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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Yushchenko promotes business development at International Economic Forum in Lviv

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

LVIV – President Viktor Yushchenko visited Lviv on October 6 to encourage business and economic development, as well as to promote the Our Ukraine People's Union for the March 2006 parliamentary elections.

The Lviv Chamber of Trade and Industry held its fifth annual International Economic Forum "Ukraine – EU" on October 5 through 8, with more than 120 representatives of business interests in nine European nations attending.

More than 500 Lviv business projects worth several hundred million dollars in investment, were displayed at the forum.

Mr. Yushchenko urged international businessmen not to give bribes in Ukraine. He also assured them that his government would adequately prepare itself to pass the remaining 14 amendments to Ukrainian law that will pave the way for Ukraine's accession to the World Trade Organization.

"I will do everything so that this second step will be made and Ukraine will become a member of the WTO in December," Mr. Yushchenko said. The first step is attaining market economy status, he said.

The United States will grant Ukraine market economy status by the end of the year, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Commerce Department Eric Stewart said earlier this year.

The same day in Lviv, Mr. Yushchenko signed a memorandum to construct BrodAgroOil, an oil-refining, agro-industrial integrative complex in Brody, a city directly east of Lviv in the same oblast.

The construction's projected cost is \$3 billion, and carries enormous potential to boost the Lviv economy.

Currently, 7.5 million tons of light oil products are manufactured at the plant. Once the oil refinery is constructed, it will produce 8 million tons of gas per year, Interfax reported.

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Well-known lawyer Serhii Holovatyι tapped as new minister of justice

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Serhii Holovatyι is Ukraine's new justice minister, tapped to replace Roman Zvarych, the American-born politician whose tenure was marred by several scandals.

President Viktor Yushchenko signed an order appointing the 51-year-old lawyer to head the Ministry of Justice. Mr. Holovatyι is one of the founders of Rukh and previously served as Ukraine's justice minister between September 1995 and August 1997 under former President Leonid Kuchma.

Among the biggest expectations of Mr. Holovatyι is that he will renew the Ukrainian people's faith in the authority of the law above all else, Mr. Yushchenko said when introducing the new justice minister on October 10.

"The main characteristic of the last four to five years has been the Ukrainian people's lost faith in the supremacy of the law," Mr. Yushchenko said.

Mr. Yushchenko said he has received

900 letters during his presidency from ordinary Ukrainians – more than half of which are complaints about corrupt or incompetent judges, prosecutors and police.

Mr. Holovatyι will be productive and honestly serve the Ukrainian people as a result of his "experience, coupled with his devotion to national interests," Mr. Yushchenko said.

"I don't want any falsification to take place within these walls," the president told Mr. Holovatyι. "It's very important that the people refer to you as the truth itself."

Most significant about Mr. Holovatyι's selection, according to political experts, is his active role in the Heorhii Gongadze case, as well as his obvious antipathy toward Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun.

Mr. Holovatyι has served as a lawyer for Lesia Gongadze, the mother of the enterprising journalist murdered five years ago, apparently for his provocative articles.

In the European Court for Human Rights, Mr. Holovatyι also represented Mykola Melnychenko, who complained that his right to run for the Verkhovna Rada was illegally denied him.

"I appointed ... a man whom it is difficult to accuse of bias in this matter and in other matters," Mr. Yushchenko said on October 7, referring to the Gongadze case. "I am sure that Ukraine will make significant advances in this issue, based on his authority and his capabilities."

However, political experts are puzzled about why Mr. Yushchenko would appoint someone who would clearly conflict with Mr. Piskun. Just two days after his appointment, Mr. Holovatyι referred to the procurator general as an illegitimate prosecutor who should be replaced.

"Therefore everything depends on whoever fills this position not turning out to be the next scoundrel in line," Mr. Holovatyι said.

President Yushchenko may be laying the groundwork for Mr. Piskun's firing, said Volodymyr Fesenko, the chairman of the Penta Center for Applied Political Research, which contracts its services to various political parties in Ukraine.

An increasing avalanche of criticism has been heaped upon the procurator general, he said. Internal Affairs Minister Yuriι Lutsenko recently accused Mr. Piskun of blocking cases involving election fraud committed by those in former President Leonid Kuchma's circle.

"Piskun became a risk figure and a conflict figure, and there are many negative factors connected with him – especially as regards the Gongadze matter," Mr. Fesenko said. "I think Holovatyι is supposed to play the role of a key counter-factor: from one side create pressure on Piskun, and from the other side initiate the end of this matter."

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Latest Harry Potter book, in Ukrainian, is launched in Kyiv

by Yana Sedova
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – A Ukrainian-language version of "Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince" rolled off the presses on October 6, joining German and French as the first translations of the latest novel in J.K. Rowling's wildly popular series.

"Don't be a Muggle, support Ukrainian because it's cool!" read the book's slogan, printed on one of the back pages.

To meet the frantic demand, Ukrainian booksellers bought up 70,000 copies of the series' sixth installment before its official presentation at the Ukrayinskyi Dim in Kyiv.

The official 574-page Ukrainian translation arrived two months ahead of the Russian version.

"This is very important for promotion of Ukrainian reading," said Ivan Malkovych, the director of the nation's biggest publisher of children's literature, A-BA-BA-HA-LA-MA-HA, which has been active since 1992.

"It was very important to publish the book earlier than the Russian translation in order to engage tens of thousands of readers who would read at least 600 pages of Ukrainian in their life," he explained.

The original English-language "Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince" was released on July 16. In the first 24 hours it was available, Americans bought 6.9 million copies, making it the fastest selling book in history, according to book-seller Barnes and Noble.

The most impatient fans could read the latest novel on the Internet, in Russian, a

few weeks after its English-language release in July 2006. However, the pirated translation was of a rather low quality.

More than 200 Ukrainians, mainly mothers and their excited children, swarmed the presentation party, in Kyiv, catching their first glimpse of the bright, colorful cover.

Every translation has its own unique cover, and the Ukrainian version depicts Harry Potter seated in an aquamarine-colored rowboat, holding a magic wand and crossing a lake in a cave. Seated behind him

is his mentor of magic, Prof. Dumbledore.

In fact, Harry Potter's trademark owners in Great Britain have deemed Vladyslav Yerko, the artist who created all the covers for the Ukrainian translations, as the novel's best international illustrator, Mr. Malkovych said.

Mr. Yerko's depiction of Harry Potter has grown increasingly similar to English actor Daniel Radcliff, the young man who

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Kyivan Harry Potter look-alike Valentyn Tykhenkyi, 12, examines his copy of the Ukrainian-language version of "Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince."

Yana Sedova

ANALYSIS

PACE asks for full investigation of the stalled Gongadze case

by Taras Kuzio

Eurasia Daily Monitor

On October 5 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) issued a resolution requesting that the Ukrainian authorities deal with different aspects of the investigation into the murder of journalist Heorhii Gongadze (assembly.coe.int). However, the Ukrainian authorities will not honor that request.

The Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU) issued its own damning indictment in Parliament last week (spu.org.ua, *Ukrayinska Pravda*, October 4). Specifically, the SPU demanded that Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn allow Parliament to hear the conclusions of the parliamentary investigation into the murder before the March 2006 parliamentary elections. Mr. Lytvyn headed the presidential administration when Gongadze was murdered in 2000.

Outgoing First Vice Prime Minister Mykola Tomenko and former Security Service of Ukraine head Oleksander Turchynov also accused Mr. Lytvyn of obstructing the hearings, as have Gongadze's mother, Lesia, and his widow, Myroslava (*Ukrayinska Pravda*, September 7, 8, 9, 15). These accusations prompted a Sunday Times (September 18) investigative article titled "President's aides in murder 'cover-up.'"

The parliamentary commission report was completed in late 2002 but has never been read in Parliament. Commission Chairman Hryhorii Omelchenko has provided a summary (*Ukrayinska Pravda*,

September 20). Asked why the prosecutor's office had not reacted to the three-year-old report, Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun simply said he had not received it, as it was still in the mail (*Ukrayinska Pravda*, September 29).

Yaroslav Koshiw, author of the only Western book on the Gongadze murder, "Beheaded: The Killing of a Journalist" (Artema Press, 2003) accuses both Mr. Lytvyn and former President Leonid Kuchma of involvement.

Mr. Koshiw reproduces a tape recording made by former security officer Mykola Melnychenko in which Mr. Lytvyn allegedly advises Mr. Kuchma to not use the courts against Gongadze. Instead, Mr. Lytvyn proposes that the president "release" the Internal Affairs Ministry onto the journalist.

The PACE resolution, like the SPU statement, calls upon Ukraine to hold parliamentary hearings on the Gongadze case. This demand is a rebuff to Mr. Lytvyn and to Procurator General Piskun, who both attended PACE sessions where they attempted to prove that Ukraine had progressed in its investigation.

The PACE resolution reaches the same conclusion as that of the September open letter by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and other organizations. Specifically, PACE "regrets that the case of those who allegedly executed the murder has been separated from the main case-file and has been qualified as a murder committed by a group of persons following

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Russia still gets it wrong on Ukraine

by Taras Kuzio

Eurasia Daily Monitor

Russian leaders were delighted, even gleeful, when Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko was fired in early September. Their unabashed gloating confirms that Moscow still does not realize why its interference in the 2004 Ukrainian presidential elections failed so miserably (see *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, September 23). Instead, Russian officials have continued to look wistfully toward Ukraine.

Russian leaders believe that the ongoing political crisis could lead to Ukraine's disintegration or civil war between eastern and western Ukraine. If the country divides, Ukraine might return to Russia and end President Viktor Yushchenko's pro-Western foreign policy. These scenarios are decidedly wrong.

The 2004 presidential elections proved that Ukraine has changed since Leonid Kuchma was first elected president in July 1994. The 1994 vote followed a far deeper crisis, when hyperinflation and strikes by miners forced then President Leonid Kravchuk to call early presidential elections.

Throughout the 1990s the central issue of Ukrainian politics was statehood; that is, would Ukraine survive as an independent state. This issue was resolved in the 1999 presidential elections when Mr.

Kuchma defeated the leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU).

The defeat of the main domestic threat to independence (the Communists) and the end to an external threat from Russia (after it recognized Ukraine's borders) changed the central issue of Ukrainian politics to what kind of state would be built. This would, in turn, directly influence Ukraine's integration either with the Commonwealth of Independent States (as a corrupt, oligarchic, authoritarian state) or with "Europe" (as a democratizing state).

During President Kuchma's second term in office the Party of the Regions of Ukraine (PRU) replaced the Communists (CPU) as the leading pro-Russian party. Although both the CPU and PRU are pro-Russian, they differ in that only PRU favors Ukrainian statehood. Thus, the party shift was a positive development for Ukrainian stability.

Russia strongly backed then Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich to succeed President Kuchma in 2004. Mr. Yanukovich, however, denied that Russian President Vladimir Putin "came to visit me personally, it was not a strategy of my election campaign" (*Washington Post*, December 17, 2004). After Mr. Yanukovich's defeat, the Unified Russia Party signed a cooperation agreement with the Party of the Regions.

The Ukrainian Communists have rapidly declined since the 1999 elections. Eastern Ukrainian voters have since shifted from the Communist Party, which now has only 11 percent support in this region, to the PRU which has 51.7 percent (*Kyiv International Institute of Sociology*, September 2005).

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

NEWSBRIEFS

Yushchenko signs immunity bill

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko on October 5 signed into law a controversial bill that grants immunity from prosecution to deputies of local councils, Ukrainian news media reported. Under the legislation, a local councilor may be arrested or criminally prosecuted only after approval is given by his or her respective council. The law, which the Verkhovna Rada passed on September 8, extends such immunity to some 200,000 regional legislators. The bill was supported by a broad range of deputies, including Communists, Socialists and members of factions loyal to former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. Most deputies in Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine People's Union group did not support it. In a television appearance on October 4 Mr. Yushchenko said he "in principle" opposes granting immunity from prosecution to all deputies in Ukraine. On the other hand, in a memorandum signed with former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich on September 22, President Yushchenko pledged to provide such immunity to local council members. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Lutsenko threatens to resign

KYIV – Internal Affairs Minister Yuri Lutsenko told Ukrainian journalists on October 6 that he may step down if the Constitutional Court fails to cancel the law granting immunity from prosecution to deputies of local councils, Interfax-Ukraine reported. President Viktor Yushchenko signed the relevant bill on October 5, but simultaneously declared that he will ask the Constitutional Court to rule whether the law is in line with the Constitution of Ukraine. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Lytvyn Bloc to run independently

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn told journalists on October 11 that the recently created People's Bloc of Volodymyr Lytvyn will participate independently in the 2006 parliamentary elections, Ukrainian news agencies reported. "Today it is impossible to form a bloc with political forces that are favorites in the parliamentary race because of a number of conditions presented by each side," Mr. Lytvyn said. He said that he declined an offer earlier this year to form a joint election list with the Our Ukraine People's Union and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc. The offer

purportedly specified that President Viktor Yushchenko personally, Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine People's Union, Ms. Tymoshenko's bloc and Mr. Lytvyn's People's Party would each supply one-fourth of the list's candidates. Meanwhile, a poll conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology on September 18-25 concluded that seven Ukrainian parties would be able to overcome the 3 percent voting threshold for parliamentary representation: Viktor Yanukovich's Party of the Regions (20.9 percent), the Our Ukraine People's Union (20.1 percent), the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (19.5 percent), Petro Symonenko's Communist Party (9.5 percent), Oleksander Moroz's Socialist Party (6.6 percent), Volodymyr Lytvyn's People's Party (4.6 percent) and Natalia Vitrenko's Progressive Socialist Party (3.5 percent). (RFE/RL Newsline)

More Cabinet appointments

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko appointed Ihor Lykhovyi as minister of culture and tourism and Serhii Holovatyi as minister of justice. The post of health minister remains vacant. The president also appointed Yuri Melnyk as vice prime minister in the Cabinet of Ministers headed by Prime Minister Yuri Yekhanurov, Ukrainian media reported on October 5. Mr. Melnyk was deputy minister for the agro-industrial complex in Viktor Yanukovich's Cabinet from July 2003 to July 2005. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Poroshenko under PGO investigation

KYIV – The Ukrainian Procurator General's Office (PGO) opened an investigation on October 10 into a case of possible abuse of power involving Ukrainian oligarch Petro Poroshenko, former secretary of the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC) and one of the staunchest allies of presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko during the Orange Revolution, Ukrainian and international news agencies reported. Mr. Poroshenko is officially suspected of "hampering the legitimate business activity of two companies constructing a building" in Kyiv's historic center. He is also suspected of having sought a bribe from the companies for a permit to continue construction, according to Reuters. He has denied the allegations, saying a business-

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Well-known lawyer...

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However, the procurator general's position is much more powerful than that of the justice minister, said Ivan Lozowy, president of the Kyiv-based Institute of Statehood and Democracy, which is exclusively financed by Ukrainian business donations.

Moreover, Mr. Holovatyi may run aground in his conflict with Mr. Piskun because the latter is an "incredibly sly fellow" who's obviously been dragging his feet in investigating Gongadze's murder, Mr. Lozowy added.

However, enough Ukrainians may be dissatisfied with Mr. Piskun to give Mr. Holovatyi ground to stand on.

"I know people in the Procurator (General's Office) who are asking me what the hell is going on," Mr. Lozowy said. "People taking part in the Orange Revolution are telling me corruption is as bad as ever under Piskun. He blocks or closes or delays investigations touching the powerful and the mighty. They're throwing their hands up in the air, saying 'We believed Yushchenko, and now we have Piskun.'"

Mr. Piskun was re-appointed procurator general in December 2004 after he sued the Ukrainian government, arguing that Mr. Kuchma illegally fired him in October 2003.

When Mr. Yushchenko took over the presidency, he kept Mr. Piskun on.

However, Mr. Piskun threatened to revert to the courts again if he were to be fired. "One must not fire a person, even a street cleaner, without legal grounds," he said.

Another concern political experts have is that Mr. Holovatyi has proven that he rarely toes the party line in politics, which can be interpreted in both a positive and a negative light.

Mr. Kuchma fired Mr. Holovatyi from the Justice Ministry shortly after he introduced the "Clean Hands" program to fight corruption, Mr. Lozowy said.

"My worry is that Serhii doesn't burn himself out in a futile battle against Piskun rather than doing some good, such as announcing a 'Clean Hands' campaign, which Yushchenko would probably welcome," Mr. Lozowy said.

Unlike many Ukrainian politicians, Mr. Holovatyi's past is virtually spotless, experts said, giving him the moral authority to battle corruption.

Mr. Holovatyi once again demonstrated his individualist bent when he voted to support Mr. Yushchenko's choice for prime minister, Yurii Yekhanurov. He was a member of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc at the time and, for his betrayal, party leaders promptly booted him.

However, in voting for Mr. Yekhanurov, Mr. Holovatyi was able to demonstrate his loyalty to President Yushchenko, experts said.

Mr. Holovatyi was born in Odesa on May 29, 1954, according to the biography submitted to Who's Who in Ukraine. He defended his dissertation and earned his law degree from Shevchenko University in Kyiv in 1980.

As a founding member of the National Rukh of Ukraine, Mr. Holovatyi was at the forefront of Ukraine's drive for independence from the Soviet Union.

"He's a fighter," Mr. Lozowy said. "When he was head of the Kyiv organization of Rukh in August 1991, his proposal at the time was to build barricades in order to defend Ukraine's fragile independence."

Mr. Holovatyi has served as a national deputy in all four sessions of the Verkhovna Rada since independence.

He has "undergone an excellent path as a lawyer both in Ukraine and abroad," President Yushchenko noted.

Mr. Holovatyi has served on Rada committees involving international relations and law. When he was appointed justice minister, he was away in Strasbourg, France,

attending the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), where he chaired its rights committee.

Mr. Yushchenko's decision to let go of Mr. Zvarych, who caused the administration's first scandal, came as little surprise to observers. However, Mr. Zvarych told the Inter TV network on October 13 that the president had not explained to him the reason for his dismissal.

Controversy had erupted in mid-February, when Mr. Zvarych threatened to resign as justice minister after the entire Cabinet of Ministers voted to support a bill that would ban Ukrainians from engaging in oil re-exportation. Oil re-exportation involves buying oil from foreign countries, namely Russia, and reselling it to other foreign countries.

Ministers wanted to ban the practice in order to prevent oil trading from destabilizing Ukraine's domestic market and prices, as well as to guarantee adequate supplies for Ukrainian agricultural enterprises. Ukraine has frequently confronted a deficit of oil and petroleum products for agricultural use.

Mr. Zvarych was against the proposal, and the reason became obvious. His wife, Svitlana, is an assistant manager for Oil Transit, a firm that buys oil from Russia and resells it to other countries.

In their defense, Mrs. Zvarych told the Internet news site Trybuna that her husband made the threat because she was forced to sell her oil to Ihor Yermeyev, a major shareholder in the Halychyna oil refinery.

Mr. Yermeyev, however, was involved in illegal financial schemes that threatened to drag in both her and her husband, as well as besmirch the new Yushchenko government, she alleged.

Eventually, President Yushchenko agreed to allow oil re-exportation, defending his decision by stating that if the government were to ban one commodity from re-exportation, then it could potentially ban many others.

That defense is weak, Mr. Lozowy said, because the Ukrainian government routinely bans re-exportation of other commodities, such as hard currency, sugar and milling wheat.

In Mr. Lozowy's view, the decision was a personal favor to Mr. Zvarych and the first indication that it was going to be business as usual in the Ukrainian government, despite the promises made on the Maidan (Independence Square).

"Yushchenko made a personal decision in favor of a person who was close to him at the time," Mr. Lozowy said. "Roman [Zvarych] traveled with Yushchenko to Austria to the clinic. He was pretty close to Yushchenko during the campaign. Yushchenko, without getting into details, made the decision on a personal level."

The straw that broke the camel's back for Mr. Yushchenko was Mr. Zvarych's role in assisting Yulia Tymoshenko in her alleged misdealings surrounding the Nikopol Ferroalloy Plant, political experts said.

Ruslan Boichenko accused Mr. Zvarych of calling him and demanding that he execute orders to install the court-appointed managers who represented the Pryvat Group, Mr. Lozowy said.

When firing his Cabinet on September 8, Mr. Yushchenko accused Ms. Tymoshenko of trying to swing control of the Nikopol Ferroalloy Plant to the Pryvat Group, which includes Dnipropetrovsk billionaire Ihor Kolomoyskyi.

In exchange, Ms. Tymoshenko was seeking influence in the 1 + 1 TV network, Mr. Yushchenko alleged.

When he refused to carry out Mr. Zvarych's orders, Mr. Boichenko alleged that the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Judicial Administration sent for him and forced him to sign a resignation letter.

"They apparently weren't doing what they should have been doing, which is the last phase of putting in directors from Pryvat," Mr. Lozowy said.



President Viktor Yushchenko introduces Serhii Holovatyi as Ukraine's new minister of justice on October 10.

Mr. Zvarych's actions might have been illegal, considering that Ukraine's Constitution requires government officials to act only within the limits of their authority, Mr. Lozowy said.

"If the justice minister is not authorized to discuss with or pressure a court executor, that's illegal," Mr. Lozowy said. "If he's exceeded his authority, then that's a crime - not that it isn't done every day."

At a September 12 press conference responding to the allegations, Mr. Zvarych said he did nothing illegal.

However, Mr. Zvarych's most notorious scandal proved to be his embellishment of his resume.

For eight years, Mr. Zvarych had claimed that he earned a master's degree in philosophy from Columbia University.

Although Mr. Zvarych said he had completed at least eight graduate-level courses at Columbia University, he finally acknowledged that he was never awarded a master's degree.

His résumé also contained other embellishments and lies, including a claim that he was a New York University professor when, according to an NYU spokesman, he was a part-time lecturer.

Mr. Zvarych also claimed to have been an assistant professor at Columbia University, a tenure-track position, when in fact he was an unpaid teaching assistant.

"For nine months that's a lot of scandals for one minister," Mr. Lozowy said. "It's his lack of judgment. First picking a public fight with Tymoshenko and putting a stop to a decision supported by everyone in the Cabinet, then switching sides and trying to appease her by putting pressure

on judges in trying to take over Nikopol."

Political experts agree that Mr. Zvarych's future in Ukrainian politics, if he has any future, will be a steep uphill climb.

"He, as well as [Yevhen] Chervonenko [former minister of transport and communications] and [Petro] Poroshenko [former secretary of the National Security and Defense Council] must go through the period of political rehabilitation," Mr. Fesenko said. "They should renew a positive political image and set new political positions, most likely in Our Ukraine."

In the meantime, Mr. Zvarych has already rolled up his sleeves in the legal field, announcing on October 11 that he will defend a wealthy Ukrainian oligarch in court.

His client? None other than Mr. Poroshenko. Builders are accusing him of trying to bribe them in order to take control of a multi-story apartment building.

Final Cabinet post is filled

KYIV - President Viktor Yushchenko on October 12 appointed Yurii Poliachenko as health minister, thus completing the formation of Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov's Cabinet of Ministers. Dr. Poliachenko, 42, an orthopedist/traumatologist who was director of Cuba's medical rehabilitation center in 1995-1998, was deputy health minister in 2002-2003 and deputy secretary of the National Security and Defense Council in 2003-2005. Of the 25 Cabinet members appointed by Mr. Yushchenko within the past three weeks, 11 are new appointments. (RFE/RL Newsline, Ukrinform)

announced to revise what happened to them, then the first label applied to the political powers is: this government came to divide assets."

President Yushchenko then echoed Ms. Tymoshenko, who said he struggled with firing his Cabinet until the very last minute because he realized it would disappoint millions of Ukrainians.

"To exhaust a nation is unallowable, and to cause a nation suffering because you couldn't and don't want to find agreement is a very expensive political path that would only lead to ruin," he told the crowd.

The Our Ukraine People's Union will run for the March 2006 parliamentary elections separate from the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc, a coalition of several parties, including Ms. Tymoshenko's Batkivschyna Party.

Recent polls show that the most popular parties or blocs are the Our Ukraine People's Union, Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc, Volodymyr Lytvyn's People's Party of Ukraine and Viktor Yanukovich's Party of the Regions.

Yushchenko promotes...

(Continued from page 1)

Investors plan to expand production to include asphalt, plastic and food items, creating almost 20,000 new jobs, according to Uriadovyi Kurier, the official newspaper of the government's executive branch.

Also signing the memorandum were representatives of the investing companies, Naftohaz Director Oleksii Ivchenko and Lviv Oblast Administration Chair Petro Oliinyk.

Following his visit to the economic summit, President Yushchenko addressed an audience of about 20,000 supporters in Lviv, where he defended his decision to fire former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko.

He blamed her for Ukraine's economic difficulties, citing a decline in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth from 6.5 percent in January to just 1.6 percent in August.

"Why is investment declining?" Mr. Yushchenko asked. "Because if hunting is announced against every enterprise, and if a list of thousands of enterprises is

Latest Harry Potter...

(Continued from page 1)

portrayed the wizard in the movie series.

Mr. Yerko is the rare person involved in the Ukrainian translation who has yet to read a single Harry Potter novel. "I will read the whole series after the seventh novel is released," Mr. Yerko said at the book release.

The Harry Potter translation team consisted of nine workers who toiled through the translation project without taking time off for weekends or vacations.

Viktor Morozov bought the novel in Amsterdam on July 16, the release date, and started work immediately. He spent 16 hours a day in his Washington office translating the novel, sending it in parts to Mr. Malkovych by e-mail.

The early translation wasn't the only surprise for Ukrainian Harry Potter fans. In the middle of one of the 70,000 books, the phrase "Zoloty Harry" is written in the margins.

Mr. Malkovych said his publishing house would give a free computer and the whole Harry Potter series printed in Ukrainian to the owner of this book.

The book presentation became a festival for children, who enthusiastically chanted the right answers in

response to Harry Potter trivia questions that Mr. Malkovych shouted above the crowd.

It was very difficult to choose a winner since the children started crying out the answers before Mr. Malkovych even finished his questions. "I was frightened, because these kids know absolutely everything about Harry Potter," he said afterwards.

Their knowledge isn't surprising, considering many of the avid Harry Potter fans said they have read each novel six, seven and even eight times.

"I liked the fifth book ['Harry Potter and the Order of Phoenix'] more than others," said Ivan, 10. "There are many interesting adventures, magical and funny situations, and his friends always support him."

While about 30 children won free books, parents had the chance to buy the new book at its specially discounted price of \$5 – half as much as in book shops, where the price is almost \$10.

As a result, many guests bought several books, and more than 600 copies were sold by the end of the day, Mr. Malkovych said.

Before the release date, Mr. Malkovych gave about 100 copies to each book shop in Kyiv. By the end of the first week, the books had already sold out, according to

promoters.

"This book is an undoubted leader in children's literature sales," said Olha Ponomariova, the deputy director of the Kyiv book shop Litera.

The Ukrainian translation historically has been much better than the Russian official translation, along with the quality of paper and book's design, Ms. Ponomariova pointed out. That's the main reason Ukrainian copies were swept off the bookshelves so quickly, she said.

"We were luckier than other bookshops because we received 180 copies for being a big shop," Ms. Ponomariova said. "If we had received more, we would have sold all of them as well."

In order to satisfy the needs of young readers, about 50,000 additional copies will be printed this week.

Some Ukrainian editions will even seep into Russia's book market, where the Russian translation won't appear until December this year.

It is unknown how many Russian-language editions have sold in Ukraine in the past several years, compared to the Ukrainian-language versions.

However, in both countries, readers bought several million copies of the Russian-language edition, compared to 300,000 of the Ukrainian version.

This is the case despite the fact that critics said the Russian-language version of the fourth novel, "Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire," was poor, and the Ukrainian version was the first translation of the novel anywhere that year.

Harry Potter is promoting the Ukrainian language, and children are finally starting to read books in their native language, Mr. Malkovych said. Moreover, Harry Potter is getting kids to actually read, since many have gotten used to playing computer games and watching television.

"I read three books about Harry Potter, all in Ukrainian," said Severyn, 9. "I like that there are different adventures in the books, and I think Ron and Hermione were good friends of Harry."

Among those attending the book release was Valentyn Tykhenkyi, a 12-year-old who looks very similar to the movie actor who played Harry Potter. His classmates even gave him the nickname "Harry Potter" for his strong resemblance to the famous young wizard, including the circular lenses of his glasses.

Valentyn said he read all five novels in Ukrainian and would like to have friends like Harry Potter's.

Not all Ukrainians are enthusiastic about Harry Potter. Vsevolod Nestaiko, a leading author of Ukrainian children's literature, said some religious people think the book is anti-Christian, though he doesn't agree.

One sign of the changing times is the fact that many Ukrainian parents said they read their children the Harry Potter stories instead of old traditional fairy tales.

"This book can change present-day children," said Halyna Ivasiuk, who came to the Ukrayinskyi Dim with her two daughters, age 4 and 12. "Our children are too pragmatic. And this book teaches friendship, sympathy and the emotional experience. It teaches how to be human."

Bone marrow donors sought for N.J. man

WHIPPANY, N.J. – Friends of Paul Baran, 43, of Cedar Knolls, N.J., who is active in the Ukrainian communities of Whippany and Passaic, are seeking bone marrow donors to help Mr. Baran, who was recently diagnosed with leukemia.

The Community Blood Services, and its HLA Registry division, will perform bone marrow typing and blood drives on two dates:

- Sunday, October 30, 9 a.m.-2 p.m., at St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church, 216 President St., Passaic, NJ 07055; and

- Sunday, November 6, 9 a.m.-2 p.m., at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, 80 Route 10 East (Corner of South Jefferson Road and Route 10 east-bound), Whippany, NJ 07981.

Those who are tested will be entered into the National Marrow Donor Program's registry of volunteer marrow donors.

Anyone between the ages of 18 and 60 who is in good health can potentially become a volunteer donor. Readers may log on to www.communitybloodservices.org for more information on the importance of registering as a marrow donor.

A testing fee of \$30 is charged for each person tested. To help defray the cost of being tested, several organizations and companies are being contacted to determine if they would be interested in covering the fee. Depending on the level of sponsorship, the \$30 per person testing fee may be reduced or even eliminated.

For further information, readers may contact Maria or Joe Shatynski at (973) 599-9381.



Yana Sedova

Publisher Ivan Malkovych shouts trivia questions to more than 200 young Harry Potter fans at the book release party held on October 6 at the Ukrayinskyi Dim in Kyiv.

The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: September

Amount	Name	City		
\$250.00	Leonard L. and Helena Mazur	Mountain Lakes, N.J.		
\$100.00	Halyna Breslawec Helen Fedoriw Neonila Sochan	Potomac, Md. Clifton, N.J. Morristown, N.J.		
\$60.00	Wolodymyr Petryshyn	Cranford, N.J.		
\$55.00	Ross Chomiak Linda Gregor Yurij Holowinsky Alex Kramarchuk Michael Samotowka Dennis Stachiv M. Swinchuck Stephen Szyszka Wolodymyr Wronskij	Washington, D.C. Highland Park, N.J. Leesburg, Va. Jupiter, Fla. Huntsville, Ala. Middlesex, N.J. Hicksville, N.Y. Burke, Va. Greenlawn, N.Y.		
\$50.00	I. Bardyn Lidia Bodnar-Cloherty Irene Hlushevsky Michael McGrath Bohdan Puzyk Oleh Sydor	Toronto, Ontario South Boston, Mass. Harrison, N.Y. Franklin Square, N.Y. Darien, Conn. Glen Ellyn, Ill.		
\$45.00	Walter Bula Nellie Federkiewicz Roxolana Kashuba Jaroslaw Semkiw	Columbus, N.J. Hartford, Conn. Washington, D.C. Boiling Springs, Pa.		
\$30.00	Nickolas Milanytch Walter Motyka	Waterford, Conn. North Port, Fla.		
\$25.00	Andrew Bihun Lydia Hajduczok Milas Lebedovych Martha Lewicky Vasyl Luchkiw Anya Shepelavey Walter Swrydenko Gloria Tolopka Nadia Topolnicki	Silver Spring, Md. West Orange, N.J. Savannah, Ga. Harrington Park, N.J. New City, N.Y. Columbia, Md. Cleveland, Ohio Deer Park, N.Y. Pompano Beach, Fla.		
\$20.00	Ihor Ambroziak Michael Bochno Gregory Burbelo Borys Harmaty Wasyl Karpenko Irynej Prokopovych Anna Tiutiunnyk	Vancouver, Wash. Toronto, Ontario Westerly, R.I. New York, N.Y. Monroe, Mich. Calabasas, Calif. Henderson, Nev.		
			Virlana Tkacz Sophie Zaplitny	New York, N.Y. Battle Creek, Mich.
\$15.00	Bohdan Bejger Roy Gajdalo Iwan Haftkowycz Darka Hawryshkiw Michael Lysko Ihor Mirchuk George Slusarczuk Gregory Szczerbaniuk	Buffalo, N.Y. Philadelphia, Pa. Trenton, N.J. Rochester, N.Y. Leesport, Pa. Willow Grove, Pa. Monroe, N.Y. Joliet, Ill.		
\$10.00	Christine Bonacorsa Tamara Constantyn Vitaly Halich Wasyl Kiec Yurko Lonyszyn Melanie Platosh Michael and Oksana Saldyt Paul Shewchuk	Belleville, N.J. Warren, Mich. Benson, Ariz. Franklin Park, N.J. Somerset, N.J. Portland, Ore. Amherst, N.Y. Latham, N.Y.		
\$6.00	Boris Danik	North Caldwell, N.J.		
\$5.00	Sonya Arko Lesia Bekersky Maria Dorozynsky Wolodymyr Dyhdalo Mary Hanitz Merle and Bonnie Jurkiewicz B. and H. Kandiuk Roman Kopychuk Michael Krywulych John Losko Bozhena Olshaniwsky Stefan Terlezki	Chicago, Ill. Whitesboro, N.Y. North Port, Fla. Troy, Mich. West Senega, N.Y. Toledo, Ohio Glen Spey, N.Y. St. Augustine, Fla. Amsterdam, N.Y. Chicago, Ill. Newark, N.J. Cardiff CF2, Wales		
TOTAL: \$2,316.00				
<i>Sincere thanks to all contributors to The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund.</i>				
<i>The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund is the sole fund dedicated exclusively to supporting the work of this publication.</i>				



THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Report of the Auditing Committee of the Ukrainian National Association

The Auditing Committee, in accordance with the UNA By-Laws, on September 20-22, 2005, conducted a review of the operations of the Ukrainian National Association for 2004 and the first six months of 2005. The previous audit was conducted on November 16-18, 2004. The Auditing Committee's plan of action consisted of reviewing the implementation of resolutions of the 35th Convention of the UNA, the activity of the financial and organizing departments, UNA publications, and the administrative and financial state of the UNA resort Soyuzivka, and other matters. As a result of its review, the Auditing Committee reports the following.

1. Resolutions of the 35th Convention of the UNA

The convention decided to hold the 36th Convention at Soyuzivka. In accordance with this decision, a Convention Committee was established; it has already held two meetings. The committee is planning the next convention of the UNA for May 26-29, 2006.

2. Financial Department

For the 12 months of 2004, the UNA's operating losses were \$1,926,000, or \$107,000 less than the previous year. For the first six months of 2005 the UNA had operating losses of \$504,874, or \$487,000

less than in the first six months of 2004.

The UNA Corporate Headquarters building was profitable in 2004 by the sum of \$259,000, or \$63,000 more than in the previous year. For the first six months of 2005 the profit was \$98,000.

The UNA's reserves as of the end of 2004 were \$1,036,000 less than in the previous year. They further decreased by \$407,000 during the first six months of 2005 and now stand at \$4,854,000. The deficit of Soyuzivka and UNA publications contributed to the decrease in the UNA's reserves.

The finances of the UNA were reviewed for 2003 and 2004 by an independent public auditing firm. The report of their audit did not contain any comments.

The state auditors of New Jersey focused attention on the matter of escheats, that is, unclaimed assets, which in accordance with the law must be transferred for safekeeping to the state government. The UNA transferred \$56,000 of these unclaimed assets to the appropriate states. Debts are being further analyzed.

3. Organizing Department

In 2004 385 new policies for \$8,541,000 of insurance were sold. This number includes 58 policies for the sum of \$1,183,000 sold by the Western Catholic Union, which works for us only in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio and



The UNA Auditing Committee (from left): Yaroslav Zavytsky, Dr. Zenon Holubec and Dr. Alexander Serafyn.

Florida. In view of the favorable percentage rate, the UNA gained 86 annuities accounts totaling \$1,850,000.

Evaluating the work of individuals, the following five persons deserve commendations for their work in 2004: Lubov Striletsky who enrolled 20 members insured for \$1,881,000; Christine Brodyn, who enrolled 19 members insured for \$170,000; Myron Pylypiak, who enrolled 17 members insured for \$151,000; Steve Woch, who enrolled 16

members insured for \$231,000; and Nina Bilchuk who enrolled 11 members insured for \$85,000.

The UNA now has 19 districts in the United States, four districts in Canada, and 200 branches in both countries.

4. UNA Publications, Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly

As of the end of 2004, the number of

(Continued on page 18)



Do you know why we're so happy?

Our parents and grandparents invested in our future by purchasing an endowment and life insurance policy for each of us from the Ukrainian National Association, Inc.

They purchased prepaid policies on account of the low premium rate for our age group. If you'd like to be smiling like us, please have your parents or grandparents call the UNA at 1-800-253-9862. They will be happy to assist you!

You are cordially invited to honor the memory of
Rev. Nestor Dmytriw (1863-1925),
a great Ukrainian Catholic leader and pioneer
of North America
on the occasion of
the 80th anniversary of his death
on
on Sunday, October 23, 2005

Reverend Nestor Dmytriw (1863 - 1925)

- 1st Ukrainian Catholic priest to celebrate Liturgy in Canada
- Auditor of the UNA
- 2nd Editor of Svoboda (1895-1897)
- 2nd UNA National Secretary
- Pastor of St. Vladimir Church, Elizabeth, N.J. and St. John's, Newark, N.J.
- Accomplished author

at

Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church
at the corner of Bloy Street and Liberty Avenue
Hillside, N.J. 07205
for the following:

- 11:00 a.m. Divine Liturgy in Fr. Dmytriw's memory
- 12:30 p.m. Panachyda at Evergreen Cemetery
Consecration of his tombstone
- 1:00 p.m. Reception and light lunch in Parish Hall
with a talk on Rev. Dmytriw's legacy given
by a UNA representative.

For directions visit our website at
www.byzantines.net/immaculateconception.
Telephone: (908) 352-8823.

The luncheon is complimentary
and is sponsored by the UNA.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Promises of the maidan

The promises of Maidan Nezalezhnosti (Independence Square, the epicenter of the Orange Revolution) no doubt are on everyone's mind, both in Ukraine and here in the diaspora, in the wake of the recent political crisis in Ukraine that saw President Viktor Yushchenko sacking his entire Cabinet and other administration officials.

As this week's issue of The Weekly was being prepared, the news came that the president had made his last two Cabinet appointments; out of 25 slots in the "new" Cabinet of Ministers, 11 are new appointees. The question everyone now has is: Will the new (or should we say revamped?) team work toward realizing the hopes of the maidan and move Ukraine ahead on the road to true democracy?

And the question is asked for good reason. Many have been disappointed by Mr. Yushchenko's deal with his former archrival Viktor Yanukovich, parts of which negate the victories won on the maidan. We refer specifically to the provisions that call for immunity from prosecution for deputies on local councils (shamefully, the president signed the relevant bill into law on October 5; two days later he said he would contest the law in the country's Constitutional Court) and for amnesty for those who committed election fraud during the 2004 presidential elections.

Readers will probably recall that, as the 14th anniversary of Ukraine's independence approached in August, there already were questions about whether the promises of the maidan were being kept. In his address to the people of Ukraine on the occasion of Independence Day, President Yushchenko had counseled patience, but at the same time assured the public that the clean-up of government would continue.

Just over two weeks later, on September 8, President Yushchenko dismissed the entire Cabinet of Ministers, which had deteriorated into a collection of squabbling special interests. Addressing the Verkhovna Rada on September 20, the day of the first vote on his prime minister-designate, Yuriy Yekhanurov, Mr. Yushchenko said his new team would be a group of "pragmatists" who could "work actively for the benefit of Ukraine for the next seven months" – that is, the period leading up to Ukraine's parliamentary elections. Two days later he concluded his package deal with other Viktor.

That agreement (which, at best, could be described as *realpolitik*) was a raw deal for the people of Ukraine who believed, really believed, in Mr. Yushchenko.

Are we being too idealistic? Perhaps. But hundreds of thousands had gathered on the maidan in Kyiv and millions of others around the country had supported the Orange Revolution. This is President Yushchenko's constituency – a constituency that now feels used, betrayed.

What Ukraine sorely needs is for its leaders to go back to the ideals of the maidan, which was not a passing or desultory phenomenon, but a true awakening of the people of Ukraine. It is now up to President Yushchenko and his team to rekindle that spirit and tap into it for the benefit of the entire nation. After all, as President Yushchenko said recently upon accepting the Philadelphia Liberty Medal: "The Ukrainian nation chose its democratic way to the future. We will never turn back."

Oct.
18
1998

Turning the pages back...

There will be a North American Ukrainian diaspora in the year 2020, reported The Ukrainian Weekly on October 18, 1998. That was the verdict heard loud and clear at The 2020 Conference sponsored by the Ukrainian American

Professionals and Businesspersons Association (UAPBA) of New York and New Jersey over the previous weekend in East Hanover, N.J.

The question of whether there will be a diaspora for the next generation and whether that matters "to us, to our descendants and to Ukraine" was one of many posed during the two-day conference attended by more than 120 persons from various communities and diverse organizations scattered throughout the United States and Canada.

Bohdan Vitvitsky, a founder of the UAPBA and its president, guided the conference from its germination as an idea to its conclusion. Setting the stage for the four panel presentations that were to follow, Dr. Vitvitsky offered that "there are three views of our community": the first says "don't worry, we're on automatic pilot"; the second that "only Ukraine matters"; and the third, which he referred to as "the sky is falling, the sky is falling" view, is that "we as a diaspora are doomed to near immediate extinction."

"I and some of my colleagues do not subscribe to any of these views. And, it is in part our disagreement with all of these views that has prompted us to organize this conference," he explained. "I believe that there are still far too many of us who care about what we have inherited to allow our community to disappear," he stated. "It does matter a great deal whether there is a diaspora in the year 2020, and the reasons it does are numerous."

Among the reasons Dr. Vitvitsky cited were: "the diaspora is a transmission belt for a rich and distinctive cultural, religious and intellectual heritage created over centuries on two continents"; the diaspora serves as a "counterweight to the vulgarity and moral imbecility of so much that passes for popular culture in North America today"; the Ukrainian ethos is "an endangered species"; Ukraine still needs our help; and, finally, "we owe it to ... the millions upon millions of Ukrainians ... who fought and died to preserve that which was handed down to us – to stay the course and keep our blood-and-tear-soaked heritage and traditions alive both for our children and grandchildren."

Dr. Vitvitsky outlined what is needed for the diaspora to survive and thrive: "we must understand that the community's future depends on us"; "we must come to understand that we're all in this together" and take advantage of the synergies that we have; we need "a renewed commitment"; "we must learn to market and promote the community's value and attractiveness to ourselves and our children"; and we "need to strengthen the intellectual base for our continued existence."

Source: "The 2020 Conference says: yes, the diaspora will survive," by Roma Hadziewicz, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 18, 1998, Vol. LXVI, No. 42.

IN THE PRESS

Commentaries on developments in post-Orange Revolution Ukraine

Tetyana Soroka, writing in the September 28 issue of *Ukrayinska Pravda* (as translated for The Ukraine List by Nykolai Bilaniuk):

The first anniversary of the Orange Revolution is approaching. It was an unforgettable time that changed the Ukrainian people once and for all time. ... We will never be the way we were before, and precisely because of that we are entitled to demand from the government continuing change for the better.

... what did the maidan mean to me personally?

... we, my friends and my family, chose our fate and our path. We chose a country, in which our children will grow up. We went into the streets in defense of the truth. We chose leaders who will represent our people with dignity before the world community, and will become for us symbols of our new and better life. We chose a leader who, we believed, was worthy of being nothing less than our national leader.

We did not choose a god with a painted-on halo, who would suddenly change the words "dear friends" into a false familiarity with any and everybody, degrading phrases and a superior attitude. We did not choose a clique of hypocrites with boundless ambitions. We did not choose corrupt fat cats, or wretched liars, or shameless bureaucrats for sale.

Thank God, we came home from the revolution alive and healthy.

However, Mr. Yushchenko, please remember every single day that in the days of the revolution your ascent to power depended on us gambling our lives. We were ready to die in battle against lies and injustice, in battle for a better future.

Are you up to the task, not for your own benefit, but for my benefit and for my son who is still young?

Commentary by Andrew Osborn, "Democracy in Ukraine: The Bitter Taste of the Orange Revolution," in the September 28 issue of *The Independent Online Edition*:

The Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko will be feted by the queen in London next month and lauded by Cherie Blair for his role in last year's "Orange Revolution," which ended a decade of Soviet-style authoritarianism.

The Royal Institute of International Affairs has decided to make him the first recipient of its prestigious Chatham House Prize, an honor bestowed on "the individual deemed to have made the most significant contribution to the improvement of international relations in the previous year."

The veteran Ukrainian politician has become accustomed to international plaudits ...

Few leaders of former Soviet republics get the chance to address the U.S. Congress or receive the rapturous reception which he did. Fewer still find themselves in the running for this year's Nobel Peace Prize. However, Mr. Yushchenko appears to be falling victim to a phenomenon which plagued a past winner of the Peace Prize, Mikhail Gorbachev. He was admired in the West for his role in peacefully bringing about an end to Communism but despised at home.

Mr. Yushchenko is sliding ever closer to the same paradox. Respected abroad, many are already accusing him of betraying the ideals of the Orange Revolution

he fathered. His critics allege that he has become so dazzled by international praise that he has taken his eye off the ball and presided over the replacement of one corrupt elite with another.

That he has broken his revolutionary promises, befriended the very people he railed against during the revolution, failed to stamp out corruption nationally, let alone among his own inner circle, and not made a sufficient break with the discredited methods of his Soviet-era predecessor Leonid Kuchma. His critics' message is stark: the revolution has not delivered on its early promise and shows no signs of doing so. ...

Adrian Karatnycky, writing on *foreignaffairs.org*, September 28:

... Yushchenko's actions are best understood not as a retreat from reform but rather as an effort to put the country back on the original path of last fall's Orange Revolution.

Many people lay claim to the legacy of Ukraine's non-violent civic struggle, but there is little doubt that the Orange Revolution was about three things: democracy, transparency and an economy based on competition. Indeed, one of the leading organized forces advocating change last winter, the Pora youth movement, consisted of thousands of young activists driven by a belief in liberal politics and free-market principles.

In keeping with this spirit, the recent government reshuffling reflected Yushchenko's frustration with a stalemate in his coalition government that had produced a rudderless economic policy, part statist, part liberal. ...

Some might argue that the political upheaval in Ukraine is a sign of disarray and instability. But nothing could be further from the truth. Yushchenko's appointment of the pro-EU Oleh Rybachuk as chief of staff and of the capable and steady [Yurii] Yekhanurov as prime minister should reassure Ukraine's entrepreneurial classes and the international business community.

At the same time, his decision to remove several aides accused of corruption – or at the very least tainted by perceptions of conflicts of interests – is likely to win wide support among Ukraine's citizens. ...

No matter how events play out in Kiev [sic]..., one thing is certain. The fact that Ukraine's people will in the end decide their own future is a testimony to the durability of last fall's non-violent people-power struggle.

Commentary by Serhii Rakhmanin in the September 24-30 issue of *Zerkalo Nedeli*:

... Too early were the people lulled by promises. Too soon was the nascent democracy hypnotized into lethargy. Too late did many of us wake up. Too painful was it to realize that we missed a unique chance. And it lets all of us down to admit that our long-cherished dream – to wake up in a normal country one sunny day – will remain a dream for years to come.

But very soon Ukraine may turn into what the former president wanted to see, because the ideas and ideals of maidan [Maidan Nezalezhnosti, or Independence Square, in Kyiv – site of mass protests during the Orange Revolution] were betrayed before Yushchenko signed a pact with [Viktor] Yanukovich, and before he

(Continued on page 12)



The things we do...

by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

Two solitudes on a train ride

I was taking the train from Lviv to Kyiv, the overnight "firmovyi" – business class – with two persons per coupe. My friend from Lviv kindly settled me into the cabin and, as I got accustomed to the surroundings, my roommate appeared. He was settled in by his son and family. The gentleman appeared to be in his 80s, elegant and quite spry, and all of 5-foot-4 or so.

He and his family spoke in Russian among themselves, and he certainly heard me speaking Ukrainian to my friend. Once we settled in and the train began to roll, we introduced ourselves, and started talking. I spoke in Ukrainian and he replied in Ukrainian. He was a native of Donetsk, but now lived in Kyiv, and had been visiting his son in Lviv.

He was a veteran of the Soviet air force of World War II, an officer, and as a "war invalid" had free transportation within Ukraine.

Because I admitted that this was my first time on a Ukrainian train, he explained all the routines and procedures to me. Usually with two passengers of the same sex, it did not matter when they changed for sleeping, when they went for washing up and all that. This time, he told me I could change while he was out washing up. I told him I was fine the way I was, comfortable in my travel clothes, and would sleep just like that. He certainly thought I was strange and just being shy because of him. I reassured him that I was perfectly comfortable and, in fact, had not planned on changing for the night.

He also could not understand why I had some carry-on bags at the foot of my bed. "Maybe you think someone would steal them? People are honest, honorable here." My explanation that I had so much stuff that it would not all fit under the bed seemed strange to him, and he just shook his head.

The very pleasant and efficient attendant brought us tea, and checked if we needed anything else. She spoke to all passengers in Ukrainian.

As the train rolled eastward we sat across from each other, sipped tea and talked. He spoke about the war, where he served (Drohobych), and how he was wounded and recovered. To my amazement, a few times he apologized to me that his Ukrainian may not be as good as it could be. He apologized to me!

His Ukrainian was just fine. He asked about me and was surprised that I was not from western Ukraine. I told him about my parents meeting in Germany as forced laborers, how we lived in the displaced persons camp, and then arrived as refugees in America. He asked why my parents did not return to Ukraine after the war. I replied that they had been in the Ukrainian underground, were "Banderivtsi" and did not want to go back to a Soviet Ukraine.

With palpable effort to be as polite as he could, and with apologies, he

explained to me. "The Banderivtsi were bandyty (bandits). All of them. They fought the Soviet Army. What kind of heroes were they? All they did during the war was to live underground in those 'kryivky' (underground bunkers). And they collaborated with the Germans."

I asked about all the executions of UPA and OUN members by the Nazis, and mentioned my mother seeing all those gallows in villages, towns and cities.

"You know why the Germans hanged them?" he said. "They hanged thieves. That's all they were, thieves. No, they were not an army. But they did kill the leaders of the kolhosps (collective farms). These were only trying to make a living. ... And you know, after the war, when people were called to meetings to tell about their experiences, all that they said was later published in the newspapers. We read all about how the UPA fought the Red Army ... You know, now those newspapers are not available anymore. Someone is destroying them. They want to hide the truth, what happened during and after the war ... And now they want us to recognize them as an army of the war? They fought us!..."

I did not bother telling him about microfilms, and how all that material is available. I asked if he remembered the Holodomor (the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933). At the time, he and his family were living in the Khmelnytsky Oblast.

"No, there was no famine. There was enough food. I was about 8-10. I remember. No, no one was hungry ... Well, maybe there was famine further away from us, like in Sumy. I think there was. We heard people were hungry there and in other places. ... But where we lived, we were fine... A lot of that was propaganda against the government. We were fine... The ones that were hungry were further away," he said.

Our conversation continued. I realized that I should ask a few questions now and then, and just listen to him reminisce. I sensed that he pitied me that I was so misinformed and indoctrinated about what had gone on, me with my "bandit" parents. For him, this was his truth. He was a product of his generation and system. I was a product of my generation and the experiences of my parents. That was the gulf between so many in Ukraine.

At least he spoke to me in his native language, probably for the first time in a long time, and I sensed that just this had a deep effect on him.

By that time it was late, and time for bed. I slept well, rocked gently by the train. It arrived punctually in Kyiv, my gentleman roommate and I shook hands, and I was welcomed by my friends, who were kindly quiet about the number of luggage pieces one person could have. All precious cargo – including the experience of the train ride.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Red, white, blue and orange

The breach that separates Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, two leading lights of Ukraine's Orange Revolution, is reminiscent of a similar division between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, principal architects of America's Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776.

Once close personal, even intimate friends, Adams and Jefferson became bitter enemies and political adversaries during the raucous election of 1800, described by one historian as "arguably the most important election in America's history."

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson could not have been more unlike in character and temperament.

Adams was frugal, vain, relatively poor and deeply religious. Born in Massachusetts Bay Colony, he was once a teacher and later a Harvard-educated lawyer. During the Revolutionary War he was a diplomat in France and Holland, and helped negotiate the peace settlement with Great Britain. After serving as minister to the Court of St. James, he returned to America to be elected vice-president under President George Washington. Unlike Jefferson, he considered the bloody French Revolution an abomination.

Jefferson was a multi-talented intellectual, a bon-vivant, a Francophile, a spend-thrift (always living beyond his means), wealthy (he owned a plantation with hundreds of slaves), and a Diest who admired Jesus Christ but did not believe in his divinity. Born in Virginia, he studied law at William and Mary College. In 1785 he succeeded Benjamin Franklin as minister to France. He served in President Washington's Cabinet as secretary of state.

Political tensions between Adams and Jefferson began to emerge during the first Washington administration, becoming pronounced during the second. Gradually, Adams became associated with the Federalists, who advocated a strong central government. Jefferson leaned towards the so-called Democrat-Republican position favoring states' rights. A reluctant candidate for president against Adams in 1796, Jefferson became Adams's vice-president when a flaw in the Constitution permitted an opponent with enough votes to serve as the victor's vice-president. The arrangement was doomed from the start.

In 1800 Jefferson ran against Adams during an incredibly brutal campaign. "Jefferson was subjected to ceaseless obloquy," writes historian John Freling in "Adams and Jefferson: The Tumultuous Election of 1800."

"As a young attorney he was said to have gulled his clients. His wartime conduct after 1776 had been deplorable. While others sacrificed, he had lived comfortably, 'secure in his retreat ... from the fangs of blood-thirsty foe,'" Prof. Freiling notes: The Federalists accused candidate Jefferson and his supporters of supporting the excesses of the French Revolution, embracing "the cant of jacobinical illiberality" and "a creed of atheism and revolution."

"One Federalist newspaper," writes Prof. Freling, "advised its readers to vote for 'God – and a Religious President or impiously declare for Jefferson – and no God.'"

Adams also was subject to slander and calumny, writes David McCullough in "John Adams." He was accused of being "a hideous hermaphroditical character which has neither the force and firmness of a man,

nor the gentleness and sensibility of a woman," a "repulsive pedant" and a miscreant bent on creating an American monarchy.

"In the early 19th century," writes Bernard A. Weisberger in "America Afire: Jefferson, Adams and the Revolutionary Election of 1800," "one British traveler would write a familiar-sounding complaint that 'defamation exists all over the world, but it is incredible to what extent this vice is carried in America.'"

The election of 1800 produced "striking ironies," according to Mr. McCullough. "Jefferson, the Virginia aristocrat and slave master who lived in a style fit for a prince, as removed from his fellow citizens and their lives as it was possible to be, was hailed as the apostle of liberty, the 'Man of the People.' Adams, the farmer's son who despised slavery and practiced the kind of personal economy and plain living commonly upheld as the American way, was scorned as an aristocrat who, if he could, would enslave the common people."

The differences that existed between Federalists and Democrat-Republicans regarding states' rights was not resolved until the Civil War, a struggle that resulted in more dead and wounded than any other American conflict.

Returning to the Yushchenko/Tymoshenko imbroglio, is it too much of a stretch to suggest that the flashy, effervescent Yulia, a woman who wheeled and dealt her way to riches during the past 15 years, and who now postures as a populist concerned with the welfare of "the masses," enjoys a kind of Jeffersonian persona?

Can Viktor be compared to Adams? Like Mr. Yushchenko, Adams was a plodding, careful leader with impeccable integrity. Adams did not die rich. Mr. Yushchenko probably won't either. Given the turmoil that characterized America's early years, especially among the founding fathers, should we be surprised by the tumult in Ukraine's political arena today? Like the early years of the American revolution, Ukraine is experiencing uncertainly, a clash of personal ambitions and a covetous neighbor ruled by an autocrat. Remember that the United States had to fight Great Britain twice to stabilize its independence.

Similarities between the two Americans and the two Ukrainians can only go so far. Presidents Adams and Jefferson were heirs of a British civic tradition that began with the Magna Carta of 1215. Ukraine has no such heritage. Adams and Jefferson were intellectuals, widely read children of the English Enlightenment. For better or for worse, Yulia and Viktor are children of the Soviet system. The ideals of John Locke, championing such human rights such as life, liberty and property, never took root in Ukraine. The only "rights" Ukrainians had under the Soviets was death, slavery and the gulag.

So, dear reader, fasten your seat belt! The coming year in Ukraine promises to be as volatile as anything Americans experienced over here.

In closing, it is of interest to note that thanks to Abigail Adams, America's two revolutionary icons did reconcile, enjoying a long correspondence in their twilight years. Both died on the same day, July 4, 1826, exactly 50 years after the Declaration of Independence. Amazing!

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Right star, song, but wrong movie

Dear Editor:

Alas, what has happened to the film buffs among The Weekly's readers?!

Back on September 11 Boris Danik of North Caldwell, N.J., in his letter praising Prof. Alexander Motyl's optimism on Ukraine (and I have no quarrel with that), wrote, "It reminds me of Marlon Brando's rendition 'Luck Be a Lady Tonight' in the movie 'A Streetcar Named Desire.'"

Right star, right song, wrong movie.

Brando sang it in "Guys and Dolls," a very different film from "Streetcar" – as New York is different from New Orleans, as Damon Runyon is different from Tennessee Williams, as Sky Masterson in a well-tailored suit is different from Stanley Kowalski in a sweaty T-shirt.

And I fully expected my fellow-film buffs to flood you with letters pointing this out. I have just gone through three issues of The Weekly since the September 11 issue, and there is nothing.

But I do agree with the rest of Mr. Danik's thoughts. And, like Mr. Danik, I would like to see more Sky Mastersons in Ukraine, because there is no shortage of

Stanley Kowalskis there, or in the diaspora.

Yes, "Luck Be a Lady Tonight," and every day in Ukraine! Sky Masterson is a successful risk-taker, and Stanley Kowalski is a brutish f-a-i-l-u-r-e. As I understand the gist of Mr. Danik's thoughts, Ukraine needs more of the former.

And as an American citizen living most of the time in Ukraine, I fully endorse Mr. Danik's view that the idea to grant Ukrainian citizenship to any ethnic Ukrainian living abroad, "ranks somewhere between the bizarre and mindless." Commitment, like skepticism, is a virtue. Fence-sitting is just uncomfortable.

R.L. Chomiak
Washington

Half-time score for Ukraine

Dear Editor:

The capacity to mess up was proved again to be at least as possible as optimistic predictions. This appears to be the half-time score from Ukraine's government crisis, sparked by the dismissal by President Viktor Yushchenko of his

entire team. It looked like someone pulled the wrong rabbit or stepped on the wrong pedal, with the president mixing drastic measures with blame for all but himself.

Viktor Yanukovich commented that the president made the right decision – an indication that it could not be worse.

In the months after the Orange Revolution, Ukraine appears to continue not living up to the expectations of potential Western investors. Business regulations are stifling, corruption is not visibly subsiding, and jitters persist about possible re-privatization.

None of the same symptoms (and worse) deterred Western investors from plowing \$9.3 billion into Russia in the first six months of 2005, nearly double that a year ago, despite recent depressing accounts of Russia's backsliding, e.g., in the Financial Times (July 14, 21 and 22), such as "Bribery in Russia Up Tenfold to \$31 billion in four years."

Besides the re-privatization of the Yukos oil consortium, President Vladimir Putin has been quietly increasing the state's share of ownership of the economy. The Financial Times reported on August 21 that a deal has been cut with Western banks to loan the Russian government \$7.3 billion to fund the government takeover of majority control of the natural gas giant Gazprom. This, according to experts, reflects the rapid rise in oil prices and the Kremlin's consent to lift restrictions on foreign ownership of the remaining shares.

Western investors' genial disposition was not extended to Ukraine's intent to acquire control of some wrongfully privatized assets. Anders Aslund, the American pro-market orator who at one time declared that Russia had successfully accomplished privatization, wrote in The Washington Post on May 20: "Yulia Tymoshenko has opted for an economic policy that appears to be socialist and populist," adding, "The biggest blow to the country has been the new government's foggy plans for re-privatization." That was just before President Yushchenko apologized for the actions of his prime minister, rebuked her and expressed his belief in the infallibility of the marketplace.

At this time little is publicly known about the specifics of the allegations of corruption in Mr. Yushchenko's circle. But cardinal mistakes by the leadership stand out:

The first error was the confused lines of authority between the National Security and Defense Council (where Petro Poroshenko held sway) and the government. The former repeatedly tried to change the decisions of the prime minister. In effect, the president divided the government into two parallel channels and then wondered why they didn't get along.

A second mistake violated the very essence of the Orange Revolution, and is succinctly stated in a New York Times editorial of September 9: "On dismissing the government, Mr. Yushchenko declared that his one goal was to assure stability. But the protesters (at Independence Square last fall) wanted change."

They may yet get change. Look out to see who gets to be prime minister after next spring's parliamentary elections – with increased powers, per the constitutional amendments taking hold in January 2006.

Boris Danik
North Caldwell, N.J.

Arthur Koestler in National Review

Dear Editor :

In the September 12 issue of National Review, British journalist and author David Pryce-Jones wrote an essay titled "Appreciation: A Man Who Knew His Century."

Arthur Koestler, born 100 years ago on September 5, 1905, in Budapest, was hailed as one who was able "to dramatize the epoch's defining struggle between democracy and totalitarianism" and who "powerfully dispelled the appeal of Communism" among European and world intellectuals. He is famous and best known for his political novel "Darkness at Noon," a grim interpretation of the Russian Revolution, Stalin's terrifying show trials and the horrible drama of Soviet prisons' environment. He dedicated his book to "the memory of the victims of the so-called Moscow Trials," several of whose victims "were known to the author" (Darkness at Noon, translated by Daphne Hardy, The Modern Library, N.Y. 1941).

Mr. Price-Jones noted that Koestler, a Hungarian Jew as a young man attended the University of Vienna; he became a Jewish nationalist, a Zionist. In 1926 he emigrated to British-controlled Palestine. Later he got a job as a journalist with a leading German publisher and moved in 1930 to Berlin, at the time when Hitler came to power. The idea that "Communism appeared to oppose Nazism" appealed to Koestler, who joined the Communist Party and moved to Moscow.

It is at this period of Koestler's life that we find his little-known connection with Ukraine. One can find a somewhat similar scenario or analogy with Walter Duranty.

Mr. Pryce-Jones writes: "The party commissioned him to write a travel book about the Soviet Union. Now he learned Russian, and in July 1932 he took a train to ... Kharkov [sic]. Much later – long after the commissioned travel book he wrote an account of that journey to analyze how he could so have deceived himself, but it still comes as a shock that someone of such superior intelligence could have observed the victims of Stalin's enforced Famine in Ukraine and rationalized the horror away. (The party published only an expurgated version of his original travel book. Some KGB archives must have the complete manuscript of what would be a major literary curiosity.)"

Mr. Koestler's further biography reads like a spy thriller. He left the Soviet Union, and while in Paris he continued to be active in the Comintern. He was almost executed in Franco's Spain as a Communist agent. After the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939, living in Paris, Koestler came to realize that "Communism in fact proved not to be the opposite of Nazism, but its kindred spirit." After his metamorphosis he wrote, in addition to "Darkness at Noon" (1940), several books condemning and exposing Communism, including "The Yogi and the Commissar" (1945), where he described the horrible scene from the Famine in Ukraine. Some of his descriptions are quoted in Robert Conquest's "The Harvest of Sorrow" (1986).

As Mr. Pryce-Jones writes above in his annotation about the KGB archives, Ukrainian historians and/or Ukrainian government officials should try to get the original (or a copy of Koestler's travel book) from Russian KGB archives, publish it and put it on display as a historical exhibit in the future Holodomor Memorial Museum.

Myroslaw Burbelo, M.D.
Westerly, R.I.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Ukrainian issues at the "Europe of Dialogue" convention in Gniezno

by José Casanova

The Sixth Gniezno Convention, dedicated to the theme "Europe of Dialogue: Being a Christian in a Pluralistic Europe," took place in Gniezno on September 16-18. The interfaith dialogue between Jews, Christians, and Muslims; the ecumenical dialogue between the Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant Churches; the dialogue between the European Union and the Christian Churches; the future of religion and the dialogue between Christian and secular people in Europe; the dialogue between nations, particularly Polish-German reconciliation and the place of post-Communist East and Central Europe in a United Europe were among the prominent themes of the plenary panels of the convention.

The morning session on September 17 was dedicated to the dialogue between the Christian Churches, with the participation of Cardinal Walter Kasper, president of the Pontifical Council for the Promotion of Christian Unity; Bishop Wolfgang Huber, president of the Council of the Evangelical (Lutheran) Church in Germany; and Bishop Hilarion of Vienna and Austria and a representative of the Russian Orthodox Church to the European institutions.

In his presentation "Can Europe Breathe with One Lung?" Bishop Hilarion stated that the ecumenical dialogue between the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches was developing positively. He said he was optimistic that the few serious theological issues dividing the two churches could be solved in the not too distant future.

However, Bishop Hilarion repeatedly emphasized that "Uniatism" was the main

stumbling block in the dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church. But, without waiting for the resolution of those differences he proposed "a strategic alliance" (from which he explicitly excluded the liberal Protestant Churches) against liberalism, relativism, secularism and atheism on moral and social issues on which both Churches, according to him, were in full agreement.

In the panel discussion, Bishop Hilarion once again attacked "Uniatism" and lamented the violent behavior of the Uniate faithful in Halychyna after the fall of communism when he said they forcefully and illegally appropriated Orthodox church properties. Even more vehemently he criticized the recent "inexplicable" move of Uniate "headquarters" from Lviv to Kyiv, arguing that the purpose of such a provocation could only be an expansionist plan of aggressive proselytizing of Uniatism beyond its "habitat."

In the final panel on Sunday afternoon, "Central Europe in the United Europe," the prospects of Ukraine joining the European Union in the future became one of the most debated issues. Ukraine's President Viktor Yushchenko, who had been scheduled originally to participate in the panel, was replaced by Myroslav Marynovych, vice-president of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, once it became known that President Yushchenko would be in the United States. The Polish representatives on the panel, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, former prime minister, and Wladislaw Bartozewski, former minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Poland, spoke emphatically, with full support of the large Polish audience, of the need for Ukraine to join the European Union.

The German representatives, former Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the chairman of the EPP-ED Group in the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Poettering, were more cautious, however, and spoke of the need to first complete the ongoing phase of integration of the EU's new 10 members.

José Casanova is professor of sociology at The New School for Social Research in New York. He took part in the Gniezno convention on the panel "A Post-Christian Continent or a New Springtime of the Church? What is the Future of Religion in Europe?"

FOR THE RECORD: Brzezinski at Roundtable VI in Washington

Following are excerpts from the keynote speech delivered by Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security advisor to U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and trustee and counselor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, at the conference *Ukraine's Quest for Mature Nation Statehood: Roundtable VI in Washington on September 28*.

Dr. Brzezinski focused his remarks on the Orange Revolution, which he called "a revolution of hope," adding that "it reflected some genuine feeling of true national identity that had now surfaced and which was defining itself in a democratic fashion." The revolution, he said, involved "a great deal of idealism, a hope for the better, a desire to cleanse the past and to cleanse it thoroughly"; "it was a real commitment, a serious commitment." He then turned to current developments in Ukraine.

... What is the relationship in all that is now happening between principle and opportunism?

What is the relationship between hope in its vague and defined fashion and the necessities of political life? How does one strike a realistic balance between the two?

One has to be conscious of the need for balance, because one cannot live forever on hope. But one can get indigestion from too much opportunism, and therefore there has to be a balance between the two.

The public, at some point, is going to ask: Were there crimes committed in the earlier era? And if there were crimes, will those responsible for them be brought to account? Or are they now to be forgotten?

The public is bound to ask if it has a memory, and it certainly does, because it was there at maidan making its commitment, a vow to a Ukrainian future that is better. Was there corruption, and if there was corruption, who were the corrupters? And who were the beneficiaries of the corruption, and what about their future?

The public is bound to ask: Was there nepotism and if there was nepotism, who was the beneficiary of the nepotism? And, further, is now all that to be swept under the rug? The public is bound to ask: Was there misuse of public office for personal gain, and if there was, is it

going to be tolerated in the future?

That agenda cannot be ignored, particularly after the dramatic, intense, nationwide political awakening after the marriage between independence and democracy, after the commitment to principle. That agenda cannot be ignored, and striking a balance, therefore, between hope and realism is a complicated and difficult task. ...

But the question does arise whether some of the "agenda of hope" implicit in maidan is not going to be obscured by the imperatives of political realism, which exists and which has to be recognized.

The importance to stress here is that, in the difficult and complicated Ukrainian reality, one has to be very careful not to engage in unrealistic idealism, which eventually creates ferment and confusion, but not to lean also the other way, in order to be realistic and generate thereby a degree of opportunism which then leads to public disillusionment, disappointment, apathy and loss of hope.

... It is also a fact that those who wish Ukraine ill would like to see the Orange Revolution discredited and the Orange Coalition permanently destroyed. They didn't like it when it appeared, they opposed it when it struggled, they have watched suspiciously its entrenchment in power and they have been delighted to see it fragment.

I found it amazing that a foreign ambassador – I emphasize, foreign ambassador – could hold a press conference in Ukraine in order to applaud Ukrainian decisions regarding Ukrainian changes of government, as if it was his business to determine what is right and wrong for the Ukrainian government to do.

I know some neighboring countries of Ukraine – I won't tell you which, but you can probably guess – in which, if a Russian ambassador made such a move, the next day he would be packing his bags or perhaps waiting for them to be delivered at the airport in Moscow, having arrived there the night before. That is food for thought, because it suggests that there are major interests interested in fragmenting the new spirit of hope in Ukraine, disintegrating it, reducing it to the level of banality, inducing cynicism and disappointment. ...

A CLOSER LOOK: Did Orange ruin the Ukrainian economy?

by Alexander J. Motyl

The conventional wisdom has it that Ukraine's economy went into a tailspin in 2005 and that this was entirely the fault of economic mismanagement by the Orange government of President Viktor Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. Accordingly, as that government pursued populist policies, rattled the business community and scared off foreign investors with misguided schemes of re-privatization, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) "plummeted."

The rather more mundane reality is that GDP growth rates did decline, but that Orange just can't be blamed for the lion's share of that decline.

Great story, lousy analysis

First of all, keep in mind that GDP has been growing steadily throughout 2005. What has declined, in comparison to 2004, is the rate of growth. That's a big difference.

The official numbers provided by the

Alexander J. Motyl is professor of political science at Rutgers University – Newark. His latest book is a novel, "Whiskey Priest," published by iUniverse.

State Statistics Committee of Ukraine – which are the figures that everyone writing about the Ukrainian economy routinely cites – nicely illustrate this decline. The figures below (see box) show year-on-year growth rates for 2004 and 2005.

The data show that 2004 was a great year for the Ukrainian economy. 2005 looks much worse (though do keep in mind that the 2005 figures are, when compared to other economies, quite respectable).

But look at the numbers more closely. While 2004 ended with a cumulative 12 percent GDP growth rate, in January 2005 GDP growth was only 6.5 percent. Clearly, the growth rate had already "plummeted" before the Orange government had even come to power.

Now, you can blame lots of things on a government, but you just can't hold it accountable for developments that preceded it. If you do, then you may as well attribute 2004's phenomenal growth rates to Mr. Yushchenko and Ms. Tymoshenko as well.

Now consider something else. As any policy-maker will tell you – and as anyone with a checkbook and salary knows – there is always a time lag between the

(Continued on page 21)

Year-on-year growth rates

January 2004 to January 2003	109.0 percent
January-February 2004 to January-February 2003	110.2 percent
January-March 2004 to January-March 2003	110.8 percent
January-April 2004 to January-April 2003	111.5 percent
January-May 2004 to January-May 2003	111.3 percent
January-June 2004 to January-June 2003	112.7 percent
January-July 2004 to January-July 2003	113.5 percent
January-August 2004 to January-August 2003	113.6 percent
January-September 2004 to January-September 2003	113.4 percent
January-October 2004 to January-October 2003	112.7 percent
January-November 2004 to January-November 2003	112.4 percent
January-December 2004 to January-December 2003	112.0 percent
January 2005 to January 2004	106.5 percent
January-February 2005 to January-February 2004	105.5 percent
January-March 2005 to January-March 2004	105.4 percent
January-April 2005 to January-April 2004	105.0 percent
January-May 2005 to January-May 2004	104.7 percent
January-June 2005 to January-June 2004	104.0 percent
January-July 2005 to January-July 2004	103.7 percent
January-August 2005 to January-August 2004	102.8 percent

Motyl speaks at Kennan Institute on paths chosen by Ukraine, Russia

by Alana Malick

WASHINGTON – The Kennan Institute on September 26 hosted a lecture by Alexander Motyl, deputy director of the Center for Global Change and Governance and professor in the department of political science at Rutgers University.

Dr. Alexander Motyl's lecture, titled "Two Cheers for Stagnation: Institutional Development and Democracy in Ukraine and Russia," offered an explanation for why Ukraine and Russia have diverged on such contrasting paths – the former toward democracy and the latter toward authoritarianism.

Arguing that "institution-building" is not a proper characterization of democratization, but that the process is actually one of "institution-rebuilding," Ukraine's developmental stagnation makes sense, according to Dr. Motyl, simply because rebuilding takes time.

Prof. Motyl said he believes that Russia's massive transformations over the past 15 years are evidence of coercive, democratic de-institutionalization. He contrasts this with Ukraine's modest evolution, which reflects the fact that cultural values and communist mentalities are slowly being discredited, allowing formal democratic processes and rule of law to dictate the functioning of civil society.

Authoritarian regimes show rapid transformation precisely because they disregard democratic rules and processes. If both Russia and Ukraine are so to speak "muddling through," Prof. Motyl argued that Russia's coerced institu-

tionalization is unfortunately a muddling down. Ukraine's fundamental changes, resulting essentially from the repetition of formal democratic processes, are on the other hand a "muddling up." In this sense, Prof. Motyl credited Ukraine's stagnation and the gradual evolution of its political culture with bringing about lasting institutional democratization.

Prof. Motyl's perspective on the Orange Revolution begins with the premise that formal democracy has in fact existed in Ukraine for 15 years. He believes, therefore, that the most interesting feature of the revolution is that, for the first time, the major political players more or less played by the prescribed democratic institutional rules. This alignment of political norms and public attitude with the rule of law, he said, is the most remarkable element of Viktor Yushchenko's rise to the presidency.

Prof. Motyl predicted the complete "Orangification" of the non-democratic opposition in Ukraine, as the institutionalization of democratic norms continues to force all political players to follow the rules of law in order to accomplish both political and economic objectives.

Prof. Motyl concluded his lecture by responding to an interesting question from a participant, who asked what the implications of Prof. Motyl's stagnation model are on the U.S. aid policy toward Ukraine. The speaker suggested that U.S. support of Ukrainian institution-building will have to be focused on long-term results. If the United States withdrawals training programs and reduces funding based on expectations of immediate change, then it is failing to appreciate the important institutional transformations that are taking place in Ukraine.



Prof. Alexander Motyl speaks at the Kennan Institute.

BOOK REVIEW

A study of *linguicide* of the Ukrainian language

"Ukrainian Language in the Twentieth Century: A History of Linguicide," edited by Larysa Masenko. Kyiv: Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, 2005. Hardcover, 399 pp., \$25.

by Yuri Shevchuk

Today, 14 years since the collapse of the Soviet Union, a visitor to Kyiv will find a confusing language situation. Outwardly, street signs, announcements in public transportation are all in Ukrainian. However, the majority of newspapers, most popular TV and radio programs, cinemas, bars, restaurants, etc. are solidly dominated by Russian.

The desire to reverse the assimilation of Ukrainians into the Russian imperial culture and revive the Ukrainian language motivated millions of those who championed independence in the late 1980s to early 1990s. Some advances in the Ukrainian cultural revival are now being undermined by assimilationist tendencies that take new and increasingly effective forms.

One such form that immediately catches the eye is the policy of Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism actively implemented by most leading broadcast and printed media, and at best unopposed or often tacitly promoted by the Ukrainian government and society at large.

The result is easy to see – the progressive collapse of the Ukrainian language culture in the spheres that, even under the Soviet regime, were considered bastions of Ukrainian literary norm: theater, radio and the press. The kind of Ukrainian one hears today in Ukrainian-language radio and TV broadcasts, and reads in the press is riddled with Russian at the levels of even those language sub-systems that are more resistant to external influences: phonology, morphology and syntax. By some twisted irony, the old Soviet policy of bringing Ukrainian closer to its "brotherly" Russian language is yielding massive fruit.

A notable aspect of this process is the surprisingly little resistance it meets from those it targets – millions who figure in the polls as Ukrainian speakers. This state of cultural passivity has largely remained unaffected by the Orange Revolution. The timid demands finally to adopt an orthography purged from Soviet distortions, to support Ukrainian book-publishing and film-making, and to increase Ukrainian content in broadcast media, Internet and computer market have either been ignored or actively opposed by the bureaucrats in charge. Ukrainian society seems to be overtaken by a cultural and linguistic paralysis. The younger generation that was expected to be free, or at least freer, from Soviet legacies reproduces imperial hierarchies of domination and control with an enviable enthusiasm.

This situation has deep historical roots. Revealing them, understanding how Ukrainians have, for decades and centuries, been reduced to "Little Russians" culturally, linguistically and psychologically is the necessary step toward the recovery of a Ukrainian national and political identity.

The recently published book "Ukayinska Mova u XX Storichchi: Istoryia Linhvotsydu" (Ukrainian Language in the 20th Century: A History

of Linguicide), is an important contribution to this process. Edited by the leading sociolinguist Larysa Masenko, chair of the Ukrainian language at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the book is a compilation of texts, essays, and documents that, in their totality, present a picture of the consistent, calculated and relentless colonization of Ukraine in the sphere of language and culture.

Students of colonialism and empires, in their many forms known to humanity, whether Greek, Persian, Roman, Spanish, British or pre-Bolshevik Russian, will discover in this book a tool of political control and domination that was invented by Russian Communism.

The Ukrainian linguist Yuri Shevelov thus described it, "Government interference of any kind, and, in this particular case, by the Russian government, into the inner laws of a language was a Soviet invention and novelty. Neither the Poles, nor Romanians, nor Czechs, nor even the Russian pre-revolution administration resorted to it. They all used measures of outside pressure, they prohibited, whether in part or totally, to use Ukrainian in public, they imposed their state language through the educational system, they seduced Ukrainians by their culture and career opportunities, resettled them to non-Ukrainian territories while settling Ukrainian territories by members of the dominant nation. In addition to these classical methods the Soviet system introduces control over the structure of the Ukrainian language: proscribes certain words, syntactic structures, grammatical forms, rules of spelling and pronunciation, propagating instead others which are either closer to Russian or transplanted intact directly from Russian. Thus, in Soviet Ukraine, the conflict between Ukrainian and Russian languages is introduced from the exterior, extra-linguistic sphere into the language itself. The conflict took place not only in the human psyche, but inside the language."

This observation is key to understanding what happened to Ukrainian under the Soviet regime, and the present condition. "Ukrainian Language in the 20th Century" goes a long way toward providing a great deal of documentary evidence of the communist engineering in the language sphere.

The book follows the periodization that has become traditional: the first is the era of Ukrainianization, from the late 1920s to the early 1930s; the second, the purges and fight against bourgeois nationalism of the Stalinist period (1932 to mid-1950), and the third, language policies under Khrushchev and Brezhnev (mid-1950 to 1980s).

Reading the arguments of such leading participants in the language policy discussion of the 1920s as Minister of Education Mykola Skrypnyk, the linguists Olena Kurylo and Oleksa Syniavsky, one cannot help but see how directly and sadly pertinent their observations are to what we have now and how little the language situation has changed for the better since.

Now, as then, the issue of rescuing Ukrainian from the pervasive and corrupting influence of Russian is of existential importance, the crucial difference being that the mass media and the information revolution objectively accelerate



Russification at all levels and leave no sphere of communication unaffected by Russian. What earlier took decades to accomplish now may take a year.

Now, as then, the absence of an orthography that is scientifically sound, free from alien influences and binding for all, paralyzes the entire Ukrainian-speaking community and results in a linguistic chaos that facilitates all kinds of hybrids and undermines the very concept of the Ukrainian literary standard.

Now, as then, the discussion seems to be taking place between the proponents of Russophile and Polonophile orientation who seem to be speaking past one another to the exclusion of the argument that should, from the start, have been central in the discussion: namely, how to return to the living speech of the Ukrainian people, how to activate and support the mechanisms of language regeneration that have deep roots in the Ukrainian language tradition, how to make Ukrainian literary standard closer to the popular speech cleansed of elements imposed from the outside, how to adapt it to the needs of the information age.

The pronouncements of some leading champions of Ukrainianization, represented in the first part of the volume, will strike the reader by a positive charge, creative enthusiasm, large scale of thinking and optimism that are noticeably absent in today's public discussion. The majority of politicians eschew the language issue as politically radioactive. Those who continue to speak about the issue politicized it to such an extent as to preclude any possibility of a national consensus-building.

This is a striking paradox in a nation where large majorities of citizens across the language lines are sympathetic to the cause of the revival of the Ukrainian language, provided that such a proposition is made in non-politicized terms. One would wish for an even greater representation of such positive thinking in the book.

Reflecting its subtitle "History of Linguicide," the book provides a wealth of evidence of the many-pronged assimilationist policies conducted by the Soviet regime in Ukraine. These are texts of two kinds.

The first are programmatic documents of the Communist Party that articulate its positions on specific language issues, in particular on orthography, development of scientific and special terminology, grammar, word-formation and general vocabulary.

The other are publications by Soviet Ukrainian linguists on the same issues and ways of implementing Moscow's policies. How very clearly and unequivocally those positions were articulated is

manifest in the titles of the documents. Here are some typically telling examples: "To Remove and Destroy Nationalist Roots on the Language Front," "Nationalist Threat on the Language Front," "To Finish Off the Enemy," "Against Bourgeois Nationalism and Falsifications," "Against Nationalism in Mathematic Terminology." These and other similarly worded titles meant physical destruction or prison terms for the accused.

Of particular interest are the publications by linguists that were intended to give the scientific, linguistic and ideological justification to these positions. The reader who is abreast of the current political discourse in Ukraine will be surprised by uncanny similarities in idiom between the positions of the Soviet regime and those vocalized nowadays by the proponents of the Soviet-era Ukrainian orthography or state status for the Russian language. This is not only because some of the mouthpieces of the Communist regime, like academician Vitalii Rusanivsky, are still around and quite vocal, but primarily because this language ideology is actively reproducing itself in post-Soviet conditions, finding its supporters at the highest levels in independent Ukraine.

Granted, the Ukrainian public is more or less aware of the fact that its language was the subject of Soviet policies aimed at its dissolution in the "great and mighty Russian language," yet it will be a revelation to most readers to find in the reviewed volume a chapter whose title sounds as if it were taken directly from George Orwell's 1984 – "Register of Repressed Words."

This final section of the book – and its perhaps most compelling achievement – comprises about 670 items, entire words or separate meanings, that were banished from the Ukrainian language by Communist assimilationists as either "dialectal, artificial, archaic, obsolete, Polish or alien to the language of the masses." Many of these words are quickly regaining their rightful status. Yet, many others over the decades became forgotten and are now rejected as, exactly and ironically, what their repressors declared them to be: "Polish," or "archaic," etc. Every Ukrainian should read this chapter very carefully.

Familiarizing the reader in considerable detail with the Soviet mechanisms of repression, the book helps to assess the extent of damage inflicted upon Ukrainian and restore the moral perspective on the current condition of the Ukrainian language, a perspective that too often seems to be absent in today's public discourse.

Developing the language in all the spheres of modern life, without exception, means restoring a basic human right that millions of Ukrainians have been denied under the Soviet regime and, by act or omission, is being denied even today. Assessing the damage is an indispensable part of a larger project of building a democratic society in Ukraine free of the legacies of the Soviet colonial past.

Published with the financial and intellectual support of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (U.S.A.) "Ukrainian Language in the 20th Century: A History of Linguicide" is an important contribution to this cause.

The book was named among the most important publications of the year at the 2005 Book Publishers Forum in Lviv.

The book may be ordered from: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 63 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003-5200. Price: \$25 plus \$3 for shipping.

Yuri I. Shevchuk is lecturer of Ukrainian language and culture, department of Slavic languages, at Columbia University.

A conversation with Ukrainian writer Oleksander Irvanets

by Leonid Rudnytsky

On September 3, Oleksander Irvanets, Ukrainian poet, prose writer and dramatist, arrived in the United States. He has come here on a Fulbright grant that will enable him to stay in this country until May 2006. His topic of research is contemporary American drama; his host institution is La Salle University in Philadelphia.

Following is the text of an interview conducted by Dr. Leonid Rudnytsky, professor of comparative literature at La Salle University and the University of Pennsylvania. The translation is by Nicholas Rudnytsky.

Welcome to the United States, which you are, as I understand it, visiting for the first time. It is well known that your plays are staged in Ukraine and beyond its borders, especially in Germany. What brings you here to the United States?

Thanks to the Fulbright Grant I have the opportunity to become acquainted with the latest achievements of American dramaturgy. As a dramatist, I am very much interested in the most recent plays being staged in American theaters. The concept "Contemporary Dramaturgy" unfortunately, practically does not exist in Ukraine – the plays of Ukrainian authors often have to wait years in order to be staged. As a member of the jury of the great theater festival which is held at Wiesbaden, Germany, I'm often envious to see how interesting and exciting plays of Ukraine's neighbors, Poland and Russia, are brought and staged there. I am particularly interested in American dramaturgy and the theatrical staging methods utilized here. Perhaps the knowledge gained in this country will enable me to invigorate the theater life of Ukraine.

I intend to translate several of the newest American plays into Ukrainian. Ideally the end product of my research should be an anthology of contemporary American drama in Ukrainian, although it could also be simply a series of articles on the subject.

You are known primarily as a poet. In addition to Viktor Neborak and Yuri Andrukhovych, you are one of the famous literary triad known as "Bu Ba Bu" [burlesk, balahan i bufonada – that is to say: burlesque, farce and buffoonery]. You are also renowned as a prose writer, especially because of your best selling novel "Rivne/Rovno" and to be sure you have also authored several plays. What is your favorite genre?

Thanks for the good question. Certainly the most honorable title would be to call myself a poet. However, my poetry has become more and more rare. In its place I write prose because in prose one can say more, one can look deeper into the essence of things.

Sometime ago I composed plays and some of them, to my great surprise, were staged in the theaters of Germany, Luxembourg, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Last June my play "The Liar from Lithuanian Square," which takes place in the Polish city of Lublin, was staged right there in the central square of Lublin itself. They actually closed the center of the city to traffic during its staging.

In Germany, which we just mentioned, there is a feeling of nostalgia among some intellectuals and artists – a yearning for the days of Socialism – for the GDR. An example of this is the very popular film "Goodbye Lenin" as well as various publications. Is there a similar trend in Ukraine?

This question is rather complex and

not easily answered. Certainly there is a part of the Ukrainian populace which yearns for Soviet times, but this group of people is constantly shrinking; and not only because the pensioners are passing away. Among middle-age and advanced-age people there is a process of re-evaluation of values.

To give you an example, at the latest convention of the Communist Party of Ukraine, its leader, Petro Symonenko, complained that even today's pensioners differ strikingly from the pensioners of Soviet days – they no longer enthusiastically and wholeheartedly embrace communist ideals.

Insofar as I'm concerned, let me state that in the days of my youth I looked at the map of the world with a sense of despair. We were constantly told that the "World of Socialism" occupies one-sixth of the globe, and I always sadly thought to myself that there are five more parts of this globe completely denied to me. We were forced to be politically loyal; to attend repulsive party and union meetings which lasted five to six hours in order to be allowed to have two weeks' state-controlled vacations in Poland or Czechoslovakia. Even a trip to Yugoslavia, for a Soviet citizen, was a journey into the "dangerous Western world."

Things have changed. I have since visited all of Europe. I had a good time in Paris and Amsterdam. I have seen my plays staged in Stuttgart, Leipzig and Munich, and yet, even today, sometimes, when I slumber, I return to those Kafkaesque times of the past.

What is the current status of Ukrainian literature? Does literature still fulfill the important social function that it once did, or has television taken over?

Yuri Andrukhovych once aptly remarked that Ukrainian literature is becoming so good that soon nobody is going to read it. To be sure, that is an exaggeration. However, since the independence of Ukraine the functional significance of Ukrainian literature has truly changed. Literature has ceased to be a factor in the national, patriotic sphere and has become that which it should have been all along, namely, art. Suddenly authors realized that to write well is extremely difficult. This is especially the case if you want to be heard not only in your own country, but also beyond its borders.

Sometime at the end of the '80s and the beginning of the '90s a new generation, the so-called "Visimdesiatnyky" (the 80-ers group), to which I also have the honor to belong, came to be. My contemporaries – among them are some truly renowned writers – are creating a new and beautiful literature. Although the majority of the people traveling to and from work on the Kyiv subways read Russian detective novels, I was gratified to see, not too long ago, how one young girl was reading a book by the Lviv-based novelist Yurko Vynnychuk. I also had the good fortune to see how people totally unknown to me were reading my books. This is, indeed, a very gratifying experience for a writer.

But the important thing is that we are being read by university students who are the future intellectual elite of Ukraine. These are young people who, in a year or two, will be occupying important positions in society and they will know that contemporary Ukrainian literature exists – this cannot be said about the present elite of our nation.

Don't you think that in today's world, the so-called "trivial literature"

and pop culture, play a leading role in the formation of a society's culture? I've said it many times that the representatives of Ukrainian culture today are not Taras Shevchenko the poet, but Andriy Shevchenko the soccer player. Not Lesia Ukrayinka the writer, but Ruslana Lyzhychko the entertainer. Not the brothers Cyril and Methodius,

was, in my opinion, priceless.

The enemies of Ukraine knew about your existence here. They hated you and they tried to fight you and that is the most eloquent testimony to your strength and significance.

You have received one of the most prestigious American grants. You



Oleksander Irvanets (left) with Leonid Rudnytsky.

the apostles of the Slavs, but rather the pugilist brothers Klitschko. What are your thoughts on this?

All the names you have mentioned are professionals of the highest caliber. To be sure, I personally often regret that neither Andriy Shevchenko nor the brothers Klitschko use the Ukrainian language. Nonetheless, they are truly world stars and therefore are doing very much good for our country.

Regarding "trivial literature," as you so put it, I myself would love to write detective novels like Agatha Christie or write songs like Jim Morrison. I think the situation is going to change in the next few years and in the Kyivan subways we will see more and more people reading Ukrainian authors. One cannot live exclusively on artichokes and anchovies, one also desires salo and black bread.

What do you know about and what is your attitude toward our leading organizations and institutions such as the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences or the Ukrainian Free University in Europe? Are they well-known in Ukraine and, if so, what do people think about them?

I cannot claim to know all the details and nuances of the social and scholarly life of the Ukrainian diaspora. Certainly the institutions you mentioned are well-known to me. Even in Soviet days one could get surreptitiously a book which was published in the West. I remember how I once sacrificed a whole night's sleep to clandestinely read Yuri Lavrinenko's anthology "Rozstrilyane Vidrodzhennya." Some news and information did seep through from the West.

I am simply overjoyed that Ukrainians on this side of the ocean did not lose their identity. In one way or another they stuck together, worked together and when Ukraine finally gained its independence, it was largely due to the fact that you were with us. The material and moral support given by the diaspora in the making of Ukraine's independence

could have chosen any U.S. university. Why did you come to Philadelphia, and why did you chose La Salle University?

Philadelphia, as far as I know, was the first capital of the United States – or am I mistaken? In any case – I know that this city is one of the most important cities in the United States; it was a cradle of democracy; the birthplace of the U.S. Constitution ... In addition, I was also attracted by the geographic location of the city – East Coast and near to both New York and Washington.

Insofar as La Salle University is concerned – it is, as far as I know, the institution to which, over the years, many Ukrainian writers have traveled and I wished to uphold this tradition.

How do you imagine the future of Ukrainian literature and your own future in it?

Thank you for the insightful question. In Ukraine, over the last few years, there is an on-and-off discussion about when a Ukrainian author will finally receive the Nobel Prize in literature. I personally do not participate in those discussions, and do not anticipate any awards. When I receive one, however, such as the Fulbright Grant, I am overjoyed and most thankful. However, I am certain that in my lifetime (and I am now 44 years old and hope to live for still quite some time), the world will hear a Nobel Prize lecture in the Ukrainian language. I would be honored to witness such an event and will be aware of my intimate connection to it.

Every great writer, or poet, has had his contemporaries, friends and like-minded fellows. These are the people who make up the environment and the formation of every genius. I have no doubt that the future Ukrainian Nobel Prize winner has already been born, that he or she is walking the earth, writing works and presenting them to the people. All that remains is to wait until that name will become known to all...

We, the writers, must simply continue to write.

Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine elects Koziupa as president

by Marko Suprun

EAST HANOVER, N.J. – The Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine (ODFFU) held its triennial convention, on October 2 here at the Ramada Inn.

Michael Koziupa, 54, of Cedar Knolls, N.J., was unanimously elected president of the ODFFU. The convention also elected Ivan Burtyk, Zenon Halkowych and Bohdan Chypak, MD, as vice presidents, Anna Kerda as financial director and Osyp Rozhka as general secretary.

An additional 17 members were elected to the executive board representing members from across the United States including chapters from Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other states.

Spanning 59 years of community activism in the United States, the ODFFU was founded in Newark, N.J., in 1946 by Eugene Liakhovych, an engineer by training and a Ukrainian patriot at heart. It acted as a voice for Ukraine's liberation movement, which fought against both Nazi and Soviet aggression.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) led this two-front war and continued to fight the Soviet occupation up until 1952 when the struggle for Ukrainian independence moved underground.

"Today the ODFFU unites Ukrainians, Americans, men and women of all faiths that recognize the principles of a sovereign and united Ukrainian state," said Mr. Koziupa during his acceptance speech. Ukrainian Americans united with the post-World War II Ukrainian immigration and assumed the responsibility to defend the four freedoms for Ukraine, outlined by President Roosevelt as the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear and freedom from want. Following a lengthy remodeling, the National Archives in Washington now includes a copy of President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" speech alongside the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

Mr. Koziupa highlighted history's continuity, noting that "Ukraine's Orange Revolution continued to defend these freedoms on the 'maidan,' or Independence Square, in Kyiv during the November-December 2004 presidential elections."



Michael Koziupa

According to Mr. Koziupa, "There are many Ukrainians throughout the United States, from various immigration waves, who joined together during the last year to help defend democracy in Ukraine."

Reaching out to new generations of

Ukrainian Americans, as well as new Ukrainian immigrants, Mr. Koziupa declared, "Today, our goal is to extend an open hand to all Ukrainians, new and old immigrants, and all those with Ukrainian ancestry, to inform and remind the United States of Ukraine's struggle to defend their four freedoms, and Ukraine's continuing efforts to join the family of democratic states of the world."

According to Mr. Koziupa, "we must work together with all Ukrainian organizations with similar goals and aspirations." Borrowing a phrase from President Viktor Yushchenko, Mr. Koziupa concluded that "united we stand, together we cannot be defeated."

Mr. Koziupa has a long and distinguished career of community service. He is the branch manager of the Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union in Parsippany, N.J., a subsidiary of the SUAFUCU, in Chicago; vice-president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) New Jersey Coordinating Council, president of the UCCA Morris County Branch. He is also on the board of the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM) chapter in Whippany, N.J., is a member of the building committee constructing the new Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey in Whippany, and is the president of the ODFFU Branch 1 in Newark.

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Commentaries...

(Continued from page 6)

sacked the Tymoshenko government.

The president's latest steps only formalized the betrayal. They finally proved the impotence of the new political regime and its inability and unwillingness to fulfill its historical mission of building a new system of government based on entirely different values.

All Yushchenko had to do was abide by the law and at least try to keep his own promises. One of the promises was that politics would no longer be synonymous with "bargaining" and that politicians would never be sellers, buyers, or go-betweens.

Yushchenko broke his oath, "for the sake of Ukraine's future," as he explained. But does this country have a future if it has plunged back into the dark past and turned into a marketplace where musty, second-hand political merchandise is sold for MPs' [national deputies'] votes and the people's dignity? ...

I am sorry for this man. But there is no place for him on my maidan. ...

September 22 editorial in the Economist:

... On September 20, Yurii Yekhanurov – Mr. Yushchenko's proposed replacement for Yulia Tymoshenko, the prime minister whom he sacked, along with her Cabinet, on September 8 – was narrowly rejected by Parliament. ...

After a meeting with parliamentary leaders, Mr. Yushchenko riskily, but successfully, submitted his candidate to another ballot. He may have bought extra votes by bargaining over the new Cabinet, and over a constitutional reform that would shift some power from the president to Parliament next year. He was sounding skeptical over that change last week, but most other parties want it.

Even though he got his way, he has been forced into humbling political courtships. Dealing with Viktor Yanukovych, an ungracious loser in last year's presidential race, would till recently have seemed absurd – except in Ukraine's shape-shifting political culture. ...

Ukraine's first lady meets with leaders of Ukrainian Medical Association of North America

by George Hrycelak

CHICAGO – The first lady of Ukraine, Kateryna Yushchenko, met with invited leaders of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) at their Chicago headquarters on October 8, enlisting support from organized Ukrainian American health professionals in expanding and modernizing Ukraine's health system.

The Kyiv Committee of the Chicago Sister Cities International Program (CSCIP) hosted the first lady's visit on the eve of Mayor Richard M. Daley's own trip to Kyiv exploring avenues of cooperation in health care fields. CSCIP Kyiv Chair Marta Farion and Health Subcommittee Chair Lida Truchly facilitated Mrs. Yushchenko's visits to several area hospitals and medical facilities.

The first lady requested to meet with selected representatives of UMANA, the largest established group of Ukrainian health professionals in the United States and Canada. Included in the meeting were representatives of the Global Medical Foundation (GMF) of Illinois, which organizes medical missions to Ukraine using the skill and expertise of local area physicians.

Mrs. Yushchenko presented an overview of the Ukraine 3000 Foundation, with emphasis on a partnership program called "From Hospital to Hospital." The project seeks to raise the level of medical diagnosis and treatment in Ukraine to international standards within five years.



Conference attendees (seated, from left) Dr. Mohammed Siddiqui, First Lady Kateryna Yushchenko, Dr. Andrew Iwach, Dr. Vira Pavlyuk, (standing from left) Dr. George Hrycelak, Dr. Danylo Hryhorczuk, Dr. Yukhol Lertsburapa, Dr. Wayne Tymchak, Dr. Diana Traska, Dr. Boris Leheta, Dr. Roxolana Tymiak-Lonchyna, Dr. Vassyl Lonchyna, Dr. Maria Hrycelak, Dr. Roxolana Horbowyj, Dr. Bohdan Iwanetz, Dr. Ariadna Holynskij and Dr. George Kuritza.

Dr. Vira Pavlyuk, project director, explained that this multi-faceted program involves matching hospitals in Ukraine with appropriate institutions in the West, with an emphasis on childhood and maternal health, to facilitate exchanges of medical knowledge and experience.

UMANA President Dr. Andrew Iwach (San Francisco) welcomed Mrs. Yushchenko and introduced his executive committee members: Dr. Ariadna Holynskij (New York), Dr. Wayne Tymchak (Edmonton), Dr. Diana Traska (New York), Dr. Boris Leheta (Detroit), Dr. Roxolana Horbowyj (Washington), Dr. Bohdan Iwanetz (Chicago), Dr. Maria Hrycelak

(Chicago), Dr. George Kuritza (Chicago) and Dr. George Hrycelak (Chicago).

Dr. Iwach introduced the president of the Global Medical Foundation, Dr. Mohammed Siddiqui, and GMF board member Dr. Yukhol Lertsburapa, as well as fellow UMANA Chicago members experienced in medical contacts with Ukraine, Dr. Vassyl Lonchyna, Dr.



The first lady of Ukraine reviews medical teaching resources with UMANA board members.



Kateryna Yushchenko opens the discussion with Ukrainian American medical representatives.

Kateryna Yushchenko attends Festival of Kyivan Liturgical Music



CHICAGO – First Lady of Ukraine Kateryna Yushchenko joined four choruses on stage to sing the religious hymn "Bozhe Velykyi" as the finale to a concert highlighting the two-day Festival of Kyivan Liturgical Music held in Chicago on October 8 and 9. The festival included a daylong seminar on the Kyivan liturgical tradition and a hierarchical liturgy sung in the Kyivan style. Mrs. Yushchenko was on a private visit to Chicago.

Roxolana Tymiak-Lonchyna and Dr. Danylo Hryhorczuk.

The group listened intently as Mrs. Yushchenko described a wide-ranging proposal for engaging knowledgeable international health professionals to share their skills and experience with the Ukrainian medical establishment. She presented supporting data for various features of the program.

A friendly open discussion followed, touching on many possibilities that such an ambitious program entails. Those present expressed support and endorsement for this laudable undertaking, and felt ready to commit their groups to explore various pathways to supporting the Ukraine 3000 initiative, with emphasis on its health care component.

Concluding two hours of fruitful and productive deliberations, Mrs. Yushchenko thanked those present for taking the time to travel from distant locales to participate in this exchange of views and ideas. Though her busy schedule did not allow for a lengthier gathering, she said she appreciated the opportunity to meet and present Ukraine's desire to enter the 21st century on an effective and sound medical, charitable and philanthropic footing.

Two Ukrainian-born soloists star at Washington National Opera

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON – The Washington National Opera inaugurated its golden anniversary season with a rare treat for Giuseppe Verdi fans, his infrequently performed “I Vespri Siciliani,” and an even rarer treat for Ukrainian American opera buffs, two Ukrainian-born soloists in its leading roles: soprano Maria Guleghina as Elena and bass Vitalij Kowaljow as Procida.

And the critics praised the September 17 opening night performance at the Kennedy Center, especially Mr. Kowaljow’s role in it.

The Washington Post’s leading music critic, Tim Page, and his colleague at the Washington Times, T.L. Ponick, compared Mr. Kowaljow to the renowned bass Samuel Ramey. The Ukrainian singer’s “dark, lithe and lustrous bass voice sometimes calls the young Samuel Ramey to mind,” wrote Mr. Page, while Mr. Ponick called him “a real rival to such world-class singers as Sam Ramey and Alan Held” and noted that “unlike the American bass-baritones, however, Mr. Kowaljow is a true bass.”

“Well supported and with a laser-like intensity, his clear voice negotiated Verdi’s difficult demands, effortlessly providing the audience with one of the most deeply satisfying performances by a bass in recent memory,” the Washington Times critic added.

In neighboring Baltimore, The Sun’s music critic Tim Smith said that Mr. Kowaljow “lit up the opera house with a beefy, but warm, tone and consistent elegance of line.”

The New York Times reviewer was no less impressed by his performance: “As Procida, Vitalij Kowaljow seemed to do everything right. This is a bass voice of uncommon elegance and belongs to a singer with a real future.”

And Washington’s Metro Weekly reviewer opined that Mr. Kowaljow has “an extraordinary voice, an immensely flexible instrument of gorgeously smooth soul and seamless technique,” as well as “a significant stage presence.”

Commenting on Ms. Guleghina’s opening night performance, The Washington Post’s Tim Page noted: “She was fine in loud, proclamatory phrases, when her voice rang out nobly throughout the opera house. Quieter passages were less convincing, and she often sounded wavy and unsupported when she tried to sing softly.”

“Still, there was some beautiful musicmaking, particularly in the final trio,” he added.

Except for a miscue in the last act, The Baltimore Sun’s Tim Smith found Ms. Guleghina’s portrayal of Elena “a potent combination of creaminess and bite, helping to give the character of the conflicted woman considerable depth. She negotiated most of the coloratura demands solidly and spun out long lines with considerable elegance,” he wrote.

And the Metro Weekly reviewer, while noting that the heavy demands of the part brought out an “odd moment of vocal strain” in Ms. Guleghina’s perform-



Karin Cooper

Soprano Maria Guleghina as Elena.

ance, said that she was “well up to the job, her deep, rich soprano carrying the emotional punch of this opera beautifully. She is also a superb actor, using her eyes like lasers as she watches her world fall apart amid her struggle to find strength for herself and others.”

(The unevenness in Ms. Guleghina’s performance cited by critics on opening night was not apparent at a subsequent performance attended by this writer a week later.)

The opera is set in 13th century Sicily, suffering under the yoke of a harsh French occupation. Procida, Elena and her fiancé, Arrigo, are leading Sicilian revolutionaries. The plot becomes complicated when the tyrannical French governor of Sicily, Monforte, reveals to Arrigo that he is his father.

There were six performances of “Vespri” through October 4 with its general director Plácido Domingo conducting the WNO orchestra. Monforte was sung by Georgian baritone Lado Ataneli, and Arrigo was sung by American tenor Franco Farina.

Mr. Kowaljow was born in Cherkasy in 1968 and, as he told *The Ukrainian Weekly* in an interview in 2001, he began his musical career as a choir conductor.

Since winning Plácido Domingo’s 1999 Operalia Competition and his American debut in “Turandot” with the Tulsa Opera, Mr. Kowaljow has appeared through-



Karin Cooper

Bass Vitalij Kowaljow as Giovanni da Procida.

out Europe and the United States. This was his third appearance with the Washington National Opera, where he debuted in 2002 as Samuel in “Un Ballo in Maschera,” and later in the season returned as Colline in “La Bohème.” He had a busy 2004-2005 season with the Metropolitan Opera, performing in four operas: “Otello,” “Aida,” “Turandot,” and “Don Carlos.”

His upcoming engagements include three more Met appearances, in “Rigoletto,” “La forza del destino” and “Luisa Miller”; a Tokyo debut in “Don Carlo”; in Trieste in “Eugene Onegin”; and in concert performances of “Ernani” in Miami and Fort Lauderdale.

Ms. Guleghina first sang with the Washington National Opera as Tosca during the company’s 2002 tour in Japan. Her debut with the company was as Aida in 2003. Following her debut with the Metropolitan Opera in the 1990-1991 season, she has performed with the Met many times since then.

Ms. Guleghina was born in Odesa. (The WNO program identifies her heritage as Armenian.) She began her career with the Minsk Opera in 1985 and since then has appeared in the world’s leading opera houses. Her upcoming schedule includes “Aida,” “Norma,” and “Il Trittico” at the Met, as well as performances in Japan, Germany and Spain.

Ukrainian Film Club at Columbia University fortifies interest in Ukraine’s cinema

by Edith Honan

NEW YORK – On a cool September evening not long ago, a crowd gathered in a Columbia University classroom for a screening of Ihor Strembitsky’s “The Wayfarers,” a documentary that was this year’s pick for the Palme d’Or for Short Films at the Cannes International Film Festival. It was the first Ukrainian film ever to have won, and the Columbia event, organized by the Ukrainian Film Club, marked its American premier.

“Strembitsky is very interested to hear from you,” Prof. Yuri Shevchuk, the film club’s director, told the audience. He urged the audience members to add their comments to the club’s online forum, adding, “A filmmaker who has a very small viewership would appreciate that.”

These days, one is more likely to keep up with Ukrainian cinema in New York than in Kyiv, where movie timetables tend to be dominated by Hollywood and Russian films. This summer, for instance, the biggest blockbusters in Kyiv were “Madagascar” and “Zhmurki,” Aleksei Balabanov’s latest addition to the Russian gangster genre.

“You go to Ukraine and you see

Spiderman posters,” said Greg Babiuk, a filmmaker with Ukrainian roots, who forms part of the club’s devoted following. “You don’t see films that they’re making around the corner.”

And this is where the Ukrainian Film Club comes in. The club, which turns a year old this month and holds screenings about every four weeks, positions itself as part of a larger effort to fortify interest in Ukrainian cinema in the West. The online forum (www.columbia.edu/cu/ufc) is at the heart of the effort, in that it allows film directors who are based in Ukraine to interact with and receive feedback from viewers from outside the country.

Ukrainian cinema has not fared well since the break-up of the Soviet Union. Ukraine lacks an adequate distribution system, governmental or private sponsorship, and, for the moment, a national taste for films made on its own soil. “The likelihood of finding a Dovzhenko, Paradjanov, Muratova or Illienko film in a video rental shop in Boston or New York is much higher than in Odesa or Kharkiv,” reads a statement on the club’s website. “Even Ukrainian DVD pirates

seem uninterested in Ukrainian films.”

And yet, a critical mass of film-makers has prevailed – making films on shoe-string budgets and working on outdated equipment. “The Wayfarers,” Prof. Shevchuk told the audience, was no exception. “Everything that could go wrong did go wrong on the way to Cannes,” he said. “It was nothing short of a detective story.” Mr. Strembitsky’s budget totaled \$3,000 and the film was made using shreds of defective film stock.

“There’s nothing like the old Soviet Hollywood that used to exist with all of the State support,” said Mark von Hagen, Columbia professor of history and the director of the Ukrainian Studies Program. Still, he added, “There’s plenty of talent from the old days – and new talent also – that’s looking for outlets.”

The film club aspires to be such an outlet. During frequent trips to Ukraine, Prof. Shevchuk meets with Ukrainian directors and collects the work of new artists. For those films that do not have English-language subtitles, Prof. Shevchuk has launched an international translation workshop to create them. At the September screening, Viktoria

Melnykova’s “Consonance,” a documentary about choral music in Ukraine, was shown using subtitles made by the workshop.

“I think that the Ukrainian community is always interested in hearing the newest and the latest from Ukraine, and Yuri provides that,” said Diana Howansky, the administrative liaison to the Ukrainian Studies Program, referring to Prof. Shevchuk. “Your average American wouldn’t know where to find these films and Yuri is always searching out information.” Ms. Howansky noted that Ukrainian Americans have contacted her from California and Texas to find out more about the film club.

The success of the club can be explained in part by its website – a clearing house of information about Ukrainian cinema that includes film reviews, transcriptions of interviews conducted by Prof. Shevchuk, descriptions of the films shown and the online forum.

Since its creation last February, the website has received more than 4,000 hits, according to Adrian Podpirka, a Columbia undergraduate who is its web-

(Continued on page 19)

Yara Arts Group celebrates 15 years of international theater

by Olena Jennings

NEW YORK – On Saturday, September 24, the Yara Arts group celebrated its 15th anniversary at La MaMa Theater in New York City. The festivities included the premieres of two short documentary films featuring Yara artists and a performance of poetry translated and dramatized by Yara throughout the years under the direction of Virlana Tkacz.

Both film-makers experienced the technical and emotional challenges of making films in which they were central characters.

The making of the first film, "The Whisperer," directed by Andrea Odezynska and edited by Kathryn Barnier, began when Ms. Odezynska accompanied the Yara Arts group to Ukraine. Yara traveled to Utoropy, one of Ukraine's oldest villages, located outside of Kolomyia, to record folk songs in danger of becoming extinct. In the film, the group's exploration of Ukrainian culture brings them to Baba Anna, a healer who calls herself "sheptukha," or the whisperer. Baba Anna forever changes the way that the Yara artists view their lives.

Amy Grappell traveled to Ukraine in

1991 to participate in a Ukrainian-American theater collaboration that focused on the life of experimental theater director Les Kurbas. In "Light from the East," Ms. Grappell learns about herself as she discovers a Ukraine that unfolds before her eyes with the collapse of the Soviet Union and Ukraine's declaration of independence.

A Ukrainian theater critic, Natalia Shevchenko, accompanies Amy through the city, translating as the film-maker Ms. Crappell asks Ukrainians questions about their daily lives and happiness. She discovers that happiness is different for everyone: old women on the street are happy despite the political turmoil in their lives; the Ukrainian theater critic's mother is happy because she has a daughter; and an artist is happy because he has the freedom to create. The film includes excerpts from Kurbas's diaries, emphasizing art's power to bring about both happiness and political change.

One of Yara's specialties is promoting Ukrainian, Buryat and Japanese poetry through translation and performance. Yara artists Nina Arianda, Marina Celander, Sean Eden, Amy Grappell, Allison Hiroto, Jennifer Kato, Julian Kytasty,



Stefan Tur

Yara celebrates 15 years of creativity.

Tom Lee, Olga Shuhan, Shigeko Suga, Vera Slywotzky and Meredith Wright gathered together to perform "In Verse," a collage of music and of poetry translated by

Virlana Tkacz and Wanda Phipps.

Their performance was composed of excerpts from the 16 original theater pieces that Yara has created since its founding in 1990. It included "Koliada: Twelve Dishes"; "Blind Sight" inspired by the work and travels to Japan of blind poet Vasyl Yeroshenko; "Swan" based on Oleh Lysheha's poetry; and "A Light from the East" about Les Kurbas, in addition to theater pieces with Buryat artists in Siberia and pieces created in workshops conducted at the Harvard Ukrainian Summer School.

Ms. Arianda and Mr. Lee's performance of Serhiy Zhadan's poem "Paprika" was especially poignant. The interweaving of their voices invoked the quiet desperation of a teenage couple in the supermarket. In stunning solos, Ms. Wright sang excerpts from Mr. Lysheha's "Swan" to music by Genji Ito and Pavlo Tychyna's "Semiramis" to music by Roman Hurko. Bandurist Julian Kytasty accompanied the performance of Mr. Tychyna's truest pre-socialist realism poetry.

Yara's 15-year celebration set the tone for years to come, emphasizing the power of collaboration between various genres and cultures. This collaboration has always been Ms. Tkacz's vision. It is a source of inspiration that promises the creation of rich, emotionally fertile and politically relevant art.



Photo composition by Stefan Tur

Tom Lee and Nina Arianda read Serhiy Zhadan's poetry during Yara's 15th anniversary celebrations.

FILM REVIEW: "The Whisperer" by Andrea Odezynska

by Jennifer Wollerman

When the Yara Arts Group visited a small village in Ukraine several years ago to research and collect traditional Ukrainian songs, Andrea Odezynska, a frequent collaborator of the group, tagged along as videographer to informally document the process. We soon learn in her intensely personal and moving short documentary, that she had another reason for being there: she was a refugee from frustration and disappointment in her own life.

The opening sequence takes us to a remote region of western Ukraine, near the Carpathian Mountains. The newly arrived band of Americans is greeted by a gathering of village elders assembled loosely into a kind of octogenarian chorus line, and who are, apparently, the keepers and resident expert performers of the folkloric music the researchers have come to hear. And the villagers are eager to demonstrate. With broad smiles all around, both performers and audience seem to acknowledge the hint of lunacy in this moment.

The visitors are invited to a wedding where they will be assured of hearing hours of traditional songs, although even this will not be enough for the ancient ones. They complain that things have changed and they talk of the old traditions, which included much more singing on such occasions. As we get to know the town's characters and traditions, the

songs are ever-present and spontaneous, as is the narrative.

Just as we begin to feel that it's time for the songs themselves to take over the storytelling for a while, the filmmaker's fluid and relentless flow of narrative sweeps us around a bend in the river, leaving the story of collecting songs behind and moving into much deeper water.

We learn that there is a connection between the old folk songs and medicine, and that the best singers are sometimes also healers. The village happens to have such a healer, and the travelers are urged to visit her. Each of them will have a healing session with Baba Anna and Ms. Odezynska is permitted to film one of them.

Baba Anna does not have a mystic quality about her. She is, as Ms. Odezynska puts it, rather "down to earth." But her faith is real and her methods are excruciatingly detailed and ritualistic.

Nature is her partner, and in one of the film's most interesting sequences we learn about the "tools" of her trade. The chrysanthemum flower is used for healing women (or for helping them to find a boyfriend). Garlic has teeth; "he bites." The egg – "she" also is for healing women, and Baba Anna has eggs in two colors, one for blondes and one for brunettes. Her other simple tools include a bowl, a spoon, a knife, wax and water.

And then there's God, on whom Baba Anna calls for strength. Her method is part

divination, part banishment (of evil spirits) and part psychology. She's also known to give more practical prescriptions such as hot baths and shots of vodka.

Ms. Odezynska's recounting of her session with Baba Anna, which she had greeted with no small degree of skepticism, culminates in an emotional climax that rises so quickly and overwhelmingly that it seems to come out of nowhere and yet has been carefully built from the opening moments of the film. As Baba Anna gives her a lasting image of herself as a vessel of overflowing joy – an image previously elusive to the filmmaker – the seed of healing has been planted.

Alternating between scenes of the "old country" and "talking head" sequences in which the filmmaker tells her story to the camera, this is a hybrid experience – part documentary, part personal odyssey. Using a typical documentary structure that moves from the general to the specific, this film makes that arc twofold: as we venture deeper inside the world of these country folk and learn the intricacies of their resident healer's methods, we are at the same time drawn deeper into the filmmaker's personal story.

As if to enhance the fluidity of the transitions, the film is rich with water imagery. From the images of rain-streaked windows through which we first see the narrator/filmmaker, to the special water collected from streams used in

Baba Anna's rituals (which must be poured out in a remote place by the healed three days after their session), to the tears that well in the filmmaker's eyes, to the powerful central image of the film, a life-giving stream that explodes jubilantly as it fills and overflows the shallow vessel of a spoon, water is the irrepressible force behind the story.

Ms. Odezynska's trademark and gift as a storyteller is the casual humor that allows her to deliver a documentarian's detail without being tedious and to explore emotional terrain that most couldn't touch without moving into sentimentality. Her eye is drawn irresistibly to the incongruous and the ridiculous, and her frank narrative style is both disarming and respectful – all of which have a way of highlighting the humanity in her story.

Kathryn Barnier, the film's editor, was clearly a crucial partner in the storytelling. A triumph of editing, the film is pieced together from informal filming in Ukraine and after-the-fact video including, most conspicuously, the interview segments. Shot entirely on video, the slight graininess appropriately adds to the dreamscape quality of the "film." Together, filmmaker and editor have woven a richly textured, surprising and satisfying journey. This "video" is first-class filmmaking.

DVDs are available for purchase by sending an e-mail to AndreaO@erols.com.

The photographs of Ukrainian Canadian Edward Burtynsky

by Alexandra Hawryluk

The volcanic orange river winding its way across a desolate black plain fringed with grey leafless trees might well be the river Styx encompassing Hades. The arresting power, the awful beauty and the grandiose scale of this bleak landscape titled "Nickel Tailings #34, Sudbury, Ontario 1996," is what art and photography enthusiasts have come to expect from the Ukrainian Canadian artist Edward Burtynsky.

Throughout 2004 the exhibit "Manufactured Landscape: The Photographs of Edward Burtynsky" has been enthralling visitors to the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, the Ontario Art Gallery in Toronto and Le Musée d'Art Contemporain in Montréal. This year, the retrospective exhibit of Mr. Burtynsky's work, organized and circulated by the National Gallery of Canada, is being shown at the Museum of Photographic Arts in San Diego (March 20-June 5), the Iris and B. Fernald Cantor Centre for Visual Arts at Stanford University in California (June 29-September 18) and the Brooklyn Museum of Art in New York (September 23-December 11).

Some 25 years ago, while driving through the state of Pennsylvania in search of untouched nature, Edward Burtynsky took the wrong road. On cresting a rise in the land, he was astonished to see nothing but hill upon hill of black coal-slag.

In an interview with Michael Torosian, ("The Essential Element," published by the National Gallery of Canada in association with Yale University Press, 2004) Mr. Burtynsky said: "White birch trees were growing up through the black mounds, and ponds were full of lime green water. It was surreal. Slowly I turned 360 degrees, and in that entire horizon there was nothing virgin. It totally destabilized me. I thought, is this the earth? I had never seen anything transformed on this scale."

In fact, the pictures taken that day in Frackville, Pa., launched the artistic career of this remarkable Canadian from St. Catharines, Ontario. Today, his photographs grace the collections of the National Gallery of Canada, New York's Museum of Modern Art, the Library of Congress, the National Gallery in Washington, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York and La Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

The "Manufactured Landscapes" exhibit, a National Gallery of Canada mid-career retrospective, comprises 64 large color photographs taken from different series produced over the last 20 years: "Railcuts" (1985), "Quarrie" 1991-1992), "Tailing" (1995-1996), "Urban Mines" (1997 and 2001), "Oxford Tire Pile" (1999), "Oil Refineries" (1999 and 2001), "Makrana Marble Quarries" (2000), "Shipbreaking" (2000-2001) and "Oil Fields" (2001-2002). In all of these series, "he documents the ruins of our time, the landscapes touched by man, transformed by industry, but always with the eye of the photographer, the eye of an artist," explained Sandra Grant, the curator of the Burtynsky exhibit at the Musée d'Art Contemporain in Montreal.

However, Mr. Burtynsky neither condemns, nor celebrates industry. As he himself puts it in a video accompanying the show: "I am really saying that these

things exist ... I'm bearing witness to these things and you read them. You take it from there. You take half of that equation and you tell me what you think. So, I see it is a kind of shared experience with the viewer."

And indeed, it is a shared experience.

"The visitors are amazed by the beauty of the landscape portrayed by Burtynsky, but at the same time, they are very troubled by what they are seeing," observed Ms. Grant.

In his mining series, in the photograph titled "Mines #22, Kennecott Copper Mine, Bingham Valley, Utah, 1985," the graceful consecutive curves cut into a rocky mountainside bring to mind ancient Roman amphitheatres. It is only on noticing the lilliputian trucks and train cars clustered at the very bottom of this super arena that one begins to grasp the vast scale of man's intrusion into nature.

On the other hand, in his railway pictures the power of nature seems to overwhelm the daring efforts of man: the

massive rock cliff pictured in "Railcuts #4, C.N. Track, Thompson River, British Columbia, 1985" fills the frame, obliterates the sky, and reduces the transcontinental railway to a fragile line of metal etched across the bottom of the rock.

At other times, Mr. Burtynsky's lens turns industrial waste into breathtaking compositions, as in the case of "Oxford Tire Pile #8, Wesley, California, 1999," where a shallow canyon, illuminated by the soft light of dawn, runs through dark hills of used tires. Even heaps of discarded telephones, oil filters and auto parts outside Hamilton, Ontario, take on the beauty of well-designed abstract paintings.

Nothing seems ordinary when viewed through Burtynsky's lens: the pattern of light and shadow in his "Oil Refineries #3, Oakville, Ontario, 2001" lend the pipeline system a lyrical air, while the cut up carcasses of abandoned cargo ships, reflected in the wet Bangladesh beach, have the majestic presence of ruined metal monuments of an unknown civilization.

Although the unexpected beauty of these manufactured landscapes impresses viewers deeply, it also elicits perplexing reflections on various aspects of industrial development and its impact on the future of our planet. The photographs also make it clear, as Mr. Burtynsky himself puts it, that "All the things we inhabit, all the things we possess, the material world that we are surrounded with, all comes from nature." (Mr. Torosian, "The Essential Element") The cars we drive, the aeroplanes we fly in, the high-rise buildings we live and work in, are the end products of our exploitation of nature. Nevertheless, "Burtynsky doesn't like to define very strictly or very narrowly his work in terms of moral or political implications," noted the curator of the Montreal exhibit. Yet, it is this restrained attitude of the artist that lends his pictures their power and authority.

Perhaps nothing speaks to the viewer more strongly than his newest work,

(Continued on page 17)

A sampling of critics' reviews of Burtynsky's work

"Splendor is one way to sum up the vista of 64 large-format photographs at the Musée d'Art Contemporain called 'Manufactured Landscapes: The Photographs of Edward Burtynsky.'"

– Henry Lehman, *The Gazette, Montreal, October 23, 2004.*

"...the arresting landscape photographs of Edward Burtynsky... are certainly infused with the aura of an epic. Panoramic vistas, dramatic in scope and size, mine a history that reaches back though celebrated 20th century figures like Adams to late 19th century masters of the genre – especially the great chroniclers of human intervention in the American West, Timothy O. Sullivan and Carlton Watkins. ... Ravishing is the word."

– Christopher Knight, *The Los Angeles Times, May 25, 2005.*

"Burtynsky's work is most often compared to that of German photographer Andreas Gursky, who also photographs vast spaces that serve as metaphors for a global economy. But Gursky emphasizes the gleaming spaces that epitomize this world, from mega-stores to mega-sized office, government and hotel sites, while Burtynsky offers the grungier flip side of this same universe. ... The places in his photographs exist because humankind exploits the Earth's resources on such a vast scale. By picturing those places so seductively, Burtynsky makes us aware of the dangers we present to this planet – and he does so

in a way that creeps under the skin in a way that no conventional muckraking photography could."

– Robert L. Pincus, *The San Diego Union-Tribune, June 28, 2005.*

"With his rich color images – perhaps best described as 'industrial landscapes' – Burtynsky has established himself as one of Canada's most respected photographers."

– Dan Falk, *The Globe and Mail, Toronto, May 5, 1998.*

"All Mr. Burtynsky's work is consistent in tone. Neither heroic nor condemning, it offers an austere beauty and a simple critical pause, which gives the viewer an opportunity to gaze at the scale of the transformation that has taken place in a short time."

– Murray Whyte, *The New York Times, January 4, 2004.*

"While Burtynsky's photographs may be disturbing, they also have an unexpected beauty subverting our usual notions of the sublime in nature."

– Hilaire Faberman, *curator of the Burtynsky show, The Cantor Arts Center, Stanford University, June 1, 2005.*

– Compiled by Alexandra Hawryluk



Edward Burtynsky, "Nickel Tailings #34, Sudbury, Ontario, 1996," printed 1998, gift of the artist, Toronto, 1998, Collection National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Alexandra Hawryluk is a writer living in Montreal.

Burtynsky's biography: a love of photography since age 11

by Alexandra Hawryluk

When Ed Burtynsky was 11, his father bought him a second-hand camera. As soon as they improvised a darkroom in the basement of their St. Catharines, Ontario, home, Ed went out and used a whole roll of black and white film on pictures of his dog frolicking in the snow. Watching the emerging images in the developer tray was a moment of magic that captivated him forever. By the age of 12 Edward was taking pictures of the cultural events and parties at the Black Sea Hall, the local Ukrainian Community Center, and charging 75 cents for a five-by-seven print.

Although, Peter Buratynsky (that was the spelling of the family name before Ed dropped the "a") encouraged his son Edward in photography, he was a strict and uncompromising parent. Like many Ukrainian immigrants arriving in Canada from post-World War II Germany, he and his wife, Mary, felt very strongly about keeping their four children within the social and cultural boundaries of the Ukrainian Canadian community. However, Edward Burtynsky, who was born in St. Catharines in 1955, chafed at these restrictions. Nonetheless, his father's premature death from cancer at the age of 45 affected the 15-year-old Edward very deeply.

Hoping to become a tool die maker, Edward Burtynsky graduated from high school in 1972 with a diploma in machine shop drafting. As there was no appropriate apprenticeship available in St. Catharines, Mr. Burtynsky reluctantly took a job with an auto parts supplier. Before long he returned to school, enrolling in a graphic arts program at Niagara College in Welland, Ontario, with an evening class in photography.

It was the photography teacher's assignment to go out and take pictures



Edward Burtynsky, "Nickel Tailings #30, Sudbury, Ontario, 1996," printed 1998, gift of the artist, Toronto, 1998, Collection National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

"that show the evidence of man" that encouraged Mr. Burtynsky to look at the landscape in a new way. So, he photographed the countryside near his home where the old Welland Canal used to flow, in the days before it was filled up and turned into a highway. This was his first thematically linked series, and his first use of the large format 4x5 camera – the things that ultimately would become his trademarks.

His exceptionally good work took him

into the photography program at Ryerson Polytechnical University in Toronto – the only university, at the time, offering a degree in photography. By the time he graduated from Ryerson in 1982, he was an urbane young man certain of his talent. In 1983 he received a Canada Council grant and traveled across Canada taking pictures of landscapes transformed by man, particularly open-pit iron ore mines and railway cuts, and then exhibited them in various Ontario galleries and libraries.

To provide himself with a financial base and good technical facilities, Mr. Burtynsky established Toronto Image Works, a business venture that proved to be so successful that it threatened to obliterate his creative work. If it hadn't been for a commission on bank architecture for the Houston Museum of Fine Arts and the encouragement of the curator, Raphael Bernstein, to go out and photograph stone quarries, Mr. Burtynsky may well have become a full-time businessman.

It was the quarry pictures exhibited in 1993 at the Mira Goddard Gallery in

Toronto, that won him international acclaim. His numerous solo shows were reviewed by Harper's Magazine, The New Yorker, Smithsonian Magazine, The New York Times, The Globe and Mail, The National Post, Toronto Star, Art in America, Art Forum and Flash Art.

In June 2004 Mr. Burtynsky won the Roloff Beny Photography Book Award for his book "Before the Flood," which documents the construction of the Three Gorges Dam project in China.

In October last year Mr. Burtynsky was one of three winners of the inaugural TED prize of \$100,000. In his acceptance speech at the Technology, Entertainment and Design Conference in Monterey, Calif., Mr. Burtynsky proposed to use his art to open a global discussion about our ability to sustain the present pace of development.

In his own country, not only has he been elected to the Royal Canadian Academy, but he has also had the rare honor of having the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa organize a traveling mid-career retrospective exhibit of his work.



Edward Burtynsky, "Nickel Tailings #31, Sudbury, Ontario, 1996," printed 1998, gift of the artist, Toronto, 1998, Collection National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

The photographs...

(Continued from page 16)

"Before the Flood" – large-format color photographs of the Three Gorges Dam project on the Yangtze River in China, the biggest hydro-electric project in the world. There, the price of progress was the destruction of 13 cities, 140 towns, 1,352 villages, a number of archeological sites and the resettlement of 1.9 million people. Mr. Burtynsky's 4x5 view camera captured the Chernobyl-like landscape of gutted apartment buildings, windowless houses and rubble-strewn streets just hours before they disappeared under flood waters forever. Not surprisingly, these are the pictures

that drew most comments; these are the pictures that garnered him the Roloff Beny Award and the Applied Arts Magazine Photographic Book Award in 2004.

Like great artists before him, Mr. Burtynsky transforms visual experience, changes our perception of reality. If Turner changed the way we perceive light, and Archipenko changed the way we look at mass and form – Edward Burtynsky, changes the way we see the relation between nature and humanity. He simply tells the truth as he sees it. Moreover, the breadth of his vision reaches epic proportions and lifts the ugly vistas of industrial detritus unto the level of the sublime.



Edward Burtynsky, "Densified Tin Cans #2, Hamilton, Ontario, 1997," printed 1998, gift of the artist, Toronto, 1998, Collection National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

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Report...

(Continued from page 5)

Svoboda subscribers was 6,162; The Ukrainian Weekly subscribers totaled 6,061. In comparison with the end of 2003, the number of Svoboda subscribers decreased by 313, while the number of Weekly subscribers declined by 131. As of the end of June 2005, the number of Svoboda subscribers declined by 154, while the number of Weekly subscribers grew by 31.

The deficit of both publications for the 12 months of 2004 was \$244,000, or \$83,000 more than in 2003. The deficit of both publications for the first six months of 2005 was \$107,000. The increase in the deficit was the result of unusual medical expenses. For purposes of comparison, let us recall that the deficit for the six months of 2004 was \$53,000. In accordance with the budget for 2005, the deficit of both publications should not exceed \$150,000.

5. Soyuzivka

For the 12 months of 2004, Soyuzivka's losses totaled \$620,000. For the first six months of 2004 the deficit was \$330,000, after donations totaling \$105,000, which lowered the deficit. For the first six months of 2005 Soyuzivka's losses were \$227,000 and included only \$1,000 in donations.

The 35th Convention established a committee whose goal is to halt the need for cash allocations to the UNA resort and at the same time keep the resort in Ukrainian hands, if possible. The Executive Committee made certain improvements at Soyuzivka and continues to work with a group of experts for the benefit of the guests and Soyuzivka. One of the projects now being studied is the expansion of current hotel facilities and the creation of a conference center in the Main House.

A review of the bookkeeping at Soyuzivka revealed that funds were deposited in the bank an average of two to three weeks after their receipt. Appropriate personnel were notified to deposit funds in a timely fashion.

6. Miscellaneous

For the 12 months of 2004 members of the UNA availed themselves of the ScriptSave program of discounts on medicines, saving an average of 20 percent on 538 prescriptions.

Approximately 9,651 square feet of space is available for rent to outside clients in the UNA headquarters building. The Executive is working on this with a real estate agent.

The UNA faces four lawsuits. The gravity of these suits is difficult to foresee at the present time. It is worth nothing, however, that the UNA is insured in such cases.

For the Auditing Committee:
Dr. Zenon Holubec, chairman
Yaroslav Zaviysky, vice-chairman
Dr. Alexander Serafyn, secretary

(Translated by The Ukrainian Weekly.)

Corrections

In the "Focus on Philately" column (October 9), the names of co-authors Roman Dubyniak and Peter Cybaniak were inadvertently omitted.

In the August 7 article "Procurator general claims he has completed first phase of investigation into Gongadze case," Zenon Zawada wrote that Yurii Nestorov is a suspect in Heorhii Gongadze's murder. In fact, Mr. Nestorov is a key witness in the murder.

Pobratymy Foundation's Plast golf outing raises funds for youth organization

by Oleh Skubiak

CHICAGO – The Pobratymy Foundation hosted its seventh annual Plast open at the Renwood Golf Club in Round Lake, Ill., on Saturday, September 10. The event attracted over 50 men and women golfers for the tournament and nearly 100 participants at the post-tourney festivities.

As in previous years, the proceeds from this successful and enjoyable event will be dedicated to support the ongoing activities of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization.

Proceeds from last year's event were donated to support Plast and its members in Ukraine, who were active in Kyiv during the Orange Revolution.

Using a scramble format, participants enjoyed 18 holes of golf on a beautiful fall day and afterwards joined family and friends at the Self-Reliance Resort down the street for awards, camaraderie, music, steaks and refreshments.

The following prizes were awarded:

- Best men's team score: Curtis Babczenko, Rostyk Dekajlo, Chris Kohout and Marko Pilecky.

- Best women's team score: Katrusia Saldan, Vera Eliashevsky, Olya Popowych, Chrystia Hryhorczuk and Luba Skubiak.

- Longest drive (male): Roman Mycyk.

- Longest drive (female): Katya Mycyk.

- Closest to the pin: Andrij Chychula.

The Pobratymy Foundation, a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt corporation, was established in 1992 by members of the Plast Pobratymy fraternity for the purpose of supporting the developmental activities of Plast. The Pobratymy Foundation is limited to making contributions to Plast and other 501(c)(3) organizations that support the stated purposes of the fraternity: to renew and strengthen Plast; to encourage excellence and self-improvement; to encourage identification and cooperation among Ukrainian youth; and to inform others about

Ukraine.

Plast Chicago and the Pobratymy Foundation expressed thanks to all volunteers and the individual and corporate

sponsors for their generous contributions to the event.

The eighth annual Plast Open is scheduled for September 9, 2006.



The winning women's team: (from left) Olya Popowych, Vera Eliashevka, Luba Skubiak, Katrusia Saldan and Chrystia Hryhorczuk.

Ukrainian film...

(Continued from page 14)

master. Of the last 100 visitors, two-thirds were from the United States; the rest were from Canada, Italy, Turkey, Poland and Slovenia. Typically, 10 to 15 percent of hits come from Ukraine.

Mr. Podpirka said that the club introduces him to a slice of Ukraine that has been kept hidden. "[The club] is doing a lot for the Ukrainian diaspora culture," he said. "You get to see what Ukrainian culture is."

The film club screens a mix of classic

and recent productions. The next screening, scheduled for October 27, will present the Soviet-era horror film, "Viy," which is based on a short story by Mykola Hohol. The screening will be held at 7:30 p.m. in Hamilton Hall, Room 717, on the Columbia University campus.

"We're in New York and we're watching Ukrainian film. That's wonderful," said Mr. Babiuk, adding that the films have the potential to excite the imaginations of filmmakers here. "We've run out of ideas in the West, and there are a lot of interesting ideas in Eastern Europe."

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PACE asks...

(Continued from page 2)

their prior collusion, which is seen as a step towards excluding from the prosecution the masterminds and organizers." PACE states its dissatisfaction that there has been no progress into "the prosecution of those who ordered and organized this crime" nor any "credible examination of the Melnychenko recordings" (assembly.coe.int).

The PACE, like the IFJ open letter, refers to the trial set to begin this month of the three policemen who were present at Gongadze's murder. They are poised to become the scapegoats after which the case would be closed and the "organizers" given de facto amnesty.

President Viktor Yushchenko cannot implement the PACE resolutions dealing with Gongadze, which will damage him in two ways.

Domestically, the Orange opposition

(former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, SPU, Pora) will use this issue in the 2006 election campaign. It is a good weapon; the Gongadze case weakened Mr. Kuchma and facilitated the Orange Revolution.

Internationally, failure to implement PACE resolutions will damage Ukraine's efforts to integrate into Western structures. Since President Kuchma's Ukraine also ignored PACE, the international organizations will wonder how much has changed under President Yushchenko.

Mr. Yushchenko is unwilling to pay the political price now required for admitting that Mr. Kuchma was given immunity at the December 2004 roundtable negotiations that were brokered by the European Union, Poland, Lithuania and Russia. He could have safely revealed the deal in early 2005, arguing that it was needed to break the deadlock and prevent bloodshed. But admitting it today will provide ammunition for the

Orange opposition.

The amnesty deal for Mr. Kuchma has no legal backing, as Parliament failed to adopt a law on presidential immunity in 2004. Therefore, it is based only on Mr. Yushchenko's word, his long-standing inability to confront Mr. Kuchma, and backing from Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski and EU Foreign Policy chief Xavier Solana.

Outgoing National Security and Defense Council Secretary Petro Poroshenko, who alone from the Orange coalition attended the negotiations with Mr. Yushchenko, also backed granting immunity. Mr. Poroshenko had cordial relations with Mr. Kuchma until 2001 (Ukrayinska Pravda, July 6).


The head of Mr. Yushchenko's 2004 election campaign, Oleksander Zinchenko, also hinted that an immunity deal was possible. As the Orange Revolution grew in strength, Mr. Zinchenko advised, "Immunity would depend upon his [i.e. Kuchma] moral conduct in the coming days" (The Observer, December 5, 2004).

Three days after Mr. Zinchenko's comments, President Kuchma signed into law the "compromise package" made at the roundtable negotiations that included a

repeat presidential run-off and constitutional reforms. Two days later, Mr. Kuchma reinstated Mr. Piskun as procurator general, presumably to "guarantee" everything agreed to at the roundtable negotiations, including Mr. Kuchma's immunity.


Interviewed in Izvestiya nearly a year later (September 23), Ms. Tymoshenko disdainfully said, "Mr. Yushchenko has explained to everyone that Mr. Kuchma is not to be touched. He said that Mr. Kuchma is a former head of state and is therefore not to be hunted like a rabbit." She added, "There are no allegations against Mr. Kuchma; he will be allowed to keep all his property, even unlawfully acquired property. In effect, Mr. Kuchma has been granted a pardon."

President Yushchenko's unwillingness to come clean about an amnesty deal with Mr. Kuchma, coupled with his refusal to launch an investigation into Mr. Lytvyn's alleged involvement in the Gongadze murder on the grounds of political expediency, will make it impossible for Ukraine to fulfill the PACE resolutions. Nevertheless, it is time that Mr. Yushchenko finally acknowledges the "elephant" in the room: the unresolved Gongadze murder.



Michael Wengryn

of Clifton, N.J., formerly of
Hillsborough, N.J.,
passed away on June 4, 2005, at
the age of 86.



Michael was a World War II veteran and was a former national commander of the Ukrainian American Veterans, a devoted husband of Olga, father of Michael R. and Daniel S. and grandfather of two granddaughters, Stacie and Marie. Michael was a long time member of the Ukrainian American Veterans Post 17 in Passaic, N.J., American Legion Quentin Roosevelt Post 8 of Clifton and a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S.

Michael Wengryn served in Company C and Service Company, 47th Infantry, 9th Division of the U.S. Army from January 1941 to June 1945. He fought in World War II in the European-African-Middle Eastern Theatre of Operation. During his four and a half years of service, he fought in the battles of Safi, French Morocco, Tunisia, Sicily, Normandy Beach, among others, and participated in the D-Day landing in June 1944 and the Battle of the Bulge in December 1944. The U.S. Army awarded him numerous medals, including the Bronze Star, American Defense Service Medal, Presidential Unit Medal and eight Battle Stars. He also received the New Jersey Distinguished Service Medal. In 1994, the French government presented Michael with a Citation Medal for the July 1944 liberation of the City of Saint Lo, France.

Michael was very active in the Ukrainian American community in Passaic, N.J., where he was president of the Ukrainian Home. He was also a member of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church in Passaic and held the office as publisher of the Seniors St. Nicholas Ukrainian Club.

He will be remembered as an active and devoted member of the Ukrainian American Veterans, not only on the national level where he held numerous posts up to and including national commander in 1970-1972, but also on the Post 17 level, where he held the positions of commander, vice commander and chaplain. His wife, Olga Hanioshyn Wengryn, always stood by his side and is a long time member of the UAV National Ladies Auxillary.

Michael leaves his wife, Olga Hanioshyn; two sons, Michael R. of Shrewsbury, Pa. and his wife Eveline; and Daniel S. of Clifton; along with two granddaughters, Marie of Shrewsbury, Pa., and Stacie Houliard and her husband Francois of California. Michael came from a family of 10, with two sisters and seven brothers: the late Steven Wengryn, Lillian Phillips, the late Myron Wengryn, John Wengryn, Peter Wengryn, the late Walter Wengryn, Mary Wengryn, Daniel Wengryn and George Wengryn.

Russia still...

(Continued from page 2)

Russian political commentators earnestly – but wrongly – believe that the current government crisis will re-orient Ukraine eastward. The selection of Yuriy Yekhanurov as prime minister and Anatolii Kinakh as secretary of the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC) are cited as "evidence" for this argument.

A political expert with the Moscow INDEM think-tank believes that Ukraine's foreign "re-orientation" was inevitable. "Russia is the country from which money, and lots of it, comes to Ukraine. There is no way around this. Ukraine's economy depends heavily on Russia. All the talk about 'turning West' was euphoric. The fact is Russia and Ukraine have long and close ties that neither can do without," he said (Agence France Presse, September 27).

Russian political commentators have reached the wrong conclusions about Ukraine's crisis for three reasons.

First, their reliance upon the Party of the Regions of Ukraine as their domestic ally gives them a regional, rather than national, view of domestic developments inside Ukraine. The Donetsk region, where the PRU has its main base of support, is different from the remainder of eastern Ukraine, let alone other regions of Ukraine.

Second, neither Mr. Kinakh nor Mr. Yekhanurov will re-orient Ukraine's foreign policy toward Russia and the CIS. Nevertheless, Russian media claimed that Prime Minister Yekhanurov's September 30 visit to Moscow was tantamount to a "surrender" to Russia (Agence France Presse, September 30).

The Russian newspaper Nezavisimaya Gazeta (September 30) wrongly concluded that President Yushchenko was doing an about-face and returning to Russia. "This means de facto that the leaders of the 'Orange Revolution' have abandoned their earlier ideals. The Yushchenko team has turned back to the principles and methods for conducting foreign policy that characterized the Kuchma regime." Another Russian newspaper, Kommersant (September 30), believes that the Yekhanurov government will be "pro-Russian" because it "is closely linked to Russian capital."

Mr. Yekhanurov's ascent does not indicate a policy shift. He has been an

ally of Mr. Yushchenko since the latter was prime minister in 1999-2001. Moreover, the president, not the prime minister, formulates foreign policy. Two-thirds of the ministers in the Yekhanurov government are holdovers from the Tymoshenko government, including pro-Western foreign and defense ministers.

Interviewed on ICTV (October 2), NSDC Secretary Kinakh continued to outline Ukraine's interest in only taking part in the first step of the CIS Single Economic Space – that is, a free-trade zone. Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk reiterated this view during his September visit to the United States. While Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan support the second step (a customs union) and the third step (a monetary union), Ukraine continues to oppose both.

Third, Russia continues to get it wrong about Ukraine because it still sees the region as "Little Russia." According to a new poll by the Moscow-based Levada Center, 71 percent of Russians favor a unified state with Ukraine. Only 24 percent are against (UPI, September 28).

At the same time, the Russian population is more realistic than the ruling elites. Only 18 percent believe a union with Ukraine is realistic, with another 35 percent thinking it could take place in the distant future. Whereas 48 percent believed that a union was likely with Belarus, only 15 percent thought this was the case with Ukraine.

Many analysts suggest that Moscow might apply pressure to Kyiv, using the threat of higher energy imports. But energy supply discussions ahead of winter are a perennial problem that even pro-Russian states, such as Belarus, find difficult when dealing with Moscow. The same is true of Ukraine.

The September political crisis in Ukraine and change in government will not alter Ukraine's declared foreign policy goals of Euro-Atlantic integration. The success of this goal will be decided by the outcome of the March 2006 parliamentary elections. If pro-reform forces are able to overcome their personal divisions and create a parliamentary majority supportive of President Yushchenko, the country will support Euro-Atlantic integration.

For now, the U.S. administration supports Ukraine's movement from Intensified Dialogue on Membership to a Membership Action Plan for NATO. What Parliament does from 2006 to 2011 remains to be seen.

DEATH ANNOUNCEMENTS

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Did Orange...

(Continued from page 9)

passage of policy, the implementation of policy and its actual effect on anything. Economic policies generally don't affect the real economy for several months. And, as we know, Ukraine's government bureaucracy is notoriously inefficient. Hence the lag between the time the Ukrainian government adopts a policy and the time the policy actually goes into effect may be more than several months.

Take these two factors into account and it's clearly impossible to blame much of the GDP growth rate decline in, say, the first half of 2005 on the Orange government.

This pretty obvious conclusion does not mean that Orange economic policies were good or that they will not have a negative effect somewhere down the line. It's only to say that we really can't know now just what that effect will be later.

For example: Like many Orange critics, I happen to believe that Ms. Tymoshenko's obsession with re-privatization, and her unwillingness or inability to specify just which enterprises would be subject to re-privatization, was a profound mistake that must have scared investors. But the degree to which that obsession actually harmed the economy is something one can, at this point in time, only surmise or predict.

The next 12 months will presumably show whether or not, and to what degree, Mr. Yushchenko and Ms. Tymoshenko actually ruined or fixed the economy. Then, and only then, may critics of Orange be proven right, or wrong.

So what gives?

If the Orange government can't be held responsible for much, perhaps even most, of 2005's rate of decline, then who or

what can? Several explanations come to mind:

- It may be that the policies pursued by the Kuchma-Yanukovich government in 2004 caused the decline in 2005.

- It may be that the instability associated with electoral fraud and the subsequent popular upheaval somehow harmed the economy.

- It may be that flat global GDP growth rates affected Ukraine.

- It may be that shifts in global demand – for metal, for instance – affected Ukraine.

- It may be that flat GDP growth rates in parts of Europe and/or Russia affected Ukraine.

- It may be that the Ukrainian economy simply experienced a normal cyclical decline.

The fact is that all these factors probably played some role – a conclusion that is as painfully obvious as it is important for understanding what's really going on in Ukraine's economy.

So what does this all mean?

The good news is that Orange may not have been all that bad for the Ukrainian economy.

The less-than-good news is that maybe it was. In any case, it's too soon to tell.

The not-so-good news is that, even if the current government of Yuri Yekhanurov does everything "right," Ukraine's GDP growth rate need not rebound immediately to the heights of 2004. After all, there may be many internal and external reasons for the decline, and Orange really may have gotten things very wrong.

The bad news is that too many commentators have overlooked pretty elementary data in their desire to paint the Orange government as uniquely incompetent.

But the pretty good news is that unbalanced analyses are, unlike perhaps the Ukrainian economy, easy to set right.

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в церкві св. Івана Хрестителя в Ньюарку, Н.Дж.**

ПОДЯКА

Цією дорогою складаємо глибоку подяку парохів церкви св. Івана Хрестителя в Ньюарку, Н.Дж. о. Леоніду Малькову за уділення Святих Тайн, за похоронні відправи і за теплі слова у прощальних проповідях.

У цей найтяжчий час нашого життя сердечно дякуємо усім тим, що висловили своє співчуття особисто, листовно і телефонічно.

Усім рідним, приятелям і знайомим ми вдячні за молитви, за квіти і вінки, Божественні Літургії, пожертви на Сироти в Україні і на церкву Покрови св. Богородиці в с. Підгайчики та за присутність у похоронних відправах, а зокрема тим, які відпровалили нашого Тата, Діда, Брата і Вуйка на дорогу вічності, віддаючи Йому пошану і облеглиючи цією останньою прислугою нам біль розлуки з ним.

Хай Всевишній Господь винагородить Вас щедрими ласками за пам'ять і добре серце!

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РОМАН, МИХАЙЛО і АНДРЕЯ ЯБЛОНСЬКІ



With deep sorrow we announce that on September 6, 2005, at the age of 50 in New York City passed away

John Bohdan Kadylak

born on January 27, 1955, in New York City

Funeral services were held on Saturday, September 10, 2005, at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church in New York City followed by an interment at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J., at the side of his father, John Kadylak.

He is survived by:

mother Anna Kadylak
sister Mary Anna Kleban with husband Myron and children Marusia and Peter

May his memory be eternal.



We are deeply saddened to announce the passing to eternal life on September 22, 2005, our beloved wife, mother, grandmother, sister, aunt and Pani Matka



Katherine Paszko

Born March 19, 1937, in Kulbishovo, Zaporizhia Region, Ukraine

On Sunday, September 25, the Very Reverend Mykola Krywonos and Reverend Pavlo Szewczuk served a Parastas at the Yadack-Fox Funeral Home in Germantown, N.Y.

On Monday, September 26, the Funeral Liturgy and Parastas were served by his Eminence Archbishop Antony, Protopresbyter Frank Estociw, Very Reverend Mykola Krywonos and Reverend Pavlo Szewczuk. In attendance were Father Robert Markowitch, Father Yaroslav Kostyk, family and many friends. Pani Matka Paszko was buried at the Viewmont Cemetery in Germantown, N.Y.

A 40 day memorial service for Pani Matka will be held 10:00 a.m., October 30, at St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 59 Partition St., Hudson N.Y.

Pani Matka served for 12 years as choir director at St. Nicholas Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Troy, where she had been an active member for more than 30 years. For the past seven years Pani Matka served as choir director at St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Hudson, N.Y., where her husband, the Very Reverend Wolodymir Paszko is currently the pastor.

Born March 19, 1937, in Ukraine, she was the daughter of the late Fedir and Jawdokia Chaleki.

Pani Matka Paszko is survived by her husband of 45 years, the Very Rev. Wolodymir Paszko, son and daughter-in-law Steve and Olena Paszko of Lake George, N.Y., grandchildren Maxim and Oleksandr Paszko of Lake George, N.Y., and brother Peter Chaleki of New Jersey.

The deceased devoted her entire life to serving our Lord Jesus Christ in the Holy Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which she loved so dearly.

To honor her memory, and the dedicated work Pani Matka performed for the Church, donations are being taken for the erection of Royal Gates (Iconostas) at St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Memorials should be sent to the St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church Restoration Fund, 59 Partition St., Hudson, NY 12534.

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NOTES ON PEOPLE

Komichak honored for 55 years on radio

PITTSBURGH – Michael Komichak, 86, was honored by Ukrainian Americans of the Greater Pittsburgh area on July 31 on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the “Ukrainian Radio Program,” which he has directed during the program’s entire existence. The program airs every Sunday on WPIT AM 73.

Mr. Komichak was honored aboard the riverboat Majestic, and the Pittsburgh City Council issued a proclamation in his honor, declaring Sunday, July 31, as “Michael Komichak Day” throughout the city.

The proclamation, sponsored by City Council President Gene Ricciardi and all council members, noted: “The Council of the City of Pittsburgh congratulates and commends Michael Komichak for 55 years of service as host of the Ukrainian

American Radio Program, and commends and thanks the Ukrainian American community for its support and dedication to its Ukrainian heritage.”

During the testimonial in Mr. Komichak’s honor, Msgr. George Appleyard, dean of the Central Deanery of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, delivered the invocation in English; the Very Rev. Protopresbyter George Hnatko, dean of the Pittsburgh Deanery of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, delivered the invocation in Ukrainian.

Some 350 guests, including faithful listeners of the Ukrainian Radio Program, boarded the riverboat to celebrate the anniversary with a cruise, dinner and dance to the music of Lvivian.

The Ukrainian National Association is a co-sponsor of the “Ukrainian Radio Program.” Mr. Komichak is a longtime UNA activist and a member of Branch 264.



During the testimonial held in honor of Michael Komichak (from left) are: Raymond Komichak, Msgr. George Appleyard, the honoree, the Very Rev. George Hnatko and Pittsburgh City Council President Gene Ricciardi.

New deputy director at State Dep’t office

WASHINGTON – Tania Chomiak-Salvi is the new deputy director of the Office of Western European Affairs at the U.S. State Department.

Ms. Chomiak, who was born in New York, joined the diplomatic service in 1993, immediately after receiving her master of arts in law and diplomacy degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

Her overseas assignments have been in Almaty, Kazakhstan; London and Warsaw. She also has served at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York and at the U.S. Information Agency in Washington. During the summer of 1992, while she was a student at the Fletcher School, Ms. Chomiak-Salvi was an intern at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv.

In May 2003 she returned to the State Department from overseas and worked in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs in the field of public diplomacy, before her appointment to the position of deputy director for Western Europe.

Ms. Chomiak-Salvi is a 1989 graduate of the University of Virginia with a B.A. in international relations. She is married to attorney Lucantonio Salvi. She is the moth-



Tania Chomiak-Salvi with her foreign service cat, Khabar, acquired in Kazakhstan, where she was the embassy’s information officer. (“Khabar” means news in Kazakh.)

er of Paul Alexander, who will be 2 in November. Both she and her son are members of the Ukrainian National Association, respectively, of Branches 25 and 15.

Notes on People is a feature geared toward reporting on the achievements of members of the Ukrainian National Association. All submissions should be concise due to space limitations and must include the person’s UNA branch number. Items will be published as soon as possible after their receipt, when space permits.

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MEET THE RECTOR!

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, 6:30 p.m.
St. George’s School Auditorium,
215 E. 6th Street

Sunday, November 13, 2005:
Rector’s Luncheon in Chicago, Illinois, 1 p.m.
Ukrainian Cultural Center,
2247 W. Chicago Ave.

Sunday, November 20, 2005:
Rector’s Luncheon in Warren, Michigan, 2:00 p.m.
St. Josaphat Banquet Centre
26440 Ryan Road

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Sitch leaders visit construction site of new cultural center in Whippany



WHIPPANY, N.J. – Representatives of the Ukrainian Athletic-Educational Association Chornomorska Sitch and the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, checking on the progress of the center's construction, paused for a photo at the planned location of the sports gymnasium that will be a major component of the new building. Seen in the photo (from left) are Alexander Napora, Sitch vice-president; Omelan Twardowsky, Sitch president; Orest Kucyna, chairman, project construction; Lubodar Olesnycky, chairman, UACCNJ board of directors; and Michael Zawadiwsky, chairman, project fundraising. Construction activity continues at the seven-plus-acre site located on North Jefferson Road in Whippany, with concrete foundations being poured for the Cultural Center that will be home to numerous Ukrainian community groups and also for a new parish rectory. Erection of the cultural center's structural steel is scheduled to begin within the next few weeks. For additional information, readers may visit the website at www.uaccnj.org or contact the UACCNJ Building Committee at (973) 540-9144.

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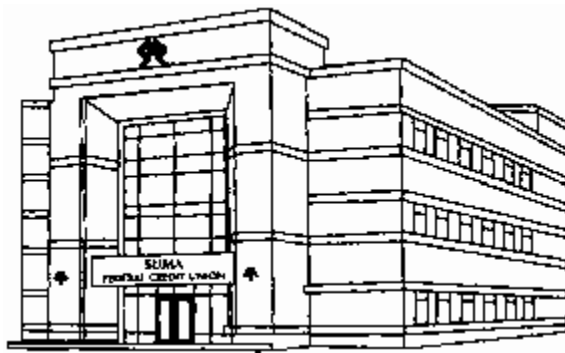
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Chornomorska Sitch sports club elects leadership, approves move to Whippany, N.J.

by Omelan Twardowsky

EAST HANOVER, N.J. – A general meeting of the Ukrainian Athletic-Educational Association Chornomorska Sitch took place here at the Ramada Hotel on Saturday, October 1. The attending members heard detailed reports from various sports divisions, reviewed and discussed the present status of Sitch, and approved the plan of the outgoing governing board to transfer its activity to Whippany in Morris County.

By an overwhelming majority, the members present at the meeting voted for Chornomorska Sitch to participate in the building of the Ukrainian American Cultural Center in Whippany, N.J., which will include a gymnastics hall, where Sitch teams would be able to practice volleyball and soccer in the winter-time. In addition to sports facilities, the center will provide quarters for Sitch administrative offices.

The general meeting took into account the fact that for about a year now there has been an active branch of Chornomorska Sitch in Morris County, comprising 45 members, mostly youths, who undergo volleyball training under the guidance of Walter Temnycky. The members voted almost unanimously (with one against and one abstaining) for Sitch to contribute to the center's building fund the amount of \$250,000 in installments over three years, beginning with 2005.

In the 81-year-old history of Sitch, this will be its third relocation, and the first move beyond the limits of the city



Participants of Chornomorska Sitch's general meeting.

Ihor Lukiw

of Newark.

The general meeting was opened by the outgoing Sitch president, Omelan Twardowsky, who welcomed the attending members and asked them to remember with a moment of silence the Sitch members who had passed away during

the last term: Joseph Trush, Mykola Boychuk, Ivan Turiansky, Dmytro Kulyk and Roman Boyko.

The meeting was then taken over by a presidium consisting of Myron Stebelsky, chairman, and Katrusia Matskiv, secretary. After a nominating committee was

approved, a series of reports was delivered, beginning with that of Volodymyr Rudakewych, who had taken over the duties of secretary after the passing of Mr. Trush.

(Continued on page 29)



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Western Ukraine + Poland IV	Sep 22 – Oct 06	15	Kyiv, L'viv, Yaremche, L'viv, Krakow <i>plus: Rohatyn, Ivano Frankivsk, Vorokhta, Kolomyja, Zarvanytcia</i>	\$2890
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Chornomorska Sitch...

(Continued from page 27)

Next to report were Bill Vincent, financial secretary, and Alexander Napora, vice-president and treasurer, who presented detailed data on the financial state of Chornomorska Sitch, which pleased the membership. Reports of the directors of the various sports divisions followed: Andrew Panas – soccer, Messrs. Rudakewych and Temnycky – volleyball, Marika Bokalo – swimming, Dr. Orest Popovych – chess (due to his absence, his report was read by Mr. Twardowsky); and tennis. Almost all of the Sitch sports divisions in the last two years have achieved championship titles or records on the American and USCAK (Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S.A. and Canada) sports arenas.

Last to report was the outgoing president, Mr. Twardowsky, who at first mentioned the difficulties created by the massive movement of Ukrainians, including the Sitch membership, to other areas of New Jersey, and the closing of the St. John Baptist Ukrainian School in Newark, because of which Sitch lost both some young members and the school's gymnastics hall, which for decades had served as the training place for the organization's sports cadres.

He also noted the happy fact that, beginning with last year's 80th anniversary of Sitch, several young members became active, with some joining the governing board (Andrew Panas, Greg Serheev and Dan Lewycky) and others working outside the board (Stepan Kolodiy, Yaroslav Twardowsky and Roman Holowinsky). These young activists are all graduates of the Sitch Sports School, they repre-

sent our future and the survival of Chornomorska Sitch, said Mr. Twardowsky.

At present Sitch has 150 members, with a potential to increase that number significantly. It continues to run the summer sports schools and to publish the magazine Our Sport, the only Ukrainian sports magazine outside Ukraine. Several of the Sitch leaders work on the governing board of USCAK and collaborate closely with sports leaders in Ukraine.

A period of questions and discussions pertaining to the reports followed, after which the nominating committee, composed of Messrs. Stebelsky, Panas, Roman Pyndus, Serheev and Lewycky, suggested a list of candidates for the new governing board.

An almost unanimous vote of the membership approved the composition of the new governing board as follows: Omelan Twardowsky, president and press secretary; Mr. Temnycky, first vice-president; Mr. Panas, second vice-president; Christine Peters, secretary; Mr. Vincent, financial secretary; Yaroslav Twardowsky, assistant financial secretary; Andrew Nynka, organizational secretary; Mr. Holowinsky, entertainment officer; Messrs. Stebelsky, Pyndus and Vasyl Ciurpita, members at large; Ihor Lukiw and Oleh Kolodiy, website committee.

The board also includes the following sports directors: Mykola Hordynsky and Mr. Serheev, soccer; Michael Zawadiwsky and Mr. Temnycky, volleyball; Marika Bokalo and Taissa Bokalo-Hagerty, swimming; Dr. Popovych, chess; and Erik Matkiwsky, tennis. Auditing Committee members are Mr. Napora, Luba Lapychak-Lesko and Stefania Brenych, while the Adjudication Committee includes: Osyp Stakhkiw, Mykhailo Lesko and Ms. Brenych.

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

man representing the companies offered him a bribe in return for helping resolve legal difficulties with the project. President Yushchenko sacked Mr. Poroshenko from the post of NSDC secretary a month ago in a shake-up that included the dismissal of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and her Cabinet. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Zvarych to represent Poroshenko

KYIV – Ex-Minister of Justice Roman Zvarych will defend the interests of Petro Poroshenko, former secretary of the National Security and Defense Council, in the case brought against him by the Procurator General's Office of Ukraine, according to Channel 5 TV. Mr. Poroshenko's attorney noted that there is no crime in the case; he stressed that the case has a political, and not a criminal implication. (UNIAN)

CPU: new allegations re Berezovskii

KYIV – The Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) claimed in a statement on October 7 that Russian financial tycoon Boris Berezovskii has confirmed that he funded President Viktor Yushchenko's election campaign, Interfax-Ukraine reported. The statement also demanded President Yushchenko's resignation and urged the Central Election Commission to annul the results of last year's presidential vote and call a new election. The Communists referred to a meeting between Mr. Berezovskii and an investigative commission of Ukrainian lawmakers in London on October 6, when he purportedly said that he had transferred \$15 million to support Mr. Yushchenko's presidential bid. Mr. Berezovskii countered on October 7 by saying the Communists' statement is utterly false. "There was an explicit understanding not to comment on our meeting before the publication of the official full text of my statement to commission members," Mr. Berezovskii told Interfax-Ukraine, stressing his readiness to come to Ukraine to testify before the commission. Meanwhile, Ukrainian lawmaker Ihor Shurma, who met with Mr. Berezovskii on October 6, told journalists that the self-exiled Russian oligarch admitted to having financed the development of civil-society institutions in Ukraine prior to the 2004 presidential election. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Aides deny taking Berezovskii funds

KYIV – Former first presidential aide

Oleksander Tretiakov denied on October 12 that he gave Russian oligarch Boris Berezovskii any list of companies to which the latter allegedly was to transfer funds to support civil-society institutions in Ukraine and the presidential election campaign of Viktor Yushchenko, Ukrainian news agencies reported. The same day, former Transport Minister David Zhvania also denied that he asked Mr. Berezovskii for money to finance the Yushchenko election campaign. Messrs. Tretiakov and Zhvania were reacting to the published details of a meeting the previous week between three Ukrainian lawmakers and Mr. Berezovskii in London, which were carried by a number of Ukrainian websites on October 11. According to that account of the meeting, Mr. Berezovskii told the three lawmakers that Mr. Zhvania contacted him personally and Mr. Tretiakov by telephone long before the 2004 presidential election campaign, asking him to sponsor civil society in Ukraine. Mr. Berezovskii claimed that he did not know how the sums he transferred to companies indicated by Mr. Tretiakov were spent or whether he actually broke the law by sponsoring the election campaign from abroad. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Holovatyi presses Gongadze case

KYIV – Serhii Holovatyi, whom President Viktor Yushchenko appointed as justice minister on October 6, told Channel 5 on October 8 that Ukraine should replace Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun if it wants to see "real" progress in the investigation into the murder of Internet journalist Heorhii Gongadze. "[The Gongadze investigation] will depend on who holds this post [procurator general] and whether a new holder will not prove to be another scoundrel," Mr. Holovatyi added. Meanwhile, Mr. Piskun reiterated to journalists on October 10 the allegation that Gongadze's murder was organized by former Internal Affairs Ministry Gen. Oleksii Pukach. Mr. Pukach was briefly arrested in 2003, but has not been seen in Ukraine since his release on a bail order in November 2003. (RFE/RL Newsline)

PGO targets Kuchma officials

KYIV – On October 8 the Procurator General's Office (PGO) instituted proceedings against representatives of Leonid Kuchma's administration. The charges brought against them involve the illegal dismissal of Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun by Mr. Kuchma on October 23, 2003, which resulted in curtailment of the Gongadze case. Mr.

Piskun, in a live appearance on the 1+1 TV channel, didn't rule out the likelihood of instituting criminal proceedings against former President Kuchma. He said that if the charges prove true, Mr. Kuchma will be brought to justice. Mr. Piskun said he believes his dismissal was connected with the arrest of Gen. Oleksii Pukach. He stressed that he had already determined the organizer of the murder, Gen. Pukach, who was released from arrest three days after Mr. Piskun's resignation. The person who ordered the murder is still unknown, but Procurator General Piskun said he is confident that this person will be identified. (Ukrinform)

PACE urges "steadfast resolve"

STRASBOURG – The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) adopted a report concerning Ukraine on October 5 urging that country's leaders to preserve "their steadfast resolve" in carrying out necessary reforms, the PACE website (<http://assembly.coe.int>) reported. In particular, PACE called on Ukraine to bring to justice the masterminds behind the 2004 election fraud; adopt laws on the functioning of the branches of power, and guarantee the conditions for the functioning of the parliamentary opposition; transform state broadcasters into public service channels; bring to justice those who ordered, organized and executed the murder of Internet journalist Heorhii Gongadze; and investigate other high-profile cases allegedly documented on the so-called Melnychenko tapes. PACE decided to continue monitoring Ukraine and to make a further assessment of progress after the March 2006 parliamentary and local elections. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Brussels urges focus on reforms

BRUSSELS – European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso told visiting Ukrainian Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov in Brussels on October 6 that Ukraine should stop talking about joining the European Union and focus on pushing the political and economic reforms needed to bring itself closer to Europe, Reuters reported. "Our door remains open," Mr. Barroso said. "The future of Ukraine is in Europe. The best way to achieve it is not to discuss all the time European Union membership but to achieve concrete results, pragmatic results." Mr. Barroso added that the March 2006 parliamentary elections will be a "very important test for the credibility of all the democratic processes in Ukraine." Speaking at an investment forum in Brussels later the same day, Mr. Yekhanurov promised to create favorable conditions for foreign investors in Ukraine. Mr. Yekhanurov stressed that "speculations about reprivatization in Ukraine have been brought to an end," adding that dubious privatization deals will be viewed exclusively by courts, according to ITAR-TASS. "The state will be paid the real price for the underestimated facilities through amicable deals, but not a single effective holder will be harmed," Mr. Yekhanurov said. (RFE/RL Newsline)

President upbeat about WTO status

LVIV – Speaking to an investment forum in Lviv in western Ukraine on October 6, President Viktor Yushchenko said he believes Ukraine will win market-economy status from the European Union by the end of the year and join the World Trade Organization (WTO), Ukrainian and international news agencies reported. "The simplest of objectives in the months to come must be securing market-economy status and doing away with anti-dumping legal cases which have closed off markets to us," Reuters quoted Mr. Yushchenko as saying. "This is our first task and it must

be accomplished this year no matter what. The second task is the World Trade Organization. I will do everything to complete this second step so that Ukraine joins the WTO in December." Speaking to a rally of some 20,000 in front of the opera theater in Lviv later the same day, President Yushchenko said the dismissal of Yulia Tymoshenko's Cabinet and National Security and Defense Council Secretary Petro Poroshenko on September 8 was the only decision he could make under the circumstances "with a clear conscience," Interfax-Ukraine reported. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Most support religion in schools

KYIV – According to a survey conducted by the Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Studies, most Ukrainians believe that the school curriculum should include subjects on religion, reported the Religion and Mass Media website on September 21, citing interfax.religion.ru. The survey showed that 53.7 percent of the people polled believe that, in addition to a materialistic background, schoolchildren should also gain religious knowledge as an alternative to the materialistic vision of the world. For instance, together with Darwin's theory of evolution, the pupils should be taught the theory of creationism. A total of 21.1 percent of those surveyed disagreed and 25.2 percent declined to answer. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Yulia sceptical about new Cabinet

KYIV – Former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko said in an interview with Le Figaro on September 29 that the new Cabinet of Yurii Yekhanurov is of a "technical" nature and will not last long, adding that it is the presidential entourage that will actually govern the country. "It is practically the same government [as the previous one], which means that it was the dismissal of the prime minister, not the previous Cabinet. The new head of the government, Yekhanurov, maintains very friendly relations with former President [Leonid] Kuchma. So I think that in its spirit this government will be very close to the past regime." Meanwhile, the head of the Ukrainian Presidential Secretariat, Oleh Rybachuk, said in an interview with the September 30 issue of Kommersant-Daily that Ms. Tymoshenko's style of management was a "one-woman show." "I was a member of Yulia Tymoshenko's Cabinet. The meetings of the Cabinet lasted from 12 to 14 hours. But she was the only person to make decisions there, no matter who attended the meetings," Mr. Rybachuk said. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Economy minister seeks stabilization

KYIV – Arsenii Yatseniuk, Ukraine's 31-year-old new economy minister, said in a press interview on September 28 that the government needs to stabilize the economy and stop the continuing fall in economic output, Interfax-Ukraine reported. "The situation is deplorable, you may take any data from the State Statistics Committee," Mr. Yatseniuk told the Kommersant-Ukrayina newspaper. "It would be unreasonable to speak about an economic upswing. There won't be any economic miracle, and there is no need for it. We will do our utmost to return the economy to the normal temperature of 36.6C, so that the situation stabilizes and the fall stops." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Pynzenyk pledges to complete job

KYIV – In a statement issued after his reappointment on September 28, Finance Minister Viktor Pynzenyk said he is

(Continued on page 31)

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 30)

remaining in the Cabinet to complete the work begun during the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko, the Ukrayinska Pravda website reported. "I am remaining because I have assumed this responsibility and cannot leave unfinished what I must accomplish," Mr. Pynzenyk said. "This is responsibility for the future of Ukraine which, due to the election of Viktor Yushchenko, has received a unique opportunity for the first time. We must not waste it." Mr. Pynzenyk also appealed to his colleagues from the Reforms and Order Party, which he heads, not to support a split among the forces that came to power with the president. Former Vice Prime Minister Mykola Tomenko, a member of the Reforms and Order Party, had earlier suggested that Mr. Pynzenyk should quit the party if he remains in the Cabinet. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Transnistrian mediators invite EU, U.S.

ODESA – A September 26-27 meeting in Odesa of representatives of Chisinau (Moldova) and Tiraspol (Transnistria) along with mediators from Russia, Ukraine and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe resulted in extending an invitation to the European Union and the United States to take part in the Transnistrian settlement process as observers, Moldovan and Ukrainian news agencies reported. "Our proposal to expand the negotiation format was accepted by all participants in the consultative meeting, and this was the meeting's chief result," Infotag quoted Moldovan Minister of Reintegration Vasile Sova as saying. EU and U.S. observers are expected to attend the next round of negotiations on Transnistria scheduled for October 27-28 in Chisinau. (RFE/RL Newsline)

GDP growth rate continues to slump

KYIV – Ukraine's gross domestic product (GDP) in August fell by 1.6 percent compared to that in August 2004, while January-August growth in GDP amounted to 2.8 percent, Interfax-Ukraine reported on September 13, quoting a source in the government. In 2004, the Ukrainian government reported a 12 percent growth in GDP. Vice Prime Minister Anatolii Kinakh said on September 14 that the government downgraded the expected GDP growth in 2005 to 4 percent from the 8.2 percent predicted in the beginning of this year. (Ukrinform)

Transnistrians seek Ukraine citizenship

TIRASPOL – Infotag reported on September 13 that "gigantic" lines of Transnistrian residents wishing to receive Ukrainian citizenship and Ukrainian foreign-travel passports can be seen in front of the Ukrainian Ethnic Community of Transnistria headquarters in Tiraspol. In accordance with amendments to a law on Ukrainian citizenship introduced by the Ukrainian Parliament in July, Ukrainian citizenship may now be given to people having Ukrainian roots or whose ancestors lived in Transnistria before October 1940, that is, when the region – which was called the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic at that time – was part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The community will reportedly make public lists of Transnistrians who are eligible to receive Ukrainian citizenship within the next three months. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Jewish world forum meets in Kyiv

KYIV – During the international forum titled "World Jewish Community

Against Terrorism" that took place in Kyiv on September 12, Ukrainian Jewish Community President Vadym Rabinovych announced the community's desire to form a World Jewish Parliament. The Parliament would be engaged primarily with the settlement of problems in the Middle East, and fighting terrorism, xenophobia, fascism and international enmity. This decision was supported by all the forum delegates. During a speech at the ceremony to inaugurate the monument to victims of the September 11 and worldwide terrorist attacks, Oleksander Myshkovych, leader of the Eurasian Jewish Congress, said that Kyiv was purposely chosen to be a venue of the international forum because Ukraine is tolerant and indulgent to all nations. (Ukrinform)

Faithful pray for St. Sophia's opening

KYIV – On September 13 faithful of various Christian denominations gathered in front of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv not only to pray for the unity of Ukraine, the nation and the Church but also to ask to have the cathedral opened for religious services. Every month on the 13th, from May to October they gather at 1 p.m. near the Cathedral. While St. Sophia Cathedral operates as a museum, the faithful hope that one day it will be open for religious services. According to cerkva.org.ua, the number 13 is not accidental. It was on this day in 1917 that the faithful believe the Mother of God appeared in Fatima, Portugal. Tradition says that she appeared there every month on the 13th for half a year. Father Serhii of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate said: "For many years the city administration has given the faithful one answer: St. Sophia Cathedral has the status of a national reserve. But I hope that all the faithful will join us and only then will our country and our nation be united. Meantime, only the Greek Catholics and the Autocephalous Orthodox Church have joined us." (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

UOC-KP and UAOC discuss unification

KYIV – A joint meeting of the Plenipotentiary Committees on the Unification of Churches of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP) and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC), blessed by the heads of the UOC-KP and the UAOC, took place in Kyiv on September 15. As a result of their work, the committees came to a common vision of the importance and ways to unite the UOC-KP and the UAOC into a single Ukrainian national Orthodox Church. The committees agreed to continue their work regarding the unification of the UOC-KP and the UAOC. Another regular meeting of the committees on the unification of the UOC-KP and the UAOC took place in Kyiv on September 29. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Filaret sees one Orthodox Church

CHERNIVTSI – Patriarch Filaret (Denysenko), head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP), said he is convinced that "Ukraine will have a single national Orthodox Church, recognized by other Orthodox Churches." He said this during a visit to the southwestern Ukrainian city of Chernivtsi on September 29 to October 1. "Now we are conducting negotiations regarding the unification of the Kyivan Patriarchate and the Ukrainian Autocephalous [Orthodox] Church. This it only testifies to the fact that the Ukrainian national Church is

strengthening its position and the time will come when Ukraine will have a single national Orthodox Church, recognized by other Orthodox Churches," said Patriarch Filaret. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Rukh honors Patriarch Filaret

KYIV – On September 10 a solemn meeting dedicated to the 16th anniversary of Rukh was held at the Kyiv Teacher's Building. At the invitation of Borys Tarasyuk, head of Rukh, Patriarch Filaret (Denysenko), head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP), took part in the meeting. As a sign of Rukh's respect and appreciation of his work for the good of Ukraine, the patriarch was awarded the Order of Vyacheslav Chornovil (first degree). Patriarch Filaret blessed the meeting and called upon all patriotic and democratic powers of Ukraine to unite in the name of Ukraine and to accept the latest political events peacefully. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

Belarus rejects Kyiv's mediation

KYIV – Ukraine's Acting Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk met with Belarusian Foreign Minister Syarhey Martynau in Kyiv on September 26, Ukrainian and Belarusian media reported. "We are ready to act as a friendly side, a friendly partner regarding the problems Belarus has with the Council of Europe and the European Union," Mr. Tarasyuk said at a joint news conference later the same day. "[Belarus], as a sovereign state, will make its own decisions about processes taking place in its society and it does not need outside help, with all respect to brotherly Ukraine," Mr. Martynau said, answering a journalist's question about

Ukraine's potential role in democratizing Belarus. It was agreed, however, that next month Ukrainian Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov will visit Miensk and President Viktor Yushchenko will meet with Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka either in the southeastern Belarusian town of Homiel or at a location near the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in northern Ukraine. (RFE/RL Newsline)

EU to monitor Moldova-Ukraine border

CHISINAU – The European Union has agreed to send monitors as of December to help secure the Moldova-Ukraine border along its 400-kilometer Transnistrian stretch, thus responding to a request voiced by Chisinau and Kyiv in June. Infotag and BASA reported on September 21. The cost of the operation is reportedly estimated at \$3 million euros (\$3.7 million U.S.) for the first six months. The mission may be extended by another year. The Moscow-backed Transnistria region is widely seen as a haven for smugglers and arms dealers. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Russian minister on Ukraine policy

PARIS – Speaking in Paris on October 11, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said that Russia "cannot fence itself off from Ukraine as it is our nearest neighbor, old partner and close relative," ITAR-TASS reported. Our population will not be able to comprehend a split with Ukraine, he said. However, Mr. Lavrov said, Ukraine is a sovereign state and can choose its own partners and development model. "If they want to be integrated into the Single Economic Space, we will be happy; if not, they should take into account the [potential] loss of integration benefits," Mr. Lavrov said. (RFE/RL Newsline)



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Soyuzivka's Datebook

October 21-23, 2005
National Plast Convention

October 23, 2005
UNWLA Branch 89, 40th
Anniversary Luncheon Banquet

October 28-30, 2005
Halloween Weekend with children's
costume parade, costume zabava
and more

November 4-6, 2005
Plast Orlykiada

November 12, 2005
Wedding

November 19, 2005
Sigma Beta Chi Fraternity Formal
Dinner Banquet

November 20, 2005
Ellenville Cooperative Nursery
School Auction

November 23-27, 2005
Family Reunions

November 24, 2005
Thanksgiving Feast 1-4 p.m., \$25 per
person, overnight packages
available

December 24, 2005
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve
Supper 6 p.m., \$25 per person,
overnight packages available

December 31-January 1, 2006
New Year's Eve Extravaganza Package

January 6, 2006
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve
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January 27-29, 2006
Church of Annunciation Family
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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Thursday, October 20

EDMONTON: Dr. Bohdan Klid, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, will give a lecture at 3:30 p.m. on "Rock, Pop and Politics in the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential Campaign and Orange Revolution." The lecture will be held in Room 333, Computing Science Center, located in back of Athabasca Hall. For more information, contact the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, (780) 492-2972, or e-mail cius@ualberta.ca.

Friday, October 21

TORONTO: The Petro Jacyk Program for the Study of Ukraine and the Institute of European Studies at the University of Toronto will host an international workshop, "North American and European Aid to Ukraine: A Critical Assessment," that will feature presentations by Daniel Bilak, United Nations Development Program, advisor to the government of Ukraine; Alexandra Hrycak, Reed College; Janine Wedel, George Mason School of Public Policy; Françoise Ducros, the director general of the Russia, Ukraine and Nuclear Programs and Institutional Partnerships Division, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); Bruce Steen, country manager, Ukraine, CIDA; Ruslana Wrzesnewskij, Help Us Help the Children. The event will be moderated by Olga Andriewsky, Trent University, and Frank Sysyn, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, and held in the Vivian and David Campbell Conference Facility at the Munk Center for International Studies, University of Toronto (1 Devonshire Place). The general public is welcomed to participate in a roundtable discussion. For more information contact the Jacyk Program, (416) 946 8113, e-mail larysia.iarovenko@utoronto.ca or check the website www.utoronto.ca/jacyk/.

Sunday, October 23

SKOKIE, Ill.: The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America, Illinois Chapter, as part of its continuing efforts to foster professional development through medical education, is holding a scientific conference on "Forensic Genetics and the Science of Human Identification." Featured speaker is Andrew Melnyk, M.D., director, Section of Cytogenetics and Molecular Genetics, Department of Pathology, Resurrection Medical Center, Chicago. The history and development of the science of human identification and genetic profiling by means of DNA analysis will be discussed, and various high-profile cases, including the DNA identification of the Romanov family, the criminal trial of O. J. Simpson and the identification of Heorhii Gongadze will be reviewed. The scientific conference and luncheon will be held at noon at Maggiano's Little Italy Restaurant of Old Orchard in Skokie, Ill. For further information and reservations, call UMANA (888) RX-UMANA, (773) 278-6262, or e-mail umana@umana.org. Deadline to RSVP is Wednesday, October 19.

Monday, October 24

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.: The Harvard

Ukrainian Research Institute will host a lecture given by Daniela Hristova, assistant professor, Slavic languages and literatures, University of Chicago, and Eugene and Daymel Shklar Fellow, Ukrainian Research Institute. Her lecture, "The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle: Languages, Writers, Multiplicities" will be held in the Seminar Room of the institute at 4-6 p.m. The institute is located at 1583 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass., 02138. For more information, please contact HURI at (617) 495-4053 or huri@fas.harvard.edu.

Thursday, October 27

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Film Club and Ukrainian Student Society at Columbia University will show "Viy," or the "Spirit of Evil" (director Kostiantyn Yershov), which is often billed as the first Soviet horror film, and is based on a short story by the Ukrainian-born 19th century writer Mykola Hohol. Since its release in 1967, "Viy" has captivated the imagination of millions, thanks to its combination of the best talent Soviet cinema could offer and a wealth of cultural material – legends, myths, songs, history and language that are unmistakably Ukrainian. The film will be shown in its original Russian version (with some peppering of Ukrainian idiom) and English subtitles, at 7:30 p.m. in Room 717, Hamilton Hall, Columbia University. It will be introduced by Dr. Yuri Shevchuk, director of the Ukrainian Film Club, and followed by a discussion. For more information, contact Diana Howansky at (212) 854 4697 or ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu.

Saturday, October 29

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) invites the public to a lecture by Anna Fournier of Johns Hopkins University on the subject "Educational Practice and the Making of Citizens in Ukraine Before and After the Orange Revolution." Ms. Fournier is an NTSh scholarship recipient. The lecture will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call (212) 254-5130.

Sunday, 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 souvenir items, as well as CDs, DVDs, videos, T-shirts and athletic gear. Get your Christmas shopping done early by visiting the Market Place. Admission: \$5, adults; children, free. For more information contact Luba Shevchenko, (908) 725-5322, or Olha Kryvolap, (410) 744-0168.

PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:

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

To have an event listed 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. 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.