

INSIDE:

- Scholars comment on Ukraine's constitutional crisis — page 3.
- European soccer championships can unite Ukraine — page 4.
- Spanish documentary "La Zona" about Chornobyl— page 9.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a fraternal non-profit association

Vol. LXXV

No. 17

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

SUNDAY, APRIL 29, 2007

\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Yushchenko unveils Chornobyl monument

Press Office of Ukraine's President

BILA TSERKVA, Ukraine – President Viktor Yushchenko visited Bila Tserkva



Official Website of the President of Ukraine
President Viktor Yushchenko and Kyiv Oblast State Administration Chair Vira Ulianchenko at Bila Tserkva's monument to Chornobyl victims.

on Wednesday, April 25, to unveil a monument to the victims of the Chornobyl disaster called The Chornobyl Bell. In a speech during the ceremony, he said it was incumbent on the government to "adequately react" to the aftereffects of the world's worst nuclear catastrophe.

He noted that Ukraine had spent more money on the issue in the past three years than in the decade before. "However, this response is not full, for we need much more," he said, urging the Cabinet of Ministers to introduce Chornobyl programs.

Mr. Yushchenko said the Chornobyl issue affected the whole country and insisted that the polluted zone should be developed, calling it "not only an area of tragedy but also of opportunities." He said it could be used to produce biological fuel, generate energy, open wildlife preserves and process wood. "This territory must not be forgotten. We want to see this land alive and revived," he said, adding that the Shelter Implementation Project is an integral part of Chornobyl's renewal.

The Ukrainian leader expressed gratitude to those who had sponsored the creation of the monument in Bila Tserkva.

Participants of the unveiling ceremony – including Bila Tserkva Mayor Vasyl Savchuk and Kyiv Oblast State Administration Chair Vira Ulianchenko – observed one minute of silence to honor the victims of the disaster. They also planted trees around the monument.

Yushchenko re-dismisses Rada, schedules elections for June 24

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Coalition parliamentary deputies initiated impeachment proceedings against President Viktor Yushchenko after he issued a second presidential decree on April 25 that canceled his first dismissal decree in order to re-dismiss the Verkhovna Rada and re-set elections for June 24.

In canceling the first decree, the Ukrainian president prevented the Constitutional Court from ruling on its legality, enabling him to avoid what was widely expected to be a ruling in his opponents' favor that would have placed him at a severe disadvantage in compromise talks.

Though successfully maneuvering through the latest phase in his fight for political survival, Mr. Yushchenko further extended the nation's political crisis and didn't improve his prospects for compromise with his opponents, who may feel emboldened after what appeared to be a desperate move.

Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and Verkhovna Rada Chair Oleksander Moroz cut short their respective visits to Uzbekistan and Lithuania after learning of the second dismissal decree.

"Undoubtedly, this decree just as the prior one greatly surprised me, because it violated all our reached agreements in regard to relations between branches of government, and between men," Mr. Yanukovich said. "This kind of thing isn't done."

Speaking from the chairman's tribune in a Parliament that continues to ignore the president's dismissal decrees, Mr. Moroz said the president's decree is a "strike at constitutional order, interference in Parliament's activity and an attempt at usurping power."

During the April 26 session, national deputies representing various factions registered the impeachment bill, accusing the president of flagrantly violating the Constitution of Ukraine in denying the Constitutional Court the chance to rule on his first dismissal decree.

That morning, the Party of the Regions faction met to approve the bill for impeachment, a procedure that requires a three-quarters vote of Parliament, or 338 national deputies, to convict the president of violating the Constitution.

"In accordance with the Constitution, the initiation of impeachment proceedings

(Continued on page 4)

Ukrainian American students hold conference aimed at reviving SUSTA

by Matthew Dubas

PISCATAWAY, N.J. – Over 50 students from the United States, including some from Canada, attended the first conference since 2001 of the revived Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations in America (Soyuz Ukrainskykh Studentskykh Tovaryst Ameryky, or SUSTA) held on April 21 at Rutgers University.

Representatives from various organizations in the Ukrainian community spoke at the conference on the role of SUSTA in the 21st century and presented opportunities for students to get involved.

SUSTA currently recognizes clubs from Rutgers, Villanova, Columbia, Stanford, Cornell, Princeton and Harvard universities, the Ukrainian Seamen of the United States Merchant Marines, New York University, SUNY Stony Brook, the University at Buffalo, the University of Pennsylvania, Michigan State University, University of Illinois and the University of Pittsburgh.

Keynote speaker Dr. Roman Procyk

explained to the students the role of SUSTA in the past and the legacy that the next generation is charged to maintain. A major challenge for SUSTA, according to Dr. Procyk, is to maintain the push for Ukrainian studies on the Holodomor – the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933.

The defining moment of SUSTA was "its investment in the preservation of the Ukrainian identity in the U.S.," Dr. Procyk said. SUSTA was the first Ukrainian organization to use an endowment fund as income to set up the Harvard chair of Ukrainian studies, the first of its kind. The establishment of the Harvard chair gave legitimacy to the discipline of Ukrainian studies. At that time, continued Dr. Procyk, the recognition of the Holodomor was equated to the struggle for Ukraine's independence.

Dr. Procyk advised students to keep informed by reading Ukrainian newspapers, journals, and other print or web materials to remain current on the issues facing Ukraine and Ukrainians. As

(Continued on page 11)

How do you solve Ukraine's political crisis? The key players offer their suggestions

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Ukraine's political crisis today remains just as unresolved as the morning after President Viktor Yushchenko's April 2 decree to dismiss Parliament and hold pre-term elections.

The main players offer proposals as part of larger strategies aimed at leveraging their position in negotiations. Both domestic and international observers make statements casting themselves above the fray, or support the position of those they're allied with.

An inevitable compromise lies amidst the various ideas and proposals.

Much of what it will contain will depend on the Constitutional Court's ruling, which can arrive by the end of April.

If the court rules in the president's favor, the Verkhovna Rada is dismissed and pre-term elections are a surety.

Should it deem his dismissal decree unconstitutional, Mr. Yushchenko loses much of his advantage in negotiations, as coalition leaders have threatened to demand pre-term presidential elections or impeachment.

President Viktor Yushchenko

For the first time, Mr. Yushchenko (Our Ukraine People's Union) offered to temporarily cease his dismissal decree.

Two days would allow enough time for Parliament to approve at least 10 necessary amendments or new laws to resolve the current crisis, the president said at an April 20 press conference.

Among them are election reform, an imperative mandate for national deputies, a new Cabinet of Ministers law, new Verkhovna Rada regimen legislation, a parliamentary opposition law, a law organizing pre-term elections and legalization of the Universal of National Unity.

"This is the working name, but it has a single essence: the necessity of forming key national priorities so that there aren't any attacks on language, sovereignty, territorial integrity, a single border and forming the key foundations for foreign and domestic policy," Mr. Yushchenko said.

The president likely presented these negotiating points to Mr. Yanukovich during a two-hour April 23 meeting, the results of which weren't disclosed to the public.

Two days later, the Ukrayinska Pravda website reported the president had proposed 15 demands of the coalition. These include unrealistic points such as Parliament recognizing the dismissal decree and canceling its resolutions condemning it; a proposed law enhancing the Ukrainian president's authority, including

(Continued on page 10)

ANALYSIS

Is compromise possible in Ukraine?

by **Pavel Korduban**
Eurasia Daily Monitor
 April 24

Radicalism is apparently giving way to compromise in the Ukrainian political crisis. President Viktor Yushchenko, aware of the impossibility of holding a snap election as early as May 27, as prescribed by his April 2 decree dissolving Parliament, has signaled his readiness to suspend the decree. The bloc of his ally Yulia Tymoshenko, who has been the most radical supporter of dissolving Parliament, is apparently ready to return to the Verkhovna Rada to take part in passing laws needed to reach a compromise. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) should probably be credited for prompting this new development.

Emotions were running especially high early in the crisis, when Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's ministers were making calls for criminal prosecution of Mr. Yushchenko, and Ms. Tymoshenko was ready for an immediate election in which only opposition parties would participate. Early last week, more radical statements came from both sides. Ms. Tymoshenko announced on April 16 that her bloc would not recognize a decision of the Constitutional Court if it declared Mr. Yushchenko's decree unconstitutional. Mr. Yanukovich, meeting PACE President Rene van der Linden in Strasbourg on April 17, said that if the court's decision was not in favor of Mr. Yushchenko, the president could face

impeachment.

As Ukraine awaits a Constitutional Court verdict, PACE, an international moral authority respected by both sides of the conflict, delivered its own, non-binding verdict on the crisis. On April 19 PACE passed Resolution 1549 summing up the results of its hearings on the Ukrainian crisis. PACE was cautious enough not to take sides, but its message was clear: both parties should make an effort to respect the Constitution and seek a compromise.

Resolution 1549 laid blame for the crisis both on the imperfect constitutional reform of 2004-2006 and "the personal rivalries and short-sighted fights for personal gain." It appealed to President Yushchenko and the pro-Yanukovich Parliament and Cabinet of Ministers to choose one of two ways to settle the crisis: "either by calling legitimate early elections, emanating from the ruling of the Constitutional Court, or by way of a negotiated compromise."

The PACE resolution was generally welcomed by both the Yushchenko and Yanukovich teams, although some of its provisions have been rejected. Notably, Mr. Yushchenko and Ms. Tymoshenko did not accept the PACE recommendation to scrap the ban on parliamentary deputies swapping caucuses, as it had been a migration of deputies from the opposition factions that triggered the crisis. Mr. Yanukovich's team did not accept the advice that Mr. Yushchenko's

(Continued on page 17)

Our Ukraine and Yushchenko reverse their fortunes

by **Taras Kuzio**
Eurasia Daily Monitor

On April 18 the opposition Yulia Tymoshenko (YTB) and Our Ukraine blocs permanently withdrew their deputies from Ukraine's Parliament. Together, the factions account for 202 of the Verkhovna Rada's 450 deputies. With no constitutional majority, the Parliament – which was disbanded by presidential decree on April 2 – has no legal standing. A minimum of 300 deputies is required for Parliament to constitutionally operate.

This move is the culmination of eight months of political fighting between Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and his government and the disunited and partially discredited opposition. But now the opposition has been transformed into an energized political force. Reflecting this growing confidence, President Viktor Yushchenko, Our Ukraine and Yurii Lutsenko's People's Self-Defense movement no longer oppose early elections.

Opposition unity was made possible by a shift in the balance of power within Our Ukraine and an effort to reach out to the Tymoshenko Bloc. YTB had always been in opposition to the Anti-Crisis Coalition and had never supported a grand coalition with Mr. Yanukovich's Party of the

Regions. Following the 2004 Orange Revolution, the "liubi druzi" (dear friends or business cronies) wing of Our Ukraine had dominated, and then-Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov disastrously led it during the 2006 parliamentary elections.

The "liubi druzi" supported a grand coalition – and opposed Ms. Tymoshenko – while the national-democratic wing backed an Orange coalition. Both coalition variants were negotiated simultaneously from April through June 2006 but neither succeeded, and the Anti-Crisis Coalition was established following the defection from the Orange coalition of the Socialist Party.

In August 2006 all parliamentary forces except the YTB signed the Universal of National Unity Agreement that created a still-larger grand coalition, now including the Communists. Two months later Our Ukraine pulled out and declared itself in opposition to the ruling coalition.

It took another four months before Our Ukraine signed an opposition alliance with the Tymoshenko Bloc. The alliance reflected the new dominance of Our Ukraine's national-democratic wing.

The "liubi druzi" opposed the opposition alliance and, together with inducements such as government positions, prompted defections to the Anti-Crisis Coalition the following month, led by Anatolii Kinakh's Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine (PIEU).

A second echelon of defectors came from "liubi druzi" closer to President Yushchenko's inner circle. Petro Poroshenko was offered the position of minister of finance and was reportedly considering defecting. Mr. Poroshenko had been a founding organizer of the

(Continued on page 23)

NEWSBRIEFS**Court continues its hearings**

KYIV – The Constitutional Court of Ukraine on April 25 entered what was referred to as the "final stage" of hearings into whether President Viktor Yushchenko's decree of April 2 on the dissolution of the Verkhovna Rada is constitutional, UNIAN reported. The Constitutional Court's session devoted to the decree, which officially began on April 17, is taking place in a building cordoned off by police and picketed by representatives of the ruling coalition, who oppose the dissolution of Parliament, as well as of the opposition, which supports Mr. Yushchenko's decree. There have so far been no serious incidents connected with the pickets. (RFE/RL Newsline)

79.5 percent say they will vote

KYIV – A survey conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology reveals that 79.5 percent of those polled intend to vote in pre-term parliamentary elections if they are held. The survey also found that 13.9 percent do not intend to vote, while 6.6 could not answer. The poll, whose margin of error was less than 3.5 percent, was conducted on April 14-19; the respondents were 2,039 people age 18 and up. (Ukrayinski Novyny)

OUPU to initiate democratic forum

KYIV – The Our Ukraine People's Union is initiating a forum of democratic forces to be held in support of President Viktor Yushchenko's decree to dissolve the Verkhovna Rada, it was reported on April 24. The OUPU press service quoted party leader Viacheslav Kyrylenko as saying that the goal of the forum is to consolidate political parties and public organizations with the aim of defending the constitutional right of the Ukrainian people for free and democratic elections. (Ukrayinski Novyny)

President ready to suspend decree

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko told journalists in Kyiv on April 20 that he is ready to suspend his April 2 decree disbanding the Verkhovna Rada in exchange for a number of legislative amendments and reforms, Interfax-Ukraine reported. In particular, Mr. Yushchenko said lawmakers

should adopt a law on the so-called imperative mandate that would prevent individual lawmakers from changing their party affiliations in Parliament. Mr. Yushchenko said he would like lawmakers to amend the law on the Cabinet of Ministers in line with his suggestions and adopt a new law on the rules of procedure in the Verkhovna Rada. The president also reiterated his proposals to set up a special commission to amend the Constitution and hold a referendum on constitutional changes. Meanwhile, the same day Yulia Tymoshenko, head of the eponymous opposition bloc, called on President Yushchenko to reappoint the Central Election Commission (CEC) and urged voters to support the president in his determination to hold early parliamentary elections. "I would like us to appeal to the president of Ukraine to demand that the CEC members, who are sabotaging the electoral process and pretending they are on sick leave today, that this treacherous Central Election Commission be replaced, and that the president introduce new decent people there, who will serve Ukraine," Ms. Tymoshenko said at an opposition rally on European Square, which reportedly gathered some 20,000 supporters of the dissolution of the Verkhovna Rada. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Moroz offers a plan to resolve crisis

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Moroz told journalists in Kyiv on April 23 that he is going to offer President Viktor Yushchenko a plan to settle the ongoing political crisis in the country, Ukrainian news agencies reported. Mr. Moroz proposes to cancel simultaneously the presidential decree dissolving the Parliament and the resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers and the Verkhovna Rada that were passed in response to the decree. If the Constitutional Court recognizes the presidential decree as constitutional, Mr. Moroz proposes to postpone the date of the early elections to the Verkhovna Rada until this coming summer or autumn. If the Constitutional Court rules the presidential decree void, Mr. Moroz proposes that the Verkhovna Rada introduce a number of amendments in

(Continued on page 14)

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

FOUNDED 1933

An English-language newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a non-profit association, at 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.
 Yearly subscription rate: \$55; for UNA members – \$45.
 Periodicals postage paid at Parsippany, NJ 07054 and additional mailing offices.
 (ISSN – 0273-9348)

The Weekly: UNA:
 Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 644-9510 Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 292-0900

Postmaster, send address changes to: **Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz**
 The Ukrainian Weekly **Editors:**
 2200 Route 10 **Zenon Zawada (Kyiv)**
 P.O. Box 280 **Matthew Dubas**
 Parsippany, NJ 07054

The Ukrainian Weekly Archive: www.ukrweekly.com; e-mail: staff@ukrweekly.com

The Ukrainian Weekly, April 29, 2007 No. 17, Vol. LXXV
 Copyright © 2007 The Ukrainian Weekly

ADMINISTRATION OF THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY AND SVOBODA

Walter Honcharyk, administrator (973) 292-9800, ext. 3041
 e-mail: ukradmin@att.net
 Maria Oscislawski, advertising manager (973) 292-9800, ext. 3040
 e-mail: adsukrpubl@att.net
 Mariyka Pendzola, subscriptions (973) 292-9800, ext. 3042
 e-mail: ukrsubscr@att.net

Correction

In the third part of his "One Year After the Elections" series (April 22), Zenon Zawada incorrectly reported that Kostiantyn Zhevago was a newcomer to the Verkhovna Rada when he was elected last year. In fact, Mr. Zhevago was elected twice to the Verkhovna Rada before last year.

On Ukraine's constitutional crisis: scholars comment

The Ukrainian Weekly asked scholars from the United States, Ukraine and Canada for their comments on the current constitutional crisis in Ukraine. The questions were: 1.) Do you see the dissolution of Parliament by President Viktor Yushchenko as constitutional? Why or why not? 2.) What is the main problem with Ukraine's Constitution that has brought the country to this point? 3.) What are some solutions to the current crisis in Ukraine?

Roman Solchanyk, Ph.D., is an international affairs analyst for Rand Corp. in Santa Monica, Calif., and author of the forthcoming book "The New Eastern Europe: Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova."

1.) Clearly, I am not a lawyer or judge or legal expert, but it seems to me that the Constitution is fairly clear on the conditions under which Parliament can be dismissed (that's Article 90 of the Constitution) and those are limited to three instances – and none of those three instances apply. If you recall, in President Viktor Yushchenko's "ukaz," or decree, he does not refer to Article 90; for the most part he talks about what might be termed violations of the "spirit of the Constitution" by the parliamentary majority.

Mr. Yushchenko emphasizes his role as the guarantor of the Constitution, the guarantor of the territorial integrity of Ukraine and various other reasons why he has dissolved Parliament. So, on the face of it, it appears that the decree is unconstitutional, but we will have to wait to see what the Constitutional Court decides, if it decides anything.

So the long and short of it, from the layman's standpoint, is that there were no grounds for the president to dismiss Parliament. On the other hand, for those who interpret the Constitution in a broad way, the reasons that Mr. Yushchenko gave for dismissing Parliament are probably eminently reasonable.

But from my standpoint this kind of "loose" interpretation, invoking the "spirit of the Constitution," which is impossible to precisely define, has the potential for all kinds of abuses and violations of legal norms, depending on who is doing the defining.

2.) If one looks back over the years in Ukraine, the conflicts between the executive branch and the legislative branch have been a persistent feature of the political system. The struggle has been predominantly between the president and the parliamentary speaker, for the most part Mr. Moroz. Over the years, basically it has been a contest about who gets more power.

I think what needs to be emphasized is that the combatants or protagonists in this struggle – and it goes back to at least 1993, when Mr. Kuchma was the prime minister – have absolutely no problem in changing the Constitution so as to accumulate greater power at the expense of the other side and, I might add, at the expense of the country and its citizens. In other words, there has been, in my view, no respect for the rule of law.

Politicians in Ukraine, whether they be the president, the speaker or anyone else who has tried to amend the Constitution, like Viktor Medvedchuk, who was the head of Mr. Kuchma's administration, made determined efforts to change the rules of the game – not for the benefit of the people, not for the benefit of the state, not for the purpose of improving the legal system, but for their own political purposes. And that is a real problem, which, I suppose, has its roots in the "Soviet way of life."

3.) It's a complex situation that is difficult for any one person to offer remedies, and it is a process really that the political elites in Ukraine need to undergo. One would have thought or hoped that after more than 15 years since Ukraine's independence they would have finally arrived at the understanding that what they need to do is to respect the fundamental law. It seems clear to me that they have not arrived at that conclusion, neither Mr. Yushchenko, nor the people in Parliament.

One concrete example is the changes that were made to the Constitution in December 2004 that allowed for the third round of presidential elections and that, in turn, made it possible for Mr. Yushchenko to become president. Those changes went into effect in January 2006, and within two weeks of those changes coming into force Mr. Yushchenko was already talking about the need to nullify those constitutional amendments. That to me is a glaring example of disrespect for the Constitution.

In other words, anytime anyone comes to power or feels that there is a potential for expanding their powers, there is no hesitation whatsoever to change the

Constitution in order to facilitate that power grab.

But all of this is part of a much larger problem. In what other country – particularly one that routinely refers to itself as "European" – do opposing political forces negotiate among themselves about such things as the need for maintaining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, and then sign a piece of paper to that effect? I have in mind last year's so-called Universal of National Unity. It's going to be a long haul.

Dr. Olexiy Haran is founding director of the School for Policy Analysis, National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, Kyiv.

1.) President Viktor Yushchenko did not refer specifically to Article 90 on the conditions when the president has the right to dissolve Parliament, although he did have the possibility to refer formally to Clause 2 of this article: the Cabinet was not formed in time (60 days). He referred to violations of Article 83, which in turn is based on Article 81: deputies elected on party slates cannot change their faction and participate on an individual basis in the formation of the coalition, which happened in the Ukrainian Parliament – in this way, the results of the people's will, expressed during parliamentary elections, were violated, the system of checks and balances changed, and the power in the country could be monopolized.

The more I think about it, the more I think that President Yushchenko was right in dissolving the Parliament (although there could be debates how to formulate it better in the presidential decree). Now we often hear that the present political crisis in Ukraine is not about democracy, that it is about struggle for power. I do not agree with this. Clearly, elites are struggling for power and property. The atmosphere is different when compared with the 2004 Orange Revolution, and the electorate is frustrated.

Nevertheless, we cannot deny that Ukraine faces a crucial choice. Either Ukraine will keep democratic freedoms, the main gain of the Orange Revolution, or it will return to the Kuchma era, or even worse. Kuchma was balancing several clans; now only one clan would control the power. After the signing of the Universal of National Unity, all the compromises Mr. Yushchenko made were violated by the other side.

2.) Clearly, there are inconsistencies in the present Constitution regarding the absence of delineation of authorities between the president and the Cabinet of Ministers. Power-sharing is not necessarily bad. Moreover, in the case of Ukraine, it could lead to pragmatic compromise. So, I would say this is not the basic reason for the present crisis. From the formal point of view the Party of the Regions could follow the Constitution, but at the same time it adopted laws and provided personnel policy, which changed the balance of power in favor of the parliamentary majority. So, for me the basic reason for the problem is a political one – the inability of the Party of the Regions to co-exist with the opposition and its desire to control everything.

Nevertheless, I would suggest that some important changes to the Constitution should be made. For example, the president should have the initiative to suggest the candidate for prime minister (like in many European countries). Additionally, Parliament should not have the right to dismiss any minister, at any time, which makes ministers hostages to parliamentary lobbyism. Finally, it should be clearly stated in the Constitution that rules of parliamentary procedure are to have the status of law (otherwise, the parliamentary majority could make changes whenever it suits its interest right before the vote).

At the same time, I am not sure if the necessity of radical and hectic limitation, or even the cancellation of the rights of regional and local administrations (their heads are appointed and dismissed only with the consent of the president). Given the regional polarization of the country, failure of the administrative-territorial reform and, therefore, a weak financial basis for self-government, this could lead not to development of self-government but to regional "feudalization" of the country.

3.) A lot depends on the decision of the Constitutional Court. Clearly stated "yes" or "no" would split the country, which distrusts the court. Unfortunately, the court was formed along party lines and it discredited itself: no decision has been adopted for eight months since its formation. At this point, the country is heading

(Continued on page 21)

Helsinki Commission mourns death of Yeltsin

WASHINGTON – The Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission), Rep. Alcee Hastings (D-Fla.) on Monday, April 23, made the following statement on the death of Boris Yeltsin, former president of the Russian Federation.

"It was with great sadness that I learned of the death of former President Boris Yeltsin. I am sure I speak for all the members of the Helsinki Commission when I say that we join with millions of others in Russia and throughout the world in mourning the loss of the first freely elected president of the Russian Federation and an honored world leader. Mr. Yeltsin was a man of the people who rose up to lead his nation through a time of tumult and crisis. The American people will long remember him for his courage and determination in defending Russia against the forces of reaction and for his desire to see Russia a free and democratic member of the international community. We extend our deepest sympathy to the Yeltsin family and to the Russian people on their loss."

Yushchenko pays tribute to Yeltsin

Ukrinform

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko visited the Russian Embassy in Kyiv on April 24 to pay tribute to former Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who had died the previous day at age 76.

"On behalf of the Ukrainian nation, I would like to express sincere condolences on the passing of Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Federation's eminent statesman and first president. The great democrat, builder of the renewed Russia and inspired advocate of freedom passed into eternity. Boris Yeltsin will forever remain in our hearts as Ukraine's close friend, our reliable partner and a committed supporter of a new strategic partnership between Ukraine and Russia," Mr. Yushchenko wrote in the condolence book.

The Ukrainian leader later told reporters, "Speaking about Boris Nikolayevich, we understand how difficult it was for him to rebuild Russia when he was its first president. We realize that he was a remarkable leader and great personality who made a great, qualitative contribution to the development of bilateral relations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation. We remember and appreciate all these achievements and all these good actions."

Mr. Yushchenko thanked the Yeltsin family and Russia for having "such a historic figure" and for what Mr. Yeltsin had done to be always remembered in Ukraine.

Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich attended the funeral of Mr. Yeltsin on April 25. In his letter of condolences Mr. Yanukovich stressed that the groundwork for friendly relations between Ukraine and Russia were laid during Mr. Yeltsin's presidency.

Bill Clinton recalls Boris Yeltsin's openness

RFE/RL Newsline

NEW YORK – Speaking in New York on April 23, Former U.S. President Bill Clinton said that former Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who died on April 23 of heart failure, "stood up for freedom and democracy and openness."

"He really believed that Russia couldn't go back to communism or back further to extreme nationalism," Mr. Clinton said.

The former U.S. president added that he hopes Russia's current leaders "will go back to some of Yeltsin's openness, a little more debate, a little more dissent, a little more relaxation for people who disagree."

Thousands of mourners paid tribute on April 24 and 25 to former President Yeltsin as he lay in state in Moscow's Christ the Savior Cathedral; the state funeral was held on the afternoon of April 25.

European soccer championships poised to unite Ukraine

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Can soccer save Ukraine? It's already helping.

The selection of Poland and Ukraine to host the European soccer championships in 2012 arrived amidst a bleak

and vicious government crisis that reignited Ukraine's east-west divide.

Bombarding viewers with the daily grind of mudslinging, angry denunciations and street demonstrations, the April 18 announcement gave Ukrainian television newscasts positive national news to report for the first time in weeks.

"Finally together," declared ICTV anchorwoman Oksana Sokolova in leading off her Sunday weekly news program. "A common joy united those who stood on Kyiv's maidan and European Square, residents of Donetsk and Lviv, and those who work on a village field or a metallurgical giant."

Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc National Deputy Mykola Tomenko went even further.

"Euro 2012 is a fantastic, and unfortunately, single chance in the nearest prospect to form a positive image of Ukraine in Europe and a real chance to implement the nation's Europeanization," Mr. Tomenko said on April 19.

"So it's worth putting aside all political or ideological conflicts and prove that Ukraine can become a center for new European soccer," he added.

Unlikely hero

The man most responsible for successfully leading the Ukrainian effort in its joint bid with Poland is Hryhorii Surkis, chairman of the Football Federation of Ukraine (FFU).

Prior to his recent achievement, Mr. Surkis wasn't a popular Ukrainian persona, having been among the leaders of the Social Democratic Party – United, an organization led by Kyiv oligarchs notorious for their corruption and close ties with former President Leonid Kuchma.

The U.S. government had repeatedly denied travel visas to Mr. Surkis, who acquired large assets in Ukraine's sugar, oil and energy industries. In 2005 Mr. Surkis was among 16 deputies targeted by former Minister of Internal Affairs Yuri Lutsenko for corruption investigations that never materialized.

Mr. Surkis is most known for his ownership role with brother Ihor in the Dynamo Kyiv soccer club, serving as its president between 1993 and 1998 before stepping aside to lead the FFU.

For at least five years, the Surkis brothers have engaged in a nasty battle with Dynamo Kyiv minority shareholder and Russian citizen Konstantin Grigoryshin, who wants to buy their shares and take over the soccer club.

During the conflict, Mr. Surkis was reported to have conspired with Viktor Medvedchuk, former Presidential Administration chair, to plant a gun and drugs on Mr. Grigoryshin in an attempt to have him thrown in prison and discredited.

"I was a politician, but now I'm happy that I'm apolitical and that I can help to build a new country for five years," a visibly happy Mr. Surkis told reporters at an April 20 press conference.

A once tainted reputation received a quick bleaching thanks to Poland and Ukraine's success, from which Mr. Surkis emerged as Ukraine's revered soccer power broker who pulled off an unlikely feat in overcoming Italy's bid to host the Euro Cup.

Formerly a strident critic of Mr. Surkis' corruption, Mr. Tomenko partnered with him during the three-year project, serving as the Euro 2012 organizational committee chair in 2005.

That same year, Mr. Tomenko was vice prime minister for humanitarian affairs and threatened to re-privatize Dynamo Kyiv, which the Surkis brothers acquired in the early 1990s.

"When I was told during a chat-conference, 'Mr. Mykola, you as a representative of the opposition hugged and kissed representatives of enemy political parties,' that pleased me terribly," Mr. Tomenko said.

"I was with representatives of various political parties who crossed Ukraine's

border and defended Ukraine abroad. That's why if everyone understands that at this moment they are citizens of Ukraine above all, they have a unique chance in 2012 to become a European country not through politics, but through sports," Mr. Tomenko said.

Striving for a goal

As television repeatedly played the image of the Polish-Ukrainian delegation wildly celebrating the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) selection, it gradually began to sink in with the public that more than 1 million Europeans will soon get their first impressions of Ukraine.

Like relatives arriving to a messy home for the holidays, Europeans would arrive to a country without adequate plumbing, transportation and tourist amenities such as hotels and restaurants.

Once the euphoria dissipated, leaders rolled up their sleeves and began mulling the necessary preparations.

"We need to take into account that, obviously, we don't need five-star hotels," Mr. Tomenko told the ICTV political talk show "Svoboda Slova" on April 20. "Businesses are building them anyhow. ... We need student motels, quality, three-star European hotels and I am deeply convinced we feed fantastic amounts of money from the state budget, because half will be stolen."

Ukraine's infrastructure was its biggest weakness in its bid with Poland to host Euro 2012, and Mr. Surkis said he expects the country's largest cities will undergo a wide-scale renovation.

"It's the only one chance during the next five years to establish and build a new country," Mr. Surkis said. "This will be very useful for us because the technical progress of our countries is very low, and we will be able to develop it, because it's already the 21st century and we are still in the 20th."

Renovations cost money, and the government is already expecting to invest several billion dollars.

Last week the Verkhovna Rada (dismissed by the president on April 2) passed a Euro 2012 preparation bill, allocating an initial \$300 million from the state budget, with an additional \$4 billion in government money for building hotels and improving roads and airports.

Beyond unparalleled publicity for Ukraine, tourists are expected to boost the Ukrainian economy with \$7 billion in investment and spending.

As for stadiums, billionaire businessmen Rynat Akhmetov and Ihor Kolomoisky are already constructing top-quality structures in their respective hometowns of Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk.

Mr. Surkis said he hopes the government will renovate Respublicanskyi (Olimpiyskyi) Stadium in Kyiv, one of Europe's largest with a capacity of 80,000, and build a second stadium to host the final match.

Perhaps no city is in more need of investment than Lviv. Without its own billionaire businessman, the city will rely on government funds to construct a new stadium.

The bill? Somewhere in the range of \$136 million, with a new airport to boot, according to Petro Oliinyk, Lviv State Oblast Administration Chair.

But it appears Lviv will need more than just a stadium.

"All the hotel rooms are booked already," said Andrian Klisch, the Lviv State Oblast Administration's assistant director of culture and tourism.

That was just seven days after UEFA's decision.



Ukrainian Soccer Federation President Hryhorii Surkis and Ukraine National Team Coach Oleh Blokhin smile during an April 19 press conference in Kyiv.

Yushchenko re-dismisses...

(Continued from page 1)

was recommended against the president as a person who committed criminal acts, doesn't execute the Constitution and pushes the Ukrainian state toward disorder, chaos and lawlessness," Party of the Regions National Deputy Taras Chornovil said from the parliamentary rostrum.

In the president's defense, Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc faction Vice-Chair Oleksander Turchynov referred to the impeachment bill as a cheap and groundless public relations attempt by coalition deputies.

Opposition deputies insisted any impeachment attempts were in vain because the president has now twice dismissed the Verkhovna Rada.

Following the second dismissal decree, Presidential Representative to the Constitutional Court Volodymyr Shapoval informed the Court it need not further review the first decree because the president had repealed it.

Coalition leaders said they will submit the second dismissal decree for the Constitutional Court's review.

"Yushchenko's back is still very much against the wall," said Ivan Lozowy, president of the Kyiv-based Institute of Statehood and Democracy, which is funded by Ukrainian business donations. "He's buying time in a fight for his own survival, which he is losing. The court will definitely rule against him because it's a political decision."

Mr. Yushchenko followed his second dismissal decree by creating more controversy when he re-appointed Party of the Regions National Deputy Sviatoslav Piskun as Ukraine's procurator general after the Shevchenko District Court ruled to re-instate him the very same morning.

Mr. Yushchenko issued his re-instatement decree after repeatedly criticizing the performance of Procurator General Oleksander Medvedko, whom he appointed after dismissing Mr. Piskun in the fall of 2005.

Mr. Medvedko, a Donetsk prosecutor for seven years, has declined the presi-

dent's requests to press charges against the Cabinet of Ministers for failing to finance the Central Election Commission in preparation for pre-term elections.

The Party of the Regions refrained from criticizing the appointment of Mr. Piskun, given he belonged to their party.

It remained unclear how Mr. Piskun would direct the Procurator General's Office. When he had been left in place following the Orange Revolution, Mr. Piskun didn't pursue any significant prosecutions.

For the president, anybody is better than Mr. Medvedko as Ukraine's top prosecutor, Mr. Lozowy said. It's quite possible that Mr. Piskun reached a behind-the-scenes agreement with Mr. Yushchenko to return as procurator general, a lucrative government post ripe with corruption opportunities, Mr. Lozowy added.

"He's getting no help from Medvedko, so he figures if Piskun is there, it can't be any worse," he said.

Coalition deputies pointed out the suspicious appearance of Mr. Yushchenko's reappointment of Mr. Piskun immediately after the ruling by the Shevchenko District Court, which didn't hold a hearing.

Mr. Medvedko's fate is unclear, given that the Parliament hasn't dismissed him or approved Mr. Piskun's appointment.

The president has created "a political and legal theater of the absurd," said Vadym Kolesnychenko, a Party of the Regions national deputy.

The same day, Mr. Yushchenko made another controversial move when agreeing to adhere to a March 13 Supreme Court order re-installing Yevhen Zhovtiak as Kyiv Oblast State Administration chair, after ignoring it for several weeks.

In its order, the court stated that the president had improperly fired Mr. Zhovtiak. Mr. Yushchenko subsequently drew widespread criticism for ignoring it.

After re-instating Mr. Zhovtiak, the president immediately dismissed him again in defiance of the court.

Presidential lawyer Ihor Pukshyn alleged Mr. Zhovtiak had engaged in corrupt land transfers, which legally justified his dismissal.



THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Young UNA'ers



Odessa Sophia Howera, daughter of Mark and Raissa Howera of Columbia, Md., is a new member of UNA Branch 5. She was enrolled by her grandparents Ihor and Natalie Gawdiak.



Zoryana Areta Kuropas, daughter of Roman M. and Tania Kuropas of Hinsdale, Ill., is a new member of UNA Branch 20. She was enrolled by her grandparents Tamara and Roman I. Kuropas.



Blaise Alexander Kane, son of Sean Kane and Ramona Pakula Kane of Dearborn, Mich., is a new member of UNA Branch 82. He was enrolled by his grandparents Benjamin and Lida Pakula.



Aleksa Kate Bazylevsky, daughter of Bohdan and Christine Bazylevsky of Purchase, N.Y., is a new member of UNA Branch 171. She was enrolled by her grandparents the Rev. George and Oksana Bazylevsky.



Natalia Elizabeth McMeekin, daughter of Ross and Christina McMeekin of Whitestone, N.Y., is a new member of UNA Branch 171. She was enrolled by her grandparents the Rev. George and Oksana Bazylevsky.

Mission Statement

The UNA exists:

- to promote the principles of fraternalism;
- to preserve the Ukrainian, Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian heritage and culture; and
- to provide quality financial services and products to its members.

As a fraternal insurance society, the Ukrainian National Association reinvests its earnings for the benefit of its members and the Ukrainian community.



UNA, INC. BIRTHDAY ANNUITY SPECIAL

5.40%

In celebration of our 113th Birthday open a Tax Deferred Annuity account with UNA and receive 5.40% interest for the first 12 months.

The annuity must be held with UNA for a term of 5 years to avoid a surrender fee. No fee on withdrawal for

Terminal Illness, Nursing Home, or Medical Expenses.

Rate subject to change after 12 months

To speak to a sales representative call 1-800-253-9862

or call your local Branch Secretary

UNA SENIORS' CONFERENCE AT SOYUZIVKA

Sunday, June 10-15, 2007, during UNA Seniors' Week

Ladies and Gentlemen: 2007 is here!

We wish you good health, good spirits and invite you to visit SOYUZIVKA!

Make your reservations now for the **UNA Seniors' Conference**, which will be held at our mountain resort **SOYUZIVKA**, from Sunday, June 10 (starting with a wine and cheese reception) through Friday, June 15 (including brunch). The package is all-inclusive: five nights of accommodations, all meals, including banquet, (taxes and gratuities included).



UNA members' package
for five days: \$425 single occupancy;
\$355 pp double occupancy
or per night: \$100 single; \$82 pp double

Non-members' package
for five days: \$475 single occupancy;
\$373 pp double occupancy
or per night: \$110 single; \$90 pp double

BANQUET & ENTERTAINMENT only: \$35 pp

Call SOYUZIVKA at 845-626-5641 and register early – space is limited!
Organize a bus from your area and contact your local senior clubs!
For further information please call Oksana Trytjak at 973-292-9800 ext. 3071
Seniors' Week is FUN, AFFORDABLE AND INTERESTING
WE WELCOME GUESTS – COME ONE COME ALL!

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

"Purpose: To finally solve the Ukrainian problem in Poland towards the following end: a) ... to evacuate from the southern and eastern border region all individuals of Ukrainian nationality and resettle them on the northwestern lands ... b) The evacuation must include all elements of the Ukrainian nationality, including Lemkos and those of mixed Ukrainian-Polish marriages. ..."

— secret document dated April 16, 1947, on details of Akcja Wisla.

Akcja Wisla

This month marks the 60th anniversary of Akcja Wisla, or Operation Vistula, the military operation that forcibly resettled nearly 150,000 Ukrainians living in Poland — an act whose goal was the final solution of "the Ukrainian problem in Poland."

The operation began on April 28, 1947, and was carried out by a special military task force called Operation Group Wisla, with support from Polish police and other official entities, as well as Soviet and Czechoslovak units.

Its aim was twofold: to disperse the Ukrainians among the Polish population and to conduct ethnic cleansing of Ukrainian territories in eastern and southeastern Poland. Its intent: to destroy the Ukrainian community in Poland. Akcja Wisla's ethnic cleansing followed an earlier "exchange" of populations that in 1944 expelled Ukrainians from ethnically Ukrainian lands that became part of eastern Polish territory to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Ukrainians resettled in 1947 were taken to the so-called Ziemie Odzyskane, or "Recovered Lands," in the north and northwest, which Poland acquired from Germany after World War II. For decades, what was left of the Ukrainian community in Poland was deeply scarred.

For many years Poland argued that the Akcja Wisla was necessary as it was part of a campaign against the nationalist resistance (read Ukrainian Insurgent Army and Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and that it was a reprisal set off by the killing on March 28, 1947, of Polish Deputy Defense Minister General Karol Swierczewski. However, evidence was unearthed to prove that discussions of the deportations were under way since the fall of 1946. Thus, Akcja Wisla was a meticulously planned operation conceived well in advance.

A 2002 statement by the Ukrainian World Congress underscored that: "The deportations were carried out without regard for the rights of the deported population as citizens of Poland, whose Constitution guaranteed their right of property and choice of place of residence. Many Ukrainians, particularly leading members of the community, priests of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and even women and children, were imprisoned in the Jaworzno concentration camp (formerly a Nazi concentration camp of the Auschwitz complex). Many died there as a result of intolerable conditions and ill treatment."

That same year, Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski of Poland expressed regret over the 1947 operation, penning a letter to the National Remembrance Institute and a conference on Akcja Wisla. "On behalf of the Polish Republic, I would like to express regret to all those who were wronged by [this operation]. ... The infamous Operation Vistula is a symbol of the abominable deeds perpetrated by the Communist authorities against Polish citizens of Ukrainian origin," he wrote.

As we mark the 60th anniversary of the heinous Akcja Wisla, with many memorial events slated to take place this weekend around the globe, we bow our heads and pray for the victims of Akcja Wisla and their progeny. They will forever be remembered.

May
5
1996

Turning the pages back...

Eleven years ago, on April 17, 1996, the Verkhovna Rada began to debate the draft of the Constitution of Ukraine that had been approved by the Constitutional Committee.

The debate, according to Markian Bilynskyj of the Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy, was comparable to "the futile military campaigns of World War I."

At the end of the week, Parliament voted to create a committee that would attempt to resolve the differences when the session resumed.

When the debate resumed, the Communists refused to register and delayed the proceedings by preventing a plenary quorum. This tactic, originally known as "constructive destruction," was used by the center-right after the Parliament was elected in 1994 to block the monolithic left. But the potential crisis was averted after Rada Chairman Oleksander Moroz proposed a letter to President Leonid Kuchma, asking him to explain his position on the Constitution by May 20, 1996.

Parliament treated the draft Constitution as an ordinary piece of legislation, and therefore, procedure dictated that the four alternative drafts, including one by the Communists, the 1993 draft by a Social-Democratic deputy and the official draft by the president, be considered.

Major points of contention were: the form and function of the Parliament, whether it should be a uni- or bicameral body; the role of the presidency; the correct legal definition for the population of Ukraine; the status of the Russian language; and whether the Constitution should contain references to rights versus guarantees of health, education and employment.

The stalemate in the Parliament created the sentiment among the left that the ideal option would be for the constitutional process to become bogged down to the point that the president would be provoked into dismissing the Parliament — allowing time for the left to make considerable political gains in the interim.

However, Mr. Bilynskyj did not see this as likely due to the maneuvering that forced the passage of the Constitutional Agreement in the first place: cajoling enough deputies individually into putting their signatures on the draft Constitution for the

(Continued on page 21)

NEWS AND VIEWS

Akcja Wisla: the event, its origins and context

by Tarik Cyril Amar

PART I

Over the post-Communist period, our knowledge of Akcja Wisla has increased very substantially. Research and scholarship have developed very well, acknowledging painful, as well as shameful issues, while at the same time striving for objectivity and precision.

Yet, while we now know more about Akcja Wisla, we are also reaching a point at which the evidence, even when accessible, turns out genuinely incomplete — as, for instance, in matters of precise numbers or some important questions of decision-making. Thus, it is unlikely that we will ever know the exact number of Akcja Wisla's victims. In fact, it is unlikely that anybody ever has. Nevertheless, most basic statistics are good enough for a fairly precise picture of what happened and to how many, while, regarding how decisions were made, we can at least discard some older explanations as clearly insufficient.

Akcja Wisla was the name given by the postwar Communist-dominated Polish authorities to the forced, rapid and often brutal removal of more than 140,660 people — with estimates reaching as high as 150,000 — or 33,154 families, categorized as ethnically Ukrainian, although they also included substantial numbers of those self-identifying as Lemkos, or living in mixed families with the latter, from areas in postwar southeastern Poland to areas in northern and western Poland, where they were deliberately dispersed.

This operation, under close control of the Polish Politburo, also included the screening and labeling of the deportees by criteria of purported political reliability and internal security, as well as an offensive in the counter-insurgency campaign against the Ukrainian nationalist resistance, organized in the closely linked OUN, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and UPA, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

On the ground, Akcja Wisla's implementation began on April 28, 1947. It was carried out mainly by a specially assembled task force of about 17,500 members under the command of Gen. Stefan Mossor, called Operation Group Wisla, and additional forces uniting military, police and political police elements with indirect support from Soviet and Czechoslovak units. At the same time, Akcja Wisla was supported by various

Tarik Cyril Amar, Ph.D., who is a Eugene and Daymel Shklar Research Fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI), wrote his dissertation at Princeton University on the history of the city of Lviv between 1939 and the 1960s. (He lived in Lviv for two years.) He is currently preparing the dissertation for publication with the support of fellowships at the Harriman Institute Ukrainian Studies Program (last fall), at HURI (currently) and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington (this summer).

The paper above is the basis for a presentation by Dr. Amar at the conference on Akcja Wisla organized by the Ukrainian Studies Program of the Harriman Institute at Columbia University on April 26. The conference theme was "Post-World War II Polish-Ukrainian Relations: Remembering the 1947 Forced Relocation Campaign 'Akcja Wisla.'"

other bureaucracies of the postwar Polish state.

On the whole, Akcja Wisla was brutal and repressive — with deportations imposed at short notice, transport crowded and under harsh conditions, with long delays for some — but mostly not lethal. Yet considerable numbers of its victims were killed. A minimum of 27 deportees died from the severe transport conditions.

Akcja Wisla was the final solution to "the Ukrainian problem" in Poland.

Of the at least 3,873 people — again estimates range higher — who were subjected to the abuses of the filtration camp of Jaworzno, a former branch camp of Auschwitz designated for Akcja Wisla by the Politburo in April 1947, between 150 and 161 died as a consequence of, according to Igor Halagida, "hunger, torture, beatings and exhausting physical work."

According to official statistics, the offensive in the counter-insurgency war against the UPA produced at least another 543 UPA fighters killed in action and 173 underground fighters and purported sympathizers sentenced to death and mostly executed after military court proceedings that were deeply flawed by any standards. In general, 1947 was the single postwar year with by far the largest number of Ukrainians sentenced to death by the Polish authorities for alleged resistance activities. Of the 573 such sentences found by Eugeniusz Misilo by 1992, 372 were passed in 1947.

When did Akcja Wisla end? Soldiers were decorated for their participation on July 28, 1947, the staff of Operation Group Wisla was dissolved on the following day, and the Polish official statistics registering the number of Wisla deportees as above 140,000 (cited above) cover the period to mid-August 1947.

Yet, some of Wisla's immediate victims reached their new settlement areas as late as January 1948 or even April 1950. Small-scale deportations — and not only of those Wisla victims who tried to return to their homes — did continue at least for several years. They also continued to be managed under the code word "Wisla."

The troops, which had formed the Operation Group, did not simply leave either. Some of them remained under the new name of Military District Operation Group Nr. V, still charged with removing Ukrainians and fighting the UPA. A key decree, sealing the expropriation of the deportees and the prohibition to return to their former homes, was passed in the summer of 1949.

On the whole, however, the term "Akcja Wisla" generally refers to the deportations of spring and summer 1947.

Regarding Akcja Wisla's causes, recent evidence has principally weakened a traditional apologetic explanation, focusing on the resistance of the UPA and especially its killing of Polish deputy Defense Minister Gen. Karol Swierczewski on March 28, 1947. While the latter may have accelerated official plans of comprehensive deportation as a response to the so-called "Ukrainian question" — with Swierczewski quickly receiving propagandistic martyr-

(Continued on page 20)

Notes on Ukraine

Taras Kuzio's blog

Tymoshenko wants
to contain Russia

April 23

This week proved once again that Washington is the center of policy-making to Ukraine. On Monday the U.S. State Department held a meeting with outside experts on Ukraine to discuss the Ukrainian crisis. On Wednesday both Houses of the U.S. Congress adopted a resolution on the Ukrainian crisis. On Thursday the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) held a joint session of its four working groups on politics, energy, trans-Atlantic relations and relations with Russia to discuss proposals to be submitted by Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski and European VIPs in Berlin next month. On Friday the CSIS held a panel on the Ukrainian crisis with former Ambassador to Ukraine Steven Pifer, Dmitri Trenin (Carnegie, Moscow) and this writer (see www.voanews.com/ukrainian/2007-04-20-voa4.cfm).

And, the piece de resistance of the week was the publication of Yulia Tymoshenko's "Containing Russia" in the journal *Foreign Affairs* (<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/previews/8220/20070501faessay86307-p0/yuliya-tymoshenko/containing-russia.html>). She is the first Ukrainian politician to have published here. (It's surprising that President Viktor Yushchenko has never sought to publish in this prestigious and influential journal.) Until now articles on Ukraine have largely been written by Western scholars. It is worth noting that it is not easy to get published in *Foreign Affairs* and usually the journal requests articles.

Russia was very unhappy at the title "Containing Russia." The title was not the first choice of Tymoshenko's American consultants and a better title could have been that used in the excerpts published in the *International Herald Tribune* on April 16 as "Demand a level playing field" (<http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/04/16/opinion/edtymoshenko.php>).

According to Washington sources the article was written by Ms. Tymoshenko, whose knowledge of English is better than that of either President Yushchenko or Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, with the assistance of her foreign policy advisers and her U.S.-based public affairs consultant. The Russian conspiracy mindset that believes Vice-President Dick Cheney's office wrote the *Foreign Affairs* article is off base. The involvement of an American consultant is not unusual in assisting in the publication of articles in the U.S. media as this is part of the mandate of public affairs consultants. Opinion editorials by Messrs. Yanukovich and Yushchenko in the *Financial Times* and *The Washington Post* are written by Western public affairs companies working for them.

The American who assisted in preparing the article is not in the U.S. government, but the company of which he is a partner (TDI International) officially represents Ms. Tymoshenko in the U.S. The *Foreign Agents Registration Act* (FARA) requires American companies representing foreign governments to register at FARA but, as a major exposé in the April 17 *Wall Street Journal* on American PR companies working for Russia and Ukraine revealed, thus far the only law-abiding Ukrainian is Ms. Tymoshenko. American companies working for Messrs. Yanukovich or Yushchenko are not registered at FARA.

It is indeed surprising that the president has never learned English when he is married to an American. The major contrast between Ukrainians and Georgians at international events is that the Georgians all know English (such as Parliamentary Speaker Nina Burjanedze and President Mikheil Saakashvili), which greatly assists them in networking and lobbying Georgia's national interests. In Tymoshenko's case we can thank her growing knowledge of English on my home region of Yorkshire, which produced her rock 'n'roll son-in-law.

Ms. Tymoshenko's article is not for the faint-hearted. The published version was supposed to have appeared when she visited the United States (that is, in the March-April edition) but space considerations prevented this from happening. Its publication now coincides with the Ukrainian crisis and likely election campaign. The draft I read two months ago was toned down for publication.

Before the article appeared online, the Russian Foreign Ministry denounced it in unusually strong language (http://www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/0/OC641A2EB01FF23FC32572BF00537789). In the conspiratorial culture that dominates Vladimir Putin's Russia, the article is defined as an "anti-Russian manifesto" and an attempt at rekindling the Cold War. The Russian Foreign Ministry is convinced that "somebody" is standing behind Ms. Tymoshenko and this person is allegedly Vice-President Dick Cheney.

Why? Because he gave a speech very critical of Russia at a meeting in Vilnius in May 2006, was known to be a strong advocate of an Orange coalition that could pave the way for U.S. support for Ukraine's NATO membership and most importantly, Moscow is convinced that, because Mr. Cheney met Ms. Tymoshenko during her U.S. visit, they therefore coordinated the article. The U.S. vice-president does not usually meet opposition leaders.

The Russian Foreign Ministry lumps Mr. Cheney and Ms. Tymoshenko together as Cold War warriors while trying to convince us that President Putin's Munich speech was a "serious and frank dialogue" that was made in a "direct and open fashion." After Mr. Putin's Munich speech it was the West that concluded Russia had rekindled a new Cold War.

Russian apologists in the West have always rushed to defend Russian policies. And, so I am eagerly awaiting the response of Anatol Lieven of the *New America Foundation*. He had already lambasted U.S. policy to Russia and condemned U.S. support for Ukrainian membership in NATO in the March edition of *The American Conservative* (http://www.amconmag.com/2007/2007_03_26/cover.html). As an analyst in a conservative Washington think-tank said to me last year after an earlier Russophile article, "Lieven! Someone who hates everything American and loves everything Russian." Why British scholars like Lieven are so Russophile would require another lengthy blog.

In reality, Ms. Tymoshenko is not "anti-Russian." Her *Foreign Affairs* article is an in-depth critique of Russian neo-imperial policies, particularly in the field of energy that she knows and understands. If the article is really a "Cold War manifesto" it would have included a discussion of NATO's role, but NATO is never once mentioned in the article. Ms. Tymoshenko is cautious

(Continued on page 16)

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Russia's American apologists

Anyone familiar with Russia's history realizes that, in the words of George Will, "Expansionism is in the Russian's DNA."

People who have followed the career and actions of Russian President Vladimir Putin can only agree with Peter Rodman's 1994 statement that "The only potential great-power security problem in Central Europe is the lengthening shadow of Russian strength, and NATO has the job of counter-balancing it."

Although President Putin enjoys an approval rate of around 70 percent, there is concern that authoritarian rule is returning to Russia. Increasing state control of the economy, the muzzling of serious political opposition, the shutdown or takeover of newspapers and television stations, and the emasculation of the Russian Duma are all part of Mr. Putin's goal of total state control. Are we surprised? As Yulia Tymoshenko points out in a recent *Foreign Affairs* article titled "Containing Russia," research by Moscow's Center for the Study of Elites "suggests that 78 percent of the top people in Putin's regime can be considered ex-KGB."

The West has criticized Russia's return to its former authoritarian habits but "a far more important factor than reform," writes Ms. Tymoshenko, "is Russia's attempt to restore its pre-eminence in the territories it once controlled ... The West has done little to enable the Soviet Union's successor states – with the exception of the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – to achieve viable international standing ... Russia's reform will be impeded, not helped, if the West turns a blind eye to its imperial pretensions," she writes. "The independence of the republics that broke away from the Soviet Union, including Ukraine, must not be tacitly downgraded by the West's acquiescence to Russia's desire for hegemony."

And yet, that is exactly what Anatol Lieven suggests the United States and the West do in dealing with Putin's Russia. In an article titled "To Russia with Realism" which appeared in the March 26 issue of *The American Conservative* of all places, Mr. Lieven suggests that if a new Cold War emerges, it will be the fault of the Bush administration which, he argues, has infuriated Russia by its support of NATO membership for Ukraine.

"The case of Ukraine and NATO is worth considering as a prime example of the deep irrationality affecting U.S. policy in the former Soviet Union," writes Mr. Lieven. "After all, the Russians have lost far more men fighting in Ukraine in various wars than have died in all of America's wars put together ..." The argument seems to be that since Russians died as they invaded and forcibly incorporated Ukraine into Russia or the Soviet Union, Ukraine belongs to Russia. Americans died in Germany by the thousands in two world wars. Does that mean Germany should belong to the United States?

"Even more important," continues Mr. Lieven, "are two more facts almost never mentioned in the American debate on this subject ... The first is that according to every reliable opinion poll, the great majority of Ukrainians do not even want NATO membership ... Leaving aside the

deep historical and cultural ties between much of Ukraine and Russia, Ukrainians are well aware of how economically dependent their country is on Russia and how little by comparison the West has done to help them."

The results of opinion polls depend on how the question is framed and when it is asked. Polls I have read suggest that Ukrainians are not averse to NATO membership in principle. Historical and cultural ties to Russia, moreover, are the result of genocidal domination and oppression. The longer Ukraine remains independent, the weaker these ties will become.

Reflecting on why "the general U.S. mood toward Russia is so bad," Mr. Lieven concludes that it has to do with the Cold War when "the Soviet Union ... was the principal enemy. Out of the Cold War came the particular influence in Washington of Polish, Baltic and West Ukrainian lobbies, with ethnic hatreds of Russia that long predate their countries' subjection to Soviet Communism." Right. As if all these "ethnic hatreds" were totally unreasonable, not based on pre-Soviet Russian genocidal policies against their neighbors.

In another article titled "Why are we trying to reheat the Cold War?" appearing in the *Los Angeles Times* in March, Mr. Lieven excoriated Vice-President Dick Cheney for "arguing for a new tough line against Moscow along the lines of a scaled-down Cold War." In Mr. Lieven's mind, such criticism of Russian behavior only "angers ordinary Russians and risks driving them further toward chauvinistic nationalism." Mr. Lieven reminds me of American apologists during the Cold War who cautioned against too much criticism of Soviet behavior because it only strengthened Soviet "hard-liners."

Mr. Lieven has an interesting history. He is currently a research fellow at the *New America Foundation*, which describes itself as "a non-profit, post-partisan, public policy institute that was established through the collaborative work of a diverse and intergenerational group of public intellectuals, civic leaders and business executives," all of which is very politically correct but tells us nothing. Far more interesting is the fact that Mr. Lieven speaks Russian, lived for a time in Russia, and was once associated with the U.S. Institute of Peace which published his monograph titled "Ukraine and Russia: A Fraternal Rivalry" in 1999. Interesting title.

If the U.S. and Russia are entering a new Cold War, it is a war that Mr. Putin himself declared. Can Ukraine ignore Russia? Of course not. In the words of Ms. Tymoshenko, "self-determination does not mean isolation. New nations can build with their former occupiers the same kind of fruitful relationship that France now has with Germany – a relationship founded on equality and mutual interests." Russia's leaders deserve understanding as they struggle to free themselves of Soviet misrule, she believes. "They are not, however, entitled to being handed the sphere of influence that tsars and commissars coveted for 300 years."

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

On the road to Chernobyl: a journey to the exclusion zone

by Irene Zabytko

In February 2007 I traveled with filmmaker Peter Mychalcewycz to the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone, to visit the people living in an abandoned village for a pre-production research trip. The following is a chronicle of our adventures.



A soldier measures his radiation dosage.

Conclusion

Before we left Opachychi, I insisted we go through the town center. I remembered the photos that accompanied The Ukrainian Weekly article of the boarded-up buildings, which were the inspiration for the town in my novel, and I wanted to see if anything was still standing after 20 years.

"We just passed it," Valerii said. "It's all gone now."

I insisted we return. Serhii knew exactly where the town was and because of the incredibly deep snow, we had to tramp on foot to find what was left of a few dilapidated buildings hidden behind defiant trees and bushes. We found a yellow brick building and went through the open wall that led us into a large room with a stage.

"This was the 'klub,'" Serhii said. "I was a boy when I used to come here for lectures and dances. The Communists held their meetings, and we would have to come to hear speakers," he said. "But we had good

times too."

Twenty years of neglect had devoured the building. Half of the ceiling was caved in and we hopped from one orphaned floorboard to another to avoid the ominous spaces. It would have been so easy to fall into a dark pit of radiated earth and pieces of flooring that people once danced on.

"Chysti" check-out

We still had to make one last stop to Chernobyl to alert the border guard that we were leaving the zone. The checkpoint soldier asked if we wanted to see if we were "chysti" or "clean." In other words, not contaminated by radiation.

Curiously, we weren't required to get a radiation-level reading. "Only if you want to," Valerii said. He waited in the car, but Peter, Serhii and I went into a building with a giant steel gate-like structure attached to a meter. I wasn't sure what to do.

"Press your hand up there," a soldier pointed to a hand imprint on a steel beam. I was relieved to see that the reading registered me as clean. If I wasn't clean, I would have had to discard my clothes, and suffer being hosed by water – an awful prospect considering it was so cold.

Back in the warmth of Valerii's comfortable car, we returned to Kyiv, smack into the frustrating grip of rush hour. Toyotas and Hondas gridlocked and honked at each other on the icy streets just as they would in any cosmopolitan city anywhere in the world. It was a startling jolt back into civilization after the tragic, strange solitude of Opachychi.

Footage the footage

After our return to the States, Peter and I sifted through several hours of film footage that was shot during our very

successful trip. In a few short days in Ukraine, we accomplished everything we set out to do and we were rewarded with tremendous shots that we have compiled into a promotional DVD for fund-raising.

The next step is to collect enough funds for us to return to Opachychi this summer and hire a film crew to begin production of "Life in the Dead Zone." This will be a two-to three-week stay; we will follow the women we met and also visit the Chernobyl power plant.

We are also planning on traveling to the Ukrainian Heritage Museum near Edmonton, Alberta, an outdoor living museum of a Ukrainian Canadian settlement. This will be the setting for filming the excerpts taken from "The Sky Unwashed" that will segue with the real-life scenes of Opachychi in the documentary.

Meanwhile, we are constructing a website that will chronicle all of our accomplishments and plans.

But we can't do it without your help. Please continue to support us through your generous contributions (guaranteed to see your name on the film credits!). Help us continue to make this important film. We are a non-profit 501 (c) 3 tax-exempt organization, and your donations will be tax-deductible for the year with the added benefit that our thanks to you will be eternal and you will receive good karma, blessings and the knowledge that you are participating in a landmark film project that will reform the world's attention on Chernobyl and its continuous menacing presence.

Please send checks to: The Ukrainian Artistic Center, 2657 W. Iowa St., First Floor, Chicago, IL 60622-4755; please earmark it as "Chernobyl Film."

For more information readers may contact this writer directly at: irenezabytko@yahoo.com.

Ukrainian Film Club of Columbia University presents

Ukrainian Cinema

at the Soyuzivka Film and Cultural Festival
starting Wednesday July 11 through Saturday July 14

Opening Night Film

Best of Ukrainian Award Winning Films

Filmmaker Q&A

Roundtable Discussion on the State of Ukrainian Cinema in Ukraine

Documentaries and Independent Films

Ukrainian Feature Film in Ukrainian

Program Director: Yuri Shevchuk • Film Festival Director: Christina Kotlar
for more information email to: filmfestivalreviews@mac.com



Documentary "La Zona" tells the story of Chornobyl through children's eyes

by Christina Kotlar

NEW YORK – The Ukrainian Film Club of Columbia University on Wednesday, April 18, hosted the New York and U.S. premiere of "La Zona" (The Unnamed Zone), a documentary feature film about three children and their families affected by the worst nuclear disaster in human history which took place at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine on April 26, 1986.

Filmmaker Carlos Rodriguez from San Sebastian, Spain, was introduced by film club director Yuri Shevchuk and stayed long after the film's conclusion, answering many thought-provoking questions.

After 21 years, the zone surrounding Chornobyl is comparable to J.R.R. Tolkien's description of the land of Mordor in "The Lord of the Rings." Even reactor No. 4 eerily resembles Mount Doom, rising above the dangerous and desolate countryside, its invisible radioactive fingers stretching across an otherwise stunningly beautiful landscape.

These areas are vividly captured in this film, which conveys the story through three young voices – Lida, Nastia and Andrii – and their families, who live just beyond "the zone," an arbitrarily drawn 30-kilometer area surrounding the power plant. When Chornobyl reactor No. 4 exploded, it released 200 times more radiation than the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki combined. The zone is the site of the ancestral homes of many Ukrainians, who will not be able to return there for a thousand years.

The film is structured like a fairytale, told in the first person by the three children who define their situation as something unreal that could not possibly be

happening in this day and age. Information and technological detection in the West announced the disaster to the world over 20 years ago, yet during the three-day evacuation of over 350,000 people, no one was told anything. The pattern of obfuscation continues even today. Radiation falls and settles in patches and, in spite of constant monitoring, officials say everything is fine. But it isn't.

The official number of deaths remains an unconvincing 54 (47 at the time of the disaster plus nine as a result of thyroid cancer), whereas the environmental organization Greenpeace estimates 100,000 extra cancer deaths with 8,000 deaths attributed to the disaster. The Ukrainian National Council on Radiation Protection claims to have documentation for 34,499 deaths. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates the number of deaths to be closer to 50,000 and after years of data analysis no one really knows for sure what Chornobyl's ramifications actually are or will be.

The WHO recommended that children living within a certain distance of the zone go abroad for 40 days out of the year to recuperate from stresses on their immune systems. Countries such as Australia, Italy and Spain invite these children to spend this convalescence within their borders. It is during one of these visits that the filmmakers became intrigued with the situation.

A vigorous question and answer session followed the film screening, with myriad questions from the audience, especially regarding health issues. Mr. Rodriguez listened intently and through his interpreter, Iban Ubarretxena, responded with information he learned while on a daring venture into the contaminated zone with just a camera and a



Filmmaker Carlos Rodriguez

sound person. They were well aware of and concerned with the dangers of contamination as they collected visuals and then conducted interviews to construct the story.

The father of one of the children worked as a firefighter near the site and spoke candidly about his concerns for his children and for his own health. If there were too much radiation indicated on his person, he would be fired from his job – a job necessary to support his young and growing family. He and others note that the guarded sarcophagus is breaking down, with three of its four walls already cracked and deemed unsafe. The workers speculate that radiation is escaping from this decaying structure. But life goes on.

Views on the environment are

expressed in "La Zona" solely through the children's opinions, drawings, poetry, songs and wishes. The filmmakers do not speak or understand the Ukrainian language, yet this film speaks so eloquently about the Ukrainian people, their lives and their future as these are intertwined with consequences that are far more terrible and complex than the purely medical. Chornobyl's consequences will pervade every single aspect of life for generations to come.

The film's director, Mr. Rodriguez began his documentary filmmaking career at Canal+ SPAIN. After six years, he and producer Asun Lasarte established their film production company Morgan Creativos, specializing in documentaries and other cinematographic contents for television. Many of their documentaries achieved international recognition in film festivals around the world, such as the San Sebastian International Film Festival, DocsBarcelona, Documenta Madrid, Seattle and Chicago International Film festivals, Docaviv, Sydney Opera House and others.

A much shorter version of "La Zona" was also screened on Friday, April 20, as part of the "Legacy of Chornobyl" session at the 16th International Conference on Health and Environment: Global Partners for Global Solutions at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City.

Since its establishment in 2004, the Ukrainian Film Club has become a unique international initiative whose mission is to provide a forum promoting the best of Ukrainian cinema and connecting Ukrainian filmmakers with the rest of the world. For more information go to the website at www.columbia.edu/cu/ufc.

NEWS ANALYSIS: Belarusian opposition activist travels to Chornobyl zone

by David Marples

Eurasia Daily Monitor

As the 21st anniversary of the nuclear disaster at Chornobyl approaches, it is becoming a focal point of both government and opposition activity in Belarus. It remains a potentially divisive issue because of cutbacks in aid to former liquidators and affected young people, as well as government programs to re-cultivate contaminated regions. Alyaksandr Milinkevich, leader of the United Democratic Forces (UDF), requested time on national television to express his viewpoint on these issues on April 25, but his request was rejected (Belorusy i Rynok, April 16-23).

On April 21 Mr. Milinkevich began a tour of the regions of Belarus affected by the accident. On April 22 he took part in a conference dedicated to the problems of the consequences of the Chornobyl accident in Mazyr. The following day he was scheduled to visit three towns in the most contaminated zone of the republic, Brahyn, Khoyniki and Homiel.

His goal, according to an interview he provided to Belapan, is to draw the attention of Belarusians and the international community to the problems of ensuring the safety of the population and production in zones that do not conform to radiological norms. He expressed in particular his anxiety about providing real aid for people who have lived in a radioactive zone for more than two decades and ensuring that children are permitted to travel abroad for periods of recuperation (Belorusskie Novosti, April 21 and 22).

Two issues are of immediate concern. The first is the government policy of

reducing funds directed to Chornobyl and reworking lands contaminated by long-living radionuclides, such as cesium-137 and strontium-90, as well as plutonium hotspots. The second issue is the reduction or curtailment of activities of NGOs devoted to Chornobyl issues, which in the past bore much of the costs through international assistance.

For example, a two-year program put together by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Belarusian Institute of Radiology is under way in the Homiel Oblast, using what is termed new "ecological technology" in products and drinking water to cultivate lands in contaminated zones (Belapan, January 17). Meanwhile, serious violations of existing rules for living in such areas have occurred recently in the Vetka district (Homiel region), particularly with regard to fishing in local rivers and the selling and consumption of local fish products (Belorusskie Novosti, December 26, 2006).

In late February, several Belarusian liquidators wrote an appeal to Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko, who was about to meet with his Belarusian counterpart, Alyaksandr Lukashenka. One of the signatories, Ivan Nikitchenka, a corresponding member of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus, explained that the letter outlined how Belarusian liquidators had been deprived of benefits that they had received since 1991, as a result of a law guaranteeing their social protection. Sicknesses among their members are no longer recognized as being related to their exposure to high levels of radiation, and all attempts to rectify this situation through Belarusian

courts have resulted in failure (Belorusskie Novosti, February 26).

Funds to deal with Chornobyl problems currently are channeled through two sources: the republican budget and the budget of the Russia-Belarus Union. The amounts are pitifully small. Thus for the period 2006-2010 from the Union budget, 172 million Russian rubles (\$6.1 million U.S.) is allocated for "overcoming the consequences of the Chornobyl catastrophe." Among the projects to be dealt with in 2007 are the creation of a single Chornobyl register of dosimetric data, as well as formulating plans for the use of agricultural and forest areas, and an information center in Minsk (Belorusskie novosti, March 15). Of the figure of 172 million RR, 16.2 million RR are to be spent in 2007, and will additionally fund the recuperation of 1,100 children in special sanatoria (BELTA, January 1).

Republican expenditure for 2007, which embraces the recuperation of more than 144,000 children, is 82 billion Belarusian rubles (\$38 million U.S.). Over 258,000 children reportedly have the right to services for rest and recuperation (Belapan, April 20), though the Ministry of Foreign Affairs cites a figure of 494,000 on its web page. Likewise, the portion of the budget allocated to Chornobyl was 19.9 percent in 1992, 13.5 percent in 1995, and around 6 percent in 2005 (DHA News, September-October 1995, Louisa Vinton, United Nations Development Program, September 6, 2005).

Mr. Milinkevich, as well as the democratic forces generally in Belarus, intend to draw attention to Chornobyl-related problems as the time draws closer to the

anniversary date on April 26 and the proposed "Chornobyl Path" march that will start at Yakub Kolas Square, close to the city center.

Mr. Nikitchenka and others link the current demographic crisis in Belarus directly to the authorities' failure to deal adequately with Chornobyl and their decision to cut back non-government aid to victims, particularly those funds that were responsible for sending children abroad for recuperation. Such decisions, they believe, are political and they account in part for the loss of 500,000 individuals in the republic since 1993. At the present rate of population decline, this figure will double by 2020, with a further 28 percent reduction by 2050 (Belorusy i Rynok, April 16-23).

Therefore, the organizers of the Chornobyl Path have issued an appeal to the authorities, requesting an increase in the social protection of the population, financial compensation for Chornobyl victims, a change of attitude toward humanitarian organizations working on these issues that are not linked to the government, better provision of medical goods for the affected population, and a system of "full" radiation control over the contaminated lands.

All these demands appear to contradict the current policies of the Lukashenka regime, which regards Chornobyl-related problems as a potential burden on its alleged story of economic successes over the past decade.

The article above is reprinted from Eurasia Daily Monitor with permission from its publisher, the Jamestown Foundation, www.jamestown.org.

How do you solve...?

(Continued from page 1)

shifting the right to nominate the prime minister from Parliament to the presidency; and dismissal of Procurator General Oleksander Medvedko, who was appointed by Mr. Yushchenko himself in 2005.

In addition to the proposals stated on April 20, the president also suggested an open list electoral system and passing a new version of the law ratifying the European Charter on regional languages and ethnic minorities.

While many of his proposals are subject to compromise, the president made clear that pre-term parliamentary elections are non-negotiable. On April 25 he postponed the elections originally announced for May 27 until June 24.

Another requirement is a revised and amended Ukrainian Constitution that would be put before a national referendum – an idea popular among Ukraine's Western-oriented, reform-minded politicians.

Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich

Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich (Party of the Regions) hasn't given the president many options to resolve the crisis, largely because he believes the Constitutional Court will declare the dismissal decree unconstitutional and thereby give him enormous political leverage.

The president's proposal to temporarily halt the decree isn't enough to satisfy the prime minister, whose strategy is clear: either pressure the president to cancel the decree altogether, or wait for a ruling.

"After the Constitutional Court issues its verdict, of course, he will submit to its decision and his status will be unenviable, to put it mildly," Mr. Yanukovich said.

Therefore, the Party of the Regions is in no rush to reach a compromise prior to

the president to cancel his decree, either for a month or prior to the Constitutional Court's decision. In exchange, the parliamentary and Cabinet of Ministers resolutions condemning the decree would be canceled.

In the event the Constitutional Court rules the decree was illegal, the memorandum calls for approving legislation in May to include a new election law, revising the Parliament's regimen, changing the Cabinet of Ministers law and passing a parliamentary opposition law.

Mr. Moroz excludes the possibility of pre-term elections in this event, largely because the Socialist Party of Ukraine isn't expected to attain the necessary 3 percent of votes to enter the Verkhovna Rada.

If the court upholds the dismissal decree, then elections should be held in the summer-autumn, the memorandum states, based on open party lists.

The Socialist Party is unlikely to qualify for Parliament based on the closed list system.

Parliamentary Opposition Leader Yulia Tymoshenko

Yulia Tymoshenko (Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc) supports the president's position that pre-term parliamentary elections are unavoidable.

As part of negotiations, he shouldn't cancel his decree, she said. Instead, he should consider postponing elections beyond the announced May 27 date.

As usual, Ms. Tymoshenko proposed far more radical ways in dealing with the coalition than the president has, namely, dismissing Procurator General Oleksander Medvedko, Minister of Internal Affairs Vasyl Tsushko and the "sold-out and traitorous" Central Election Commission (CEC).

CEC commissioners "are sabotaging the elections, hiding behind medical

"Political reforms, which would enforce the 'rules of the game' and create pre-conditions to guarantee democratic rights and freedoms through lawful institutions, and would have supported political competition, haven't been achieved

and other relations of foreign governments with Ukraine," the resolution stated.

Four days later, State Duma Chairman Boris Grizlov accused the Ukrainian president of ignoring democracy and introducing an emergency situation,

"To place hope in the courts is a waste. Any court ruling by any court won't be perceived by society as politically legitimate in the moral dimension."

– former Verkhovna Rada Chair
Volodymyr Lytvyn

thus far," the resolution stated.

Battling politicians must resolve the crisis either through pre-term elections rooted in the Constitutional Court's decision, or through a political compromise, according to PACE. Pre-term elections are a legitimate, democratic means of resolving the crisis, commonly practiced in Europe, the resolution stated. The coalition government is wrong to deny financing.

The resolution cited the urgent need for Ukraine's leaders to work toward reforming the Ukrainian Constitution so that a system of checks and balances in government is in place.

"Constitutional reform should be a part of discussions oriented toward resolving the current crisis," the resolution stated. Complex judicial reform is needed to ensure the objectivity and legitimacy of court rulings.

PACE rejected the imperative mandate proposal, instead recommending that Ukraine's political parties adopt consistent political platforms and recruit committed politicians. The Cabinet of Ministers law passed in January that limited the president's authority must be amended to conform to Ukraine's Constitution, the resolution stated.

U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William Taylor

The American ambassador has not publicly commented on the crisis since it erupted, aside from brief remarks made to the American Chamber of Commerce in Kyiv on April 5.

Mr. Taylor said he expects the conflict will be resolved by a Constitutional Court decision, pre-term parliamentary elections, or a political compromise that could involve either.

"The United States government's sense is that none of those are ruled out," he said. "We don't express a preference among those three." The U.S. government doesn't favor any political party and is willing to work with everyone involved, the ambassador has repeatedly stated throughout the last several months.

Since the crisis' outbreak, Mr. Taylor has attended several negotiations between the president and the prime minister, Ukrayinska Pravda reported.

Mr. Taylor has not made a statement as to whether the U.S. government views Mr. Yushchenko's dismissal decree as constitutional or not.

Russian Federation Duma

An institution that felt qualified to determine the constitutionality of the president's decree was the Russian Federation State Duma, which accused Mr. Yushchenko of usurping power in its April 6 resolution.

"Passing this anti-constitutional decision, which at its root diverges not only from a political but also a healthy mind, extraordinarily complicates the political, economic

which was unacceptable.

Mr. Grizlov met with Mr. Moroz to express his support for the Verkhovna Rada, and they agreed to cooperate, particularly in making public statements.

As for resolving the crisis, Russian deputies offered few concrete suggestions, except for pointing out that the court's decision will help.

Former President Leonid Kravchuk

In attempting to form a 300-vote constitutional majority, the Verkhovna Rada forced Mr. Yushchenko into a position in which he was forced to act, said former President Leonid Kravchuk (Social Democratic Party – United).

"I absolutely support the president in the sense that he couldn't not react to this," he said. "But his reaction was inadequate, because it doesn't conform to the Constitution or the situation."

If a compromise is to arise, both sides have to offer concessions, Mr. Kravchuk said. Then all decrees and resolutions issued by the conflicting parties that violate the Constitution should be recalled, he said.

"It's not possible to sit at the table when unlawful acts are active," Mr. Kravchuk said.

Parliament must pass an imperative mandate law to prevent national deputies from leaping between factions and parties, that caused the current crisis, he said. Agreements such as the Universal of National Unity have proven to lack any legal basis to prevent the deputies from abandoning factions again, Mr. Kravchuk said.

Former President Leonid Kuchma

Former President Leonid Kuchma, author of "After Maidan," said he knew the maidan revolt of 2004 wouldn't be Ukraine's last, except he didn't expect events would unravel so quickly.

"In 2006 there was a large temptation to return to the scenario of 2004, when the precedent of resolving political problems on the streets in violation of legislative norms was set," the former president told the Vremia Novosti newspaper in an interview published on April 23.

The current politicians are fighting each other with ultimatums, which won't lead to any progress, Mr. Kuchma said.

The president's call for pre-term elections was illogical, he said, though it's difficult to act logically when politicians back each other against walls. Elections won't change the Parliament's composition significantly, Mr. Kuchma said.

Mr. Yushchenko ought to find a compromise between what he deemed the "eastern and western elites." As his most concrete proposal, Mr. Kuchma offered that Our Ukraine unite with the Party of the Regions.

As for foreign intervention, the former president said it's time that Ukrainians

"I absolutely support the president in the sense that he couldn't not react to this. But his reaction was inadequate, because it doesn't conform to the Constitution or the situation."

– former President Leonid Kravchuk

the court's ruling.

Should it rule against the president, the prime minister said he would consider pursuing impeachment or pre-term presidential elections.

After the president postponed elections until June 24, a proposal by Party of the Regions National Deputy Taras Chornovil to begin impeachment proceedings received widespread support among party members during an April 26 faction meeting.

"It was recommended and widely supported to cease negotiations with the president until he returns to the constitutional field," Mr. Chornovil said.

Verkhovna Rada Chair Oleksander Moroz

Oleksander Moroz (Socialist Party of Ukraine) on April 23 announced his own plan to lead Ukraine out of its political crisis, revealing that he agrees with the president on numerous legislative reform initiatives.

Critics of Mr. Moroz believe he is the main contributor to the crisis by continuing to lead daily Verkhovna Rada sessions, ignoring the president's dismissal decree.

In his "Memorandum on Reconciliation and Cooperation," Mr. Moroz calls for the

leaves – someone's leg in plaster, someone's hand thrust into a socket, someone taken away with dizziness," Ms. Tymoshenko said, calling on the president to assign "new and honest people."

The Tymoshenko Bloc won't recognize any decision reached by the Constitutional Court, she said, because its judges are suspected of corruption, particularly after the Security Service of Ukraine announced it has evidence that Judge Suzanna Stanik received \$12 million in bribes.

Ms. Tymoshenko has long supported the need for constitutional reform, elections reform, a law giving the parliamentary opposition a voice and an imperative mandate to prevent deputies from switching factions.

Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

Ukraine's political crisis is a result of certain political forces taking advantage of a constitutional vacuum that resulted from the rushed and incomplete constitutional and political reforms approved during the Orange Revolution, according to an April 19 resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE).

(Continued on page 18)

Ukrainian American students...

(Continued from page 1)

SUSTA is, by its very nature, an interim organization between schooling and careers, Dr. Procyk urged the students to translate their involvement in SUSTA to another organization in the Ukrainian community.

In the conference's first panel discussion, Askold Lozynskyj, president of the Ukrainian World Congress, commended the students on their initiative to hold this conference and recalled how in the past SUSTA was the conscience of the Ukrainian community and a spokesman for its hopes. During the dissident movement of the 1970s and 1980s, SUSTA played a major role in the release of many political prisoners under the Soviet regime.

Mr. Lozynskyj also reminded the students of the initiatives and opportunities that are important today. This, according to Mr. Lozynskyj, includes participation in the democratic transition in Ukraine and working toward Poland's recognition of and restitution for the forced relocation of Ukrainians as a result of Akcja Wisla.

As an example of student activity Mr. Lozynskyj cited the efforts by students in Ukraine to secure the renaming of streets there from names from the Soviet era to Ukrainian historical figures. Finally, Mr. Lozynskyj reminded the students to keep in mind the global Ukrainian student community and to work toward global goals.

Michael Sawkiw, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, underscored the need to look for common elements with Ukrainians around the world. "Renewing SUSTA is a major step to bring something of yourselves to the Ukrainian community,"

clubs that promoted Ukrainian studies and Ukrainian activities. Dr. Savyckyj urged the students to find good advisors for their clubs in order to maintain momentum in their efforts.

Concerning the future of business in Ukraine, Vsevolod Onyshkevych, executive vice-president of Raritan Computer Inc., said that for career-minded students interested in business Ukraine offers a great opportunity to help in its economic development. Outsourcing in Ukraine, according to Mr. Onyshkevych, has doubled every year for the last four years. Students with strong Ukrainian backgrounds are better prepared to address the cultural risks and associated challenges that Western companies face in Ukraine.

Peter Woloschuk, faculty advisor to the Boston College Ukrainian Society, added that students should not only advocate for Ukrainian studies at American universities, but in Ukraine as well.

Marta Matselioukh, project coordinator for the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, provided the students with a list of 51 ways that each student could make a difference in Ukraine's development. Some of the ways outlined by Ms. Matselioukh included applying for a Fulbright Scholarship in Ukraine, hosting a "Ukraine Week" that would include art exhibits, holding conferences related to Ukrainian issues via video, web or on campus, and even going to Ukraine on spring break.

Asking the students what they thought of the SUSTA conference, Roman Tabatchouk, president of the Rutgers Ukrainian Students Club, said, "I hope that this conference serves as a springboard for a larger, more pan-American organization to reach out to all Ukrainian



Andrij Harasewych

During a break in the proceedings (from left) are: Adriana Kuzyszyn, Lida Doll and Taisa Hewka.

previous SUSTA members to guide these clubs, that turnover will make less of an impact."

After a break for lunch, the conference resumed with several smaller sessions on topics such as Ukrainian ethnic identity, being a Ukrainian professional, and a film screening and discussion on the making of Damian Kolodiy's documentary "The Orange Chronicles."

Andrij Wowk, president of the Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America, provided the students with an outline of what UESA is and does, and how joining a professional organization, even while in school, can give students an edge in the job market. Organizations such as UESA, Mr. Wowk said, provide members with a network, an opportunity to learn from others' experiences, and professional and social events, which will play a key role in their job-hunting success. For a list of other Ukrainian professional organizations, he suggested that students can log onto www.brama.com.

The sessions continued with a lecture by attorney Tatiana Durbak on Ukrainian immigration and integration.

Artem Luhovy, president of the Ukrainian students club at McGill University in Montreal, and a member of SUSK, the parallel organization to SUSTA in Canada, commented: "The conference is a great first step. It is very well organized and I'm pleased to see many other clubs here from all over, despite [it] being exam time for many of these students."

On cooperation between SUSTA and SUSK (Soyuz Ukrayinskoho Studentstva Kanady), Mr. Luhovy said that the Internet offers students from the U.S. and Canada such an easy way to develop ideas, projects and initiatives. There should be less distinction between national groups like SUSTA and SUSK, but these organizations should work toward one group for all of North America, Mr. Luhovy added.

Recognizing the importance of history, Mr. Luhovy said that he would like to see the preservation of these

(Continued on page 18)



Andrij Harasewych

Students listen to a lecture by Dr. Iwan Z. Holowinsky, professor of psychology at Rutgers University, on Ukrainian ethnic identity.

he said. The proposed upcoming parliamentary elections offer students an opportunity to actively participate in the democratic initiatives there and to build ties with Ukraine, Mr. Sawkiw added.

After the first panel discussion, the UCCA president presented SUSTA with a check for \$250 for its efforts.

Roma Lisovich, treasurer of the Ukrainian National Association, recalled her personal experiences at a SUSTA conference held at Soyuzivka, the UNA estate, which inspired her participation in the Ukrainian community. Ms. Lisovich urged the students to utilize UNA resources, such as its two newspapers, and its database to unite efforts and accomplish great things and look to the UNA for opportunities to get involved.

Viktor Voloshyn, representing the Embassy of Ukraine, said the Embassy looks forward to collaborative efforts with SUSTA. Pointing to relaxed visa rules, he invited Ukrainian American students to visit Ukraine to take advantage of opportunities there.

Yuriy Symczyk, national board member of the Ukrainian American Youth Association, and Bohdan Pechenyak, national representative of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, informed the assembly of the efforts of their respective organizations. Both representatives said their organizations are eager to work with SUSTA in organizing events and on joint projects.

Opening the second panel discussion, Dr. Jurij Savyckyj, a SUSTA member in the 1960s, and a representative of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) spoke on the job networking opportunities for graduating students.

In answering a question about why SUSTA disintegrated, Dr. Savyckyj attributed this to a simultaneous lag in leadership at several key university Ukrainian

students in every university across America."

The problem the student federation will have to address, according to Mr. Tabatchouk, is "the quick turnover of students in university clubs. But, with a larger network of students and a solid advisory board of



Matthew Dubas

During the SUSTA conference (from left) are: Zenon Tech-Czarny, Rutgers University; Andrij Harasewych, Villanova University; Taisa Hewka, University of Toronto; Johanna Paquin, McGill University; Victor Podpirka, New York University; Stephan Shepel, Cornell University; Dmytro Karabash, Columbia University; and Katrusia Miecycjak, University of Buffalo.

\$100,000 raised in Philadelphia for Ukrainian Catholic University

by Irene Jarosewich

Special for the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation

PHILADELPHIA – “At the Ukrainian Catholic University, we do not provide simply an education,” explained Prof. Jeffrey Wills, vice-rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU), “we develop leaders and encourage students to become distinctive individuals. The future of Ukraine is with the youth of Ukraine and many of her leaders are among our students today. UCU guides them, gives them full academic and spiritual formation.” This full formation is the essence of the UCU’s mission, one that distinguishes the UCU from other universities in Ukraine, he emphasized, speaking on March 25 during a benefit luncheon at the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center near Philadelphia.

Addressing an audience of more than 230 guests, Prof. Wills was joined by Prof. Antoine Arjakovsky, director of the Institute of Ecumenical Studies at the UCU, and John Kurey, president of the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation (UCEF). Archbishop Antony of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. offered the invocation and briefly addressed the guests. Metropolitan Stefan Soroka of the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Philadelphia, honorary chairman of the Philadelphia Friends of the Ukrainian Catholic University, was unable to attend the afternoon event and the Rev. Deacon Ivan Demkiv read Metropolitan Soroka’s message.

Ihor Shust, chairman of the Philadelphia Friends of the Ukrainian Catholic University, which hosted the event along with the UCEF, warmly greeted the guests and adeptly steered the program through a variety of speakers and presentations. Among the first presentations was a video greeting, displayed on large screens at the front of the

auditorium, from the rector of the UCU, the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, who was in Rome at the time of the luncheon.

Father Gudziak explained that the afternoon’s program would be filled with the testimonies of non-Ukrainians, individuals inspired by the potential of Ukraine, who would speak about their dedication to the betterment of Ukraine

Gudziak. At the invitation of Father Gudziak, Prof. Wills planned to spend just a few months visiting Ukraine in the mid-1990s. Instead, energized and impressed with what he felt could be accomplished at what was then the Lviv Theological Academy, Prof. Wills stayed for many years. Among his new efforts, Prof. Wills will be directing the UCU’s

not just discussed. It is the daily expression of faith among people of good that is at the core of the philosophy that guides the work of the institute.

From his childhood, he explained, the reality of Ukrainian identity was well understood and accepted. In fact, he noted, he strongly believes that it is only through the acceptance of a vibrant and democratic Ukraine that Russia will be able to move away from the many burdens of its imperial and Soviet legacies.

He spoke of recent projects at the institute: conferences, films and publications such as the “Revolution of the Spirit,” about the Orange Revolution, the recent release of “Church, Culture and Identity,” as well as a translation into English of his book “Conversations with Lubomyr Cardinal Husar.” Prof. Arjakovsky also announced that a new degree, the Master of Ecumenical Studies, had been introduced at the institute.

Echoing Archbishop Antony’s earlier remarks warning against the demise of human dignity with ever-increasing secularization in our world, Prof. Arjakovsky explained that graduates with this degree would be qualified to teach ethics in Ukraine, a new discipline that the government agreed should be included in school curricula.

Reflecting their commitment to the UCU and support of its numerous accomplishments, the guests at the benefit luncheon raised more than \$100,000 for the UCU, and event chairman Mr. Shust gratefully acknowledged numerous donations. (A full list of contributions will be published shortly in the press.)

Established in 1997, the UCEF works to raise funds from corporate donors, large institutions and private individuals within, as well as outside, the Ukrainian community exclusively for the UCU. During his presentation, the foundation’s president, John Kurey, thanked the guests in Philadelphia for their support and introduced some members of the UCEF.

Present at the luncheon were UCEF associates Tessa Kocan, formerly of the law firm of Baker and McKenzie; Dan Szymanski, formerly with Motorola Corp.; Mr. Terletsyy, the technological whiz behind the large-screen media presentations shown to the guests; and Nell Andrzejewski, who worked closely with the Philadelphia Friends committee to organize the day’s event.

The professional caliber of individuals who choose to work with the UCEF, noted Mr. Kurey, who is also an attorney, is a testament to the compelling story of the UCU, one of which the Ukrainian community should be quite proud.

Along with the efforts of a dedicated staff, the UCEF receives support from volunteers such as Roman Kowalchuk, who served on the UCEF board of investment advisors from 2000 through 2006. Mr. Kurey recognized Mr. Kowalchuk and thanked him for his many years of service on behalf of UCEF and the university.

UCEF also relies on local committees and in Philadelphia, besides Mr. Shust, committee members include Vera Andryczyk and Chrystia Charyna Senyk, co-chairs; Ihor Bilynsky, secretary; Ihor Chyzowych, treasurer; Jaroslav Zalipskyj, press; Roman Fedorak, Orysia Hewka, Thomas Kurey III, Taras Lewycky, Ulana Mazurkevich, Stefan Patrylak, Nadia Petryk, Prof. Leonid Rudnytzky, Andrij Steckiw, Oksana Woroch and Borys Zacharczuk.



Philadelphia Friends of the Ukrainian Catholic University (top row, from left) Taras Lewycky, Oksana Woroch, Thomas Kurey III, Roman Fedorak, Ulana Mazurkevich, Prof. Antoine Arjakovsky, Orysia Hewka, Dan Szymanski Jr., Prof. Jeffery Wills, (bottom row) Chrystia Senyk, Vera Andryczyk, Ihor Shust, Nell Andrzejewski, Ihor Chyzowych and Tessa Kocan.

and of their dedicated efforts on behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic University.

As he introduced the first guest speaker, Mr. Shust pointed out that Prof. Wills was a dear and familiar figure to many supporters of the UCU. Prof. Wills has been invaluable in UCU’s development; his work has included overseeing the management of university finances, building projects, fund-raising and library acquisitions, and the implementation of state-of-the-art academic technology.

Educated at Harvard University and the University of Oxford, Prof. Wills is a former Harvard classmate of the Rev.

capital campaign.

“In many ways, UCU’s strength,” Prof. Wills explained, “comes from the tragedy of the diaspora ... the wide sowing of seeds of the diaspora, ... throughout the years Ukrainians scattered over the world. Now Ukrainians from all countries are returning to UCU, working for UCU. Now is the time for harvest.”

“You are also alumni of UCU,” he added, “you grew up with [Josyf] Slipyj and [Andrey] Sheptytskyj, you’ve worked for this, you’ve prayed for this for many years. Now, hopefully, you will enjoy some of the fruits of UCU’s labors.”

With the help of sophisticated video displays presented by Yaroslav Terletsyy and Ostap Lewyckyj, Prof. Wills highlighted key accomplishments, including the UCU’s library. Research is essential to all academic disciplines, he underscored, therefore strong emphasis was always placed on developing a solid library at the UCU, one which now contains over 100,000 volumes and uses the U.S. Library of Congress classification system. This system makes the UCU’s holdings internationally accessible, unlike the holdings of most of Ukraine’s other university libraries.

Prof. Arjakovsky, a professor of theology at the UCU and the director of the university’s Institute for Ecumenical Studies, was the second guest speaker. Recognized internationally as a leading Christian theologian, Prof. Arjakovsky, a French national, is the son of Russian Orthodox émigrés who fled Soviet communism. He received degrees from the Sorbonne and the School for the Advanced Study of Social Sciences in Paris, and served as a diplomat at the Embassies of France in Moscow and in Kyiv.

Introduced affectionately by Mr. Shust as “Prof. Antoine,” Prof. Arjakovsky spoke eloquently about ecumenism among Christians and his understanding that, of all the countries in Europe, Ukraine could best serve as a model for Christian unity. Prof. Arjakovsky said he believes that ecumenism must be lived,

Viacheslav Briukhovetsky to resign as president of National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy

KYIV – Dr. Viacheslav Briukhovetsky, longtime president of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, has announced his intention to leave that position on August 31.

“After 17 years the time has come for change, and the university now needs a younger president with new ideas for the university’s future development and top management skills. But I have no intention of leaving Kyiv Mohyla Academy, where I can still play an important role of significant responsibility,” Dr. Briukhovetsky said.

Dr. Briukhovetsky said his decision to step aside is linked with the university’s ambitious mission and plans for the future, including admission to the list of the world’s top 500 universities.

In resigning the university’s presidency, Dr. Briukhovetsky is not leaving the university’s campus, however. “My new role at the Mohyla Academy,” Dr. Briukhovetsky said, “will be directing the International Charitable Renaissance Fund of NaUKMA, which is committed to establishing the financial conditions that will sustain the university in the future and guarantee its independence.”

In announcing his plans to the Kyiv Mohyla faculty and staff, Dr. Briukhovetsky said his decision is not in

any way related to or connected to the current political situation in Ukraine, as the university always maintained and will continue to maintain its independence from political influence. “Kyiv Mohyla Academy was and remains an institution based on democratic principles where above all, there is respect for freedom of speech and political opinion,” he said.

Dr. Briukhovetsky’s departure from the university’s presidency had been expected for several months; he told colleagues and friends that, after 17 years of demanding work and travel, he was looking to enhance the university’s endowment fund and to establish a more strategic role for the University’s future.

Dr. Briukhovetsky is widely respected for singlehandedly orchestrating and bringing about the university’s rebirth, accreditation and recognition as one of Ukraine’s leading educational and cultural institutions.

The title of honorary president of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy has been bestowed on Dr. Briukhovetsky.

– Press Center of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy and the Kyiv Mohyla Foundation.

Ukrainian Institute of America unveils calendar of diverse events

by Helen Smindak

NEW YORK – In its resolve to offer the public exciting cultural events featuring distinguished Ukrainian artists and performers, the Ukrainian Institute of America has embarked on a program of outstanding events this year, including a host of art exhibits, conversations with prominent Ukrainians and a special tribute to the late Oscar-winning film star Jack Palance.

The popular Music at the Institute (MATI) concert series, now in its 18th year, will continue to bring acclaimed performing artists to the institute's concert hall, while a series of literary café evenings will spotlight Ukrainian authors reading excerpts from their books and poems.

An institute fund-raiser held on Saturday, April 21, offered a delightful "night in Montenegro," including great entertainment with live music provided by Slavko Halatyn, epicurean delights by Chef Andrey Sonevytsky, as well as wine, caviar and martinis à la James Bond. Called "Casino Royal, An Evening in Montenegro," the event featured a casino room with roulette, black jack and other traditional casino tables.

Spearheaded by a committee co-chaired by Darka Temnycky and Melaniya Temnycky, the evening's goal was to raise funds earmarked for the redesign and installation of an updated electrical system at the Ukrainian institute's historic mansion, located diagonally across from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Recently, both the U.S. Department of the Interior (Save America's Treasure Fund) and New York state awarded matching grants to the landmark building that houses the UIA on the corner of East 79th Street and Fifth Avenue.

Built in 1898 for financier Isaac Fletcher, the mansion was also the home of oil tycoon Harry F. Sinclair and of Augustus Van Horne Stuyvesant Jr., a lineal descendant of Gov. Peter Stuyvesant, before it was purchased by Ukrainian American industrialist William Dzus to become "a window on Ukraine" that would make Ukrainian cultural achievements known to the public at large.

Program director Walter Hoydysh says: "The institute has put into action a rich and diversified program this season – you could call it a grand prelude to all the fabulous events we're planning for 2008, when the institute celebrates the 60th anniversary of its founding. We expect to complete major renovations to our building early next year, thanks to the support of federal and New York state grants, so we'll have a beautifully refurbished home ready for our special events."

Art at the UIA

Following an exhibit earlier this year that featured the work of seven contemporary artists from Ukraine, the institute is currently presenting a rare U.S. showing of art by Lviv resident Vasyl Bazhaj, one of Ukraine's most celebrated abstractionists. Described as a "pure abstractionist" who is submerged in the controlled riot of color and form, Mr. Bazhaj developed his artistic style in the late 1980s, when government censorship loosened and he was able to unleash his creative genius. The show of 26 oils, including the large canvases for which Mr. Bazhaj is particularly known, will run through May 6.

Upcoming art exhibits will feature oils on canvas by Michael Murphenko-Hilism of Kyiv, Alexander Motyl of New York and Sergei Belik of Odesa and New York. The exhibits will also include the work of Mykola Storozhenko and students from Kyiv, as well as students from the United States, France, Canada, Egypt and North Vietnam.

Inaugurating a series of conversations with prominent Ukrainians in February, Prof. Motyl, professor of political science at Rutgers University – Newark and a painter and novelist, conducted an interview with Chrystia Freeland, the U.S. managing editor of the Financial Times. Ms. Freeland, a Rhodes Scholar and a graduate of Harvard University, is one of the world's leading foreign correspondents. Author of "Sale of the Century," about Russia's journey from communism to capitalism, she worked for a time as a stringer in Ukraine, writing for the Financial Times, The Economist and The Washington Post.

Prof. Motyl will continue the conversation series on May 4, when he meets with three Ukrainian writers – Irene Zabytko, author of "The Sky Unwashed" and "When Luba Leaves Home," Marko Robert Stech, author of "Holos," and Dr. Yuriy Tarnawsky, one of the founding members of the New York Group of avant-garde Ukrainian writers. The conversation will center



Trail boss Jack Palance gives instructions to urban cowpokes Jon Lovitz, Billy Crystal and Daniel Stern in the comedy adventure "City Slickers."

on their writing, Ukrainian literature and questions of Ukrainian identity.

Rounding out the series on October 12, Prof. Motyl will talk with Rostyslav Chomiak, a journalist for Voice of America, and Marta Bohachevsky Chomiak, a scholar and specialist on Ukrainian feminism, about their life in Kyiv. The conversation will focus on their experiences and adventures in pre-independence and post-independence Ukraine.

An evening of book presentations, focusing on the work of authors Susan Gold, Rajan Menon, Prof. Motyl and Dr. Tarnawsky, will be held on September 14. In her book "The Eyes are the Same," Ms. Gold tells about her life as a child in Volodymyr Volynskyi and Zolochiv, Ukraine, and of her survival of the Holocaust in a Ukrainian peasant's barn. Dr. Menon's "The End of Alliances," is an in-depth analysis of how post-Cold War geopolitics is making traditional alliances such as NATO increasingly obsolete. Prof. Motyl's absurdist tragicomedy "Who Killed Andrei Warhol," revolves around a Soviet Ukrainian journalist's fictitious encounter with pop artist Andy Warhol in 1968. Dr. Tarnawsky's contribution, "Like Blood in Water," is a collection of five surrealist collages in which waking life gives way to dreams.

The innovative Literary Café evenings, which began last month with readings by Vasyl Makhno (from his play "Coney Island") and Prof. Motyl (from his novel "Who Killed Andrei Warhol") will feature the writing of a variety of Ukrainian and American writers in 2008.

The MATI season

The institute's MATI season of 2007, initiated in February by the Mozart Piano Quartet, featured the Maia String Quartet in March with a program that included the first performance of Virko Baley's "Dreamtime Suite No. 5." The Maia quartet has established itself nationally as an ensemble of innovation and versatility.

Prize-winning violinist Solomiya Ivakhiv, a native of Lviv, made her New York debut in a MATI program last weekend, interpreting works by Mozart, Schumann, Ravel and Borys Liatoshynsky, one of the initiators and representatives of the modern school in Ukrainian music.

The season's closing MATI concert, scheduled for May 16, has been designated for the final concert of the yearlong Mannes Festival, a series of 20 concerts featuring young artists, faculty and renowned guests of the Mannes School of Music. Held in prestigious concert venues and cultural institutions, this year's festival has concentrated on Beethoven's influence and immortality.

A memorial concert honoring composer/musicologist Ihor Sonevytsky (1926-2006), will bring together a number of renowned performers on June 9: basso Paul Plishka of the Metropolitan Opera, soprano Anna Bachynsky, pianists Thomas Hrynkiw and Volodymyr Vynnytsky, and the Leontovych String Quartet, composed of violinists Yuri Mazurkevych and Michael Lakerovich, violist Borys Deviatov and cellist Volodymyr Panteleyev. Ethnomusicologist Maria

Sonevytsky will speak about her uncle, a native of Hadynkivtsi in western Ukraine, who graduated from the Hochschule für Musik in Munich and received a doctoral degree in musicology from the Munich-based Ukrainian Free University in 1961.

During his long and illustrious career, Prof. Sonevytsky taught at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome and conducted the Dumka Chorus of New York, the Trembita Chorus of Newark and the Taras Shevchenko Chorus of Cleveland. He was one of the founders, directors and lecturers of the Ukrainian Music Institute of America, and for several years the artistic director of the Music and Art Center in Greene County, which holds yearly music festivals featuring internationally acclaimed artists. Prof. Sonevytsky's legacy includes works in various genres: opera, music for stage productions, symphonic and vocal-symphonic works, chamber and instrumental works, piano compositions, vocal works, art songs and church music.

Institute events planned for the autumn season include a two-day Open House (October 6-7), part of a citywide event run by Open House New York, in which UIA has participated for the past four years. Tours, talks and specific exhibits will be presented at the institute during the weekend.

Jack Palance tribute

Honoring Jack Palance as a Hollywood actor, artist, poet, family man and active community supporter, the institute plans a film retrospective, art show/poetry reading and a formal reception for the actor's family and friends and the Ukrainian community. The events will be held from October 27 to November 4.

Known to movie-goers as a plague-carrying killer, a swaggering black-clad gunfighter, a doom-haunted film star and a vengeful army lieutenant, Mr. Palance was nominated for two Academy awards for his performances in the films "Shane" and "Sudden Fear," and was awarded an Emmy for his performance in "Requiem for a Heavyweight" on the CBS Network. He won an Oscar as best supporting actor for his role as the cowboy Curly in the 1991 comedy "City Slickers."

A community event celebrating the 100th anniversary of Teddy Roosevelt's Great White Fleet will take place at the institute on November 9-25. Co-sponsored by the New York Chapter of the U.S. Navy League in association with the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute and the Theodore Roosevelt Association, this event is expected to draw hundreds of visitors, potential admirers of the Ukrainian institute and its purpose.

Dr. Hoydysh said the Ukrainian Institute of America aims to provide the Ukrainian community with a focal point for maintaining its pride, as well as affording Americans an opportunity to familiarize themselves with Ukraine and its culture.

"The Ukrainian institute's board of directors, headed by Yaroslav Kryshchalsky, extends a warm welcome to all visitors; we're open Tuesday to Sunday from 12 p.m. to 6 p.m.," he added.

Information on all events can be obtained at www.ukrainianinstitute.org or by calling 212-288-8660.

CLASSIFIEDS

TO PLACE YOUR AD CALL MARIA OSCISLAWSKI, (973) 292-9800 x 3040
or e-mail: adsukrpubl@att.net

SERVICES

TRIDENT®
Associates Printing
Toronto - St. Catharines
Buffalo, NY

Українська Друкарня
ТРИЗУБ
Торонто - Ст. Кетеринс
Буффало, Н.Й.

COMMERCIAL PRINTING
UNIQUE ENGRAVED INVITATIONS
WITH UKRAINIAN DESIGNS

Graphic Design • Custom Imprinting

Toll Free 1-800-216-9136
Tel. (905) 938-5959 Fax (905) 938-1993

We can also print from your camera ready copy

The LUNA BAND

Music for weddings, zabavas,
festivals, anniversary celebrations.
OLES KUZYSZYN phone/fax: (732) 636-5406
e-mail: dumamuse@aol.com

ОКСАНА ТРИТЯК
Професійний продавець
забезпечення УНС
OXSANA TRYTJAK
Licensed Agent
Ukrainian National Ass'n, Inc.

2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280 Parsippany, NJ 07054
Tel.: (973) 292-9800 (Ext. 3071) • Fax: (973) 292-0900
e-mail: OKRYS@YAHOO.COM

MERCHANDISE

WEST ARKA
2282 Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ont., Canada M6S 1N9

Fine Gifts
Authentic Ukrainian Handicrafts
Art, Books, CDs, Ceramics
Embroidered Goods and Supplies
Gold Jewelry, Icons, Magazines
Newspapers, Pysankas and Supplies
All Services to Ukraine, Mail-orders

Andrew R. CHORNY
Manager

Tel.: (416) 762-8751 Fax: (416) 767-6839
e-mail: andrew@westarka.com www.westarka.com

FIRST QUALITY
UKRAINIAN TRADITIONAL-STYLE
MONUMENTS
SERVING NY/NJ/CT REGION CEMETERIES
OBLAST
MEMORIALS
P.O. BOX 746
Chester, NY 10918
845-469-4247
BILINGUAL HOME APPOINTMENTS

Ukrainian Book Store
Largest selection of Ukrainian books, dance
supplies, Easter egg supplies, music, icons,
greeting cards, giftwear and much more.

10215-97st
Edmonton, AB T5J 2N9
Toll free: 1-866-422-4255
www.ukrainianbookstore.com

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

ATTENTION, MEMBERS OF THE UNA!
ORDER A GIFT SUBSCRIPTION
TO THE WEEKLY
at the member's rate of \$45 per year.

To subscribe, write to The Ukrainian
Weekly, Subscription Department,
2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280,
Parsippany, NJ 07054;
or call (973) 292-9800.

PinlessWorld.com

10% off calling cards for life.
5 cents per minute to Ukraine.
Excellent connection and service.
www.pinlessworld.com

A SPECIAL OFFER:

Volumes I and II of
"The Ukrainian Weekly 2000" and
"Ukraine Lives!"
FOR ONLY \$30!



"The Ukrainian Weekly 2000" is a two-volume collection of the best and most significant stories that have appeared in the newspaper since its founding through 1999.

"Ukraine Lives!" transports readers back to the time of perebudova and the independence regained in 1991, and gives an overview of the first decade of life in newly independent Ukraine.

To order copies of all three unique books, please call (973) 292-9800, ext. 3042.

PROFESSIONALS

LAW OFFICES OF ZENON B. MASNYJ, ESQ.

In the East Village since 1983

Serious personal injury, real estate for personal and business use, representation of small and mid-size businesses, securities arbitration, divorce, wills and probate.

(By Appointment Only)

157 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003
(212) 477-3002

Nadiya Gerjan
Licensed Real Estate Consultant
Office 845-928-8000 ext 374
Fax 845-928-9774
Mobile 845-551-4142
E-mail: ngerjan@kw.com
Web: www.KWHV.com



229 Route 32
Central Valley, NY 10917
Fluent in Ukrainian & Polish
Each office is Independently Owned and Operated

GEORGE B. KORDUBA

Counsellor at Law

Emphasis on Real Estate, Wills, Trusts and Elder Law
Ward Witty Drive, P.O. Box 249
MONTVILLE, NJ 07045
Hours by Appointment Tel.: (973) 335-4555

HELP WANTED

HELP WANTED – MARKETING DIRECTOR

Ukrainian-American credit union located in New York City has an immediate opening for a director of marketing. Responsibilities include creating and coordinating all advertising and promotional activities for the credit union. In addition, the marketing director will play a leading role in new product development, new member acquisition strategies and corporate branding initiatives.

Previous marketing experience and fluency in English and Ukrainian are required. Must have excellent computer skills (MS Office, Adobe Creative Suite, etc.).

We offer a competitive compensation and benefits package. If you qualify please send a resume (no phone calls, please) with salary requirements to:

Self Reliance (NY) Federal Credit Union
Attention Chief Operations Officer
108 Second Avenue
New York, NY 10003

AIRPORT FULL TIME CARGO WAREHOUSE AGENTS Excellent Growth Opportunity!

Swissport, the world leader in aviation ground handling, seeks experienced Cargo Professionals to oversee all aspects of high profile cargo operations at JFK Airport. Salary commensurate with experience, excellent benefit package, 401k and paid vacation.

OPEN HOUSE

Monday, April 23, 9:00am-3:00pm
RAMADA HOTEL
JFK International Airport
Jamaica, NY 11430
For directions: 718-995-9000 ext 2109

Or, apply in person:
Monday-Friday 9:00am-3:00pm
JFK International Airport
Cargo Area A, Building 151
Second floor, Room 300
(Behind Port Authority Building 14)
Jamaica, NY 11430
Phone: (718) 233-9505

Driver's license, High School diploma or GED and a drug test required. EOE.

Looking for a live-in Ukrainian or Russian speaking female for care for a handicapped male in Rochester, NY. Some assisted lifting needed. Call 585-334-9665 for more info.

OPPORTUNITY

The Ukrainian Weekly
is looking for advertising
sales agents.
For additional information
contact Maria Oscislawski,
Advertising Manager
973-292-9800 ext 3040
or e-mail adsukrpubl@att.net

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

electoral legislation, the rules of procedure in the Verkhovna Rada, the Constitution and the law on the Cabinet of Ministers, as well as introduce a number of other bills. On April 24 Mr. Moroz called on deputies from the opposition Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (YTB) and Our Ukraine to return to work in the legislature. Oleksander Turchynov of the YTB responded that lawmakers from his party will return to Parliament only following early parliamentary elections. Lawmakers from the YTB and Our Ukraine gave up their parliamentary seats last week. (RFE/RL Newsline)

YTB still wants early elections

KYIV – The parliamentary faction of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc is ready to return to work in the Verkhovna Rada to draft necessary bills for holding early elections, said the deputy leader of the YTB faction, Oleksander Turchynov, speaking on Channel 5 on April 23. He explained that returning to the Parliament is possible in order to amend legal acts to secure the elections. "We don't care about any other amendments, all other amendments will be passed by a new Parliament, which, I'm sure, will be elected soon," he said. (Ukrinform)

Right to name PM under discussion

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada is ready to cancel a provision of the law on the Cabinet of Ministers which stipulates that the prime minister is nominated by the ruling coalition. This was disclosed by Rada Chairman Oleksander Moroz, speaking at a meeting with chiefs of regional and district councils on April 20. He stressed that the Presidential Secretariat is against the law on the Cabinet of Ministers, since, according to the Constitution, the prime minister should be nominated by the president. (Ukrinform)

PM hopes to resolve crisis soon

KYIV – Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, who spoke at a rally of coalition supporters in Kyiv's central square on April 20, said that he and the president had reached an agreement to withdraw all contradictions between the forces next week. As he noted, the president "is almost ready" to suspend his decree on the Verkhovna Rada's dissolution. Mr. Yanukovich said the two sides' plan "to sign an amicable agreement" following which they will find political and legal answers to all disputes. At the same time the prime minister stressed that the ruling coalition will wait for a decision of the Constitutional Court on the presidential decree. (Ukrinform)

Opposition lawmakers give up seats

KYIV – Andrii Shevchenko, a national deputy from the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc, said on April 18 that deputies of his faction have signed statements giving up their Verkhovna Rada seats, Interfax reported. Mr. Shevchenko did not disclose how many of the caucus members have signed such statements, but said that the move is a signal of readiness to give the Ukrainian president an additional argument to dissolve the Verkhovna Rada. The presidium of the opposition Our Ukraine People's Union also adopted a decision ordering caucus members to give up their seats. According to Ukrainian law, the work of the Verkhovna Rada becomes illegitimate when 150 deputies vacate their seats. The Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc and Our Ukraine caucuses have 125 and 77 deputies, respectively. (RFE/RL Newsline)

(Continued on page 15)

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 14)

Court to hold closed sessions

KYIV – Olena Lukash, a justice of the Constitutional Court who serves on behalf of the Ukrainian government, told reporters on April 19 that the court would soon enter into closed-door proceedings into the constitutionality of the presidential decree dissolving the Verkhovna Rada, Interfax reported. “The closed stage will begin in one or two days, when justices will withdraw to discuss all positions and make a decision,” Ms. Lukash said. Former Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn said the same day that Ukrainians will question any court decision on the presidential decree. “I think we all acknowledge that the Constitutional Court does not exist in Ukraine,” Mr. Lytvyn said. “People are frankly saying [about the Constitutional Court]: ‘You are all scoundrels.’” (RFE/RL Newline)

Judge announces intention to resign

KYIV – Volodymyr Shapoval, who serves as a Constitutional Court justice on behalf of Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko, has announced that he will submit his resignation after the court rules on the constitutionality of the presidential decree dissolving the Verkhovna Rada, Ukrayinska Pravda reported on April 20. Mr. Shapoval explained his move by citing the lack of “society’s unquestionable confidence” in the Constitutional Court. Mr. Shapoval said he will remain on the Yushchenko team and is ready to work for the president in any capacity. He described “the existence of the professional and independent Constitutional Court” as a cornerstone of democracy and the law. “It is hard for me to imagine a situation,” Mr. Shapoval said, “in which the justice of the highest court suspected of corruption does not put forward a resignation in order to prevent any doubts as to his or her objectivity.” (RFE/RL Newline)

Moroz dismisses talk of resignations

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Moroz said on April 20 that he believes talk by members of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc and Our Ukraine is empty words. He underscored that Article 81 of the Constitution of Ukraine requires that deputies submit individual letters of resignation to the Verkhovna Rada, not to the president. Mr. Moroz further stated that 226 votes are needed to approve decision by the Verkhovna Rada and that each day some 250 to 260 deputies attend sessions. He also pointed out that, despite their alleged resignations, most opposition deputies had collected their pay for the month of April, among them 84 Tymoshenko Bloc deputies and 51 from Our Ukraine. (Ukrayinski Novyny)

Cabmin calls for suspension of decree

KYIV – Ukraine’s Cabinet of Ministers (Cabmin) has called on President Viktor Yushchenko to suspend his decree dissolving the Verkhovna Rada until the Constitutional Court rules on its compliance with the Constitution, Interfax reported on April 12. “We believe that this is the only right way at this stage,” Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich said. He added that the current political crisis will not influence Ukraine’s foreign policy and economic stability. “The situation in Ukraine will develop within democratic guidelines and will not affect the country’s foreign-economic or foreign policy priorities. We firmly guarantee foreign investors’ rights,” Mr. Yanukovich said. Mr. Yushchenko, however, said on April 12 that he will not suspend his decree dissolving the Rada, Interfax reported. “Presidential decrees must be implemented. Those who fail to obey them will be brought to account,” Mr. Yushchenko said, adding

that the political crisis should be resolved through political means. Mr. Yushchenko said he sees a possible solution to the crisis in proposals he submitted earlier to Prime Minister Yanukovich. According to Mr. Yushchenko, the crisis has raised questions about amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine, the law forbidding deputies from leaving their caucuses and the law on the Cabinet of Ministers. Mr. Yushchenko said he believes that the crisis has forced Ukrainian politicians “to make decisions, which we would never make in other circumstances.” (RFE/RL Newline)

Opposition says it will continue rally

KYIV – The opposition’s rally on European Square will continue until fulfillment of the president’s decree on dissolution of the Verkhovna Rada and pre-term elections, said the leader of the Our Ukraine faction, Viacheslav Kyrylenko, as he addressed participants during an April 11 rally on European Square. “We will resume protesting until the relevant order is fulfilled by Rada Chairman Oleksander Moroz, Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko and the government, headed by Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich,” he said. (Ukrinform)

Yanukovich threatens to disband court

KYIV – Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich said on April 14 that the Constitutional Court of Ukraine should be disbanded if it fails to assess the constitutionality of the presidential decree dissolving the Ukrainian Parliament, Interfax reported. “When will there be a decision by the Constitutional Court? Some say the court will be considering the case for six months. Must we wait for six months? A year? If we see clearly that the Constitutional Court is incapable of passing a decision and it is under the influence of some political forces, we should endorse a decision to disband this Constitutional Court,” Mr. Yanukovich said. If the Constitutional Court is disbanded, Mr. Yanukovich added, a decision on early elections will be endorsed and the Procurator General’s Office will investigate why the Constitutional Court was unable to assess the presidential decree. (RFE/RL Newline)

Secretariat considers election funding

KYIV – The Presidential Secretariat is considering the possibility of incremental funding of early elections to the Verkhovna Rada if the government does not allocate budgetary resources in the near future, the Ukrayinska Pravda website reported, quoting a source in the Presidential Secretariat. The plan provides for financing early elections, including payment for the printing of ballot sheets and payment for local election commissions’ members, after the elections are held. Central Election Commission Chairman Yaroslav Davydovych estimated that the elections will cost 340 million hrv (\$67 million). The Ukrainian government on April 11 adopted a resolution banning the funding of early elections. President Viktor Yushchenko has contested this resolution in the Constitutional Court, Interfax reported on April 13. (RFE/RL Newline)

Internet users increase in number

KYIV – During March the number of Internet users in Ukraine increased to 4,792,000, as compared to 2,913,000 registered in Ukraine in 2006. (Ukrinform)

Lviv commemorates Armenian genocide

KYIV – Lviv has joined the cities of other countries in commemorating victims of the Armenian genocide, initiated by the Ottoman Empire in 1915, it was reported on April 24. Clergy of various confessions conducted divine liturgies and flowers

were placed at a cross erected in memory of the Armenian victims. The deputy chief of the Armenian Community, Rafik Chamian, noted that contrary to the genocide of the Ukrainian nation, the Famine of 1932-1933, the genocide of the Armenian nation has not yet gained international recognition. (Ukrinform)

Russian language competition held

KYIV – As many as 50 students from 23 higher educational institutions are participating in a pan-Ukrainian Olympiad on the

Russian language and literature in Ivano-Frankivsk, it was reported on April 18. The Olympiad will run for three days with the participation of students from 15 Ukrainian cities. The Education and Science Ministry’s decision to hold the competition in Ivano-Frankivsk was deliberate, and intended to demonstrate that Ivano-Frankivsk citizens are not against the Russian language. According to the State Committee on Statistics, 8,334,100 Russians are registered as residing in Ukraine, 24,900 of them in Ivano-Frankivsk. (Ukrinform)



Ділимося сумною вісткою, що у вівторок, 17-го квітня, по довгій недузї, відійшов у вічність наш найдорожчий МУЖ, БАТЬКО і ДІДО



СВ. П.

д-р ЕМІЛЬ Й. КЛЮФАС

нар. у Лежахові в родині о. крилошанина Івана і Марії (з Тунів) Клюфас.

ПАРАСТАС відправлено в п'ятницю, 20-го квітня 2007 р. о год. 7-їй веч. в похоронному заведенні Costigan O'Neil Funeral Home.

СВЯТА ЗАУПОКІЙНА ЛІТУРГІЯ відбулася в суботу, 21-го квітня, о год. 10-їй ранку в церкві св. Михаїла у Woonsocket, RI а відтак на цвинтарі св. Духа у Hamptonburgh, NY.

Горем прибиті

- дружина – ІРЕНА (з ФЛІСІВ)
 - сини – ОЛЕКСАНДЕР з дружиною РОМОЮ і дітьми ПАВЛОМ, МАТЕЙКОМ, МЕЛЯСЕЮ й ТОМКОМ
 - АДРІАН з дружиною ГАНЕЮ та синами МИХАЙЛОМ, СТЕФАНОМ, ДАНИЛОМ і ТИМКОМ
 - МИХАЙЛО
 - РОМАН з дружиною ЛІДІЄЮ та дітьми АНДРІЙКОМ, ЛЕСЕЮ і ЛЯРИСОЮ
 - донька – ЛІДА з мужем ІВАНОМ ТКАЧЕМ і сином МАРКОМ
 - сестра – МАРТА ДОБЕРЧАК з дітьми і внуками
 - братові – ГАЛИНА КЛЮФАС з дітьми і внуками
 - МАРІЯ КЛЮФАС з дітьми і внуками
 - ВІКТОРІЯ КЛЮФАС з дітьми і внуками
 - племінники – ЮРІЙ КЛЮФАС, КОНСТАНТИН КЛЮФАС,
 - з родинами БОГДАН КЛЮФАС,
 - КСЕНЯ ДРАГАН, ГАНДЗЯ МИЦАК, ЮРІЙ САВИЦЬКИЙ, ІСЯ КЛЮФАС, ХРИСТИНА КЛЮФАС
 - свати – МИКОЛА і МАРІЯ КАСІЯНИ, ЄВГЕНІЯ БАБІЙ, ГАЛИНА ТКАЧ, ТАТЯНА й ЮРІЙ РІШКИ
- та дальша рідня Клюфасів і Кархутів у США, Канаді та Україні.

Вічна Йому пам'ять!

Замість квітів родина просить складати пожертви на Український Католицький Університет у Львові: „Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation – UCEF“, In Memory of Dr. Emil J. Klufas, 2247 W. Chicago Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622.

Taras Kuzio's...

(Continued from page 7)

regarding Ukraine's NATO membership because she, unlike President Yushchenko, has seriously worked toward obtaining voter support in eastern and southern Ukraine. In the 2006 elections the Tymoshenko bloc came second in these two regions outside the Donbas and Crimea (support for Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine was confined to Halychyna and Zakarpattia).

Ms. Tymoshenko's pragmatic state nationalism is therefore different from Mr. Yushchenko's ethno-cultural nationalism. Ms. Tymoshenko is second to none at rallying state nationalism against outside threats, such as Russia, as seen when she recently successfully encouraged 420 parliamentary deputies to vote against privatization of the gas pipelines to prevent Russia's joint control over them.

Does this vote mean that the Party of the Regions, which voted in favor of this Tymoshenko motion, is also "anti-Russian"? It would seem that, in Russian eyes, Mr. Cheney, Ms. Tymoshenko, Mr. Yanukovich, Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka and this writer, are all "anti-Russians."

Has Yushchenko made the right decision? April 7

Nobody expected the decree, either within the so-called Anti-Crisis Coalition or among Western governments. Right up until only a few weeks ago, President Viktor Yushchenko was against disbanding Parliament and holding new elections. Yulia Tymoshenko traveled around Western Europe and Washington in February-March and alone within the

Orange camp supported this serious step.

Why then did the Ukrainian president change his mind? After all, Mr. Yushchenko was never a revolutionary and issuing such a decree (which Leonid Kuchma only threatened to do but never did) is a sign that his patience ran out.

The cause is Viktor Yanukovich. Unlike Ms. Tymoshenko, who never saw anything positive in Mr. Yanukovich, President Yushchenko gave Mr. Yanukovich a chance in 2006 and the prime minister blew the opportunity. Mr. Yanukovich could have peacefully cohabitated for the next four years with a president at times more interested in historical injustice (the 1933 Famine) and agriculture (beekeeping) than current affairs – especially since constitutional reforms had transferred many powers from the president to the prime minister.

But these powers were insufficient for Mr. Yanukovich. And a combination of Donetsk political culture that seeks to monopolize economic and political power and a desire for revenge for his "betrayal" and "defeat" (in Mr. Yanukovich's eyes) in 2004 led to the Anti-Crisis Coalition constantly poking Mr. Yushchenko in the eye. For Ms. Tymoshenko just one poke is sufficient to warrant a serious response; for Mr. Yushchenko it takes a lot more pokes to distract him from history and agriculture. ...

For Mr. Yushchenko there was also a sense of déjà vu that broke his patience. The defection of Anatolii Kinakh to the parliamentary coalition reminded Mr. Yushchenko of 2002 when Federation of Trade Unions leader Oleksander Stoyan and the liberals were bribed by the pro-Kuchma parliamentary majority to defect from Our Ukraine. The police raid on Yurii Lutsenko's apartment, the questioning of his activists and the planting of

weapons to incriminate them as "terrorists" also had echoes of police activity against Pora in October 2004. On top of this, the "Toloka" television program was closed on State Channel 1. ...

The unfinished revolution April 17

It seems impossible – even two years after the Orange Revolution – to completely close the book on this important historical event. The current (or should I say latest) crisis in Ukraine is merely the unfinished Orange Revolution. In the last month the Orange Revolution has seemed to dominate my activities. At the annual conference of the British Association for Slavic and East European Studies in Cambridge at the end of March, I attended two panels on the Orange Revolution organized by Prof. Stephen White of Glasgow University. ...

Last week the Association for the Study of Nationalities held its annual convention at New York's Columbia University. The latest crisis was the subject of a special panel organized by the American Association for Ukrainian Studies (www.ukrainianstudies.org/). Adrian Karatnycky and I were two of the speakers. Adrian, whom I have known since the early 1980s when he worked at the AFL-CIO trade union organization and then at Freedom House, on this occasion had only some views that differed from mine. As president of the Orange Circle, which was established with Mr. Yushchenko's support in 2005, Adrian is in an uncomfortable position to criticize the many mistakes made by Mr. Yushchenko in the run up to this crisis.

After a bitter exchange of letters in The Ukrainian Weekly last year Adrian and I now had a beer in New York and a

coffee in Washington. Maybe it takes a crisis to bring old allies back together. Now our main area of disagreement was on the question of whether businessmen inside the Party of the Regions were likely to evolve toward a more democratic profile. I have a negative view of the likelihood of this evolution, while Adrian, forever the optimist, is more positive.

The latest crisis in Ukraine is a product of at least five strategic mistakes made by Mr. Yushchenko in the first two years of his presidency. I won't go into them here, as I have already written much on this topic.

One person, however, proved himself to be intellectually challenged, and that was Viktor Yanukovich. He could have stayed as prime minister with a stable coalition for four more years, but his desire for revenge and insatiable quest for power was his undoing. ...

The problem Mr. Yushchenko has is that he is wrong to assume that he has full Western support. This is why a comparison between Ukraine's 2007 crisis and Russia in 1993 is wrong. In the latter, the West supported President Boris Yeltsin against the red-brown Russian Parliament. The U.S. and the West are disillusioned with Mr. Yushchenko because of two years of wasted opportunities, strategic mistakes and infighting; therefore they are more cautious about fully backing him. The U.S. is supporting "Orange values," but not necessarily Mr. Yushchenko.

The U.S. is still unsure if a new election is the right answer. After all, Orange Revolution allies won last year but failed to create a coalition. (The U.S. pushed hard for an Orange coalition.) ...

If an early election is held (perhaps in June), maybe this time an Orange coalition will be put in place. The unfinished revolution might then be completed.

Money Market Accounts

convenience
security
value

4.08% APY*

SELF RELIANCE NEW YORK

A full service financial institution serving the Ukrainian American community since 1951.

Main Office: 108 Second Avenue New York, NY 10003 Tel: 212 473-7310 Fax: 212 473-3251	Kerhonson: 6325 Route 209 Kerhonkson, NY 12446 Tel: 845 626-2938 Fax: 845 626-8636	Uniondale: 226 Uniondale Ave. Uniondale, NY 11553 Tel: 516 565-2393 Fax: 516 565-2097	Astoria: 32-01 31 Avenue Astoria, NY 11106 Tel: 718 626-0506 Fax: 718 626-0458
--	---	--	---

Visit our website at: www.selfreliancenyc.org E-mail: info@selfreliancenyc.org

*APY- Annual Percentage Yield based on 4.00% APR. Fees may reduce actual yield. Rates subject to change at any time. Minimum balance to open MMA. —\$2,500.00. Other restrictions may apply.

Your savings federally insured to at least \$100,000 and backed by the full faith of the United States government

NCUA
National Credit Union Administration, a U.S. Government Agency

Minneapolis community pays tribute to Taras Shevchenko

by Dr. Michael J. Kozak

MINNEAPOLIS – Few nations in the world possess a poet who was able to capture the souls of the people as Taras Shevchenko, the 19th century poet of Ukraine, an enemy of oppression who by virtue of his pen gained the title of freedom fighter.

Each year in March, people in his homeland and Ukrainian communities in the United States and around the world pay their respect to this champion for the right of his people as well as of all people everywhere.

Parishioners of St. Constantine Church in Minneapolis, where the Rev. Canon Michael Stelmach is pastor, paid their tribute to this distinguished son of the Ukrainian people on Sunday, March 18.

Thanks to the efforts of the principal of the Saturday Ukrainian School, Dmytro Tataryn, and his wife, Helen, the school students and their parents, an impressive program was prepared by the school teachers Lesia Hutsal, Taras Rafa, Yuri Ivan, Volodymyra Kramarchuk and Olha Navylana.

The program was held in the school auditorium after the divine liturgy with many adults and children in attendance. Daria Silvan, a university student, gave introductory remarks in English about Shevchenko's significance in the life of the Ukrainian people and their long struggle for freedom.

After this introduction, the program was conducted in Ukrainian, starting with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem by the church choir, conducted by Mr. Ivan with musical accompaniment by Saturday School students Olha Voronchak, violin, Taras Tataryn, clarinet, and Halia Voronchak, cello. Next came the traditionally performed song, "The Mighty Dnipro Roars and Moans."

The remainder of the program was skillfully directed by high school student Maria Voronchak, who underscored that Shevchenko was not only a towering literary figure of Ukraine, but above all, a symbol of the national spirit and longing for freedom of the Ukrainian people. Intermingled with her comments were recitations of Shevchenko's verses and singing by the

school students.

The children performing, ranging in age from 5 to 14, were: Sophia Hutsal, Taras Hutsal, Julianna Pawluk, Taurus Pawluk, Mika Pedro, Aleksa Tataryn, Taras Tataryn, Lesya Uniat, Nazar Voronchak, Halia Voronchak and Olha Voronchak.

Michael Phillipi proved himself a talented pianist by performing a selection of melodies composed to the words of Shevchenko's poetry. At the end of the program a surprising addition was made by Mr. Rafa, a school teacher and university student, who recited a poem and sang a song accompanied by guitar to honor Shevchenko.

The tribute to Ukraine's bard was concluded with the singing of Shevchenko's "Testament" by the audience and performers.



Participants of the Minneapolis program staged in honor of Taras Shevchenko.

Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus remembers the bard



SYRACUSE, N.Y. – Before their concert on Saturday, March 31, members of the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus gathered at Syracuse's monument to Taras Shevchenko to pay tribute to the bard of Ukraine.

Is compromise...?

(Continued from page 2)

decree should be obeyed until – and if – the court outlaws it.

The main message of the resolution – the need for a compromise based on the rule of law – was nevertheless accepted by both sides. After a series of meetings with Prime Minister Yanukovich, President Yushchenko told a press conference in Kyiv on April 20 that he was ready to suspend the decree on dissolving Parliament "if a package of compromises" is agreed upon. Mr. Yushchenko said that he and Mr. Yanukovich would form an expert's group to improve the Constitution. In order to reach a compromise, he said, a legal mechanism should, first of all, be developed to prevent deputies from changing parliamentary factions.

Mr. Yushchenko also insists on a nationwide referendum to accept amendments to the Constitution or a new version of it. Mr. Yushchenko and Ms. Tymoshenko do not conceal that they want to use the referendum as a tool to reverse the constitutional reform, which has strengthened Parliament and weakened the president, and reinstate a strong presidency in Ukraine.

Another proposal made by Mr. Yushchenko on April 20 showed that he is ready to recognize the legitimacy of the current Parliament – a body that he had been ostentatiously ignoring since ruling to disband it on April 2. He suggested that all the factions should return to Parliament, albeit temporarily, in order to pass "10-12 amendments to the laws regarding the opposition, parliamentary rules of procedure and guarantees that the political results of elections cannot be revised" in order to prepare legal grounds for a snap election. Although Mr. Yushchenko has been constrained to recognize Parliament – as it would be impossible to amend laws without a law-making body – this is a step forward, as the opposition has refused to return to Parliament since March.

The most radical proponents of a snap election – the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc – have also signaled readiness for compromise. Addressing a rally in Kyiv on April 20, Ms. Tymoshenko admitted that an early election might be postponed. On April 21 the deputy head of the bloc, Oleksander Turchynov, told Channel 5 that his team was ready to come back to Parliament to work on the bills necessary for a snap election.

Meanwhile, it has become perfectly

clear that no snap election will be held on May 27, as President Yushchenko had planned. The secretary of the Central Election Commission, Maryna Stavniychuk, announced on April 23 that the deadlines for the compilation of party lists and the formation of the local elec-

toral commissions have been missed.

Sources: UNIAN, April 16, 20, 22; Interfax-Ukraine, April 17; Channel 5, www.coe.int, April 19; Channel 5, Ukrainski Novyny, April 21; Ukrayinska Pravda, April 23.



**DO YOU ENJOY SINGING?
THEN SING WITH US!**

THE DUMKA CHORUS

**MEETS EVERY FRIDAY 7-10 PM
AT ST. GEORGE CHURCH
(7th St. bet. 2nd and 3rd Aves.)**

**NEW MEMBERS WELCOME!
COME SING GREAT MUSIC
(No experience necessary)**

**For more info call
201-792-9805**



How do you solve...?

(Continued from page 10)

learned to live on their own and find mutual understanding among each other.

Communist Party Chairman Petro Symonenko

No one is more eager than the Communists to see the Constitutional Court rule the president's decree unconstitutional.

In such an event, "Yushchenko should quickly resign, as a person who violated the Constitution, infringed upon the law and defied the will of the people," said Petro Symonenko, leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine, addressing tens of thousands of supporters from the maidan stage on April 20.

The Communists have long been calling for President Yushchenko's impeachment, the prospect of which is highly unlikely as a three-quarters vote is necessary in Parliament.

They have offered no compromise other than the suggestion that "the president should resign, buy himself an apiary near his mother-in-law in Chicago and stop mocking the country," said Oleksander Golub, a national deputy.

Mr. Symonenko said his party would enter pre-term elections if necessary, with the goal of achieving a constitutional majority in Parliament to change Ukrainian law and eliminate the Ukrainian presidency altogether.

He has also echoed the prime minister's call for pre-term presidential elections.

Former Verkhovna Rada Chair Volodymyr Lytvyn

The latest conflict demonstrates that Ukraine has emerged as a frontier in the Cold War between the U.S. and the Russian Federation, said Volodymyr Lytvyn (People's Party of Ukraine).

To succeed, Ukraine needs politicians who will be able to lead both the Russian-allied and pro-Western forces to compromise so that conflicts don't become zero-sum games, in the view of the former Verkhovna Rada chair.

"I always say that compromise is possible only in the event that all participants are dissatisfied," Mr. Lytvyn said. "When one side is satisfied, it means there was no compromise, and the stronger one gained the advantage."

The crisis can only be resolved politically, not by legal means, he said.

Mr. Lytvyn gave the president and prime minister a list of 14 conditions for resolving the crisis, among them the immediate need to end street demonstrations and cancel all unconstitutional decrees and resolutions.

"To place hope in the courts is a waste," Mr. Lytvyn said. "Any court ruling by any court won't be perceived by society as politically legitimate in the moral dimension."

Pre-term parliamentary elections should be held, but at an agreed upon later date, he said. Parliament should also pass a new election law and an imperative mandate law, and eliminate the closed party list electoral system.

The Constitutional Court needs to be renewed with objective judges without political allegiances, Mr. Lytvyn added.

Ukrainian Forum

An organization of powerful players that tracks and analyzes politics, the Ukrainian Forum, offered to host an informal roundtable discussion between the battling leaders during the crisis' first days, Mr. Kravchuk said. Only Mr. Moroz appeared, he said. (Many negotiations have occurred since then.)

Among the leaders of the Ukrainian Forum are billionaire industrial magnate Serhii Taruta, former National Deputy Volodymyr Semynozhenko and Onward

Ukraine Party Chair Viktor Musiyaka.

In its "Plan to Settle the Political Crisis" released on April 10, The Ukrainian Forum proposed both short-term and long-term recommendations.

Pre-term elections should be postponed until the autumn, while all decrees and resolutions passed on April 2 and 3 by the president and the Parliament should be repealed because they contradict the Constitution and only escalate the conflict.

Parliament should amend the 2007 budget to accommodate full financing of pre-term elections, the plan stated, as well as pass a new election law to establish the procedure for pre-term elections and create a new proportional system of majority districts with open-list balloting.

In the long term, Ukraine's leaders just

draft laws to reform the Constitution and complete local self-governance reforms, the plan stated. A constitutional commission consisting of the president, the prime minister and the Verkhovna Rada chair should emerge to propose amendments through dialogue.

A high-ranking U.S. official told The Ukrainian Weekly that Messrs. Yushchenko and Yanukovych are discussing the creation of such a commission.

"Only in the event of consistent realization of short-term and long-term plans to settle the crisis situation will pre-conditions form in Ukraine, not only for durable political compromise and reconciliation, but also for the emergence of a new quality of inter-institutional cooperation," the Ukrainian Forum's plan stated.

Ukrainian American students...

(Continued from page 11)

organizations and document their beginnings from first-hand sources, while the opportunity is there.

When asked why there has been a renaissance of student organizations like SUSTA and SUSK, Mr. Luhovy said: "I believe that the Orange Revolution played a huge role in the rebirth of these student organizations. Many of the students here were election observers and have built connections with Ukrainian students from all over the world. Also, now that things in Ukraine haven't worked out as expected, it will be organizations like SUSTA that coordinate the efforts of the diaspora."

The vice-president of the Rutgers Ukrainian Students Club, Zenon Tech-Czarny, said that organizing the conference was challenging, but that it was a learning experience as well, which will be useful in organizing the next conferences.

"It's about Ukrainian heritage, responsibility and as it was mentioned by the speakers, if we don't do it, who will? Our history will be forgotten and we will cease to exist," commented Mr. Tech-Czarny on the significance of the conference.

Andrij Harasewych of Villanova University said that he looks forward to having SUSTA executive meetings at least once every six months and hopes that those who attended this conference are inspired to apply the ideas presented here in their own clubs. "The Orange Revolution reminded everyone that Ukraine is still over there, we're not out of it yet. Democracy doesn't come easily or quickly," Mr. Harasewych added.

The conference concluded with a forum in which the executive board of SUSTA opened the discussion on increasing membership, global initiatives and localized actions, the development of the organization's website (www.ukrainianstudents.net), building a web presence on social networking sites at www.facebook.com and www.susta.multiply.com, and its blog at www.ukrainianstudents.blogspot.com. It was proposed that these ideas would be further discussed on their online forums.

Scheduled elections were postponed due to the absence of key members because of exams and were proposed to be held after an initial online dialogue was developed. There was talk of another SUSTA conference, possibly to be held in the fall, that did not conflict with exams.

Adrian Podpirka, a first-year graduate student in applied physics at NYU and current president of SUSTA, informed The Weekly about the rebirth of SUSTA. This included the first organizing meeting held on April 1, 2006, whose goal was to determine what SUSTA will be and to distribute leadership positions to get things off the ground. The idea of restarting this organization, he added, came approximately two years ago.

On the reasons behind the rebirth of SUSTA, Mr. Podpirka said, is that students look for an identity and, prior to this rebirth, students in SUSTA did not have the communication systems like the Internet. The interest was always there, he added, from pysanky displays to other cultural events – it just needed somebody to act on it.

Regarding the potential lag in student involvement, Mr. Podpirka commented that "many students look for guidance on how to start or restart their clubs, how to host events and what events to host. Often, students look to faculty at those universities, and the goal of SUSTA would be to branch that knowledge and help each other."

Speaking from his personal experience at Columbia, Mr. Podpirka recalled that the students did not have a faculty advisor and ran the group themselves. Students from other schools contacted him to request help in finding a faculty advisor, but Mr. Podpirka said they didn't really need one. However, he added that any advisor would do, not necessarily a Ukrainian, but just someone to sign off on events.

SUSTA, according to Mr. Podpirka, will serve student clubs as an advisor to exchange ideas, as well as provide suggestions for events, motivation to hold events and help in coordinating projects with other universities.

Appealing to future SUSTA members, Mr. Podpirka said: "Any student at any university can start a Ukrainian students' club. Don't limit yourselves to diaspora Ukrainians that you grew up with. There are many more Ukrainians at your university that you probably never met before. Promote your club, advertise, and things will happen."

Bridges Ukraine Tours

Cultural, agricultural, agribusiness and customized tours.
7 day all inclusive tours.

\$3000 includes airfare, meals, lodging, transportation and full-time interpreter/guide.

Please visit www.bridgesukrainetours.com or call 970-361-5789 for information and reservations.

Українська Національна Федеральна Кредитова Кооператива

Money Market Account

4.08% apy*

Manhattan

Brooklyn

So. Bound Brook, NJ

Carteret NJ

1-866-859-5848

*Мінімальний вклад \$50,000

Відсотки нараховуються у річному відношенні 4.00% арг

Рати можуть змінюватись без попередження

Інші обмеження включені

Ukrainian pro hockey update

by Ihor Stelmach

A promising start for Devil prototype

Perhaps it's Travis Zajac's "aw-shucks" attitude or maybe it's the genuine "you'll-never-slow-me-down" approach the 21-year-old has been taking to the ice for the better part of the last decade. Whatever the explanation, being asked to take a hike from several elite teams as a teenager served to teach this New Jersey Devils' rookie center just how much he would have to overcome in order to skate on a fresh-cut sheet of NHL ice.

"Being left off a team is never a good feeling, and it makes you want to work harder," Zajac said in a conversation with Dan Rosen of The Record. "That's what did it for me. It made me want to prove to everyone that you don't have to be on those teams in order to make it to the next level."

The Ukrainian Zajac is already amazingly into the playing portion of his NHL career. And, has it ever been a phenomenal start for this youngster from Winnipeg! Zajac has scored 16 goals and added 25 assists for 41 points with a plus-4 after 75 games. This ranked him fifth on the team in goals and one of only two New Jersey forwards in the "plus" column.

After two seasons at the University of North Dakota and only two games in the minors, the Devils' former No. 1 pick is currently centering the Devils' second forward line, dishing the puck to wingers Zack Parise and Jamie Langenbrunner.

It didn't take rookie Zajac long to make an impression on his teammates and Devils' fans alike. A long longshot to make New Jersey's roster coming into training camp, Zajac was so impressive he not only earned a spot on the roster, but found himself as the No. 2 centerman on opening night as well. Then it took him only two games into his inaugural campaign to notch his first NHL goal.

"I just try to be a complete player and play both ends of the ice," Zajac told Ken Palmer, a sports journalist from the New York/New Jersey area who's covered the Devils and football Giants. "I want to be a versatile player who can play on the power play and penalty-killing unit. I want to do all the little things that need to be done to win hockey games as well as contribute offensively. That's another main part of my game."

"You always want to have a chip on your shoulder, an edge to your game, because it's always tough to knock a player who is always motivated, always battling and always wants to be there," Zajac told The Record. "That's how I approach the game, try not to let anyone take my spot out there. Knowing I belong is big. I've played more than 70 games so far, so I'm definitely doing something right. Now it's just about improving every game to make sure I stay here."

Zajac suffered his first hockey disappointment at age 14 when he wasn't picked

in the Western Hockey League's annual bantam draft. At age 16 he was left off Team Western and the World Under-17 Championship team. A year later, he wasn't selected for the Under-18 team. He persevered, never losing his determination, his drive or his ultimate dream and, after tallying 59 goals and 164 points in two seasons with Salmon Arm of the British Columbia Junior League, Zajac was tabbed by the New Jersey Devils in the first round, 20th overall, in the 2004 Entry Draft. That very fall he enrolled at North Dakota and began impressing the coaching staff by transforming himself into a two-way center.

"Had he wanted to be, he probably could have been one of the top offensive producers in the country," said North Dakota coach David Hakstol, who now coaches Zajac's little brother, Darcy, a freshman forward. "He chose to have as much pride in the defensive side of the game, killing penalties and winning every face-off in his own zone," Hakstol told Rosen of The Record.

Zajac scored 38 goals and assisted on 48 others in two seasons with the Fighting Sioux, but it wasn't good enough to make Team Canada for the 2005 World Junior Championship. North Dakota advanced to the NCAA championship game in Zajac's freshman season and Frozen Four as a sophomore. He was named to the NCAA Championship All-Tournament Team and WCHA All-Rookie Team in 2005. All of which adds up to a perfectly good reason nobody was too surprised to see him centering that second line with wingers Patrik Elias and Langenbrunner on opening night of 2006-2007.

"I think I fit in pretty well," Zajac continued in his chat with sports writer Palmer. "I think Patty (Elias) and Langer were two good linemates. They made me feel really comfortable out there. Each game was getting a little better and I felt more patient with the puck and made more plays. That was obviously a plus."

Getting back to the defensive end, being a two-way player fits perfectly into the Devils' team-first system. Zajac had no troubles making the Devils after a superior training camp.

"In our organization it is essential and he made that transition," said Lou Lamoriello, the Devils CEO/general manager/president, referring to Zajac in a conversation with Rosen. "Give tremendous credit to North Dakota for his development and growth, and he's committed to that. Stats don't mean anything here. It's what his contribution is toward winning. He's a prototype Devil."

So too are most of the players on this year's 100+ points Devils team – now in the second rebound of the Stanley Cup playoffs but none snuck into the NHL as quickly as Zajac, who needed just a pair

of games in the American Hockey League at the end of the 2005-2006 season as conditioning for the big show.

While GM Lamoriello agreed the new collective bargaining agreement and its salary cap is a major reason why Zajac's entry to the NHL was expedited, he still has never seemed out of place.

"We had a need for a center iceman with size, strength and particularly a right shot," Lamoriello added. "Did we know he'd be playing regularly? No. He earned that. We found him doing things that we weren't sure he could do at this level."

"He's the same player, he's just doing it at a higher level," added coach Hakstol, who admitted he watches about half of the Devils games with the NHL Center Ice package. "I don't believe he's changed his game at all. He's just taken another step as a player."

Second-year Devil Parise, another former North Dakota star, knows first-hand how help from veteran players can play a vital role in the development of younger players. "Patty's helped me out a lot," Parise told Palmer. "He is playing with two good players and they can help you out a lot. He's been fortunate to have that. It seems like he's learned a lot in the short time he's been here because he's gotten better."

"Guys have been really good to me and help me out on and off the ice," Zajac told Palmer. "I feel like I fit in well. That makes me a little more comfortable around here. I know Parise from North Dakota a little. I'm good friends with him. I look up to him and hang around him a lot."

Parise has served as mentor of sorts to Zajac. Although these two linemates missed each other by one season in college at North Dakota, each admits playing in the same system, thus experiencing the same lifestyle that eventually brought them together.

"It seems that we play real well together, find each other and support each other,"

Parise said of Zajac in his interview with Rosen. "He's an easy guy to play with, and maybe it does have something to do with coming from the same place and playing the same style of hockey."

"When you come from the same spot you have the same things to talk about, and since we're just two young guys, it makes it easy to become good friends," he added.

In New Jersey, Zajac missed making history with Parise by just one game. Parise scored in his first NHL game, while Zajac scored in his second. "You can't argue with that," Parise told Palmer. "Whether it's one game or two games, it's impressive to get one that early. It just shows you that he's going to be pretty good for us."

"It's very exciting," Zajac said. "It's definitely nice to get that first one out of the way and off my back. Zach got the puck for me, and I'll hold onto that one for sure." It didn't take Zajac long to register another tally, as he notched a third period goal in New York against the Rangers on October 16, 2006. And more than a dozen more since.

It's obvious to all that Zajac fits in just fine in New Jersey's veteran-laden locker room. "He's fitting in," Devils' coach Claude Julien said. "He's quiet, modest and I think that's just his personality. I don't think you're going to see him change much. He has some great assets, which is what makes him a pretty good player."

"I think he's a good addition to our team," Parise said. "He's a great player. He's very well-rounded. He's good in the defensive zone. He's good at draws, and he can make plays in the offensive zone. I think from the first couple of games you can see how much he's gotten better. He looks more comfortable out there."

Zajac admitted the jump from the college game to the pro game was quite a

(Continued on page 21)

The Ukrainian Institute of America

is pleased to announce a

Conversation

between three Ukrainian writers

**Marko Robert Stech,
Yuriy Tarnawsky
and Irene Zabytko**

and

Alexander J. Motyl,

on

Friday, May 4, 2007, at 7:00 p.m.

A reception will follow the Conversation.

The authors' books will be on sale.

Admission: \$10 general; \$5 students.



Ukrainian Institute of America
2 East 79th Street, New York City
212-288-8660

www.ukrainianinstitute.org

ORTHODONTIST

Dr. Daniel A. Kuncio
Др. Данило О. Кунцьо

Specialist in Child and Adult
Orthodontics
Certified and Published in
Invisalign®

Complimentary Consultation
(Bayside office only)

Most Insurances Accepted

Offices in Queens and Manhattan:

Z.D. Kuncio DDS
General Dentistry
26-03 203 St.
Bayside, NY 11360
(718) 352-1361

Topal Orthodontics
2109 Broadway (73rd St.)
Suite 201
New York, NY 10023
(212) 874-0030

Akcja Wisla...

(Continued from page 6)

dom in works with titles such as "The Man Who Didn't Bow Before a Bullet" – specific deportation discussions were well under way before his death at high decision-making levels from the fall of 1946.

The Polish military was charged with drawing up lists of all Ukrainians still in Poland. In February 1947, Gen. Stefan Mossor, deputy head of the Polish General Staff, suggested complete deportation to Poland's new western territories – predicting that, once dispersed, the deported would "quickly assimilate" – and presented a plan for what was to become Akcja Wisla on March 27, 1947, i.e., exactly one day before the killing of Swierczewski.

At any rate, the key Polish Communist Party Politburo decision to "resettle speedily Ukrainians and mixed families to the regained territories [i.e. northern and western postwar Polish territories acquired from Germany] within the context of a repressive operation against the Ukrainian population" followed Swierczewski's killing within less than 24 hours, indicating that prior planning had advanced far.

Thus, Tadeusz Olszanski's hypothesis, made public 20 years ago, that Akcja Wisla was motivated by some drive for the forced Polonization of Ukrainians and not by however much misunderstood or exaggerated military necessity, has been confirmed by recent evidence. The Swierczewski killing has to be regarded as a pretext.

We should, however, also rule out the hypothesis that it concealed merely the larger counter-insurgency plan. While

Akcja Wisla was indeed combined with a fresh offensive against the OUN and UPA, by 1947 the latter were so weakened that it is hard to believe that they drove the Polish party-state to extreme measures. By that time, Ukrainian underground fighters still in the field in Poland numbered between 2,000 and 3,000, and they were exhausted and far less active than in 1945. Moreover, as Grzegorz Motyka has pointed out, if the deportations' main aim had really been to deprive these fighters of popular support, then far fewer people would have had to be deported from a more limited area. There is, in addition, archival evidence showing that the Polish military understood how exhausted the enemy was, and an important plan for Akcja Wisla was absolutely clear about the fact that its purpose was to "finally solve the Ukrainian problem in Poland" and listed counter-insurgency merely as an additional advantage.

Thus, explaining Akcja Wisla obviously demands a wider context. Its first element is the Polish-Soviet population exchange, again de facto compelled, initiated by agreements between Moscow's Polish Lublin clients and Soviet Ukraine in September 1944. The most important outcome of these expulsions with respect to the later Akcja Wisla was that, even at their end between late 1946 and early 1947, postwar Poland still had a substantial and locally concentrated minority of Ukrainians as well as Lemkos. Thus, Poland's westward shift, the combined result of Soviet, Nazi and Allied decisions, had reduced the number of Ukrainians and Lemkos on Polish territory from about 5.5 million before the war to about 650,000 to 700,000 in 1944. The Polish-Soviet population exchange then added the expulsion of nearly half a million, still leaving more than 140,000 in postwar Poland.

Even while Polish authorities initially underestimated the remaining numbers and had to revise them upwards, once Akcja Wisla had already begun, this result disappointed them since they had assumed that virtually all non-Poles would be gone. This and the Soviet side's refusal to prolong the population exchange were the immediate triggers of plans to uproot and disperse the remaining Ukrainians inside Poland. Even after Swierczewski's killing and the decision to deport Ukrainians westward, the Polish authorities were still asking Moscow for an added option for them to leave for Soviet Ukraine, which was, however, refused.

Thus, Akcja Wisla was the opportunistically adapted end of an inter-state population exchange turning, as it were, inwards. The precondition for this was, of course, also a result of Poland's westward shift, which deprived it of territories in the east but added the so-called Regained Territories in the west. The latter were largely emptied of their German population and became a kind of internal settlement frontier for postwar Sovietized Poland, producing material and propaganda opportunities, as well as a politically mobilizable fear of a return of the Germans. They also provided the space for dispersing Akcja Wisla's victims.

Poland's and Ukraine's Sovietization, respectively re-Sovietization, certainly played a role. The Polish army played an important role but the key decisions were made or controlled by the Politburo, i.e., the same leaders whose single most important aim at the time was the Sovietization of Poland. It is, moreover, not conceivable that Akcja Wisla could have been carried out without at least Moscow's tacit or explicit consent.

The hypothesis that it was planned there in detail, advanced by Polish historian Ryszard Torzecki in 1997, has not yet been confirmed. An early code word for Akcja Wisla was "Wschód," i.e., East. In October 1947, i.e., just after Akcja Wisla's peak, the Soviet authorities deported 76,000 Ukrainians, accused of nationalist resist-

ance, eastwards and called this operation "Zakhid" or "Zapad," i.e., West – which, in turn, was only the postwar peak of Soviet deportations from western Ukraine. While the possibility of a direct coordination of Akcja Wisla and "Zakhid" is obvious, there is no evidence yet to confirm it.

At any rate, the context of Sovietization, on both sides of the new Polish-Soviet Ukrainian border was important, as were Soviet officers directly supervising tactical and larger formations of the Polish army.

However, if we can reconstruct how the planners and perpetrators of Akcja Wisla thought, we also need to ask how it was possible to think in this manner. The answer to this question leads back at least to the interwar period.

The end of the second world war witnessed a new combination of Communism and nationalism, with Polish Communist leaders Jakub Berman and Wladyslaw Gomulka – one representing the most Moscow-oriented and the other a more local variant of Polish Communism – agreeing that Poland needed a national-ethnic state [panstwo narodowe]. The Communists' vital dependence on Soviet support to impose their Soviet dominance on a deeply reluctant society helped in this adoption of parts of the ethos of Polish interwar nationalism as represented by the integrally nationalist National Democrat party, aiming at an ethnically homogeneously Polish Poland.

This convergence of Sovietization, communism and ethnic nationalism was reflected in the history of the Polish State Security Commission, Panstwowa Komisja Bezpieczenstwa. It played an important role in the preparation of the rigged 1946 referendum, constituting a milestone in Poland's subjection to Communist rule and Soviet influence, as well as in Akcja Wisla. It was before the commission that Mossor presented his plans one day before Swierczewski's killing.

Thus, there were no simple continuities. Yet, it remains true that Akcja Wisla can also be plausibly understood as an outcome of a steady Polish shift away from, for want of better terms, civic or state nationalism to ethnic nationalism, which had already marked the 1930s. With respect to Akcja Wisla, this turn was most publicly advertised at a conference called by the Polish government in July 1945 to make representatives of Poland's Ukrainians express support for leaving for Soviet Ukraine. While the Ukrainian representatives instead declared their wish to remain in Poland and become its loyal citizens, such an option was not considered.

Gen. Mossor, a major planner and organizer of Akcja Wisla, epitomized this continuity, marked by odd twists of loyalties and fate. Born in 1896 in a Krakow intelligentsia family, he was a fighter for Polish independence in the first world war as well as against Ukrainians and Bolsheviks, a very successful career officer and respected military theoretician in the interwar period. Mossor also led punitive expeditions against Volynian Ukrainians in the late 1930s. In German captivity between September 1939 and January 1945, he at first made proposals to the Germans about how to create a more positive attitude toward them among Poles in exchange for ending repressions but refused later German offers to set up Polish units to fight against the Soviets. Joining the Communist-dominated side in postwar Poland, Mossor's main task was the fight against the Polish underground. His general war plan, at the same time, was not made official doctrine because it put too much emphasis on independent Polish operations against western forces.

After Wisla his career began to fray in 1949, and from 1950 to 1955 he was subjected to persecution and imprisonment under allegations of "right-wing nationalist deviation," supporting the London Polish government, "fascistizing" interwar

Poland, and of having too much contact with the Germans during the war, all of which he kept denying. He died in September 1957, shortly after his release from prison and appointment as planning chief for the Ministry of Defense.

The second world war itself, which turned Central and Eastern Europe into the site of unprecedentedly brutal, if still different, occupations by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union – which prominently included deportations and did not simply end in 1945, as well as some vicious ethnic conflicts among the occupied – furthered this trend decisively. A first, largely unsuccessful resettlement attempt in the area, affected so massively again between 1944 and 1947, was made by the German and Soviet allies in 1940. In general, the terrible example of the Holocaust, carried out amidst gentile populations, some of whose members also participated in it to different degrees, indicated extreme and unprecedented limits as to what was possible.

In particular, between Poles and Ukrainians, World War II led to the mass killing and expulsion of Poles by the UPA in Volyn as well as Polish killings of Ukrainians on a substantially smaller scale and fighting and mutual expulsions in other areas, especially eastern Galicia. In fact, as Paul Best has pointed out, one can see the area of postwar southeastern Poland, affected by the fighting and resettlement of 1944 and 1947, as the southern edge of a Polish-Ukrainian conflict zone stretching to 3Volyn in the east. Not only temporally but spatially, too, Akcja Wisla marked a limit of these conflicts.

By the time of the Polish-Soviet population exchange and on the territory of postwar Poland, Ukrainians and Lemkos were the main – though, again, not the only – victims, with several thousand of them dying in spring 1945 alone and several massacres and destructions of villages only restricted when Polish and Ukrainian underground fighters called a local truce in summer 1945. At the same time, Polish government forces kept increasing their pressure on the Ukrainian underground and population.

The case of the village of Pawlokoma was perhaps the most drastic illustration of this sequence and convergence of Polish underground and Polish state pressure to expel Ukrainians: while a Home Army unit massacred hundreds of its inhabitants in March 1945, six months later regular troops finally drove the survivors from Poland.

Put differently, there was no real let-up between the multiple brutalizations of World War II, the continuity of inter-ethnic fighting beyond it and Akcja Wisla. The latter, although also a prolongation of a major ethnicizing trend in interwar Poland, would have been impossible without the massive escalation of ethnic conflict during a war brought by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

Finally, Akcja Wisla also belongs within a larger context of modern international practices of population exchanges, deportations and resettlements, which were not employed exclusively by totalitarian regimes. Thus, the expulsions of the German minorities in Central Europe at the end of the second world war combined a beginning not yet sanctioned by the Western Allies with a continuation, which was. Flight and expulsions together removed above 10 million Germans from postwar Poland alone, with a combined casualty rate of about 1 million. Expulsions, more strictly defined, removed about 3.5 million Germans.

One set of figures as well as the other indicate a major international, not merely Soviet, immediate and virtually simultaneous context of Akcja Wisla. In addition, the Polish-Soviet population exchange of 1944 to 1946-1947 would, of course, also have made no sense without the westward shift of Poland, sanctioned by the western Allies.

SCOPE TRAVEL 2007 Ukraine TOURS

**DNIPRO RIVER CRUISE +
LVIV MUSIC FESTIVAL**
May 10-29

MINI UKRAINE I
Kyiv + Lviv
May 17 -26

BEST OF UKRAINE I
Odesa, Crimea, Lviv, Kyiv
May 23 - June 06

W. UKRAINE + PRAGUE
Kyiv, Lviv, Karpaty, Prague
June 27 - July 11

MINI UKRAINE II
Kyiv + Lviv
July 12-21

BEST OF UKRAINE II
Odesa, Crimea, Lviv, Kyiv
July 18 - August 01

HUTSUL FESTIVAL TOUR
Lviv, Yaremche, Kyiv
July 21 - August 07

MINI UKRAINE III
Kyiv + Lviv
August 16 - 25
(Independence Day Tour)

W. UKRAINE + PRAGUE
Kyiv, Lviv, Karpaty, Prague
August 22 - September 05
(Independence Day Tour)

KARPATY ARTS-CRAFTS FAIR
Ivano Frankivsk + Lviv
September 05 - 15

BEST OF UKRAINE II
Odesa, Crimea, Lviv, Kyiv
September 12 - 26

MINI UKRAINE IV
Kyiv + Lviv
September 20-29

101 S. Centre St. So. Orange, NJ 07079
973 378-8998
Toll free 877 357-0436
www.scopetravel.com
Scope@scopetravel.com

On Ukraine's constitutional...

(Continued from page 3)

toward early parliamentary elections, thus the presidential crisis was not prevented.

From a political point of view, the solution is in early parliamentary elections (but not early presidential elections, as the coalition suggests). A compromise could be made about the proposed date of the elections, the laws and sub-laws, which regulate procedures of the election to make it free and transparent. It could include adjusting the electoral system of

party slates by introducing regional and open (preferential) party slates.

Also, it is important to agree that early elections are not a zero-sum game. The Party of the Regions would remain a legitimate player. After the election, there is a real possibility to form a government of national unity (a grand coalition), but under different conditions. In case the Orange coalition were to be restored, it is also important to include influential deputies from the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine. It is high time for politicians to understand that no part of Ukraine can impose its will on the other side.

Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

vote to become a formality.

The adoption of the Constitution would be an important landmark in Ukraine's search for a post-Soviet identity, but according to Mr. Bilynskij, the Constitution could exacerbate certain problems within the system, rather than resolve them. A Constitution, noted Mr. Bilynskij, is a covenant whose effectiveness is dependent upon the broader political culture's contemporary characteristics. An element of that culture is the lack of respect for the rule of law. The major flaw in the Constitutional Agreement, according to Mr. Bilynskij, was that it lacked a mechanism for imposing and enforcing

sanctions against violations in the shape of a truly independent, respected judiciary. He added that the character and commitment of the presidency – the most powerful political entity in Ukraine at the time – was a crucial factor in determining the success of the reforms.

The absence of mature political parties and the lack of an underlying consensus about where Ukraine should be going, Mr. Bilynskij wrote, had reduced the debate over the Constitution to what kind of institutional arrangements best serve the interests of the elites.

Source: "Constitutional debate begins in Ukraine's Parliament," by Markian Bilynskij, director of the *Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy*, May 5, 1996.

Pro hockey...

(Continued from page 19)

leap. "It's a lot faster game," he said. "Guys are much bigger and faster, and they know how to play the game. With that said, it does take some getting used to. But once you get the hang of it, it gets a little easier to play. You have more time than you think with the puck. One thing coming in was that I was rushing things with the puck and now I'm seeing that I have more time, which allows me to be more patient and make more plays."

This wise-beyond-his-years rookie knows he must continue making plays in order to earn his ice time and place on the roster. "Coming into camp, my main concern was coming in here and trying to win a spot," he said. "Nothing's ever guaranteed here, so I still have to take it day-by-day. I'm just trying to elevate my game and contribute as much as possible. "It's definitely a big accomplishment for me. I know that I want to be here as long as possible so I just have to try to get better and learn every day. I just have to keep competing."

Coach Julien has high expectations for No. 19. "He's a pretty smart individual," he said. "He makes some pretty good decisions. To me, he's acting more like a veter-

an than a first-year player just by the decisions that he's made. He has good skills, good size and is always well-positioned. I foresee this guy just getting better and better. That's my prediction as a coach."

While Zajac has quickly proven his ability to make sweet music on the ice, he'd like to think that he has some potential off the ice as well. "I play guitar in my spare time," said the Ukrainian rookie, who added that "Wonder-wall" by Oasis was the first song he mastered. "I just started a year ago, it's just something I took up in college. I'm sure I'll have time to get into that again. I play a couple of songs. I'm getting there." Of course, on the ice, he's well on his way.

Though he presents a calm and cool demeanor about his adjustment to the professional hockey world, Zajac confesses his first tour of the NHL has been a somewhat "surreal" experience.

"Sometimes I have to pinch myself because during games I'm taking face-offs against Joe Thornton or Joe Sakic, and it's just unbelievable," Zajac said. "I feel a lot more mature. There are a lot of people watching and I have to be grown up about it. This is a job. You're getting paid to play hockey, and it's the one thing I wanted to do. It's a dream come true. It's supposed to be fun playing in the NHL."

FIT students' fashions in show

NEW YORK – Olga Baird and Natallia Pilipenko, natives of Ukraine who are graduating from the Fashion Institute of Technology on May 22 with Bachelor of Fine Arts degrees in fashion design, will participate in a show at FIT on Monday, April 30, at 5:30 p.m. and 8 p.m.

They were selected from more than 150 students to show garments in the annual runway fashion show at the Fashion Institute of Technology, held at the John E. Reeves Great Hall, Seventh Avenue at 28th Street.

Ms. Baird was born in Lviv in 1971 and reared in that western Ukrainian city. She will present an ensemble consisting of an oversized sweater and long skirt, with an ethnic look. The outfit's colors

are deep blue, burnt red and gold.

Ms. Pilipenko was born in Kyiv in 1978, but grew up in Molodechno, Miensk Oblast of Belarus. Her garments are in tones of grey and slate. The first is a corduroy jacket ensemble; the second is an asymmetrical jersey cardigan topped with a hand-knitted cotton wrap vest, paired with skinny corduroy pants.

Attended by a crowd of top designers and industry executives, the annual show at FIT is viewed as a preview of some of the most exciting young up-and-coming designers in New York City. Professional models add to the dazzle and glamour of the event.

For further information readers may call the FIT Office of College Relations, 212-217-7642.

Some analysts suggest that there should be an agreement on the basic constitutional changes in advance, changes regarding local self-government, etc. While agreeing that it is important, I am afraid that if the circle of laws were to be too broad, elections would be postponed to the end of the year, which would be politically unacceptable as it would favor only one side.

Frank E. Sysyn is director of the Peter Jacyk Center, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

1.) I think the issue of legal or illegal, or constitutional is a hard one to resolve at the moment, partially because of the defective nature of the Ukrainian Constitution. On the other hand, I see that the taking of delegates in factions or blocs by the current majority in Parliament wasn't an infraction against the general constitutional norms, and in that sense I would assume it is legal. Although, it is hard to say how the Constitutional Court will resolve this matter.

2.) The problem with the Ukrainian Constitution is that, at present, the initial document that was adopted in 1996 was changed considerably in the various dealings at the end of the Orange Revolution of 2004, and it is unclear whether those constitutional changes are in essence legal.

That is, what we can call the proper Ukrainian Constitution is hard to resolve and so, in that sense, the fact that the political system was changed in the course of the election falsification, radical or political maneuvering of former

President Kuchma, of the purported winner at that point, Viktor Yanukovich and of President Yushchenko and the various forces around him means that it is hard to say what at the moment really constitutes the Ukrainian Constitution. And that's what will make the problem of the Constitutional Court so difficult.

The added factor is that no really independent judiciary exists in Ukraine at the moment, which puts into question any of the decisions by the Constitutional Court.

3.) This is very difficult because of the failure or the lack of willingness of the current majority in Parliament to really share power in any way with the opposition, and by the attempts to restore elements of the pre-Orange Revolution system. In practice I think there will have to be new parliamentary elections. Whether these new elections will really change the balance of power is hard to say, because what will be needed is really a new attitude or political change and, at the moment, the Ukrainian elite does not seem willing to conduct such change.

One might hope that the former Orange camp would at least see that the mistakes that led it to losing power have to be corrected and that those mistakes including abandonment really of the core of the democratic reform – the reason why so many people went out on the maidan (Independence Square). But it is very hard to tell at the moment what the perceptions of the Ukrainian elite are.

In addition, President Yushchenko, up until now, has been a rather weak president, who has not even been a good tactician or strategist and did not really try to bring about major reforms. Whether this course in the dissolution of Parliament shows some changes in him, is very hard to say.

UKRAINIAN BANDURIST CHORUS

OLEH MAHLAY - ARTISTIC DIRECTOR AND CONDUCTOR

КАПЕЛЯ БАНДУРИСТІВ ім. Т. ШЕВЧЕНКА

ОЛЕГ МАХЛАЙ - МИСТЕЦЬКИЙ КЕРІВНИК та ДИРИГЕНТ

www.bandura.org

Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of Mykhaylo Kvitasty 1907 - 2007

Saturday, May 5 - 7:00 pm
TROY, NEW YORK
Troy Savings Bank Music Hall

Tickets and more information:
Troy Savings Bank Music Hall Box Office
518.273.0038

Sunday, May 6 - 2:00 pm
NEW YORK CITY
The Great Hall at Cooper Union
7 East 7th Street at Third Avenue

Tickets and more information:
Surma Book & Music Co.
11 East 7th Street, New York City
212.477.0729, or call 917.559.8629

Saturday, June 2 - 6:30 pm
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
Chopin Elementary School Auditorium
2450 W. Rice Street, Chicago

Tickets and more information:
Ukrainian Cultural Center
2247 W. Chicago Ave., Chicago, IL
773.384.6400

*Ukrainian National Foundation in support of
Soyuzivka presents the*



Ukrainian Film & Cultural Festival!

July 11-15, 2007

at
Soyuzivka
for all seasons

FEATURE ACTS:

'Natalia Buchynska'— Singer from Ternopil, Ukraine
Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky's Ukrainian Dance Workshop
'Oleh Kulchytsky Ensemble' from Lviv, Ukraine & featuring Soloist 'Filip Zmacher' from Kyiv, Ukraine
'Levko Durko' Comedy Show from Lviv, Ukraine
'Bandura Rozmova'— Bandurist Duo Taras Lazurkevych & Oleh Sozansky, Lviv Ukraine
Violinists- Innessa Tymochko-Dekajlo & Marian Pidvirnyj, from Lviv, Ukraine
'Roman Tsymbala'- Ukrainian Opera Singer
'Marina Skliarova'— Singer from Kyiv, Ukraine
'Vidlunia' Ukrainian Band featuring band leader Stepan Ben
MC— Folk Singer Erko Palydowycz
'Ukrainian Cinema' presented by the Ukrainian Film Club of Columbia University,
Film Program Director— Dr. Yuri Shevchuk & Film Festival Director— Christina Kotlar
Ukrainian Art & Craft Vendors, Ukrainian & American Cuisine & more!

Wednesday, July 11

Opening Ceremony- 5 pm
'HUTSUL' Dinner w/show- 6 pm
Film Festival Opening- 8 pm

Thursday, July 12

Ukrainian Craft Demonstrations
Film Festival 2-4 pm & 6:30 pm
Dinner in Dining Room 5-7 pm
Musical Concert 9 pm

Friday, July 13

Ukrainian Craft Demonstrations
Ukrainian Arts & Craft Vendor
Plaza 12 pm
Film Festival 2-4 pm & 6-8 pm
Food Court BBQ 4 pm
Dinner in Dining Room 5-8 pm
Evening Stage Show 8-9:30 pm
'Zabava' (Ukrainian Dance)
Featuring Ukrainian Bands
"Burya" & "Luna" 9:30 pm

Saturday, July 14

Ukrainian Craft Demonstrations
Ukrainian Arts & Craft Vendor
Plaza 10 am
Food Court/BBQ/Pig Roast 11 am
Stage Shows 1-2:30 pm AND 7 pm
Film Festival 2-6 pm
Children's Show featuring 'Levko
Durko' 3 pm
Dinner in Dining Room 5-8 pm
'Zabava' Featuring Ukrainian Bands
"Burya" & "Luna" 9:30 pm
**all times subject to change*

ADMISSION:

**Wednesday only &
Thursday only: \$5.00**
(8 years old & under free)

Friday: \$10.00
Ages 9-20: \$5.00

Saturday: \$20.00
Ages 9-20: \$10.00

4 DAYS: \$25.00

Bus Groups Discounted!
Free Parking!

For more information CALL:

(845) 626-5641

Or visit our Web Site at:

www.Soyuzivka.com

*Hotel amenities Include— Olympic size Swimming Pool, Kiddie Pool, Tennis
Courts, Hiking Trails, Sand Volleyball Court, Daily Breakfast & Dinner in
Dining Room, Snack Bar, Outside Tiki Bar, Trembita Lounge & Gift Shop.*

OUT AND ABOUT

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|----------------------------|--|
| May 2
Wethersfield, CT | Book reading by Irene Zabytko, "The Sky Unwashed," with preview of film-in-progress "Life in the Dead Zone," Ukrainian National Home, 203-248-2116, x276 | May 6
New York | Concert, "Bandura - The Soul of Ukraine," Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus, The Great Hall at Cooper Union, 212-477-0729 or 917-559-8629 |
| May 4
New York | "Conversations at the Institute," featuring Marko Robert Stech, Yuriy Tarnawsky, Irene Zabytko and Alexander Motyl, Ukrainian Institute of America, 212-288-8660 | May 6
Philadelphia | Book reading and discussion by Irene Zabytko on film-in-progress "Life in the Dead Zone," Big Blue Mountain Bookstore, 215-844-1870 or 215-844-1066 |
| May 5
Troy, NY | Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church centennial concert featuring the Syzokryli Ukrainian Dance Ensemble and the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus, Troy Savings Bank Music Hall, 518-273-0038 | May 6
Dickinson, ND | Heritage Day, Ukrainian Cultural Institute, 701-483-1486 |
| May 5
New York | Lecture by Mark Stech, "Mykola Khvylioviy as a Mystic: In the Light of New Research," Shevchenko Scientific Society, 212-254-5130 | May 7
Cambridge, MA | Vasyl and Maria Petryshyn Memorial Lecture, featuring Tatiana Tairova-Iakovleva, Harvard University, 617-495-4053 |
| May 5
New York | "Ukrainian Night," featuring readings and film screenings, Cornelia Street Café, 212-989-9319 | May 11
Seven Hills, OH | Bowling Party, sponsored by the Buryverkhy Sorority of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, Seven Hills Bowling Lanes, 216-447-1868 |
| May 5
Toronto | Concert and Fun Fair for Families: "Kotiache Vesilia," Svitlychka Ukrainian Cooperative Nursery School, svitlychka@hotmail.com | May 11
Parma, OH | Klooch CD release party, Ukrainian American Youth Association hall, 216-870-8955 or 440-655-6230 |
| | | May 12
Independence, OH | Debutante Ball, "Bal' Buryverkh," featuring music by Zahrava, DoubleTree Hotel, 440-237-2631 |
| | | May 12
Whippany, NJ | 3-on-3 Basketball Tournament, sponsored by Whippany and Irvington branches of UAYA, Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, 908-370-2210 or 908-377-7797 |
| | | May 12
New York | Book presentation, "Poetry Translations" by Ostap Tarnawsky, Shevchenko Scientific Society, 212-254-5130 |

Our Ukraine...

(Continued from page 2)

Party of the Regions in 2000-2001 until moving to Our Ukraine in 2002.

Mr. Yushchenko had called for Our Ukraine to be "radically overhauled." The withdrawal of Mr. Kinakh's PIEU has been followed by the marginalization of "liubi druzi" such as Mr. Poroshenko, and the culling of other unpopular parties and discredited members. Two of Our Ukraine's remaining four parties have joined the Rukh-Ukrainian Right Wing bloc, while another has joined the People's Self-Defense. The fourth party, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, was not invited to join any bloc because its leader, former Naftohaz CEO Oleksii Ivchenko, was discredited two years ago when it was revealed that he had purchased a \$225,000 Mercedes car with Naftohaz Ukrainy state funds.

President Yushchenko's decision to dissolve Parliament served as a pre-emptive strike against further defections that threatened to lead to a constitutional majority.

Mr. Yushchenko, Our Ukraine and the People's Self-Defense embraced the Tymoshenko Bloc's call for early elections after Mr. Kinakh's defections and the police raids on Mr. Lutsenko's apartment and offices. The People's Self-Defense was established by Our Ukraine businessmen, such as Davyd Zhvania, who had become discontented with the "liubi druzi."

On March 31, the Our Ukraine congress elected Viacheslav Kyrlylenko as its head. This confirmed a national-democratic takeover, as Mr. Kyrlylenko is a former member of Yurii Kostenko's Ukrainian People's Party, one of three offshoots of the pre-1999 Rukh movement.

This development was matched by the change in leadership at the Presidential Secretariat. Viktor Baloha is the third head of the Secretariat since President Yushchenko's election and the first with managerial skills. Mr. Baloha, like Mr. Kyrlylenko, is a national democrat and is closer to the YTB. The two ousted Secretariat heads (Oleksander Zinchenko and Oleh Rybachuk) and former Our Ukraine head (Mr. Yekhanurov) are aligned with the "liubi druzi."

Mr. Kyrlylenko has ruled out any grand coalition after the elections. "We are strong members of the united opposition and are going into elections practically as one front, and, I think, that democracy will again flourish," he said.

Mr. Yushchenko has called for the creation of a mega center-right "pro-presidential bloc." Mr. Baloha is seeking to unite

the disparate center-right into such a bloc.

Currently the center-right is divided among Our Ukraine, the Ukrainian Right Wing (Rukh, the Ukrainian People's Party, and the Republican Party Sobor) and Mr. Lutsenko's bloc (People's Self-Defense, Christian-Democratic Union, European Platform and Forward Ukraine). Center-right unity would facilitate a two-pronged right-left opposition with YTB representing the center-left wing.

The opposition more closely resembles that found in the 2002 and 2004, rather than the 2006 elections. However, in the 2002 and 2004 elections the opposition still had moderate (Our Ukraine) and radical (Tymoshenko Bloc and Socialist Party) wings. Now, Our Ukraine has moved from a moderate to a YTB radical stance for the first time in its six-year history.

These developments explain both President Yushchenko's radicalized stance and the unity of the opposition. The Party of the Regions has been taken aback by this new opposition energy and unity and remains in a state of denial that Our Ukraine and Yushchenko have the same stance as YTB. "Inside Our Ukraine and YTB there are principled differences on tactics that its leaders are proposing," Party of the Regions faction leader Raisa Bohatorova believes.

The Anti-Crisis Coalition has sought to appease Mr. Yushchenko by dealing with many of the issues that provoked him to act and support the YTB's call for early elections, hoping to again divide Our Ukraine and the YTB. After Parliament was disbanded the ruling coalition voted to eject national deputies who had defected to it, and it has agreed to support the imperative mandate and transforming the provisions of the 2006 Universal of National Unity into law.

Mr. Yushchenko's handling of the crisis, the revamped Our Ukraine and opposition unity have ramifications for the 2009 elections, which is far enough in the future to rebuild Mr. Yushchenko's popularity. In the last month, the president's ratings have increased nearly twofold from 11 percent to 18 percent.

Although President Yushchenko's ratings remain half those of Prime Minister Yanukovich (35 percent) he now has pulled even with Ms. Tymoshenko, and together the two Orange candidates have 35 percent. With the same ratings as Ms. Tymoshenko, Mr. Yushchenko can now argue that he should be the Orange candidate, something he could not plausibly do before the crisis.

Sources: *Ukrayinska Pravda*, April 7-18, *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia*, April 14-20.

Entries in "Out and About" are listed free of charge. Priority is given to events advertised in *The Ukrainian Weekly*. However, we also welcome submissions from all our readers; please send e-mail to staff@ukrweekly.com. Items will be published at the discretion of the editors and as space allows; photos will be considered. Please note: items will be printed a maximum of two times each.

ФІЛЯДЕЛЬФІЯ

CERTIFICATE SPECIALS

Term	Regular Certificates Minimum deposit \$500.00	Jumbo Certificate Minimum deposit \$75,000.00
9 month	5.00% APY	5.15% APY
17 month	5.15% APY	5.30% APY

MORTGAGE SPECIALS

New Purchase - Refinance - Cash Out
Investment Properties - HELOC's - Home Equity
NO Application Fee NO Origination Fee
NO Points FREE 60-day Rate-Lock
Plus \$100 BONUS at Settlement

Limited Time Offer Call, e-mail or stop in for details and current rates.



We do business in accordance with the Federal Fair Housing Law and the Equal Credit Opportunity Act

Rates are subject to change without notice.

Your savings federally insured to at least \$100,000 and backed by the full faith and credit of the United States Government
NCUA
National Credit Union Administration, a U.S. Government Agency

Ukrainian Selfreliance Federal Credit Union
Philadelphia, PA

Call 1-888-POLTAVA

www.ukrfcu.com

Soyuzivka's Datebook

MONDAYS, June 25-August 27, 2007

Steak Night with Soyuzivka House band located on Veselka Patio

WEDNESDAYS, June 27-August 29, 2007

Hutsul Night with Soyuzivka House band located on Vorochta Lawn

FRIDAYS, June 29-August 31, 2007

Odesa Seafood Night with Soyuzivka House band located on Veselka Patio

SATURDAYS, June 30-September 1, 2007

Ukrainian zabavas (dances) featuring a live Ukrainian band

May 4-6, 2007

Ukrainian Language Immersion
Weekend offered at SUNY
New Paltz

May 13, 2007

Mother's Day Luncheon 11:30 a.m.-
2 p.m., \$15++

May 19, 2007

Tri Valley High School Prom

May 25-27, 2007

Memorial Day Weekend BBQ,
Orchidia Patrons' Reunion,
Summer kick-off and zabava

June 1-3, 2007

Ukrainian Language Immersion
Weekend offered at SUNY
New Paltz

June 4-8, 2007

Stamford Clergy Days –
Spring Seminar

June 9, 2007

Wedding

June 10-15, 2007

UNA Seniors Week

June 15, 2007

Wallkill High School Retirement Party

June 15-17, 2007

4th Annual Adoptive Parents
Weekend

June 16, 2007

Party

June 17, 2007

Father's Day Luncheon and program
featuring Syzokryli Ukrainian
Dance Ensemble, tenor Roman
Tsybala and band Vidlunnia with
Marian Pidvirnyj, 1 p.m., \$20++

June 21-24, 2007

UMANA Convention

June 24-July 6, 2007

Tennis Camp

June 24-July 1, 2007

Plast Camp – Tabir Ptashat,
Session #1

June 25-29, 2007

Exploration Day Camp, Session #1,
ages 7-10

July 1-8, 2007

Plast Camp – Tabir Ptashat, Session #2

July 1-15, 2007

Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian
Dance Workshop, Ages 16 and up

July 2-6, 2007

Exploration Day Camp, Session #2,
ages 7-10

July 6-8, 2007

Fourth of July Festivities: Tiki Bar
Entertainment, Concerts, Zabavas

July 8-10, 2007

Discount Days, 25% off all room rates

July 11-15, 2007

Ukrainian Film & Cultural Festival –
featuring Roma Pryma
Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance
Workshop, Ukrainian films
coordinated by Yuri Shevchuk,
founding director of UFCCU,
Ukrainian arts and crafts, and more

July 13-15, 2007

Ukrainian Language Immersion
Weekend offered at SUNY
New Paltz

July 15-20, 2007

Ukrainian Heritage Day Camp,
Session #1, ages 4-7

July 15-21, 2007

Discovery Camp, ages 8-15

July 22-27, 2007

Ukrainian Heritage Day Camp
Session #2, ages 4-7

July 22-28, 2007

Sitch Sports Camp, Session #1,
ages 6-18

July 27-29, 2007

Ukrainian Language Immersion
Weekend offered at SUNY
New Paltz

July 29-August 4, 2007

Sitch Sports Camp, Session #2,
ages 6-18



To book a room or event call: (845) 626-5641, ext. 140
216 Foordmore Road P.O. Box 529
Kerhonkson, NY 12446
E-mail: Soyuzivka@aol.com
Website: www.Soyuzivka.com

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Sunday, April 29

PHILADELPHIA: The Ukrainian League of Philadelphia will host its Spring 2007 Art Show, showcasing artists of Ukrainian ancestry. The league is participating in the Fairmount Arts Crawl at 2-6 p.m. The Arts Crawl is a community open house during which the entire Philadelphia Art Museum area becomes a showplace for local art and music. See <http://www.fairmountartscrawl.org/> for details. For information on the Ukrainian League and its programs call Ihor Bilynsky, 215-656-8521. The Ukrainian League of Philadelphia this year celebrates 90 years in the community; visit <http://www.ukiebar.com/> for more info.

Saturday, May 5

TROY, N.Y.: St. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church of Cohoes, N.Y., and its Centennial Jubilee Committee are sponsoring a performance by the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus and the Syzokryli Dancers to be held at the world-famous Troy Savings Bank Music Hall, beginning at 7 p.m. Tickets are available by calling 518-273-0038 or on the web at www.troy-musichall.org.

NEW YORK: The second annual Ukrainian Night at the Cornelia Street Café will feature readings by Irene Zabytko, Dzvinia Orlovsky and Alexander Motyl, as well as films by Andriy Parekh and Roxy Toporowych at 6-8 p.m.; and readings by Vasyl Makhno, Ms. Zabytko, Ms. Orlovsky and Dr. Motyl, along with recent short films from Ukraine at 9-11 p.m. The Cornelia Street Café is located in New York's Greenwich Village, at 29 Cornelia St., between Bleecker Street and Sixth Avenue. Admission is \$10 per set, one drink minimum. For information call 212 989-9319 or log on to www.corneliastreetcafe.com.

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a lecture by Dr. Mark Robert Stech (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Toronto) titled "Mykola Khvylioviy as a Mystic: in the Light of New Research." Khvylioviy was one of the leaders of the "Executed Renaissance" in Ukraine in the 1920s and '30s. His com-

plex ideological views and esthetic tastes envision new interpretations of his contributions to studies of Ukrainian literature. The program will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call 212-254-5130.

TORONTO: "Kotiache Vesillia – A Cat's Wedding," a Ukrainian-themed Concert and Fun-Fair for Families presented by the Svitlychka Cooperative Nursery School will take place at 3:30-7 p.m. at St. Nicholas Church Hall, 4 Bellwoods Ave. Singer Olya Fryz will perform hits from her newest CD "Scho za Hamir." Advance tickets only are available for \$15 (children under age 2 free) at Buduchnist credit union. The event will also feature a designated drop-off area, raffle, silent auction, "Pershi Kroky" toddler area, games, loonie table, pizza dinner, bake sale and more. The event is a fund-raiser for the Svitlychka Cooperative Nursery School. For more information e-mail svitlychka@hotmail.com or call 416-763-2922 (evenings).

Monday, May 7

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.: The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute is pleased to announce that this year's Vasyl and Maria Petryshyn Memorial Lecture will be given by Tatiana Tairova-Iakovleva, professor of Ukrainian history and director of the Center for Ukrainian Studies, St. Petersburg State University. Her lecture will be held at 4-6 p.m. in Room S-020 (Belfer Case Study Room) of the South Building of the Center for Government and International Studies (CGIS), located at 1730 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02138. For more information contact HURI at 617-495-4053 or huri@fas.harvard.edu.

Sunday, May 20

JENKINTOWN, Pa.: The School of the Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble is hosting its annual Spring Festival at St. Michael Ukrainian Church, 1013 Fox Chase Road. The festival begins at 1 p.m. with a performance by the Voloshky School at 2:30 p.m. Admission: adults, \$5; children between the ages of 3 and 12, \$3. Come join us for an entertaining day on the beautiful grounds of St. Michael's. For additional information contact Andreja Kulyk, 856-755-9280.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES:

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

To have an event listed in Preview of Events please send information, in English, written in Preview format, 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; longer submissions are subject to editing. Items not written in Preview format or submitted without all required information will not be published.

Preview items must be received no later than one week before the desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Items will be published only once, unless otherwise indicated. Please include payment for each time the item is to appear and indicate date(s) of issue(s) in which the item is to be published. Also, senders are asked to include the phone number of a person who may be contacted by The Weekly during daytime hours, as well as their complete mailing address.

Information should be sent to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054; fax, 973-644-9510; e-mail, preview@ukrweekly.com.

Don't let your subscription lapse!

Help yourself and the Subscription Department of The Ukrainian Weekly by keeping track of your subscription expiration date (indicated in the top left-hand corner of your mailing label (year/month/date) and sending in your renewal fee in advance of receiving an expiration notice; or, if you have already received a notice, by promptly sending your renewal.

This way, you'll be sure to enjoy each issue of The Ukrainian Weekly, and will keep yourself informed of all the news you need to know.

FOR A QUICK LOOK AT OF THE TOP NEWS IN EACH WEEK'S ISSUE
CHECK OUT OUR WEBSITE:
WWW.UKRWEEKLY.COM