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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Thousands gather to honor leader of Ukraine's liberation struggle

Bandera remembered at centennial ceremonies



Zenon Zawada

Admirers of Stepan Bandera unfurled the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists flag, symbolizing red blood on black Ukrainian soil, at the January 1 commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the liberation leader's birthday in his native village of Staryi Uhryniv in the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast.

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

STARYI UHRYNIV, Ukraine – Even as a 10-year-old, Stepan Bandera prepared himself for leadership in the Ukrainian liberation struggle.

After overhearing his father, Andrii Bandera, discuss with fellow priests the torture of Ukrainian political activist Olha Basarab in a Polish prison, Bandera took needles and pushed them under his nails, tearing his skin and drawing shock from his father, who came rushing in after hearing his daughter shriek at the bloody scene.

“Listening to all these discussions, whether at home or among the villagers, I understood that this struggle for Ukraine is brutal and difficult,” the boy told his father. “I simply want to be sure and convinced that I could survive it all.”

This is one of the stories relayed by Liubov Ivaniuk, a veteran tour guide at the Stepan Bandera Museum-Memorial Complex in Staryi Uhryniv, which was opened back in 2001.

On the 100th anniversary of the January 1, 1909, birth of Stepan Bandera, the legendary leader of the mid-20th century Ukrainian liberation movement who formed the revolutionary wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), thousands of Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast residents and guests ignored frigid temperatures to participate in religious services and ceremonies that honored his life and struggle.

Billboards bearing Bandera's portrait blanketed the oblast, announcing that “The

Nation's Symbol” would be honored both in the oblast capital and Bandera's native village of Staryi Uhryniv.

Though numerous Ukrainians led the liberation struggle during the World War II era, history chose Bandera as the movement's ultimate symbol, though he wasn't directly involved in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), having spent the war imprisoned by the Nazis.

It was Bandera's unbending conviction, rejection of any cooperation with enemies and dedication to nothing less than full Ukrainian independence that elevated him to symbolize the political ideal for Ukrainians. At the same time, he became the antithesis to a hero for his enemies, particularly the Soviets, who cast him as the ultimate criminal and villain.

“Truly, there were more people who were allegedly more actively involved, but nonetheless Bandera was the symbol [because] he remained true to the end, which is exceptionally difficult,” said Volodymyr Viatrovykh, an academic advisor to the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU).

“Consider politicians from the times of [Mykhailo] Hrushevsky to the current active ones, and how many of them prostituted themselves and didn't reach the end of this cross. Bandera remained to the end,” he added.

Undeterred by morning temperatures of 18 degrees and less, more than 1,500 admirers gathered at Staryi Uhryniv, an isolated

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Russia keeps up the pressure in gas conflict with Ukraine

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Repeatedly withdrawing numerous assurances and agreements to resume the flow of natural gas to Ukraine and Europe throughout the week, the Russian Federation kept the pressure high on the European Union to consider its proposals to end what it deemed the Ukrainian monopoly on natural gas transport.

In shutting gas supplies for a second week, the Russian government demonstrated that this crisis is engineered to establish a new long-term plan to either take control of Ukraine's gas transport system, or more likely, convince Europeans to invest in pipelines that bypass Ukraine, observers said.

Despite numerous attempts by Ukrainian negotiators, including Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, to reach a fair price for natural gas and its transport, the Russians balked and backtracked repeatedly in what experts say has been a carefully orchestrated public relations strategy to undermine Ukraine in the energy sector.

“The Russians aren't interested in coming to terms,” said Ivan Lozowy, director of the Institute of Statehood and Democracy in

Kyiv. “This campaign is coordinated and deliberate with a strategic direction. Russia wants to expand its natural gas empire and seize a greater share of production and distribution.”

For years the Russian government has attempted to undermine Ukraine's role in gas distribution, as evidenced in the 2006 New Year's Day crisis, when the administration of President Vladimir Putin let up after only three days upon feeling a strong backlash from Western leaders and policy-makers.

Having been accused of using natural gas as a means of applying political pressure, Mr. Putin, now Russia's prime minister, and his advisors retooled their strategy and prepared for this latest offensive in a far more sophisticated way that involved extensive use of the mass media.

Russian officials delivered rehearsed statements, punchy sound bites and muddy accusations in clockwork fashion, flooding the domestic news coverage and reaching European audiences via their news media and Russian propaganda arms, such as the English-language television

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Russia suspected of trying to take over Ukraine's gas transit network

by Pavel Korduban

Eurasia Daily Monitor

January 14

Russia was supposed to resume pumping gas to the European Union through Ukraine on January 13 following trilateral Moscow-Kyiv-Brussels talks, but the Russia-Ukraine gas row is far from over. Neither the issue of Kyiv's debts, the very existence of which Ukraine denies, nor the conditions of gas supply to Ukraine in 2009 have been clarified. There are fears in Kyiv that Moscow wants to take control of Ukraine's gas transport network. Meanwhile, Ukrainian industry, heavily reliant on gas, is grinding to a halt; and people are freezing in their homes in subzero temperatures.

Russia stopped delivering gas to Ukraine on January 1 in the absence of contracts for 2009; and it stopped gas transit through Ukraine on January 7, accusing Ukraine of siphoning off gas bound for Europe. Ukraine's gas monopoly Naftohaz Ukrayiny admitted that it had been withdrawing 20 million to 25 million square meters of gas from the pipelines a day in order to keep up pressure in the pipe needed to pump gas to the EU. Gazprom agreed to resume gas transit only if inspectors representing the European Union, Russia and Ukraine could verify that no gas was being siphoned off

(Kommersant Ukraine, January 12).

A protocol stipulating the conditions of checking the pipelines in Ukraine was signed by the three parties from January 10 to 12 with the mediation of Czech Prime Minister Mirek Topolánek, who traveled between Moscow, Kyiv and Brussels (Interfax, January 10-12). Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko tried to attach to the protocol a declaration that essentially shifted all the blame for gas transit disruptions on Russia, saying that Ukraine did not steal Russian gas and that it had been a reliable partner in gas trade. This angered Moscow. It accepted the protocol only when Ms. Tymoshenko backtracked, saying that the declaration was unrelated to the protocol (UNIAN, January 12).

Although gas deliveries to EU are about to resume, it is too early for the EU consumers of Russian gas to sigh with relief. Russian President Dmitry Medvedev warned that transit through Ukraine might be halted again if Ukraine resumed “stealing” gas (Interfax, January 11). Ukraine has never admitted to “stealing,” and it is still not clear which side will pay for the “technological” gas that Ukraine uses to maintain pressure in the pipelines. In the absence of contracts between Ukraine and Russia, new disruptions to the gas transit

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ANALYSIS

Russia's gas disinformation game

by Roman Kupchinsky
Eurasia Daily Monitor
January 13

Disinformation operations, as every former KGB operative knows, can be an invaluable tool in winning a war. "Deza," as it is called by the old boys who once worked on Dzerzhinsky Square in Moscow, is an art meant to be used carefully by professionals; otherwise it can backfire and damage its disseminators.

It was, therefore, not a surprise that throughout the Russian-Ukrainian "gas war" of January 2009, Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, a former KGB officer, along with key Gazprom officials, many of whom are suspected of having KGB backgrounds, resorted to disinformation on an unprecedented scale. What is surprising, however, is how incompetent their efforts turned out to be.

Disinformation operation No. 1: Ukraine buys Russian gas. Gazprom and Mr. Putin have pushed the fiction that Ukraine should pay "European prices" for its purchases of Russian gas. Ukraine, however, buys little if any Russian gas – its main supplier under the January 2006 contract is Turkmenistan with some Kazakh and Uzbek gas thrown in. Russia's Gazprom buys this gas from the Central Asians for a much lower price than Russian gas sells for, and then resells it to RosUkrEnergo (RUE), a Swiss-based intermediary of which Gazprom owns 50 percent (the other 50 percent is owned by two private Ukrainian businessmen). In

2008 RUE resold this gas to a joint RUE-Naftohaz Ukrayina enterprise, UkrGaz-Energo, which was the Ukrainian domestic distributor for Central Asian gas in Ukraine.

The alleged 2009 wellhead price for Turkmen gas is \$340 for 1,000 cubic meters (tcm). With transit costs added on, the price for Turkmen gas on the Ukrainian-Russian border was announced to be \$380 and not the \$450 Mr. Putin has demanded that Ukraine pay. According to reliable sources, however, German companies will pay an average of \$280 per tcm for Russian gas in 2009. Why such a great price differential?

Disinformation operation No. 2: – Ukraine turned off the valves on the pipeline, preventing deliveries of Russian gas to European Union countries. Gazprom deputy CEO Alexander Medvedev, who is also a member of the coordinating committee of RUE and considered by some to have been a KGB agent in Vienna in the 1980s, told a press conference in London on January 6 that it was Ukraine that had closed down the transit of gas to Europe and that Russia played no role whatsoever in this (Vedomosti, January 6).

The following day Oleh Dubyna, the head of Naftohaz, called Mr. Medvedev's statement "absurd" and pointed out that all the gas cutoff valves were located on the Russian side of the border. Mr. Dubyna produced maps of the pipeline system, which clearly proved his asser-

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A war like no other: Putin mishandles another gas conflict

by Pavel K. Baev
Eurasia Daily Monitor
January 12

Two weeks after the traditional turn of the valve in the first minute of the new year, the disagreement between Russia and Ukraine over the trade and transit of natural gas is still not resolved, and it is not only the duration that makes this "gas war" different from the previous quarrels. At the outset of the active phase of conflict, the inescapable feeling of déjà vu prevailed in commentaries and risk assessments by the concerned parties.

It took a week for the European Union to wake up to the need to take urgent measures. The first reaction was to issue a statement that the interruption of deliveries was "completely unacceptable," which had no effect whatsoever.

The idea about international monitoring of the gas flow proposed by German Chancellor Angela Merkel on January 7 took another week to materialize, despite the technical simplicity of such control; but the resumption of Russian exports to Europe has not facilitated a deal on deliveries to Ukraine. Without this key part of the problem being resolved, the situation remains unstable (RIA-Novosti, www.newsru.com, Kommersant, December 11).

It is not only the EU that has been caught by surprise with the intensity of this "war," which has already inflicted significant damage to the economies of Bulgaria, Greece, Slovakia and several other countries that had no gas reserves. Gazprom has also encountered a crisis of far greater proportions than it had expected, and the comments of its executives that they had "no rational explanations

for Ukraine's behavior" in this "absolutely abnormal situation" betrayed confusion and a lack of planning for such an escalation (Moscow echo, January 7).

Gazprom's CEO Alexei Miller and his deputies rushed to Brussels and other European capitals seeking to explain their position, and Prime Minister Vladimir Putin held an extraordinary press conference for foreign journalists in order to present a coherent version of the messy squabble (RIA-Novosti, January 8). These moves have hardly helped to minimize the damage to Gazprom's reputation, and it is already possible to identify a number of serious Russian mistakes in managing this crisis.

One group of mistakes has to do directly with Ukraine, which shocked Moscow by walking out of the nearly completed negotiations on December 31, 2008, and showing no interest in resuming them for a week after. Mr. Putin had believed that the never-ending row between President Viktor Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko would prevent the Ukrainian leadership from making any proactive steps, but he did not recognize how desperate Mr. Yushchenko was to improve his hopeless position for the presidential elections in January 2010.

Gazprom was firm and set to extract a price from Naftohaz at least a third higher than in 2008, since it had committed itself to pay "European" prices to the Central Asian producers. It failed to grasp, however, the consequences of the fact that Ukraine to all intents and purposes was bankrupt and the "compromise" price of \$250 was far beyond the country's means. Kyiv is beyond worrying about "reputation damage," hence its bold decision to

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NEWSBRIEFS**PRU wants government's dismissal**

KYIV – The opposition Party of Regions has demanded that the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers be dismissed and the procedure for the impeachment of President Viktor Yushchenko be launched, party leader Viktor Yanukovich said in the Verkhovna Rada on January 13. Mr. Yanukovich made the announcement during consideration of the question of Ukrainian-Russian relations in the gas sector and the current gas crisis affecting Ukraine and other European countries. The opposition party proposed considering the government's dismissal on January 15. Mr. Yanukovich accused the country's leadership of destroying the legal base between Ukraine and Russia, disrupting direct gas supplies from Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, and the Ukrainian government's increasing the gas price and failing to sign contracts for the supply of Russian gas for 2009. The PRU leader slammed the parliamentary faction of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which, he said, last year in July refused to support the PRU's idea to dismiss the Cabinet of Ministers. "Unfortunately, our position received no understanding and support. Those who did not vote with us for the dismissal of [Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia] Tymoshenko's government have assumed responsibility for the current situation in the country and should share this responsibility along with the president and the government," Mr. Yanukovich said. (Ukrinform)

Commission to investigate gas transport

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on January 13 set up an Interim Parliamentary Investigation Commission to look into the functioning of the Ukrainian gas transportation system and the provision of gas to consumers in 2008-2009. Inna Bohoslovska, a national deputy from the Party of Regions, was appointed to chair the commission, which is to conduct its work during the next two months. (Ukrinform)

No to privatization of gas transport

KYIV – Ukraine is not considering the

privatization of its own gas transportation system, said Kostiantyn Gryshchenko, Ukraine's ambassador to Russia and deputy secretary of the National Security and Defense Council. Speaking at a briefing on January 12, he said, "The question of privatizing the Ukrainian gas transportation system and main pipelines cannot be considered. There can be no question about any privatization of this system." The ambassador said this is a matter of Ukraine's energy security and there could be no compromise here. Mr. Gryshchenko described speculation over Ukraine's gas transportation system as unjustified and added that this question is not being considered in talks with Russia. The diplomat noted that Ukraine is seeking to find ways to maintain constructive cooperation with Russia and the European Union, but that Ukraine's main pipelines should remain as state property. The vice-chair of the Presidential Secretariat, Andrii Honcharuk, agreed with Mr. Gryshchenko that there could be no question about the transfer of Ukraine's gas transportation system to someone else's ownership, or about its rent or privatization in any other form. "The issue can only concern mutually beneficial cooperation in using this system," Mr. Honcharuk said. (Ukrinform)

PM: GTS to remain state property

YEVPAORIA, Ukraine – Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, while on a working visit to Yevpatoria, Crimea, said she would never back any form of lease or privatization of the Ukrainian gas transport system (GTS). The prime minister was commenting on January 12 on the statement by Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin regarding the possible privatization of Ukraine's GTS. "Our stance remains unchanged – the gas transport system needs no privatization or leasing," Ms. Tymoshenko stressed. The prime minister noted that she has always maintained this position and was the initiator of a draft law banning any privatization or lease of the Ukrainian gas transport network. "This is a national asset that must remain within state ownership," she said, adding that Ukraine may earn via ownership of the

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The Holodomor 75 years later: The Zhytomyr Oblast

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

ZHYTOMYR – Zoya Tereschuk, 69, can confirm that at least 15 relatives died in the Holodomor of 1932-33, including her grandmother's five children.

There are no Tereschuks, but 10 casualties from the Syrovetsnyk family are recorded in the state archives – Mykola, born 1920; Hryhorii, 1924; Petro, 1925; Anastasia, 1927; Antonina, 1929; Liuba, 1930; Ivan, 1931; Maria, 1932; Mykola, 1933; and Natalia, no year listed.

Ms. Tereschuk remembers there was a Stadnyk family on her father's side, but doesn't know how many died. "They aren't in the archives," she said. "None of them were preserved."

Awakening from the Soviet government's 54-year campaign of suppressing and denying the Holodomor, Zhytomyr residents like Ms. Tereschuk are part of only a handful who have made the effort to retrieve their lost memories, because of inadequate financial resources and no moral support.

Maya Lutai, an assistant history professor at Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University in Zhytomyr, has collected more than 1,000 Holodomor testimonies with her history students, but doesn't have the funds to publish a book.

For Ms. Tereschuk, preserving the memory of the Holodomor demanded a personal sacrifice, and it was an uphill battle all the way.

Inspired by President Viktor Yushchenko's unprecedented efforts to recognize the Holodomor and honor its victims, Ms. Tereschuk contemplated how she can preserve the memory of her native village, Makarivka, where she grew up.



Zoya Tereschuk (right), with the help of Holodomor researcher Maya Lutai (left), established a Holodomor victims monument in her native Zhytomyr village at her own cost.

"Our village suffered the most in our district and, as it stood, our children and grandchildren would know nothing of it," she said.

Unlike Ukraine's billionaires, who have done next to nothing for Holodomor remembrance, Ms. Tereschuk was an average pensioner, receiving about \$135 a month for her 42 years of work as a store clerk. Her will gave birth to an idea, however. If she could rent out her Zhytomyr apartment and live with her daughters, she figured she'd have enough money to establish a monument in Makarivka.

It's been four years that she's been renting the apartment to raise funds, but as much

as that was a sacrifice, financing turned out to be the easy part.

Although the Popilnianskyi District Administration and the village council supported the monument, its officials wanted it put in a cemetery on the village's outskirts, "where there isn't even a road," said Ms. Tereschuk, who instead proposed the village center, in front of the Home of Culture (Dim Kultyry), as the proper site.

Ms. Tereschuk recruited Ms. Lutai to her cause after meeting her in the Zhytomyr State Archives, where they both spent many hours in their separate quests for the truth about a nightmare that haunted their souls.

In a meeting with the cultural department

The Holodomor in the Zhytomyr Oblast

49,724 established casualties*
18,564 known survivors remaining
841 population centers affected
76 known mass graves

* This official figure grossly underestimates casualties, according to the Institute of National Memory

chair of the Popilnianskyi District Administration, Ms. Lutai said placing the monument at the cemetery would only be justified if the Holodomor's victims were buried there.

"If no one knows the (burial) place, then why put it in the bushes, in the jungle, instead of the village center, where everyone can see it?" Ms. Lutai said.

Furthermore, their proposed site would have fit well next to an existing monument to fallen soldiers of World War II, she said. Her view was upheld by an independent consultant.

After months of deflected inquiries, fruitless meetings and passive opposition, Ms. Tereschuk and Ms. Lutai threatened to inform the public and write an open letter to President Yushchenko to expose the officials, particularly those employed by the State Oblast Administration network that advances the Presidential Secretariat's agenda.

Though that moved their project forward,

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NEWS ANALYSIS: Russia hides gas shortfall by touting multiple export routes

by Vladimir Socor
Eurasia Daily Monitor
January 13

Russia is using the gas supply crisis, which it has itself triggered, to induce a contest among consumer countries over imports of Russian natural gas. Russian-produced gas has become a commodity in short supply when measured against Russia's internal requirements and its existing export commitments.

The shortfall had been prognosticated to set in by 2010-2011 but can already be observed. Anatoly Chubais's public forecast in 2008 (while he was head of Russia's electricity monopoly) that the gas shortfall might occur as early as in 2009 seems on the mark. The structural cause of this shortfall is chronic underinvestment in new Russian gas fields. Compounding this factor, the recent credit crisis and falling oil and gas prices are derailing Gazprom's investment plans in new fields and pipelines. This process will prolong the period of production shortfalls and stagnant exports of Russian gas. It will also widen still further the gap between rising European and world demand on one hand and Russia's stagnant export potential on the other hand.

Recalling a Soviet-era term, Russian natural gas is becoming a "defitsitnyi tovar" (commodity in short supply), and the cause of this process is ultimately traceable to faulty state planning in Moscow. Russia as well as the Western consumers who had counted on Russian gas must brace themselves for that situation. Moscow is seeking to turn the situation to its own advantage by playing off various consumer countries against each other.

Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin made particularly crude attempts in this

regard in his January 10 and 12 press conferences. He warned and, alternately, tantalized the international audience. He threatened to prolong the halt of deliveries via Ukraine to Europe while in the next breath boasting that Russia could use multiple routes of delivery to the consumer countries of Russia's choice. Those routes, however, are for the most part yet to be financed and built – and hardly likely to materialize, barring some monumental policy miscalculations in Berlin or Brussels.

In that vein, Mr. Putin ticked off Russia's delivery options: Nord Stream (the planned Russo-German pipeline on the Baltic seabed); Yamal Two (a proposed pipeline via Belarus and Poland westward), "if there is demand after building Nord Stream"; South Stream (Gazprom's proposed export system via the seabed of the Black Sea and the Balkans to Central Europe); expansion of Blue Stream (also via the Black Sea, from Russia to Turkey); and a proposed gas pipeline to China (parallel with the planned oil pipeline to China) and possibly to other gas consumer countries in the Asian Far East.

These are just the delivery options by pipelines-to-be-built, if Mr. Putin is to be believed. But he added liquefied-natural-gas (LNG) options: Russia, he said, could build gas liquefaction plants as well as an LNG tanker fleet for exports of Russian gas to worldwide destinations such as North America. "Thank God, we have that gas," Mr. Putin bluffed (Interfax, ITAR-TASS, Vesti TV, January 8, 10).

But Russia has neither all that gas nor the financing to develop it, the industrial capacity to make the steel pipes, or the LNG technology. Moscow, however, hopes to strike bilateral deals with

Russian natural gas is becoming a "defitsitnyi tovar" (commodity in short supply), and the cause of this process is ultimately traceable to faulty state planning in Moscow.

Western companies and governments, which would compete against each other for access to Russian gas in short supply.

Hardly anyone at Mr. Putin's news conferences and few in the subsequent media commentaries called that bluff. Perhaps it was too transparent. Russia is far short of the potential to fill those pipelines to anything near their putative annual capacities (55 billion cubic meters [bcm] for Nord Stream, hypothetically some 15 bcm for Yamal Two, a seemingly arbitrary figure of 50 bcm for South Stream, an extra 8 bcm for Blue Stream, plus an undeclared but presumably massive figures for China and other Asian countries). All this would supposedly come on top of the volumes that Russia traditionally exports via Ukraine (some 120 bcm annually); and on top of all that comes the declared intent to export LNG

by a fleet of tankers.

Moscow claims that those putative options are not intended to bypass or eliminate the Ukrainian route, but rather to supplement it. The Nord Stream consortium takes the same line publicly, as its German chief, ex-Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, reiterated in Mr. Putin's presence in St. Petersburg (www.premier.gov.ru, January 7; Interfax, January 10; Moscow Times, January 12). If so, those multiple Russian export options become even less credible in the aggregate.

Gazprom and the Kremlin currently seem to be giving Nord Stream the first priority in terms of planning, seeking international financing and the hypothetical allocation of future gas volumes. There is no comparable Russian activity behind South Stream or other pipeline projects at this time. Gazprom's production and revenue shortfalls have forced Moscow to select one priority at this stage and that appears to be Nord Stream.

Behind the public relations hype, Moscow is trying to pressure its Nord Stream consortium partners into lobbying the European Union to finance this project. In his press conferences, Prime Minister Putin warned that Russia could change its plans with the future gas output from the Shtokman field, earmarking that output for future export to the United States, instead of Germany and other West European countries. Mr. Putin declared: "Yes, really, the American partners have long been asking us to do it. We will do it. We have reallocated the bulk of the [projected] output from Shtokman to the European market, but if things go as they are going now, we may reassign it again to America" (Interfax, January 12).

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Freedom retreats for third year, according to Freedom House

Freedom House

WASHINGTON – Freedom retreated in much of the world in 2008, marking the third year of global decline as measured by Freedom House's annual survey of political rights and civil liberties which was released on January 12. Sub-Saharan Africa and the former Soviet Union saw the most reversals, while South Asia showed significant improvement.

"The advance of freedom in South Asia was a rare bright spot in a year that was otherwise marked by setbacks and stagnation," said Freedom House Director of Research Arch Puddington, who pegged the start of the global downturn to the period directly following the "color revolutions" in Europe. "Powerful regimes worldwide have reacted to the 'color revolutions' with calculated and forceful measures designed to suppress democratic reformers, international assistance to those reformers and ultimately the very idea of democracy itself."

Freedom in the World 2009 examines the state of freedom in all 193 countries and 16 strategic territories. The survey analyzes developments that occurred in 2008 and assigns each country a freedom status — either "free," "partly free" or "not free" based on a scoring of performance in key freedoms.

The overview includes an analysis of changes during the Bush administration and suggests priorities for the incoming Obama administration and the leaders of other established democracies. The survey firmly rejects the premise that engaging with authoritarian leaders means ignoring their policies of domestic repression.

"At a time when democracy's antagonists are increasingly assertive and its supporters are in disarray, the new administration must

focus on the need to protect fundamental freedoms and support the frontline defenders and advocates," said Jennifer Windsor, Freedom House executive director.

Although setbacks in 2008 did not represent substantial declines for most countries, setbacks were numerous and affected most regions. Overall, 34 countries registered declines in freedom and 14 registered improvements.

Three countries saw declines in scores that resulted in status changes: Afghanistan, which moved from partly free to not free; Mauritania, partly free to not free; and Senegal, free to partly free. Three countries, all from South Asia, moved from not free to partly free: Pakistan, Maldives and Bhutan. Two countries in Western Europe, Italy and Greece, experienced modest declines.

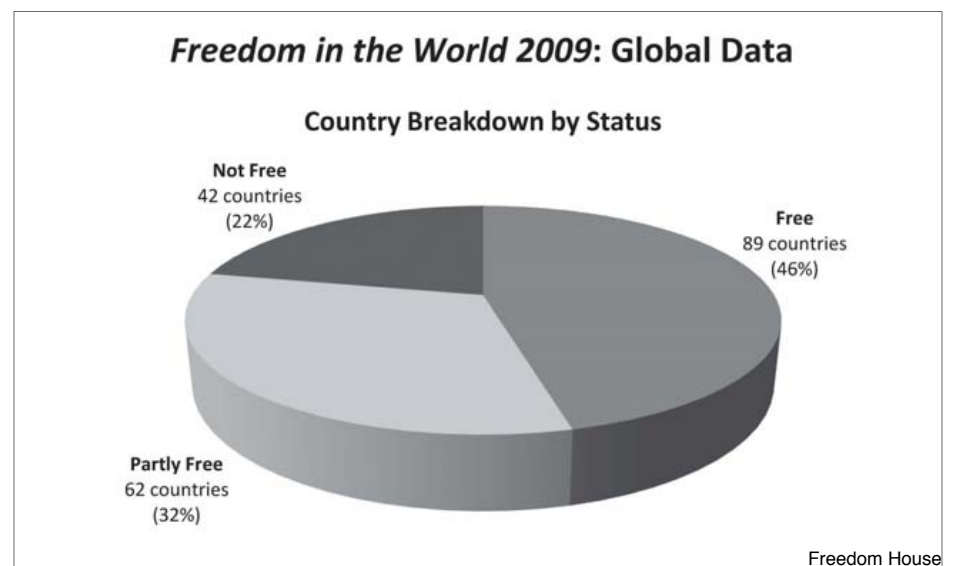
Key global findings include:

- **Free:** The number of countries judged by Freedom in the World as free in 2008 stands at 89, representing 46 percent of the world's countries and 46 percent of the global population. The number of free countries declined by one from 2007.

- **Partly free:** The number of partly free countries is 62, or 32 percent of all countries assessed by the survey and 20 percent of the world's total population. The number of partly free countries increased by two.

- **Not Free:** The report designates 42 countries as not free, representing 22 percent of the total number of countries and 34 percent of the world population. Nearly 60 percent of this number lives in China. The number of not free countries declined by one.

- **Electoral democracies:** The number of electoral democracies dropped by two and stands at 119. Developments in Mauritania, Georgia, Venezuela and Central African Republic disqualified them from the electo-



ral democracy list, while Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bangladesh became electoral democracies.

Key regional findings include:

- **Worst of the worst:** Of the 42 countries designated not free, eight received the survey's lowest possible ranking for both political rights and civil liberties: North Korea, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Libya, Sudan, Burma, Equatorial Guinea and Somalia. Two territories are in the same category: Tibet and Chechnya. Eleven other countries and territories received scores that were slightly better: Belarus, Chad, China, Cuba, Eritrea, Laos, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Zimbabwe, South Ossetia and Western Sahara.

- **Sub-Saharan Africa:** Twelve countries and one territory — about one-fourth of the regional total — experienced setbacks in 2008. In addition to Senegal and Mauritania, declines were also registered in Burundi,

Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Namibia, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Somaliland. The region's downturn comes after several years of modest improvement. Positive developments include gains in Zambia, Comoros, Angola and Cote d'Ivoire.

- **Asia:** The most significant progress occurred in South Asia, where several countries saw improvements linked to elections. In addition to significant improvements in Pakistan, Maldives and Bhutan, some progress was also seen in Nepal, Kashmir, Malaysia and Thailand. Declines were registered in Afghanistan, Burma, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Singapore and Tibet. China increased repression instead of delivering human rights reforms pledged in connection to hosting the Summer Olympics.

- **Former Soviet Union/Central and**

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Decline in freedom accelerates across former Soviet Union

by Nikola Krastev

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

NEW YORK – The latest "Freedom in the World" report by the U.S.-based rights watchdog Freedom House indicates that authoritarian regimes across a broad geographical range are stepping up their suppression of freedom.

Arch Puddington and Christopher Walker, the principal authors of this year's report, told RFE/RL that, since 2001, the only region in the world where political rights and civil liberties have witnessed a steady decline are the countries of the former Soviet Union, minus the Baltic states.

The authors say there is no general explanation for the region's downward trend.

But Mr. Puddington, Freedom House's director of research, points to three possible factors. One is the economic power attained by undemocratic regimes in petroleum-rich countries like Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan. The other is the legacy of the Soviet Union, and the third is Russia's influence.

"Russia is the big power in the region. It is huge, it has a lot of influence. And it is an aggressively antidemocratic country right now under [Prime Minister Vladimir] Putin," Mr. Puddington noted.

"It's not simply that Russia is moving away from democratic standards — it's moving away from democratic standards, and it's being very assertive about its system as superior to democracy," he continued.

Oil, gas no friend to freedom

Mr. Puddington said that the United States has been making some efforts to consider the question of freedom as it

adopts its policies toward the former Soviet states.

At the same time, however, countries with significant oil and gas resources have demonstrated repeatedly that they are willing to ignore the democratic concerns of the United States or the European Union.

In addition, Mr. Puddington noted, the West has even taken steps to legitimize freedom-suppressing regimes — such as Kazakhstan, which in 2010 assumes the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

"That is a significant step to approve what really amounts to a dictatorship as the chairman of an organization whose responsibilities, among other things, is to see that elections meet democratic standards," Mr. Puddington said. "And the elections in Kazakhstan certainly haven't done that."

Mr. Walker, Freedom House's director of studies, says the 2009 findings reflect in part the cumulative effect of several years of gradually increased repression, as well as severe anti-freedom measures implemented in 2008 — placing most of the former Soviet republics among the worst performers in the 2009 survey.

"The political-rights scores in recent years for the non-Baltic former Soviet Union have deteriorated sharply, suggesting that power holders in these countries are circumscribing the opportunity for any sort of meaningful participation in a way that suggests very severe problems going forward," Mr. Walker said.

"Right now what we see is what can be described as a monopolization of power that's being intensified across the lion's share of countries in the non-Baltic [former Soviet Union]," he added.

Freedom House rated Ukraine as "free," giving it a score of 3 for political rights and a 2 for civil liberties. (The score of 1 represents the most free and 7 the least free rating.) Ukraine's status was unchanged from the previous year.

Past Freedom House surveys have shown that former Soviet countries that are rich in energy resources have accelerated their authoritarian tactics as oil and gas prices soared.

What will falling prices do?

As oil prices tumble, Mr. Walker said, a new concern is what impact the losses will have on the political stance of these regimes, who often depend on energy windfalls to deliver the social benefits needed to secure their popularity with the public.

While oil prices were high, he

explained, many regimes were able to use their wealth to successfully deflect growing public unrest, and to postpone social and political reforms.

"If you look carefully at Kazakhstan, and in particular Azerbaijan and Russia, in most of the fundamental areas where the markets and outside observers are looking for reforms — it's been very slow-moving," Mr. Walker noted. "And one school of thought is that the enormous windfalls at the disposal of these regimes have allowed them to postpone meaningful reform in the social sector, and the education sector, and so forth."

Mr. Walker emphasized that most of the freedom ratings of the countries of the former Soviet Union have declined in recent years, even though their starting point was very low. What we see now, he said, are repressive systems that are intent on ratcheting up their control over societies even higher.

"The challenges for the democratic community given the pressures that are likely to grow in these systems, where there aren't safety valves, the margin for error by the authorities is shrinking — it all really suggests potential looming crises in any number of countries in the region," Mr. Walker pointed out.

Published since 1972, "Freedom in the World" has been widely recognized as an authoritative source on the state of political rights and civil liberties in every country in the world.

The annual survey noted a decline in freedoms in 2008 in Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Georgia, Iran, Kyrgyzstan and Macedonia. The ratings for Belarus and Turkmenistan are unchanged, although Freedom House indi-

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Thousands gather...

(Continued from page 1)

village tucked amidst the steep, curving foothills that unfold for miles before blending into the Carpathian Mountains.

Pristine ice-encased leafless branches arched over the road leading into the village, forming a sparkling natural arcade that dazzled admirers headed toward the museum-memorial complex amidst rustic homes festooned with blue-yellow and red-black flags, the latter symbolizing blood spilled on Ukrainian black soil.

To mark the 100th anniversary, Ivano-Frankivsk officials dedicated the renovated Bandera family home, a 1,830-square-foot "plebaniya" (a parish priest's residence), which belonged to the Ukrainian Catholic Church at the time.

After the Soviet takeover, the home became a school and then was sold during the period of *perestroika* to a village resident, on the condition that he destroy it to build his new home.

Most of the home's furnishings also were destroyed, including its extensive Ukrainian library – the largest in the Kalush district – which drew the region's priests and scholars to visit before the war.

In 1982 the Soviets destroyed the plebaniya's neighboring chapel, where the Rev. Andrii Bandera led divine liturgies. Many icons survived, however, and two of them are on display in the restored home.

With about \$430,000 from the Oblast Council, according to Village Council Chair Taras Fedoriv, workers labored throughout 2008 to restore seven of the home's eight rooms to their original form, as well as its wide front porch, wood-burning stove and family items – a chess table, a clock and Father Andrii's prayer book.

The site of Stepan Bandera's birth, the plebaniya and the restored St. Mary the Protectress Chapel remain in their original location, a few hundred feet from the 12,000-square-foot, three-story museum building that was built with oblast and diaspora support and dedicated on January 1, 2001.

Among those attending the centennial commemoration were OUN-UPA Brotherhood Chair Mykola Zelenchuk, Carpathian Region OUN-UPA Brotherhood Chair Fotii Volodymyrskyi, Bandera's grandson Stephen Bandera, Ivano-Frankivsk State Oblast Administration Chair Mykola Paliichuk, National Deputy Roman Tkach, nationalist leader Oleh Tiahnybok and Presidential Secretariat First Vice-Chair Andrii Kyslynskyi, who read a statement from the president.

UPA veterans and admirers decked out in uniforms sang UPA songs, choir and orchestra members performed in folk costumes, and political activists of the Svoboda



Zenon Zawada

The bronze monument to Stepan Bandera that was unveiled in Ivano-Frankivsk on the centennial of the Ukrainian liberation leader's birth on January 1, 2009.

nationalist party and Our Ukraine set up campaign tents, waved flags and distributed newspapers.

The commemoration was opened with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem and a *panakhyda* (memorial service) in honor of the freedom fighter, who was slain on October 15, 1959, by KGB agent Bohdan Stashynsky.

Instead of reaching his face, a three-millimeter poison ampoule shot by Stashynsky burst when striking a tomato in a bag of groceries held by Bandera as he exited his Munich apartment, exuding lethal fumes that the slain leader inhaled, Ms. Ivaniuk of the Bandera Museum said. Medical authorities ruled that Bandera died of a heart attack. It wasn't known that he was assassinated until Stashynsky surrendered to German authorities in 1961 in hopes of defecting to the West and revealed the plot, she said.

On behalf of his family, Stephen Bandera, 38, expressed gratitude to those who worked to restore the home, as well as those who organized and attended the day's ceremony.

"Having been born in Canada, I never thought I would be celebrating the 100th anniversary of Stepan Bandera's birthday in Ukraine," said Mr. Bandera, whose aunt Oksana died last year in Stryi the day after celebrating her 91st birthday on December 22. She was the last surviving sibling of Stepan Bandera. The oldest surviving Bandera child is 60-year-old Lesia, who resides in Toronto.

"Stepan Bandera is a symbol of all those called 'bandery,' 'banderivtsi' only because they wanted a free Ukraine and loved what is Ukrainian," Mr. Bandera said. "Therefore, to understand the word 'bandera' and what the Bandera family is – it's practically all of us who gathered here today, one big Ukrainian family."

The best way to remember his grandfather is to build a prosperous Ukraine so that its citizens could live as "true Europeans," he said. His remarks were followed by a choir's rendition of "Khai Zhyve Bandera i Yoho Derzhava" (Long Live Bandera and His State).

Kalush native Yevhen Hirnyk, former vice-chair of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, echoed the widely held view among patriots that Bandera carried the same Ukrainian vision and leadership as that held by Kozak Hetman Ivan Mazepa and Ukrainian National Republic military leader Symon Petliura.

"Only three individuals' names are used to label our people – 'mazepynsi,' 'petliurivtsi' and 'banderivtsi,'" he said. "[Bandera] demonstrated with his life that he's not only for the Ukrainian idea, but that he's actually doing something for the idea, even risking his life under all the occupational regimes. He gave the example."

Signaling the onset of the presidential campaign, Mr. Tkach, an Orange Revolution leader and Our Ukraine lawmaker, stumped for President Viktor Yushchenko's re-election, telling the crowd that "we are supposed to embrace and rally

around those politicians who preach the Ukrainian idea."

The Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc was absent from the anniversary ceremony, Mr. Tkach pointed out, because "they don't love and honor this day."

"We should understand that we never had such a Ukrainian president [Yushchenko] and likely won't have one [like him] again," he said. "I plead with you that we take pride in him and rally around him."

Jeers were heard in response to Mr. Tkach's allusions to Mr. Yushchenko's candidacy and led to chants of "Tiahnybok," offering the nationalist leader shouts of support when he took the stage.

Bandera is an unparalleled Ukrainian leader because he took responsibility for his actions – whether it was his command to assassinate Polish Interior Minister Bronislaw Pieracki for his brutal persecution of Ukrainians, or his stern refusal before the Nazis to recall the June 30, 1941, independence declaration, Mr. Tiahnybok said.

The Soviet government deceived the masses when asserting that Bandera had collaborated with the Nazi Germans – an absurd notion considering he sat in German prisons and the Sachsenhausen concentration camp between 1941 and 1944. "Remember in Soviet times, as if to insult us, they called us 'banderivtsi'?", Mr. Tiahnybok said. "And that was pleasant for us. We took pride that we were 'bandery,' that we are 'banderivtsi.'"

Later that afternoon more than 5,000 patriots gathered for the official opening of the Bandera Museum-Memorial Complex at European Square in Ivano-Frankivsk, replacing a Soviet tank monument that once stood there.

The site was chosen despite protests that any Bandera statue should be centrally located, instead of on the city's edge.

At the ceremony's start, officials removed a white shroud to reveal the bronze statue of a youthful, wide-eyed Bandera, dressed in a suit and trench coat his right arm stretched across his chest and hand on his heart. The figure stands on a small pedestal in front of a towering red marble OUN cross.

Designed by Lviv architect Mykola Posykyra, the statue sits atop an approximately 6,500-square-foot circular concrete foundation, erected at a 30-degree angle to form the roof of the museum underneath, which has a ground-level entrance but whose floor is about six feet below ground.

The 320-foot-diameter foundation's red, white and black pavement forms the OUN symbol, visible when viewed from overhead. Its perimeter is coated with Zhytomyr marble tiles, news reports said.

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The Bandera family home in the village of Stryi Uhryniv was restored for the 100th anniversary of Stepan Bandera's birth.



A Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) veteran (center) poses with a framed picture of Stepan Bandera at the Ukrainian liberation hero's monument in the village of Stryi Uhryniv.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Behind the gas war

With so much being reported by all the news media about the latest developments in the gas war between Russia and Ukraine, it is sometimes difficult to understand what exactly is going on. Who is at fault? Cui bono – who benefits – from this crisis? And what is the end goal of this conflict?

As of the writing of this editorial, the news was that Russia continued to blame Ukraine for blocking natural gas intended for Europe, that Ukraine said Russia was preventing it from transporting the gas, that European monitors were in both countries in an attempt to determine what the hold-up is, and that an international gas summit has been scheduled to be held over the weekend in Europe. Many news stories continued to refer to the conflict over gas as “bickering,” thus downplaying the real stakes in this “cold war.” It is important to note, however, that the gas crisis is no mere “commercial dispute,” although it all did seem to start with a quarrel over pricing.

A New York Times story on January 14 noted: “Nationalists in Moscow could swallow the loss of the Baltic states and Russia’s former colonies in Central Asia, but they will never accept the notion of Ukrainians, nearly half [sic] of whom are ethnic Russians, as members of an independent, Western-oriented state, and potentially in NATO, no less.” (In fact, according to the CIA’s World Factbook, only 17.3 percent of Ukraine’s population is composed of Russians.)

The article went on to quote Vladimir S. Milov, president of the Institute of Energy Policy in Moscow and a former deputy energy minister of Russia, who said, “It’s very clear to see the desire to pressure the Ukrainian politicians, and pressure them that if they continue to pursue a pro-Western course and not adhere to the rules imposed by Moscow on the post-Soviet space, they will face difficulties.” Speaking with The Times from Kyiv, Hryhorii Perepylytsia of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, said, “This is a continuation of the Russian-Georgian war, only by other means. There it was tanks, here it is gas.”

Indeed, if price alone were the issue, then why did Russia repeatedly change the asking price for gas sent to Ukraine (during the past month it cited various prices ranging from \$250 to \$450 per thousand cubic meters) and why are Russian officials trying to damage Ukraine’s international image and denigrate the country’s leaders as incapable of managing the pipeline network, gleefully pointing to what they see as failures of the Orange Revolution?

The Washington Post quoted Russian Ambassador to NATO Dmitry Rogozin as saying, “It’s clear that if Europe wants to have guaranteed natural gas supplies, as well as oil in its pipelines, then it cannot fully rely on its wonderful ally, Mr. [Viktor] Yushchenko.” And, Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin has suggested on a number of occasions that Ukraine should sell or lease its transport system to Russia, or Russia and Europe. Russia would jump at the chance to seize control of Ukraine’s gas transport network and thus consolidate its control over natural gas production and distribution. (For a precedent for such moves, read up on the 2006-2007 gas crisis in Belarus.)

What the current crisis has revealed for all to see is the lack of transparency in the gas realm. From the shadowy deals involving dubious middlemen, such as RosUkrEnergo, to the questionable way prices are set by Russia’s Gazprom with different prices charged to various client-states, there is much here that needs to be out in the open for the good of all parties – except Russia, of course, which has been benefitting handsomely from the current opaqueness.

Jan.
23
2008

Turning the pages back...

Last year, on January 23, 2008, 61-year-old reputed crime boss Semyon Mogilevich, who was believed to have played a leading role in the gas trade between Russia and Ukraine, was arrested by Russian authorities on large-scale tax evasion charges.

Mr. Mogilevich, who remains in Russian police custody, was also wanted by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation since 2003 for racketeering, money laundering and wire fraud. Russian officials refused to extradite Mr. Mogilevich to the U.S.

At the time of his arrest Mr. Mogilevich denied his alleged ties with RosUkrEnergo, the opaque intermediary between Russia’s Gazprom and Ukraine’s Naftohaz. Shortly after his arrest an official from the U.S. Justice Department said that its Organized Crime and Racketeering Section, in the course of its investigations, was following up on Mr. Mogilevich’s suspected ties with RosUkrEnergo.

The Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) also investigated Mr. Mogilevich’s involvement with RosUkrEnergo, but the investigation was dropped after Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko was fired by President Viktor Yushchenko in 2005. Oleksander Turchynov, head of the SBU under Ms. Tymoshenko, claimed that the order to close the investigation came from President Yushchenko.

Mr. Mogilevich is also accused by U.S. officials of running a powerful organized crime ring in the 1990s and the manipulation of stock of YBM Magnex, a Pennsylvania company that collapsed in 1998.

Analysts in Kyiv and Moscow hailed Mr. Mogilevich’s arrest as an indicator of Moscow’s shift away from energy intermediaries.

Mr. Mogilevich’s attorney, Alexander Pogonchekov, denied his client’s involvement in RosUkrEnergo. Dmytro Firtash, principal owner of the energy intermediary, denied having business relations with Mr. Mogilevich.

The arrest of Mr. Mogilevich came after Prime Minister Tymoshenko called for Gazprom and Ukraine to cut out RosUkrEnergo from its role as middleman in Russian gas exports

Source: “Russia arrests reputed crime boss believed to have ties to RosUkrEnergo,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, February 3, 2008.

REPORTER’S NOTEBOOK

BY ZENON ZAWADA

KYIV PRESS BUREAU



A war of accusations in Ukraine

Ukrainian politics was a lot simpler in the days of former President Leonid Kuchma. He was the bad guy, responsible for everything bad about Ukraine, and he had to go.

Viktor Yushchenko spoke Ukrainian, supported Euro-Atlantic integration and had an American-born wife, so the diaspora unanimously threw its support behind him.

But the political scene has gotten quite complicated in the last few years, and diaspora Ukrainians are divided.

A reckless information war between President Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko has decimated trust and bolstered skepticism, leaving us to wonder: Whom do we believe? And what do we believe?

If you believe the most serious accusations of President Yushchenko’s enemies, he’s:

- allegedly plundered the hryvnia’s value intentionally (in December) as part of a currency speculation scheme that enriched himself and his partners to the tune of \$650 million (according to Prime Minister Tymoshenko);

- suffered an accidental food poisoning that conveniently occurred at the peak of the 2004 presidential campaign, enabling him to paint himself as the victim of a poisoning plot, thereby inspiring sympathetic voters (according to the godfather of Yushchenko’s youngest son Taras, David Zhvania);

- allegedly laundered \$53 million from government coffers through the corrupt RosUkrEnergo intermediary into a company registered in the United Arab Emirates and created by his brother Petro Yushchenko, (according to former national deputy Ihor Shurma and Communist Oleksander Holub).

If you believe the harsher accusations of Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko’s enemies, then she’s:

- allegedly approved, and possibly benefited from, the theft of \$2.1 billion from Naftohaz Ukrayiny, the state-owned natural gas and oil distributor, which paid its December debt to Gazprom only with a loan from the National Bank of Ukraine, thereby not only stealing from the government but driving it further into debt (according to Dmytro Firtash, a partner in RosUkrEnergo);

- committed treason by maintaining a passive stance during the South Ossetian War in order to gain the Kremlin’s political support, as well as \$1 billion in financing for her 2009-2010 presidential campaign, (according to Andrii Kyslynskyi, a Presidential Secretariat official);

- a “vorovka” (thief) and an “avantiuryst” (schemer who aims for an easy result without considering negative consequences) willing to stomp on anyone in her quest for unlimited political power, viewing other politicians only as whipped lackeys or enemies, (according to President Yushchenko, echoing a view held by numerous prominent politicians).

What we can certainly believe is that Ukrainian politicians hurl outrageous accusations at each other because they are rarely punished by the courts for their comments or held accountable by journalists.

When Ukrainian courts do reach a libel judgment, it is not enough to deter future such incidents.

For example, a Kyiv district court ruled in June 2007 that Communist Party lawmaker Mykola Kravchenko slandered Ms.

Tymoshenko when he alleged that she used her authority as prime minister to write off 7.5 billion hrv (\$1.5 billion U.S.) in debt her former gas trading company owed the government.

His punishment? Renounce your statement, the court ruled. (Even if he committed a murder, he wouldn’t sit in jail. Mr. Kravchenko has a deputy’s immunity.)

Even if a libel judgment is delivered, it doesn’t erase the political damage inflicted by the original accusation, particularly in a country like Ukraine where the courts are not trusted. Such judgments get less media attention and rarely erase the stain achieved by the original accusation.

Ukraine’s electorate has not matured to the point of refusing to vote for politicians who hurl offensive, outrageous accusations at one another.

As demonstrated by their conduct, none of Ukraine’s current leading politicians are above scrutiny.

If Ukrainian politics has proven anything in the last few years, it’s that all the leading politicians are willing to resort to the most extreme measures, including bringing in armed forces, intimidating and bullying judges, engaging in violence and making libelous statements.

Unfortunately, Ukrainian political culture has yet to develop unspoken boundaries which are understood by all the players not to be crossed, lest they inflict severe damage to the country as a whole.

Whereas in Western societies politics is like boxing or wrestling, it looks more like the bloody Ultimate Fighting Championship in Ukraine.

Most of the above-mentioned accusations have some kernel of truth to them. Often the challenge is to find out to what extent they’ve been exaggerated.

Ukrainian institutions, such as the courts and the media, aren’t empowered or strong enough to serve as referees in this information war, not only keeping the players in line but also investigating whether the accusations are true.

Without available financing to investigate the accusations, most Ukrainian journalists are left shrugging their shoulders, along with the rest of the public, as to what to make of them.

Ukrainian journalism nowadays is largely limited to reporting news or trends; there is very little investigation corruption or wrongdoing. Owners and publishers don’t want to spend the money, nor are they particularly interested if they’ve got their own skeletons to hide.

Talented journalist Yegor Sobolyev was tossed from Channel 5 (the “honest news network”) partly for his investigations of network owner Petro Poroshenko’s role in financing the Volodymyr Lytvyn Bloc.

Unfortunately for President Yushchenko, in their mutual war of unproven accusations, Ms. Tymoshenko has the advantage for several reasons. She has stronger oratorical skills and a better television presence. Unfortunately for those of us limited in verbal communication, it’s often not what you say, but how you say it. Anyone who’s listened to President Yushchenko speak knows that he has no gift for gab. Ms. Tymoshenko’s charisma, meanwhile, is unparalleled in Ukrainian politics.

Having been thrown into prison by President Kuchma and being despised by her current rivals, Ms. Tymoshenko still maintains the image of an anti-establish-

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IN THE PRESS: The gas war between Russia and Ukraine

"Mr. Putin's Cold War," editorial, The Washington Post, January 8:

"Russia has been piously insisting that its latest midwinter cutoff of gas deliveries to Ukraine – and now the rest of Europe – is the result of a commercial dispute and not a part of Moscow's long-standing campaign to undermine Ukraine's pro-Western government. So why, then, would Russian state television have devoted prime time on both Monday and Tuesday to broadcasting staged meetings at which Prime Minister Vladimir Putin ostentatiously vilified Ukraine's president and ordered the state gas company to cut off deliveries?"

"Mr. Putin's televised 'working sessions' with Alexei Miller, the chairman of the state gas monopoly Gazprom, were scripted with ludicrous heavy-handedness. In each, Mr. Putin disingenuously inquired about details of Russia's dispute with Ukraine, and Mr. Miller replied by portraying the Ukrainian government as thieving, deceptive and unreliable. On Monday, Mr. Putin cynically sympathized with the consumers of Ukraine, then ordered a reduction in the gas that transits Ukraine to other European countries. On Tuesday, he decreed that the pipeline be shut down altogether – a measure that left not just Ukraine but a dozen other countries without energy deliveries. ..."

"...the real message of this cold week is the same that European governments have repeatedly received – and largely ignored – in recent years. Mr. Putin's regime plainly intends to use Europe's dependence on Russian energy to advance an imperialist and anti-Western geopolitical agenda. ..."

"Short End of the Pipeline," op-ed article by Anne Applebaum, The Washington Post, January 13:

"...This year, as in previous years, the negotiations are almost too complicated to explain, involving not only Gazprom, the Russian gas behemoth, but also various shady intermediaries, dubious deals and differing price mechanisms. This year, as in previous years, the Russians are claiming that the conflict is purely commercial, not political; that Ukraine is stealing Europe's gas; that Ukraine is not paying a fair price. But this year, unlike in some previous years, those claims are sounding exceptionally hollow.

"For one thing, it was the Russian prime minister, Vladimir Putin, not the Gazprom CEO, who openly made the decision to switch off the gas. More important, the Ukrainians, who have engaged in plenty of pipeline hanky-panky in the past, have this time around readily agreed to let Europeans and Russians monitor their transit pipelines. They have also paid their (very large) Gazprom debt and have asked – at last – for a more transparent system of price-setting, one similar to those used in Western Europe (an algorithm that relates the price of gas to the price of oil). ..."

"...Gazprom – no longer pretending to be anything but a tool of Russian foreign policy – still does deals with European gas concerns one country at a time, picking them off one by one. Putin still deploys 'divide and rule' tactics to deal with Europe, making special arrangements for Italy, buying politicians in Germany and cutting off the gas to Ukraine. And the tactics work..."

"Putin on air," editorial, Financial Times, January 12:

"Russian television last week showed Alexei Miller, Gazprom's chief executive, outlining to Vladimir Putin plans to reduce further the gas flow to Ukraine. 'All right, I

agree. Reduce it from today,' declared Russia's prime minister. Who is in charge here?"

"Such displays undermine Gazprom's claims to be commercially driven, reinforcing impressions it is an arm of the Kremlin. Even if Gazprom is 51 percent state-owned, Mr. Putin is not a director (though a deputy premier is chairman, with two other ministers on the board).

"With gas exports a sensitive diplomatic issue, high-level political involvement may be inevitable. But Mr. Putin's visible role still highlights a fundamental investment issue. With his administration having restored de facto and de jure state control, does Gazprom serve state or shareholder interests? ..."

"Putin, pipe down on Ukraine," by the editorial board, Christian Science Monitor, January 8:

"...if Russia only looked in the mirror, it would find its own policies have exacerbated its woes. By blaming outsiders, it misses an opportunity to strengthen the economy, which must be done.

"One reason that Russia's behemoth gas supplier, Gazprom, is tightening the screws on Ukraine is that it needs money. Instead of investing adequately in operations, it borrowed heavily to buy up private concerns – part of Mr. Putin's ill-conceived strategy of renationalizing Russia's oil and gas industry. Gazprom is now deep in debt (about \$50 billion) and is negotiating a rescue with the government. ..."

"Meanwhile, the Russian economy may grow by only 1 to 2 percent in 2009, or perhaps even contract – this after seven years of annual growth of 6.5 to 7 percent. And, Russia will face a budget deficit, because money from oil and gas exports provides 60 percent of official revenue. Russia must evolve from a one-trick economy and diversify.

"Corruption and unreliability have also caught up with Russia. Before the Wall Street crisis, investors were fleeing Moscow's stock market, which fell by more than 70 percent in 2008.

"Putin is doing everything but actually addressing these problems. Domestically, he's shoring up his grip on the state. He still has high approval ratings, but just in case public criticism swells, he's got a handy excuse in all those enemies abroad – from Georgia, to Ukraine, to the West – and he could always manufacture more threats. ..."

"The Winter Gas War," Opinion Journal, The Wall Street Journal, January 7:

"Five months after sending Russian tanks into Georgia, Vladimir Putin has turned his sights to another pesky democratic neighbor, Ukraine. His weapon of choice this time is natural gas.

"Try to ignore the noise about transit fees, back payments and market prices. Here's the salient fact about the conflict between Russia and Ukraine over gas supplies: Russia's strongman is wielding the energy club to undermine the pro-Western government in Kiev [sic] and scare the European Union into submission. ..."

"...the Kremlin's motivations are plainly political, not commercial. For starters, no 'market price' for natural gas exists because Gazprom happens to be a monopoly supplier to Ukraine. Russia won't allow Kiev [sic] to make up the shortfall with supplies from another source like Turkmenistan, which uses Russian pipelines. And Russia continues to let its 'friends,' such as the dictatorship in

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Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



More on the Holodomor

At the end of the 75th anniversary commemorations of the Holodomor, there appears to be an international consensus that millions of people starved to death in Soviet Ukraine during the early 1930s. That's progress.

A lack of clarity still exists, however, regarding two other questions: the number of Ukrainians who died during the Holodomor and the question on whether the Holodomor was an intentional act of mass murder specifically targeting Ukrainians, i.e., genocide.

Both questions are addressed in "Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine." Published by Kashtan Press and edited by Prof. Lubomyr Luciuk, this invaluable new book includes maps and nuanced commentaries by scholars and national leaders. The appendix is replete with full texts of relevant documents.

As to actual deaths, there is little agreement, even among Ukrainians. "Just how many perished during the Great Famine may never be calculated precisely, but that millions were scythed down as Ukrainian resistance to Soviet rule was consummated is no longer in doubt," concludes Dr. Luciuk in the book's preface. "Even if the victim total was 'only' 2.6 million, and it was likely higher, the intensity of mortality in Soviet Ukraine over a duration of less than a year confers upon the Holodomor the unenviable status of being a crime against humanity arguably without parallel in European history."

In Dr. Roman Serbyn's commentary ("The Holodomor: Genocide Against the Ukrainians"), we read that "Soviet and foreign observers mentioned 6, 7 and 10 million" Famine victims. President Viktor Yushchenko has staked his international reputation on a count of 10 million.

Jacques Vallin, France Mesle, Serguei Adamets and Serhiy Pyrozhkov suggest 2.6 million victims as the most accurate estimate in their joint commentary. "It is a pity," they conclude, "that those who, very sincerely, intend to preserve the memory of Holodomor use estimates that are exaggerated."

Like other contributors to the book, Prof. Hiroaki Kuromiya of Indiana rejects the idea that the Great Famine was a genocide. "Not enough evidence exists," he writes, "to conclude that Stalin engineered the famine to punish specifically Ukrainians."

Dr. Ihor Stebelsky puts to rest the argument that the Holodomor was due to weather conditions. He points out that when weather threatened starvation in Siberia, Stalin ordered "the purchase of 48,000 tons of grain from Canada" to relieve the stricken regions. When Ukraine was starving, there was no relief from Stalin. Ukrainians were targeted, inhabitants of Siberia were not.

A commentary by the late Dr. James Mace supports the premise that the Famine was a genocide. The best proof lies in trying to understand Ukraine's current inability to transform itself in the way "its people deserve," Dr. Mace wrote. It all begins to make sense once we realize that Ukraine is "a post-genocidal society."

Demolishing arguments that since Russians and others died during the Holodomor (negating, thereby, the idea that Ukrainians were specifically targeted) and that Ukrainians participated in the purposeful starvation of other Ukrainians (negating, thereby, the genocide requirement of one

ethnos willfully and exclusively targeting another ethnos), British scholar Donald Rayfield points out that the death of non-Jews during the Holocaust in no way minimizes Nazi selectivity of Jews. Jews also participated in the Holocaust against other Jews as kapos and members of the Judenrat. "One's conclusion," writes Dr. Rayfield, "is that the word genocide has to be applied to the Ukrainian famine, the Holodomor, for if it is not, then the word genocide loses all useful meaning."

Rabbi Steven Jacobs reviews the work of Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term "genocide." Prof. Lemkin once wrote that Ukraine's Great Famine was not simply "a case of mass murder" but "a case of genocide, of the destruction, not of individuals only, but of a culture and nation." Rabbi Jacobs asks why Mr. Lemkin's thoughts weren't expanded when he was pushing for the United Nations to define genocide. Answer? Had Ukraine been mentioned, the Soviet Union would have never endorsed the U.N. definition.

In "The Genocide Loophole," Joshua Goldberg, syndicated columnist and author of "Liberal Fascism: The Secret History of the American Left, from Mussolini to the Politics of Meaning" (one of my favorite books of 2008), believes that the main reason Hitler is more reviled today than Stalin, Mao or Pol Pot, is that Hitler's crimes were racially motivated while Communist mass executioners "elude the genocide charge – and hence the status of ultimate villains – despite having murdered scores of millions of people in the 20th century, in large part because their victims stood in the way of progress." Good intentions are what counts.

Renowned British historian Norman Davies recalls his university training of 40 years ago, and laments the fact that the Holodomor, "if mentioned at all, was not particularly high on the long list of 20th century disasters... Only slowly did I learn," he writes, "that all our knowledge about shocking mass crimes is conditioned by an emotional climate, by a political context and by the swirling currents of conflicting information."

Prof. Paul R. Magocsi wonders why "Ukrainians at home and in the diaspora feel that they need to have the imprimatur of foreign governments before Ukraine's Great Famine can be classified as genocide... International approval, or lack thereof, is not going to change the historic reality..." Good point. Given how miserably informed history professors in the West were about Ukraine's past (many still are), the same can be said about the need for the approval of certain academics. Isn't it time we stopped relying on others to define who we are as a people?

Prof. Colin A.M. Duncan suggests Ukrainians might want to look closer to home for the criminals who aided and abetted Stalin's genocidal policies, a thought supported by Prof. Luciuk who writes: "Just as Holodomor victims remain alive, so do some of the perpetrators."

Prof. Luciuk's book is proof that the Holodomor discussion is only beginning. The book costs \$45 (U.S.) plus \$10 shipping and is available from Kashtan Press, 840 Wartman Ave., Kingston, Ontario, Canada, K7M 2Y6. Buy it, read it and join the discussion.

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



FOCUS ON PHILATELY

The World War I refugee camp at Gmünd and its postal facilities

by Inger Kuzych, Roman Dubyniak and Peter Cybaniak

The early weeks of World War I did not at all go as the Austrians had planned. Glowing hopes for a speedy victory by Austrian troops over their nemesis, Serbia, were dashed when Russia, Serbia's ally, mobilized more quickly and attacked both the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its ally Germany, making substantial initial gains. Large portions of the Austrian crownlands of Galicia (Halychyna) and Bukovyna were occupied in the fall of 1914 and even though many of the territories were cleared of the Russians by the summer of 1915 some remained under occupation throughout the conflict.

By the end of September 1914, less than two months after the outbreak of the war, between 60,000 and 70,000 refugees had arrived in Vienna from the Russian-occupied eastern front. By 1915, the Austrian Ministry of the Interior estimated that the number of refugees who were eligible for state support had reached 600,000, of whom 450,000 came from Galicia and Bukovyna on the eastern front and 150,000 came from the southwestern front on the Italian border. Transported by train to refugee camps in the German-speaking hinterlands, the refugees were grouped by the Austrian War Ministry according to nationality for ease and speed of repatriation, and to prevent their assimilation into the surrounding communities.

One of the largest camps was in the town of Gmünd, Lower Austria (Niederösterreich), some 120 kilometers (75 miles) northwest of Vienna, very close to the Austrian-Bohemian border.¹ In September of 1914, Gmünd was designated as the site of a refugee camp for Ruthenian (Ukrainian) evacuees from the eastern Austrian crownlands² and a barracks camp (barackenlager) was hastily constructed south of the town.³ Around 30,000 Ukrainians were housed in this locale, while another 10,000 Ukrainians were interned in Wolfsberg and St. Andra, Carinthia (Kärnten).⁴

Ukrainian refugees underwent all sorts of hardships in seeking to flee from the ravages and misery of the war; we have been able to obtain several postcards showing their plight. The hardest part for many was getting from their relatively isolated villages to towns or cities where they could sometimes board trains to take them to safety. However, families with livestock were often not able to obtain conveyance and had to make the journey of hundreds of kilometers on foot. Figure 1 depicts some of the more fortunate refugees who were able to harness animals to wagons to make their escape.

Constructing the camp

The building of large barrack living quarters in Gmünd began in December 1914, and by September 1915 a total of 144 units was complete. When construction began, the barracks were hastily thrown together and rather flimsy, since no one thought the war would last as long as it did. Originally, the buildings had no floors. Eventually, all

of the barracks had to be renovated to some extent. Each barrack was 40 meters long and 12 meters wide, and constructed of wood. Each had four entrances with 12 high-set windows along its length.

The camp was divided into 15 sections, each with eight housing barracks and one large additional building, half of which served as a kitchen barrack and the other half for camp institutions. In addition to these accommodations for shelter and board, there were other camp buildings dedicated to camp organization, security, maintenance and support. Electricity and water were provided to the camp. Until lodging could be completed at the camp, refugees were sheltered in guest houses in the Gmünd vicinity.

The living-quarters were each designed to hold 200 to 250 persons, and some 25,000 to 30,000 inhabitants were regularly accommodated in the camp. At one point the number of inhabitants reached over 36,000. (This figure dwarfs the 1915 population total of 5,000 for the town of Gmünd itself.) A section built in the western portion of the camp in 1917 was for "superior-status refugees" (including minor nobility and intelligentsia), as well as administrative staff. It attempted to meet the needs of this more privileged portion of society. Hence, each house was allotted a bit of acreage where a vegetable patch could be grown and a storage shed could be set up. Because these buildings were constructed of more durable materials, a more comfortable existence was possible in this area. (Some of these houses survive to the present day.)

The vast majority of refugees were Ukrainians, but Slovenians, Italians and Croats were also housed at the camp. All these nationalities of the empire did not necessarily get along even during peacetime; the crowded conditions made for an explosive situation and riots occasionally broke out. The Croats were particularly Russophilic and their removal in January 1916 was met with relief. They were replaced with 10,000 new refugees from Galicia.

Behind the camp gate was a section devoted to the camp security. Three barracks housed guards and the gendarmerie, which was composed entirely of Czech speakers. The Ukrainians had absolutely no problems coming to an understanding with these fellow-Slav protectors.

The main street into the camp and two side streets were asphalted; the others were covered with gravel. Separate buildings existed for post, telegraph, telephone, a canteen and administration; behind the latter was a warehouse and a group of buildings containing a storehouse, a bakery, the electric station, a butcher, the cold-storage depot, stables, disinfection chemicals depository and a fire department. Additionally, 11 clothes-washing kitchens were set up. For the aged, children and orphans separate residences, nurseries and play centers were constructed.

Across from the administration building was the hospital section with 15 hospitals, an apothecary, a hospital warehouse, an

apothecary storehouse, an outpatient center, and a building for disinfecting the sick and new arrivals. In the middle of the camp was a large, open area some 200 meters square, and in the center of this site was a covered stage where school children and camp residents could present various programs. Fronting the open area was a large wooden church designed to meet the people's spiritual needs.

A camp school provided rudimentary education for the youngsters, as well as advanced training courses for adults. Lessons for children began in the spring of 1915 and a five-grade curriculum was set up. By the time the camp closed in 1918, a total of 1,628 children had taken advantage of this educational system, which awarded semiannual report cards. In addition to traditional school subjects, other activities such as singing, handicrafts and theater presentations were organized. In the fall of 1915, a first-year gymnasium (high school) curriculum was begun. In the evenings, adult courses were offered for illiterate internees (to learn to read and write Ukrainian), as well as for those who wished to learn German. A total of 917 adults are recorded as having attended these sessions.

Although strict sanitary rules and procedures were enforced, the crowded conditions of the camp made the refugees susceptible to a variety of ills, and periodic disease outbreaks did occur, particularly typhus. These epidemics contributed to a fairly high death rate in the camp. During the course of



Figure 1. Galician refugees walking and riding to safety.

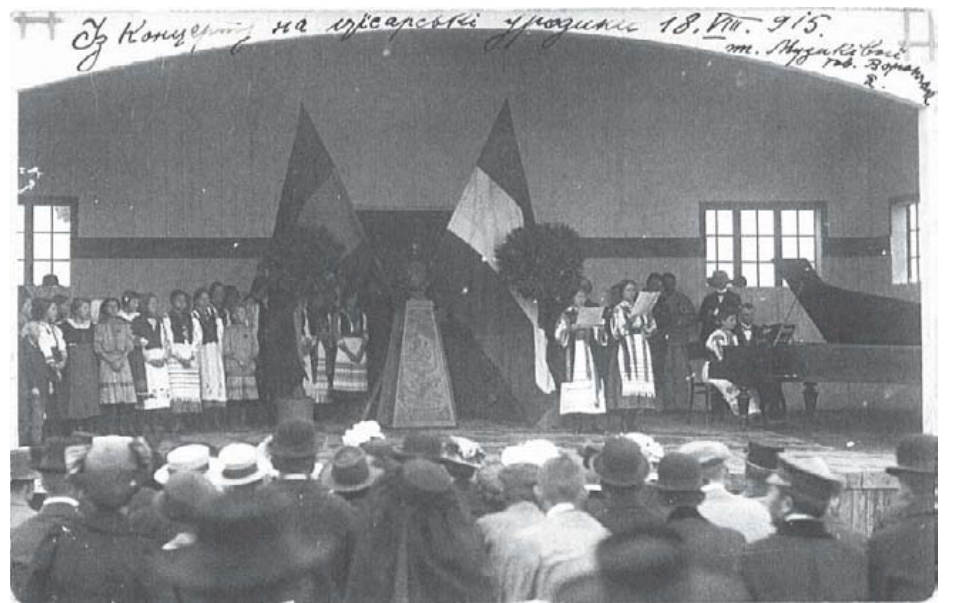


Figure 2. A concert at the camp's open-air pavilion. Note that a piano was provided for the choristers. The large flag on the right would be the red-white-red Austrian flag. The one on the left is bi-colored. It could have been blue over yellow (the Ukrainian colors as well as those of Lower Austria) or black over yellow (the colors of the Habsburg monarchy).

apothecary storehouse, an outpatient center, and a building for disinfecting the sick and new arrivals. In the middle of the camp was a large, open area some 200 meters square, and in the center of this site was a covered stage where school children and camp residents could present various programs. Fronting the open area was a large wooden church designed to meet the people's spiritual needs.

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1916 a drainage system was set up for the camp's sewerage. The wastewater was cleaned in coke "distilleries" and then channeled into the nearby stream.

All in all, the first year of 1915 was the hardest and most frightful for the camp's inhabitants. It was also the period of greatest crowding. Many internees did not receive adequate shelter until the second half of that year. Food shortages and crowding led to stress, sickness and, for the weakest, death. By 1916 conditions had improved markedly. More buildings and services became available and a more normal life could be lived. Continued improvements in 1917 made camp life even more tolerable.

Life in the camp

Many of the able-bodied males in the camp, as well as some females, went to work in jobs outside the camp. They were employed working in fields (planting or harvesting), in forests (cutting wood), in factories (industrial or munitions plants), or as household servants. During the years that the camp functioned, some 22,000 internees found work in the surrounding towns and villages; all of their labor was recompensed. A sizeable Ukrainian community lived in Vienna during the early part of the 20th century, and it maintained close ties with the Gmünd refugee camp.

A number of social and cultural activities were organized, including some of the afore-

(Continued on page 10)

¹ Following World War I the new Austrian-Czechoslovak border ran through the town of Gmünd. A section north of the River Lainsitz went to Czechoslovakia and was renamed Ceske Velenice. The southern, main part of the town, however, remained with Austria.

² The Crownlands of Galicia and Bukovyna were heavily populated by Ukrainians and it was in the Ukrainian-inhabited lands that some of the

fiercest early fighting of the conflict took place. At the outbreak, 43 percent of the inhabitants of the crownlands were Ukrainian. Many Austrians still referred to these people as Ruthenians, but by the war years the description Ukrainian(s) was becoming more widely used.

³ Gmünd was a major railway center, which made the locale an ideal site for such a camp. Building materials could be quickly ferried in to

construct such a camp and subsequently, all manner of supplies to keep the camp functioning could be brought in at regular intervals.

⁴ Examples of camps for other nationalities from Galicia and Bukovyna included those for Poles in Leibnitz, Styria (Steiermark; for 30,000 internees) and Chotzen, Bohemia (for 20,000); some 20,000 Jews were housed in Nikolsburg, Pohlitz, and Gaya in Moravia, and another 3,000 Jews in

Bruck an der Leitha, Lower Austria.

⁵ According to the 1951 history of the Gmünd refugee camp prepared by city archivist Rupert Hauer, the Barackenlager Gmünd housed some 25,000 Ukrainian refugee families by May of 1915 and within a year the number reached 70,000. Based on the number of buildings and their capacity, however, these figures seem very much inflated.



Figure 3. Dedication of a monument to Austrian Emperor Franz-Joseph on his 85th birthday, August 18, 1915. Note some of the barracks buildings in the background.

The World War I...

(Continued from page 9)

mentioned courses for illiterate camp inhabitants and the staging of plays and concerts. Eventually, a fairly rich cultural life developed at the camp. Several singing groups emerged (Figure 2) and the theater program gave the internees something to look forward to and promoted morale.

On August 18, 1915, the 85th birthday of Emperor Franz Josef, a monument was dedicated at the camp in the presence of high-ranking Austrian and Ukrainian dignitaries (Figure 3). The governor of Lower Austria, Count Richard Bienert-Schmerling, visited the camp on September 10, 1915 (Figure 14). In September of 1917 the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky visited the camp for three days.

Squabbling did not necessarily occur only among the different ethnic groups within the camp. There were plenty of disgruntled internees who were unhappy with the Austrian government that brought them to their sorry condition. On the other hand, there were others who supported the monarchy and who agitated against the idea of a greater Ukraine – the merging of the Austrian Ukrainians with those in the Russian Empire. The possibility of such a notion had begun to be discussed after Ukrainians from various parts of the Austrian Empire were thrown together in the camp, some of whom also met fellow Ukrainians from the Russian Empire who had deserted or were POWs.

One episode that left a bitter taste had to do with the Ukrainians from Bukovyna. Initially there were only a few hundred in the camp and they were repatriated in the summer of 1915. In June of 1916, however, a Russian offensive drove a much larger number of Bukovyna Ukrainians to the Gmünd camp. These new refugees were for the most part Orthodox Christians, while the Galicians were Greek-Catholic. Since the Russian enemy was Orthodox, the Bukovyna Orthodox Ukrainians felt themselves a threatened minority amongst so many Greek-Catholics. Under the strident influence of a group of intellectuals, they demanded their “own” church, barracks, school, teachers, inspectors, etc. – in short, a complete separation with the Galicians.

These Bukovyna Ukrainians numbered about 2,200 and they raised such a clamor that eventually the camp administrators relented and on September 6, 1916, all of the Bukovynians were resettled into another camp at Enzersdorf, outside of Vienna.

A large number of Ukrainians served in

the Imperial Austrian Army (about 8 percent were Ukrainian) as young men of Galicia were called up for military service irrespective of ethnicity. Since on the eastern front Austria was engaged in fighting Tsarist Russia, Ukrainians who had not been called up or who had been exempted from call-up volunteered to form a separate Ukrainian Legion of Ukrainian officers and men within the Austrian Army. The Austrian authorities, though at first a bit reluctant, soon agreed. One of the aims of this unit was to support Ukrainian aspirations of national sovereignty within the Russian Empire.

The Barackenlager Gmünd was an important support facility for the Ukrainian Legion, and the camp also provided volunteer recruits for this military unit. We have come across a photograph showing a group of about 130 volunteers in April of 1916, all smartly dressed in uniforms and marching four abreast, leaving the camp and heading for the Legion’s recruiting center. A hospital at the Gmünd camp was set aside for wounded Ukrainian soldiers.

Camp mails

A post office also existed in the camp, and it used a circular, double-ring, bridged postmark “Barackenlager/ Gmünd, N.O.” with one of four counter-letters, a through d. Each cover had the same pre-printed return address, but prepared slightly differently (four different types). The address itself “K. k. Barackenverwaltung, Gmünd N.O.” translates as the “Imperial and Royal Barracks’ Administration in Gmünd, Lower Austria.” The return address types differ in the thickness of the lettering or in the length of the underlying lines. The illustrated cover displays the “c” postmark. Note that no postage was required for mail sent on official business.

The addressees on the covers we have come across are Ukrainian relief organizations that sought to improve the condition of the camp’s inhabitants. The vast majority of the letters went to the “Hilfskomitee für ukrainische Flüchtlinge aus Galizien und der Bukowina” (the Relief Committee for Galician and Bukovinian Refugees), which in 1915 was at Mezzanin 5, Piaristengasse, but by late 1916 was located on Strozzigasse 32 (both in Wien VIII) in Vienna. Some letters went to the “Gesamt-ukrainischen Kulturrates” (United Ukrainian Cultural Council), which was located at the same address, and provided supplies and publications of an educational nature. Several letter-writers we found decided to ignore regular channels and sent their petitions – using reg-

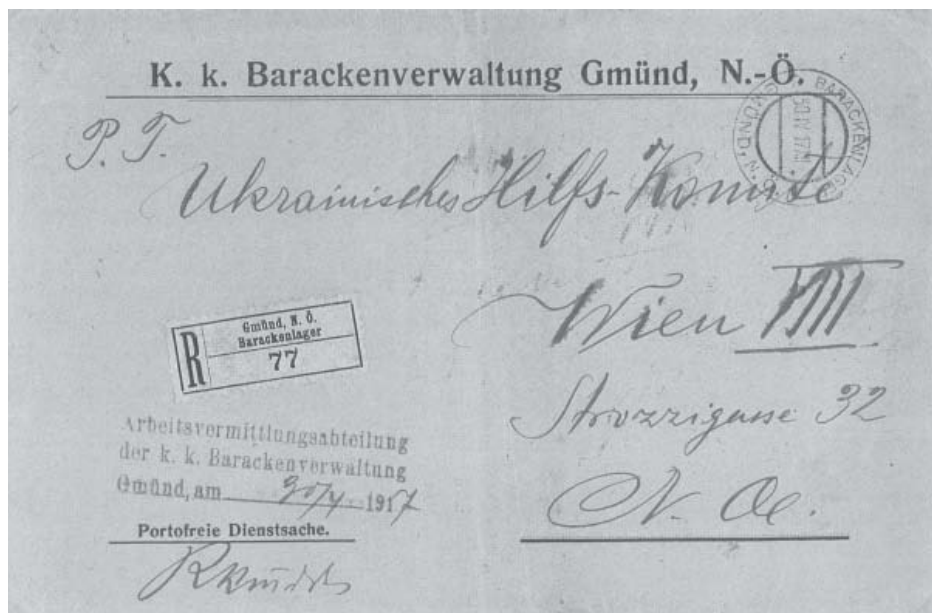


Figure 4. Type III Gmünd camp official envelope (thick print, shortened second line). Sent registered to the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Vienna on April 30, 1917, it bears a hand-stamp of the Work Procurement Department of Camp Gmünd, as well as the circular Gmünd “c” cancel.



Figure 5. Registered letter mailed to “Lev” Levitsky, the senior Ukrainian member in the Austrian Parliament, on June 21, 1915. Since this was not an official dispatch, full postage was required: 15-heller letter rate and 20-heller registry. Note the Gmünd “a” cancel.



Figure 6. Ukrainian Legion field post correspondence card sent via the Gmünd post office on July 21, 1916 franked with a 5-heller stamp to pay the postcard rate. Note the two-line receiving hand-stamp of the Ukrainian Legion office in Vienna.

istered mail – straight to the top, to “Lev” Levitsky, the senior Ukrainian member in the Austrian Parliament (Figure 5).⁹ (In this case, an “a” circular postmark was utilized.)

Since the Ukrainian Legion was part of the Imperial Austrian Army, its various units utilized the Austrian Field Post. The Ukrainian Legion’s Facilities at Camp Gmünd were assigned Field Post No. 445. Thus, outgoing military mail from the camp was marked “Field Post 445” and required no postage. However, some military mails were sent via the camp post office and did require franking. Figure 6 presents a distinctive Ukrainian Legion field post correspondence card – with its prominent Ukrainian Legion seal – sent from Camp Gmünd.

We have also been able to locate a few pieces of mail from the Bukovinian Ukrainian refugee camp at Enzersdorf, sent via that camp’s Field Post No. 182.

About 200,000 to 300,000 people are estimated to have passed through the Barackenlager Gmünd during the years that the camp remained open (1915-1918). However, many refugees arrived ill, debilitated, emaciated or wounded. At least 20,000 inhabitants (including Legionaries) died and were buried in Gmünd. Some sources cite a death total of 30,000 or 35,000. (On average, over two dozen people were interred daily.) On September 26, 1964, the 50th anniversary of the camp’s founding, a mon-

(Continued on page 15)

⁶ Prior to World War I, Ukrainian ethnographic territories were divided between the Russian Empire in the east (roughly 90 percent) and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the west (some 10 percent).

⁷ Counter-letters “a,” “b” and “c” were known to be used in 1915-1920; “d” used in 1915-1926, although the office was renamed

Gmünd 2 on August 1, 1920.

⁸ The envelopes used in these official dispatches differ in their color, having been prepared with whatever paper was available at the printer at the time the request for pre-printed envelopes was made. Colors we have seen range from cream, to buff, to light brown, to greenish-blue.

CONCERT NOTES: "Colors and Keys" spotlights Dolnycky and Semenova

by Oksana Zholkewych

TORONTO – "Colors and Keys" was the name of a unique concert held at Ukrainian Canadian Art Foundation Gallery in Toronto on November 2, 2008, as the opening event in the second season of the "Music on Canvas" concert series. The recital featured pianists Maria Dolnycky and Irina Semenova, and took place against the backdrop of abstract artwork by contemporary Canadian artists Sonia Cyhynka, Rina Gottesman, Leonore Johnston and Charlene Mandelbaum.

Between musical works, modern art specialist Dr. Gerald Needham of York University showed slides and entertained the audience with various quirks on the historical interaction between art and music, in particular on how colors influence our perception of both art forms. To quote Wassily Kandinsky: "Color is the keyboard, the eyes are the hammers, the soul is the piano with strings, and the artist is the hand that plays, touching various keys and causing vibrations to stir within the soul."

For the past year, gallery visitors have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the work of Ms. Dolnycky, founder and artistic director of "Music on Canvas." Last year at the gallery Prof. Needham offered a series of informative lectures on 19th and 20th century art. Thus, an artistic collaboration was created that led to this unprecedented and highly successful event.

The concert was divided into three dis-

Oksana Zholkewych is a music educator from Toronto.

tinct sections, each one featuring music reflective of a certain mood exuded by colors. The first, "Evocative Colors," stirred the soul and touched the imagination with romantic memories.

Montreal-born and Vienna-trained pianist Ms. Dolnycky performed Gabriel Faure's Improvisation No. 5 with great sensitivity. She was then joined by duet partner Ms. Semenova, an accomplished concert pianist from St. Petersburg, Russia, in two pieces by Claude Debussy, whereby listeners were able to perceive the play between colour, light and tone. Ms. Dolnycky went on to perform solo works by Eric Satie, among them the rarely played "Three Distinguished Waltzes of a Jaded Dandy" and "Ragtime" from the ballet "Parade." It is interesting to note that the aforesaid ballet was a collaborative project of the composer artist Pablo Picasso and writer Jean Cocteau.

In the second part, "Intriguing Colors," the audience was introduced to the mystery of colors in conjunction with abstract works by composers Robert Starer and Arnold Schoenberg, both born and educated in Vienna and evidently influenced by Kandinsky, who wrote much about the interaction of colour and sound. At this point, slides were shown of works by Kandinsky and Schoenberg himself; the latter having been both a composer and an artist. Ms. Dolnycky then performed Schoenberg's Six Little Piano Pieces Op. 19, a suite written in the captivating 12-tone style of musical arrangement which the composer himself co-created.

The third and final part, "Vibrant Colors," featured dynamic, upbeat duets



The three participants of the concert "Colors and Keys" (from left) Irina Semenova, Dr. Gerald Needham and Maria Dolnycky.

performed by Ms. Dolnycky and Ms. Semenova, namely by Maurice Ravel, Francis Poulenc, George Gershwin, Myroslaw Skoryk and Roger Matton. The true highlight of the evening was the jazz music of Ukrainian composer Mr. Skoryk. The pianists were able to underscore the humor, light-heartedness and phenomenal rhythmic drive of this composer from Lviv. The performance was at once dramatic and playful, manifesting great temperament as well as a remarkable sense of interaction and precise ensemble work between the two musicians. As the final work on the program, they performed "Brazilian Dance," a fiery and dazzling

show-stopper by Mr. Matton, a Canadian composer from Quebec.

The concept of directly uniting music and art – a first for this Ukrainian venue – gave everyone present the opportunity to witness first-hand how the two art forms can not only co-exist, but mutually enhance one another, creating a new and unforeseen experience for the viewer and listener alike.

The performers were greeted with heartfelt and enthusiastic applause from the audience, and an overwhelming number of those present later expressed a strong desire to see more such events in the future.

Andriana Chuchman: a new diva and "Star of Tomorrow"

by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

WINNIPEG – Ukrainians in North America have a new cultural treasure, and she is only 26 years old. Andriana Chuchman, a Winnipeg-born soprano, "seems on her way to a major place on the world's operatic stages," wrote John Bender in Opera Canada back in 2006.

Ms. Chuchman is now in her second year as a member of the Patrick G. & Shirley W. Ryan Opera Center at the Lyric Opera of Chicago. During the summers of 2005 and 2006 she sang in the prestigious Merola Program of the San Francisco Opera Center. Ms. Chuchman was the soprano soloist for the 2008 Bank of America Do-It-Yourself "Messiah" concerts at the Civic Opera House in Chicago in December 2008.

On February 7, 10 and 12, she will be performing with The Edmonton Opera in Gaetano Donizetti's "Daughter of the Regiment." The announcement for this event states: "Join the adventures of this exuberant band of brothers and their adopted 'daughter' Marie, played by star of tomorrow Andriana Chuchman."

Ms. Chuchman grew up singing. She is the younger daughter of Dr. George Chuchman, a professor of economics at the University of Manitoba, and Irene Kuzmych Chuchman, a music teacher and accompanist, originally from Sudbury, Ontario. Andriana and her sister Olesia sang together all the time. As a duet, they performed at many Winnipeg and Manitoba events, from Plast get-togethers to the Kyiv Pavilion at Folklorama, to winning the duet singing classes for five consecutive years at the Winnipeg Music Festival.

They also performed outside of Manitoba, including the Yonkers Ukrainian Heritage Festival in Yonkers, N.Y., in 2000. Olesia's and Andriana's CD "Vesniani Nochi/Spring Nights," released in 1999, has been popular among young and old alike. The sisters were a big hit performing under the full moon for all the participants of the International Plast Jamboree at the velyka bonfire in Birds Hill Park in Manitoba in 1998.

Ms. Chuchman is a graduate of the School of Music at the University of Manitoba. During her student years she performed in many concerts and operas, and was awarded numerous top music awards and scholarships, including the prestigious Rose Bowl at the Winnipeg Music Competition Festival. She was the first place scholarship winner, senior voice class, at the Provincial Music Finals of the Associated



Andriana Chuchman

Manitoba Arts Festivals. In the Canadian Music Competition, held in Toronto on June-July 2004, Ms. Chuchman was the top overall vocalist, national level (vocal category 22 and under), and in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, at that competition in August 2004, she was the runner-up National Vocal Scholarship winner. During 1999-2004, she studied under acclaimed Canadian soprano Tracy Dahl.

On June 16, 2007, Ms. Chuchman appeared as a special guest in the live broadcast of Garrison Keillor's "A Prairie Home Companion." The performances are archived on <http://prairiehome.publicradio.org/programs/2007/06/16/>.

The superlatives for Ms. Chuchman keep flowing:

"There were two Canadians – soprano Andriana

Chuchman and countertenor David Trudgen. The former delivered Dorinda's music flawlessly and charmingly..." – Richard Covello, Opera Canada, 2008.

"...Chuchman looked fabulous in Art Deco dresses... But her real stardom was vocal..." – John Bender, Opera Canada, 2006.

"The afternoon's clear star was soprano Andriana Chuchman, who brought crisp coloratura, tender phrasing and assured comic timing to the part of Carolina... Chuchman played the character as a wide-eyed ingénue in the Marilyn Monroe vein, and she pulled it off flawlessly." – Joshua Kosman, San Francisco Chronicle, 2006.

"Radiant soprano Andriana Chuchman possesses a clear, mature voice that could make a grown woman weep..." – Holly Harris, Winnipeg Free Press, 2005.

"The audience was treated to a sneak preview of a portion of Massenet's 'manon,' the opera that will open the Lyric's next season, when Andriana Chuchman gave a truly rousing performance of Manon's gavotte. New to the program, the Canadian singer exuded poise and grace. Her spectacular voice and physical beauty made for a true presence on the stage." – Rebecca Henllan-Jones, LASPLASH.COM, 2008.

"Those who believe an opera is not an opera unless the leading lady delivers impeccable, stratospheric sounds got their fill with Chuchman's portrayal of the capricious Adina..." – Walter Thiessen, Opera Canada, 2007.

Chuchman often includes works composed or arranged by Ukrainian composers, such as Yakiv Stepovy and Anatolii Kos-Anatolsky, in her many recitals, leaving reviewers asking for more of the same: "We should be grateful to Andriana, a Canadian of Ukrainian origin, for introducing these songs to us. Let's hear more of them," wrote Brian Dickie in his blog "Life as General Director of Chicago Opera Theater" in 2008.

Reviewer Gwenda Nemerofsky of the Winnipeg Free Press probably said all there was to say about Andriana Chuchman in her 2005 debut in the Manitoba Opera's "The Elixir of Love" by Donizetti.

"Andriana Chuchman was impressive in her professional debut as Giannetta, a peasant girl. She showed all the poise and polish of a seasoned veteran, with the appealing freshness of youth. Add to this a pure tone, expressive interpretation, and a striking appearance, and she's someone to watch for in the future." And that was at the beginning of the young soprano's career.

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Hutsul villagers transport winter traditions to New York

by Helen Smindak

NEW YORK – Since early childhood, Ivan Zelenchuk of Kryvorivnia, high in Ukraine's Carpathian Mountains, has been following unique winter traditions handed down by his father and grandfather and countless others before them. The best-known koliadnyk (winter song singer) in the region, Mr. Zelenchuk fervently believes it is his personal mission to preserve Koliada, the most important Hutsul event of the year, for future generations.

He is also eager to convey the spirit and good cheer of ancient winter songs to anyone who will listen, including blasé New Yorkers. Customs and rituals which now coincide with the celebration of Christmas have been practiced in Ukraine's Carpathian region for ages.

Ivan Zelenchuk arrived in this city last month with his brother Petro and 25-year-old son Mykola after a 12-hour bus and plane trip from their native village, a popular vacation spot for such famous Ukrainians as Lesia Ukrainka, Ivan Franko, and Ukraine's first president, Mykhailo Hrushevsky. They were accompanied by master fiddler and volynka (bagpipe) player Dmytro Tafiychuk and his brother Mykhailo, who hail from the neighboring village of Bukovtse. Embarking in Kyiv on a Delta flight to New York, the men reluctantly left behind a 200-year-old handcrafted violin which customs officials would not let out of the country because of its historic value.

At Kennedy Airport, toting valises holding heavy beaded and tasseled costumes and musical instruments, including two 12-foot-long mountain horns (trembity) carried in six-foot lengths for easier transport, they passed through U.S. Customs with nary a hitch. They arrived in Manhattan with three violins, five sopilky (flutes), a volynka or duda (bagpipe), a lira (hurdy-

gurdy), a rih (shepherd's horn) and the trembity.

They also brought with them priceless treasures that could not be packed into valises – age-old Hutsul winter songs written down in a notebook by Ivan Zelenchuk's father and lovingly preserved by Petro for more than 50 years.

In the weeks that followed, the mountaineers moved with characteristic Hutsul aplomb through hours of tiring rehearsals as they prepared for three major appearances – a concert at The Ukrainian Museum in the East Village, a concert combined with an art exhibit and food tasting at the Ukrainian Institute of America on Fifth Avenue, and a stage production with a cast of singers, musicians, dancers and puppet players at the famed La MaMa Experimental Theater Club in lower Manhattan.

Their itinerary also included a stop at St. George Ukrainian School, where some 300 excited students cheered the carolers during a concert in the school auditorium.

Ivan Zelenchuk got his chance to bring Hutsul winter songs to the world – at least to a small but important part of it – when ethnographer Virlana Tkacz, founder and artistic director of the Yara Arts Group in New York, visited Kryvorivnia during a 2002 expedition to Ukraine.

Ms. Tkacz agreed with Ivan Zelenchuk that people outside Ukraine should become acquainted with Hutsul winter songs. As the director of the Yara Arts Group, a resident company of the La MaMa Theater, she has created 19 original shows that have been performed in New York, Kyiv, Lviv, Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan), Ulan Ude (Buryatia) and Ulan Bator (Mongolia). Her translations of poetry were published as a book "In a Different Light: A Bilingual Anthology of Ukrainian Literature," translated by Ms. Tkacz and Wanda Phipps). Named Honored

(Continued on page 18)



Ivan Zelenchuk, the "bereza" of the Koliadnyky of Kryvorivnia.



Winter song singers gather in a circle before heading out to sing at village homes in Kryvorivnia.

THEATER NOTES: "Still the River Flows" based on timeless traditions

by Ihor Slabicky

NEW YORK – Virlana Tkacz's productions with the Yara Arts Group are always astounding and brilliantly executed. This year's offering, "Still the River Flows: Winter Songs from the Carpathian Mountains," presented December 26-28, 2008, at the La MaMa ETC was no exception. The three-act piece created by Ms. Tkacz is based on the timeless Ukrainian Christmas traditions.

The first act, "Cosmos," presented the Creation Story – when there was no world, nothing, except an endless expanse of water – as it is sung in the koliady. This featured Lilia Pavlovsky (as the Sun), with dancers Inka Juslin (as the Breath) and Kayla Ankeny (as the Moon).

Act 2 was "Cave," the "vertep" Nativity play that is usually presented with puppets. Here, Virlana Tkacz had the actors playing those roles: Herod (played in a most evil manner by Taras Pavlovsky), the Three Wise Men (who spoke three different languages), Rachel (Lilia Pavlovsky), the Angel (Antonina Ermolenko), seductive Death (portrayed by Nina Ariadna) and the Devil (Brandon Vance, whose violin plays the deadly song that ends Herod's life). The chorus was directed by Julian Kytasty. All were quite serious and profound, as it should be.

The third act, "Celebration," was light-hearted entertainment to ease the solemnity of the second act. This allowed the performers to highlight their own talents.

The third act began (or, the second act finished) with Nadia Tarnawsky coming out of the wings, dressed in a smock, sweeping the stage with a huge broom, exclaiming

"That's a wrap!" The first impression was that the piece had ended. Ms. Tarnawsky then took off her smock, revealing her beautiful folk costume, and started singing "Mii Mylenkii" (My Beloved), gracefully dancing with the broom, in a reverie over her beloved.

As she danced off stage, Mykhailo Tafiychuk and Dmytro Tafiychuk came out and played traditional Hutsul fiddle tunes. Svitanya performed "Sadi Moma," accompanying themselves on dumbek, guitar, tambura and gaida. Ms. Ermolenko sang "Kazala Meni Maty" (As Mother Told Me) with accompaniment by Mr. Vance on violin, and Ms. Juslin danced "Time Passes," to name just a few.

They did this against the backdrop of a set designed by Watoku Ueno that imparted the dynamics of a river flowing through the snow-covered Carpathians, flowing through and around mountains and valleys, surrounded by birch trees.

Several things truly impressed me about this work by Ms. Tkacz. First was the sheer size of the cast. I counted 30 members on stage for the final curtain call – all dressed in authentic and ornately detailed costumes. They were balanced by the minimalist set design. I do not recall more than five stage props being used through the whole piece; four of them appeared in the first act.

Most impressive was the fact that the cast members were performers of various ethnic backgrounds from all over the world. Although the Yara Arts Group is based in New York City, for this piece Ms. Tkacz brought in the Svitanya Women's Ensemble (Susan Anderson, Kayla

(Continued on page 18)



The angels (Zoya and Kyrlyo Pavlovsky) comfort Rachel (Lilia Pavlovsky).



The Svitanya Women's Vocal Ensemble presents solstice songs.

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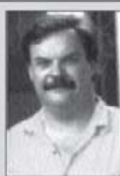
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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

GTS a lot of money if it manages to build the system correctly. (Ukrinform)

Ukrainians killed in Gaza

KYIV – A Ukrainian woman, Al-Jar Albina Volodymyrivna, and her 2-year-old child died in a shell blast during an attack by an Israeli tank on the Tufah district of eastern Gaza. The 12-year-old daughter of the deceased woman was taken to the intensive care unit of the local hospital, according to Ukraine's Representation in the Palestinian Authority, said Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 8. The Representation is now taking measures to find out details of the tragedy and establish contacts with relatives of the Ukrainian citizens killed. (Ukrinform)

300 Ukrainians remain in Gaza

KYIV – Around 300 Ukrainian citizens wishing to leave the Gaza Strip remain in the conflict zone, according to a spokesman for the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry, Vasyl Kyrlych. At a press conference on January 12 he said that up to 100 citizens had submitted official statements in order to return to their homeland or leave the Gaza Strip. However, Mr. Kyrlych said that there is no agreement yet on an air corridor to evacuate the citizens. "The Ukrainian Embassy in Israel has received queries from Ukrainian citizens regarding their possible evacuation. This question is being worked out. The obstacle in the urgent evacuation [of citizens] from the conflict zone is the difficulty of forming an air corridor for aircraft. I want to stress that the Ukrainian Embassy in Israel, the [country's] office in Palestine and the [Ukrainian] Embassy in Jordan are working out a scheme of possible evacuation of Ukrainian citizens, but this scheme will be realized after resolving all the issues linked to the safe travel of aircraft through checkpoints," he said. (Ukrinform)

Faina hostage talks continue

KYIV – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) of Ukraine is continuing work toward the release of the ship Faina and its crew, which are held hostage by Somali pirates, MFA press secretary Vasyl Kyrlych said at a news briefing on January 12. The press secretary said that, at the request of the hostages' relatives, the ministry is seeking a chance to get a group picture of the crew members, and organize direct telephone talks with those near and dear to them in Ukraine to confirm they are alive. Mr. Kyrlych noted the problems that appeared in the negotiations as they were close to being completed "because of a third party's involvement." It was in late September 2008 that pirates from Somalia hijacked the Faina with 33 T-72 tanks, anti-aircraft weaponry, rocket-propelled grenades and ammunition aboard. The majority of crew members are citizens of Ukraine; two are citizens of Russia. One Russian crew member, Capt. Vladimir Korobkov, died of a heart attack. (Ukrinform)

Strategic partnership of U.S.. Georgia

WASHINGTON – On January 9 in Washington, barely a week before the change of presidential administrations, U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Grigol Vashadze signed the U.S.-Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership. The document and the overall guiding concept primarily involve issues of hard security and defense. Russia's August 2008 invasion of Georgia helped catalyze Washington's work on this document, while inspiring the opposite response in several Western European NATO mem-

ber-countries. NATO's indecision on this issue at its November 2008 ministerial meeting underscored the urgency of proceeding with U.S.-Georgia bilateral security arrangements. The development of a strategic partnership with Georgia rests on bipartisan consensus in the United States. Public statements and visits to Georgia by key Democrats in Congress and in the presidential campaign of Barack Obama in the aftermath of the Russian invasion underscored that consensus, as did bipartisan Congressional approval for massive civil and military reconstruction assistance to Georgia. The charter defines U.S.-Georgia relations as a "strategic partnership" for the first time and enshrines a U.S. "vital interest in a strong, independent, sovereign, unified and democratic Georgia, capable of responsible self-defense." It describes this partnership as "based on shared values and common interests," thereby elevating it above any expediency-dictated arrangements with unfriendly third parties such as Russia. (Eurasia Daily Monitor)

Ukraine to buy US navy frigates

KYIV – During 2009 Ukraine is planning to buy from the United States frigate vessels for its domestic naval forces, Defense Minister Yuriy Yekhanurov reported on January 8. He said the cost of a new ship is approximately \$400 million (U.S.); a used ship costs between \$50 million and \$60 million. Also planned, according to Mr. Yekhanurov, are a new Ukrainian corvette vessel, the design for a multifunctional missile complex and the modernization of MIG-29 pursuit planes and helicopters. (Ukrinform)

Two new Polish Consulates

KYIV – Poland is planning to open new consulates in Ivano-Frankivsk and Vinnytsia to deal with the issuance of visas. The announcement was made on January 12 by Polish Consul General in Lviv Grzegorz Opalinski. (Ukrinform)

Vinnytsia commemorates Vasyl Stus

VINNYTSIA, Ukraine – Ukraine's Vinnytsia region on January 13 commemorated a renowned native son, poet Vasyl Stus, who was born on January 6, 1938, in the village of Rakhnivtsi, Haisyn district. This year on his birthday, the regional office of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, in association with the Congress of the Ukrainian Intellectuals and the Department of Culture of the Vinnytsia Regional State Administration, have launched an unusual commemoration titled, "Koliada based on Vasyl Stus." The meeting participants remembered the poet by reciting his poetry and singing songs based on his poetry. The village of Rakhnivtsi held official commemorative events. "The traditional Stus Readings took place. All libraries of the region opened book subject exhibitions," reported regional administration official Maria Skrypyk. (Ukrinform)

New coin honors anthem's author

KIV – The National Bank of Ukraine (NBU), continuing its series "Outstanding Persons of Ukraine," and as of January 14 has put into circulation a jubilee coin with a face value of 2 hrv dedicated to Pavlo Chubynsky, ethnographer, specialist in folklore, poet, public and cultural figure, and author of the Ukrainian national anthem "Sche Ne Vmerla Ukraina." The coin is made of German silver; the quality of coinage is "special uncirculated"; its mass is 12.8 grams. The coin has a diameter of 31 millimeters; its rim is grooved. The coin's circulation is 35,000. Chubynsky is one of founders of the field of Ukrainian ethnography; he headed ethnographic expeditions studying Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. (Ukrinform)

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The World War I...

(Continued from page 10)

ument titled "Refugees" by the renowned Ukrainian sculptor Gregor Kruk was dedicated to these victims of the war at the Gmünd refugee cemetery.

The commemorative envelope shown in Figure 7 was issued on October 18, 1997, in Gmünd for a memorial exhibition. Shown on both the cachet and cancellation are the entrance to the Barackenlager Gmünd as well as the "Refugees" memorial.

What happened to the camp?

There was a continuous turnover of refugees in the camp for a variety of reasons. During the course of the war, if the enemy was driven out of a certain region and if the area now seemed secure, the inhabitants were allowed to return to rebuild their lives. At other times, refugees were able to find accommodations with extended family or with friends. Or, they would leave because they had found employment and a place to live in some city or town. These, as well as many other circumstances help explain why there is no definite accounting for the total number of refugees that passed through the camp.

In early 1918, Austria-Hungary and Germany signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Soviet Russia, ending the war in the east. During the course of the year the Gmünd Camp was emptied as people simply went home or left to start new lives elsewhere.

After the war, numerous Austrian companies bought up the cheap plots of land and settled into the abandoned buildings

in this new part of the town. In 1921 the dye manufacturer Heinisch (today Eybl International AG) moved into the former hospital laundry and the hospital surgery; the factory Bobbin (a furniture builder that became one of the biggest firms in the area) moved into the facility for disinfection. During the following years, Agrana – the biggest industrial facility in Gmünd-Neustadt – also moved into the area. Today the factory largely produces products based on potato starch. Another very important company in this area is Leyrer und Graf, a construction company. But small businesses, cooking, and commercial operations also continue to pump life into this part of the town.

On the main street of the camp, where the former camp administration was once situated, today there is a Cafe Pub, a plant center and a fashion boutique. Various housing developments (obviously of more durable design) have been built along some of the streets that formerly ran alongside the barracks.

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⁹ Lev (Leo) was a nickname; his true name was Kost Levytsky. He was elected to the Austrian Parliament in 1907 and to the Galician Diet in 1908. As head of the National Democratic Party, the strongest Ukrainian party, and as chairman of the Ukrainian clubs

in the Parliament and the Diet, he became the most influential Ukrainian political leader in Galicia by 1910. In 1914 he was elected the president of the Supreme Ukrainian Council in Lviv, and in 1915-1916 of the General Ukrainian Council in Vienna.



Figure 7. Cover sponsored by the Ukrainian Stamp Collectors Club of Austria depicts the entrance to the Gmünd camp and the "Refugees" monument by sculptor Gregor Kruk.



Ділимося сумною вісткою з рідними, приятелями та українською громадою, що в суботу 20-го грудня 2008 р. відійшов у вічність наш найдорожчий БАТЬКО і ДІДУСЬ

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Freedom retreats...

(Continued from page 4)

Eastern Europe: Non-Baltic countries of the former Soviet Union continued their decade-long decline, now ranking below Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East on several survey indicators. Russia and Georgia, which went to war over South Ossetia, were among the region's notable declines, as well as Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova. Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe remains strong, despite setbacks in Bulgaria and Macedonia.

• Middle East/North Africa: After several years of modest gains earlier in the decade, the Middle East/North Africa is now experiencing stagnation. Iraq is the only country to show improvement because of reductions in violence, political terror and government-sponsored Shia militias, although it retains its not free status. Jordan, Bahrain, Iran, the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli-Occupied Territories also declined.

• Americas: The region managed to maintain its democratic character despite econo-

mic concerns, an increase in violent crime in some countries and the rise of populist demagogues. Paraguay and Cuba saw improvements in 2008, although the Castro government continues to be one of the world's most repressive regimes. Colombia, Nicaragua, Mexico and Venezuela were among the countries registering declines.

• Western Europe and North America: The region continues to earn the highest scores in Freedom in the World. The election of Barack Obama as U.S. president could lead to reforms of problematic counterterrorism policies. Two European countries experienced declines in 2008: Italy and Greece. The survey also voices concern about potential threats to freedom of expression in Canada and Great Britain.

Freedom House, an independent non-governmental organization that supports the expansion of freedom in the world, has been monitoring political rights and civil liberties worldwide since 1972.

To read the complete 2009 report on world freedom, readers may log on to <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=445>.

Shevchenko Society offers fellowship in Ukrainian studies

NEW YORK – The Shevchenko Scientific Society is inviting applications for the Shevchenko Society Postdoctoral Fellowship for the 2009-2010 academic year. Funded by generous contributions from the Ukrainian American community, the fellowship is intended to support aspiring young scholars in the United States and Canada who work in Ukrainian studies. The society is especially seeking a fellow who will study and teach modern Ukrainian history.

The fellowship award will be up to \$35,000, commensurate with the qualifications of a candidate, and requires the recipient to be affiliated with an accredited North American university, preferably one with a program in Ukrainian studies, during the fellowship period. Preference will be given to individuals who will have an opportunity to teach at their university. The award period is for one year, with the potential for renewal during the second year.

Candidates must have earned a Ph.D. degree with a concentration in Ukrainian-area studies within the past 5 years, have a strong potential for developing independent research and be interested in pursuing a career in Ukrainian studies at the university level.

Applications are accepted by e-mail at

info@shevchenko.org. Applicants must send a letter with their name, citizenship, current position (title), work address, home address, e-mail and phone number, research field or discipline, and the month and year they received a Ph.D., the name of the proposed host institution for the fellowship and name and e-mail address of a mentor/academic liaison they have contacted at the host institution. Applicants must also describe in the letter the envisioned course(s) to be taught at the host institution and proposed dates for the fellowship period; they must give the names and contact information of two scholars who are qualified to evaluate their work and who agree to submit recommendations on their behalf.

The letter of application and a separate two-page summary of goals and research interests and curriculum vitae must be received before February 23. Applicants are encouraged to also send a copy of a scholarly paper written in the past two years. The reprint can be forwarded electronically or mailed separately to: Fellowship Committee, Shevchenko Scientific Society Inc., 63 Fourth Ave., New York, NY 10003.

The fellowship award will be announced in April by e-mail and will begin after July 1.

A war of accusations...

(Continued from page 6)

ment underdog, even though she achieved her marvelous wealth through access to power and is currently surrounded by shady establishment figures (i.e., Viktor Medvedchuk, Mr. Lytvyn).

Additionally, Ms. Tymoshenko has built a strong network of advisors, political pundits and public relations staff. Among President Yushchenko's biggest weaknesses is his lousy political team.

The Presidential Secretariat press staff is always in a defensive position, reacting rather than taking initiative. The Tymoshenko staff is proactive, ahead of the curve in planning and executing media attacks and deflections.

After all, in the brutal world of politics, it's not so much whether the accusation is true, but whether it will affect how the average voter feels about a politician when election day arrives.

Unable to base their voting decisions on any real policy positions (e.g., taxes, monetary policy, education), Ukrainian voters once again will be forced to decide on issues that trigger emotional buttons (accusations of theft, the Russian language, NATO) but don't improve their tangible ability to generate wealth and create a stable life.

In this way, an electorate that spent many frigid hours and nights listening to Orange Revolution speeches on Independence Square is not much interested anymore in what those same politicians have to say.

Are you?

Russia hides...

(Continued from page 3)

Shtokman is Russia's richest gas field and its development lags years behind schedule. By 2005-2006, the Kremlin was discussing with U.S. and Canadian companies the possibility of launching liquefaction projects in Russia to supply North America with Russian gas. From 2006 onward, Moscow signaled a preference for German and other European consumer countries to receive Shtokman gas in the future. Now, Mr. Putin is signaling another

possible switch of preferences, back to North America. He speaks of "reassigning" and "reallocating" as an ongoing process, trying to play potential consumers off against each other and finance Russia's strategic projects. Russia is seeking to convert its gas shortfall into strategic leverage as long as Europe does not manage to open direct access to non-Russian gas in Central Asia and the Middle East.

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Decline in freedom...

(Continued from page 4)

cated there are small indications of future improvement.

Afghanistan is among the big losers, according to the report. The country was downgraded from "partly free" to "not free" in its civil liberties ratings. The main reasons for such a downgrade are rising insecurity, increasing corruption and inefficiency in government institutions.

Pakistan, on the other hand, was

upgraded from "not free" to "partly free" in its political rights ratings, due to the end of military-dominated rule and the election of a civilian parliament and president.

This year's survey also examined the impact of authoritarian reprisals in the "colored revolution" countries of Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan.

It also attempted to assess the effectiveness of the "freedom agenda" of the outgoing two-term administration of U.S. President George W. Bush, as well as the challenges facing the incoming administration of Barack Obama.

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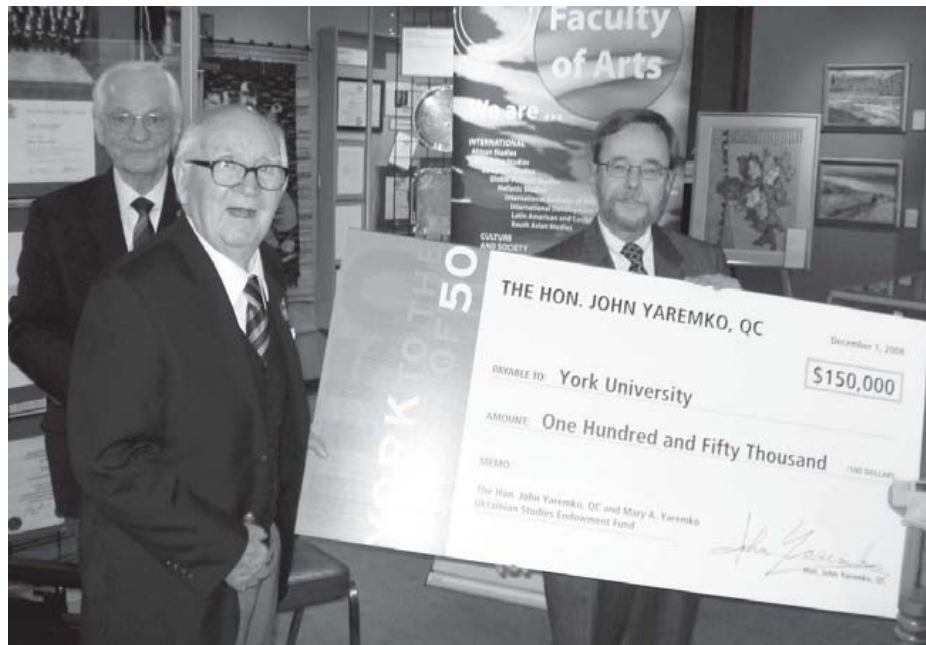
New Ukrainian courses offered at York University in Toronto

TORONTO – The official launch of a new initiative at York University in Toronto took place on December 1, 2008, at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada. Established thanks to a \$150,000 donation from a prominent statesman and lawyer, the Hon. John Yaremko, QC, and Mary Yaremko Endowment Fund in Ukrainian Studies, the initiative will allow the university to offer on a permanent basis two fourth-year half courses dedicated to the history of Ukrainian culture.

These courses, Ukrainian Culture within the European Context (HUMA 4195) and Ukrainian Culture in 20th Century Europe (HUMA 4196) have been and will continue to be offered as part of the European Studies Program in the Division of Humanities and will count toward a major in humanities.

Born in Hamilton, Ontario, in a family of Ukrainian immigrants, John Yaremko was first elected to the Ontario Provincial Parliament in 1951. He ended up serving 25 years in the Parliament, longer than anyone in the history of Ontario. During his illustrious career, Mr. Yaremko served as Ontario's minister of public welfare, minister of social and family services, and minister of citizenship, as well as in other positions. He played a crucial role in the process of developing Canada's multicultural policies and was responsible for coining the very term "multiculturalism." Mr. Yaremko is also known and respected for his philanthropic activities – one aspect of which is his generous support of education and scholarship.

Apart from Mr. Yaremko himself, the John and Mary Yaremko Foundation was represented at the December 1 event by the foundation's president, William Sametz, and Rose Sametz, both of whom had played a crucial role in the establish-



John Yaremko presents his donation to Dean Robert Drummond of York University, as William Sametz, president of the Yaremko Foundation, looks on.

ment of the Yaremko Fund.

Dean Robert Drummond spoke on behalf of York University, expressing gratitude for Mr. Yaremko's generosity and underscoring the university's commitment to the continuation of teaching Ukrainian studies courses.

The chair of the Humanities Division, Pro. Patrick Taylor, described the courses in question as an integral component of the division's European studies program. He also spoke of the overwhelmingly positive response of the students who had taken them.

One such former student, Katherine Chewchuk, who graduated with honors in 2008, described her personal impressions of these courses and stressed how important it was for Canadian students to learn

about the history and culture of this important country – the largest in Europe but still unknown to the majority of North Americans.

The program was moderated by Dr. Marko R. Stech, a well-known scholar at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, who had designed both courses and currently teaches them.

York University's new initiative, supported generously by Mr. Yaremko, will help to ensure the preservation and future expansion of Ukrainian studies at one of the largest and fastest growing universities in Canada. At a time when Ukrainian studies programs at many universities are being downsized or eliminated, this important positive development is particularly welcome and significant, noted Dr. Stech.

HURI announces visiting fellows for spring 2009

by Peter T. Woloschuk

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. – The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI) will host four research fellows during the upcoming spring semester.

Two of the fellows are recipients of Eugene and Daymel Shklar Research Fellowships in Ukrainian Studies, funded through a generous annual gift from the Eugene and Daymel Shklar Foundation of California; one scholar will be in residence as the Petro Jacyk Distinguished Research Fellow; and one will hold the Jaroslaw and Nadia Mihaychuk Postdoctoral Research Fellowship in Ukrainian Studies.

The purpose of all these fellowships is to bring distinguished scholars to the Institute from around the world for wide-ranging research on important projects concerning Ukrainian history, politics, literature, linguistics and culture. In addition to conducting research, each fellow will present a formal lecture as part of HURI's weekly Seminars in Ukrainian Studies.

- Olena Haleta is an associate professor at Ivan Franko National University, Lviv. Her research on the topic "Literary Anthologies as a Means of Shaping National Literary Identity" will explore the history and context of original and translated anthologies of Ukrainian literature beyond the country's borders and will attempt to define the basic preconditions of their appearance and their influence on the literary process, both in Ukraine and in the diaspora.

- As recipient of HURI's Petro Jacyk Distinguished Fellowship in Ukrainian Studies, Tamara Hundorova will be at HURI for a total of four months. Ms. Hundorova, who holds an appointment at

the Institute of Literature at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Kyiv, will look at and analyze cultural consciousness in the Ukrainian literary movement of "narodnytstvo" from the perspective of popular culture. At the conclusion of her fellowship she will stay on for the Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute (HUSI), during which she will teach the course Ukrainian Literature and Popular Culture. In the fall of 2001 she was a Shklar Fellow writing on "Post-Chornobyl Text: Ukrainian Literary Post-Modernism."

- Konstantin Jerusalimsky is an assistant professor at the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow. He will research the topic "Muscovites in Ruthenian Lands: Social Integration, Cultural Identity and Historical Memory (1540s-1640s)." Mr. Jerusalimsky seeks to reconstruct the social status, cultural identities and memory of Muscovites on Polish and Lithuanian service in the eastern Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the 1540s to the 1640s. He hopes to come to a better understanding of the reasons and motives for their flight from Russia.

- Moshe Taube, who will hold the Mihaychuk post-doctoral research fellowship, is professor of Slavic studies and linguistics at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. His research project deals with Jewish-Christian cultural contacts in 15th century Kyiv. Prof. Taube is a long-time colleague of HURI, having spent two full sabbatical years (1992-1993 and 1998-1999) at the institute, which resulted in several publications, including some papers that appeared in Harvard Ukrainian Studies (HUS) and two monographs.

The Jaroslaw and Nadia Mihaychuk Post-doctoral Research Fellowship in Ukrainian Studies is being awarded for the first time to a named scholar who has been selected as a result of a competition and will be awarded annually. The Mihaychuks first gave funds for Ukrainian Studies in 1981 and have added to them periodically. They reside in Parma, Ohio and are noted community activists.

In addition to his support of scholarship, Dr. Mihaychuk was instrumental in sending state-of-the-art dental equipment to Ukraine; he paid a number of visits there to work with his professional colleagues.

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Hutsul villagers...

(Continued from page 13)

Artist of Ukraine in 2003 for her work on behalf of Ukrainian culture, Ms. Tkacz has been recording the winter songs of Kryvorivnia for more than five years.

With the support of the Yara Arts Group and benefactors like the Self Reliance New York Federal Credit Union, the New York State Council on the Arts and New York City's Department of Cultural Affairs, Ms. Tkacz organized and coordinated the winter song singers' first trip from Kryvorivnia to New York City in 2005. Ivan Zelenchuk was a member of that first group and was included in the next two excursions as well.

Trembit bellow

This year's appearances of the winter song singers opened with the bellow of trembita, played by Mykola Zelenchuk and Dmytro Tafiychuk, merging with the blare of Mykhailo Tafiychuk's curved shepherd's horn (rih).

The Christmas season concert at The Ukrainian Museum on December 7 included the Kryvorivnia singers and well-known bandurist/flutist Julian Kytasty, violinist Valeriy Zhmud and the Svitanya Women's Eastern European Vocal Ensemble, a group

featuring a wide range of music of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Croatia and other Eastern European countries.

Performing at the Ukrainian Institute two weeks later, the winter song singers and Svitanya were joined by Ukraine-born Antonina Ermolenko, an up-and-coming opera singer with an enchanting soprano voice, bandurist Nadia Tarnawsky, whose delightful singing echoed the "white voice" singing of Ukrainian village women, and her accompanist, violinist Vance Brandon.

Children of the Shepko-Hamilton and Pavlovsky families travelled, respectively, from upstate New York and New Jersey, to perform with Mr. Kytasty and the New York Bandura Ensemble. With musical proficiency gained at the Kobzarska Sich Bandura Camp in Emlenton, Pa., Alexandra, Roxolyana, Stefan and Zoya Shepko-Hamilton teamed up with Kyrylo and Zoya Pavlovsky for a vocal/musical rendition of Ukrainian Christmas music.

Afterwards, singers and musicians mingled with visitors, walking through galleries on three floors to view an exhibit, curated by Ms. Tkacz and Svitlana Matviyenko, that displayed art works and video installations inspired by the texts of Ukrainian carols.

Among the pieces was Andrea

Odezynska's video installation titled "Song to a Young Lady," picturing a young woman weaving a peacock feather wreath later found floating down a river by three young men, evoking mysterious and romantic images. A painting on silk by Mariya Sklar captured many aspects of Ukrainian culture with vibrant, saturated colors and the flat shapes of folk painting, the bright colors representing the joy of the winter holidays.

Sampling mini versions of Ukrainian holiday foods concocted by Brooklyn chef Olesia Lew, guests and performers commented on the delectable flavors of such offerings as wheat grains cooked with poppy seeds and honey, simulating kutia, served on tiny crackers, and a beet mixture on crisp crackers masquerading as borsch. Liquid refreshments included a honey-based drink called medivka.

"Still the River Flows"

At the La MaMa Theater later in December 2008, the production "Still the River Flows: Winter Rituals from the Carpathian Mountains," which ran for three evening performances and a matinee, the winter song singers, ensembles and soloists appeared in a multidisciplinary event directed by Ms. Tkacz and designed by Watoku Ueno.

Captivating visuals accompanied the singing of ancient Hutsul koliady about the creation of the world, and sections of a Nativity puppet play from the 18th century were presented with traditional music arranged by Mr. Kytasty. The Svitanya ensemble performed solstice songs from East European countries.

Adding to his laurels, Ivan Zelenchuk appeared as one of the Three Wise Men who brought gifts to the newborn Christ Child, all the while concealing his Hutsul attire with a tan-colored trench coat.

Members of New York's Syzokryli Dance Ensemble Ksenia Hentisz, Artem Derkach and Vitaliy Simonian skipped out onto the dance floor to perform a sprightly "Hutsulka." Among other performers in the production were Lilia and Taras Pavlovsky, Inka Juslin, Nina Ariadna, Kayla Ankeny and Kat Yew.

For the finale, the entire cast came on stage to offer a rendition of "Raduyasia Zemle, Syn Narodysvia" (Rejoice, O Earth, the Son of God is born). As Ivan Zelenchuk completed each verse, performers and audience members lifted voices in unison, repeating the refrain.

On December 29, 2008, the Kryvorivnia winter song singers made their return flight home, anticipating the winter festivities about to begin in their native village. Though they admire life in the U.S., where "everyone is equal before the law," they are proud of their Hutsul traditions, and continue to give time and energy to Hutsul rituals and customs, even though each has a daily occupation (except for Ivan Zelenchuk, who at 57 is now retired). Some are busy in construction work or toiling as a blacksmith, as in the case of fiddler Mykhailo Tafiychuk, who also creates musical instruments for the group and the tools required to make them. Mykola Zelenchuk builds Hutsul log homes and fabricates Hutsul costumes for the troupe.

Like groups of singers in other sections of Kryvorivnia, they are presently spending 12 days in ritual singing, trudging through the snow from house to house, each holding a wooden walking stick (topirets) and asking householders, "May we enter your house?"

Because Hutsul villagers believe that the spring and harvest will not come unless their winter songs are heard in every household, the koliadnyky spend hours in each home, intoning long, repetitive songs that exhibit traces of the worship of sun, ancestors and nature. Addressing each member of the family separately in song, they wish prosperity and hard work for the master of the house, skill and diligence for the lady of the house, great beauty for young ladies, and heroic deeds, courage and strength for young men.

As is customary, Ivan Zelenchuk leads the singing. Before his group leaves a dwelling, he extends traditional felicitations to the master and mistress of the house, wishing for their happiness, good health and prosperity.

"Still the River..."

(Continued from page 13)

Ankeny, Anne Ehrhart, Leela Ehrhart, Mary Kalyna, Chrissy Steele and Petia Zamfirova) from Philadelphia, Nadia Tarnawsky and Brandon Vance from Cleveland, the Shepko family from upstate New York and the Pavlovsky family from New Jersey. Ms. Juslin is from Finland, Kat Yew is of Korean background, and, of course, the Koliadnyky from Kryvorivnia, arrived from Ukraine. One cannot imagine the time expended and the miles traveled by these talented performers to come to New York City for rehearsals and then to perform in this piece. They all deserve special recognition for their efforts. Most of all, Ms. Tkacz must be lauded for assembling such a talented ensemble and inspiring them to perform at their best.



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Russia's gas...

(Continued from page 2)

tion (UNIAN press agency, January 8).

Then, to make matters worse for Gazprom and Mr. Putin's disinformation operation, the world press reported on January 8 that "Russia said on Thursday it would restore gas supplies to Europe through Ukraine, once international monitors were in place..." (Ukrayinska Pravda, January 8). If Gazprom's original claim that Ukraine had shut down the flow of gas to Europe were true, how could Russia now be ready to resume shipments of gas that it claimed not to have shut down in the first place? Would Russian troops move into Ukrainian territory, occupy the pipelines in that country and open the nonexistent valves?

Disinformation operation No. 3: – Corrupt Ukrainian politicians are attempting to keep RosUkrEnergo in business. On January 8 Mr. Putin told a press conference in Moscow that high-level Ukrainian officials were intent on keeping RUE in business in order to steal profits from the company to fund their forthcoming presidential election campaign; and this, according to Mr. Putin, played a role in the gas conflict with Russia (Ukrayinska Pravda, January 8).

Anyone familiar with the history of RUE will recall that it was Mr. Putin, along with then-Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, who oversaw and approved the creation of RUE at a meeting in Yalta in July 2004. Both men knew the ownership structure of the company and presumably had been briefed on the role, if any, that Russian organized crime played in the company. It is also common knowledge that in January 2006, during

the first blockade of Russian gas to Europe, the Russian side (and Mr. Putin personally) insisted that RUE become the intermediary in the Central Asian gas trade to Ukraine.

It is also on record that Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko has been calling for the ouster of RUE from the Ukrainian gas market since late 2004 and her greatest opponents have been Mr. Medvedev of Gazprom and Russian Prime Minister Putin.

Furthermore, at a press conference on January 8, Mr. Putin stated, "From our side, 50 percent of RUE belongs to Gazprom, and the Ukrainian side belongs to certain persons we do not know, except that we were shown Mr. [Dmytro] Firtash once. I never met with him" (Ukrayinska Pravda, January 8).

How could Gazprom, a Russian state-owned company listed on the London Exchange and closely monitored by Mr. Putin and the Russian government, enter into an agreement to create a company, 50 percent of which was owned by persons it claims not to know? Was due diligence conducted by Gazprom to learn more about its mysterious partners? Did Dmitry Medvedev, a lawyer and the chairman of the board of Gazprom at the time, know this? If not, he was negligent in his duties. If, on the other hand, the now-president of Russia knew and remained silent, he, along with Mr. Putin, was part of a criminal conspiracy to defraud the Russian people of services and tax revenues for the Russian budget (www.gazpromukrainefacts.com).

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A war like no other....

(Continued from page 2)

let Europe freeze (Moscow Echo, January 7; Vedomosti, January 11).

Here lies another set of Russia's miscalculations that involve European reaction and responses. Gazprom assumed that its position was rock solid and that it would be clear for the European consumers where the blame belonged. Mr. Putin believed that his relentless efforts at clarifying the content of the 2006 "gas skirmish" would bear fruit so that the European leaders would not listen to the predictable choir of commentary about Russia's "imperial ambitions" and "gas blackmail." He misunderstood, however, that despite all the irritation about the political mess in Kyiv, for the Europeans Ukraine remained a democratic country that deserved a measure of support.

He also failed to see how deeply the August war with Georgia had undermined trust between Russia and the EU, despite the resumption of dialogue. The key point for Mr. Putin was that Germany, his "gravity center" in European politics, was not affected by the gas cuts; but he did not expect the very even-handed mediation by the Czechs who hold the rotating EU presidency (Moscow Echo, January 10).

European criticism of Russia's inflexible behavior, unpleasant as it was, has not changed the basic assumption in Moscow that Russia simply cannot lose this "gas war." Tactically, this confidence stems from the reality that Europe is highly vulnerable to interruptions in the gas flow, while Russia has huge reserves of cash and can therefore ignore the delays in the flow of money. Strategically, this asymmetric dependence is strengthened by the nearly certain proposition that Europe, whatever dreams about "diversification" it might entertain, has no alternative to Russian gas, since the Caspian production is largely booked by Gazprom and the

nontraditional sources of energy are unavailable in the time of crisis.

Although Messrs. Putin and Miller keep repeating the thesis that the "epoch of cheap gas is over," they have been perfectly aware that with the nine-month lag following the collapse of oil prices, the benchmark European price is scheduled to drop from the current peak above \$500 per 1,000 cubic meters to below \$200 in the second half of the year (RIA-Novosti, November 12; www.gazeta.ru, January 11). It appears plausible that Russia aims to revise the old formula that connects oil and gas prices and replace it with a Soviet-style calculation based on rising production costs.

Mr. Putin never admits mistakes and will certainly insist that the tough line taken against Ukraine's cheating and bluffing has given Russia a "victory." Public opinion, however, would hardly be much impressed with this seasonal brawl, particularly as the end of the long holidays marks the start of layoffs and bankruptcies (Ezhednevny Zhurnal, January 11). Nor would Europe relax about its energy supplies, as Gazprom has further built on its reputation as an irresponsible bully whose favorite business methods are arm-twisting and hostage-taking.

Waging a "gas war" against the background of a deepening crisis, Russia has pushed itself further into international isolation and has fooled itself, maybe for the last time, that it can make the neighbors respect it. Mr. Putin has delivered unsteady and blundering leadership, President Dmitry Medvedev was demonstratively irrelevant in conducting this war, and the notion of "stability of prosperity" that remains the core value of their regime has evaporated.

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ANALYSIS

Gazprom's gas price shell game

by Roman Kupchinsky

Eurasia Daily Monitor

January 8

How does Russia's Gazprom set the price for the gas it sells its customers in the former Soviet republics and the European Union? Few, if any, managers in Gazprom can answer this question with any measure of certainty. The formula for calculating this seemingly capricious price – if there is such a formula – remains a highly confidential "commercial secret" closely guarded by Gazprom and its customers. For years, opacity, secrecy and backroom deals seem to have been the main factors used to establish the price for Russian gas.

During the current "gas war" between Ukraine and Gazprom, Gazprom managers and Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin have managed to quote four different prices for gas in less than a month ranging from \$250 to \$450 for 1,000 cubic meters (tcm). Gazprom has been playing fast and furious with numbers, while accusing the Ukrainian buyers of "stealing gas" without offering a shred of hard evidence that this theft actually took place.

In December 2008 Alexei Miller, the CEO of Gazprom, announced that beginning in January 2009 Ukraine would pay \$450 per tcm of Russian gas. During the December negotiations between Ukraine and Russia, the Russians set the price at \$250, a difference of \$200 from what Mr. Miller initially stated. How was this possible? Did the price of oil, which is indexed to the price of gas, suddenly drop in a few days to warrant this change? The oil price did indeed go into free fall in the second half of 2008, but the indexing lags six to seven months before it has an impact on gas prices.

Mr. Miller, it appears, was talking on behalf of his alter-ego, Vladimir Putin, who at that time had decided to punish the Ukrainians for various pro-Western political sins. Mr. Putin quoted the absurd price of \$450, thereby showing that he was not fully versed in gas price formation.

Mr. Putin kept juggling his figures. On January 2 ITAR-TASS reported that Russia had updated its contract to purchase gas from Turkmenistan "at world prices" and would now pay \$340 per tcm. "If transit prices are added to this price, the price of gas for Ukraine will be \$380 per 1,000 cubic meters," the Russian prime minister said – a far cry from the \$450 he had quoted a day earlier.

When the Ukrainian side rejected the \$250 price, Mr. Miller weighed in again and stated that since Ukraine had rejected a reasonable offer (one that had little in

common with the wellhead price for gas in Russia), it would now be forced to pay \$418. A few days later Mr. Miller (possibly on instructions from Mr. Putin), with no market justification for his actions, raised the price by \$32, back to \$450.

According to Gazprom spokesmen, the average price for Russian gas in the fourth quarter of 2008 for EU countries was \$460 to \$520 per tcm (Kommersant, November 11, 2008). Yet, the former Ukrainian vice minister of foreign affairs minister responsible for energy negotiations with Russia, Oleksander Chalii, told the BBC's Ukrainian Service on January 6 that German companies buying gas from Russia had paid \$290 per tcm in 2008. Why were they getting such a deal? Which countries in the EU were paying the alleged price of more than \$500 for Russian gas in 2008?

The answer is unknown because of Gazprom's non-transparent pricing policy, the use of murky intermediaries and the self-inflicted silence of its customers who refuse to disclose at what price and for what political payback they purchase Russian gas.

One possible explanation for the chaos in Russian gas prices might be that the Russian government headed by Prime Minister Putin and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev are co-conspirators in a criminal scheme to defraud European consumers. By first artificially raising gas prices and then attempting to raise prices even higher by cutting off most gas deliveries in the middle of a freezing winter, their hope might be to create a panic-driven market in which spot prices for Russian gas would go through the roof.

Can such tactics be prevented? The first step should be to legally require all energy companies to publish the price they pay for gas and the terms of the purchase contracts. A breath of fresh air in the gas business would help prevent situations like the January 2009 gas cutoff from recurring.

Gazprom and most other gas companies are infamous for hiding the terms under which they sell their product to different companies. The practice of calling the terms of almost any transaction a "commercial secret" is more often than not a vehicle for bestowing favors on certain countries or key individuals in return for their support. It goes this way: We give you a better price for gas; you give us your souls.

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NOTES ON PEOPLE

Physical therapist, chiropractor join forces

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – On Sunday, January 25, from 2 p.m. through 5 p.m., an open house will be hosted by Volodymyr Stashchyshyn, a registered physical therapist (RPT) with eight years of experience, and Petrusia Kotlar, a licensed doctor of chiropractic medicine (DC) with over 25 years of experience, whose new offices, Academy Physical Therapy, and Acute Back and Wellness Clinic, offers clients a range of services.

Mr. Stashchyshyn holds a master's

degree in physical therapy from the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey's School of Health Related Professions and specializes in orthopedics and spine rehab.

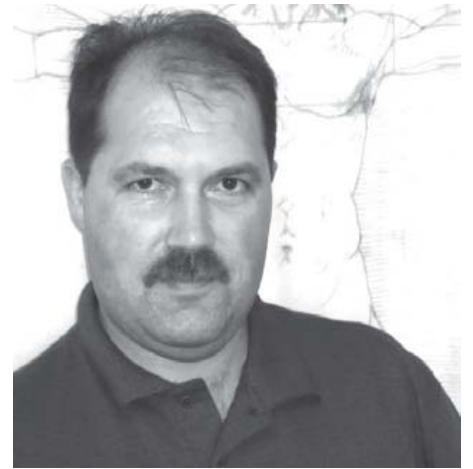
Dr. Kotlar has an office in New York City, where she provides conservative spinal manipulation, physical therapy modalities, nutritional and herbal advice, and remedial corrective exercises. The office specializes in flexion/distraction technique for acute lower back conditions.

Using leading-edge methods, the practitioners assist patients recovering from stroke, and motor vehicle accidents, cor-

(Continued on page 21)



Dr. Petrusia Kotlar



Volodymyr Stashchyshyn



Taissa Hamulak



Svitlana Hrabowsky



Deanna Klapichak



Lida Kowinko



Olga Kushnir



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Maya Stawnychy

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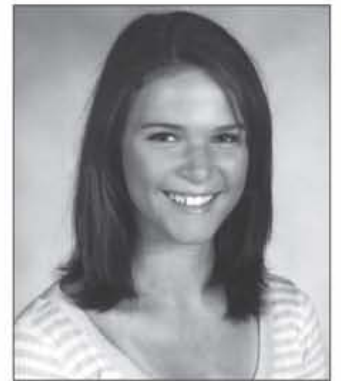
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Вступ разом з вечерею: 110.00 дол.
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Ivanka Farrell



Larissa Semegen



Nina Lupan



Alexa Patti



Ivanka Peleschuk



Natalia Pylypyszyn

OUT AND ABOUT

- January 24
Washington
Concert by Vitaly Samoshko, featuring piano works of Scarlatti, Schubert, Beethoven and Chopin, Embassy of Austria, 202-625-2361
- January 24
Warren, MI
Malanka, featuring music by Zahrava, Ukrainian Youth Organizations of Metro Detroit, Ukrainian Cultural Center, 586-757-1980 or 586-558-8508
- January 24
Montreal
Malanka, Ukrainian American Youth Association and Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, Crowne Plaza Hotel, 514-409-0179 or 514-502-6237
- January 24
Bethesda, MD
Malanka, featuring music by Svitanok, Ukrainian Association of Washington, Marriott Bethesda, 240-426-053 or 410-696-2464
- January 24
Dedham, MA
Malanka, featuring music by Na Zdorovya, Ukrainian American Educational Center of Boston, Church of St. John Damascus, 508-245-1890 or skostecki@comcast.net
- January 24
Buffalo, NY
Malanka, featuring music by Vechirka, Ukrainian American Youth Association, Ukrainian Cultural Center Dnipro, 716-847-1281
- January 25
Parsippany, NJ
Open House, Academy Physical Therapy and Acute Back & Wellness Clinic, Vladimir Stashchyshyn and Petrusia Kotlar, 212-599-2554 or Drpatk@aol.com
- January 25 through
September 6
New York
Art exhibit, "A Generous Vision: A Major Gift of Works by Mychajlo Moroz," The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110
- January 27
New York
Literary evening with Viktor Neborak, "The Flying Head and Other Poems," Columbia University, 212-854-4697
- January 29
Washington
Poetry readings by Viktor Neborak, "The Flying Head and Other Poems," Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, 202-691-4100
- January 29
Washington
Musical program, "Carol of the Bells," Arlington Sister City - Ivano Frankivsk Committee, Embassy of Ukraine, chrystia@arlingtonsisitercity.org or www.arlingtonsisitercity.org
- January 30
Washington
Lecture by Henry E. Hale, "Democracy, Autocracy and Revolution in the Former Soviet Union," Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, 202-691-4000
- January 31
New Britain, CT
Malanka, featuring music by Zolota Bulava and Hrim, Zolotij Promin, St. George's Hall, 860-738-2303
- January 31
Whippany, NJ
Presentation of debutantes, featuring music by Tempo, Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization - Newark Branch, Hanover Marriott, 908-647-0758
- January 31
New York
Memorial concert for Alexander Slobodyanik, Merkin Concert Hall at Kaufman Center, 212-501-3330
- January 31
North Port, FL
Zabava and silent auction for scholarship fundraiser, Ukrainian American Club of Southwest Florida, St. Andrew's Religious and Cultural Center, 941-613-5923
- February 3
Ottawa
Ramon John Hnatyshyn Memorial Lecture by Sen. Raynell Andrychuk, "The Famine (Holodomor) and the Political Battle for Recognition," University of Ottawa, 613-562-5800 ext. 3692

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. 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. Please send e-mail to mdubas@ukrweekly.com.

The gas war...

(Continued from page 7)

Belarus, buy gas on the cheap. ...

"For the new Obama Administration, Mr. Putin has offered yet another tutorial in its coming challenges in Eurasia. The President-elect's German friends will urge him to be nice to Mr. Putin. But in the Senate and on the campaign trail, Mr. Obama said he wanted to let Ukraine and Georgia make their free choice to join the Western camp, starting with a roadmap for NATO membership. The best American response to the latest Russian provocations would be to restate that desire."

"Gazprom/Ukraine," editorial, *The Financial Times*, January 6:

"... It is time Kiev [sic] and Moscow ended annual price wrangles and signed a long-term contract similar to Russia's agreements with Western Europe, where a formula links gas prices, with a six- to nine-month lag, to oil prices.

"Their failure to do so results partly

from politics. It suits Gazprom's Kremlin masters to put Ukraine in a position where it can be portrayed as a flaky partner for the European Union. Supply disruptions in half a dozen European countries resulting from the dispute with Ukraine bolster arguments for a controversial alternative pipeline Gazprom is building under the Baltic Sea to Germany. ..."

"Settle the Ukraine gas dispute," editorial, *The Financial Times*, January 6:

"The European Union is, rather belatedly, waking up to the fact that the Russia-Ukraine gas dispute is more than a bilateral issue for Kiev [sic] and Moscow.

"While Brussels would still prefer the two sides to settle the quarrel themselves, it is now considering the 'extreme option' of a three-way EU-Russia-Ukraine summit. ...

"The Union has dragged its feet mainly to avoid irritating Moscow, which wanted a free hand to bully Kiev [sic]. But now that even Russia-friendly Germany is suffering supply cuts, the priorities must change, not least in Berlin. ..."

Notes on people...

(Continued from page 20)

rect posture and balance, and help regain full range of motion.

Academy Physical Therapy, and Acute Back and Wellness Clinic, are fundamentally different from many other therapy clinics in their approach to their practice, which helps the patient with a speedy recovery period through commitment to high quality service rather than the size of their client base.

When not in the office, Dr. Kotlar is a member of the Spartanky sorority of Plast

Ukrainian Scouting Organization and is a member of the Social Club Committee at the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey.

Mr. Stashchyshyn reminds persons who are involved in accidents that they do not need a prescription from a doctor for a consultation or to begin a therapeutic program. The facility accepts all major insurance, including Medicare.

For more information, readers may telephone 973-449-1394 or e-mail DrPatK@aol.com. Academy Physical Therapy, and Acute Back and Wellness Clinic are located on the second floor of 2200 Route 10, Parsippany, N.J. 07054.



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<h3>NEW CARS</h3> <h3>10% Down</h3>	<table style="width: 100%;"> <tr><td>3 Year:</td><td>3.25%</td></tr> <tr><td>4 Year:</td><td>4.25%</td></tr> <tr><td>5 Year:</td><td>5.00%</td></tr> <tr><td>6 Year:</td><td>5.00%</td></tr> </table>	3 Year:	3.25%	4 Year:	4.25%	5 Year:	5.00%	6 Year:	5.00%
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Unique collection features Ukrainian-attired creatures



LAKE WYLIE, S.C. – Gerald and Stephanie Orlick of South Carolina have collected Christmas mice by Annalee for more than 20 years. Their collection of the little creations is quite different, however, as 30 mice are dressed up in native Ukrainian costumes complete with various accessories, such as a “shablia” (sabre) and a “bulava” (mace). Mr. Orlick says the biggest challenge was finding a tiny gold cross and making a miniature necklace (“koral”). Seen above are Kozak Myshka and Myshka Maryna, which were lovingly created by the Orlicks. Also in the unique collection are mouse carolers and mouse villagers who inhabit (What else?) a Ukrainian village. Thus, the Orlicks have found a very different way to wish one and all “Veselykh Sviat” (Happy Holidays). Incidentally, the Orlicks’ Christmas collection was recently featured in their local newspaper, the Lake Wylie Pilot.

Kalyna Dancers perform at Wisconsin holiday fair



MILWAUKEE, Wis. – The Kalyna Ukrainian Youth Dancers, under the direction of Amy Mulhall, Tanya Franckowiak, Marianna Kit, Luke Albrecht and Russ Bachmaga, performed on November 23, 2008, at the Holiday Folk Fair. The children, ranging in age from 6 to 14, performed a lively dance, winning the loudest applause. The adult dance group, Dnipro, and the teen dance group, Promin, also performed at the three-day event on November 21-23. Held at the Wisconsin State Fair Park, the Holiday Folk Fair brings together the cultures of many ethnic groups. Among the features are an international bazaar, interactive exhibits, an international kitchen and dance stages. The Holiday Folk Fair International is produced by the International Institute of Wisconsin, a not-for-profit social service organization dedicated to racial, cultural and ethnic understanding.

– Raisa Markiw Horstmeier

St. George students present afternoon Christmas concert



NEW YORK – On December 14, 2008, students of the St. George School and Academy presented an afternoon Christmas concert of songs, poetry and instrumental music at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church in Manhattan. Parents and guests enjoyed Ukrainian and American Christmas carols sung by student choirs and student soloists; violin, accordion and sopilka performances; poetry recitations; and a final Nativity tableau complete with shepherd and three kings. The Very Rev. Bernard Panczuk presided over the concert. Anna Bachynska was the choir director.

– Adrian Bryttan

Parma cathedral introduces its five new altar servers



PARMA, Ohio – On Sunday, November 23, at the conclusion of the divine liturgy, the clergy at St. Vladimir’s Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral introduced five new boys to the ranks of altar servers at the cathedral. Each boy was presented with an icon as a gift from the senior chapter of the Ukrainian Orthodox League and a certificate of recognition signed by the clergy. Special prayers were read for their health and well-being and they were blessed with holy water. Seen above (from left) are: Andriy Kinash, Orest Mahlay, Jonathan Greaves, Mykailo Samerdak, Severyn Kushmeliuk, Protodeacon Ihor Mahlay, the Very Rev. Michael Strapko, the Rev. John R. Nakonachny and the Rev. Michael Hontaruk.

St. Nicholas traditions live on in Ukrainian community

by Roman Yereniuk

Many Ukrainians celebrate St. Nicholas Day, which occurs according to happens on the Julian Calendar on December 19. (According to the Gregorian calendar the day falls on December 6). This day is devoted to gift giving and love for children – this is the original date of the gift-giving season, which now is now moved to Christmas day.

The saint is actually a historical figure from the Third and Fourth centuries. St. Nicholas was born in 270 and died in 346, on December 19 – hence his feast day. St. Nicholas was a

prominent bishop (in the city of Myr in present day Turkey) of the early Church and was a miracle Worker, thus he is often called St. Nicholas the Miracle-worker. St. Nicholas, as tradition has it, was a great

believer in the youth and secretly gave many gifts to children, especially the poor.

The Ukrainian community also honors St. Nicholas with concerts. Many parishes, Ukrainian schools and Ukrainian youth organizations host a St. Nicholas concert on his feast day or the closest Sunday. Songs to St. Nicholas are sung, verses are recited and his biography is read. At the end St. Nicholas, dressed like a Byzantine rite bishops, expresses his love of children and, of course, distributes gifts. This has become a classic Ukrainian celebration wherever Ukrainians live.



A postage stamp from Ukraine depicts St. Nicholas.

St. Nicholas visits Hillside, N.J.



HILLSIDE, N.J. – On Sunday, December 7, 2008, St. Nicholas visited the children and adults at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hillside, N.J., as he was passing through Union County. The children – Julia Pelesz, Ariana and Julianna Shatynski, Sonya Khedr, Sofia, Maria and John Soroka, and Ariadna and Sophika Stockert – joined adults to present a beautiful bilingual program in honor of St. Nicholas. The Revs. Joseph Szupa and Vasyl Vladyka led the audience in prayer and Christmas caroling. Russ Pencak served as liaison to St. Nicholas. Above, St. Nicholas is seen with the local angels.

St. Nicholas pays a visit to St. Nicholas School



PASSAIC, N.J. – St. Nicholas came to visit the children of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic School in honor of the Feast Day of St. Nicholas, December 6. The school's patron saint made a special appearance in church after divine liturgy on December 5, 2008. With warm holiday wishes, he greeted each child and gave them traditional chocolate treats and candy canes. The happy students enjoyed the annual visit of their beloved saint and returned to their classes filled with the spirit of Christmas.

– Tosia Oliver and Natalka Doblosky

Mishanyna

To solve this month's Mishanyna find the names of the months of the year in Ukrainian and English – the first six months in English, and the second six in Ukrainian – hidden in the Mishanyna grid. Bonus: What is the Ukrainian name for the first month of the year? Find that also in the grid.

JANUARY	MAY	VERESEN
FEBRUARY	JUNE	ZHOVTEN
MARCH	LYPEN	LYSTOPAD
APRIL	SERPEN	HRUDEN

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

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, February 14

CHICAGO: The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) Illinois Chapter requests the honor of your company at the traditional banquet and ball with presentation of the 2009 debutantes in the Grand Ballroom of the Palmer House Hilton Hotel. Cocktails are at 6 p.m. and dinner is at 7 p.m.; evening attire is requested. Participation is limited to guests age 17 and over. Only guests with a pre-paid ticket may view the presentation of debutantes. Tickets for the banquet and ball are \$150 per person; \$40 per person for the

ball only. All proceeds from this year's ball will be donated to the Foundation of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America. A special room rate of \$149 has been arranged for those interested in staying at the Palmer House Hilton during the UMANA debutante ball. In order to obtain the discounted rate, reservations must be made before January 30. Please mention the "Ukrainian Medical Association" when making your reservations; telephone, 312-726-7500. For information call Katia Hrynewycz, 312-282-7017, or e-mail UMANADEB2009@aol.com.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

Preview of Events is a listing of community events open to the public. It is a service provided at minimal cost (\$20 per listing) 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@ukrweekly.com or Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054; fax, 973-644-9510. **NB: If e-mailing, please do not send items as attachments; simply type the text into the body of the e-mail message.**

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