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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Former chief of staff to Yushchenko says voters will opt for new leadership

Economic crisis deepens; protests reported in Ukraine



Yaro Bihun

Oleh Rybachuk discusses the political and economic crises in Ukraine as it looks forward to changing its leadership in the 2010 presidential elections. Sitting next to him is the discussion moderator Markian Bilynsky, vice-president of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation.

by Yaro Bihun

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

WASHINGTON – President Viktor Yushchenko's former chief of staff Oleh Rybachuk said that the Ukrainian people will opt for new leadership when they go to the polls in the next presidential election in 2010.

Speaking at the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation headquarters here on February 24, Mr. Rybachuk said that Ukraine's current three major political figures – President Viktor Yushchenko, former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko – are seen by the public as sharing responsibility for the major economic and political problems the country now faces and have little chance of being elected.

Since Ukraine's independence, Mr. Rybachuk has served with Mr. Yushchenko at the National Bank of Ukraine and in the top positions in the prime minister's and presidential offices, but now considers himself an independent.

He came to Washington last week in his capacity as the chairman of the Suspilnist Foundation, which promotes Ukraine's participation in Euro-Atlantic structures.

Mr. Rybachuk recalled that when he visited Washington five years ago, during the Orange Revolution presidential election campaign that brought President Yushchenko to power, he could not have imagined how five years later he would be explaining how things did not work out the way they had planned for Ukraine; how Mr. Yushchenko today has a better relationship with his presidential opponent Mr. Yanukovich than with his Orange Revolution partner, Prime

Minister Yulia Tymoshenko; how the president's ratings would be one-tenth of what they were then and that he would be fifth in the polls for the coming presidential election; and that he – Mr. Rybachuk – would be speaking not as an Orange politician but as an independent.

"Economically, Ukraine is doing very badly," Mr. Rybachuk said. "On top of that we have a political crisis," which has been there since the Orange Revolution. Adding the global economic crisis to the mix, he said, the situation has become "really threatening."

There is a very low level of public

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by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – As the dysfunctional Ukrainian government scrambled to put out economic fires, the hryvnia slid further against the U.S. dollar this week, leading thousands of Ukrainians to organize protests and demand the resignation of President Viktor Yushchenko.

On February 24, Kyiv street kiosks were offering 9.20 hrv per \$1 as the value of the Ukrainian currency fell about 10 percent from the prior week.

Sharing the frustrations of common Ukrainians were global bankers, who held back the second tranche of a promised \$1.9 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), citing the ongoing conflict between the Presidential Secretariat led by President Yushchenko and the Cabinet of Ministers led by Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko.

"The political situation is becoming less and less positive in light of the upcoming presidential election," Ceyla Pazarbasioglu, the IMF mission head to Ukraine, said on February 26.

"And until quite recently, domestic economic indicators are more and more complicated and serious. In light of such conflicts, it's more and more complicated to avoid the consequences of the financial-economic crisis," she said.

Political consensus between the Presidential Secretariat and the Cabinet is needed to meet the key IMF demand that Parliament pass a revised 2009 budget that is more realistic than what was approved in December 2008, particularly cutting the 3 percent deficit.

While Mr. Yushchenko has urged Ms.

Tymoshenko to revise the 2009 budget, she has declined to do so, stating her preference for more effectively using current funds, as well as those derived from local taxes.

"It's absolutely correct that it's better not to review the budget, which we're planning to examine in May, as much as any review of the budget is a reduction in revenues, not a supplement," she told a February 25 meeting of oblast council chairs at the Cabinet of Ministers.

Hampering the government's efforts to form a plan and cope with the crisis was the February 12 resignation of former Finance Minister Viktor Pynzenyk, who has yet to be replaced.

Meanwhile, the controversial chair of the National Bank of Ukraine, Volodymyr Stelmakh, who was supposed to return from his vacation on February 23, decided to extend it to March 9. The vacation began on January 15.

Subsequently, the Ukrainian government has yet to draft any crisis plan, not only resulting from the lack of consensus, but also because conditions are changing rapidly and unpredictably, political observers said.

"Above all, the government is currently resolving the immediate problems of filling the budget and making payments, particularly Gazprom and pensions," said Volodymyr Fesenko, a political expert with the Penta Center for Applied Political Research in Kyiv. "But there hasn't been a certain consensus or agreed-upon view of what a crisis plan should be, even within the Tymoshenko team, which Pynzenyk's resignation was proof of."

Instead the Cabinet led by Ms. Tymoshenko is attempting to extinguish

(Continued on page 8)

Kyiv warns Russian envoy about disparaging remarks

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Tensions flared between Ukraine and the Russian Federation after Foreign Affairs Minister Volodymyr Ohryzko warned Russian Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin about disparaging remarks he made concerning President Viktor Yushchenko and the Ukrainian people.

At a February 17 meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ohryzko cautioned Mr. Chernomyrdin that further remarks, such as those published on February 11 in the pro-Russian daily newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda, could lead to a persona non grata declaration, making him liable to expulsion from Ukraine.

(Continued on page 4)



Maria Masich

Russian Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin.



Zenon Zawada

Foreign Affairs Minister of Ukraine Volodymyr Ohryzko.

ANALYSIS

EU foreign ministers discuss Eastern Partnership initiative

by Ahto Lobjakas
RFE/RL

BRUSSELS – Next month, the European Union is expected to offer six countries an upgrade of its European Neighborhood Policy in a new arrangement it is calling the Eastern Partnership, an initiative tailored as a response to growing Russian assertiveness in what EU officials used to call “the shared neighborhood.”

After a meeting on February 23 in Brussels of EU foreign ministers, EU External Relations Commissioner Benita Ferrero Waldner said Russia’s recent spats with Georgia and Ukraine have forced the EU to react.

“I think that after the [Russian]-Georgian war and the Russia-Ukraine [gas] crisis we see that there is a clear imperative [of] stepping up our game in the Eastern neighborhood and, therefore, we have a crucial interest in political and economic stability [there],” she said.

The Eastern Partnership targets six of the EU’s immediate eastern neighbors – Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and, provisionally, Belarus.

Czech Foreign Minister Karel Schwarzenberg, speaking for the current EU presidency, said after the meeting that the first formal discussion of the concept had produced an agreement on its basic aspects.

“There’s been a general consensus that the concept of an Eastern Partnership is viable,” he said, “and [that] the concluding of association agreements, deep and comprehensive free trade areas, and creating a

common platform for issues of mutual interest such as energy security, is the way forward.”

The final shape of the project will emerge at an EU summit on March 19-20. It is clear at this stage already that the partnership offer will not include EU membership. The partners will be offered eventual free trade, visa-free travel and close energy cooperation – assuming they harmonize their laws with those of the EU’s, reform their economies and demonstrate democratic progress.

The EU will engage its partner countries in a “give and take,” Ms. Ferrero Waldner said. “Like [I] always said, it offers incentives to perform and to reform. It’s more for more.”

Cautiously looking fast

The EU will throw in an extra 600 million euros (\$770 million) for its Eastern neighbors between 2010 and 2013. Between 2007 and 2013, the EU has earmarked 11.2 billion euros for its Eastern and Southern neighbors. Two-thirds of the 11.2 billion will be spent in the South, one-third in the East. This reflects the balance of power within the EU, where member-states interested in closer links with the south have so far dominated.

Draft documents seen by RFE/RL ahead of the February 23 meeting suggest tensions linger within the bloc between proponents of the East and South. Not all are keen on full free trade with the Eastern partners, predominantly fearing agricultural competi-

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NATO ministers seek to keep door open to Ukraine, Georgia

RFE/RL

Talks by NATO defense ministers at an informal gathering in Poland have focused on ways to keep alive the membership hopes of two former Soviet republics: Ukraine and Georgia.

Ukrainian Defense Minister Yuriy Yekhanurov, speaking to reporters in Krakow, pleaded for NATO to keep its door open to new members.

“We feel that it is extremely important for all of us that we maintain the principle of NATO’s open door, which gives each separate country not only a chance to guarantee its security within the network of the collective security system but – what is even more important – divide mutual responsibility for its formation and guarantee,” Mr. Yekhanurov said.

The talks on February 20 included meetings of the NATO-Ukraine Commission and the NATO-Georgia Commission. The commissions include defense ministers from NATO’s 26 members, as well as their counterparts from Kyiv and Tbilisi.

NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, speaking before talks at the NATO-Ukraine Commission, addressed Kyiv’s bid to join NATO.

“We have today a timely opportunity to review Ukraine’s defense and security sector reform efforts, and consider ways in which the alliance can continue to support its preparations for NATO membership,” Mr. de Hoop Scheffer said. “NATO remains ready to assist Ukraine in undertaking comprehensive reforms in its

defense and security structures. We are determined to continue to develop this strategic partnership.”

Aftermath of August war

During talks at the NATO-Georgia Commission, Georgian officials and NATO defense ministers discussed the aftermath of the war last August between Georgia and Russia. Those talks also focused on NATO’s recovery assistance to Georgia, as well as on the issue of Russian military bases on Georgian territory.

In the face of Russian opposition to membership for Kyiv and Tbilisi, NATO so far has held back on offering the two countries formal invitations to join the alliance. Moscow sees NATO’s eastward expansion as an encroachment in what it considers its historic sphere of influence.

However, NATO has offered to increase military and political cooperation to help both Kyiv and Tbilisi achieve their goal of eventual membership.

Mr. de Hoop Scheffer noted that Russia and NATO continue to be at odds over issues linked to the war between Georgia and Russia. But Mr. de Hoop Scheffer says those differences will not stop NATO from continuing to meet with Russian officials under the auspices of the NATO-Russia Council.

“We’ve seen the recognition [by Moscow] of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. We see the intention of establishing [Russian] bases there. We still have the problems of the access to Abkhazia and

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NEWSBRIEFS

Kyiv to have new emblem, flag

KYIV – Ukraine’s capital city will get a new emblem and a new flag for this year’s Day of Kyiv (celebrated in May), the deputy chairman of the Kyiv City State Administration, Serhii Rudyk, stated on February 20, during a meeting of the working group that is preparing the design for the emblem and the flag. The Kyiv City Council had decided back in 1995 to adopt a Kyiv emblem, but at present it has only a description of the capital’s main symbols. And, despite the fact that the figure of St. Michael the Archangel is used in all of Kyiv’s official symbols, to date there is no single, approved design for Kyiv’s emblem and flag. Thus, the working group “has a concrete task: to develop renewed and modern graphics of Kyiv’s emblem and flag and to submit them for the approval of the Kyiv Council,” said Mr. Rudyk. Earlier, the chairman of the Kyiv City Council’s Culture and Tourism Commission, Oleksander Bryhynets, had said that projects of another Kyiv symbol, its anthem, would be considered in February. “We continue receiving songs. This year, the song ‘My Kyiv,’ [Kyieve Mii] was submitted by the author’s relatives, who own the intellectual property rights. I hope it will be considered,” Mr. Bryhynets noted. (Ukrinform)

Medvedev congratulates Yushchenko

KYIV – Russian President Dmitry Medvedev congratulated his Ukrainian counterpart Viktor Yushchenko on the occasion of his 55th birthday, according to the press service of the Ukrainian president. “Russia wants to see Ukraine as a stable, democratic and prosperous country with which we are ready to develop cooperation on a mutually beneficial and pragmatic basis. I am confident that such an approach meets the vital interests of our nations,” the press service quoted Mr. Medvedev as saying in his February 23 telegram. (Ukrinform)

Bill on legal status of foreigners

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on February 20 approved a bill on amending Article 26 of the Ukrainian law on the legal status of foreigners and individuals without

citizenship. A total of 233 national deputies backed the measure. According to amendments to this document, foreigners and individuals without citizenship would be able to leave Ukraine for countries of their origin or other countries not only with valid passports, but also with certificates of foreigners or individuals without citizenship if these documents are recognized in accordance with Ukraine’s international agreements on readmission. (Ukrinform)

More peacekeepers for Afghanistan

KYIV – Ukraine’s Defense Ministry announced plans to increase the number of its peacekeepers in Afghanistan, Defense Minister Yuriy Yekhanurov said on February 23. “I think we will shortly propose a small group of specialists to work in Afghanistan,” he said. According to Mr. Yekhanurov, the military command from Lithuania had approached Ukraine’s Ministry of Defense with a proposal to augment the number of Ukrainian specialists in Afghanistan. Mr. Yekhanurov noted that the matter does not involve dispatching a military contingent, but only military experts. Currently there are 10 Ukrainian military specialists in Afghanistan with the International Assistance Force in Afghanistan (IAFA). Ukrainian peacekeeping personnel are part of the Lithuanian group for reconstruction of the Afghan province of Ghor. (Ukrinform)

Secretariat comments on hryvnia rate

KYIV – The Presidential Secretariat believes that the current exchange rate of the national currency is unfounded, said the first vice-chairman of the Secretariat, Oleksander Shlapak. “I am sure that the dollar rate of 9 hrv is groundless. This is most probably caused by the uncertainty the whole of Ukrainian society is experiencing, both politically and economically, as well as program ambiguity. I am convinced that if we managed to take a common stand and pass an action plan, we would calm down passions. Otherwise psychological factors will be exerting pressure, as is the case now,” he stated. Mr. Shlapak also emphasized that there are no economic grounds

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The post-Soviet generation: a roundtable with Luhansk university students

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

The post-Soviet generation: This year's college freshmen, most of whom were born in 1991, represent the first generation of Ukrainians to have never known the Soviet Union. The Weekly conducted roundtable interviews with freshmen in Luhansk, Kyiv and Lviv to examine their views, acquired mostly from family, school and the mass media.

LUHANSK, Ukraine – The Soviet Union shouldn't be condemned and neither should the monuments of its leaders be removed, said Yulia Chernyk, an angel-faced freshman who was born three months before Ukraine's declaration of independence on August 24, 1991.

Rather, the names of streets and neighborhoods ought to remind Luhansk residents of Soviet heroes, said Maria Kovaliova, a 17-year-old classmate born nearly four months after Ukrainian independence.

"These people are worthy of us remembering them in our everyday life, at least on street names," she said rather confidently. "And even when we walk to college and see some monument and remember that our people won the war, they deserve us remembering that."

Such veneration for the Soviet Union is the norm among freshmen law students at Luhansk Polytechnic College, potentially the future generation of leaders in Ukraine's easternmost oblast, which owes its industrial development to the Soviet experiment, as well as its Russification.

This year's freshmen at Ukraine's colleges and universities, most of whom were born in 1991, represent the first generation of Ukrainians who never knew the Soviet Union.

A one-hour discussion with the Luhansk freshmen revealed that the students have views of the Soviet Union that are representative of the Donbas region, both nostalgic and full of admiration:

- "It's not worth condemning the Soviet Union. Better that our government learn to instill the order and organization of that era," said Alyona Savenkova, 17, born about one month before Ukrainian independence.

- "The Soviet Union was good, but examining it in depth, there were very many negative nuances," said Maria Dobrytska, 17, born about one month before independence.

- "The collapse of the Soviet Union set Ukraine back by several decades," said Ms. Chernyk, 17.

While central and western Ukrainians have begun the process of consolidating a Ukrainian identity, language and culture that regards the Soviet era as destructive to the Ukrainian nation, the discussion in Luhansk revealed that eastern Ukrainians have developed a wholly different view, significantly influenced by the Party of Regions of Ukraine and Communist Party of Ukraine, which dominate local politics.

The concept of Ukrainian identity defined by the Luhansk students consists of close relations and integration with the Russian Federation, the supremacy of the Russian language, and viewing the Soviet era as an integral part of Ukraine's progress and development that is worth honoring and preserving in the culture.

"Regarding the Soviet Union, the word 'strength' immediately comes to mind," said Artem Sorokin, 17, born nearly two months after independence. "Only positive words come to mind with regard to the Soviet Union."

In this view, historical facts that expose the genocidal and hostile nature of Soviet government toward the Ukrainian people



Zenon Zawada

A supporter of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Artem Sorokin, 17, believes the Holodomor was "technically necessary, from an economic point of view."



Freshman law student Maria Kovaliova, 17, said it's not worth renaming streets or removing monuments because Luhansk residents should be reminded daily of their Soviet heroes.

are either forgotten, ignored or not allowed to overshadow the Soviet Union's economic and industrial accomplishments and the need to avoid tensions with the Russian people.

"Agreed, there were quite enough negative events, but far more positive ones," Mr. Sorokin stressed. "People lived calmly without worrying about the future. They had free education and medical care. Certainly, cultural leaders, academics and intellectuals suffered, died and were repressed. But that was the main disadvantage of that era."

The young generation of eastern Ukrainians has little regard for the Ukrainian language and culture, and a distorted view of Ukrainian history, often disturbing, that echoes the lies used by the Party of Regions and the Communists to keep their constituents in an ideological fog that ensures their votes and support.

"I'd vote for the Communist Party because I believe we don't need social changes primarily," said Mr. Sorokin. "As the top priority, we should advance industry and the economy, because that is the foundation for everything. Social security comes afterwards."

For starters, perhaps a sigh of relief could be breathed that the six students in the roundtable discussion acknowledged that mass starvation occurred during the Holodomor, which wasn't the result of poor weather or a bad harvest.



Yulia Chernyk, 17, read that Joseph Stalin might not have even known about the Holodomor, and that it was a "mistake" by the Soviet government.



Freshman law student Alyona Savenkova, 17, said the Soviet government served as a model of order and organization that current Ukrainian leaders ought to follow.

They acknowledge that massive persecutions, deportations and starvations occurred during the Soviet era, especially under the dictatorship of Joseph Stalin. Many people suffered, they agreed.

"Stalin incorrectly treated people who were scientists, writers and poets," Ms. Savenkova said. "He oppressed their activity because they spoke like freedom-loving people. He eliminated them, sent them to Siberia because they threatened his government. I don't think this was very good."

At the same time, Stalin's sins shouldn't negate his accomplishments or the social progress the Soviet Union achieved in the post-Stalinist era, the students said.

"Of course, there was some oppression of the Ukrainian people, particularly the smartest and the most intelligent, but I don't believe the Soviet Union was bad," said Ms. Kovaliova, essentially stating that killing the intelligentsia doesn't make for a bad society.

In a case of cognitive dissonance, or holding two contradictory thoughts simultaneously, Ms. Kovaliova said the Holodomor was genocide, but not against the Ukrainian people. She didn't identify who could have been targeted, if not the Ukrainian people.

In her assessment of the Soviet Union, Ms. Savenkova said it ought to serve as a model for today's Ukrainian politicians, who are constantly fighting and have

failed to establish any order in society and government.

Even Stalin did some good things, she said. "Stalin introduced policies in which there wasn't parasitism, everyone worked, there was no alcohol, there weren't amoral deeds, because there was very great punishment for this," she said.

Some of Ms. Savenkova's views of Stalin were influenced by her grandmother, who has nothing but praise for the Soviet dictator responsible for the murder and starvation of untold millions of Ukrainians.

"She still has photographs and portraits of Stalin," she said. "Stalin was very important for her, because he was like a father to her. And when I say that I don't agree that the Soviet Union was a very proper state, she very often punishes me."

In revealing this, however, Ms. Savenkova contradicted a prior statement that the Soviet Union should serve as a model of "order and organization" for the current government – further evidence of social pressures in eastern Ukraine to hold contradictory thoughts.

Mr. Sorokin's grandparents also admire Stalin, "and at this time, I agree with their pride of Stalin to a certain extent," he said. "He was truly a strong personality and a strong leader."

While even the most anti-Communist Ukrainians acknowledge certain accomplishments in the Soviet system, particularly in medicine and education, the Luhansk students revealed disturbing opinions that blatantly distort well-established historical facts and degrade the value of human life.

For instance, Ms. Dobrytska said the Holodomor was an unintended consequence of Stalin's genuine attempt to improve the Soviet economy.

"In the Holodomor of 1932-1933, Stalin conducted such a policy, as grabbing bread from the hands of his own people and sending it to others, in order to put the Soviet Union in an influential position in international relations and help others," she said.

Her high school in Stanychno-Luhansk didn't teach about the mills, grindstones and millstones confiscated by Soviet officials to prevent Ukrainians from even feeding themselves, with no economic gain to be achieved for the Soviet state.

Nor did she learn about the Soviet officials who looked to see if smoke was emerging from chimneys as a sign of cooking food, which required confiscation.

In the view of Mr. Sorokin, the Holodomor was even necessary.

"In essence, it wasn't genocide since it reached the residents of the Povolzhia (Volga region), so you can't say that a genocide was directed against a single people," he said.

"It can't be called genocide at all. Even from a certain angle, from an economic angle, it was technically necessary. But they 'broke the stick,'" he said, using the Russian phrase meaning the Soviet government "went overboard."

That statement drew the comment, "That's correct. It didn't work out," from the group, simultaneous with Ms. Chernyk's nod of agreement and suggestion that the Holodomor was likely a "mistake."

"I read, and many sources report, that Stalin didn't even know what happened on Ukraine's territory, particularly the Holodomor," said Ms. Chernyk, a native of Markivka, a town near the oblast's northern Russian border.

Her statement revealed the radical falsification of history that the Communist Party and other pro-Russian political

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Ukraine's instability weakens its candidacy for NATO, EU, warns report

Council on Foreign Relations

NEW YORK – Ukraine's political infighting and tensions with Russia threaten its path to stability and integration with the West, warns a new Council Special Report released by the Council on Foreign Relations.

"A more divided Ukraine would be less able to formulate a coherent foreign policy course with which the U.S. government could engage; it could even be driven to reorient itself on a more Moscow-focused course," says the report's author, Steven Pifer, a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution's Center on the United States and Europe and former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine.

On the crucial NATO question, the report, "Averting Crisis in Ukraine," urges the United States to support continued Ukrainian integration with the alliance, though it recommends waiting to

back concrete steps toward membership until Kyiv achieves consensus on this point.

"What happens to Ukraine will matter to Washington," according to the report, sponsored by CFR's Center for Preventive Action (CPA). It stated that the U.S. administration, "should maintain the goal of Ukraine's development as a stable, independent, democratic and market-oriented country, increasingly integrated into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions."

Ambassador Pifer analyzes the country's difficulties related to domestic conditions, such as fractious politics, a deeply divided public opinion and economic recession. He also examines Russia's increasingly assertive foreign policy, including issues related to the continued presence and eventual withdrawal of Russia's Black Sea Fleet, Ukrainian and European dependence on Russia's energy,

as well as Ukraine's potential membership in NATO.

"The Kremlin believes that an unstable Ukraine is in its interest. Such instability makes Ukraine an unattractive political model for Russians as well as an unattractive candidate for NATO or the European Union," said Mr. Pifer.

The report encourages the Obama administration to adopt a strategy that includes:

- Restoring regular high-level dialogue – "The administration should restore a high-level channel with Kiev [sic]. ...This could ensure that bilateral problems are resolved in good time and offer a channel to convey candid, even tough, political messages."

- Counseling Ukrainian leadership – "Washington should quietly counsel [President Viktor] Yushchenko on choosing his fights with Russia in a difficult

political year. ...Washington must ensure absolute clarity in Kiev as to how much support Kiev can expect if it gets into a confrontation with Moscow."

- Targeting technical assistance to promote economic opportunities in Sevastopol – "Drawing on the United States' experience with military base closures, U.S. assistance should help to generate economic and business opportunities in Sevastopol so that the local economy does not face potential devastation by the Black Sea Fleet's withdrawal."

- Increasing technical assistance to promote energy security – "Ukraine's energy dependency on Russia creates a major vulnerability. Washington should target technical assistance to help Kiev adopt transparent arrangements for purchasing and transiting natural gas, expand domestic sources of energy production,

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Kyiv warns...

(Continued from page 1)

"[Minister] Ohryzko expressed his protest regarding unfriendly and utterly undiplomatic assessments, commentaries and expressions towards Ukraine and its leadership," the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced in a February 17 statement.

Those commentaries appear to have been the straw that broke the camel's back for the Foreign Affairs Ministry, which has tolerated rude statements from Russian diplomats, particularly Ambassador Chernomyrdin, throughout the Yushchenko presidency.

The interview in which the 60-year-old Mr. Chernomyrdin offended President Yushchenko was conducted in a casual, conversational format, in which he let his guard down, offering readers an informal view of Russian-Ukrainian relations.

"You know, he didn't just fall from the sky," he said of President Yushchenko. "By his appearance, he looks as though he's a normal guy."

"He's that type – paints, collects shards. He can walk around some kind of tree stump for three hours and examine it, fantasize. At home, he's collected quite a bit – mills, millstones and gigantic [ones]! He put up windmills in Kyiv. And this person suddenly turned out to be this way. Not at all similar. Kill me, but he's not capable of this at all. However, he's doing it. Someone is helping him."

In the latter part of his remarks, Mr. Chernomyrdin appeared to be referring to President Yushchenko's conduct in recent months, particularly in warring with Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko.

The reporter asked: Who is helping him? "I would say, but I don't know," the ambassador replied. "Maybe someone close, or maybe someone further away. But someone!"

That someone is widely suspected to be Presidential Secretariat Chair Viktor Baloha, who has led the Secretariat on an offensive against Ms. Tymoshenko ever since he took over in September 2006.

As for President Yushchenko's relations with Ms. Tymoshenko, "they claw at each other, curse one another, in the open, on television," the Russian diplomat said. "Look please, she signed a necessary [natural gas agreement] for Ukraine, and now he is nagging – where's the money, babe?"

The Russian government appointed Mr. Chernomyrdin its Ukrainian ambassador in May 2001, since then he has gained the reputation of a gruff, straight-talking diplomat.

He built his career in the Communist Party, starting out as a factory mechanic and rising to become the managing director of Gazprom between 1989 and 1992. He served as the Russian Federation's prime minister between 1992 and 1998, after

which he returned to Gazprom to serve on the directors' council.

Although his wealth is unknown, some political observers said Mr. Chernomyrdin could well be a billionaire following his extensive experience in Russia's energy industry. Since 2001 he has led the Oil and Natural Gas Industry Council of Russia.

In his response to Mr. Chernomyrdin's comments, President Yushchenko quoted the Russian ambassador's own famous phrase: "We wanted better, but it turned out as always."

The Ukrainian president defended Mr. Ohryzko, stating he acted within the bounds of international law in defending Ukraine's honor and status.

Mr. Yushchenko said he didn't think the Russian ambassador wanted to harm Russian-Ukrainian relations, however, "it's unacceptable for a diplomat, residing in the country of tenure, to say things which could be perceived improperly by the nation, the government or the people as a whole," President Yushchenko said.

Unsurprisingly, Mr. Chernomyrdin had a slightly more favorable view of Party of Regions leader Viktor Yanukovich. When asked by Komsomolskaya Pravda reporter Aleksandr Gamov whether he's "that guy we need," the ambassador replied, "It's hard to say. It's possible to negotiate with him. But no one can be trusted."

President Yushchenko wasn't the ambassador's only source of discontent.

Mr. Chernomyrdin said the Russians don't know how to win over the U.S. in Ukraine, where Americans have established more than 2,000 funds, given out grants and offered free scholarships to study in the U.S.

Americans sit in Ukraine's Ministry of Defense, which long ago signed on to NATO. Ukraine will "get away" from Russia, Mr. Chernomyrdin warned.

"Some among us still say, 'Can Ukraine get away from us?' It'll get away! For sure! Do you think those Ukrainians who work in Russia respect us? With great love for us? Look at what conditions they live in here [Ukraine]. They are degraded, they curse us. They have nowhere else to go – so they travel to us out of hopelessness," he said.

It's the Ukrainian government's responsibility to monitor the mass media and properly react to violations of diplomatic ethics, and its foreign policy interests as a whole, said Oleksandr Palii, an expert at the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the Diplomatic Academy at the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Kyiv.

"No tensions with Russia are needed for Ukraine," he said. "But, nonetheless, we are supposed to clearly defend our honor and dignity, and the dignity of our own country. We want friendly relations, but mutual trust is needed for friendship. Unfortunately, on

this issue, like very many other issues, certain political forces in Ukraine act entirely undignified."

In particular, the Party of Regions didn't share Mr. Ohryzko's disgust over the degrading remarks about the Ukrainian people and their president, and instead demanded the foreign affairs minister's resignation.

"Ohryzko has brought quite a bit of damage to Ukraine's image and his petty statements can't be justified during a crisis," said Hanna Herman, a top party spokeswoman, somehow overlooking the damage to Ukraine's image Mr. Chernomyrdin incurred.

"We should have a common plan with Russia for an exit out of the crisis, and not worsening relations, through unconsidered statements, with our closest partner and neighbor, to whom our prime minister is traveling with a request for credit," she said.

Ukraine's independence means it must defend its own interests and doesn't have to stoop down before any other state, Mr. Palii said. Unfortunately, however, "the impression is that certain political forces don't defend their own voter, who lives in eastern or southern Ukraine," he said. "They defend the interests of completely different voters, who live in other regions of

the world."

Demonstrating the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc's new election strategy to win over voters in eastern and southern Ukraine, its leaders offered no rebuke to the Russian ambassador. Instead, party boss Oleksander Turchynov said "we have the pretext to ask the foreign affairs minister his motivation for such statements."

Meanwhile, Mr. Ohryzko was indignant when asked by reporters at the February 18 Cabinet of Ministers meeting what caused his response.

"You should pose the question differently – what caused such remarks from the Russian ambassador to Ukraine?" the foreign minister said. "And that would have been your civic role. Unfortunately, you don't have one. Please read Komsomolskaya Pravda and then ask the appropriate questions."

The day after the Foreign Affairs Ministry's warning, Ambassador Chernomyrdin said he would remain in his post, sharing more of his poetic eloquence.

"We frightened a baba with high heels," he said, quoting a rude Russian proverb essentially meaning that he couldn't care less. "I am not concerned. I'm not at that level to be frightened."

He added, "I never did and won't do anything to harm Ukraine."

Scholar speaks about Lviv's Greek heritage



WASHINGTON, – Dr. Ihor Lylo (right), who teaches history at Ivan Franko National University in Lviv, described the evolution of that city's Greek heritage during a presentation at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington on February 20. The evening's sponsor was the Washington branch of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, whose chairman, Dr. Boris Hlynsky (left), introduced the guest and presided over the discussion that followed the presentation. In addition to his academic career, Dr. Lylo is also a journalist, director of two political radio talk shows and the author of best-selling travel guides to Ukraine and Lviv. He came to Washington as a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy.

– Yaro Bihun

FOR THE RECORD: Keynote speech at Harvard's Holodomor conference

Below is the text of the keynote speech by Nicolas Werth, research director at the Institute for Contemporary History (IHTP) of the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Paris, which was delivered at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute's international conference on "The Great Famine in Ukraine: Holodomor and Its Consequences, 1933 to the Present" on November 18, 2008.

He is the author or co-author of 14 books on the political and social history of the Soviet Union, many of which have been published in translation in the United States, England, Germany, Italy and Russia. His latest publications include "Cannibal Island" and "La Terreur et le Désarroi: Staline et Son Système." His forthcoming book is "Repenser la Grande Terreur, 1937-1938" (2009).

CONCLUSION

Thanks to the important research in the archives, led by Ukrainian colleagues, we now have a precise daily chronology from the summer of 1932 onwards. It maps out the escalation of the repressive measures that reveal the increasingly resolute instrumentalization of hunger as a weapon to crush the resistance of the Ukrainian peasantry and to a degree the Ukrainian officials (a "knock-out blow," in Stalin's words).

The thorough analysis, by Valerii Vasylyev and Yuri Shapoval, of the missions of Kaganovich and Molotov to the Kuban and Ukraine during the fall of 1932, vividly elucidates the political and ideological arguments advanced by Stalin's envoys and the crucial steps taken to intentionally aggravate the Famine:

- November 18, 1932: Peasants ordered to return the meager advances over the new crop they had received in recompense of their work.

- December 29, 1932: Annulment of the resolution previously passed by the Ukrainian Communist Party stipulating that only Regional Soviet Executive Committees could authorize, in special circumstances, the confiscation of kolkhoz seed stocks and their inclusion in mandatory State procurements.

- January 22, 1933: Stalin's secret circular ordering the closure of the Ukrainian and Northern Caucasus borders to peasant emigration on the conspiracy theory grounds that the starving "peasants" (with inverted commas) exodus "in search of bread" was organized by enemies of the Soviet power. This measure reflected Stalin's growing concern over the political impact of the Ukrainian peasant migration and singled it out for special treatment precisely because of his "national interpretation of the 1932 grain requisition crisis." This interpretation had been fully articulated a month before, when the Politburo decrees of December 14 put an end to the "korenizatsiya" policy – the Ukrainization program applied since 1923. It was now being condemned for allegedly dangerously transforming the overwhelmingly Ukrainian peasant population of Ukraine and the Kuban into Ukrainians conscious of their national identity.

This interpretation had, in fact, been maturing for some time, and one can follow its development from the trail of Stalin's correspondence: one of the best examples of this is the now famous August 11 letter to Kaganovich singling out Ukraine as a "unique" national republic, whose party had been infiltrated by Ukrainian nationalists and Petliurites, who were in turn serving Pilsudski's ongoing project of exploiting Ukrainian nationalism in order to annex Ukraine. The desperate Ukrainian exodus in search of food (already regarded as "suspect" by Stalin by June 1932) played an important role in triggering the "national interpretation" of the Famine.

We probably know more about the political escalation at the end of 1932 and the beginning of 1933 than we do about what was actually happening in the starving Ukrainian countryside, in the first instance because of the blockade. In this respect, the testimonies of survivors remain a fundamental source (and I would like at this point to mention the huge amount of work carried out by the late Volodymyr Maniak and Lidia Kovalenko, among many others, in collecting the last witness accounts).

Other important sources, produced by the perpetrators, have been discovered, but they are scarce, however, and we know why. In a highly revealing document, the chief of the GPU in Ukraine, Vsevolod Balytskyi, instructed his subordinates only to "Provide information on the food problems solely to the first secretaries of the Party Regional Committees, and only orally, after carefully checking the reports. This is to ensure that written notes on the subject do not wander around the apparatus, where they might cause rumors (...). Do not write specific reports for the Ukrainian GPU. It is sufficient for me to be informed by personal letters addressed to me directly"

It is interesting to compare the scarce GPU sources with other, more loquacious internal reports written by

officials in various administrations that clearly show that the "secret" Famine was not secret at all. These documents sometimes conveyed simple, but straightforward, statements. For example, a report written in May 1933 by a Central Executive Committee official managed to sum up, in just two forceful sentences, the impact, and the success, of the Lenin-Stalin principle "He who does not work [in a collective farm] neither shall he eat" in the following terms. "In most villages, the molchanka [the 'conspiracy of silence' whereby peasants had completely stopped talking to the authorities] has been broken. People once more speak at meetings, even though it is only for a moment, and they do so only to ask for bread or to promise that if they are fed they will work properly." This echoes Kosior's report to Stalin two months earlier: "The unsatisfactory preparation for sowing in the worst affected areas shows that hunger has not yet taught many collective farmers good sense ('umu-razumu')."

Perpetrators' reports convey a remarkably aloof vision in which the enemy victims are degraded into non-persons. "Enemy provocations" were abundant, and the non-burial of corpses, for example, was one of them. When mentioning cannibalism, high-ranking officials in the GPU reported in the detached manner of an ethnologist describing the "savage customs" of a "primitive tribe." "One might say that cannibalism has become a habit. There are many elements who were suspected of cannibalism last year and who are now backsliding again, killing children, acquaintances, even strangers on the street. In the numerous villages that are affected by cannibalism, every passing day strengthens these people's belief that it is perfectly acceptable to eat human flesh" (Rozanov, head of the Kyiv GPU, to Balytskyi).

The GPU reports also reflect a dread of and obsession with potential mass uprisings by starving peasants. As Famine was raging, the powers of GPU troiki were further expanded and "grandiose plans" (in the words of Yagoda) were laid for the deportation of hundreds of thousands of "kulaks, counterrevolutionaries and other socially harmful elements." These documents also shed light on another major phenomenon already noted in the remarkable Italian diplomatic reports uncovered by Andrea Graziosi – mobilization of the urban population to work in the fields, many of whom were simply caught up in vast police sweeps, to ensure the next harvest would be successful in areas devastated by the Famine, before the arrival of colonists from other parts of the USSR.

The reports also hint at the incredible regression and brutalization that accompanied the hunger and starvation. They talk about the rapid rise in rural banditry, exploding violence, the lynching of thieves and even children caught trying to pinch a few vegetables, dealt with in forums known as "samosudy" (summary judgments). They mention tortures, exactions of all kinds, mass child abandonment, not to speak of such transgressions as cannibalism and necrophagia. The most extreme violence committed by the regime and its representatives against the population ended up in contaminating the victims themselves.

Historiography on the Soviet famines, and especially on the Ukrainian Famine, has produced considerable results over the past years. Concurrently, the earlier silence over this mass crime has been replaced by heated controversies over its characterization. Dr. Graziosi, in a very lucid and objective analysis, has summed up the arguments of the supporters of the genocide thesis and of their opponents. I have nothing to add to his analysis and I fundamentally agree with his conclusions.

My own interpretation of the Ukrainian Famine has changed over the 10 years since my contribution to the "Black Book of Communism." In that publication, I stressed the fact that Ukrainian peasantry was "the principal victim" of the 1932-1933 famines. But I had considered these tragic events as a whole and essentially concluded this to be "the last episode in the confrontation between the Bolshevik state and the peasantry which had begun in 1918-1922." For the Ukrainian translation of this book, which was published a few months ago, I wrote an addendum, in which I take into account new evidence and new arguments which have convinced me that there was a strong, qualitative, specificity to the Ukrainian case and that the answer to the question, "Was the Holodomor a genocide?" can only be a resounding "yes."

There are many problems in the field of comparative genocide scholarship. There is barely any other field of study that enjoys so little consensus on defining principles, such as the definition of genocide, typology, the application of a comparative method and time frame. Scott Strauss has counted no less than 21 different definitions of genocide. In view of this "bewildering array of definitions" (in the words of Leo Kuper), the UN Convention on Genocide is the only reasonable option to



Nicolas Werth

assume, for it establishes the only normative legal basis available, even though it offers a much narrower definition than the one Lemkin originally proposed.

For Lemkin, the Famine was the third – and main – prong (together with the elimination of Ukrainian elites and the destruction of the Church) of what he considered as "the classic example of Soviet genocide, its longest and broadest experiment in Russification – the destruction of the Ukrainian nation."

Two fundamental issues need to be considered when defining – or not defining – the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 as a genocide along the guidelines set by the December 1948 U.N. Convention: first, intentionality, and secondly, the ethnic-national targeting of the group (since Article II of the Convention recognizes only national, ethnic, racial and religious groups, not social or political). In the case of Ukraine and Ukrainian-populated areas of the North Caucasus, sufficient evidence exists to prove intention. As Roman Serbyn has convincingly argued, the secret resolution of January 22, 1933, signed by Stalin, ordering the blockade of Ukraine and the Kuban, which fundamentally worsened the Famine, does constitute sufficient proof of intent.

Whether Stalin targeted, persecuted and viewed the peasants of Ukraine and the Kuban as peasants or as Ukrainians – which is indeed the key to justifying use of the term genocide – is a matter on which scholars still disagree. However, I think it is important to remind ourselves of an essential point: for Stalin – who considered himself, and was also considered in Bolshevik leading circles, as the "nationalities expert" – the Ukrainian peasant question, a topic of which he had been keenly aware since the civil war years, was "in essence, a national question, the peasants constituting the principal force of the national movement" (Stalin, 1925).

By crushing the peasantry with the weapon of hunger, Stalin was annihilating the most – and only – powerful national movement capable of opposing and derailing the construction of the Soviet empire. As Famine killed at least 15 percent to 20 percent of the Ukrainian peasants (millions of others remaining deeply traumatized by this devastating experience), other policies were implemented to subdue Ukraine and to crush its identity as a nation – in particular the mass repression against Ukrainian elites, and cultural long-term de-Ukrainization of Ukrainians living in the North Caucasus region and the Kuban.

There will always remain a strong tension between history, which tends towards distinction and differentiation, and law, which tends towards inclusion and juridical generalization. This is why a political scientist like Jacques Sémelin, who created the Internet-based project "The Encyclopedia of Mass Violence," pleads for historical research to be free from "the yoke of legal definition" and to keep it away from "the competition of victims." I agree with him entirely. Kazakh herdsmen, Russian peasants of the Volga region, deportees from all over the Soviet Union (let us remember that 15 percent of the so-called "special settlers" died of hunger and epidemics in 1933 alone) were not victims of a genocide. But they died, massively, in silence and total oblivion. For many different reasons, no one to this day stands up for them. They, too, should not be forgotten.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Volodymyr Ivasiuk, 1949-1979

March 4 marks the 60th anniversary of the birth of one of Ukraine's brightest lights: composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, who will forever be remembered for his beautiful songs inspired by his love of Ukraine and its heritage. And, this year also marks the 30th anniversary of his tragic death – an unsolved murder that took place sometime between April 24, 1979, when he disappeared, and May 18, 1979, when his mutilated body was found hanging from a tree in a restricted forest near Lviv. His death was ruled a suicide. Ukrainians, however, saw the hand of the KGB.

Ivasiuk was killed at the height of his popularity at a time when Soviet authorities saw the love of things Ukrainian as a danger to the USSR. Those were the days of Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, who as first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR brutally suppressed dissent and fiercely promoted Russification policies.

Speakers at Ivasiuk's funeral – attended by more than 10,000 mourners – and at a subsequent memorial service were persecuted by Soviet authorities; at least one writer was blacklisted and two Ukrainian Helsinki Group members were arrested. Nonetheless, his gravesite in Lviv's famous Lychakiv Cemetery became a place of pilgrimage, where fans, admirers and Ukrainian patriots placed flowers and other tributes.

Ivasiuk, whose legacy includes over 100 songs, has been honored by Ukrainians the world over. In his native Ukraine, 10 years after his death – at the time of glasnost and perestroika – the first Chervona Ruta Festival of Ukrainian music was held in Chernivtsi; 15 years after his death he was posthumously awarded the Taras Shevchenko State Prize, Ukraine's highest award in the arts and letters; 19 years after his death he was recalled at a large-scale memorial concert in Kyiv; on the 20th anniversary of his death Ukraine released a commemorative postage stamp.

"Volodymyr Ivasiuk gave much-needed new direction to Ukrainian lyrical music during the Communist era of 'stagnation.' He infused a patriotic message into music, as did Vasyl Symonenko into literature and Alla Horská into art – none of which were to Moscow's liking. However, Ivasiuk not only left beautiful music, but also showed how to be true to one's national roots, and how to draw inspiration from the treasures of one's culture," wrote Halyna Kotovych of the Ukrainian Music Society of Alberta in *The Ukrainian Weekly* in 2004, on the 25th anniversary of Volodymyr Ivasiuk's death.

Now, 30 years after Ivasiuk's murder, the Procurator General's Office has reopened an investigation into the case, having been prodded to do so by a group of Ukraine's national deputies, according to a February 11 report by Radio Liberty. RL noted that documents of the case had been stamped secret and were reportedly held in Ukraine's Internal Affairs Ministry and in the Moscow archives of the KGB; many documents are believed to have been destroyed.

Dare we hope that 30 years later the truth about the murder of Volodymyr Ivasiuk – whose music touched Ukrainians around the globe – will be revealed and his perpetrators punished? Surely, it is time.

March
2
2008

Turning the pages back...

Last year, on March 2, 2008, Russian President-elect Dmitry Medvedev easily won the Russian presidential election. The following day, on March 3, 2008, President Viktor Yushchenko congratulated the former prime minister of Russia.

"I am certain the fact that you have been elected as president of friendly Russia will ensure good neighborly relationships between our two countries will be dynamic and strong, based on our mutual hopes and for the benefit of our nations. Such developments are in congruence with the strategic character of Russian-Ukrainian relations, which have existed over a long period of time," Mr. Yushchenko stated in his greeting.

Political analysts in both Ukraine and Russia were less optimistic.

Vadym Karasiiov, director of the Institute of Global Strategies in Kyiv, said, "An increase in economic, energy and cultural pressure on Ukraine – these will be the consequences we can expect following the election of Russia's new president, Dmitry Medvedev."

Moscow will actively attempt to control Ukrainian commerce and banking through Russian businesses in Ukraine, particularly with respect to privatization, Mr. Karasiiov added.

If Kyiv does not comply, Moscow will exert pressure in the energy sector by trying to take control of the gas-transit system in Ukraine, in order to establish alternate routes of energy delivery, said Mr. Karasiiov.

There will be two centers of influence in the energy sector, according to Volodymyr Fesenko. "As a result, the Ukrainian government will now be compelled to deal with both Mr. Medvedev and [Vladimir] Putin," he added.

A pro-Russian cultural expansion will be focused on the ideology of "defending the rights and interests" of those who in Moscow are known as the "Russian-speaking members of the population," Mr. Fesenko added.

Taras Chornovil, member of the Party of Regions of Ukraine, even before the election, said on February 29, 2008, "We underestimate Mr. Medvedev. We have to treat him as a serious politician. As president of Russia, Mr. Medvedev will have a tougher policy than Russia's current President Putin."

Lviv University historian Yaroslav Hrytsak commented that, despite the fact that the results in Russia came as no major surprise to anyone, it is still somewhat difficult to predict what the election's ramifications will be – both for Russia and the world. For now, the election results in Russia should be viewed as yet another in a series of attempts to create and develop an economic utopia in the country, but without democracy. "Ukraine is too close to Russia, and Russia's successes or failures will undoubtedly reverberate in Ukraine," noted Prof. Hrytsak.

Source: "Yushchenko congratulates Russia's president-elect; Observers uncertain what Medvedev presidency will bring," by Ilyia M. Labunka, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, March 9, 2008.

COMMENTARY

Holodomor: Lessons not learned

by Oleksander Kramarenko

Our "post-genocidal society" (according to terminology used by James Mace) hardly pays attention to the biggest tragedy in the history of not only Ukraine, but all of humanity – the Holodomor.

The theme of the Famine-Genocide becomes leading news in the Ukrainian mass media for only a few days per year, only to be forgotten again for a year, until the next Holodomor Victims Remembrance Day.

The day was established by Leonid Kuchma at the end of November, although the peak of casualties from starvation in Ukraine in 1932-1933 was during the first half of 1933.

Leonid Kuchma can be seen as a "Soviet man" to the core. Spring abounds with joyful Soviet holidays, such as March 8, May 1, Astronauts Day, Lenin's birthday, Victory Day and days honoring workers such as journalists. So why overshadow them and please the nationalists with a day in the spring to recall such a morose event as the Holodomor?

All this is nothing other than indirect evidence that, contrary to other well-known genocides in world history, the Holodomor was directed by its ideologues at our present day.

The Holodomor decimated the Ukrainian nation to such an extent that the most fundamental research on this tragedy is the work of non-Ukrainians. It's not possible to imagine the leading Holocaust scholars to be non-Jews or the top researchers of the slaughter of Christians in Turkey in 1915 to be non-Armenians.

Is this not proof of a complete loss of national self-identification and interest in the history of one's own ethnos among the absolute majority of Ukrainians? Without this, the process of uniting society around a national idea and building a competitive state become problematic, which is exactly what we are observing in Ukraine today.

The national consciousness of the majority of Ukrainians in the south and east of our country is not at the zero level – it's at a minus. Throughout the city and oblast of Luhansk, for example, it's possible to meet people at every step who will tell you that many of their relatives died in the Holodomor. And these very same people will obstinately argue that the Famine of 1932-1933 can't be considered a genocide of Ukrainians since it supposedly happened in other republics and since people of other nationalities perished in Ukraine.

From this example alone, we can see the far more destructive psychological inheritance of the Holodomor.

To demonstrate with facts that other peoples of the USSR suffered famine in 1933, but not a Holodomor, as Stanislav Kulchytskyi brilliantly did, would require an article much longer than this one.

To prove that the Greeks, Germans and Russians of Ukraine were merely tangential victims of the Holodomor, similar to innocent bystanders in a typical murder, is easy.

Imagine that a random witness found himself caught amidst the killing of a politician and also died from the assassin's bullet. And, imagine that afterwards the mass media and witnesses didn't call this crime a murder of that politician, but the killing of someone else.

Oleksander Kramarenko is a Luhansk journalist and researcher of the Holodomor.

Thus it is with the Holodomor. Representatives of other nationalities died in Ukraine only because they had the misfortune of living next to Ukrainians, against whom the Bolshevik act of genocide was purposefully implemented.

It's worth pointing out that the population of Ukraine's rural areas – where the Holodomor occurred – was up to 95 percent ethnic Ukrainian. Only a pathologically incorrigible pedant or a dishonest politician speaks of multi-ethnic victims among Ukraine's population in 1932-1933.

The Holodomor's consequences for Ukrainians also cannot be compared to the consequences for other nationalities that found themselves in the zone of this crime against humanity.

While many further generations of Ukrainians suffered as a nation, only the small diaspora of other nations suffered in Ukraine and their main ethnos remained intact beyond the borders of our country.

Furthermore, for the Bolsheviks to destroy only the Ukrainian part of the village, while not touching, say, the Greek or Russian part, would have only meant speeding up Nuremberg Trials for communism by several decades.

Death by starvation, distinct from other causes of death, at first deforms its victims morally and mentally. It has more than enough time to do that, which is why death by starvation is considered the most horrific death.

Only death by starvation can overpower a woman's maternal instinct. A mother is capable of sacrificing herself for the sake of rescuing her child by jumping into flames or water, or under the wheels of trains and tanks, risking her very own life. But mothers during the Holodomor in Ukraine frequently couldn't stop themselves from eating their own children.

Therefore, it's not hard to imagine that before the maternal instinct entirely dies within a starving mother, she loses all her human and personal qualities – character, intellect, Christian morals, patriotism and others.

The same happened with Ukrainian men who in 1933 ate their wives and children, whom they genuinely loved before the Holodomor.

In the USSR at that time, Ukrainians were shot for cannibalism and only in rare cases were they sent to labor camps. According to the world-renowned historian Dr. Robert Conquest, 4,000 cannibals from Ukraine and the Kuban region labored on the White Sea canal alone. But this was only a small fraction of all the Holodomor cannibals. Cannibalism was observed in practically every Ukrainian village.

It was not by chance that the Communists choose the Holodomor to re-educate Ukrainians. Only in this way could they change their mentality as self-sufficient peasants to that of collective farm workers. And it's worth noting that the Bolsheviks succeeded in doing this – moreover, for several generations that followed. Even today the absolute majority of Ukrainians don't farm their own land parcels and speak nostalgically of the collective farm.

What happened to national consciousness is quite apparent in the example of the Kuban, where 75 percent of the population was Ukrainian, according to the 1926 census (nearly the same ratio as in Ukraine today).

During the famine at the end of 1932 (not to be confused with the Holodomor),

(Continued on page 22)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Texts from Ukraine “edited for clarity”

Dear Editor:

The Ukrainian Weekly is always an interesting read. But may I make one observation? In the recent letter by President Viktor Yushchenko to President Barack Obama, The Weekly's introduction stated that the English-language letter had been “edited for clarity.” I think we would be doing Ukraine a much greater service by seeing, in their original state, letters that require “clarity” and perhaps by reacting to that lack of clarity.

It is unfortunate that English-language information originating in Ukraine, official letters from Ukraine, and official websites in Ukraine, are so often written by people with a limited knowledge of English. Surely there are sufficient native English speakers in Ukraine by now who could ensure that letters by Ukraine's top government officials, and their English-language websites, are written in correct English.

The use of incorrect English jeopardizes the credibility of a message, as the reader focuses on the faulty use of language rather than the message. Ukraine's government cannot afford to have that happen with its communications. We do not help Ukraine by being too polite to bring this to the attention of those who might correct the situation.

Irena Bell
Ottawa

EDITOR'S NOTE: We at The Ukrainian Weekly have struggled with this question: to edit or not to edit? However, when we see two versions of a letter, communiqué, speech, statement, etc. – one in English and the other in Ukrainian, one poorly written and in some cases unintelligible, and the other well-written and comprehensible – we cannot, in good conscience, use the very faulty translations provided by Ukraine's officials. Our aim in such cases – as is the case with all articles submitted to The Weekly – is to have our readers understand what is being written. At the same time, we have brought this matter to the attention of Ukraine's diplomatic corps in this country.

Thank you to our letter-writer for bringing up this crucial issue. We continue to hope that Ukraine and its leaders see fit to hire fully qualified translators who understand the nuances of both the language in which something is written and the language into which it is translated.

Dysfunction, crises, and a silver lining

Dear Editor:

In two excellent and well-researched articles (“Political dysfunction, economic crisis lead to shifting alliances in Ukraine” and “Accusations fly, as president and prime minister continue to battle” (February 10) – Zenon Zawada illuminated the dark and dirty corners of Ukrainian politics and displayed a gallery of crooks that masquerade as Ukrainian politicians.

As he reports, the verbal exchanges between the leaders of the country at a recent meeting of the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC) went far beyond minimal norms of civilized behavior. These exchanges between the president and the prime minister at the NSDC meeting were simply shameful. And they had nothing to do with either security or defense. It was all about competition for shady profits from the operation of a gas pipeline.

It is not surprising then that many of us in diaspora are disappointed and disillusioned with independent Ukraine of today. This is not what we expected from the great country of

our dreams. But then again, our expectations were not realistic. In many instances our vision of independent Ukraine was based on inflated and unwarranted illusions of a country that is still being run by the former Communist apparatchiks. None of these “bandits” went to jail as Viktor Yushchenko, while a candidate for president, promised during the heady days of the Orange Revolution. The “bandits” and he are still in charge of the country.

But there is a silver lining in any bad situation if one looks hard enough for it. Today's bad news about politics in Ukraine might be good news in a long run. The nature and the intensity of the warfare between powerful oligarchic clans and politicians that represent them suggest that oligarchic rule in the country is collapsing in a cataclysmic spasm and that we might be seeing the end of it. As the discord at the latest NSDC meeting indicates, the oligarchs are no longer capable of governing the country. And that is good news.

Unlike their leader, the majority of people in Ukraine never carried Communist Party cards and are decent, honest and brave people capable of great sacrifices as the events during the Orange Revolution demonstrated. With the collapse of oligarchic rule in Ukraine their day might be coming. That is the silver lining.

Ihor Lysyj
Austin, Texas

School textbooks must be monitored

Dear Editor:

A lot of attention has been accorded lately, and rightfully so, to Ukraine's genocide, the Holodomor of 1932-1933, and some inroads have been made in this respect. Recently, however, I was reminded of another lingering issue – the falsified treatment of Kyivan Rus'.

My grandson, who is attending high school in Armonk, N.Y., is now studying 10th century Eastern Europe. I was dismayed that even now, 18 years after the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, the falsified Russian version of history is being taught in our school system, and Kyivan Rus' is being equated with Russia. According to the textbooks and other educational materials, it was Russia that accepted Christianity in 988, and Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise were rulers of Russia.

I am certain that that my grandson's school is not an exception but rather the rule on how Ukraine's early history, and Ukraine's history in general, is being presented. My grandson tried to point out the inaccuracies, but he is not an authority, so his explanation was dismissed. I wrote a letter to the Social Studies Department of the school, with copies to the principal and superintendent, but realize how inadequate this is. We need the involvement of a scholarly institution – not an individual response.

The question I ask myself is this: What can be done about it? Who is responsible for monitoring and correcting these inaccuracies? What Ukrainian institutions are or should be responsible for doing this? Why are we allowing this falsified treatment of historical facts to continue being taught to new generations of Americans, including our own children?

This is an important issue for our community, and we should not let it pass. Something needs to be done about it. The problem is too big for our children or individual parents to handle. We need the involvement of the Ukrainian community, especially our scholarly institutions.

Maria Kiciuk, Ph.D.
Yonkers, N.Y.

The letter-writer is former director of the School of Ukrainian Studies in Yonkers.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Who shot Col. Sushko?

It was 1944, a bitterly cold January night in Lviv. Col. Roman Sushko, a member of the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Melnyk wing) was returning to his apartment in Lviv following a New Year's Day luncheon. Ascending the dimly lit stairs, the colonel was felled with a single bullet to the spine. The assassin escaped without a trace.

Born in Remeniv, a village near Lviv, in 1894, Sushko commanded the famed Ukrainian Sich Riflemen during the first world war, steadily rising through the officer ranks from company to division commander. In 1919 he earned the rank of colonel and spent the next two years commanding a brigade. One of the founders of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) after the war, Col. Sushko was in Vienna in 1929 as one of the founders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Sushko visited the United States during the 1930s to touch base with the activities of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, an OUN affiliate in which my father played a leading role. A portrait of Evhen Konovalts hung in our living room.

I met Col. Sushko in 1938 when I was a skinny kid who disliked breakfast. The colonel was staying at our house in Chicago and used to take walks around the block bright and early every morning. Hoping to rev up my appetite, my mother talked the OUN leader into taking me along on his morning military regimen. He agreed. Later, we did calisthenics together.

At the end of his stay, Col. Sushko purchased an “army” for me – toy soldiers, tanks, airplanes – the works. A gift of that magnitude during the depression was a grant from heaven. He saluted me and told me to use my army as a training tool. “When you grow up,” he said, “you will be a Ukrainian general and help liberate Ukraine.”

OUN was a threat to Joseph Stalin, who personally ordered Pavel Sudoplatov, a Soviet agent who had infiltrated OUN, to kill Evhen Konovalts. A bomb killed the OUN leader in 1938. A year later, OUN representatives came to Rome and settled on Col. Andriy Melnyk, a relative of the slain OUN leader, as their new leader. When the followers of Stepan Bandera created OUN(B) in 1940, Sushko remained loyal to Melnyk, his Sichovi Striltsi comrade-in-arms. Both OUN(M) and OUN(B) courted Nazi Germany in hopes of establishing an independent Ukraine with German assistance and both, unfortunately, had been infiltrated by the NKVD.

Once Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, an OUN(M) cadre was able to establish itself in Kyiv. A national council was created in September 1941, quickly declaring Ukraine's independence. Schools and universities were reopened, and a union of writers was created. By December, however, the Gestapo had brutally murdered most of the OUN(M) leadership in Kyiv. Both OUN(M) and OUN(B), which had also suffered atrocities by the Nazis, went underground.

OUN(M) became associated with Ukrainian partisans led by Taras (Bulba) Borovets who attempted to establish a united front with OUN(B) forces against the Germans and Soviets. A tentative agreement was reached. In his memoirs,

however, Borovets reportedly claimed that on July 7, 1943, OUN(B) insurgents disarmed him and OUN(M) leaders, eventually killing some of the commanders.

The funeral of the popular Roman Sushko, was a national day of mourning led by Bishop Nykyta Budka, vicar general of the Lviv Archeparchy. Family members, OUN associates, personal friends, veterans, Sichovi Striltsi veterans carrying wreaths and the colonel's many military decorations, and thousands of individuals holding Ukrainian flags and OUN banners, were part of the funeral cortege which extended from St. George Cathedral to the Lychakiv Cemetery. The male choir Surma, led by Omelian Pleshkevych, participated in a solemn panakhyya.

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's representative, Father Leontij Kunytsky, read a letter from the archbishop which condemned murderers. “A person who spills the blood of his political enemy is as evil as the person who murders for money,” the letter read. “But the person who kills one of his own, risks losing eternal salvation.”

Which brings us to our original query: Who killed Col. Sushko? His granddaughter, Khrystyna Owad, asked that question in her recently published Ukrainian-language book, “Colonel Roman Sushko.” Four possibilities emerge. In order of probability they are: the Gestapo, Polish partisans, the NKVD and OUN(B).

The Gestapo killed openly, during the day, rarely at night. The Germans were losing the war in 1944; they had more momentous issues on their plate than OUN(M).

The Poles also were unlikely candidates. Polish partisans killed Ukrainians for sure, but there was no Ukrainian military contingent in Lviv. At the time, Ukrainians presented no immediate threat.

It's a different story with the Soviets. A Bolshevik killed Symon Petliura. In the Russian version of his book, Sudoplatov claimed that OUN(B) assassins killed Jaroslav Baranowsky, Mykola Sciborsky, Omelian Hribivsky and Sushko, all OUN(M) leaders. It is possible that the OUN(B) assassins were actually NKVD agents, but if this were true, assassin Sudoplatov, who proudly admitted killing Col. Konovalts and UPA leader Roman Shukhevych, would have bragged about it in his memoirs.

In her book Mrs. Owad includes a May 20, 1943, declaration by the UPA high command urging “Ukrainians to eschew cooperation with the Gestapo, the NKVD and ‘various ‘atamanchiks,’ anarchists and political groups and parties who, following Gestapo and NKVD directives, wish to destroy the Revolutionary Front... Do not allow yourself to be seduced by the so-called ‘Melnykivtsi’ who are working for the Gestapo (Sushko and others) and are continuing the work of Polish provocateurs... These decrepit lackeys ‘organize’ partisans in certain areas in order to turn them over to the German police... Chase away these provocateurs, drunks, vagrants and crooks who steal the best sons of Ukraine... death to these trespassers and their agents...”

The death of Roman Sushko remains a mystery. For some Ukrainians, however, the above directive speaks for itself.

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

Concert in NYC pays tribute to the late Alexander Slobodyanik

NEW YORK – An overflow audience attended a concert tribute to the late Alexander Slobodyanik held on January 31 at New York's Merkin Concert Hall.

Mr. Slobodyanik died at age 66 on August 10, 2008, of bacterial meningitis. He was known as one of the world's finest Romantic piano virtuosos.

The concert in his honor featured a cast of well-known pianists – Mr. Slobodyanik's longtime friends and colleagues – playing works by Bach, Haydn, Schubert, Schumann and Chopin.

Performers included world-renowned pianist and conductor Vladimir Feltsman, who organized the concert, as well as Alexander Toradze, Alexander Korsantia, Susan Starr, Eteri Andjaparidze and Sergei Babayan.

Mr. Slobodyanik's son, Alex, made a special appearance, flying in from Moscow for the memorial concert. He gave a moving rendition of Rachmaninoff's Prelude in G major. "My dad absolutely loved the prelude," he told the Daily Record of Morris County, N.J.



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Alex Slobodyanik, the late pianist's son, and Laryssa Krupa, Alexander Slobodyanik's widow, on stage at Merkin Concert Hall.



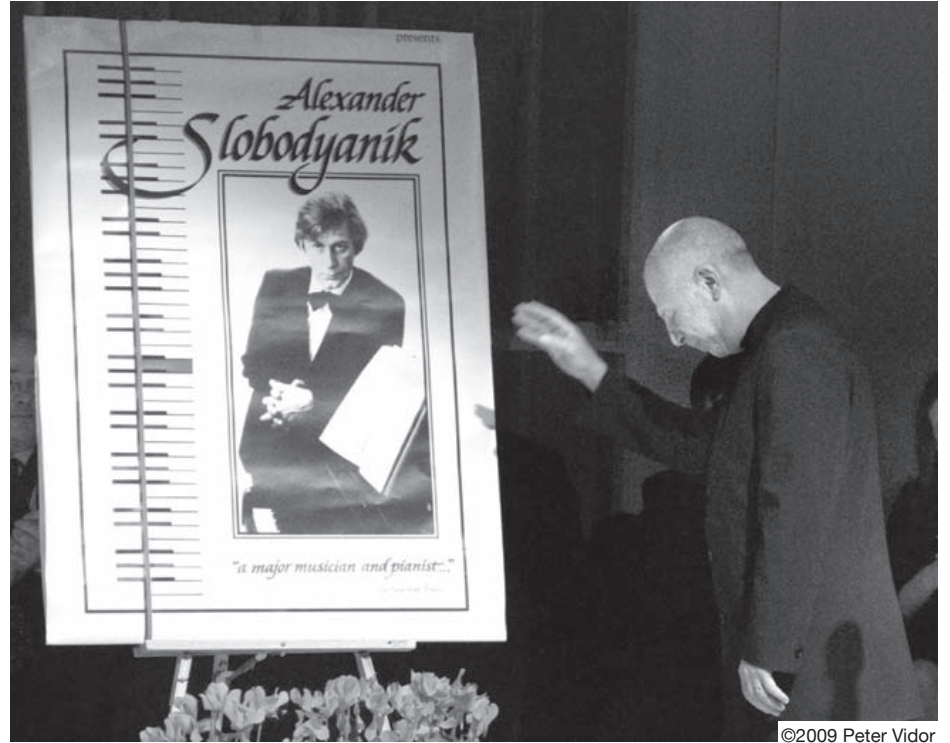
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Laryssa Krupa, the famed pianist's widow, also performed, opening the second half of the concert with Rachmaninoff's Etudes-Tableaux in E-flat major.

Radio personality Robert Sherman hosted the concert, interviewing the performers to elicit their memories of their late colleague. In the upstairs gallery of Merkin Hall an exhibit of photos prepared by Ms. Krupa showed her late husband at various stages in his illustrious career.

A special feature of the evening was a video clip of Alexander Slobodyanik playing a Chopin prelude. The audience applauded for several minutes after viewing the clip, reported Mike Tschappat of the Daily Record. "It was the conclusion of an emotional concert, a tribute by friends and colleagues for Slobodyanik, who lived in Morristown, but had a reputation that was global," he wrote.

Ms. Krupa commented to Mr. Tschappat: "All the performers were very uplifted after the concert. Someone made the remark that only Alexander could bring everyone together like that."



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Alexander Feltsman pays tribute to his friend and colleague Alexander Slobodyanik, pausing before a poster of the late pianist.



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A view of the packed concert hall and stage during the Slobodyanik tribute.

Economic protests...

(Continued from page 1)

economic blazes that crop up on a daily basis, such as factory workers demanding unpaid wages, residents freezing because their heat was cut and pensioners complaining of only partial payments.

The Kharkiv Aviation Factory, for example, informed government officials it would shut down by the end of February without the promised government aid.

During the February 25 Cabinet of Ministers meeting, an irritated Ms. Tymoshenko said funds were earmarked for the factory in the 2009 budget, then firmly rebuked Industrial Policy Minister Volodymyr Novytskyi for not transferring them.

"What chains on your legs prevented you from transferring 40 million hrv to the Kharkiv Aviation Factory the day after the measure was passed?" the prime minister shouted at Mr. Novytskyi, creating a dramatic scene in front of television cameras. "Am I supposed to babysit ministers 24 hours a day?"

The final decision on financing was approved three weeks ago, Mr. Novytskyi replied, only further upsetting Ms. Tymoshenko, who said that holding wages for even three weeks is a crime. "Maybe I will simply make a decision through a special decree to deny wages to ministers who handle their responsibilities as such, and redirect them to the Kharkiv Aviation Factory."

Such delays in wages, coupled with mass layoffs in factories and companies that have failed altogether, have resulted large numbers of Ukrainians unable to pay their basic utility bills.

About 44 percent of Ukrainians reported some decline in their income, according to a poll conducted by the Kyiv International

Institute of Sociology (KIIS) between February 6 and 15.

As a result, thousands of residents of Dnipropetrovsk, Ukraine's third largest city, went without heat for days in mid-February because they collectively only paid 32 percent of the energy costs through their monthly utility bill, resulting in a 93 million hrv (\$12 million) debt.

Around the same time, heat was cut to Donetsk residents because they paid only 65 percent of their heating bills, creating a 122 million hrv (\$15 million) debt for the city's heat provider, Donetskmiskteplomerezha, to cover before its natural gas suppliers.

On February 24 the Kherson state water supply company cut service because of accumulated debts owed to electricity providers that resulted from unpaid bills. More than 100,000 city residents, 23 nurseries and 17 educational institutions lost their water supply.

While the KIIS poll showed that 90 percent of Ukrainians said they were affected by the crisis in some way, Ms. Tymoshenko has been directing special attention to the nation's 13 million pensioners. A reliable source of votes, she assured them their payments wouldn't be disrupted throughout the year, pointing out the State Pension Fund received all its revenues in February.

"I turn to pensioners – don't listen to the hysterics and misinformation on television," she said, responding to claims by rival Arseniy Yatsenyuk that the pension fund is bankrupt.

Amidst the turmoil, speculation rose that the Ukrainian government might default on its debts before its foreign creditors, which would seal the nation's economic collapse.

Experts at Commerzbank reported that the likelihood of a Ukrainian default is 90 percent, citing a 26 percent decline in industrial production, the hryvnia's plunge and the IMF's hesitance in offering the second

tranche.

Furthermore, Ukrainian politicians could provoke a default for political gains, HSBC financial expert Oleksander Morozov told the EUobserver Internet site. "In such a case, Tymoshenko wouldn't be able to fulfill her obligations to her electorate in paying wages, pensions and so forth," he said.

Far worse than a default are destructive measures the government could take to avoid a default, said Rostyslav Ischenko, president of the Center for Systemic Analysis and Prognosis in Kyiv.

"In its attempts to avoid default, the government will start to simply print currency, and then we will return to the situation in the early 1990s, when we first killed ourselves with our own economy and ended up defaulting afterwards anyhow," Mr. Ischenko said.

"For as much as I can follow the government's steps, it has gone down this very path. It's trying to avoid the practically inevitable default by pumping unsecured hryvni on the domestic market," he added.

Tracking the Ukrainian economy won't be so simple after Ms. Tymoshenko ordered the State Statistics Committee to cease releasing economic data on a monthly basis and switch to a quarterly schedule instead.

Meanwhile, Ukrainian banks continued to fall like dominoes. After Nadra Bank and Kyiv Bank required government intervention, shareholders of Rodovid Bank voted on February 26 to sell majority control to the Ukrainian government.

That didn't help depositors of those banks, who were unable to make withdrawals from their automated-teller machines (ATM) in recent weeks.

Not only have Kyiv Bank's and Nadra's ATMs failed, but the banks haven't been returning savings on accounts whose terms have expired.

Retailers and supermarkets are no longer

accepting the debit cards of Nadra, one of Ukraine's largest banks, which received the largest chunk of the first IMF tranche.

The financial turmoil has led to thousands of Ukrainians taking to the street in protest.

Protesters under the banner of "Distaly!" (Had Enough!) took their cars and trucks to clog Kyiv's Hrushevsky Street, where both the Parliament and Cabinet are situated, to voice their contempt for the government by honking their horns and disrupting traffic.

Thousands of truck drivers are striking throughout Ukraine with demands for interest moratoriums on their loans throughout the crisis period, extending loan terms and easing financial burdens overall.

Another movement, "Het Usikh!" (Everyone Out!) has set up tents on Kyiv's maidan (Independence Square) to protest new taxes and fines imposed on motorists that are intended to raise government revenues.

Thousands of Communists organized their own February 23 protest on the other side of the maidan under the slogan, "Yushchenko-Suitcase-America," demanding the president's resignation.

Joining the chorus was former President Leonid Kravchuk, who told a live national television audience on February 24 that President Yushchenko was failing to uphold his constitutional obligations as president in dealing with the financial crisis and even profiting from it.

"I see only one exit – pre-term presidential elections," Mr. Kravchuk said. "The majority of people demand this. Allow us to remember that I agreed to pre-term elections in my time. Did I want to do it? Of course not. The true patriotism of a president, Viktor Andriyovych, lies in analyzing a situation, one own's position and making the appropriate decision – resigning."

IMF withholds second tranche of emergency loan to Ukraine

by Yuriy Onyshkiv

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV – The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is still withholding the second tranche of a \$16.4 billion emergency loan aimed at recapitalizing Ukraine's banking sector after the government fell behind in implementing stabilization measures needed to receive the aid.

"Among the outstanding issues is on the fiscal side, where we need to find agreement on how to contain the government deficit in 2009," said David Hawley, the senior advisor at the IMF external relations department, during an early February press briefing in Washington.

Specifically, the IMF wants the 2009 budget's 3 percent deficit eliminated, and a second package of anti-crisis reforms adopted before it issues a second tranche of an estimated \$1.9 billion.

At a February 26 meeting with the ambassadors of the Group of Seven countries in Kyiv, President Viktor Yushchenko said he would meet the next morning with Ms. Tymoshenko, Verkhovna Rada Chair Volodymyr Lytvyn, National Bank of Ukraine (NBU) Acting Chair Anatolii Shapovalov and opposition leader Viktor Yanukovich to reach compromise on the IMF terms.

President Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko have been unable to agree on numerous conditions demanded by the IMF, including revising the 2009 budget, which Ms. Tymoshenko said would only result in reducing desperately needed revenues.

"This is an inadequate, dead-end position which needs review," the president told the ambassadors. "I think I will find arguments to convince the government."

In November 2009 Ukraine received the first tranche, or \$4.5 billion, of an IMF stand-by loan brokered after the Verkhovna Rada approved a package of anti-crisis

legislation.

The National Bank of Ukraine didn't disclose which banks received the loans, but observers believe it earmarked a significant portion to Nadra Bank, which failed anyway and required government intervention.

Ms. Tymoshenko and other political opponents of Nadra Bank's owner, Dmytro Firtash, alleged that he plundered most of the funds he received.

"There are many questions regarding the transparency of the IMF aid," said Yuriy Butsa, a deputy director at the Kyiv office of the Warsaw Stock Exchange, raising the possibility of shady deals behind the bank refinancing from the first tranche.

Mr. Butsa said he had no doubt that postponement of the second IMF tranche was due to Ukraine not abiding by the conditions in a memorandum signed between Kyiv and the IMF, namely, liberalization of exchange rate policy and adoption of a non-deficit budget.

Oleksander Zholud, an economist at the International Center for Prospective Studies in Kyiv, said the IMF tranche deferral is directly linked to a well-balanced budget.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), another international financial organization created to build market economies and democracies in the former Communist bloc, said it is willing to offer Ukraine credit of 500 million euros (about \$640 million U.S.) to recapitalize the banking system.

Since cooperation with the IMF is an essential indicator of a country's reliability, experts said the EBRD money is complementary to the IMF loan.

Petro Poroshenko, chair of the NBU board of directors, said cuts to further funding would have "devastating" consequences for European economies and could heavily damage European banks with huge stakes in Ukrainian banks.

Quotable notes

"Last month Gazprom launched a massive and aggressive misinformation campaign against Ukraine. ... I had hoped that this propaganda war was over. Therefore, I was surprised to read in your newspaper ("Russia denies Ukraine gas system move," February 4) groundless allegations about Ukraine's gas transport system (GTS).

"Surely, Vladimir Chizhov, the Russian ambassador to the European Union, was aware of the European Commission's Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States program conclusions, published in 2007, that the Ukrainian GTS was in a satisfactory technical condition? Surely, Mr. Chizhov was aware of the official data of the Russian and Ukrainian ministries of emergencies: while Ukraine had three accidents in its transit pipeline network, the biggest in Europe, in 2006 and one in 2007, Russia had 37 in 2006 and 43 in 2007. ...

"... Ukraine is conscious that its GTS, like any other continental infrastructure facility, needs ongoing modernization. To this end we are investing our own resources as well as cooperating with interested parties to ensure upgrading of our GTS and improve its security. On March 23 we will host a special investment conference in Brussels devoted to this topic. ...

"By cutting gas off and attempting to place Ukrainian operators in breach of operational procedures, Gazprom committed an act of technological aggression. Its ploy did not work because Ukraine has modernized the system and was able to continue operating.

"Europe needs cooperation, not accusations."

– Viacheslav Kniazhnytskyi, counselor on energy issues, Mission of Ukraine to the European Union, in a letter to the editor published in the February 11 issue of the Financial Times.

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GENERATION UKE

Edited and compiled by Matthew Dubas and Yarema Belej

New York Kozaks Hockey Club vs. Montreal Ukes – a rivalry renewed

by Yarema Belej

MONTREAL – Guys will do nearly anything to win favor with nice Ukrainian girls, regardless of where they live. This was the case in 1989, when a young native New Yorker was often traveling to Montreal to visit with a young Ukrainian flight attendant. The trips that Taras Odulak would often make to Montreal would usually include hanging out with other local young Ukrainians at functions or at local bars.

One fateful weekend, with a couple of friends in tow, discussions of athletic prowess took center stage and the common link of hockey was recognized. The New Yorkers had been skating for a couple of years and the Montrealers for more than a decade.

A challenge was extended over drinks and along with plenty of pride. Less than a year later the New Yorkers were set to travel up to Montreal to lace 'em up and slap it around. The New Yorkers branded themselves the New York Kozaks and the Montrealers became the Montreal Ukes.

Although they were well aware of the huge task at hand, the Ukes were well-seasoned in hockey. "They knew how to skate backwards, forwards and how to lift the puck," said Andrij Sonevtsky of New York. The New Yorkers were finding it difficult to even skate a full team, and the first game saw them play with a few extras.

This first match saw the Montreal Ukes take it to the Kozaks. The game was played at Montreal's McGill University with over 100 attendees, who helped to raise over \$1,000 for the local Ukrainian school. Even though they played hard, the teams celebrated into the night and struck up new friendships.

A re-match was scheduled for the following year in New York. This game was billed as a fund-raiser for the Ukrainian American Youth Association and Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization and was witnessed by more than 200 people. More than \$2,000 was raised. This game saw a similar result, but the New York Kozaks had recruited a good number of players and their skill level was on its way up.

Through the next few years games were played in Montreal, Toronto and Detroit as more Ukrainian teams rose to the challenge and played for pride and sportsmanship as they took it all out on the ice.

After several years of no organized



Mary Hrywna

The equally matched New York Kozaks and the Montreal Ukes.

games, the friendly rivalry between the New York Kozaks and the Montreal Ukes was re-ignited and a match was set for Saturday January 24 of this year. This time around, both teams were fairly evenly matched.

The New York Kozaks play in a regular league, Division 3 at the Chelsea Piers, and as a result their team has reached a very high skill level. They have competed near the top of their league for quite some time now. So when this game was on the horizon, the "all-generation team" of the Kozaks knew it would have something to show on the ice.

Coinciding with the Montreal Malanka, the hockey game between the two old clubs had a full weekend to serve as a backdrop for their highly anticipated game. "Shortly after we arrived we went to the pub night at a local bar put on by the McGill Ukrainian Students association," said Mark Howansky, captain of the New York Kozaks. "Montreal was also hosting NHL All-Star weekend, so there were some related attractions downtown, like life-sized frozen ice sculptures of players. But, of course, we were the real all-stars in town."

This fun disposition was soon put to the side as the two teams played a hard and determined game to vanquish the opposition. With some deflections, the Ukes went

(Continued on page 11)



Yuriy Holowacky

The New York Kozaks attempt to even the score.



Yuriy Holowacky

The Montreal Ukes prepare for a face-off near their net.



Mary Hrywna

The New York Kozaks form a new strategy between periods.

“Orange Chronicles” signs domestic and foreign distribution deals

by Matthew Dubas

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The feature-length documentary “The Orange Chronicles” by Damian Kolodiy and Peter Zielyk was recently signed to two non-exclusive distribution deals. The film will be distributed by Journeyman Pictures (www.journeyman.tv), a London-based boutique distributor that specializes in current events documentaries, and Forward in Time (www.forwardintime.com), an educational distributor of films to universities in North America.

Since the documentary on the Orange Revolution is available to the world, rather than sitting on his shelf, Mr. Kolodiy said he feels free to focus his energies on new projects and goals, including conducting interviews with Ukrainian survivors of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 who live in the New York tri-state area. Mr. Kolodiy added that he is looking forward to some non-Ukrainian related projects, specifically music-related and a documentary around the recent presidential inauguration. (For more information, readers may visit www.pid-films.com.)

After screening the film for over two years in all parts of the world, the film was awarded the “Audience Award” at the Phoenix Film Festival, “Best Feature Documentary” at the Boston International Film Festival, “Best International

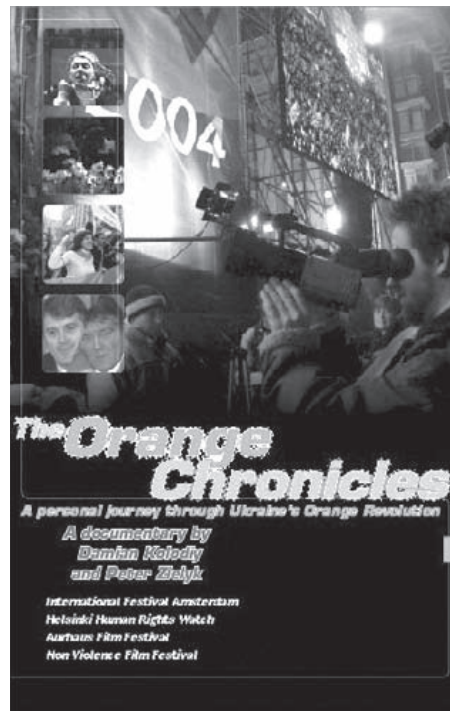
Documentary” at the Garden State Film Festival, and “Honorable Mention” at the Philadelphia Independent Film Festival.

Mr. Kolodiy said he hopes to screen the film in Chicago and other cities and hopes that the film will be integrated in educational spheres. Attempts made by the film team in Ukraine for television exposure were unsuccessful, and the film was pulled from the 2007 Human Rights Watch film festival in Ukraine’s eastern cities.

Daniel Fernandez-Davila, a seventh grade social studies teacher in Wayland, Mass., wrote Mr. Kolodiy a letter about his personal connection with the film and his students’ reaction to the film. Originally from Peru, Mr. Fernandez-Davila saw the rise of Alberto Fujimori, who is credited with fighting terrorism through popular unrest and the restoration of democracy in Peru. His students provided their thoughts on a webpage created by Mr. Fernandez-Davila.

Questions posed to the class included: What have you learned about Europe that you did not know before? Why is language crucial to define the identity of people? Why do Ukrainians want to be part of the European Union and not part of Russia? Is Europe really united or very fragmented? Do you think Russia will be part of the European Union some day in the future?

Many answers from the students suggested that they believe that language is the



heart of the identity of a people. “Without a common language there is no common nation,” as one student commented. Other answers tended to not foresee the EU embracing Russia, and many students complimented the Ukrainian leaders for not resorting to violence during the Orange Revolution.

In reaction to the comments made by the students, Mr. Kolodiy revealed that when editing the film the team had a young audience in mind that wasn’t familiar with Ukraine. In helping the students understand the underlying divisions in Ukraine, Mr. Kolodiy briefly explained the

Soviet policies of Russification and the Holodomor of 1932-1933, which killed millions of Ukrainians. Commenting on his experience filming the historic events, he stated: “It was an amazing time and I feel very fortunate to have been able to participate in the way I did. ... In any case I’m glad the film has stimulated your interest in the region. Ukraine will play a key component in the geopolitics between the West and the increasingly aggressive and imperialistic Russian government that continues to manipulate truth, especially to their people.”

Mr. Kolodiy also shared a letter he received from Prof. John E. McLaughlin, associate professor of English at Utah State University, and a 2007-2008 Fulbright Scholar in the Romance and Germanic languages department at Rivne State Humanities University in Ukraine. Prof. McLaughlin’s wife, a Russophone from Dnipropetrovsk, saw the film and upon viewing the footage said, “They never showed us that on television!” ... “I had no idea there were so many people there, we never knew, we never were told!” A schoolteacher in Dnipropetrovsk during the controversial election of 2004-2005, her school was a polling center and she worked 36 hours straight sealing ballot boxes.

Mr. Kolodiy is a freelance documentary producer, cameraman and editor. Among his works are pieces for Voice of America and Current TV. Mr. Zielyk is a New York-based editor/director, whose work includes music videos, commercials, documentaries and reality programming.

For more information, readers may visit www.OrangeChronicles.com.

The New York Times features Areta Trytjak’s Papushka Vintage

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Papushka Vintage, a costume jewelry business started by Areta Trytjak, 33, was featured on the front page of the Thursday Styles section of The New York Times on February 5. Her display of 1960s jewelry on black-and-white glamour photographs effectively

made the gold jewelry stand out.

Ms. Trytjak sells her artwork, specializing in designer vintage wear from the turn of the 20th century to the 1970s, at the Brooklyn Flea Market.

For more information, readers may visit www.brownstoner.com/brooklynflea/.



Robert Wright for The New York Times

Papushka Vintage’s 1960s costume jewelry at the Brooklyn Flea Market.

New York Kozaks...

(Continued from page 10)

up on the score sheet 2-1. With a venerable onslaught of last-minute heroics, the Kozaks tied the game up. The final score of 2-2 was deemed fitting as the two teams played evenly and matched each other in nearly every aspect of the game.

After cleaning up and putting on their finer garments, the players all celebrated at the Montreal Malanka. The music was by Zolota Bulava, whose drummer Yuri Mytko is the captain of the Montreal Ukes and accordionist/keyboardist Stefan Holowka is

also on the team.

While the teams run by the Kozak club are competitive in their divisions, team camaraderie is at the core of the club. There is the regular club and the “old boys” Kozak team. For a little more history and flavor of the club, go to <http://kozakshockey.multiply.com/>

The New York Kozaks play in their league every year and are always looking for sponsorship opportunities. To inquire about game dates, how to join or to contact the team about sponsorship, readers may e-mail markhowansky@yahoo.com or call 917-678-4168.

PHOTO OF THE MONTH



Danyo Hentisz

An ice sculpture of the Ukrainian American Youth Association emblem at the UAYA debutante ball, held on February 14 at the Parsippany Sheraton in New Jersey.

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Kiril Kulish, 14, stars in Broadway musical "Billy Elliot"

by Helen Smindak

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

NEW YORK – With his wide, dimpled smile, bashful demeanor and impeccable manners, young Kiril Kulish charms everyone he meets.

Introduced as an acclaimed actor in the fabulously successful Broadway musical "Billy Elliot," the fair-haired teenager also impresses everyone he meets.

Fourteen-year-old Kiril of San Diego has reached a momentous point in his life: he's playing the title role in "Billy Elliot: The Musical," the long-running London hit that recently opened at the Imperial Theater in Manhattan.

Kiril is one of three teenage boys chosen to play the part of Billy Elliot, a role so demanding that the producers use three dancers in rotation: Kiril, New Yorker Trent Kowalik, 13, and Canadian David Alvarez, 14. The boys are on stage for most of the two-and-a-half hour show.

Each of the boys takes his turn at being Billy, unless an actor is unable to go on, in which case one of the two stand-by performers takes over.

While enacting Billy, the boys perform all manner of stage work: ballet, tap and street dancing, singing, acrobatics, floating above the stage in a flying harness, acting and speaking with the accent indigenous to north England's Durham County.

The role is said to be the largest child's role in musical theater and one of the largest roles of any age.

Billy is an 11-year-old lad in an English mining town who, unlike his peers, prefers ballet slippers to boxing gloves. Despite his father's strong disapproval and the initial reaction of family friends and the local all-female ballet class, Billy continues to strive toward his goal – a scholarship to the Royal Ballet School – in the face of such adversities as a miners' strike, his father's unemployment and his older brother's injuries, sustained during a clash with the riot police. Billy's efforts are supported by Mrs. Wilkinson, the town's dance teacher.

Adapted by director Stephen Daldry and writer Lee Hall from their Oscar-nominated 2000 film "Billy Elliot," with choreography by Peter Darling and tunes by the celebrated pop songwriter Elton John, the musical has been a smash hit in London's West End since 2005 and has won eight Best Musical Awards. In New York, tickets for "Billy Elliot" are snapped up by theater-goers eager to attend this heart-warming, humorous and highly entertaining show.

Chatting with me in a backstage lounge at the Imperial Theater one afternoon,

Kiril declared that he really appreciates "this incredible opportunity to play such an important role and – hopefully – leave a mark on this show."

"Getting this part is a wonderful step to performing for the rest of my life," he said. Like Billy, he dreams of being a professional ballet dancer and/or choreographer; he already has his eyes on the Royal Ballet of England and the American Ballet Theater as possible venues for his ambitions.

A very musical family

Kiril credits "my wonderful family and my amazing dance teachers" for helping to develop his skills. He points out that he comes from "a very musical family, and taking piano lessons from my mother has helped me a lot with my musicality."

His mother, Raisa Kulish, a native of Chernivtsi in western Ukraine, is a private piano teacher and former concert pianist who relates with pride that her father, Kiril Kulish, a resident of Chernihiv province in north-central Ukraine, is kin to the famous 19th century Ukrainian writer, critic, poet, folklorist and translator Panteleimon Kulish.

The family, which includes two older children, Victor, 30, a musician, and Beata, 27, both born in Ukraine before the family moved to San Diego in 1989, uses Raisa Kulish's maiden name as the family name.

Kiril's father, Phil Akselrud, who, Kiril said, "supports me 100 percent," lives in the nearby community of Oceanside.

Described by a music critic as a multi-talented dynamo, Kiril has been dancing up a storm since the age of 3, when his sister discovered he was able to follow all the steps to a choreography routine she was working on in college.

At age 5, Kiril began serious training and started winning prizes in ballet and ballroom competitions. At 7, he was a student at Hillcrest's Champion Academy Ballroom. He danced with the San Diego Academy of Ballet's junior company for eight years.

By the time he was 12, he had danced off with the grand prize in the Youth America Grand Prix International World Ballet Competition (YAGP) for two consecutive years and had twice become National Ballroom Dance Champion in the Junior Division.

He is also an accomplished concert pianist and made his international debut in Cordoba, Spain, and has appeared in several television commercials.

Kiril told me he was discovered for "Billy Elliot" during a national ballet competition in New York, where a casting



David Scheinman

Kiril Kulish onstage as Billy Elliot.

director noted his expertise and called his ballet teacher.

Among 1,500 boys

During a cross-country search by "Billy Elliot" producers, Kiril was among 1,500 boys in eight major American cities who auditioned for the role of Billy. The yearlong project narrowed down the field to 15 finalists, concluding with the selection of Kiril, Trent and David for the rotating role.

The trio spent an intensive 10-day workshop, called a callback process, in New York with the other Billy Elliot hopefuls, learning acrobatics, singing and dialect, with the choreographer and director Mr. Daldry working individually with each boy. Months later, Kiril received word that he was one of the three teens chosen to portray Billy.

In preparation for the role, he made a trip to London for a month, attended the English version of "Billy Elliot" twice, and worked on mastering Billy's working-class accent. Kiril, Trent and David

rehearsed and trained, and learned the musical's choreography.

"Once we came back from London, we started perfecting our training," Kiril says.

Although he's done numerous stage performances as far away as Japan, "Billy Elliot" is his first Broadway musical. New York rehearsals started in June and previews in October, taking up all his time, but he has no regrets about missing favorite sports activities. He says ballet is as hard as any sport; it requires strength, stamina and flexibility.

At home in San Diego, Kiril was able to engage in sports he liked, especially football, basketball, soccer, tennis and skateboarding. Now his daily schedule is filled with performances, rehearsals, stand-by duties, piano studies and school work, but he says performing in the musical makes up for all of it. "It's really fun to be in 'Billy Elliot' – it's very exciting!"

"Putting everything together can be tiring, but dancing is what I enjoy most.

(Continued on page 22)



Carol Rosegg

Billy times three (from left): Kiril Kulish, Trent Kowalik and David Alvarez.



David Scheinman

Kiril Kulish shows off his dance skills.

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

for the rapid growth of the value of the dollar to the hryvnia. He voiced hope that if talks with the International Monetary Fund are resumed, the situation will stabilize. "But, if things [continue to] go as they do, inflation will be the highest in the last 10 years and the dollar value will also grow," he added. As of February 23, the rate at exchange offices of Ukrainian business banks was 8.35-8.7 hrv per \$1 (U.S.) and sale rate was 8.8-9.2 hrv per \$1. By February 25 the value of the hryvnia had fallen to more than 9.2 hrv per \$1 (U.S.). On February 23 the National Bank of Ukraine had set the official hryvnia rate at 7.7 hrv per \$1. (Ukrinform)

Ohryzko on Chernomyrdin's comments

KYIV – The reaction of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Ukraine to statements by Russian Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin was quite adequate and timely, Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Volodymyr Ohryzko said on February 18. "A foreign ambassador cannot make statements like that in the country of his posting. If Ukraine's Ambassador to the Russian Federation [Kostyantyn] Gryshchenko said anything of the kind, he would be sent back to Kyiv in 10 minutes," Mr. Ohryzko emphasized. "The warning was made, and the rest will depend on Mr. Ambassador," Mr. Ohryzko said. According to Ukraine's foreign affairs minister, the reaction of any citizen of Ukraine would be similar if he read Mr. Chernomyrdin's interview with Komsomolskaya Pravda, in which he said Ukraine's leaders "have no brain." Asked if he had discussed his comment with the Cabinet of Ministers, Mr. Ohryzko said "each minister works within the framework of his responsibilities and implements his own functions. The Foreign Affairs Ministry of Ukraine warned Mr. Chernomyrdin that he could be declared persona non-grata in Ukraine. During a meeting with the Russian diplomat, Mr. Ohryzko protested his unfriendly and very undiplomatic appraisals, comments and expressions about Ukraine and its leaders. He drew the Russian ambassador's attention to the fact that the aforementioned actions could become grounds for applying provisions of Article 9 of the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations of April 18, 1961. The convention provides, among other things, that the head of a diplomatic mission could become a persona non grata due to violations of the norms of diplomatic ethics and, therefore, his presence would be inadmissible in the country of his posting. (Ukrinform)

President supports Ohryzko's view

KYIV – Statements by Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Minister Volodymyr Ohryzko regarding Russian Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin are in line with international law, Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko stated on February 19. "The matter exclusively concerns international law, where it is unacceptable for an ambassador in the country of his posting to say things that might be accepted incorrectly by the nation, the authorities and the people as a whole," Mr. Yushchenko said. He underscored that the Ukrainian foreign affairs minister in this case stood up for "the honor and status of our state." At the same time, the president expressed his conviction that Mr. Chernomyrdin did not intend to damage bilateral Ukrainian-Russian relations. "We are two great European states, and we have to be more tactful in our relations," Mr. Yushchenko said, emphasizing that diplomats especially should avoid emotional statements. The president confirmed once again that relations between Ukraine and Russia are built on the spirit of partnership and that Ukraine regards the Russian Federation as a strate-

gic neighbor. "At the same time, we would like the diplomatic circles of our neighbor to be tactful in speaking about our state and our nation," he underscored. (Ukrinform)

U.S. envoy comments on Chernomyrdin

KYIV – U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William B. Taylor described the statements of Russia's Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin as "amusing." Speaking to the news media on February 19 in reaction to Mr. Chernomyrdin's comments to the newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda in Ukraine, Mr. Taylor said, "I like listening to Ambassador Chernomyrdin speaking very much, it looks funny sometimes." Commenting on the Russian diplomat's statement in the interview that Mr. Taylor is a spy, the U.S. envoy underlined that Mr. Chernomyrdin knows his biography very well and, in particular, that he was in the service in the 1960-1970s. "Since then I have been working at the U.S. Department of State for a long time, and Chernomyrdin is well aware of that," Mr. Taylor stressed. He also expressed confidence that this diplomatic incident between Ukraine and Russia caused by Mr. Chernomyrdin's statements will be solved "in a friendly manner." (Ukrinform)

Ukraine ready for dialogue with Russia

KYIV – Ukraine is ready to continue its dialogue with Russia at the highest level, the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry's press secretary, Vasyl Kyrlych, said at a February 23 briefing while commenting on a statement by Russian Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin that there are no grounds for the Ukrainian and Russian presidents to meet soon. Mr. Kyrlych said that Ukraine had consistently supported and continues to support its dynamic and constructive cooperation with Russia based on principles of mutual benefit and equality. He also said that the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry had proposed joint working meetings at the high and highest levels with their Russian counterparts. "The Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry expresses its readiness to prepare for and hold another meeting of the Ukrainian-Russian interstate commission headed by the presidents," he said, adding that this meeting should be preceded by a meeting between the foreign ministers of both countries, as well as concerned secretaries of the Ukrainian-Russian commission. Mr. Kyrlych said that the bilateral political dialogue continues to develop consistently and dynamically. He said that a meeting between Ukraine's First Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Volodymyr Khandohiy and his Russian counterpart, Alexander Grushko, is scheduled for early March. The subject of their meeting will be Ukrainian-Russian cooperation in various spheres, he said. Mr. Kyrlych also said that talks between Ukrainian Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Yurii Kostenko and the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry's State Secretary Grigory Karasin are planned for early April. (Ukrinform)

PromInvestBank gets second tranche

KYIV – In accordance with its financial recovery plan, PromInvestBank received the second tranche of a long-term credit in the amount of \$325 million (U.S.) from VneshEconBank of Russia, the bank's press service reported on February 23. The first tranche of \$390 million (U.S.) came on February 10, and the third tranche in the amount of \$285 million is expected on March 20. According to the National Bank of Ukraine, the largest stockholders of PromInvestBank are the Russian state corporation VneshEconBank, which owns 75 percent of the stock, and LLC Signus (daughter company of Austrian Slav AG). (Ukrinform)

(Continued on page 15)

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 14)

Vikentii Khvoika Museum opens

KYIV – The Vikentii Khvoika Museum, which will be a branch of the regional archeological museum, has been opened in the Kyiv region. According to Vice-Chairman of the Kyiv Oblast State Administration Rostyslav Yerema, the opening of a museum dedicated to Vikentii Khvoika, a pioneer and founder of Ukrainian archeology, is a significant event. “One of his most well-known achievements in archeology is uncovering artifacts of the ancient agricultural Trypillian culture of the 4th-3th millennium B.C. He made a great contribution to studying Ukraine’s culture and showed that the Ukrainian nation has rather deep historical roots.” The museum is located in a historic house built in 1872. It was here that the well-known researcher lived. Having lived in Czechia for 26 years, he moved to Ukraine and became known thanks to his scientific achievements. Khvoika (1850-1914) discovered the Trypillian culture, early Slavonic archeological cultures on Ukraine’s territory and artifacts of ancient Kyiv, and started a new scientific epoch in studying the Paleolithic era of Ukraine. He also discovered several Paleolithic sites, primarily the Kyrlyivska site that became the sample Paleolithic monument for the Middle Dnipro region. Thus far, the remains of over 2,000 settlements of the Trypillian culture have been found, revealing a highly developed civilization at that time on the territories of modern Ukraine, Poland, Moldova and Romania. (Ukrinform)

Moody’s to review Ukraine’s ratings

KYIV – Moody’s Investors Service has put the following ratings of Ukraine under review for possible downgrade: the foreign and local currency government bond ratings (B1) and the foreign currency country ceilings for bonds (Ba3) and bank deposits (B2). “The rating action reflects concerns about how persistent political uncertainty clouds the prospects for an orderly resolution of banking problems, in the context of a severe economic downturn,” reads a February 24 statement. Moody’s last rating action with respect to Ukraine occurred on October 20, 2008, when the outlook on all major sovereign ratings was changed to stable from positive. Moody’s also lowered Ukraine’s national currency deposit rating from Ba1 to Ba1. (Ukrinform)

Trade unions warning of strikes

KYIV – The National Forum of the Trade Unions of Ukraine on February 24 warned of the threat of an uncontrolled strike movement. Forum Chair Myroslav Yakibchuk said the situation at various enterprises is being monitored and that such monitoring had shown the critical condition of hired labor. He added that the inaction of Ukraine’s authorities enables company owners and employers to systematically violate laws and collective treaties. “Currently, the work collectives of over 1,000 enterprises are ready for radical actions,” Mr. Yakibchuk noted, adding, “They have been demanding payment of arrears, higher wages and an end to layoffs for more than one month, and the absence of any reaction on the part of authorities and employers encourages them to use tough methods to fight for their rights.” The National Forum is demanding from Ukrainian authorities an effective dialogue with trade unions and employers to outline a common strategy to resolve the crisis. (Ukrinform)

427 schools closed due to flu

KYIV – As of February 23, according to decisions of local authorities and due to children ill with acute respiratory viral infections and influenza, studies have been

suspended at 427 general educational schools of the country – 2 percent of the total number of educational establishments in Ukraine. Some 172,600 students – 3.8 percent of all students in the country – are not attending school. (Ukrinform)

Roman Catholics get their church back

DNIPROPETROVSK, Ukraine – Ukraine’s Supreme Economics Court ruled that a U.S. company has no right of ownership to a Roman Catholic church in Dnipropetrovsk, it was reported on February 20. Catholics in Dnipropetrovsk welcomed the decision, as a legal battle over ownership of the building has gone on for more than 10 years. The U.S.-registered company Dugsbery bought the building in 1998. Local Catholics have challenged the building’s ownership since then, saying that the church belongs to the parish. The church was built in 1890 with money donated by the Catholic community. (RFE/RL)

Ukraine to ease gun restrictions

KYIV – Ukraine’s Internal Affairs Ministry on February 20 announced a plan to ease restrictions on the purchase of guns that fire rubber bullets, RFE/RL’s Ukrainian Service reports. The draft law allows any Ukrainian citizen age 18 or older who has no criminal record and is psychologically stable to buy such guns. Experts fear that such guns can be easily turned into regular guns. The head of the License Board at the Internal Affairs Ministry’s Civil Security Department, Valentyn Vedmid, told RFE/RL that criminals mainly use unregistered guns, adding that of last year’s 311 gun-related crimes, only 34 were committed with registered guns. (RFE/RL)

Ministry to ID Holodomor survivors

KYIV – Ukraine’s Justice Ministry has set up an interdepartmental working group to identify survivors of the Holodomor of 1932-1933. The procedure of identifying these people will be carried out with the goal of granting them the status of those affected by the Famine. (Ukrinform)

Germany for Ukraine’s Euro-integration

KYIV – Germany will further support Ukraine on its way to integration with the European Union, Minister of State of the German Foreign Office Gernot Erler told a conference in Berlin on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the German-Ukrainian Forum. “The fact that we celebrate the 10th anniversary of the forum at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicates how important German-Ukrainian relations are for us,” Mr. Erler underscored. He assured that Germany remains a “friend and defender” of Ukraine. “We are convinced that Ukraine is a deeply European state and our direct neighbor,” he said. Germany supports the early signing of the Agreement on Association between Ukraine and the European Union, Mr. Erler noted. In addition, Berlin supports the Czech Presidency of the EU in preparing for and holding a summit of European Union countries and the “Eastern Partnership” on May 7 in Prague. Mr. Erler recalled that the Polish-Swedish initiative approved by the European Union last June provides for the development of closer cooperation with the EU’s Eastern neighbors – Ukraine, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, as well as with Belarus on condition of the country’s democratization. As Mr. Erler explained, The Eastern Partnership provides for intensification of the existing neighborhood policy on the principle of differentiation, that is, EU relations with each of these states will develop differently, depending on how well they carry out necessary reforms. “We are interested in an independent, stable and democratic Ukraine,” he underscored. The president of the German-Ukrainian Forum and Parliament’s president of the Saxony-Anhalt Federal State, Dieter Steinecke, expressed hope that Germany would again

become Ukraine’s “advocate,” adding, “I have no doubt that Ukraine will become a European Union member after fulfilling its homework.” (Ukrinform)

Criminal proceedings against pastor

KYIV – The militia has instituted criminal proceedings against the pastor of the Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God, Sunday Adelaja, on suspicion of fraud, it was reported on February 5. The Nigerian pastor is actively supported by Kyiv Mayor Leonid Chernovetskyi, who is one of his parishioners. According to the deputy chair of the Internal Affairs Ministry’s Main Investigation Department, Viktor Ilchuk, Mr. Adelaja is currently considered a witness and is under written orders not to leave the country. The pastor has been suspected of involvement in machinations of the King’s Capital financial group. The group’s heads, U.S. citizen Robert Fletcher and Ukrainian Oleksander Bandurchenko, are currently in custody, and the Shevchenkivskyi District Court of Kyiv has prolonged the term of their custody until April. Messrs. Fletcher and Bandurchenko were arrested in late November 2008 for two months. Hundreds of people who invested money were victims of the King’s Capital financial pyramid. According to tentative data, King’s Capital earned between \$100 million and \$200 million (U.S.) on those wishing to make a quick buck. (Ukrinform)

Canadians may develop oil/gas shelf

KYIV – The Shelton Canada Corp. oil and gas company jointly with the state joint stock company ChornomorNaftogaz could carry out exploration and development of the Arkhangelsk area in the western part of the Crimean peninsula in shallow waters of the Black Sea shelf. An agreement about joint activities envisages that the Shelton share in the project would be 50 percent. Currently the agreement is undergoing a registration process with relevant authorities. The agreement concerns an area of 87 square kilometers, approximately 25 kilometers from the seashore with depths of about 45 meters. A license for exploration was renewed in early 2008 and is in effect through 2038. Shelton’s portfolio of projects includes a 45 percent share jointly with the UkrNafta enterprise on development of the Leleliaki oil field in the Donetsk-Dnipro basin with a production level of over 350 barrels a day, proved reserves of 2.6 million barrels of oil equivalent (boe) and a total potential of 30 million boe. The cooperation agreement between the companies was

signed in 2005. Shelton has bored one oil well (Biriuchia No. 1) in the Azov Sea, however, it appeared to be dry. ChornomorNaftogaz is carrying out work on the development of the Ukrainian part of the shelf in the Black and Azov seas. (Ukrinform)

Kyiv 46th in real estate prices

KYIV – Kyiv ranks 46th among cities with the most expensive real estate, according to the annual rating of the International Information-Analytical portal Global Property Guide. The average price for one square meter of real estate is \$3,500 (U.S.). Analysts note that if it were not for the economic crisis, Kyiv would be in the top 10 most expensive cities of the world. “Before the crisis, the price for one square meter of the capital’s real estate in the central districts of the city was about \$6,000 (U.S.),” noted the director of the Investment-Development Company Global Solutions, Serhii Tumasov. (Ukrinform)

Most would vote for Yanukovych

KYIV – According to a survey carried out by the Research & Branding Group, the leader of the opposition Party of Regions, Viktor Yanukovych, would get the largest number of votes if the presidential elections were held in mid-February. Just over 21 percent of respondents said they would cast their votes for him. Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko would be supported by 17.7 percent, ex-Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Arseniy Yatseniuk by 11 percent, Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn by 4.5 percent and Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko by 4.5 percent of voters. Only 2.3 percent of Ukrainians would like to reelect President Viktor Yushchenko. At the same time, 13.6 percent of respondents said they would vote “against all,” and 10.2 percent would not go to the polls. In addition, 32.7 percent of respondents positively appraised activities by Mr. Yatseniuk. Mr. Lytvyn’s activities were positively appraised by 25.8 percent, Ms. Tymoshenko’s, 23.6 percent, Mr. Symonenko’s, 19 percent, and Mr. Yushchenko’s, 7.1 percent. The president was negatively appraised by 77.2 percent of respondents, the prime minister by 57.3 percent, followed by Mr. Yanukovych, 53.9 percent, Mr. Symonenko, 53.5 percent, Mr. Lytvyn, 39.1 percent, and Mr. Yatsenyuk, 37.7 percent. The survey was conducted on January 20-30 in all the regions of Ukraine and in Crimea; 2,077 respondents participated; the poll’s margin of error did not exceed 2.2 percent. (Ukrinform)



It is with deepest sadness that we inform you that our beloved
Husband, Father, Grandfather, Son, Godfather and Uncle

William (Wasył) Dmytro Rudyk

passed away in his sleep on Tuesday, February 17, 2009

He was born on July 20, 1952 in Bronx, NY

Survived by:

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Daughters: Katja Rudyk-Kulhanek with husband Clifton
Natalia Rudyk

Grandchildren: Clifton, Justin, Kailey and Aryanna

Mother: Stephanie Rudyk

Brother: Stephen Rudyk with wife Olga

Niece: Adrianna Odomirok with husband Robert

Nephew: Nicholas with wife Kelly

Family members in Canada, Germany, the United States and Ukraine

Parastas services were held in Yorktown Heights, New York on Friday, February 20th.

Memorial Service was held in Odenton, Maryland on Tuesday, February 24th.

Burial to be held on April 29th at Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, VA

Vichnaya Pamyat!

The post-Soviet...

(Continued from page 3)

groups are carrying out in eastern Ukraine through their control of the local mass media, preventing Ukrainians from learning the truth about their own history.

The region's two dominating parties have created a hostile environment for Ukrainian-language speakers and ethnic Ukrainians, as demonstrated when Party of Regions lawmaker Artem Klichayev assaulted Luhansk resident Serhii Melnychuk after a radio show in which they traded views on Ukrainian culture and identity.

Meanwhile, Luhansk Oblast State Administration Chair Oleksander Antipov attempted to censor Iryna Mahrytska's documentary film about the Holodomor in the region, prohibiting its broadcast on local television. Local Party of Regions officials also forbid distribution of her book, "Rescued Memory," revealing the truth about the Holodomor in the oblast. (See The Weekly, November 8, 2008).

In the roundtable discussion, the Luhansk Polytechnic freshmen also

revealed the failure of local schools to not only present accurate information about history, but also raise a new generation of Ukrainian citizens with even an elementary knowledge of their own history, language and culture.

Of the six students interviewed, only two felt comfortable enough with their knowledge of Ukrainian to use it throughout the hour. Two students didn't bother at all while two began speaking Ukrainian but eventually switched to Russian out of comfort.

Maya Makarivska, born three months before Ukrainian independence, responded to all questions in the Russian language (as did Mr. Sorokin).

When asked whether being Ukrainian meant not only knowing the Ukrainian language, but actually using it in daily life, she said she wasn't able to learn it well enough in her school in Rovenky, a Donbas mining town.

"I believe the Ukrainian language is very nice, but I didn't have the possibility to learn it perfectly," she said. "Everyone around me, including my parents and teachers, speaks Russian and that's why I learned Russian and not Ukrainian. I

would be joyful if I commanded the Ukrainian language well."

Sounding like a sound byte from the Party of Regions, her phrase echoes the double-pronged strategy played by the party to suppress the Ukrainian language in any way – Party of Regions politicians claim it's unfair to impose the Ukrainian language on eastern Ukrainians who never had the opportunity to learn it.

At the same time, the party denies any support for Ukrainian language instruction in schools, denouncing such efforts as forced Ukrainianization.

As evidence of its hypocritical policies, Party of Regions leader Viktor Yanukovich alleged in October 2008 that Donbas elementary school children were crying and hated going to school because they were forced to study in the Ukrainian language.

These students then grow up to be like Ms. Makarivska, who enter college without knowing Ukrainian, using the excuse that it wasn't offered in the schools.

Besides politics and education, another likely factor in the students' views is that none said they had a relative either killed or persecuted by the Soviet government.

Mr. Sorokin, an ethnic Russian, said his ancestors didn't starve during the Holodomor because they lived in the city of Luhansk at the time – likely a factor in his view that it was "technically necessary."

Though Luhansk streets, statues and city wards are named in honor of genocidal murders of Ukrainians – such as Stanislav Kosior, Yona Yakir and Klyment Voroshylov – nobody thought the streets should be renamed or monuments removed.

"In my opinion, there's no need to change the names of streets because they are named in honor of heroes," Ms. Kovaliova said. "And in whose honor would we name them now?"

When offered the suggestion of Kozak hetmans, Soviet dissidents or writers as worthy heroes, she ignored it, only repeating what she said earlier.

"It's not worth changing, because this is memory, and these people are worthy," Ms. Kovaliova said, clearly unaware of the crimes against humanity committed by the figures she admired.

Of course, in order to rename a street in honor of Vyacheslav Chornovil, a leader of the Ukrainian independence movement, Luhansk residents would have to know who he was in the first place.

While claiming to be patriots of Ukraine, the Donbas students revealed that their preference for the Russian language and Soviet culture came only at the expense of Ukrainian language and culture, not in complement.

Most of the students didn't know who Chornovil was, again demonstrating the failure of Luhansk Oblast schools to mold citizens who are conscious of even basic Ukrainian history.

"He was a political activist," offered Ms. Chernyk, adding that he was active about 10 to 15 years ago and he's still alive.

As for the Holodomor, Ms. Makarivska estimated about 100,000 or 200,000 perished.

Ukrainians didn't have passports at the time and "not even census figures," Ms. Kovaliova stated, which is why it's unclear just how many millions perished.

In another strange interpretation of history by these future lawyers, Ms. Savenkova said Ukrainian independence was a result of the relative weakness of former Soviet Premier (1955-1964) Nikita Khrushchev, compared with his iron-fisted predecessor Stalin.

"Khrushchev was in power, who was softer in character compared to Stalin," she explained. "And the opportunity for independence emerged, and Khrushchev's government possibly didn't suit someone. It's possible that's precisely why Ukrainians chose independence."

For all his praise of Soviet industry, Mr. Sorokin couldn't name what happened in 1986 or 1937. That might explain his administration for the Soviet government – an utter ignorance of its crimes.

To their credit, the freshmen knew that Vasyl Stus, their fellow Donbas native, was a writer. They weren't sure how he died or where, and were unaware of any of his works.

The Luhansk law students demonstrated that any hope that those born in 1991 would be conscious of their Ukrainian history, culture and language might have to be postponed for at least one more generation.

Trapped in a cave of disinformation and ignorance, they revere the Soviet tormentors of Ukrainians, largely ignorant of the real heroes. And they will vote for those politicians who honor the oppressors – three of the six students support the Party of Regions – while treating the freedom fighters with contempt.

"Without history, there is no future," Ms. Kovaliova said. Rather convincingly.



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BOOK NOTES

New collection of articles about the Ukrainian language

"Prychynky do Istoriyi Ukrayinskoyi Movy" (Contributions to the History of the Ukrainian Language), by Michael Moser. Kharkiv, Ukraine: Kharkiv Historical and Philological Society, 2008. 832 pp. hard-bound.

In 2008 the Kharkiv Historical and Philological Society published an extensive collection of articles on the Ukrainian language by Michael Moser, associate professor of linguistics at the Institute of Slavic Studies, University of Vienna. The publication of "Prychynky do Istoriyi Ukrayinskoyi Movy" (Contributions to the History of the Ukrainian Language) was jointly supported by the Kowalsky Program for the Study of Eastern Ukraine at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) and the Natalia Danylchenko Fund of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the United States.

The Kowalsky Program, supported by the Michael and Daria Kowalsky Endowment Fund at CIUS, promotes the study of eastern Ukraine and the revival of its scholarly, cultural and educational potential. This publication project benefited greatly from Prof. Moser's longstanding collaboration with scholars on Ukraine, especially Prof. Serhii Vakulenko of Kharkiv University, the editor and principal translator of the collection, who has also



worked with the Kowalsky Program on other projects.

The 27 articles making up this collection were originally written in several languages – German, English, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian. They stress the international importance of the Ukrainian language and make a significant contribution to the field of linguistics. The articles deal with a broad range of historical aspects of the Ukrainian

language, including issues of East European linguistic unity, a variety of documents, historical variants of Ukrainian such as "prosta mova" ("plain" Ruthenian) and "yazychiye" (a bookish western Ukrainian language of the 19th and early 20th centuries), old Ukrainian translations, the "Synopsis" of 1674, and regional aspects of the language, mainly those associated with Galicia and Transcarpathia (Zakarpattia) during the period of Habsburg rule.

Given the shift in the political context of scholarship that took place after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it should be noted that Prof. Moser's work helps undermine the notion of a "common Old Rus" language," which remains dominant in Russian linguistics. Prof. Moser follows the prominent Ukrainian linguist and literary scholar George Y. Shevelov (1908-2002) in substantiating the concept of a "linguistic and dialectal zone" out of which the Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian languages developed.

The Austrian scholar is the first to analyze in detail five Galician documents from the turn of the 15th century that contain unique linguistic forms and illustrate the intensity of Polish-Ukrainian contacts during that period. Further on, he scrutinizes the efforts of 19th-century Galician Russophiles to represent Russian as the region's sole literary language and treat the local "Rusyn" language as one of its dialects.

A well-developed linguistic terminology is a significant indicator of the growth of national consciousness. In this respect, the author recognizes Habsburg Vienna as a

leading center in working out such a terminological system for the Ukrainian language. Drawing attention to the language policy of the former USSR, which sought to bring that country's languages closer to the structure of Russian, Prof. Moser notes that they are still at risk and emphasizes the need for active linguistic development in the newly independent successor states.

Publications on the Ukrainian language and linguistics supported by CIUS have included works by such authors as Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, Bohdan Strumiński, Mykola Pavliuk and Dr. Shevelov.

Prof. Moser, who is fluent in Ukrainian, has worked with the institute on a number of projects. He began as a specialist in German philology, and his work on the comparative and historical aspects of that subject led him to take an interest in the Slavic languages, most notably Ukrainian. Dr. Shevelov's works proved a major stimulus in the development of that interest.

These collected articles, which feature meticulous analysis, numerous examples, and historical and comparative parallels, are of particular value to linguists exploring the history of the Ukrainian language. They will also be useful to specialists in other (especially Slavic) languages, as well as to historians, literary and cultural scholars, and all those interested in the history of the Ukrainian language and culture. "Prychynky do Istoriyi Ukrayinskoyi Movy" (ISBN 978-966-1630-01-6) can be purchased by contacting the Kharkiv Historical and Philological Society via e-mail at ist_fil_tov@yahoo.com.

Study of women's social activism

"Women's Social Activism in the New Ukraine: Development and the Politics of Differentiation," by Sarah D. Phillips, Indiana University Press, 2008. ISBN: 978-0-35164-71978-0-253-2199-3.232 pp. \$24.95.

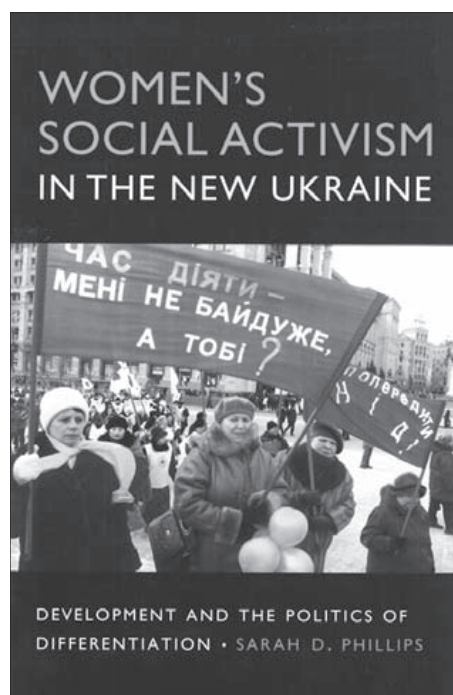
Hailed as "a pioneering work in the study of Ukrainian femininity" by Marian Rubchak of Valparaiso University, Sarah D. Phillips' work analyzes the impact social activism has in Ukrainian society, especially as it pertains to women.

According to the author, the work is an ethnography of the lives of 11 women NGO leaders in Kyiv (whom she followed over a two-year period during 1998-1999).

According to Dr. Phillips, since its shift from socialism to democracy Ukraine has developed new expectations for citizens and has increasingly "differentiated" categories of citizens, resulting in an increased instance of social inequality. During the "perestroika" era of Mikhail Gorbachev and the subsequent collapse of the USSR, the government scaled back its contributions to civil society, while non-governmental organizations cropped up all over Ukraine. As the Soviet mothers' benefits diminished, the women once protected by the Soviet "working mother contract" became a liability for private business, making women less desirable employees.

This change in social welfare caused women to take up the causes of other marginalized groups no longer supported by a government welfare system, such as the disabled and the elderly, through NGOs. In their attempts to help themselves and others, they work in this low-paying and unprestigious sector, labeled by a new "self-reliant" society as beggars. As time progresses, some women are able to use what they learned running NGOs to be successful entrepreneurs or bureaucrats, while others remain marginalized activists.

Dr. Phillips began her fieldwork for this scholarly work in Ukraine in the late 1990s. She graduated magna cum laude



from Wake Forest University with a degree in anthropology and Russian, and completed her master's and doctoral degrees in anthropology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She is an assistant professor of anthropology at Indiana University, Bloomington. Her area of specialization is Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, especially Ukraine and Russia.

According to her university profile, her areas of interest include: post-socialist transformations, civil society and NGOs, globalization, development, gender studies, medical anthropology, post-Chornobyl health and healing, folk medicine, and disability studies. In addition to this work, she has also produced an ethnographic video on Ukrainian folk healing, "Shapes in the Wax: Tradition and Faith among Folk Medicine Practitioners in Ukraine."

Copies of this book may be obtained by logging on to www.amazon.com, directly from the publisher by calling 1-800-842-6796, or by logging on to <http://iupress.indiana.edu>.

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NEWS AND VIEWS: The blessing of a new church in Seattle

by Orysia Bilyk Earhart

SEATTLE – On the beautiful sunny day of October 26, 2008, Bishop Richard Stephen Seminak of the St. Nicholas Eparchy of Chicago blessed our humble Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church of Our Lady of Zarvanycia in Seattle. It was a day that was a long time in coming.

Ever since the Ukrainian Catholic Mission parish formed at St. James Cathedral on November 15, 1959, we have longed for our own Ukrainian Catholic Church.

In 1962, the Rev. Chehovsky, who came down from Victoria, British Columbia, suggested that the name of our parish be named in honor of the Mother of God of Zarvanytsia, the miraculous icon in the village of Zarvanytsia, Ternopil Oblast, Ukraine. In 1963 the parish in Seattle (which uses the spelling “Zarvanycia”) became a part of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy in Chicago under Bishop Jaroslav Gabro.

Over the decades, our priests continued to conduct services in the side chapel of St. James Cathedral. The number of parishioners grew, especially with the influx of the Fourth Wave of Ukrainian immigrants, who added their voices to the search for a new building. Everyone agreed that it was time.

But it was not until the arrival of the Rev. Abraham Miller, permanently appointed by Bishop Seminak in 2005, that the momentum to find our own place took on a new energy.

Weeks turned into months until we

managed to find the right building. It was blue, previously a Protestant Church and sadly neglected, but it did have fantastic potential and was in a solid, quiet, working-class neighborhood. We finally bought it and signed the papers on October 19, 2007. We did not get possession of it until December 1, 2007. That is when we really saw the full extent of the challenges before us.

The ceiling and walls needed paint. Lighting and electricity had to be updated, and rugs needed to either be shampooed or thrown out. So many things needed improvement that some doubted the church would be ready by Christmas.

Our parishioners refused to give in to despair. Like Rosie the Riveter in World War II, they pitched in and repaired the cracks in the popcorn ceiling, repainted the walls and took out the carpet.

Vasyl Krip, a founding member of our parish, built the new iconostas. Downstairs, our women took it upon themselves to gut the kitchen down to the cement floor and take out walls. The men put up plasterboards, electricity and plumbing, as well as new cabinets and new lighting. Seventy-year-olds worked alongside young adults. The church was ready for our first service: Christmas divine liturgy.

Since that time, the people, with their own hands, continued to repair the church, renovating bathrooms, replacing windows, floors and heating.

Now our liturgy is celebrated every Sunday at 10 a.m. and Father Miller has



The exterior of the newly blessed Church of Our Lady of Zarvanycia.

added vespers every Saturday at 5:30 p.m. and on holy days at 7 p.m.

God has blessed us through all our difficulties. We are proud to have such wonderful and dedicated parishioners who give so unstintingly of themselves and brought a whole new meaning to the word “stewardship.”

At our dedication in October 2008, among the guests were not only Bishop Seminak, but also Mother Anastasia with some of her sisters from Holy Theophany Monastery in Olympia, Wash.; Sister Christine Aviso from Providence Mount, St. Vincent; Jerry Hankewych, the

Chicago Eparchy’s finance director; and the Rev. David Pratt of St. Martin’s University in Lacey, Wash.

After the beautiful service, we had a dinner for the bishop, his guests and all our parishioners who made our dream possible.

Yes, we still need to keep building the church, but the spirit and love of our parishioners for our priest and our parish is strong. With God’s guidance and grace, as well as the intercession of Our Lady of Zarvanycia, our church will continue to grow, not only physically, but also spiritually.

Rochester Ukrainian Collection established at University of Rochester

by Christine Hoshowsky

ROCHESTER, N.Y. – Since the earliest time of recorded history, members of society have collected the items most precious to themselves to leave in memory for their children and grandchildren. These epitaphs bequeath a living spirit that binds generations together and strengthens them through adversity and achievements.

For Ukrainians in the diaspora, each community where Ukrainians settled during the last hundred years is facing the challenge of documenting its Ukrainian heritage. Members of these communities need to satisfy our intellectual curiosity and cultural desire to know and share their ethnic identity and its meaning for America, Ukraine, and the world.

Ukrainian communities in America have been invigorated through four distinct waves of immigration. These include: the first wave coming at the turn of the 20th century; the second wave coming during the inter-war years; the third wave following World War II; and, most recently, the fourth wave, which began arriving in the 1980s.

The field is rich for research, yet it requires an individual’s devotion to study and determination to persevere. Fortunately, there are people for whom such inquiry is immensely appealing, among them Wolodymyr “Mirko” Pylyshenko, a third-wave Ukrainian American from Rochester, N.Y., who has given generously his time and effort to initiate and compile the Ukrainian Rochester Collections Archive.

The collection is drawn from individual and organizational sources derived from Ukrainian community life during the last 100 years. It includes pages culled from books, magazines, periodicals and newspapers; family histories, personal memoirs, photographs and fliers; and separately archived subcollections of materials from Ukrainian institutions in Rochester such as sports clubs, art groups, churches and Sunday schools social clubs, Saturday schools, and fraternal organizations.

Reproductions, abstracts and lists of the materials collected have been recorded and preserved in the Credit Union Opinion, a quarterly publication of the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union that first appeared in 1955 and, since then, has documented the major happenings within the Ukrainian

Christine Hoshowsky, Ph.D., is president of the Rochester Ukrainian Group; director of the Bilingual Academy; and a member of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society and Ukrainian National Women’s League of America Branch 120.



Logo of the Ukrainian Rochester Collection.

community in Rochester, N.Y.

Most of the funds for this project came directly from Mr. Pylyshenko. Other sources included financial support from a Documentary Heritage Grant from the New York State Department of Education for 2005-2006 and the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union Library, which provided storage and copying services for the project.

According to Prof. Pylyshenko, “This collection provides only partial documentation of the Rochester Ukrainian community. Many questions remain to be researched and added to the collection. New documents are always being discovered. Older generations are opening up and telling their stories.”

Prof. Pylyshenko is the chair emeritus of the department of art and art history at the State University of New York college at Brockport. He is also a charter member of the Western Monroe Historical Society, a trustee of the Irondequoit Public Library and the director of the Ukrainian Credit Union Library.

His Ukrainian affiliations include memberships in the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian American Association of University Professors. He has served on the boards of directors of The Ukrainian Museum in New York City and as chair of the Rochester Fund for Harvard University’s

endowed chairs of Ukrainian studies.

Prof. Pylyshenko and his wife, Irma, have donated a substantial collection of folk costumes and folk art objects to The Ukrainian Museum in New York City. As avid travelers, they have visited Ukrainians living in Russia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia and Germany.

Prof. Pylyshenko was invited to speak at the third International Congress of Ukrainian Diaspora Scholars at the Institute for Ukrainian Diaspora Studies at Ostroh Academy in Ostroh, Ukraine, on September 9-10. He spoke on the topic of, “The Ukrainian Diaspora: Issues in Collecting Archival Materials.”

Of special significance is the news that the Ukrainian Rochester Collection has been transferred to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections at the Rush Rhees Library of the University of Rochester. University officials were pleased to accept the Ukrainian archives and said they will house and preserve the collection. They will also list the Ukrainian collection in a register on the department’s website and make these sources available to archivists, historians and researchers. The ultimate value of such a collection lies not merely in its possession, but in the use. The librarians at Rush Rhees library encourage local historians and researchers worldwide to utilize these resources.

The task is to bring these data and documents to life through interpretation and evaluation. The principles of historiography need to be applied, analytical questions raised, data categorized, case studies reviewed, statistical analysis evaluated, inferences made, conclusions drawn and critiques addressed.

That work now falls on the shoulders of the sons and daughters of Ukrainian immigrants who built our communities throughout the United States. Such noble inquiries illuminate the nature of ethnic adaptation and contribute texture to the Ukrainian legacy here in America.

Inquiries regarding research should be directed to: Nancy Martin, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, The River Campus, University of Rochester, N.Y. 14627-0055.

Individuals may contribute additional documents, photos and biographical sketches by writing to Prof. Pylyshenko at 915 Winona Blvd., Rochester, NY 14617.

The website of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections at the Rush Rhees Library is located at www.library.rochester.edu/rbk.

Donations are always welcome at the Ukrainian Rochester Collections Archives, c/o Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, 824 Ridge Road East, Rochester, N.Y. 14621.

COMMUNITY CHRONICLE

Ansonia parish celebrates "Schedryi Vechir"

by Frank F. Stuban

ANSONIA, Conn. – Ukrainian traditions were kept alive during the Christmas season here at Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church. Despite inclement weather – snow, sleet, rain and icy conditions – over 75 parishioners attended the parish's annual "Schedryi Vechir" celebration on January 18.

The program included prayers, greetings, blessings, carols, dancing, Christmas poems and New Year's wishes. The festivities began with a warm welcome by Richard Koalchic, president of the parish. Msgr. John M. Terlecky, pastor, greeted

everyone with prayer and blessed the traditional meal of over 12 meatless courses.

During the distribution of "prosfora" (blessed bread with honey) by the pastor and parish president, several members of the church choir sang English and Ukrainian carols.

Folk dancing, singing, prayers, poems and greetings were presented by parishioners age 3 to 24 under the direction of Mirosław Klapyk, Stephanie Dytko, Volodymyr Jatsiv and Frank F. Stuban, with Susan Monks serving as announcer.

At the conclusion of dinner parishioners could choose from more than 20 different desserts.



Some of the performers at Ansonia's "Schedryi Vechir": (front row, from left) Andrij Jatsiv, Joe Szweczyk, Alec Woyciesjes, Alexander Jatsiv, Patrick Monks, Svitoslav Kit, Ivan Kit, Bridget Monks, Peter Monks, Catherine Dimon, Mike Szweczyk, (second row) Paul Monks, Mirosław Klapyk, Stephanie Dytko, Volodymyr Jatsiv, John Dytko and Frank F. Stuban.



"Prosfora" is distributed at the beginning of the "Schedryi Vechir" celebration; from left are Richard Koalchic, Msgr. John M. Terlecky, Mary-Ellen Koalchic and Marilyn Michel.

Clifton parish hosts yoga lessons

CLIFTON, N.J. – A circle of Ukrainian ladies at St. Mary Protectress Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Clifton, N.J., decided a year ago that it was time to stop complaining about achy backs, fatigue and creaking joints, and start moving.

One year later, a fitness-starved group of acquaintances meets weekly at the church hall, under the instruction of Delana Ryan, owner of YogaCentric studio in Clifton, to exercise, stretch and take at least one small

step toward improved health. Attendance is growing (beginners are welcome) and classes are held mostly on Wednesday evenings. Profits made from the classes are donated to the church for repairs.

St. Mary Protectress Ukrainian Orthodox Church is located at 81 Washington Ave., in Clifton, NJ 07011.

For more information, readers may contact Silvia Bilobron by e-mail, silvibil@aol.com.

Ukrainians on North Port's calendar

NORTH PORT, Fla. – The official calendar of the City of North Port located in Florida near the Gulf of Mexico, features several photos of the local Ukrainian American community.

The young city, which this year celebrates its 50th anniversary, is one of the state's largest cities in terms of area, but is only 10 percent populated, notes the city's official website. Since 1980 North Port has grown by 120 percent, making it one of the fastest growing cities in Florida.

Three Ukrainian Americans serve on the North Port Anniversary Committee: Atanas Kobryn, who writes a column for the North Port Sun; Daria Tomashosky, president of the Ukrainian American Club of Southeast Florida; and Nancy Wosny, president of the Republican Club of North Port.

The anniversary calendar includes photos of the entrance to St. Andrew's Ukrainian Village condominium com-

plex; St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church and St. Andrew's Ukrainian Religious and Cultural Center; members of Ukrainian American Veterans Post 40 laying a wreath during Veterans Day ceremonies in Veterans Memorial Park and post officers during installation ceremonies; and the famous Warm Mineral Springs pond, which local Ukrainians call the "Kalabania."

One of the most active Ukrainian groups in the area, UAV Post 40 led the Ukrainian contingent that participated in North Port's anniversary parade on February 28. This year in October the post, which is celebrating its 10th anniversary, will play host to the 62nd national convention of the UAV.

According to Jerry Zinycz, public relations officer of the UAV post, the Ukrainian community of North Port is composed mainly of snowbirds, who come to Florida for the winter, and retirees.

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DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF UNA BRANCHES OF DETROIT, MI

announces that its
ANNUAL DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEETING
will be held on

Sunday, March 15, 2009 at 1:00 PM
At the Ukrainian Cultural Center
26601 Ryan Rd., Warren, MI

Obligated to attend the annual meeting as voting members are District Committee Officers, Convention Delegates and two delegates from the following Branches:

20, 82, 94, 165, 174, 175, 292, 341

All UNA members are welcome as guests at the meeting

MEETING WILL BE ATTENDED BY:

Anatole Doroshenko - Honorary Member of the UNA General Assembly

DISTRICT COMMITTEE
Dr. Alexander Serafyn, District Chairman
Roman Lazarchuk, Secretary
Michael Shumylo, Treasurer



THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION HOME OFFICE IS SEEKING MEMBERS WHOSE ENDOWMENTS HAVE MATURED

In accordance with state regulations, all monies from UNCOLLECTED matured endowments must be escheated (turned over) to their respective state. The UNA is therefore asking our membership at large for assistance in locating these members. For information, please contact your branch secretary or the UNA Home Office at (800) 253-9862. Thank you for your assistance.

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ALUZZO ORYSIA	A189392	240	MATKIWSKY LYDIA M	A190955	027
ANDRUSHKIW PAVLO M	J098921	172	MC ARTHUR DAVID	A190160	316
ARSENAULT S J	A167318	445	MC LAIN MARIAN K	A134776	005
BEGEJ MARKO D	J101052	216	MELNYK C A	A190100	414
BINKOWSKI III JOHN C	J102349	067	MIHAYCHUK LYDIA	J100833	233
BONK MYRON	A180579	432	MONTGOMERY LISA ANN	A189999	409
BOURAK A	A181364	412	MORAN CHRISTINE A	A192354	016
BOYD DANIEL JAMES	J101750	381	MORYKON NATALIA	A192275	465
BUBNICH CHRISTOPHER	J099129	307	MUDRY JANET A	A190293	067
BUBNICH KATE M	J099701	307	MYERS ERIKA M	J100891	367
BYC MICHAEL B	J100170	194	MYERS THOMAS E	A192633	367
CHOLAK WASYL	A192457	234	MYKIJEWYCZ ROMAN M	J100671	397
CHOMA KRISTINE	A192293	194	NAVARETTE DANAE M	J100782	013
CHUCK D R	J098146	362	NELSON JR LLOYD	A190602	113
CHUMAK ALEXANDER	A163036	401	NESTERCZUK CHRISTOPHER	J098698	194
CHURNETSKI-BASTUK LAUREN M	J099390	343	NEWBERRY AMANDA R	J099064	217
COTCH ERIK D	J100338	057	NOWAK IRENE	A190996	125
COTTRELL ANNA G	J101437	432	O CONNELL JENNIFER	A190273	171
COVERT JESSICA L	J099213	349	O CONNELL MICHAEL	A189395	171
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CZABANIUK CHRISTINA H	A190896	163	OSIDACH ROMAN B	A190219	083
CZUCHNOWSKY MARIA L	A159432	341	PAWLIUK L	A190150	445
D'AVIGNON TANIA M	A183052	055	PELENSKY ANDREA M	A191628	059
DA CONCEICAO MICHELLE	A189610	155	PINEDO PADOCH SOFIA M	J100389	194
DASZCZYSAK SHANNON A	J099063	217	PORTER KATHERINE A	A190097	362
DAVIDSON ROBERT A	J100243	083	RACHOWSKY MARY	J099253	221
DE LUNA MARIA OLHA	A190450	083	RAKOWSKY CHRISTINE H	A189737	112
DE VASSAL NINA E	J102005	083	RAKOWSKY CORNELIUS Y	A189787	112
DERZKO LARYSA	J098124	445	RAKOWSKY JEREMY	A189788	112
DOBCZANSKY JURIJ W	A191947	414	RAKOWSKY MARKO N	A189789	112
DOBCZANSKY ROMAN W	J099432	414	RITENIS STEVEN	A190977	316
DUMYCH IAN M	J099319	171	ROMAN HALEY E	J098925	423
DZIUBA-MYERS MARY	A192632	367	ROMAN HEATHER M	J098924	423
FEDIN MARY A	J098728	397	ROZOK MYCHAJLO	A106634	379
FINNEGAN MICHAEL	A191945	206	SALVO MARY C	A190941	267
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FRANCHUK MARTIN D	A190489	367	SANDOVAL MICHAEL A	J201476	292
FUTERKO MICHAEL R	J098559	267	SENIW OLGA	J203536	028
GREER THOMAS J	A192285	267	SERBA GREGORY P	J100226	173
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HANDZY NESTOR Z	A192097	088	SHEWCHUK BETHILDA G	A189634	216
HANKEWYCZ IWANNA D	A191967	016	SHMOTOLOCHA JOHN	A191818	086
HAWRYLUK A	A171077	465	SIROIS HALINA A	A190757	206
HERMAN MICHAEL	A056277	005	SLIVINSKI KATHRYN	J102185	216
HORBOWYJ ROXOLANA I	A192419	216	SOZANSKI PARASKEWIA	A192223	432
HRAB MICHAEL J	A189813	039	STACHIW A M	J098541	059
HUDYMA ANDREW BOHDAN	A191761	055	STAWNYCHY DEANNA	J099300	353
HYNANSKY JOHN	A189735	173	STAWNYCHY STEFAN	J099301	353
JANOWSKI JOHN	A058541	358	STEFANYSZYN GEORGE R	A191006	153
JAREMKO WILLIAM J	J099564	304	STOROZENKO STEPHEN P	J100175	339
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KARPOWICZ MARY	A071783	200	TYMCHUK OSTAP	J202096	162
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KLEIN DAVID JOSEPH	J098418	452	UIHLEIN JENNIFER ANNE	J098209	327
KOHUT DANA M	J099681	372	UIHLEIN KRISTINA A	A189747	327
KOHUT ZENON E	A181203	015	VANDEWINCKEL REBECCA A	J099125	217
KOLASA EDWARD M	A191759	356	WEREZAK M J	A148562	444
KONCHAK JOHN J	J100607	083	WLADYKA MICHAEL T	J099630	364
KORDUBA ADRIAN B	J099711	042	WODZICKY MARIA	A195098	777
KOSUBAL-ELLMAN VICTORIA E	J101396	008	WYNNYK LYDIA	A182641	194
KOWCZ ADRIANA	J200216	112	WYSCHYNSKYJ STEFAN	A191563	083
KOZAK JOSEPH P	J100867	083	YAWORSKI WALTER	A188325	461
KOZAK STEPHANIE E	J100868	083	ZAVIYSKY NATALIA	A188845	155
KOZULAK JR WILLIAM E	J098867	267	ZWARYCH ANDREW M	J102362	083
KOZULAK SR WILLIAM E	A190940	267	ZWARYCZ VICTORIA A	J102558	194
KOZULAK JUDY B	A190939	267	HUZVWA D	A085410	083
KRAUS TANIA M	A192246	039	LABOYKO VOLODYMYR	A039547	096
KRUCZLNICKI KRISTEN M	J099937	013	LYSIANSKA LUBOW	A088027	397
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MARTYNIUK A	A122969	434			

NATO ministers...

(Continued from page 2)

South Ossetia – part of Georgia, by the way. Let me reiterate those principles. And it is crystal clear that we do not agree with Russia there. We fundamentally disagree,” Mr. de Hoop Scheffer said.

“Does that mean that this measured re-engagement with Russia should stop for that reason? There my answer is, ‘No it should not.’ Because we should use the NATO-Russia Council not only as a fair-weather institution, but also to discuss these things where we fundamentally disagree,” he added.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates told journalists that more work needs to be done to overcome divisions within Ukraine over its NATO membership bid. “There needs to be greater unanimity of view in the Ukrainian government itself about the next steps, not to mention the resources for modernization of Ukraine’s military,” he said.

‘Ongoing relationship’

Mr. Gates also said both the United States and NATO would continue to expand cooperation with Georgia, despite opposition from Moscow.

“We have a continuing security relationship with Georgia. We are involved in training. We are involved in military reform in Georgia,” Mr. Gates said. “So

this is an ongoing relationship. And it is a relationship that we are pursuing both bilaterally and within the framework of our NATO allies.”

However, German Defense Minister Franz Josef Jung expressed skepticism that Ukraine and Georgia are ready to join NATO. He said he does not see conditions in either country that would justify the launching of NATO Membership Action Plans, formal paths toward inclusion in the alliance.

NATO defense ministers also discussed the issue of reforming the alliance.

NATO has faced criticism that it could be losing its relevance in a world that is vastly different from the post-World War II and Cold War reality when it was created 60 years ago. Mr. de Hoop Scheffer has been calling for a new “strategic concept” that would help NATO face 21st-century threats of terrorism, climate change and cyberattacks.

The NATO gathering is considered an unofficial meeting. That allows the ministers to gather behind closed doors and craft the agenda for an upcoming summit of NATO heads of state.

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EU Foreign...

(Continued from page 2)

tion.

Apart from the South-East division, a cleavage has emerged between member-states on the issue of opening their borders to visa-free travel. The draft document says there is “general agreement that mobility must take place in a secure environment” – shorthand for the requirement that the countries must tighten their border controls and commit themselves to accepting any migrants arriving in the EU illegally from their territories.

The draft makes it clear the EU will discourage “excessive expectations” among the Eastern partners with respect to the free movement of workers. This, the document notes, remains an area where EU member-states are free to take their own individual decisions.

In another sign of caution, most member-states agree no new institutions will be created for the Eastern Partnership. Institutions with a permanent staff and a dedicated budget line are commonly seen within the EU as being a prerequisite for a project’s long-term survival.

The Minsk question

The question of whether to include Belarus promises to be the most controversial aspect of the launch of the Eastern Partnership. Minsk has been long excluded from the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) owing to its lack of democratic development. But there are signs now the EU thinks Minsk has done enough in recent months for President Alyaksandr Lukashenka to be invited to a special EU summit with Eastern neighbors in Prague on May 7.

Belarus continues to fall short of the democracy benchmarks set for the Neighborhood Policy. But many officials and diplomats in Brussels believe any upgrade to the ENP aimed at counterbalancing growing Russian influence will fall flat if Minsk is not a participant.

The bloc is also keen to reward and encourage a string of relatively minor concessions made by Minsk since September 2008, which include the release of political prisoners and easing of restrictions on the media.

The EU’s foreign and security policy chief, Javier Solana, visited Belarus on February 18-19 in the latest of a series of recently revived high-level contacts between Brussels and Minsk. Diplomats say Mr. Solana told EU ambassadors after returning from Minsk that Mr. Lukashenka had made it clear Minsk is “looking towards the EU,” and had expressed great concern about what he had said is growing Russian pressure.

Mr. Lukashenka reportedly told Mr. Solana that Belarus’s relations with Russia had been better under former President Boris Yeltsin’s reign than under Putin. According to EU sources, Mr. Solana said he believes the EU should invite Mr. Lukashenka to Prague on May 7 with the other Eastern leaders.

Some EU officials have indicated that much will depend on whether Belarus will bow to Russian pressure and recognize Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent countries. Mr. Lukashenka told Mr. Solana the issue of recognition is a legislative matter, with the Parliament scheduled to debate it in May – possibly after the meeting Prague.

Czech Foreign Minister Schwarzenberg also warned Minsk that were it to recognize Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the current consensus within the EU to include it in the Eastern Partnership could founder. “It is natural that Belarus [has] a sovereign Parliament and the parliament of Belarus has its own decision [to make],” he said, “but if they would recognize South Ossetia and Abkhazia it would create a very, very difficult situation for Belarus.”

The EU, too, walks a very fine line over Abkhazia and South Ossetia. The main backers of the inclusion of Belarus in the Eastern Partnership believe the stakes are too high for the bloc to balk even if Minsk were to recognize Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Others fear this could cause Georgia to pull out from the project.

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Quotable notes

Question: Will you still move as strongly on NATO expansion as the previous administration, Ukraine and Georgia?

Answer: Well, I mean, we’ll be – we will be looking at various issues. I mean, we’re still committed to improving and strengthening NATO’s relationship with both Ukraine and Georgia through the NATO-Georgia Commissions and the NATO-Ukraine Commissions, so that hasn’t changed. But I don’t want to get ahead of where we may, at some point, go. And leave it at that.

Question: So wait, the State – the U.S. – the administration supports Ukraine and Georgia’s admission to NATO or them getting the MAP?

Answer: We’ve been on the record as – if you remember the April, you know, Bucharest declaration, it’s very clear that those two countries will be members of NATO.

Question: But that was almost a year ago and there was a different administration in place.

Answer: Well –

Question: Is there any change that you know of?

Answer: To my knowledge, there hasn’t been any change. And as I said, this administration will be working with its other NATO allies to try to strengthen those relationships with Ukraine and Georgia through those commissions...

– Excerpt of the daily press briefing by the acting spokesman of the U.S. State Department, Robert Wood, February 9.

Ukraine's instability...

(Continued from page 4)

and allow energy prices within Ukraine to rise to market levels to promote conservation and greater domestic energy production.”

• Supporting NATO integration – “The Obama administration should continue to support Ukraine’s integration into NATO.

However, given the political turmoil in Kiev and allied reluctance to approve a membership action plan (MAP),” the administration should wait to support Ukraine’s MAP until it achieves “a greater degree of internal coherence on the NATO question, and [also builds] support among the elite and broader population.”

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Kiril Kulish...

(Continued from page 13)

Performing gives me a lot of electricity and power," he said.

To get around the impracticality of attending school, he is being home schooled by his mother and takes an exam every month. "Things are going good," he responds to a question about his home work. He said he hopes to complete high school requirements by the time he turns 15.

During his stay in New York, Kiril and his mother are making their home in a high-rise apartment building on 42nd Street, not far from the theater.

Poised, balletic fluidity

Since last October, when previews began, Kiril and his co-stars have been the subjects of feature articles in a number of leading magazines, Vogue and New York magazine among them. Writing in Vogue, Adam Green said that each dancer has a personality, style and appeal of his own. Describing Kiril's swept-back hair, high cheekbones and regal bearing, he said Kiril "brings a more poised, balletic fluidity" to the show and "may be the most accomplished Billy of the bunch."

The three Billys have appeared on popular talk shows such as "Oprah" and "The View." Introduced on the latter show by Whoopi Goldberg, Kiril danced an incredible solo from "Billy Elliot" – the ethereal number "Electricity," spinning effortlessly through endless pirouettes, then soaring high above the stage.

Invited to join famous celebrities who took part in NBC's Rockefeller Center Christmas tree lighting show last December, Kiril proudly introduced

comedian Rosie O'Donnell and her Broadway Kids act.

With teenage stars and a bevy of talented youngsters from age 7 to 18 in the 51-person cast, the musical could be considered a special attraction for children. The producers, however, advise parental discretion for children under eight, pointing to some rough language and violence in the play.

Performance times are 8 p.m. Tuesday through Saturday, 2 p.m. Wednesday and Saturday, and 3 p.m. on Sunday.

A few tips on buying tickets for "Billy Elliot," which quickly sell out. Call the box office at 212-239-6200, or stand in line outside the Times Square TKTS booth at Broadway and 47th Street. You can't be sure, however, that Kiril will appear in that day's performance, since the name of the actor who plays Billy is not made public until two hours before a performance, when a signboard in the theater lobby reveals the actor's name.

Your best recourse is to purchase tickets and cross your fingers that Kiril will be on stage for the performance you've chosen. Or, if you can be at the theater, located at 249 W. 45th St., at 6 p.m., and Kiril's name has been posted on the signboard, you can try to buy tickets for that performance at the lobby box office.

If your attempts fail, hike over to the stage door on West 46th Street around 11 p.m. (or 5 p.m. for a matinee) after you learn that Kiril is in that day's performance. The Imperial's stage door is directly behind the theater's West 45th Street location. You can't miss it. There will be a throng of excited fans waiting patiently for Kiril to emerge, flash his wide dimpled smile, and start autographing dozens of theater programs eagerly handed to him.

Former chief of staff...

(Continued from page 1)

confidence in the national government – the presidency, Parliament and the National Bank of Ukraine, as well as in the rest of the banking system.

Mr. Rybachuk said it was hard to say as yet who will be the major presidential candidates, but the voters will be looking for someone who will change the system, which they see as being corrupt – and increasingly so. The successful candidate will have to show that he or she is "financially clean," and that his or her team and backers are equally so.

He expects the next president to be pro-European and pro-Western. "There is no way that somebody in Ukraine can win the campaign on the slogan 'Back to the USSR' or on the nostalgia of the 'glorious past,'" he said.

Ukraine has missed a lot of opportunities for developing closer relations with the European community and NATO, Mr. Rybachuk continued. "And we messed up in our policy with Russia," which he called Ukraine's biggest challenge, both internationally and domestically.

"And the fact that Ukraine is not speaking clearly in one voice, not only with the Europeans but with Russians,

weakens our international position and policy to the extent that it becomes embarrassing," he added.

This, along with Europe's inability to speak to Russia with one voice, has given Moscow a kind of veto power over some of Europe's goals, such as NATO enlargement, he said.

As for who might emerge as the new president of Ukraine, Mr. Rybachuk said the choice is very limited. "We don't have national-scale politicians at this point meeting the demands and expectations of the people." People are very skeptical and more demanding, he explained, and they are looking for a new face.

Two years ago Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Lutsenko appeared as a possible new face in a future presidential race, he said, and more recently, former chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Arseniy Yatsenyuk has attracted some attention.

Asked if democracy will survive in Ukraine, Mr. Rybachuk answered with a forthright "Yes."

"We have a very mature, very active, very demanding civil society," he stressed. The Ukrainian people "are prepared to defend their basic rights, their freedoms," he added, pointing out that in the major elections since independence they have voted for the opposition.

Holodomor: Lessons...

(Continued from page 6)

entire Kozak villages (stanytsi) of Kuban residents rebelled against forced Russification, and the Communists resettled these entire stanytsi to Siberia.

Following the Holodomor of 1933, they not only stopped protesting against Russification but even volunteered in the next census to report themselves as Russians and rewrote their ancient Kozak surnames accordingly – Harbuz became Garbuzov, Zozulia became Zozulin, Shamrai became Shamrayev. So it should come as no surprise that, according to the last census of the Russian population, only 6 percent of the Kuban's population reported themselves as Ukrainian.

These are the obvious consequences of the Holodomor. But there are deeper and more disastrous ones for the Ukrainian nation and Ukraine's statehood.

It's well-known that the elite of any nation, except the United States, is primarily formed from two sources: the nobility (or the national intelligentsia as its derivative) and the peasantry. To speak of the Ukrainian nobility at the start of the 20th century as a source of our national elite is impossible. It was partially integrated into the imperial (Russian) elite, and partially transformed into the Ukrainian national intelligentsia, the activity of which was recorded in history as the famous national-cultural rebirth of Ukraine in the 1920s. To the very last person, the Communists destroyed this intelligentsia that amounted to about 37,000 people. That is to say, the Bolsheviks simply physically destroyed one source of our national elite.

Regarding the peasantry, such metamorphoses occurred within this class after the Holodomor that it was transformed from a source of our national elite to a source of our current pseudo-elite. In the post-genocidal Ukrainian village, entirely different moral values began to predominate, as compared with those prior to the Holodomor.

"In the conditions of the mass destruction of the Ukrainian people, such primordial traits of its ethics such as cordiality, kindness, respectfulness and consideration were left to the past," wrote the world-famous Holodomor researcher Dr. Mace in characterizing the transformation of the Ukrainian mentality. "Indifference

and ferocity began to dominate in their place."

But that's not all. As Ukrainian peasants were surviving by any means possible, having been reduced to the state of starving animals, they clearly saw how their torturers from the local authorities were stuffing themselves – all those Communist and Soviet activists, policemen and Chekhists.

After the Holodomor all authority remained with this group of rulers and supervisors. Villagers understood that their own membership in that group was the single guarantee of not repeating the horror of death by starvation. Which is why, after the Holodomor, the cult of power became dominant in raising children in Ukrainian villages.

It's no accident that a saying was widespread among soldiers in the Soviet army: "A khokhol [derogatory term for Ukrainians] would sell his dear mother for a badge of rank on his shoulder strap." But those who served in this army remember well that this saying in no way applied to draftees from Ukrainian cities and western Ukraine as a whole, the population of which wasn't affected by the Holodomor.

Those from the villages of so-called Great Ukraine (Velyka Ukraina) arrived in our cities en masse and made for themselves the most successful careers, despite the fact that their education was far lower in quality than that of their urban peers. But the latter didn't have that parental upbringing in the cult of power, as a result often falling off their career ladders and often with the help of these stubborn and fully mobilized villagers.

I offer the following as evidence of the objectivity of these observations. In Ukraine the urban population has come to exceed the rural by two to four times in just 50 years' time. Nonetheless all three of our presidents are from villages. So were six of the seven chairs of the Verkhovna Rada. To this day, the average national deputy was born and raised in a village.

Because our post-genocidal villagers completely lost their potential, instead of the national elite today we have this crew, well-known to everyone, that can be called a pseudo-elite only with caution.

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OUT AND ABOUT

- March 7
Ottawa
Film screening, "A Kingdom Reborn: Treasures from Ukrainian Galicia," St. Paul University, www.akingdomreborn.com
- March 7
Hunter, NY
Ski races, Carpathian Ski Club (KLK), Hunter Mountain, virapopel@aol.com
- March 7
Chicago
Tango and Art Auction, featuring performances, contest and lessons, Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 773-227-5522
- March 7
San Francisco
Taras Shevchenko program, San Francisco Main Public Library, 415-557-4400
- March 7
Boston
Lectures by Leonid Kondratiuk, "Ukrainians in the U.S. Armed Forces," and Leonid Polyakov, "Role of Ukraine in European Security," Ukrainian Catholic Parish House, 978-254-5070
- March 8
San Francisco
Taras Shevchenko Children's Program, Ukrainian School of the East Bay, St. Michael Ukrainian Orthodox Church Hall, 650-794-1005 or oksanastus@hotmail.com
- March 8
North Port, FL
Taras Shevchenko Program, St. Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church, 941-613-5923
- March 9
Cambridge, MA
Lecture by Tamara Hundorova, "The Populist Movement (Narodnytstvo) in Ukrainian Literature and Popular Culture," Harvard University, 617-495-4053
- March 9
Washington
Presentation by Steven Pifer, "The Trilateral Process: Washington, Kyiv, Moscow and the Removal of Soviet Nuclear Weapons From Ukraine," Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, 202-691-4000
- March 12
Stanford, CA
Lecture by Karl Qualis, "Sevastopol: The Making of a Russian City in Ukraine," Stanford University, 650-723-3562

- March 14
Whippany, NJ
St. Patrick's Day celebration and Comedy Night, Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, heirloomAD@aol.com
- March 14
Kenmore, NY
Pysanka workshop, Ukrainian National Women's League of America - Branch 97, St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, konowka@roadrunner.com
- March 16
Cambridge, MA
Lecture by Volodymyr Kulyk, "Language Policy and Linguistic Attitudes in Ukraine," Harvard University, 617-495-4053

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

Attention Debutante Ball Organizers!



As in the past, The Ukrainian Weekly will publish a special section devoted to the Ukrainian community's debutantes. The 2009 debutante ball section will be published on April 5. The deadline for submission of stories and photos is March 15.


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THE UKRAINIAN MUSEUM

invites its members
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to a

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Saturday, March 21, 2009, 8:00 p.m.

The Ukrainian Museum
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\$125 per person
Evening attire

CELEBRATE SPRING WITH FRIENDS!

Gala cocktail party
Musical entertainment: Askold Buk Trio - jazz
Marian Pidvirny - violin
Wine/champagne, hors d'oeuvres,
Viennese table, auction

MARK YOUR CALENDARS!
Details to follow.

RSVP by March 13, 2009 – Tel. 212-228-0110



PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, March 7

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) jointly with the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN) and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI) invite all to the 29th annual conference honoring Taras Shevchenko. The featured speakers will be: Dr. George Grabowicz (Harvard University), Stepan Zakharkin (Kyiv) and Dr. Tamara Hundorova (Kyiv). The program will take place at the NTSh building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 4 p.m. (please note that this is an earlier start time). For additional information call 212-254-5130.

Monday, March 9

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.: The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute will host a lecture given by Tamara Hundorova, head of the department of literary theory at the Institute of Literature, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and Petro Jacyk Distinguished Research Fellow at the Ukrainian Research Institute. Her lecture,

“The Populist Movement (Narodnytstvo) in Ukrainian Language and Popular Culture,” will be held at 4 p.m. in Room S-050 (Concourse Level), CGIS Building South, 1730 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02138. This event is free and open to the public. For more information call 617-495-4053 or e-mail huri@fas.harvard.edu.

Saturday-Sunday, March 14 -15

NEWARK, N.J.: St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church will hold its Pre-Cana Conference at 719 Sanford Ave., Newark, NJ 07106. St. John's Pre-Cana offers presentations by the pastor, a psychologist, a physician, an attorney, a financier and others. Participating couples engage in group discussions and activities for enhanced mutual understanding, and a healthy perspective of married life. The program is offered to couples getting married in Ukrainian Catholic churches in New Jersey but all are welcome. For further information or to register call the parish office at 973-371-1356.

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.

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.**

“Heritage Day Camp” at Soyuzivka

This day camp program is designed for children from 4 – 8 years of age. The children participate in music, dance, story time, games, arts & crafts, all the time learning about their Ukrainian Heritage.

The dates for the camp are:
Week one: July 19th – 24th, 2009
Week two: July 26th – 31st, 2009

Applications and additional information may be obtained at Soyuzivka's web site:
www.soyuzivka.com



1933 issues needed

The Ukrainian Weekly is searching for original issues of this newspaper published in 1933 in order to scan them for our digital archives.

If you have original copies of newspapers from 1933, please contact the editorial staff at 973-292-9800, ext. 3040, or staff@ukrweekly.com.

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