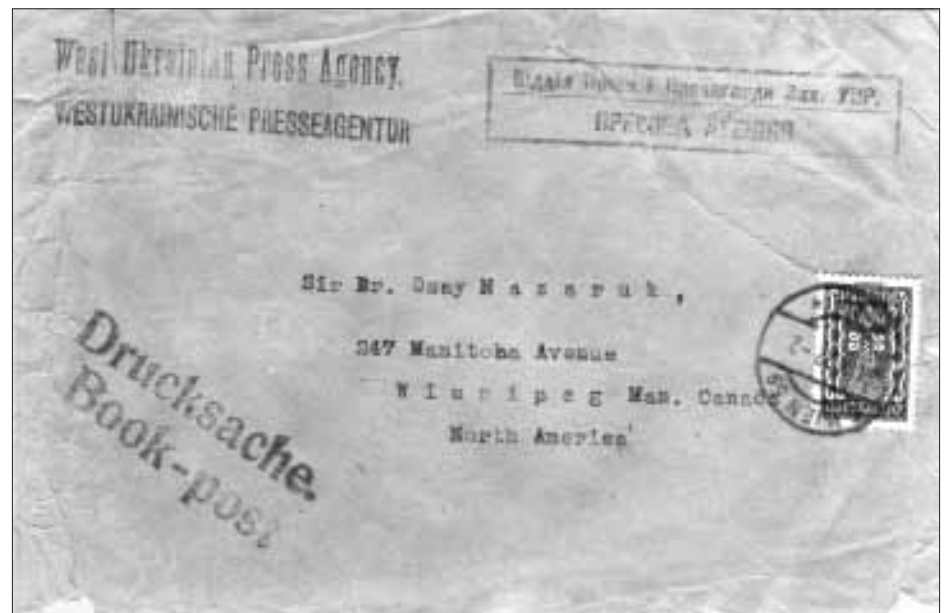
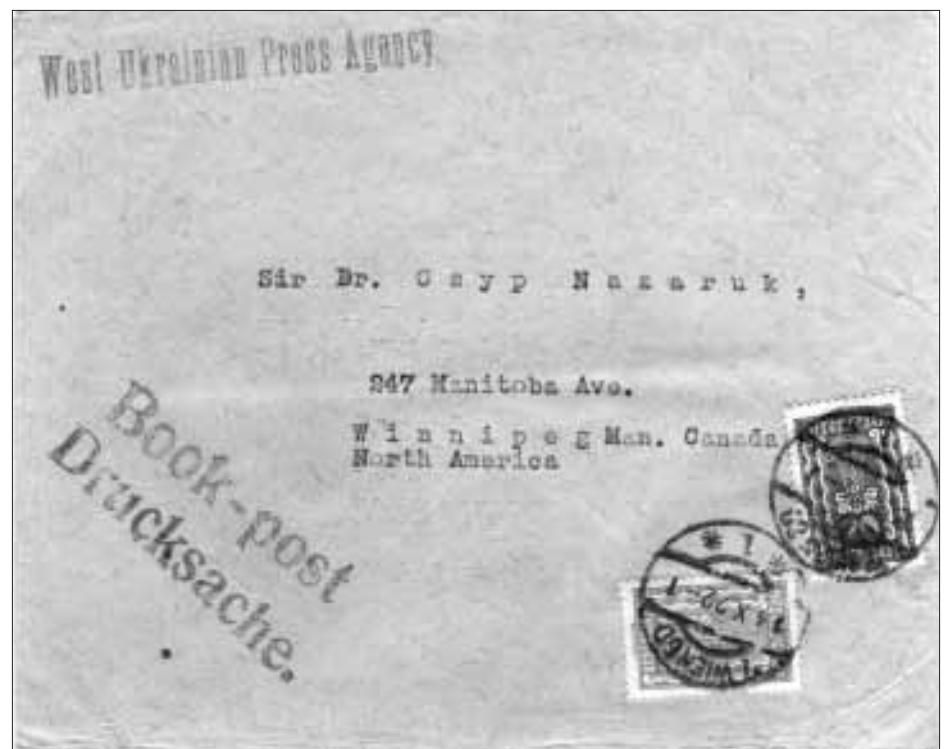


Figure 3 and 4. Letters dispatched to Dr. Nazaruk from the West Ukrainian Press Agency in Vienna.

with the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (Sichovi Striltsi) at the outbreak of the war and in 1915 directed its press bureau. Dr. Nazaruk became a member of the Ukrainian National Rada (Parliament) for central Ukraine and served in a number of positions for the UNR Directory that involved press and propaganda. From the middle of 1919 he worked closely with Mr. Petrushevych and the rest of the ZUNR government in exile. In the second half of 1922 he was sent to North America: briefly to the U.S. and then for a longer period to Canada.

We have been able to locate several different examples of mails from 1922-1923 sent to Dr. Nazaruk from various Ukrainian offices or agencies. The earliest is a registered letter sent from Vienna on August 29, 1922, by an Andreas Nazarenko of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic (Figure 2). He used a pre-printed bilingual (Ukrainian-French) envelope displaying the trident, and he addressed it to Dr. Nazaruk, the "Diplomatic Representative of Galicia," at his address in Washington.

Not long after, Osyp Nazaruk moved to his new posting in Winnipeg, Manitoba, where he served as the Western Ukrainian representative and worked at raising loans for the government in exile. We have two letters sent to him in October of 1922 from the West Ukrainian Press Agency in Vienna.² The first, from 14, bears a simple, one-line, English-language return address (Figure 3), while the second from 24 has a two-line, bilingual (English-German) return address in the upper left and a Ukrainian, boxed inscription in upper right that translates as: Press and Propaganda Division West UNR/Press Agency (Figure 4).

Dr. Nazaruk kept in contact with fellow representatives in Washington, as well as in Paris. The U.S.-stationed envoy called himself the diplomatic representative of Galicia (Figure 5) and was

1. Sources vary as to the exact day; dates ranging from March 12 to 19 have been found.

2. It was in Vienna that the ZUNR set up its government in exile.

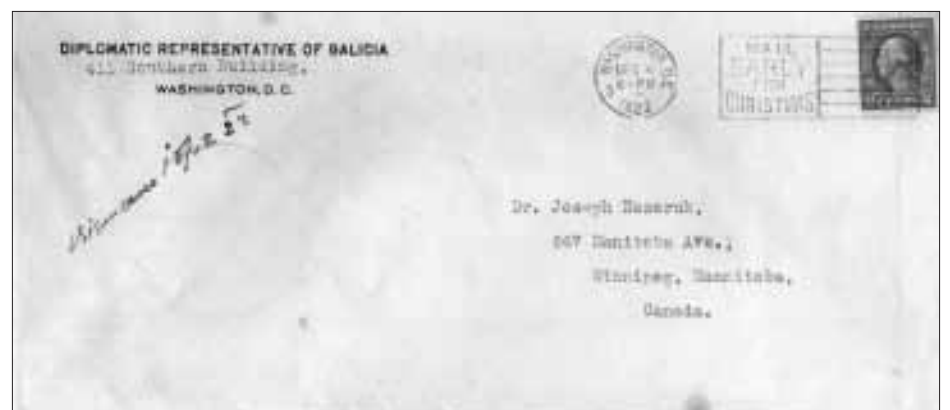


Figure 5. Letter sent from the Western Ukrainian emissary in Washington to Dr. Nazaruk, then stationed in Winnipeg.

apparently a single individual, but the West Ukrainian mission in the French capital was termed a delegation (Figure 6) and presumably was composed of several people. This would not be surprising, since it was in Paris that all the critical peace negotiations were being conducted.

We have also been able to acquire an example of Dr. Nazaruk's correspondence in Canada. Figure 7 is a cover mailed by him that shows a handsome lion-on-trident emblem and a bilingual Ukrainian-English return address. Sent to a Mr. Wasylewycz in Sellwood, Ontario, on April 17, 1923, the item proved undeliverable and was returned.

This letter was dispatched a month after the Council of Ambassadors awarded eastern Galicia to Poland and the Western Ukrainian question was "settled" (at least as far as the Allied diplomats were concerned). Technically, Dr.

Nazaruk was no longer the ZUNR representative, since after the ambassador's decision, the ZUNR's government had dissolved itself. Sometime after he lost his status as a diplomat, Osyp Nazaruk underwent a conversion from socialism to Catholicism and moved to the United States. There he edited the weekly *Sich* in Chicago and co-edited *Ameryka* in Philadelphia. In 1926 he returned to Lviv, where he was active in various Christian and Catholic organizations; he died in Krakow in 1940.

Postal remnants

In carrying out its self-liquidation, the ZUNR government destroyed most remaining vestiges of its postal system – much to the chagrin of philatelists. Stamps and postal stationery that had been prepared for the ZUNR, but which were never used, were destroyed by

burning. Less than five examples are known of many of the types of postal cards or postal forms that had been printed in Vienna. Figure 8 is a postal card with an imprinted 10-sotyky stamp of which only three are documented to still exist. It may be worth about \$500.

A beautiful 12-stamp set created for the ZUNR in 1919 in Vienna – but not

delivered until after the Western Ukrainian government had been driven from its territory – was also largely destroyed (Figure 9). Today the set goes for about \$300.

Dr. Ingerit Kuzych may be contacted at P.O. Box 3, Springfield, VA 22150, or via e-mail at ingert@starpower.net.



Figure 6. Registered letter sent to envoy Nazaruk in Canada from the Western Ukrainian Delegation in Paris.



Figure 7. Letter posted by Dr. Nazaruk while serving in Canada.



Figure 8. A scarce Western Ukrainian 20-sotyky postal card.



Figure 9. The last stamps of Western Ukraine. Delivered too late, they were never put into use.

Tarasyuk says...

(Continued from page 1)

Russian and East European Studies at Columbia University.

Indeed, Prof. von Hagen, who is president of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies, said that Mr. Yushchenko could now fall back on the path taken by his predecessor, Leonid Kuchma, or complete the reforms sought by Ukrainians during the Orange Revolution.

"If he chooses, however, to fall back on old ways and once again make deals with oligarchs, husbands and wives of oligarchs, then he stands to lose the unexpected second chance that history has given him and he will leave office perceived as Kuchma-like, in its most generous," Prof. von Hagen said.

Mr. Tarasyuk directly addressed expectations of Ukraine in the aftermath of the Orange Revolution.

"Today, some people in Ukraine and beyond claim that its color is fading out,

especially with the recent resignation of the government," he said. "Allow me to disagree with this opinion."

The acting foreign minister said that any allegation of corruption or abuse of power would be investigated and, if need be, those charged would face prosecution and the courts.

Mr. Yushchenko's administration has begun to face growing criticism while members of his inner circle have faced allegations of corruption. Additionally, analysts noted the irony of the president's recent political pact with his one-time foe and former presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovych, Mr. Kuchma's chosen successor.

But Mr. Tarasyuk made it clear that there were distinctions between the two presidential administrations. "A major difference is that we mean what we say. It is called credibility in politics," the acting foreign minister said.

Mr. Tarasyuk, who was minister of foreign affairs in 1998-2000 under Mr. Kuchma, said that on the face of it there

have been no changes in Ukraine's foreign policy since Mr. Yushchenko's administration came to power.

"Membership in the European Union and NATO, developing friendly relations with Russia and other neighbors, and an active regional policy have been and continue to stand out at the front line," Mr. Tarasyuk said. "That is the sign of the stability and consistency of the foreign policy of Ukraine."

He listed democracy, stability and development as the three basic prerequisites for a mature government and a vibrant civil society. During his speech Mr. Tarasyuk stressed that two of the three – democracy and stability – have already taken root in Ukraine.

Democracy – and especially its basic ingredients, both freedom of expression and assembly – has become the undeniable asset of all Ukrainians, Mr. Tarasyuk said.

With regard to development, Ukraine will expand small- and medium-sized businesses in the coming years and will look to further liberalize markets, Mr.

Tarasyuk said.

As a further sign of progress, Mr. Tarasyuk noted that Ukraine, "for the first time, contemplates extending financial and technical assistance to other countries by establishing an agency for technical assistance." He said that the Ruslan, the Ukrainian Antonov-124 heavy-lift aircraft, delivered "rather modest" humanitarian cargo to Little Rock, Ark., on September 20 at the expense of the Ukrainian government.

"The very fact of [Ukraine's] transformation from a recipient country into a donor country may have a significant positive impact on our foreign policy," Mr. Tarasyuk said.

The acting foreign minister noted that in 14 years of independence Ukraine's foreign service still faces the same problems: a lack of finances and personnel. In perhaps one of the lighter moments of his speech, Mr. Tarasyuk invited the audience of about 70 people to contribute to the foreign service. "But I would like to say that the salary is very, very modest," he said to laughter.

Ukrainian American youths and community of Philadelphia welcome Yushchenko

by **Andrij Zwarych**

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

PHILADELPHIA – On September 17, as Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko arrived here to receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal, busloads of youths from the greater Philadelphia area were arriving with their parents at the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the



Andrij Zwarych

President Viktor Yushchenko addresses the children, and adults, in the cathedral.

Immaculate Conception. The assembled youths were able to watch the medal ceremony on two wide-screen televisions, while they awaited their chance to see the president in person.

Following the ceremony and a subsequent press conference, President Yushchenko and First Lady Kateryna Yushchenko, and their entourage, proceeded to the Ukrainian cathedral with a police and secret service escort.

Immaculate Conception Cathedral was filled to its capacity of 2,500, and local fire marshals would not allow any more people to enter – thus, hundreds more were gathered outside the church. In and around the cathedral there was a heightened sense of excitement in the air.

President Yushchenko was met outside by Metropolitan Archbishop Stefan Soroka, leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States; Ulana Mazurkevich, president of the Ukrainian American Community Committee; the Rev. Ivan Demkiv, pastor of the Ukrainian cathedral; and other clergy. On behalf of the youth of Philadelphia, little Khrystyk Senyk McKernan of the Svitlychka (preschool) presented Mrs. Yushchenko with a bouquet of orange roses.

While walking down the cathedral's aisle with the first lady, President Yushchenko greeted the Ukrainian youth of Philadelphia – several hundred of them representing various local organizations, including Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization and the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM). Although original plans called for the children and teens to be seated in rows reserved for them at the front of the cathedral, due to secret service restrictions the youths were directed to sit with their parents.

Meanwhile, the newly formed com-

Andrij Zwarych, 15, of Huntingdon Valley, Pa., is a student at Lower Moreland High School. He was on special assignment for The Ukrainian Weekly to cover President Yushchenko's participation in the youth gathering at Immaculate Conception Cathedral.

bined choir Ukraina, under the direction of Nestor Kyzymyshyn, filled the cathedral with beautiful, harmonious song.

The program opened with a performance of the Children's Bell Choir of the First Evangelical Baptist Church. Next, a prayer service for the intentions of Ukraine and President Yushchenko was led by Metropolitan Soroka, the Very

faith and you walk with God, in Whom you trust to guide you." As a gift from the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Soroka presented the president with an icon of the Mother of God, who is depicted wearing the symbol of hope, an orange scarf. The icon is the work of artist Christine Dochwat.

The program continued with a performance of the Ukrainian Heritage School Children's Choir comprising students from the upper grades through kindergarten. Under the direction of Maria Kaminsky, the choir performed songs intertwined with poetic recitations. President Yushchenko seemed to be particularly captivated by the youngest performer, Julia Kurylec, who stole the show with her poised and confident stage presence.

Two presentations were made on the behalf of the Ukrainian community of Philadelphia. Children from Plast, SUM and the Ukrainian Heritage School presented President Yushchenko with an Orange Revolution banner signed by the youth of Philadelphia. The president later told organizers that the banner would be placed in the Museum of the Orange Revolution that is planned to be opened in Kyiv.

On the behalf of the Ukrainian American community of Philadelphia, Ms. Mazurkevich introduced Borys Zacharczuk, president of the Ukrainian Education and Cultural Center of Philadelphia, who presented Mr. Yushchenko with an impressive sculpture of Hetman Ivan Mazepa by Petro Kapshuchenko.

The president appeared surprised and deeply moved by the community's gifts.

President Yushchenko then spoke, recapping his speech from the Constitution Center and touching upon various topics. What impressed this



Andrij Zwarych

The youth of Philadelphia present a signed Orange Revolution banner to the president.

writer most was when he spoke about faith – faith in God, faith in Ukraine and faith in the Church. He then proceeded to compare the faith that the Kozaks had in God and the freedom of their country with that of the millions of people gathered during the Orange Revolution on the "maidan," who had faith in God, their country and a new government.

Mr. Yushchenko then asked to have a photograph taken with the youth of Philadelphia. A throng of children surrounded the president and first lady of Ukraine on the steps leading to the altar. While the flashes of cameras were going off, the Ukraina Choir sang a powerful "Mnohaya Lita" (Many Years).

This entire day can be summed up with a quote from Stephan Dubenko, 16, who said, "This was an experience of a lifetime."

This writer/photographer couldn't agree more. After always seeing President Yushchenko on television and in the newspapers, I had the opportunity to finally see him in person. This historic day will be permanently etched in my memory.



Mykhailo Markiv

Children and teens of Philadelphia pose for a memorable photograph with the president and first lady of Ukraine.

PHOTO FOLLOW-UP: More highlights from President Yushchenko's visit to the U.S.



Marta Baczynsky

At The Ukrainian Museum in New York: President Viktor Yushchenko and First Lady Kateryna Yushchenko sign the guestbook.



Andrij Zwarych

At the Philadelphia Liberty Medal ceremony: President Yushchenko acknowledges the crowd's applause. Also in the photo (on the left) are Mrs. Yushchenko and Vitalii Klitschko.



Mykhailo Markiv

At Philadelphia's Immaculate Conception Cathedral: the President and Mrs. Yushchenko are greeted by (from right) Metropolitan Stefan Soroka, Ulana Mazurkevich and Khrystyk Senyk McKernan.



Andrew Nynka

At the Ukrainian community banquet in New York: toasts are raised by (from left) Askold Lozynskyj, Borys Oliynyk, and President and Mrs. Yushchenko.



Andrew Nynka

At the banquet in New York: the president addresses the Ukrainian community.



Roman Czenstuch

At Philadelphia's banquet: guests applaud President and Mrs. Yushchenko.

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The irrational...

(Continued from page 9)

called blue and red states here in the U.S., so what's the big deal? The big deal is that differences of opinion about abortion, guns, stem cell research and something called "intelligent design" have nothing remotely to do with fundamental issues of nationhood. And fundamental issues of nationhood are precisely what are in question in contemporary Ukraine. Anyone with doubts on this score needs only to read what thoughtful people in Ukraine are increasingly writing about.

The point of this exercise is not to suggest that Ukrainians are somehow incapable of becoming a nation or that Ukraine is falling apart because most people in Donetsk prefer to speak Russian while most people in Lviv are inclined to speak Ukrainian. That bit of early 1990s "intelligence" from Langley was wrong then and it is wrong now. What I am suggesting, however, is that the fat lady is not finished singing.

Oh, and as far as that first presidential promise about bandits winding up in prison. Which bandits are we talking about? The "good" ones or the "bad" ones?

Political divorce...

(Continued from page 9)

Yekhanurov, the prime minister to be.

As to the really big cons, the multi-million dollars deals – now these were too good to close down – so they just changed the accounts the money was going into, from Mr. Kuchma's boys to Mr. Yushchenko's guys. It was simple, clean and hardly noticeable. They were really proud of that one!

You might be wondering what the former gangsters were up to – the son-in-law, the chief of staff and all the rest? They were obviously pleased that they had gotten away free, rich and intact. Their elder statesman, Mr. Kravchuk, waved his hands on television while pointing his finger at Boris Berezovsky, a less than savory businessman, for giving money to the Orange campaign.

Now this was a coup indeed for the men who had robbed Ukraine blind over the past 14 years. Damn did they jump up and down in ecstasy. Nestor Shufrych nearly wetted himself with joy.

I can go on and on, but it is time to make a few observations:

1. Ukraine is not Leonid Kuchma, or Viktor Yushchenko or Yulia Tymoshenko, or any one person. It is an ongoing enterprise that needs time to get its act together. There will be other critical moments in the life of the country, it might stumble now and then and get up again, but as the song goes, it has not died yet.

2. There will always be crooks in Ukraine. Some will be bigger than others, but crooks nonetheless. This is part of the human condition, and for that reason there are law enforcement agencies to separate the crooks from the rest of us. They should do their jobs and not defect over to the side of the enemy.

3. Do not listen to people who spout "BS." There are too many of them, and the Ukrainian variety is very articulate and has long years of experience in this art. Just look at your own long-lost relatives from Ukraine as they descend off the airplane at JFK or O'Hare and immediately ask you to buy them a car and a few apartments.

4. Never, and I mean never, believe in the infallibility and incorruptibility of the most powerful men in any country. They did not become powerful because of their belief in justice or in God, or because they have a kind heart and love their country.

President announces...

(Continued from page 1)

the matter of the Nikopol Ferroalloys Plant and got exposed when the government fell apart, Mr. Lozowy said.

"Zvarych left a bad taste for Yushchenko," Mr. Lozowy said. "He pressured the court system over Nikopol. He stumbled blindly from one disaster into another. But the last one was the nail in the coffin."

Roman Bezsmertnyi will remain as a vice prime minister, but his position changes from administrative reform to a newly created one: vice prime minister for regional policy.

Mr. Yekhanurov announced the creation of this position last week, causing speculation among political observers that it would be granted to a Party of the Regions politician.

However, it's apparent that the Party of the Regions won't occupy any seat in the Yushchenko government.

Viacheslav Kyrylenko, the former minister of social politics and labor, will replace Mykola Tomenko as vice prime minister for humanitarian affairs.

Both vice prime minister appointees are members of the Our Ukraine People's Union. Mr. Yushchenko has yet to name a replacement for Oleh Rybachuk, who served as vice prime minister for European integration.

Among Mr. Yushchenko's appoint-

ments are a handful of extremely young men, which can be a cause for concern, Mr. Lozowy said.

Replacing Serhii Teriokhin as minister of the economy is 31-year-old Arsenii Yatseniuk, who most recently served as the first assistant to the oblast administration chair of the Odesa Oblast.

Prior to that, Mr. Yatseniuk served as the first assistant to the National Bank of Ukraine chair, Serhii Tyhypko at the time, and economy minister in the Crimean Autonomous Republic.

According to Mr. Lozowy Mr. Yatseniuk is a Kuchma loyalist, who worked closely and engaged in corrupt schemes with Mr. Tyhypko, Viktor Yanukovych's former campaign manager. Even at his young age, Mr. Yatseniuk has a history of corrupt activity, he said.

"It's shocking that people like that could be appointed," Mr. Lozowy said. "His appointment proves to me the system of corruption is working well around Yushchenko."

Meanwhile, Mr. Yushchenko tapped 29-year-old Viktor Bodnar to lead the notoriously corrupt Transportation Ministry.

Mr. Bodnar is a lawyer whose last job was as an assistant to the director of the Cabinet of Ministers Secretariat. The biography he submitted to Who's Who in Ukraine indicated he has no experience working with transportation issues.

Thirty-year-old Yurii Pavlenko will remain as minister of family, youth and

sports.

Also retaining their positions are Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Lutsenko, Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk, Finance Minister Viktor Pynzenyk, Environment Minister Pavlo Ihnatenko, Industry Minister Volodymyr Shandra, Coal Minister Viktor Topolov, Defense Minister Anatolii Hrytsenko, and Fuel and Energy Minister Ivan Plachkov.

Mr. Pynzenyk, a member of the Reforms and Order Party, is the only minister representing a party belonging to the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc.

Despite the alleged double-cross from the Socialist Party during the World Trade Organization voting in the Rada earlier this year, Mr. Yushchenko decided to keep two of its members, Agricultural Minister Oleksander Baranivskyi and Education and Science Minister Stanislav Nikolayenko, in the Cabinet.

Among Mr. Yushchenko's first new

appointments was Ihor Drizhchanyi, who replaced Oleksander Turchynov to lead the Security Service of Ukraine.

Mr. Yushchenko also created a new Ministry of Construction and Architecture, which will be led by Pavlo Kachur, an Our Ukraine People's Union national deputy who most recently served as a member of the Verkhovna Rada's Budget Committee.

He also served as Mr. Yushchenko's first advisor during his years as prime minister between March 2000 and May 2001.

Replacing Mr. Kyrylenko as minister of social politics and labor is Ivan Sakhan, the director of Ukrayinskyi Aluminiy (Ukrainian Aluminum), an enormous metals enterprise.

"I have no idea why he'd want this position other than to use government resources to bolster his business interests," Mr. Lozowy said of Mr. Sakhan. "That's what everyone does, and it's called corruption."

Yushchenko-Yanukovych...

(Continued from page 3)

aggressive reprivatization campaign waged by former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko to return to the government property that was either illegally or unreasonably privatized during the Kuchma presidency.

Three particular clauses in the memorandum forbidding reprivatization are "legislative regulation of private property guarantees," "inadmissibility of pressure on juridical bodies," as well as guarantees for opposition politicians to chair the Rada's Special Commission for Privatization Issues. Mr. Khomutynnyk of the Party of the Regions said these provisions essentially put an end to reprivatization.

Any future reprivatization efforts will end, Mr. Stoyakin said, but the government will complete all those that have already been initiated.

Courts have already decided to reprivatize such high-profile properties as Kryvorizhstal, the Kremenchuk oil-refining plant and the Nikopol Ferroalloy plant.

Mr. Yushchenko signed the agreement between a half-hour and an hour before the Verkhovna Rada voted to approve his nomination of Yurii Yekhanurov to replace Ms. Tymoshenko as prime minister.

Most political experts said Mr. Yushchenko signed the pact because he wasn't sure whether he had enough votes in support of Mr. Yekhanurov, despite a meeting with 18 faction leaders the evening before.

By signing the pact, Mr. Yushchenko not only secured the Party of the Regions' 50 votes and Mr. Yekhanurov's candidacy, but perhaps saved his presidency as well.

"If Yekhanurov's candidacy would have been rejected for the second time, the crisis would have become irreversible and uncontrolled," said Volodymyr Fesenko, the chair of the Center for Applied Research. "We wouldn't have gotten a government crisis, but a crisis of presidential power."

What Mr. Yushchenko should do is to finally define the difference between "political repressions and responsibility for law violations," Mr. Fesenko said.

After the vote, Mr. Martynenko made the dubious claim that it was not the 50 votes that prompted Mr. Yushchenko to sign the memorandum, because "before voting, we clearly understood that we already had enough votes without the Party of the Regions."

Having extended a hand to Mr. Yanukovych, Mr. Yushchenko followed the slogan of the Orange Revolution: "East and west are together," Mr. Martynenko said.

It's possible Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine People's Union will join forces with Mr. Yanukovych's Party of the Regions in the future, Mr. Stoyakin said.

"[Mr. Yushchenko] in general has a Kuchma-style approach," he said. "From the very beginning, the president created a system of counterbalances to Tymoshenko, such as his Secretariat and National Security and Defense Council. Now Mr. Yanukovych is supposed to counterbalance Ms. Tymoshenko."

Not everyone was impressed with Mr. Yushchenko's political maneuvers.

"Mr. Yushchenko failed to become an authoritative leader who is able to put Ukraine's national interests over interests of business elites and private ambitions of his circle," Pora stated in a September 27 press release.



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SPORTS: Victory makes Volodymyr Klitschko a contender for IBF title

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Ukrainian boxer Volodymyr Klitschko overcame three knockdowns to defeat Nigerian Samuel Peter by unanimous decision on September 24. The win makes Klitschko the mandatory challenger for the International Boxing Federation belt.

With the win, Klitschko, 29, moved a step closer to realizing his dream of sharing the heavyweight championship with his brother, World Boxing Council champion Vitalii Klitschko.

"Now, I have to get another title shot. We'll see who's available," Klitschko told the Associated Press.

He could face World Boxing Organization champion Lamon Brewster or the IBF champion, Chris Byrd, whom he beat five years ago. After the fight, Klitschko said he'd like to face Brewster.

"I'll take the next shot that comes available, Chris Byrd or Lamon Brewster," Klitschko said. "Hopefully, in May or April, I'll be able to fight for a

championship."

Klitschko previously lost two crucial bouts that seriously jeopardized his career. The losses came at the hands of Brewster and Corrie Sanders, and much of the boxing community later criticized the Ukrainian for lacking toughness.

But in his win over the 6-foot, 243-pound Peter, Klitschko used a combination of left-right punches to overcome the knockdowns and take control of the fight in the later rounds.

Boxing analysts and experts said after the fight that Klitschko showed heart, stamina and resiliency. All three judges scored the fight 114-111 for the Ukrainian boxer. Peter had been unbeaten in his previous 24 fights – 21 of which he won by knockout.

Peter, 25, came into the fight favored to win, but the 6-foot, 6-inch Klitschko used his left jab to keep Peter from getting close enough to land any solid shots. Peter, who showed little finesse,

resorted to hitting him in the back of the head and the temple during clinches and breaks.

"His style was pretty wild, and I will say unorthodox," Klitschko said. "He's very powerful, strong man. But I think he has less idea about technique."

Klitschko first went down in the fifth round after Peter landed a right hand to the top of the head. The Ukrainian boxer would fall again in that round, though it came from a push and not a punch.

"That's the way Peter fights," Emanuel Steward, Klitschko's trainer, told the Associated Press.

"He gets in close and he hits you in the back of the head and the shoulders," Steward said. "That's his style. You're relaxed when you're in close because you figure you can't get hurt. And that's when he hits you with those punches, when you're vulnerable."

Klitschko (45-3) would fall again, this time in the 10th round, after Peter con-

nected on an overhand right that clearly stunned Klitschko. Peter chased him into the corner and unloaded about a dozen more punches.

After getting out of the corner, Klitschko got caught again with a right to the face and went down for the third time. However, Klitschko got up again and went after Peter.

"It wasn't easy fight for me," Klitschko said. "I was going 12 rounds. In my 48 fights, I was going only once 12 rounds. There were some doubts about my stamina and so on. Now, you can see those problems I don't have. If I want, I can go 12 rounds no matter what."

Peter said after the fight he wasn't satisfied with his performance and made it clear he would seek a rematch. "I didn't catch him with the blows I wanted to land," Peter told the AP.

Steward, Klitschko's trainer, said a rematch with Peter is unlikely at the moment.

Yushchenko's deal...

(Continued from page 3)

campaign slogan "Kuchma and Yanukovych – Away!" with "Kuchma and Yanukovych – Yes!" (Ukrayinska Pravda, September 22).

The most alarming phrase in the declaration is "political repression." By using the opposition's derogatory phrase President Yushchenko implied that he agrees with the opposition that criminal cases introduced this year against former Kuchma officials for abuse of office, corruption and election fraud qualified as "repression." This decision, coupled with the declaration's call for an amnesty, is highly controversial.

The Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU), a widely respected NGO involved in election monitoring, called upon Mr. Yushchenko to recant his stated support for an amnesty for those who committed fraud in last year's elections (cvu.org.ua). The CVU wonders how the 2006 election could be free and fair if the same officials who committed election violations in 2004 are still in place.

What does the new Yushchenko-Yanukovych alliance mean for Ukraine?

First, Ms. Tymoshenko will now claim the mantle of the true representative of the Orange Revolution. Those who believe that Mr. Yushchenko has

"betrayed" the revolution will flock to her side in the 2006 elections.

Second, the hard-line opposition that once challenged the president has been split, as Mr. Yushchenko has co-opted almost the entire centrist camp.

Third, the former Kuchma camp can claim a victory, as they were the main backers of the impending constitutional reforms that weaken the presidency – and Mr. Yushchenko. The Kuchma camp and oligarchs also won amnesty for election fraud and guarantees that re-privatization is over.

Fourth, Ukraine's relations with Russia will improve. (Ms. Tymoshenko had been unable to travel there due to an open criminal case against her.) However, Mr. Yushchenko's reliance on centrists, especially the pro-Russian Party of the Regions, could derail Ukraine's desire to be invited to join the process for NATO membership at the NATO-Ukraine summit in May 2006.

This has been a turbulent week in Ukrainian politics. President Yushchenko abandoned his principal ally from the 2004 presidential election, Ms. Tymoshenko, in favor of his principal adversary, Mr. Yanukovych. With some six months to go before the parliamentary elections, there is ample time for more maneuvering and more shifting alliances.

TV documentary...

(Continued from page 11)

ognized architect and emeritus professor of architecture at McGill University in Montreal, has designed nine Ukrainian churches, in association with or as consultant to a number of architectural firms, in North America; seven of the churches have been built in Canada and two in the United States. Most of Prof. Zuk's award-winning churches have been recognized in the international architectural press. Most recently, his 10th church, the Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God, which is in the final stage of completion in Lviv, was featured in an article in the August issue of the German journal Baumeister: Zeitschrift für Architektur.

Prof. Zuk, a graduate of McGill University and MIT, is a co-recipient of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Governor General's Medal for Architecture, the highest architectural honor in Canada. Prof. Zuk's many accomplishments include an influential teaching and writing career.

Commenting on the work of Prof. Zuk

in the field of church architecture, Mr. Daschko notes the following: "These beautiful churches are all unmistakably contemporary in form and design while unquestionably rooted in the Ukrainian architectural tradition. They are inspired by the best of traditions of Ukrainian architecture, especially its wooden architecture churches. These churches have striking strong silhouettes and a rich palette of natural materials. Prof. Zuk strives to capture the spirit of Ukrainian architectural traditions mainly through the articulation of scale and proportion, using complex mathematical devices rather than overt copying or hybridization."

For information on video sales of the documentary series, schedules or comments viewers may send e-mail to infor@omnitv.ca. or call OMNI, 1-888-260-0047 (toll-free); ask for the viewer line, ext. 4500, or for Sandy Zwyer, ext. 3590, program information coordinator. Viewers may also consult the station's website: www.omnitv.ca



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Adult Ukrainian Language Immersion Camp marks fifth anniversary

CRYSTAL LAKE, Saskatchewan – August 11-14 marked the fifth anniversary of the Adult Ukrainian Language Immersion Camp (AULIC) held at

Trident Camp located at Crystal Lake, just north of Canora. There were more registrants than ever – and they were not disappointed.



AULIC students during a class exercise.

The AULIC project is a joint effort of the Ukrainian Orthodox Men's Association of Regina and the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Regina.

The number of registrants this year was 35, up from last year's 25. The students came from British Columbia (five), Alberta (two), Manitoba (one), California (one), with the majority from Saskatchewan (26). Twenty-two of the students attended the camp for the first time, while the remaining 13 had attended at least twice with some all five years. Many of the newcomers learned of the project via the internet at www.aulic.ca.

As an indication of how popular the camp was, at the closing at least 20 participants indicated that they already have plans to return next year.

There were three levels of instruction – beginner, intermediate and advanced – facilitated by instructors Anita Drebot, a Ukrainian teacher in Regina for many years; Iryna Pityn, the Sadochok teacher from Regina; and Kateryna Stratiychuk, a former principal in Ukraine.

Their talents were complimented by Vasyi Stratiychuk, who demonstrated

icon writing; Andriy Pityn, who enriched the singing sessions with his boyan mastery; and Erin Mazur, who demonstrated the finer points of pysanky writing. Ms. Drebot who helped teach the beautiful tradition of Ukrainian embroidery.

The program consisted of Ukrainian language classes during the day and Ukrainian cultural activities in the evening, including the screening of many wonderful Ukrainian videos. In addition, there was a field trip to Canora to visit the Ukrainian museum and the Ukrainian Orthodox Heritage Church.

One of the highlights of the program was a mock Ukrainian restaurant scenario to which a number of Trident Board members and local community notables were also invited. The cuisine was delicious and was blessed with numerous toasts. This was followed by a short concert of recitations, singing and music. The closing ceremonies consisted of thanking the cooks, the teachers and all those who helped make AULIC 2005 most memorable. This was followed by the distribution of certificates and AULIC T-shirts. The registrants also completed an appraisal on the program.

The program organizing committee comprised Wayne Hydeman, Ed Lysyk, Ken Mazur, Rhonda Slugoski and Tony Harras. Planning is already under way for next year's camp that is tentatively booked for August 10-13, 2006.

Further details may be obtained by phoning Tony Harras, (306) 586-6805, or by e-mailing harras@sasktel.net.

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UUARC is listed on charity campaigns

PHILADELPHIA – The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee Inc. (UUARC), now in its 61st year of humanitarian aid to Ukrainians in need, receives and investigates more and more requests for assistance each year, and, due to the generosity of the Ukrainian American community, has been able to allocate and distribute between \$500 and \$3,500 per month.

In addition it funds many other long-term programs, such as a soup kitchen in Lviv, and assistance to homes for the elderly, orphanages and youth residences ("internaty").

The UUARC is affiliated and listed with Human Care Charities of America (HCCA) or Independent Charities of America (ICA) in the Combined Federal Campaign (No. 1221) and the Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York state employee campaigns. It is listed as independent in New Jersey, Michigan and the United Way of Southeastern Pennsylvania, and can be written-in on any United Way Campaign by just listing the UUARC's name and address (1206 Cottman Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19111). All this information is also available on the UUARC web-site at www.uuarc.org.

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FOR A QUICK LOOK AT OF THE
TOP NEWS IN EACH WEEK'S ISSUE
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As fifth anniversary...

(Continued from page 4)

he had called for Mr. Kravchenko's detention, which might have spared his life. On March 4 of this year the former internal affairs minister was found dead in his suburban Kyiv home just hours before he was scheduled to give his testimony in the Gongadze case to the procurator general.

Police almost immediately ruled Mr. Kravchenko's death a suicide, which the majority of Ukrainians don't accept because, for one thing, he had two bullet wounds to his head. The first bullet entered Mr. Kravchenko's chin, while the lethal second bullet entered his temple.

Mr. Omelchenko said he believes Mr. Kravchenko was murdered.

In a purported suicide note released by police, Mr. Kravchenko denied any involvement in Gongadze's murder and described himself as "a victim of the political intrigues of Mr. Kuchma and his entourage."

Just three days before Mr. Kravchenko's death, Mr. Yushchenko announced the arrest of those suspected in carrying out Gongadze's murder.

By August 1, the Procurator General's Office confirmed the identity of the accused suspects: former police colonels Valerii Kostenko and Mykola Protasov, and officer Oleksander Popovych.

The Procurator General has charged all three men with premeditated murder. The fourth suspected perpetrator of Gongadze's murder, the former head of surveillance and intelligence, Oleksii Pukach, fled to Israel in late 2003.

He was arrested on October 23 of that year, but then released on his own recognition after signing a pledge that he wouldn't leave the country.

The SBU failed to arrest Mr. Pukach in Israel this year because of a media leak from the Procurator General's Office,

said Oleksander Turchynov, the former SBU chief.

According to Mr. Turchynov one of Mr. Piskun's assistants told a reporter from the Segodnya newspaper that the SBU was close to obtaining an arrest warrant.

Fifth anniversary of murder

On the fifth anniversary of Gongadze's murder, the Socialist Party of Ukraine tried to organize a human chain from the National Journalists Union building on the Khreschatyk to the Presidential Secretariat on Bankova Street.

Perhaps revealing how quickly memories can fade, only a handful of people gathered at the National Journalists Union on September 16.

They moved on to Independence Square, where about 150 concerned Ukrainians of all ages gave interviews and held candles and posters with Gongadze's black silhouette beneath the words, "Kuchma, Where is Gongadze?"

On all the posters, however, Mr. Kuchma's name was scratched out in red ink, and the rewritten phrase read, "Yushchenko, Where Are the Orderers?"

Many expressed disappointment with the Gongadze investigation.

"I do not want to use the word 'farce,' but even the government that came after the Orange Revolution could hardly accomplish its promise," said Taras Ratushnyi, 31, who worked with Mr. Gongadze in 1994 and 1995. "The system itself has not changed."

Mr. Ratushnyi still has faith that Mr. Yushchenko is the only honest person in the government's elite, but admittedly he can't do the investigation himself.

Too many influential people are tied to the Gongadze murder, which may be the main factor stalling the investigation, said Hanna Chepura, 21.

"We heard a lot of promises, but never got the result," Ms. Chepura said. "I cannot exclude that there were agreements

between old and new authorities. This case will never be solved."

Conspiracy theory

Any Ukrainian political drama would not be complete without a good conspiracy theory. Gongadze's murder is no different.

"I am sure there were some agreements that forced [Yushchenko] to restrain Piskun," said Mykhailo Pohrebnytskyi, the director of the Center for Political Research and Conflict Studies, which is partly funded by Russian banks, as well as private Ukrainians organizations. "For example, they might have agreed on at what stage this investigation should stop."

As procurator general under Mr. Kuchma between July 2002 and October 2003, Mr. Piskun accomplished little in his investigation.

When asked by reporters in March why it took so long for him to solve the Gongadze case, Mr. Piskun replied that he was fired before he could finish his investigation. He also said the prosecution could have cost him his life.

However, it appears as though Mr. Piskun's political posturing hasn't changed, said Volodymyr Fesenko, chair of the Penta Center for Applied Political Research, which contracts its services to various political parties in Ukraine.

"He is playing with law, acting as a political figure and not a procurator general, and taking care of private interests," Mr. Fesenko said.

On the eve of the fifth anniversary of the Gongadze murder, the Western-financed Institute of Mass Information in Kyiv published a report stating that the investigation is a failure. It highlighted episodes of Mr. Piskun's incompetence, whether deliberate or not.

On February 25 of this year, after Mr. Moroz had demanded Mr. Piskun's resignation if he failed to attach the tapes to the Gongadze case file, Mr. Piskun said

he would do so only on the condition that the Melnychenko provided the original recordings, the report said.

Only on March 2, after the case had been declared "solved" by President Yushchenko, did Mr. Piskun publicly invite Mr. Melnychenko to return to Ukraine, the report said.

On April 5 Mr. Piskun stated in a newspaper interview that he had made attempts to meet Mr. Melnychenko but that Mr. Melnychenko had changed the appointments, the report said.

At an August 25 briefing Mr. Piskun said that Mr. Melnychenko had answered 86 questions that had been put to him on the procurator general's behalf by U.S. investigators. However, on September 1 the U.S. State Department issued a statement specifically denying this, the report said.

Mr. Piskun himself admitted on September 10 that he was only "in negotiations" with the Justice Department about the issue of questioning Mr. Melnychenko.

As officials such as Mr. Piskun continue to stall the investigation, Ukrainians become less hopeful and more forgetful of the Gongadze murder with every passing month.


At the poorly attended candlelight vigil commemorating the fifth anniversary of Gongadze's death, Ms. Chepura could only express feelings of hopelessness, despite her youthful determination to attend the event.

She pointed to the sign she was holding, which read, "Yushchenko, Where Are the Orderers?"

"Every time a new president comes, we will have to cross out the previous president's name and write the new one," Ms. Chepura said. "Nothing is going to change."

Four months ago Heorhii's mother, Lesia Gongadze, had a meeting with Mr. Yushchenko in which they shook hands.

But Mrs. Gongadze said she would no longer shake hands with the president. "He is the same as Kuchma," she said.



Save the Dates!

The Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation is pleased to announce that **Rev. Borys Gudziak**, Rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University, will be honored at events in the following cities this fall on the following dates:

Saturday, November 5, 2005:
Rector's Dinner in New York, New York


Wednesday, November 9, 2005:
Event in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Sunday, November 13, 2005:
Rector's Luncheon in Chicago, Illinois

Thursday, November 17, 2005:
Event in Parma, Ohio


Sunday, November 20, 2005:
Rector's Luncheon in Detroit, Michigan

*All friends and supporters of the Ukrainian Catholic University and the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, along with all other interested persons, are welcome to meet **Rev. Gudziak** at these events. Organizations are also most welcome to these events.*



Please, save these dates!

Tax-exempt contributions should be made payable to the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation.



KYIV MOHYLA FOUNDATION OF AMERICA

We are pleased to announce that the Kyiv Mohyla Academy broke ground for the building of a new Kyiv Mohyla Library. The Library is being built on the site of a historic XIX century building which served as a hospital until a few decades ago. The interior of the building is being totally rebuilt and equipped with contemporary communication and energy systems.

The Kyiv Mohyla Foundation of America and the University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy wish to recognize and thank the individuals who donated to the Kyiv Mohyla Foundation for the *Library Project* from July 1 to October 1, 2005. All your generous donations are greatly appreciated and valued.

<u>Donations made to the Kyiv Mohyla Foundation for the Library Project from July 1 to October 1, 2005.</u>	
Ms. Mary Billey	\$5,000
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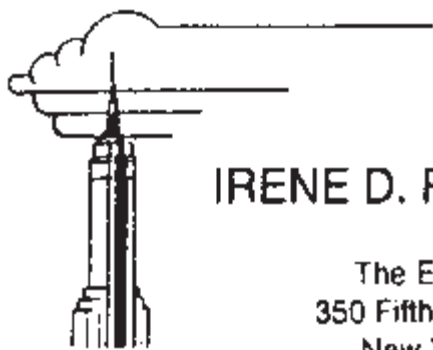
Correction

to the List of Donors published in *Svoboda* on August 26, 2005 and in *The Ukrainian Weekly* on July 24, 2005.

Mr. Theodosij & Mrs. Lucia Hryciw <i>(100 in memory of M. Kowalsky)</i>	\$600
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Please accept our sincere apologies for the errors in our previously published list. Thank you for your generous support of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

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Parliament commission...

(Continued from page 2)

since he has already begun to take an active part in political events, to comment on various issues, to label current politicians. It seems he feels well and very sure of himself. One can explain this easily, since in the past nine months, after so many promises, no steps have been undertaken [against him,]” Ms. Syumar said.

Another possibility, she believes, is that President Yushchenko and his allies may be pursuing a more Machiavellian strategy – at the expense of the justice they promised Ukraine’s people.

“There is a high probability that this case will be used to secretly blackmail certain politicians – foremost among them of course, Volodymyr Lytvyn, who is on the Melnychenko tapes,” Ms. Syumar said.

As further evidence of the authorities’ disinterest in getting to the bottom of the case, Ms. Syumar noted that Ukraine’s Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun, dur-

ing his recent trip to the United States, declined to meet with Mykola Melnychenko – whose tapes kicked off the whole case.

What happens now? Probably nothing, according to Ms. Syumar. The parliamentary commission has been disbanded and Ukraine’s law enforcement bodies have no obligation to follow up.

“The problem is that these conclusions have no judicial status. The fact is that a [parliamentary] investigating commission is a constitutional body, nevertheless, in Ukraine there is still no law on such commissions which would regulate their work with law enforcement agencies and which would result in their investigations having a practical impact,” Ms. Syumar said.

The Internal Affairs Ministry recently pronounced the case “closed” with the arrest of several low-level officers it named as Mr. Gongadze’s killers. It appears that, for the time being, that is as far as the case will go.

RFE/RL’s Ukrainian Service contributed to this report.

No clear winners...

(Continued from page 2)

least the Orange Revolution itself, whose hopes and ideals have at times seemed conspicuously absent from the political debate.

Askold Krushelnysky, a British analyst of Ukrainian affairs and a former RFE/RL correspondent, is writing a book on the Orange Revolution.

He commented on the latest developments in Ukraine: “It’s all disappointed many of the Ukrainians who were avid supporters of the Orange Revolution. It’s all seemed a bit tawdry and shambolic and has displayed greed and ambition – the worst characteristics, and these have submerged all the tender and visionary hopes espoused by the Orange Revolutionaries not long ago.”

President Yushchenko has survived, but his political standing and authority look badly damaged by weeks of mudslinging. He still has to answer adequately the accusation that exiled Russian tycoon Boris Berezovskii bankrolled his presidential election campaign.

Ms. Tymoshenko tried to row back at the last minute, anxious no doubt not to be held responsible for dividing the revolutionary team. But her reputation, too, looks tarnished.

The real victims, though, are the people of Ukraine, the hundreds and thousands who stood in the freezing cold last winter to ensure that the Orange Revolution triumphed. They will pass their verdict next year, when they vote in the March parliamentary elections.



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Ukrainian American...

(Continued from page 5)

went and wrote several freelance articles about the disaster for Omni magazine, none of which were published.

In September 1990, while reporting for the Rukh Fax Gazette, she played a role in the hunger strikes calling, among other things, for the rejection of a new union treaty with Moscow, the resignation of Ukraine's hardline Communist Prime Minister Vitalii Masol and new parliamentary elections. She then decided to settle permanently in Kyiv. "It was a very exciting time and I wanted to be a part of it," Ms. Mycio said.

She worked as a freelance journalist, with the Los Angeles Times as one of her major clients, and remained driven by the goal of writing a book on a Ukrainian topic.

Initially, she had prepared a two-chapter book proposal about a personal narrative of the Dnipro River interwoven with its history. When the book proposal didn't find a publisher, her literary agent, Andrea Pedolsky, said the chapter on Chernobyl was the best.

From that sprang the idea for "Wormwood Forest," also a personal narrative interwoven with natural history.

"Wormwood Forest" has now been released at a point when the impact of the Chernobyl disaster is suddenly under reassessment.

A September 5 release by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) claimed that deaths as a result of the disaster have been greatly exaggerated. Ultimately, Chernobyl's radiation fallout will amount to around 4,000 deaths, involving only emergency workers and residents of the most contaminated areas, the report said. Only 31 died as a direct result of the Chernobyl accident, the report claims.

Leaders in the Chernobyl relief effort strongly criticized the report produced by the Chernobyl Forum, which consists of eight United Nations agencies, including the IAEA, the World Health Organization and the governments of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine.

The estimate of only about 4,000 deaths resulting from the Chernobyl accident is "dubious, at best," according to Alexander Kuzma, executive director of the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund.

Ms. Mycio said she understands it's a sensitive subject, particularly among Ukrainians, who have had their devastating tragedies marginalized so often. The fact is that Chernobyl is not the death sentence for Ukraine that it was largely believed to be, Ms. Mycio said, without a twinge of doubt.

"The impression was that Chernobyl killed Ukraine," Ms. Mycio said. "But, in hindsight, we can say Chernobyl wounded part of Ukraine, but the land is more resilient than we had thought, and it's healing."

However, that doesn't mean humans can inhabit the area. To be specific, a 10-kilometer zone around the power plant will be uninhabitable for at least 400,000 years.

It also doesn't mean animals should inhabit the area, because they become radioactive as a result. However, being radioactive doesn't inhibit them from living in the zone, reproducing and thriving in it. "Even though it's very radioactive, there are more water birds there than most other places because there are no people there," she said. "The animals are radioactive, but they look fine."

In her assessment of the IAEA study, Ms. Mycio said she didn't see anything controversial about the environmental effects, but the health effects are "a little

more controversial."

"They based their prediction of future cancer on the people they studied, but they didn't study all the people who were affected," she pointed out.

About 1 million people are considered among the most highly affected by Chernobyl, according to Ms. Mycio, but the study only examines 600,000 of them, while ignoring 400,000. "They're making conclusions based on a limited, incomplete population," Ms. Mycio said.

The report also states that there have been no increases in solid cancer tumors as a result of Chernobyl, yet there haven't been any epidemiological studies of these tumors, she said. "That's logically incorrect," she said. "Since there are no epidemiological studies on the changes in the rate of solid tumors, it's impossible to make any conclusions."

However, Ms. Mycio agrees with the report in the sense that Chernobyl's health effects have been exaggerated, especially when considering the poor level of health care in Ukraine and the unhealthy lifestyles that Ukrainians engage in.

"The problem with examining the effect of Chernobyl is that the public health system is crumbling and people don't take care of themselves – when you see how much people smoke and drink," Ms. Mycio said.

During the first months after the disaster, international scientists reported that between 10,000 and hundreds of thousands of deaths from Chernobyl were possible, based on a population of 75 million people in the European part of the Soviet Union. As a result, Ukrainians have a tendency to link their health problems with Chernobyl radiation fallout.

However, if a Kyiv woman gave birth to a child with Down Syndrome, for example, in all likelihood the disease is

not related to Chernobyl, Ms. Mycio said.

In fact, scientists have found no detectable increase in birth defects among the affected populations, as there were none after Hiroshima, Ms. Mycio said.

"Higher mammals are more complicated," she said. "I don't know why it hasn't happened. It didn't happen in Chernobyl, and it didn't happen in Hiroshima."

What certainly increased were incidents of thyroid cancer in children, largely because their tiny glands were especially sensitive to radiation. Incidents increased from almost a handful in the affected population to at least 4,000 cases after the accident.

"The people in the villages were there for weeks," Ms. Mycio said. "That was criminal on the part of the Soviet government: not telling them of the precautions they could take, such as staying indoors."

It's the bursting of myths and stereotypes about Chernobyl that Ms. Mycio hopes will draw widespread interest in her book.

Chernobyl's forests are flourishing, birds are abundant and large mammals such as moose have found a home in what has become Europe's largest nature preserve.

"That was considered the book's selling point," Ms. Mycio said. "It's almost an oxymoron – the natural history of Chernobyl."

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Financing is secured for construction of new cultural center in New Jersey



Church and Ukrainian American Cultural Center leadership at the loan closing with Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union officials: (seated, from left) the Rev. Mitred Roman Mirchuk, pastor of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church; Metropolitan Archbishop Stefan Soroka; SUAFCU Executive Vice-President Ihor Laszok; (standing) are SUAFCU Assistant vice-president Jersey City Branch Manager Yaroslav Zaviysky; attorney for the owner, Joseph Vena; Construction Chairman Orest Kucyna; Parish Trustee Ihor Lodziuk; SUAFCU Parsippany Branch Manager Michael Koziupa; and attorney for the credit union, Andrew Zielyk.

WHIPPANY, N.J. – The building committee in charge of finance and construction for the new Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey and St. John's Parish facilities have secured loan financing that guarantees completion of the first phase of construction.

"We are proud to announce a partnership between Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union and our Ukrainian community in Northern New Jersey," said Orest Kucyna, project construction chairman.

"Our project finance committee, headed by Peter Binazeski and Lubodar Olesnycky, did an outstanding job of investigating many options with multiple banking institutions. Selfreliance stood up to the challenge and presented a very competitive loan package that guarantees our ability to complete construction by September 2006. Their action exemplifies commitment to both the project vision and to the Ukrainian community."

The first phase of project construction began on May 14. This includes the 24,000-square-foot cultural center, an

interim chapel, parish rectory and all permanent site improvements (roadwork, parking and landscaping).

The second phase of construction will include a new 300-seat church and bell tower, both of which will begin once fund-raising targets are met.

The center will be the new home for Ukrainian community groups such as Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, Plast-Pryiat, Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM), Lesia Ukrainka School of Ukrainian Studies of Morris County, Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund, Self Reliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union, Iskra Dance Ensemble, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the Sich Sports Club and others.

For additional information, readers may visit the website at www.uaccnj.org, or contact the UACCNJ Building Committee at (973) 540-9144.

Donations to the UACCNJ are welcome and can be mailed to the following interim address: 7 South Jefferson Road, Whippany, New Jersey, 07981.

Credit union's Capital District branch to celebrate opening of new offices

WATERVLIET, N.Y. – The move to a new location and modern commercial space is an exciting event for the Capital District Branch of the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, according to CEO Tamara Denysenko.

The new site located at the Hill Top Plaza at 143 Troy-Schenectady Road will open for business with a ribbon-cutting ceremony on Saturday, October 8, at 10 a.m.

This UFCU Branch opened in the year 2000 to meet the needs of the Ukrainian community. For the past five years, the branch has steadily grown, not only in size, but with the level of services it has to offer. The demands for additional member products through modern technologies necessitated the relocation to larger facilities. The new and expanded commercial building will enable the Capital District Branch to

provide better services to the growing local membership base.

The Rochester-headquartered Ukrainian Federal Credit Union currently serves almost 15,000 members belonging to numerous Ukrainian churches, fraternal and community organizations. The other branches are located in Rochester and Syracuse, N.Y., in Boston, and in Sacramento, Calif. The new Capital District Branch is located in the town of Colonie with a Watervliet, N.Y., mailing address.

All Capital District Branch members and guests are welcome to come by and celebrate the fifth anniversary. Special gifts and prizes will be offered to new and existing members with a promotional CD special of a five-month, 5 percent APY offer on \$500 minimum, new funds deposit accounts.

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YURI KHARENKO – VIOLIN
VOLODYMYR VYNNYTSKY – PIANO
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 16, 2005
2:00 P.M.

§

YURIY & DANA MAZURKEVYCH
VIOLINS
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4, 2005
2:00 P.M.

§

VOLODYMYR VYNNYTSKY
PIANO
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 2006
2:00 P.M.

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LYSYTSA & KUZNETSOFF
PIANO DUO
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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

presidents meet. According to Mr. Tarasyuk, some additional issues have been entered in the Ukraine-Russia Action Plan, which involve borderline demarcation issues, an agreement on re-admission, opening new consular offices in Ukraine and Russia, and simplified citizenship procedures which will be submitted to the two presidents for consideration. Mr. Lavrov referred to the talks as very intense and full-blooded. The talks, he said, have reaffirmed both parties' readiness to further improve the atmosphere of Russian-Ukrainian relations, in line with the two presidents' directives. Mr. Lavrov noted that the meeting also adjusted the parameters of the Subcommittee for International Matters within the Putin-Yushchenko Commission. The parties also agreed to promptly establish a sub-commission for Black Sea Fleet-related issues. According to Mr. Lavrov, the meeting also resulted in approval of a draft agreement on border-crossing procedures for residents of Russia's and Ukraine's adjacent oblasts. (Ukrinform)

Lytvyn: pact not betrayal of maidan

KYIV – According to Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn, there are no grounds whatsoever to view the Yushchenko-Yanukovich memorandum as a betrayal of the ideals of the “maidan” (Independence Square). It would have been so if the maidan had called for perpetuating societal tensions and discord, Mr. Lytvyn added. (Ukrinform)

Rybachuk: pact will not protect criminals

KYIV – Oleh Rybachuk, chairman of the Presidential Secretariat said that it is his opinion that the Yushchenko-Yanukovich memorandum will not prevent criminals from being punished. Mr. Rybachuk referred to what the media have dubbed an non-aggression pact as a political decision, which does not rule out investigating crimes. Replying to journalists' questions during his news briefing on September 23, Mr. Rybachuk said those responsible for irregularities during the 2004 elections had basically been ordinary citizens who had been forced to commit misdeeds. Therefore, the president has stated his readiness to give them amnesty. Under the Kuchma administration no such document was possible. This move has made Viktor Yushchenko the entire nation's president, Mr. Rybachuk stressed.

President appears to accept reform

KYIV – Acting Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Lutsenko said in an interview with Kommersant-Daily on September 26 that President Viktor Yushchenko has abandoned his intention to postpone political reforms that will curtail his presidential powers. “Today the president is convinced of the necessity of the political reform, which will come into effect on January 1,” Mr. Lutsenko said. The reform, which was adopted in December 2004 as a political compromise to overcome a presidential election standoff, will give the Parliament a decisive role in forming the Cabinet and will strengthen the position of the prime minister. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kravchuk elected to head civic forum

KYIV – Ukraine's former President Leonid Kravchuk was elected head of the Let's Unite Ukraine Civic Forum during the organization's founding congress in Kyiv on September 24, Interfax-Ukraine reported. “Our main goal is to establish peace and accord in society,” Mr. Kravchuk said at the congress, stressing that Ukraine is witnessing a “crisis in all

spheres of life” and a deepening social split between supporters of the authorities and the opposition. The congress was reportedly attended, among others, by activists of the Social Democratic Party – United, the Labor Ukraine Party and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc. (RFE/RL Newsline)

New poll assesses public support

KYIV – The Razumkov Center found in a poll conducted On September 9-16 among 2,011 Ukrainians that 21 percent of respondents assess the situation in the country as positive, while 44.3 percent are of the opposite opinion, Ukrainian media reported on September 23. Former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko has the wholehearted support of 21.4 percent of Ukrainians; President Viktor Yushchenko, 19.8 percent; and former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, 17.2 percent. “At present, support for [Tymoshenko and Yushchenko] has reached the lowest level since the takeover of power in Ukraine,” the Razumkov Center said in a statement. The center also found that the president's dismissal of the Tymoshenko Cabinet is supported by 39.8 percent of Ukrainians and opposed by 35.3 percent. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Rada passes anti-tobacco bill

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine passed a law aimed at combating smoking, which, as the authors believe, will tighten the state's control over the manufacture and distribution of tobacco. The law prohibits the sales of cigarettes to persons under age 18 and obliges directors of enterprises and owners of public-frequented institutions to allot special places for smoking. For violations of this law, fines may be imposed in amounts between 50 and 50,000 hrv (between \$10 and \$10,000 U.S.). (Ukrinform)

Renewal of executive bodies announced

KYIV – Addressing the Verkhovna Rada session on September 22, President Viktor Yushchenko announced that he has signed several decrees in line with agreements reached at his meeting with the heads of parliamentary groups the previous day, Channel 5 reported. In particular, Mr. Yushchenko reduced the staff of the Presidential Secretariat by abolishing the posts of state secretary, deputy state secretaries and first presidential aide. Mr. Yushchenko also curtailed some powers of the secretary of the National Security and Defense Council, shifting them to the Presidential Secretariat. Mr. Yushchenko pledged that the staffs of the Presidential Secretariat and the National Security and Defense Council will be “renewed.” The current

political crisis in Ukraine was caused, among other reasons, by corruption allegations against the former secretary of the National Security and Defense Council, Petro Poroshenko, and the suspended first presidential aide, Oleksander Tretiakov. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Rada accepts budget proposal


KYIV – Acting Finance Minister Viktor Pynzenyk on September 21 presented the draft 2006 national budget to the Parliament. The document's parameters proceed from the assumption that in 2006 Ukraine's GDP will increase by 7 percent, and that industrial and agricultural production output, respectively, will grow by 9.5 percent and 3.3 percent. The document projects 2006 inflation at 8.7 percent. The 2006 national budget's revenues and outlays are stated, respectively, as 118.706 bil-

lion hrv and 127.44 billion hrv. The deficit ceiling is set at 9.9 billion hrv. In 2006 privatization of state property is supposed to bring at least 8 billion hrv. The minimum wage is expected to reach 350 hrv per worker per month by January 1, 2006, and 400 hrv by January 1, 2007. The hryvnia's exchange rate is expected to be around 5.05 hrv per U.S. dollar. (Ukrinform)

President's rep in Rada is dismissed

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko relieved Serhii Sobolev of his position as the president's permanent representative to the Verkhovna Rada via a decree signed on September 21. Mr. Sobolev was a member of the Reforms and Order faction. He reportedly did not vote in favor of approving Yurii Yekhanurov as prime minister during the first vote on September 20. (Ukrinform)

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Soyuzivka's Datebook

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| October 3-6, 2005
Stamford Clergy Days | November 20, 2005
Ellenville Cooperative Nursery School Auction |
| October 8, 2005
Wedding | November 23-27, 2005
Family Reunions |
| October 9, 2005
Republican Party Fund-Raiser Banquet | November 24, 2005
Thanksgiving Feast 1-4 pm, \$25 per person, overnight packages available |
| October 15, 2005
Wedding | December 24, 2005
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve Supper 6 pm, \$25 per person, overnight packages available |
| October 21-23, 2005
National Plast Convention | December 31-January 1, 2006
New Year's Eve Extravaganza Package |
| October 23, 2005
UNWLA Branch 89, 40th Anniversary Luncheon Banquet | January 6, 2006
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve Supper 6 pm, \$25 per person, overnight packages available |
| October 28-30, 2005
Halloween Weekend with children's costume parade, costume zabava and more | January 27-29, 2006
Church of Annunciation Family Weekend, Flushing, N.Y. |
| November 4-6, 2005
Plast Orlykiada | |
| November 12, 2005
Wedding | |
| November 19, 2005
Sigma Beta Chi Fraternity Formal Dinner Banquet | |



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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Friday, October 14

WASHINGTON: The Washington Group in conjunction with Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies is honored to host David Kramer, deputy assistant secretary of state for Europe and Eurasia, responsible for Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Moldova, and Taras Kuzio, visiting professor, George Washington University, for a talk on the topic "After the Orange Revolution: The U.S. and Ukraine." Reception will follow. Time: 7 p.m. Venue: Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, 1619 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Rome Auditorium, first floor, near Dupont Metro station. For more information please contact Orest Deychakiwsky, (202) 225-3964, or Adrian Pidlusky, (240) 381-0993, or visit www.TheWashingtonGroup.org.

UIMA is located at 2320 W. Chicago Ave.

Saturday, October 22

HARTFORD, Conn.: The board of directors of the Ukrainian National Home of Hartford invites you and your family to the annual fall dinner dance to be held at 961 Wethersfield Ave., starting at 6 p.m. The program includes a dance performance featuring Zolotyj Promin Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, a buffet dinner and dancing to the tunes of the Svyatkovi Dni Ukrainian Holiday Band from Stamford, Conn. Donation: \$25, adults; students, age 13-22, \$20; children, age 12 and under, \$15. Tickets must be purchased in advance and will be available until one week before the event. For tickets, please call the UNHH office, (860) 296-5702. For more information visit ukrainiannational-home.org.

Saturday, October 15

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites the public to a literary evening featuring the poet and prose writer Viktor Neborak of Lviv, member of the "Bu-Ba-Bu" group and author of several collections of poetry. The program will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call (212) 254-5130.

Sunday, October 30

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J.: A Ukrainian Fall Festival will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 135 Davidson Ave., at 11 a.m.-7 p.m. Featured performers at the festivities are the Voloshky Dance Ensemble, Alla Kutsevych, the Barvinok Dance Group and the Cheres Folk Ensemble. As part of the festival there will be children's activities, a food court and raffle, as well as tours of the center's museum. The Market Place will offer a cornucopia of items: amber and beaded jewelry, Ukrainian embroidery, ceramics, pysanky, glass art, scarves, crafts and souvenirs items, as well as CDs, DVDs, videos, t-shirts and athletic gear. Get your Christmas shopping done early. Admission: \$5, adults; children, free. For more information contact Luba Shevchenko, (908) 725-5322, or Olha Kryvolap, (410) 744-0168.

Sunday, October 16

CHICAGO: The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art (UIMA) presents the opening concert of its classical music series with a performance by Yuri Kharenko, violin, Natalia Khoma, cello, and Volodymyr Vynnytsky, piano, in a program of works for trio by Rachmaninoff, Beethoven and Haydn. The concert begins at 2 p.m. The

PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:

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

To have an event listed in Preview of Events please send information, in English, written in Preview format, i.e., in a brief paragraph that includes the date, place, type of event, sponsor, admission, full names of persons and/or organizations involved, and a phone number to be published for readers who may require additional information. Items should be no more than 100 words long; all submissions are subject to editing.

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

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