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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Experts at D.C. conference hail Ukraine's democratic development

by Yaro Bihun

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

WASHINGTON – Viktor Yanukovich's victory in the February 7 presidential election is yet another indication that democracy is developing in Ukraine. It was not necessarily a victory for Moscow, which backed the victor, or a turning away from Europe and the United States, which were seen as backing his opponent Yulia Tymoshenko. And it does not spell an end to the Orange Revolution, whose political leadership went down in defeat.

Those were some of the assessments of the meaning of the election and its possible impact both domestically in Ukraine and on its relations with Russia and the West as expressed by two panels of experts participating in a post-election review conference organized by The Washington Group (TWG), an organization of Ukrainian American professionals.

The conference was held here on February 13, less than a week after the election, at the L'Enfant Plaza Hotel.

Among the discussants were current and former U.S. government officials, experts from Washington and research institutions, as well as representatives of leading Ukrainian American organizations long active in developing U.S.-Ukrainian ties. Some of them had just returned from Ukraine, where they served as official election monitors.

The first speaker, following the initial greetings by TWG President Andrew Bihun, was Ukraine's ambassador to the United States, Dr. Oleh Shamshur, who highlighted some aspects of the presidential election that



Yaro Bihun

Ukraine's ambassador to the U.S., Oleh Shamshur, addresses The Washington Group conference assessing Ukraine's presidential election.

subsequent speakers later expanded on.

Ambassador Shamshur said the election was proof that Ukraine was, if not a "mature" democracy, then at least a "maturing" democracy. Ukraine's new president faces some very important challenges, the first among them primarily domestic: overcoming the economic crisis and conducting constitutional, legal, energy sector and other structural reforms. And success in these reforms, he added, "holds the key to meeting adequately the foreign policy challenges."

Ukraine's domestic developments

Judge Bohdan Futey of the U.S. Court of Federal Claims who was a Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) election observer during the second round of the election opened the first panel, which dealt with the domestic aspects of the elections results.

While there were some irregularities and violations, he said it was questionable whether they were sufficient to overturn the Yanukovich victory. He cited instances of "merry-go-round" (also known as "car-

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CEC declares Yanukovich winner, Tymoshenko claims election fraud



Official Website of Yulia Tymoshenko

Yulia Tymoshenko speaks with the press on February 16 as she launches a court battle to overturn the results of the presidential election.

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko launched a court battle on February 16 to overturn the results of the February 7 presidential runoff elections,

claiming her campaign had uncovered five forms of systemic falsifications that tipped the scales in favor of Viktor Yanukovich.

"We are convinced that there was a systemic, fundamental, wide-scale and all-encompassing falsification of elections in the second round," she told reporters after delivering the complaint to the Higher Administrative Court, which was surrounded by Mr. Yanukovich's supporters, who tried to stop her from entering.

The Tymoshenko campaign's appeal was filed two days after the Central Election Commission (CEC) established its official results declaring Mr. Yanukovich the winner by 3.5 percent, or about 888,000 votes.

Parliament voted on the same day her appeal was filed to set Mr. Yanukovich's inauguration for February 25.

Ms. Tymoshenko's appeal is unlikely to succeed, most observers said, citing reasons ranging from the intricacy of the election law to the alleged bias of the Higher Administrative Court, which is the final arbiter in the appeals process.

Chief Justice Oleksander Pasienuk has close ties to the Party of Regions, various Ukrainian media confirmed, and is unlikely to give Ms. Tymoshenko's appeal a fair ruling.

"The door is pretty much closed for Tymoshenko," said Ivan Lozowy, president of the Kyiv-based Institute of Statehood and Democracy. "A recount won't give her anything meaningful since the Donetsk clan has probably made sure that its falsifications are covered in all the election commission protocols."

The Tymoshenko campaign said it wants the Higher Administrative Court to

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Western leaders congratulate Yanukovich before official announcement of election results

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Vladimir Putin called to congratulate Viktor Yanukovich on his 2004 presidential election victory the same day the Orange Revolution erupted, and that became one of the more embarrassing chapters of the Putin presidency.

This time around, U.S. President Barack Obama congratulated Mr. Yanukovich on February 11, days before results were officially established and final court appeals reviewed. Recognition from EU President Herman Van Rompuy and NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen soon followed.

The gestures surprised the campaign of Yulia Tymoshenko, as well as some among Ukraine's diplomatic community, who expected Western governments to abstain until appeals were exhausted, or at minimum until official results were established by Ukraine's Central Election Commission.

"Why this was done is a big question for us all," said Dr. Grigoriy Perepelytsia, a professor of international relations at Shevchenko National University in Kyiv. "As tradition, presidents are congratulated after inauguration when they legally

assume presidential authority. Western leaders rushed to recognition when there was a result without the legal basis."

The Central Election Commission declared on February 14 that Mr. Yanukovich won the February 7 presidential runoff by a 3.5 percent margin against Prime Minister Tymoshenko. The difference was about 888,000 votes.

The night of President Obama's announcement, former Foreign Affairs Minister and lifelong diplomat Borys Tarasyuk, a firm supporter of Ms. Tymoshenko's campaign, said the gesture was "unethical," since official results hadn't yet been established. "In the majority of cases, leaders avoid congratulations on election victories and congratulate 'success,' as demonstrated by [Russian] President Dmitry Medvedev, who was careful in these elections."

Indeed, Mr. Medvedev on February 9 became one of the first leaders to congratulate Mr. Yanukovich, limiting his praise to the "completion of the election campaign, which received a high evaluation from international observers, and with success, achieved at presidential elections."

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ANALYSIS

New Russian military doctrine opposes NATO enlargement

by Roger McDermott
Eurasia Daily Monitor

After several delays, the long-awaited new Russian military doctrine was finally approved by President Dmitry Medvedev on February 5. The document did not include the rumored lowering of the nuclear threshold, despite recent public comments on the issue to the contrary made by the Security Council's secretary and deputy secretary, respectively, Nikolai Patrushev and Yuri Baluyevskiy (Eurasia Daily Monitor, February 8).

However, it defined NATO's eastward enlargement as the main external military danger facing Russia: "The efforts to impart global functions, which are implemented in violation of the norms of international law, to the force potential of the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), bring the military infrastructure of NATO member-countries closer to the Russian borders, including by way of the bloc's enlargement," adding that U.S. ballistic missile defense plans might undermine global stability, as well as referring to the militarization of space and the deployment of non-nuclear high-precision weapons. "Territorial claims to the Russian Federation and its allies, as well as interference in their internal affairs," are also listed among military threats to Russia. These threats appear to be growing, linked to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), missiles and missile technology (www.kremlin.ru, February 5).

The doctrine lists multiple potential threats to Russian security, ranging from states building up their military deployments in close proximity to Russia and attempts to use violence to change the constitutional order in the country, or violate its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Reference is made to illegal armed groups operating on its territory (in the North Caucasus) while the potential for regional conflict is highlighted.

Some of Russia's neighbors are described, without identifying them, who apparently demonstrate military force capabilities during exercises close to the Russian border, and other states with either partial or full mobilization. The implication is that Russia is surrounded by potentially hostile powers and its leadership is aware of the risk posed by "frozen conflicts," where some actors might choose to use force to resolve these disputes. "The existing international security structure, including its international law mechanism, does not provide equal security for all states," clearly underscoring the need for other states to take seriously Mr. Medvedev's European security initiative (www.kremlin.ru, February 5).

Ruslan Pukhov, the director of the Moscow-based Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (CAST), regards the new doctrine as realistic and not provocative: "We never know how the world will look like in 10 years. There are several states that claim part of Russia's territory to be their national territory – for instance, Japan. Also, the border has not been demarcated with some of Russia's neighbors, so we cannot exclude that an international alliance might use armed force against Russia."

Other Russian analysts, such as Alexander Nikitin, the director of the Center for Euro-Atlantic Security of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, highlight the future risk posed to Russia by instability in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Russia Today, February 5)

Russia's new military doctrine has defined NATO's eastward enlargement as the main external military danger facing Russia.

In terms of its conventional forces posture, the doctrine outlines the priorities for their future development. This includes maintaining the ratio between permanent readiness formation formed in 2009 and the reserve, improving the quality of combat training, as well as refining cooperation between the branches and arms of service, which was exposed as an enduring weakness during the Russia-Georgia war in August 2008. It also states that the supply of modern military hardware and weapons must be ensured, as the armed forces are modernized (www.kremlin.ru, February 5).

This element only makes sense when read against the background of the ongoing military reform, though there are elements and aims of the reform that remain more opaque. It makes provision for peace support and other types of conflict resolution through the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and its newly formed Collective Operational Reaction Forces (CORF), and potential future participation in operations with a United Nations mandate.

Viktor Zavarzin, the head of the State Duma Defense Committee, explained the key political driving force underlying Russian defense reform, referring to the military doctrine, saying that enhancing the country's military capabilities was the only way to prevent NATO expansion and deal with other security threats. Mr. Zavarzin noted the potential enlargement of the alliance and the growth of its interests, combined with threats stemming from the proliferation of extremism and terrorism as necessitating its military build-up to protect the country's territorial integrity (ITAR-TASS, February 6).

The new doctrine declares Russia's right to use military force beyond its borders "for the purpose of the protection of the interests of the Russian Federation and its citizens, as well as the maintenance of international peace and security." Downplaying the provision, which President Medvedev had previously signed into law, Mr. Pukhov stressed that the U.S. and France also reserve the right to protect their citizens abroad, and asked, "why should Russia not do the same?"

Moreover, the doctrine prioritizes Russian international military cooperation, and lists these in order of importance:

- Belarus: promoting interoperability and the Union State.
- CSTO: consolidating collective defense and strengthening joint military forces.
- CIS: ensuring regional and international security, with an emphasis on peace-keeping operations.
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO): consolidating efforts to confront

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NEWSBRIEFS

Rada sets inauguration date

KYIV – The swearing-in ceremony of Ukraine's new president has been set for February 25. The decision came after 238 national deputies in the Verkhovna Rada voted on February 15 for the relevant resolution. The resolution was authored by Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn. (Ukrinform)

Kravchuk comments on election result

KYIV – Ukraine's first president, Leonid Kravchuk, an election agent of Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko in the 2010 presidential election, said on February 15 that the Ukrainian people turned out to be unready to accept Ms. Tymoshenko's course, which is based on Ukraine's European choice and democracy. Speaking on the Inter TV Channel, Mr. Kravchuk forecast that it would be hard for President-elect Viktor Yanukovich to work as he does not have an "overwhelming majority" of those who support his course, as well as because of the small gap between the votes cast for the two presidential candidates in the runoff. Mr. Kravchuk also said that, "unfortunately," violations had been recorded in the election. He said that if the winner was behind "a number of violations," this could cast a shadow on the legitimacy of the president-elect, both in the eyes of those who voted for him and those who supported his opponent. The Central Election Commission on Sunday, February 14, announced that Party of Regions leader Viktor Yanukovich was the winner of the presidential election. He garnered 48.95 percent of the vote to Ms. Tymoshenko's 45.47 percent. (Ukrinform)

Tymoshenko appeal cites fraud

KYIV – Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko on February 16 officially challenged the Central Election Commission's protocol on results of the presidential election in the Supreme Administrative Court. She said that the proceedings that will be held in the Supreme Administrative Court are necessary, not only for 11.5 million of the people who voted for democracy, but "primarily for Viktor Yanukovich and those persons who voted for him." Ms. Tymoshenko said that her appeal sets out

five technologies that were used during voting in the second round of the election on February 7. The claim is supported by concrete facts and video and photo materials. She said that at some electoral districts in Crimea a recount showed that returns were rigged by 3 to 5 percent in favor of her opponent. Ms. Tymoshenko also accused the Procurator General's Office of putting pressure on judges. (Ukrinform)

Court launches proceedings

KYIV – The Higher Administrative Court of Ukraine on February 17 opened proceedings into the lawsuit filed by presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko against the Central Election Commission. The case will be considered by a board of all judges of the court except for those absent for valid reasons. (Ukrinform)

Yanukovich: I won't weaken Ukraine

KYIV – Party of Regions of Ukraine (PRU) leader Viktor Yanukovich, who was declared by the Central Election Commission as the winner of Ukraine's presidential election, said on February 16 that his presidency will not weaken Ukraine. He was commenting on Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko's statement that Ukraine's course will change under President Yanukovich and that the country will switch to policies not based on national interests. "I can say only one thing to those who expect that my presidency will weaken Ukraine – you won't see that," Mr. Yanukovich said in a statement published on the official website of the PRU. "I will have enough strength and consistency to defend Ukraine's national interests in relations with all partners and with all neighbors of Ukraine. My every step will be aimed at strengthening Ukraine's independence and developing a strong state with high standards of living for the people. This is my goal and this is a main goal in my life. All other things currently being discussed by politicians are just mechanisms for achieving this goal." Mr. Yanukovich said that as a new president, he would "conduct a weighted and pragmatic policy" and that national interests will take precedence. (Ukrinform)

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Ukrainian President-elect Yanukovich resurrects gas consortium scheme

by Vladimir Socor
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Throughout the electoral campaign, Viktor Yanukovich promised to seek a special deal with Russia on natural gas: Russia would supply Ukraine with gas at discounted prices and, in return, would be allowed to take over an ownership share in Ukraine's gas transit system, which is now fully state-owned (Interfax-Ukraine, January 15, 19, 22, February 5, 7; Inter TV [Kyiv], February 7).

Mr. Yanukovich proposes to share the ownership through the vehicle of a gas consortium that would include: the state-owned UkrTransGaz (Ukrainian transit system's operator), Russia's Gazprom as supplier and third-party consumer participation. He suggests that each participant (the Ukrainian state, Gazprom and the consumer side) would hold one-third of the shares in the gas transit system through Ukraine.

The German E.ON Ruhrgas and Gaz de France are being mentioned as possible shareholders on the consumer side. Gazprom would clearly be the dominant force in such a consortium; and the European presence would be window-dressing in this configuration.

The "third-force" presidential candidate Sergey Tigipko, who has emerged as the front-runner for the post of prime minister, proposes that Ukraine retain a 50 percent ownership of the transit system, allowing Gazprom and the consumer side to acquire 25 percent each (Nezavisimaya Gazeta, February 10).

Following Mr. Yanukovich's victory,

RosUkrEnergo co-owner and Centragas beneficiary Dmytro Firtash is also laying claim to an ownership stake – hypothetically 9 percent – in Ukraine's gas transit system, in the event of its being shared out.

Mr. Firtash is one of the main financial backers of Mr. Yanukovich's Party of Regions. His Centragas together with RosUkrEnergo (in which Centragas holds 50 percent interest) claim that Yulia Tymoshenko's government expropriated from them 11 billion cubic meters (bcm) of stored gas. Mr. Yanukovich's election has apparently emboldened Mr. Firtash to seek compensation in the form of ownership shares in the country's transit system (Kommersant, Interfax-Ukraine, February 9).

Apart from such unforeseen complications, the consortium proposal dates back to a 2002 memorandum signed by Vladimir Putin, Leonid Kuchma and Gerhard Schroeder (the Russian and Ukrainian presidents and German chancellor, respectively, at that time). The non-binding agreement envisaged creating a consortium of UkrTransGaz, Gazprom and Ruhrgas to take over Ukraine's transit system. By all accounts from that period, Mr. Kuchma signed without intending to deliver.

The Orange regime change seemed to have buried the consortium idea. In 2006, however, Mr. Putin boldly went public with a proposal for shared control of Ukraine's gas transit system. Mr. Putin's overconfidence apparently stemmed from President Viktor Yushchenko's rapprochement with the Kremlin and Gazprom, resulting in RosUkrEnergo's entry into

Ukraine and Mr. Yushchenko's relationship with Mr. Firtash at that time.

Mr. Putin's move triggered a political storm in Ukraine. The opposition leader at the time, Yulia Tymoshenko, authored legislation banning any alienation of Ukraine's gas transit system (all possible forms of alienation being listed as banned). The Ukrainian Parliament adopted that legislation overwhelmingly, with the Party of Regions also voting in favor.

At present, Mr. Yanukovich offers three main arguments for resurrecting the consortium proposal. First, he claims that Ukraine cannot afford European market-level gas prices, as stipulated in the January 2009 agreement signed by Ms. Tymoshenko's and Mr. Putin's governments. Mr. Yanukovich calls explicitly for negotiating a different agreement with Moscow, involving in practice an exchange of ownership shares for low-priced gas.

Second, Mr. Yanukovich expresses outright alarm over Gazprom's South Stream pipeline project, which bypasses Ukraine via the Black Sea. Mr. Yanukovich professes to believe that South Stream can replace Ukraine's transit system as the main conduit for Russian gas to Europe. To stave off that prospect, his solution is to make Gazprom a co-owner of the Ukrainian system, also incentivizing the Russian company to finance the Ukrainian system's modernization through the proposed consortium.

Mr. Yanukovich's third stated goal is to "guarantee" a transit volume of at least 100 bcm of Russian gas through Ukraine annually; and to increase that volume

eventually to the full capacity of the Ukrainian transit system at 140 to 145 bcm per year. The annual transit volumes had averaged some 115 bcm in recent years, with a high of 119 bcm in 2008, a drop to 95 bcm in the recession year 2009, and 116 bcm planned (though by no means guaranteed) by Gazprom for 2010 (Interfax-Ukraine, February 5).

For his part, Mr. Tigipko does not call for discounted prices on Russian gas, apparently accepting European-level prices. While Mr. Yanukovich calls for re-negotiating the agreement with Russia (in practice, for a new agreement), Mr. Tigipko would only "review" that agreement to determine whether it conforms to European standards on setting gas prices and transit fees; and re-negotiate if it does not.

Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko strongly defended Ukrainian ownership of the transit system during the presidential election campaign. Ms. Tymoshenko is confident that the March 2009 agreement, signed by her government with the European Commission, can form the basis for European technical assistance and investment in modernizing Ukraine's gas transit system, without requiring a shared control with Gazprom. The Party of Regions and industrial interests behind it would have to amend the 2006 Tymoshenko-authored legislation in order to change the Ukrainian transit system's ownership.

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Yushchenko facilitates Yanukovich's election, buries the Orange Revolution

by Taras Kuzio
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Two major myths promoted by President Viktor Yushchenko in Ukraine's 2010 presidential election were that there was no difference in policies between the two main candidates, Viktor Yanukovich and Yulia Tymoshenko, and that both were "pro-Russian." These myths helped defeat Ms. Tymoshenko by 3 percent in an election where every vote counted.

Several pieces of evidence point to the Yushchenko-Yanukovich alliance that facilitated Mr. Yanukovich's election – for instance, the lack of criticism by Mr. Yushchenko of Mr. Yanukovich preceding the elections (Ukrayinska Pravda, February 10). Mr. Yushchenko never criticized Mr. Yanukovich's pro-Russian policies on energy (gas consortium, return to non-market subsidized prices and revival of the corrupt RosUkrEnergo); Russian as a state language; the extension of Black Sea Fleet basing in Crimea beyond 2017; opposition to NATO membership; and the Party of Regions alliance with Russian extremist nationalists in Odesa and Crimea. Mr. Yushchenko and the Presidential Secretariat leveled daily abuse at Ms. Tymoshenko, accusing her of "treason" and vetoed a record number of government policies.

Moreover, a draft agreement was leaked in December 2009 by a staff member in the Presidential Secretariat that revealed plans for a Yushchenko-Yanukovich alliance (UNIAN, December 25, 2009; Eurasia Daily Monitor, January 5, 6). The Ukrainian media discussed the issue of Mr. Yushchenko becoming prime minister under President Yanukovich (www.comments.com.ua, December 4, 2009).

In the event of an Our Ukraine-People's

Self-Defense (OU-PSD) and Party of Regions grand coalition being formed, Yushchenko loyalist Yurii Yekhanurov might be offered the post of prime minister (Ukrayinska Pravda, February 8-10). Mr. Yekhanurov, as prime minister and Our Ukraine leader, led the negotiations with the Party of Regions after the March 2006 elections for a grand coalition that collapsed. Mr. Yekhanurov was the head of the State Property Fund in the 1990s and the oligarchs are his creation.

The Party of Regions and the OU-PSD faction, together with the Communists and the Volodymyr Lytvyn Bloc, sought to remove pro-Tymoshenko Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Lutsenko. The vote was supported by OU-PSD Deputy Petro Yushchenko. Similarly, between the first and second rounds of the presidential election, President Yushchenko vetoed the Cabinet's December 16, 2009, decree appointing General Hennadii Moskal as Crimea's police chief (UNIAN, February 2). Mr. Moskal, who is a deputy in the pro-Lutsenko People's Self-Defense group in OU-PSD, was praised for halting election fraud in favor of Mr. Yanukovich in Round 1. "The Party of Regions, which is as thick as thieves with Mr. Yushchenko, controls the administrative resources on the peninsula," Mr. Moskal said (www.zik.com.ua, February 11). The Tymoshenko campaign found evidence of fraud in Crimea in Round 2 (www.vybory.tymoshenko.ua, February 10).

Meanwhile, between Rounds 1 and 2 President Yushchenko removed the Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk governors who had expressed support for Ms. Tymoshenko and had refused to provide administrative resources for the Yanukovich campaign. Mr. Yushchenko also removed six ambassadors where there had been few votes for him in Round 1 (Ukrayinska Pravda, February

10).

The Tymoshenko campaign will contest in the courts the election results in Crimea, Donetsk, Zaporizhia and Dnipropetrovsk (www.vybory.tymoshenko.ua, February 10).

Only five days before the second round, the Party of Regions, the pro-Yanukovich wing of OU-PSD and the Communists, passed changes to the election law. President Yushchenko quickly signed the law, ignoring a plea to veto it by the Committee of Voters of Ukraine (www.cvu.org.ua, February 4), independent experts, and Ms. Tymoshenko (Ukrayinska Pravda, February 3, 4).

These changes were widely condemned because they changed the electoral rules in the middle of the election. If the changes were deemed to be so important, they should have been demanded by Mr. Yushchenko prior to the first round. Mr. Yushchenko's actions proved that he had forged an alliance with Mr. Yanukovich, said Kyiv expert Volodymyr Fesenko (www.politdumka.kiev.ua, February 4).

What was left of Mr. Yushchenko's reputation, in Ukraine and abroad, was effectively destroyed by his support for the electoral law changes, because they undermined his role as the constitutional guarantor of free elections and his election campaign slogan of having brought democracy to Ukraine, said Kyiv expert Ihor Zhdanov (www.politdumka.kiev.ua, February 4). Oleksander Tretiakov, a long-time ally, resigned from the Our Ukraine party of which Mr. Yushchenko is its honorary chairman.

Most controversially, between the two election rounds Mr. Yushchenko signed a decree giving hero status to Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist leader Stepan Bandera and another honoring members of various Ukrainian national liberation movements of the 20th century (www.president.gov.ua,

January 28). The decrees, immediately condemned by Russia, helped to additionally mobilize pro-Yanukovich voters in eastern and southern Ukraine. Prof. Myroslav Popovych claimed the decrees "disoriented" eastern-southern Ukrainian voters and mobilized them against the "Orange" candidate, Ms. Tymoshenko (Ukrayinsky Tyzhden, January 29-February 4).

The timing of the two decrees was odd, as they were not issued prior to Round 1, when they could have given Mr. Yushchenko additional nationalist votes from supporters of Svoboda leader Oleh Tiahnybok. The decrees could have been issued at any time during Mr. Yushchenko's presidency, as was the case with an October 2007 decree giving hero status to Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) leader Roman Shukhevych (EDM, October 23, 2007). A decree in honor of the Sich Riflemen, a Ukrainian unit in the Austrian army in World War I, was issued on January 6, before the first round.

Finally, Yurii Shukhevych, the son of the UPA commander, led a campaign in Lviv with other nationalist leaders in support of Yushchenko's call to vote against both candidates in Round 2. Evidence was provided by Ms. Tymoshenko in an appearance on Inter television (February 5) that these appeals were published in Lviv newspapers with financial assistance from the Mr. Yanukovich campaign.

Anti-Semitic leaflets appeared in Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk (witnessed by this author) urging voters "Do not vote for that Jew" – a reference to Ms. Tymoshenko's father's alleged ethnicity (the leaflet was reproduced on www.rferl.org, February 3).

The irony of Ukraine's 2010 election campaign is that the nationalist candidate,

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NEWS ANALYSIS: Democracy is real winner of Ukraine's election

by Brian Whitmore
RFE/RL

Reports of the death of the Orange Revolution have been greatly exaggerated.

At first glance, the all-but-final victory of pro-Moscow opposition leader Viktor Yanukovich over Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko in Ukraine's presidential election appears to signal a reversal of the democratic pro-Western "colored revolutions" that swept the former Soviet space over the past decade.

Mr. Yanukovich, after all, was the arch villain of the Orange Revolution narrative: the Kremlin-backed candidate who was exposed falsifying the 2004 election, sparking massive street protests, and then losing a court-ordered re-vote to pro-Western challenger Viktor Yushchenko.

So, does Mr. Yanukovich's resurrection in the February 7 runoff signal the end, not just of Ukraine's Orange Revolution, but of the pro-democratic

wave that swept through Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova, as well? Is a resurgence of Russian influence, and the authoritarian politics that come with it, lurking on the horizon?

Not so fast, say politicians, observers and analysts across the region. What matters much more than the result is the fact that Ukraine has pulled off what is widely seen as the cleanest election the post-Soviet space has ever seen, one in which the sitting president and prime minister went down in defeat.

"We can only envy how the electoral system works in Ukraine. We envy their freedom of speech," says Russian opposition leader Boris Nemtsov. "We envy their competitive elections without massive Putin-style falsification."

"This is a grandiose success story for Ukraine. It is the result of the Orange Revolution that nobody will be able to change," he said.

Joao Soares, president of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

(OSCE) Parliamentary Assembly, called Ukraine's election "an impressive display" and "a victory" for democracy.

Matyas Eorsi, head of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly electoral observer delegation, said "democratic elections in Ukraine are now a reality."

And despite the air of triumphalism in official Moscow – the daily *Izvestiya* on February 8 featured a headline reading "Orange Sunset" – this is a precedent that may not be welcome among the Kremlin elite, which treats elections as heavily choreographed and tightly stage-managed affairs in which pre-selected candidates are essentially coronated.

A most positive legacy

Russia, analysts say, may have won a tactical victory with Mr. Yanukovich's victory over the Western-leaning Ms. Tymoshenko, who is widely seen as the architect of the Orange Revolution. But the democratic precedent it reinforced could turn out to be a strategic defeat in the long run.

Analysts across the region praised outgoing President Yushchenko, who was eliminated after coming in an embarrassing fifth place in the January 17 first round, for putting democratic values ahead of his own political fortunes.

A Minsk-based political analyst, Andrey Federau, says that as a result of the election, Ukraine has established genuine pluralism and escaped a situation where power is concentrated in a few hands, as is the case in Belarus and Russia.

Tbilisi-based political analyst Soso Tsiskarishvili says Ukraine has set an example that other countries in the post-Soviet space would do well to emulate – including Georgia, where President Mikheil Saakashvili has been criticized for backsliding on democratic principles since leading the Rose Revolution in 2003.

"Despite the unfortunate end of his political career, Mr. Yushchenko has left behind a most positive legacy, not only for Ukraine but for the entire post-Soviet space, due to the real steps he took to develop democracy," Mr. Tsiskarishvili says. "You won't find one example in post-Soviet history where a president won election amid such excitement, who then went on to lose two parliamentary elections and then failed to win re-election."

Likewise, Leila Alieva, director of the Baku-based Center for National and International Studies, says the February 7 runoff "demonstrated to the whole world that Ukraine is capable of holding a clean election" – and that such democratic practices have become embedded in Ukraine's political culture.

"In Ukraine, it will be difficult to reverse this process," Ms. Alieva says. "The past 20 years, this transition period, has not passed in vain. There was a very intense expansion of democratic institutions. In contrast to other post-Soviet countries there was not a rollback of civil liberties, and it will be difficult to roll them back now. Mr. Yanukovich will not be able to reverse the gains of the revolution."

A model to aspire to

So will Ukraine's democratic example resonate elsewhere in the post-Soviet space? Will it provide encouragement to pro-democracy activists in neighboring Belarus, who continue to battle the regime of authoritarian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka? Will the praise being lavished on Ukraine resonate with quasi-authoritarian regimes, like in Armenia?

"One hopes that what we've seen in Ukraine will be seen as a model to aspire

to," says Steven Pifer, a former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine who is now a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution. "That is the kind of democratic election that we would like to see become more common in the post-Soviet space."

One place to watch closely is Georgia, which is due to hold key local elections in May that are widely viewed as a dress rehearsal for the 2013 presidential vote that will choose a successor to President Saakashvili. Critics are already accusing Mr. Saakashvili of attempting to assure that a loyal and handpicked successor takes over the presidency when his term expires.

Mr. Saakashvili has also come under criticism at home and abroad for unduly attempting to influence Ukraine's election. The Georgian leader, a close friend and ally of Mr. Yushchenko, sent numerous electoral "observers" to Ukraine – many of them beefy wrestlers with little experience in election monitoring – during the January 17 first round, a move widely seen as an attempt at voter intimidation.

The Georgian president, who clearly favored Ms. Tymoshenko in the second round, has since praised the vote, saying, "Ukrainian democracy has won" and pledging to work with Mr. Yanukovich.

Looming disappointment in Moscow?

Analysts do say they expect a shift in Ukraine's foreign policy toward Moscow, but most stress that it will not be a wholesale abandonment of Kyiv's goal of integrating with Europe. Ukraine's NATO bid, which had scant public support, will likely be shelved. But its bid to join the European Union will probably remain on track.

"As for those Russians who now think that this is Ukraine reversing course and coming back toward Moscow, I suspect that in the end they are going to be disappointed," Ambassador Pifer says. "There will be less tension between the two countries. But my sense is that the bulk of the Ukrainian elite and a large segment of the population still want to see Ukraine fully a part of Europe."

Mr. Pifer and other analysts also point out that it was former President Leonid Kuchma, who served from 1994 to 2004 and was viewed as pro-Moscow, who initiated Ukraine's NATO bid.

Likewise, observers say that radical changes are unlikely in Ukraine's policies in places like Moldova's pro-Russia breakaway province of Transdniestria. Since 2006, Kyiv has been conducting joint European Union-Ukrainian customs patrols on the Ukrainian side of the Transdniestria border. The policy, an effort to combat illegal smuggling and arms trafficking, was opposed by Moscow, which called it a blockade of Transdniestria. Despite Mr. Yanukovich's pro-Russian leanings, observers say the policy is likely to remain in place.

"Ukraine has its own national interests, which are to strengthen the state and eliminate risks at the border. In this sense, the Transdniestria conflict is one of official Kyiv's priorities, regardless of the 'color' of those in power," says Chisinau-based political analyst Eugen Revenco.

RFE/RL's Azerbaijani, Belarus, Georgian, Moldovan and Russian services contributed to this story.

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Canadian observers find flaws, recommend electoral reforms

KYIV – The Election Observation Mission (EOM) of the Canada Ukraine Foundation (CUF), in association with the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC), deployed 50 observers in six oblasts, which were chosen in cooperation with the CANADEM Observer Group so that 24 of the 25 oblasts, plus Kyiv and Sevastopol, were covered by Canadian international observers. In addition, a substantial number of experienced CUF observers were part of the 200-person CANADEM observer delegation for the February 7 runoff of Ukraine's presidential election.

The CUF and the UCC had deployed 65 experienced and trained Canadian election observers in six oblasts for the first round of the election held January 17.

On balance, in the oblasts under observation, there was an adequate attempt to meet internationally accepted standards for free and fair elections. However, there remains an overriding concern that the institutionalization of free and fair elections requires a greater exercise of political will at the highest levels.

The EOM noted drawbacks and made several recommendations, contained in the Preliminary Observation Report presented in Kyiv on February 9. The highlights include:

- It is disappointing to find that the Central Election Commission did not register or accredit a single observer from Georgia for the second round, despite various attempts by the Georgian EOM to register its observers.

- If Ukraine wishes to build a strong civil society, and strong and durable democratic institutions that have the respect of the citizenry, it is very important to maintain the right of civil society organizations to monitor presidential elections as an important safeguard for the transparency of the election process.

- CUF recommends the creation of a permanent election civil service at the district and local election committee level. It is our recommendation that Ukraine reform its election laws and process and address the partisan nature of the election commissions at the national, district and local levels.

- An additional item of electoral reform must be the financing of elections. It is commonly known that the current presidential election cost each side over \$500 million. As recommended by some members of the European Parliament, Ukraine should bring forward a set of legislative amendments to limit the amount of spending by any candidates to a predetermined, more modest maximum level.

Take a look at the past:

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- Peruse our special issues section, including The Weekly's inaugural issue of October 6, 1933.
- Enjoy our "Year in Review" issues published annually since 1976.
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Log on to www.ukrweekly.com

Our unique website also contains the full texts of all issues published between 1996 and 2007. We are working on making every single issue of our newspaper published since 1933 available online.

Also available – for a limited time only – are the full texts of all issues published in the current year. Soon to come: paid subscriptions to the online version of each week's edition of The Ukrainian Weekly. Take advantage of this opportunity to experience what an online subscription to The Ukrainian Weekly offers.



THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Rochester-based credit union supports digital archives project

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, whose home office is located in Rochester, N.Y., has donated \$100 toward the ongoing digital archives project of The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda.

UFCU CEO Tamara Denysenko wrote in her letter addressed to the newspapers' editorial staffs: "We highly value the work that has already been done to preserve the historical information in these newspapers for future generations of Ukrainians in America."

The goal of the digital archives project is to allow visitors to the websites of

Svoboda (www.svoboda-news.com) and The Ukrainian Weekly (www.ukrweekly.com) to read all issues released since the newspapers' founding. Svoboda was founded in 1893, and The Weekly in 1933.

In addition, the Svoboda website includes all the Almanacs of the Ukrainian National Association and will soon include all issues of the children's magazine Veselka, both published by Svoboda Press.

The Weekly's website includes the two-volume compilation of the most significant stories published from 1933

through 2000 titled "The Ukrainian Weekly 2000" and the collection of articles chronicling Ukraine's drive toward independent statehood and the first 10 years of its independence titled "Ukraine Lives!"

Previous supporters of archives project

Previous donors to the Svoboda/The Ukrainian Weekly digitization project were: the Shevchenko Scientific Society, U.S.A. (\$15,000), Self Reliance New York Federal Credit Union (\$50,000), the Heritage Foundation of 1st Security Savings Bank (\$5,000) and Selfreliance

Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union (\$10,000), a donor who wished to remain anonymous (\$10,000) and the Bahriany Foundation (\$2,000), plus some individual donors.

Svoboda and The Weekly are seeking additional donors for this project. Contributions may be sent to: Svoboda/The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054. Donations are tax-deductible and checks may be made out to the Ukrainian National Foundation (the Ukrainian National Association's charitable arm), with the notation "Digital Archives Project." For information readers may call 973-292-9800, ext. 3049.

Insure and be sure. Join the UNA!

The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: January

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

The UNA is 116

As the Ukrainian National Association celebrates its 116th birthday this Monday, February 22, the oldest and largest continuously active Ukrainian community organization in North America is looking ahead to its 43rd regular convention. At that convention, to be held on May 20-23, representatives of the UNA's branches throughout the United States and Canada will gather to chart the course for the organization for the next four years and beyond. In doing so, they will have the goals and needs of the broader Ukrainian community in mind, just as their predecessors, the delegates to the organization's previous 42 conventions, did.

Founded as a fraternal benefit society on February 22, 1894, in Shamokin, Pa., the UNA became the first entity to organize Ukrainian immigrants in the United States and strengthen their identity as both Ukrainians and Americans. Ten years later, the first branches of the UNA were founded in Canada. The new organization quickly became the foundation of our community life.

As Dr. Myron B. Kuropas notes in his essential and eminently readable book "Ukrainian-American Citadel: The First One Hundred Years of the Ukrainian National Association," since its founding the UNA "has been involved in the establishment of church communities, reading rooms and heritage schools. Its members organized athletic teams, sports rallies, social clubs and an international league for Ukrainian youth in North America."

In addition to its newspapers, *Svoboda* and *The Ukrainian Weekly*, since its inception the UNA has published and/or sponsored books and other informative materials in both the Ukrainian and English languages, including the two-volume "Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia" (1963 and 1971), Dr. Robert Conquest's "The Harvest of Sorrow" (1986) and the more recent curriculum guides about the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine.

Through the years, the Ukrainian National Association has been the cornerstone for many of our successes in North America, whether that was the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington or the establishment of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (today known as the Ukrainian World Congress), or the defense of human and national rights in Soviet-dominated Ukraine. In addition, it has been a patron of the arts, has supported student members with scholarships and has engaged in diverse charitable activities.

Dr. Kuropas underscores that, since its founding, "the UNA and the Ukrainian community have been one. They are still inseparable. What happens to the Ukrainian American community happens to the UNA, and what is good for the UNA has generally been good for the community."

This symbiosis arises out of the fact that the UNA is a fraternal benefit society. And fraternal benefit societies, by definition, are organized and function solely for the benefit of their members and their beneficiaries. The UNA's members, of course, are part of the larger Ukrainian community, and many of them play leading roles in myriad other organizations and institutions within our community. Thus, the UNA-community connection runs deep.

Fraternal societies also have a branch (or lodge) system and a representative form of government. That representative form of government is most clearly seen in the UNA's case at its quadrennial conventions – the highest decision-making body of the UNA – where delegates elected by local branches represent their branches' membership. Furthermore, all adult members of the UNA have the opportunity to be elected to office on the UNA General Assembly.

The Ukrainian National Association's 2010 convention, which will be the second held at the UNA's own Soyuzivka Heritage Center, will soon be upon us. Currently, UNA branches are electing convention delegates, who, it is hoped, will be properly prepared for the work ahead: the convention deliberations and committee meetings that focus on all aspects of the UNA's multi-faceted activity within our community.

As we celebrate the 116th anniversary of the UNA's founding, we urge all UNA'ers to remember that the UNA and the community truly are "partners for life." And we encourage non-UNA'ers to join this partnership for the benefit of us all.

Feb.
22
2009

Turning the pages back...

Lat year, on February 22, 2009, the Ukrainian National Association celebrated its 115th anniversary. "It is enough to simply pronounce the number – one hundred fifteen – to realize the significance of this jubilee," noted Stefan Kaczaraj,

president of the UNA.

"The UNA is the oldest and largest Ukrainian organization in America," Mr. Kaczaraj wrote in his greeting. "And we must underscore: not only can we give a positive report on the UNA's current status, we can also look confidently at the future, despite the fact that American and world economies today face trying times."

The UNA has been guided by the goal of developing the institution for the good of the Ukrainian people. In 2008 the UNA surpassed its goal for sales of annuities with more than \$10 million worth of annuities sold. Mr. Kaczaraj emphasized that this remarkable achievement was due to the hard work of the UNA's branches, their respective branch secretaries, its professional sales force and the UNA's activists.

This success, Mr. Kaczaraj wrote, is a testament to the triumphs of all previous generations in the UNA and an accomplishment of the entire Ukrainian community.

The UNA continues to develop Soyuzivka into a Ukrainian heritage center – hosting camps for the younger generation, events for seniors, art and cultural exhibits, as well as sporting events. In addition to its newspapers, *The Ukrainian Weekly* and *Svoboda*, which are fraternal benefits, the UNA sponsors a scholarship program, and has awarded more than \$2 million since the program was formalized.

Source: "Greeting on the UNA's 115th anniversary," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, February 22, 2009.

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

BY ZENON ZAWADA

KYIV PRESS BUREAU



2010's pragmatic choice

It was not an inspiring presidential campaign, to say the least.

While the 2004 presidential vote offered Ukrainians their first serious chance at Euro-Atlantic integration, this year's runoff was widely viewed as a pragmatic choice.

"In contrast to the 1999 elections, when there were ideological wars of the past versus the future, and in contrast to 2004, when there was a civilization choice of which road – towards Europe or the East – would Ukraine settle on, these elections were more pragmatic," said Andrii Yermolayev, director of the Sofiya Center for Social Research in Kyiv.

"This time there was no discussion of language, NATO or values. At the center is, 'Are we capable of changing the situation in the country this year?'"

For many, it was a choice between the lesser of two evils. As journalist Mykhailo Dubynianskyi put it, Viktor Yanukovich is perceived as a jailbird, boor and embarrassment for the country who will push Ukrainians towards living by criminal rules.

Yulia Tymoshenko is perceived as a careless "avanturist" (someone who pursues risky policies at the expense of others) and liar who ruined the economy and would take power into her own hands instead of establishing rule of law.

Kyiv's cultural defenders and authors Dmytro and Serhii Kapranov put it even more bluntly, describing the 2010 choice as "between being potentially raped and robbed."

Though both vowed reforms in their campaigns, both Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Yanukovich failed to initiate any significant reforms when serving as prime minister, instead expending their energies in the ruthless fight for power that dominated the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko.

Both campaigns dished out hollow slogans and outrageous promises unlikely to be fulfilled.

"This is a contest to see who can make the more popular, but slightly-less-than-completely-outrageous promises in an attempt to win election sympathy," Kyiv political expert Ivan Lozowy said in late October 2009. "There's a general cynicism that it all feeds into. The campaigns don't really care who they take on board. It's a blunderbuss approach. They don't have a concerted strategy or tactic. They're playing outside the bounds of ordered civilized Western society, and anything goes."

She worked, he listened

Ms. Tymoshenko's campaign was all about her. "She's working!" her billboards and banners declared at the August 2009 launch of her campaign. "They're yapping, she's working!" "They're blocking, she's working!" "They're interfering,

she's working!" "They're promising, she's working!"

The ad campaign was an immediate hit, spawning imitations from small businesses – "She's working, they're resting" from the Pan Ukraine tourism agency – and parodies from her critics – "She's working, Ukraine is starving."

By October, the campaign adopted a new spin on the theme, declaring, "She's working. She is Ukraine!" It's unclear whether the ad campaign was intended to take that turn, or if it was altered after all the parodies and jokes the original theme spawned.

Mr. Yanukovich's ad campaign wasn't nearly as amusing. "Ukraine for the People," was the unimaginative slogan most widely displayed on his billboards.

"I will hear everyone," declared other billboards, asking citizens to call a hotline and register their concern, as if Mr. Yanukovich had the time to listen to all of them.

Journalists revealed the real motive behind this campaign. Upon calling the hotline, young girls informed callers, "Viktor Yanukovich can't speak with you right now. For that you need to leave your information: surname, name, patronymic, address, home phone, mobile phone..."

While his campaign slogans were dull, his campaign promises were unrealistic – boosting the population to 50 million in a decade, a tax holiday for small- and medium-sized businesses for five years, and boosting the minimum pension to \$150 a month and average pensions to \$250 a month.

Mr. Yanukovich vowed to triple state expenditures on health care to 10 percent of GDP, as well as remove the moratorium on agricultural land sales, although his parliamentary faction has consistently voted against canceling it, most recently voting in December to extend the moratorium until 2012.

Ms. Tymoshenko offered voters her own share of fantasies, such as creating "the most modern system of medicine, science and education in Eastern Europe," "the highest level of state energy independence" and joining the world's top 30 nations in the Human Development Index compiled annually by the United Nations.

Ms. Tymoshenko might want to work on Ukraine joining the Top 80. In 85th place, Ukraine ranks below Colombia, Albania and Cuba.

Paid press (as opposed to free press)

President Viktor Yushchenko often boasted that Ukraine's free press was among the biggest accomplishments of his presidency. However, media access was not free, but paid for, and quite expensive at that.

The Inter television network, believed to be owned by mega-millionaires Valerii Khoroshkovskiy and Dmytro Firtash, and the Ukrayina television network, owned by industrial kingpin Rinat Akhmetov, brazenly tilted their news coverage in favor of Mr. Yanukovich and against Ms. Tymoshenko.

These two networks also host Ukraine's most popular political talk shows – "Grand Politics" with Yevgeny Kiseliy and "Shuster Live" with Savik Shuster – which regularly laid wreaths at the feet of Mr. Yanukovich and took aim at Ms. Tymoshenko. (Mr. Kiseliy is an admitted

(Continued on page 8)

Correction

It was incorrectly noted in the February 14 editorial that the Supreme Court of Ukraine is the final arbiter of the presidential election results established by the Central Election Commission. In fact, the election rules law approved by Parliament in July 2009 established the Higher Administrative Court in Kyiv as the venue of final appeal.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Rewriting history: An evidentiary perspective

by Askold Lozynskyj

One of the greatest tragedies of the Ukrainian people is that because of their long-time status as stateless and oppressed, their history has been written in most instances by the oppressor and/or his agents.

Ukraine has been independent for almost a score. Still, certain states, i.e., the Russian Federation, which has proven to be a legitimate successor in interest to both tsarist Russia and the USSR, have not been able to come to grips. Still others who have since befriended Ukraine, i.e., Poland, refuse to edit its prejudicially written original account. And even those agents who themselves for many years were stateless and often oppressed, i.e., the Jews, continue to seek out new demons to escape blame for a not-so-blameless past and to keep the fire of remembrance burning for their own tragedies.

On October 28, 2008, the Russian Federation's Permanent Representative to the United Nations Vitaly Churkin held a press conference at the U.N. in New York to boast about Russia's success in thwarting Ukraine's attempts to place the Great Famine of 1932-1933 on the agenda of the 63rd session of the U.N. General Assembly. He proceeded to denounce "attempts by Ukraine to politicize the Great Famine of 1932-1933." In the course of his denunciations, he gratuitously proffered evidence of Ukraine's contemporary political mindset claiming that "Ukraine is today rehabilitating notorious Nazi collaborators like the general of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army Roman Shukhevych."

On May 5, 2009, the Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the United Nations held a briefing titled "The Outcome and Lessons of World War II and the Present" at the U.N. headquarters in New York. The event was opened and presided over by Ilya Rogachev, deputy permanent representative of the Russian Federation to the U.N. In his opening remarks Mr. Rogachev said:

"Despite the tragic lessons of World War II, we oftentimes witness the revival of practices conducive to the escalation of modern forms of racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia. Unfortunately, a number of countries have recently been pursuing and undisguised policy of presenting as heroes those who participated in Nazi crimes.

"... Quite recently, we have witnessed the profane action or inaction by the Ukrainian authorities... Open glorification of... the Ukrainian Insurgent Army fighters, who tainted themselves with the crimes against those who fought in the ranks of the anti-Hitler coalition, declaring notorious Nazi Roman Shukhevych as a hero of Ukraine, demolition and desecration of monuments to Soviet soldiers are all links of the same chain of practices aimed at re-writing the history of World War II and inculcating blatantly pro-fascist ideology in the minds of the current and future generations."

On January 25 of this year, the International Council of Russian Compatriots met at the U.N. to conference their achievements and address their problems. The proceedings deteriorated into mudslinging against Russia's neighbors, in particular Latvia, which had the audacity to insist on a working knowledge of Latvian as a prerequisite for citizenship, and Ukraine, where Russians have experienced a diminishing of Ukrainian government funding of

Askold S. Lozynskyj is a New York attorney and former president of the Ukrainian World Congress.

their cultural and linguistic resources. Gratuitously, the compatriots from Ukraine smeared Stepan Bandera, Shukhevych, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the UPA as fascist Nazi collaborators whom the Ukrainian government is attempting to rehabilitate with honors.

In November 2009, John Himka, a historian from the University of Alberta submitted a paper to the 42nd national convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Boston on "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Holocaust." Prof. Himka organized his paper with a discussion of his sources and material about the Ukrainian Insurgent Army's (UPA) "involvement in the murder of Jews." To his credit Prof. Himka did acknowledge that his paper was paid for with a fellowship from the Holocaust Memorial Museum. This goes to motive. Simply put, for his remuneration Prof. Himka had to produce one or more demons.

On February 7, Prof. Himka's colleague from the University of Alberta David Marples published an article in The Edmonton Journal on Ukraine's honoring of nationalist leader Bandera in which quite suddenly and with no substantiation or reference he asserted: "Members of the OUN-B spearheaded pogroms in Lviv in the summer of 1941 when about 4,000 Jews were killed."

And, most recently (February 12), the notorious journalist Mark Ames, known equally well for his work in the United States and in Moscow, wrote an article in The Nation. His purpose was to criticize the outgoing orange president of Ukraine, Viktor Yushchenko, and included amongst the president's sins the honoring of Bandera. Mr. Ames wrote, "Bandera's forces participated in the mass killings of Jews in Lviv and other parts of Western Ukraine where Jews once thrived."

For those unfamiliar with Mr. Ames, his loyalties are brought to light in previous writings, among them an analysis of the 2008 conflict between Russia and Georgia. Mr. Ames sided with Russia.

Do you discern a pattern here?

Inasmuch as, of all the aforesaid, only Prof. Himka has attempted to substantiate his assertions, let's deal with some of his work in the area of Bandera, Shukhevych, the OUN and the UPA. In passing I should mention that in private communications, Prof. Marples relies on the scholarship of Prof. Himka for his assertions.

One of Prof. Himka's favorite targets is the Great Famine of 1932-1933; he attempts to minimize its significance by reducing the number of victims. In his current assault on the OUN and the UPA and its leaders, Prof. Himka has chosen to rely on eyewitness testimony. That is a significant factor in itself because in juridical evidentiary proceedings, eyewitness accounts, while still afforded some evidentiary weight, are considered the most unreliable, often tainted by memory lapses, embellishments, etc. However, that serves Prof. Himka best and even there the evidence he produces fails to impugn.

In one of his publications written for the purpose of showing that on July 1, 1941, the OUN spearheaded a pogrom in Lviv, Prof. Himka offers the testimony of one Rosa Wagner who gave her account in 1945 in Krakow at the request of the Jewish Historical Institute. Ms. Wagner provides a narrative of what transpired involving herself and other Jews in July 1941 in Lviv when the Germans invaded and the Soviets were forced to flee. Prof. Himka himself

(Continued on page 18)

From a Canadian Angle

by Oksana Bashuk Hepburn



Ask oligarchs the hard questions

Victor Pinchuk is Ukraine's most visible philanthropist. In December alone, Chrystya Freeland of the influential Financial Times and the New Yorker wrote about Ukraine's richest man. Though he funds an art center, global think-tanks, films and neo-natal clinics, his generosity – flowing from a \$2.6 billion fortune – begs hard questions.

The former metallurgist admits to humble beginnings. His childhood "kvartyra" (apartment) was no bigger than one of his current clothes closets, yet in a short time he became the world's 203rd richest man. He did not earn, inherit or win his fortune. As the Ukrainian SSR crumbled, he "privatized" state assets, beginning with steel. He moved to banking and energy. Now this raider – Ukrainians' term for oligarchs – is on to safer ground.

Collecting art, precious jewels and real estate are traditional methods of sequestering money while philanthropy buys the nouveau riche gentrification and admission to certain international sets, depending on what is being supported.

Having put little distance to his ordinary past, it does not surprise that the PinchukArtCentre in Kyiv holds such tziatski-gawking displays as the \$23 million diamond-studded human skull by Damian Hirst, or eye-popping excesses of group-sex involving Ukraine's politicians. Few exhibitors appear to have Ukrainian names.

Mr. Pinchuk's philanthropy extends to financing Stephen Spielberg's film on the Jewish Holocaust, international conferences in Israel on the future of Judaism, and, curiously, supporting a network of neo-natal clinics across Ukraine. His charitable foundation is designed "to encourage a new generation of Ukrainian leadership."

Corporate philanthropy is becoming "widespread" in Ukraine, says Barbara Felitti, country director, Ukrainian Citizens Action Network, a program funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development to support "initiatives by citizens that address issues important to Ukrainians." It is difficult to see how diamond-studded skulls or international Judaism – under 1 percent of Ukrainians are Jews – reflects this goal.

Most agree. The Internet is abuzz with anger at the oligarchs' perfidy of portraying art as a naked woman slathered in black caviar being gang-raped by a bunch of philanthropists while a mother cannot withdraw her own money out of a bank owned by an oligarch and watches her child die of cancer.

Ukraine's other "superbahati" – super rich – are Rinat Akhmetov with \$1.8 billion; Igor Kolomoisky, \$1.2 billion; and Gennadiy Bogolyubov \$1.1 billion. The total capital of its top 50 is around \$26 billion. Ukraine's GDP for 2008 was about \$180 billion.

While Ms. Frattelli admires oligarch generosity, Ukrainians – subsisting on less than \$300 per month wages or \$40 pensions – call then "grabocrats" rather than philanthropists and demand to know: Where are the reasonable wages for work that sustains their excesses? Where are

accident compensation, health benefits, pensions?

Greed and inequality make social revolutions as oligarchs – most sons of Communists, well know. Perhaps that is why they own multiple passports and international havens. Mr. Pinchuk lives in a \$120 million home when in London.

To move forward as a Western democracy, Ukraine must deal with these gross inequalities. But it will be difficult. The oligarchs are resisting distribution of wealth, like proportional taxation on assets at home and abroad or re-privatization. Nonetheless, Ukraine repossessed the steel plant Mr. Akhmetov bought from the state for under \$1 billion and resold for over four times that price. Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko used the money to fund pensions. The recent presidential election was a battleground for this and other issues.

But Ms. Tymoshenko's party, and that of her competitor in the presidential runoff, Viktor Yanukovich, is replete with oligarchs. President Viktor Yushchenko also is tainted. His Orange Revolution promise to put "criminals in jail" came to nothing. That is why his voter support was just over 5 percent. Understandably, Ukrainians are disenchanted with politicians.

No matter who won the election, the immense wealth gap will not go unchallenged.

To live harmoniously in Ukraine, oligarchs need to deal with real "issues important to Ukrainians." They might start by addressing questions central to peace, stability and equality for any democracy:

- How do they support Ukraine's national interests, symbols and values?
- Do they pay wages commensurate with benefits derived from workers?
- Is there evidence of access and equity in entities they control?
- Are their taxes on assets at home and abroad appropriate to the riches amassed?

Mr. Pinchuk, a leading oligarch and philanthropist, might wish to show the way by answering additional ones that matter to Ukraine's majority:

- In addition to funding movies/conferences/exhibits about the suffering of Jews, is he funding those depicting Ukraine's astronomical loss of some 20 million during World War II and the Holodomor, the genocide perpetrated by Communists most of whom in Ukraine were Jewish?
- Having funded a global meeting of Jews in Israel to deal with common issues, will he undertake a similar initiative dealing with Ukraine's concerns?
- How does his philanthropy reflect Ukraine's needs and culture? Is it representative of its majority rather than of an international insider group?
- How does he respond to the charges that Israel buys Ukrainian infant organs given that he has several neo-natal facilities in Ukraine?

Ukrainians must ask these questions. And demand answers.

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2010's pragmatic...

(Continued from page 6)

Moscow KGB instructor.)

They tossed Mr. Yanukovich softball questions when he appeared on their shows – and only in the presence of reporters and pundits that openly favored him, such as Russophile Oleksander Chalenko of the Segodnya daily newspaper owned by Mr. Akhmetov and political pundit Andrii Yermolayev.

The Segodnya daily newspaper, the most widely read in Ukraine, grilled Ms. Tymoshenko on a daily basis while praising Mr. Yanukovich.

When the moment of truth arrived – a February 1 debate by the two remaining contenders – Mr. Yanukovich played hooky and instead attended a show organized by Victor Pinchuk's ICTV network. Instead of debating, he discussed his grand plans as president with an entourage of loyal journalists and political consultants, including Kuchma lapdogs Viacheslav Pikhovschek and Dmytro Dzhanirov, who carried out the anti-Yushchenko defamation campaign in 2004.

As a result, viewers were treated to the bizarre scene of Ms. Tymoshenko making the most of her hour-and-a-half allocated time to discuss her political agenda. The camera regularly panned to the empty podium where Mr. Yanukovich was supposed to have stood, and to the debate moderator who looked on as Ms. Tymoshenko spoke without pausing, without a teleprompter and without notes.

Both the Inter and ICTV networks denied Ms. Tymoshenko's requests to organize a debate.

"For some reason it didn't enter into the heads of [U.S. President Barack] Obama, [French President Nicolas] Sarkozy, [German Chancellor Angela] Merkel or other leaders of large countries to avoid debates," she said in mid-January. "Only Yanukovich, who fears frantically any direct dialogue."

Election intrigue

Georgian goons, Russian spies, Donbas bombers and topless feminists all became actors in the melodrama of the 2010 presidential vote.

As part of her off-the-cuff style, Ms. Tymoshenko decided, allegedly at the last minute, to dispatch more than 2,000 Georgian election observers to the Donbas region.

An audio recording released to the public featured a voice similar to Ms. Tymoshenko's conspiring with a voice similar to Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili's to register the observers, even after the Central Election Commission's deadline expired.

"Givi (Targamadze) is on the ground there," said the voice similar to Mr. Saakashvili's, referring to the Georgian member of Parliament who chairs the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee. "Maybe one of yours will make contact and resolve the issues."

"Absolutely," replied the voice similar to Ms. Tymoshenko's. "I told [First Vice Prime Minister Oleksander] Turchynov to meet quickly. I am currently in the regions traveling. I am in the elections. But I will be in Kyiv tomorrow and I will meet with them as well. And I wanted to thank you that such a team was dispatched to Ukraine, or is currently being sent."

"No, actually we will send the most reliable and combat-ready people," replied the male voice.

In concluding the conversation, the voice similar to Ms. Tymoshenko's said, "We need to unify all efforts very strongly in order to not allow this group. It's very hard."

"I am confident all will be well," the man replied.

The recording was released to the public on January 15 by Dmytro Vydrin, a



A Yanukovich billboard in Zhytomyr displays the slogan "Ukraine for the People."



A Tymoshenko campaign billboard in Zhytomyr tells passers-by: "Ukraine will win - Ukraine is you."

deputy chair of the National Security and Defense Council who was a Tymoshenko Bloc national deputy before defecting to the Party of Regions in 2007.

Experienced observers who met the Georgians in Donetsk said they were all athletic men who had no experience monitoring elections.

The Party of Regions estimated that about 1,400 arrived, hundreds of whom got access to polling stations by registering as journalists with Donbas newspapers loyal to the Tymoshenko Bloc.

The Tymoshenko Bloc didn't sign them up for the second round.

Press secretaries for Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Saakashvili declined to comment on the veracity of the recording, which is widely available for listening on the Internet (in Russian).

About two weeks later, the Russians had their own scandal when Security Service of Ukraine Chairman Valentyn Nalyvaichenko announced the February 2 arrest near the Moldovan border of five Russian spies, who allegedly attempted to gain military state secrets, for which they paid \$2,000. The agents from Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB), the successor to the KGB, will be prosecuted, Mr. Nalyvaichenko said.

In other developments, four rural Luhansk Oblast polling stations were threatened with explosives on February 7, which were evacuated for several hours.

An anonymous caller phoned in the fake bomb threat to disrupt elections, law enforcement authorities said. The arrested suspect is a former police officer working for the local civic organization, "Our President - 2010," which supported one of the presidential candidates, local authorities alleged.

Young radicals calling themselves the Autonomous Opposition ambushed a Kyiv polling station with smoke bombs, chained its doors and attached the banner, "Yu and Ya - enemies of the people," referring to the run-off candidates. They told reporters they were protesting "elections without a choice."

A protest that proved far more effective in garnering publicity and public sympathy was a demonstration held by feminists at the polling station where Mr. Yanukovich was planning to vote.

Before he showed up, five young women of the Femen activist group bared their chests and held signs that read, "The

War Begins Today," "Stop Raping the Country," "War Final Countdown," and "Save Us! They're Raping."

They repeatedly shouted, "Enough of raping the country" and "Politicians aren't supposed to rape the country" before police officers grabbed them, covered their chests with jackets and escorted them outside.

The Femen activists told reporters they would have traveled to the Dnipropetrovsk polling station where Ms. Tymoshenko voted to stage the same protest but lacked the funds. They said they were protesting the violation of democratic foundations in Ukraine.

Police arrested them and released the ladies that afternoon. Their protest drew admiration and compliments from international observers.

"I was impressed by a very peculiar freedom of expression when three ladies from the Femen organization expressed their protest against the political life here," said Assen Agov, chair of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly mission. "It added color to this wonderful election."

Dons and capos triumph

Ukrayinska Pravda reporter Serhii Leshchenko reported on January 10 that Ukraine's biggest oligarchs met at the Courchevel ski resort in the heart of the French Alps during the first week of

January to discuss whom they would support to become Ukraine's next president, reportedly settling on Viktor Yanukovich.

Among them was Donbas industrial magnate Rinat Akhmetov, RosUkrEnergo partner Dmytro Firtash, industry and media kingpin Igor Kolomoisky, Kharkiv tycoon Oleksander Yaroslavskiy and Russian mega-millionaire Konstantin Grigorishin.

Any suspicions that this was a conspiracy theory were erased by the scene at the luxurious InterContinental Hotel the night of February 7.

Grinning men dressed in sleek dark suits, or the other preferred style of black turtlenecks and blazers, mingled in the hotel lobby, giving the immediate impression that it indeed was a gathering of Ukraine's top dons and capos.

Among them was Yanukovich loyalist Serhii Kivalov, the goat of the 2004 elections who led the Central Election Commission in falsely awarding Mr. Yanukovich the second-round victory.

Other magnates in attendance were Viacheslav Boguslayev, the director of the Motor Sich engine manufacturing plant in Zaporizhia, RosUkrEnergo partner Ivan Fursin and Russian mega-millionaire Vadim Noyinsky.

Even Victor Pinchuk appeared alongside his billionaire pal Viktor Vekselberg, a

(Continued on page 10)



Most district election commissions resembled this chaotic throng of commissioners in Ivano-Frankivsk waiting for hours, in many cases all night, to submit their ballots and protocols.

Western leaders...

(Continued from page 1)

Only after the U.S. and EU congratulated Mr. Yanukovich did the Russian president praise Mr. Yanukovich's victory.

Press Attaché Nancy Pettit of the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine declined The Weekly's request to ask U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Tefft to explain the White House statement.

Ms. Pettit also declined to offer an explanation on behalf of the Embassy, referring only to the White House statement and the U.S. Embassy statement, which was issued just a few days after election day and took a neutral stance.

"The United States commends the Ukrainian people on the conduct of the February 7 second round of presidential elections, which international observers have assessed positively in their preliminary conclusions," the U.S. Embassy stated following the vote. "The election provided a

choice among candidates in a calm atmosphere followed freely by the media. We welcome the high turnout of voters. The conduct of both the first and second rounds reflect [sic] another step in the consolidation of Ukraine's democracy."

President Obama called Mr. Yanukovich to congratulate him on his election and wish him success in carrying out his mandate, the February 11 White House statement said. "The United States looks forward to working with President-elect Yanukovich and continuing to strengthen our cooperation with Ukraine's government and its parliamentary leaders," the statement said.

The U.S. president commended the Ukrainian people describing the election as a peaceful expression of political will and another positive step in strengthening democracy in Ukraine.

The strategic partnership between the United States and Ukraine is based on shared interests and values, the statement said, which include expanding democracy

and prosperity, protecting security and territorial integrity, strengthening the rule of law, promoting non-proliferation, and supporting reform in Ukraine's economic and energy sectors.

"I don't see anything there," said Volodymyr Kryzhanivskyi, describing his view of the U.S. position. Mr. Kryzhanivskyi was Ukraine's first ambassador to the Russian Federation, serving between 1991 and 1994. "Obama acted as Americans do, and it's normal - 'He won, so we need to congratulate him. So there might be some appeals ...' But they don't understand the coarse brazenness of certain political forces."

The leaders of the U.S., the EU, NATO and other Western structures based their decision to congratulate Mr. Yanukovich on the positive endorsement of the elections offered by the major international observing organizations, experts said. But they didn't rule out a political motive either.

"Let them sort this out themselves," Mr. Kryzhanivskyi said, describing the thinking of Western leaders. "Once they resolve it, let them complain against each other. And afterwards they [Western leaders] will say the entire time, 'Wait, but they [observers] said so.' That's why they took this position - 'They gave us this, so we'll eat it up. We have what we have.'"

The parliamentary assemblies of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, NATO, the Council of Europe and European Parliament stated on February 8 that voting and counting in Ukraine's election was assessed as "overwhelmingly positive by observers."

Yet the Yanukovich campaign conducted itself "simply brutally," Mr. Kryzhanivskyi said, and "it's hard for them to understand." The Party of Regions conducted "unbelievable, horrible falsifications" in the oblasts under its control, particularly Donetsk and Luhansk, he noted.

Extensive "carousels" ("karusely") transported Donbas voters from their hospital beds to their homes via ambulances to allow them to vote more than once, he said, citing first-hand accounts from his friends who live in the region.

About 1.5 million Ukrainians voted at



Zenon Zawada

Ukraine's former Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk (seen here in a photo from 2009) said it was unethical for the United States and the European Union to recognize Viktor Yanukovich's victory before official results were established.

home, Dr. Perepelytsia said, but calculations prove that less than a third of them, or about 459,000 voters, could have done so based on the limited number of homes local election commissioners could have physically visited.

Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc lawyer Serhii Vlasenko was correct in his assessment of the international observing missions, Mr. Kryzhanivskyi said.

"The Russian Empress Kateryna II was genuinely convinced that Prince Potemkin was a good builder because he built 'Potemkin villages,'" Mr. Vlasenko said February 15 on the "Shuster Live" television show, referring to the fake, idyllic villages built by the prince to impress the empress.

"The Party of Regions built such villages for international observers for these elections. That's why they reflected what they saw. The first secretary of the Central

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CEC declares...

(Continued from page 1)

invalidate the CEC's final election protocol for the second-round vote and hold a third round of the election in its place.

It's also seeking to overturn the results in four regions where the most serious fraud allegedly occurred - Crimea, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk and Luhansk - and to conduct recounts at more than 900 polling stations.

The fraud claims include last-minute mass additions to voter lists (legalized by last-minute legislation); ballots cast on behalf of the deceased or those who emigrated; ballot-stealing from those who voted "Don't support anyone" or failed ballots; vote-buying (offering transportation in exchange for votes), and voter carousels ("karusely") that abused lax home-voting procedures (legalized by last-minute legislation).

The Tymoshenko campaign alleged it has observers from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) willing to testify on its behalf regarding vote fraud, as well as video footage from the OSCE.

The OSCE Kyiv office said it wasn't aware of any video footage shot by its observers.

"I have footage of OSCE observers who slept heavily" during the vote count, said Andrii Senchenko, chair of the Tymoshenko Bloc in Crimea who said about 200,000 votes in the autonomous republic were falsified by the Yanukovich campaign.

OSCE Spokesperson Jens-Hagen Eschenbacher declined The Weekly's request to interview OSCE observers who visited the Luhansk and Donetsk oblasts.

He also declined to answer The Weekly's questions about how many OSCE observers were dispatched to the Luhansk and Donetsk oblasts, and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and how many observed the vote count.

Numerous critics of the international missions - including Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc lawyer Serhii Vlasenko and Askold Lozynskyj, a lawyer who led the Ukrainian World Congress election mission - alleged these election observers were too few in number to cover and report the violations that occurred.

Furthermore critics said, the Party of Regions, which dominates some of Ukraine's most populous oblasts, has developed more sophisticated and benign tactics of vote fraud that elude the notice of foreign election observers, who are only briefly exposed to election procedures and don't speak the local languages.

Many foreign observers also aren't aware of the subtleties and "fine print" in

the election law passed only last summer, or in some cases within a few days of the vote said, said Dr. Perepelytsia.

Mr. Vlasenko estimated that between 10 and 12 percent of the vote was rigged in favor of Mr. Yanukovich.

The Tymoshenko campaign is highly disadvantaged because the July 2009 election rules law doesn't allow for a polling station's results to be cancelled unless at least 10 percent of its ballots are proven to be falsified, said Dr. Perepelytsia.

Ironically, the Tymoshenko Bloc voted in support of the legislation that is now an obstacle to the appeal filed by its leader.

The Higher Administrative Court will begin its review of the appeal on February 19. Ms. Tymoshenko requested that it be broadcast on live television.

The Tymoshenko Bloc registered a bill in Parliament to cancel the February 25 inauguration date, but was unable to muster the necessary support from the Volodymyr Lytvyn Bloc to support it. Those voting to set the inauguration for February 25 included 172 Party of Regions deputies, one Tymoshenko Bloc deputy, 27 Communists, 20 Lytvyn Bloc deputies, 15 (out of 72) Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defense deputies and three deputies excluded from factions.

Besides attempting to postpone Mr. Yanukovich's inauguration, Ms. Tymoshenko is also fighting to piece together whatever is left of the de facto parliamentary coalition to keep the coalition government in place and ensure that she remains as prime minister.

Meanwhile, the Party of Regions and Mr. Yanukovich are trying to form their own coalition. While the Lytvyn Bloc is interested, the kingmaker will be the highly fractious Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defense Bloc, which has splintered into at least four conflicting groups with different loyalties.

Mr. Yanukovich said on February 17 that coalition formation would begin after his inauguration, rendering hollow the threats by Regions deputies that Ms. Tymoshenko would be removed as prime minister by the time their candidate takes office.

Meanwhile, Mr. Lytvyn, eager to hold onto his post as the chair of the Verkhovna Rada, requested that the national deputies who belong to the current de facto coalition sign their names re-affirming their commitment.

[Editor's note: The current parliamentary coalition led by Ms. Tymoshenko is considered de facto because, while it has a majority of votes in Parliament on paper, it lacks the loyalty of its deputies to consistently render a majority vote.]

RESULTS OF UKRAINE'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Following are the official results of the presidential runoff election, as released by the Central Election Commission of Ukraine.

Region	Yanukovich	Tymoshenko
Crimea	821,244 (78.24%)	181,715 (17.31%)
Cherkasy	202,512 (28.84%)	459,041 (65.37%)
Chernivtsi	121,381 (27.64%)	291,944 (66.47%)
Chernihiv	194,069 (30.95%)	398,953 (63.63%)
Dnipropetrovsk	1,154,274 (62.70%)	536,321 (29.13%)
Donetsk	2,435,522 (90.44%)	173,820 (6.45%)
Ivano-Frankivsk	57,849 (7.02%)	731,858 (88.89%)
Kharkiv	1,076,962 (71.35%)	338,643 (22.43%)
Kherson	323,201 (59.98%)	181,754 (33.73%)
Khmelnyskyi	191,484 (24.94%)	535,371 (69.74%)
Kirovohrad	203,999 (39.61%)	281,509 (54.66%)
Kyiv	229,858 (23.61%)	678,533 (69.71%)
Luhansk	1,237,922 (88.96%)	107,523 (7.72%)
Lviv	131,136 (8.60%)	1,313,904 (86.20%)
Mykolaiv	446,050 (71.53%)	143,135 (22.95%)
Odesa	868,533 (74.14%)	228,757 (19.52%)
Poltava	318,405 (38.99%)	442,583 (54.20%)
Rivne	121,446 (18.91%)	489,579 (76.24%)
Sumy	194,608 (30.40%)	402,591 (62.89%)
Ternopil	53,773 (7.92%)	599,697 (88.39%)
Vinnysia	227,633 (24.26%)	667,101 (71.10%)
Volyn	84,212 (14.01%)	491,854 (81.85%)
Zakarpattia	224,917 (41.55%)	279,631 (51.66%)
Zaporizhia	731,932 (71.50%)	227,531 (22.22%)
Zhytomyr	258,695 (36.70%)	405,289 (57.50%)
Kyiv (city)	376,099 (25.72%)	955,406 (65.34%)
Sevastopol (city)	178,201 (84.35%)	21,940 (10.38%)
NATIOWIDE	12,481,266 (48.95%)	11,593,357 (45.47%)
ABROAD	15,349 (33.96%)	27,374 (60.57%)

Slavic music expert conducts workshop for Edmonton-area choirs

by Ksenia Maryniak

EDMONTON, Alberta – As an auxiliary activity in conjunction with his guest appearance conducting Edmonton's professional choir Pro Coro Canada in a concert of Ukrainian sacred music titled "Heart of Kyiv," acclaimed Slavic music expert Mark Bailey held a workshop for local choirs on Saturday, January 30.

At the invitation of Pro Coro's acting CEO, Russ Mann, the daylong workshop was organized by the Ukrainian Music Society of Alberta and coordinated by Dr. Melanie Turgeon, who supplied practice scores and provided logistical support at her home campus of King's University College.

The workshop was attended by nearly 80 choristers, conductors, and music teachers from numerous Ukrainian community and church ensembles in Edmonton, including St. Basil's, St. Elias, St. George's, St. John's, St. Josaphat's, Axios, Dnipro, Ukrainian Male Chorus and Verkhovyna.

The official introduction of Mr. Bailey and an overview of his stellar career were given by Luba Boyko-Bell, president of the Ukrainian Music Society of Alberta. Mr. Bailey then he embarked upon a highly professional presentation to support his general theme that "Ukrainian composers changed the shape of liturgical music throughout Eastern Europe, particularly Russia," starting in the 17th-18th centuries.

He described how the monodic "znamenny" chants inherited from Byzantium and Bulgaria developed into the "more tuneful and characteristically Slavic" Kyivan and other indigenous chants, and subsequently how Western influences began to appear in three-part "kanty,"

which arrived in Ukraine via Poland. Mr. Bailey called it a kind of "religious folk music," and related that much of it was paraliturgical, often performed on the steps of the church after a festal liturgy.

The kanty became very popular among the laity, being strongly rhythmic in melodic composition and strophic in structure, allowing entire stories and legends to be told in a harmonized musical setting. One of the best-known early composers of full-fledged part-sung liturgical pieces at this time was Mykola Dyletsky.

At each stage of the historical journey narrated by Mr. Bailey, workshop attendees were given the opportunity to hear recorded examples of the types of compositions being described, and to try singing them from the supplied scores. Thus, in addition to basking in his extensive knowledge of the subject, all members of this ad hoc chorus enjoyed the privilege of making music together under his able guidance. The results were at times quite lovely indeed.

Charting a remarkable course of the evolution of Eastern Slavic sacred music over just a century and a half, Mr. Bailey rounded off his lecture by focusing on the Ukrainian composers Maksym Berezovsky, Artem Vedel and Dmytro Bortniansky. Exposed as they were to prevalent contemporary developments in Western Europe, particularly Italy, these "Ukrainian boys," who often started their careers as singers in the Imperial Russian Court Kapell, took sacred liturgical music to new heights with contrapuntal polyphonic composition.

As workshop attendees prepared to sing a few works by these representatives of Ukraine's "Golden Era" of classical music, Mr. Bailey exhorted them to "forget about Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov,

Rachmaninoff, and even Beethoven" – all of whom did not yet exist in the 18th century. He invited them to consider, for example, that Bortniansky's well-known hymn "Yak Slaven Nash" ideally takes the form of a baroque minuet, giving due consideration to the temporal context in which it was composed.

For this and many other insights into the contribution by Ukrainian composers to the development of Slavic liturgical music in the Eastern churches, Mr. Bailey received the profound gratitude and enthusiastic admiration of the workshop attendees. Many commented that they will long remember this very worthwhile, informative and inspiring event, and will happily look forward to another visit to Edmonton by this uniquely talented conductor and scholar in the not-too-distant future.



Mark Bailey conducts workshop participants.



Participants of the Ukrainian Choral Workshop.

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2010's pragmatic...

(Continued from page 8)

Russian industrial magnate.

It's conceivable that the party's extensive client base of mega-millionaires enabled it to pay for thousands of Yanukovich supporters to be bused into Kyiv from the regions to stand guard at the Regions' camps throughout city, most notably outside the Central Election Commission.

Ukrainian media reports estimated the supporters earned 150 to 280 hrv per day (\$18.75 to \$35) a day to wear the Party of

Regions logo and give the appearance that Mr. Yanukovich's victory had mass support.

A former president of the Ukrainian World Congress, Askold Lozynskyj, speculated that the success of the Party of Regions, which caters to Ukraine's biggest oligarchs, was the poverty in which tens of millions of Ukrainians remain mired.

"Difficult economic conditions are often taken advantage of," he wrote in a February 8 column published in Ukrayinska Pravda. Dishonest people, he said "take advantage of the political situation and this unfortunate poverty for their own goals."

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Subtleny speaks on Trawniki guards' service during World War II

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – “Trawniki” has appeared on the indictments of persons in the U.S. charged with taking part in the Holocaust; it was listed in the charges against John Demjanjuk. What was “Trawniki” and who were the “Trawniki men?” This is one of the questions that Prof. Orest Subtleny had to deal with when he was contacted, a total of four times, by the U.S. Office of Special Investigations (OSI) to serve as a witness for men charged by the OSI for being “Nazis.”

The OSI, a unit within the Criminal Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, was created in 1979. It has been focused on finding “Nazis” who had committed crimes against humanity, before and during World War II, and who subsequently entered the United States. As crimes committed against non-Americans outside the United States are not within the criminal jurisdiction of U.S. courts, the OSI has taken legal action under civil immigration laws by prosecuting those who may have entered the U.S. by giving fraudulent information. The OSI seeks to denaturalize those who obtained U.S. citizenship and ultimately to deport them. As of 2008, the OSI has successfully prosecuted 107 cases.

Prof. Subtleny gave a presentation at a Shevchenko Scientific Society meeting in Toronto on January 22, in which he dealt with the question of Trawniki and emphasized that he and the OSI differed on the questions concerning Trawniki.

In the opinion of the OSI, Trawniki was a training place for volunteers to take part in the extermination of Jews.

According to Prof. Subtleny, however, Trawniki was a training place for guards to serve the German Generalplan OST – the plan for the settlement of Germans in the conquered eastern territories through Germanization, expulsion and extermination of the local population. While those

trained at Trawniki served as guards at concentration and killing camps, they were not directly involved in the actual extermination program, Prof. Subtleny stated.

Trawniki was a town 30 kilometers south of Lublin, close to the Ukrainian-Polish border. Two weeks after Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, German SS and police authorities in the Lublin district established a detention facility at Trawniki. Its first function was as a holding center for refugees and Soviet POWs.

On July 17, 1941, SS Maj. Gen. Odilo Globocnik was appointed Commissioner for the Establishment of SS and Police Bases in the New Eastern Territory and the Trawniki facility became part of the Generalplan OST. The body responsible for the drafting of this secret plan, and its implementation, was the security organ of the SS. Capt. Karl Streibel of the SS was appointed to command the Trawniki training camp, a position he held until the evacuation of the camp in July 1944.

Between September 1941 and September 1942, Prof. Subtleny continued, the Trawniki facility became a training camp where SS and police officials trained guards and security personnel (Wachmänner) for the proposed German settlements in the occupied Eastern territories. At first, the personnel were recruited from the Soviet POWs but, as the supply of Soviet prisoners dried out, Streibel's men began to conscript civilians – many of them Ukrainians. Galician Ukrainians, who thought they were being sent to Germany to work, were instead taken to Trawniki.

During the summer of 1942, Trawniki was used as a forced-labor camp for Jews and it was guarded by Trawniki-trained guards. Firms were moved from the ghettos to Trawniki, and Streibel was named commander of the Trawniki labor camp. When the Germans decided to liquidate



Dr. Orest Subtleny speaks on the topic of the Trawniki guards.

the Warsaw ghetto, it sparked the Warsaw ghetto uprising. Although the liquidation of the ghetto was put in operation by SS and police units, Trawniki-trained guards were used to seal it off.

Trawniki-trained guards were used in deportation operations from ghettos in German-occupied Poland and as escorts for transport trains from the ghettos to the concentration camps. The Wachmänner continued to be trained at Trawniki until late July 1944, when the Soviet advance forced the Germans to abandon Trawniki.

According to Prof. Subtleny, the Wachmänner did not play a direct role in extermination actions. Although Trawniki-trained guards were used at the Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka camps, they served only as external guards – manning the towers and perimeters of the camps. They had no contact with the Jewish inmates. The actual killings were

carried out by the SS and police units.

Significantly, the article about Trawniki on the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum website (www.ushmm.com), in every instance where killing actions are referred to, is careful to say that these were carried out by “SS and police units.”

Some key officials at Trawniki did not survive the war: Globocnik committed suicide, and the battalion commanders were killed at the front or by partisans. Other Trawniki officials were prosecuted after the war. A West German court indicted the head of the training camp, Streibel, Trawniki labor camp Staff Sgt. Josef Napieralla and four Trawniki company commanders in 1970, but all six were acquitted in 1976.

Thus, Prof. Subtleny noted, the commander of the Trawniki training camp is free while Mr. Demjanjuk, a Trawniki guard, is on trial in Germany.

Mazepa symposium held at Oseredok Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center

by Sophia Kachor

WINNIPEG, Manitoba – National hero, traitor, romantic figure – fact, spin and fiction, history and mythology, these were some of the issues explored at “The Age and Legacy of Mazepa (1687-1709),” a symposium co-sponsored by Oseredok Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center and the Center for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, University of Manitoba.

Held November 28, 2009, in Oseredok's art gallery with a backdrop of “Legacy of the Cossack Elite,” an exhibition of 17th and 18th textiles and maps in

Oseredok's permanent collection, the symposium brought together five scholars who explored the various often divergent views about Hetman Ivan Mazepa, his place in Ukrainian history and culture.

The stage was set by Dr. Orest Subtleny of the Department of History at York University in Toronto in a presentation titled “Mazepa in the Context of East European History.” Prof. Subtleny expanded on two opposing values underlying the structure of Ukrainian and Russian elites. On the one hand, there is the Magna Carta-Polish Commonwealth model adopted by the Kozak elite, which

held that there existed a social contract between the nobility and their sovereign as a guarantor of rights and privileges. In contrast to this is the very autocratic Russian model of the nobles as “the slave of the tsar.” These conflicting values lie at the core of understanding the diverging views on Mazepa as national hero and villainous traitor.

Prof. Radoslav Zuk of McGill University in Montreal spoke on “Mazepa and Baroque Church Architecture in Ukraine.” He traced the development of the origins of Ukrainian Kozak and Mazepa baroque architecture to the Byzantine tradition, placing it within the context of Western European church architecture and connecting it to the folk tradition of Ukrainian wood architecture. He highlighted Mazepa's contribution as patron of the reconstruction of old churches and the building of new ones in the architectural style that took his name, identifying them with the expression of cultural attitudes of the time.

Dr. Roman Yereniuk, acting director of the Center for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, University of Manitoba, talked about “Russian Autocracy and the Fate of Mazepa – The Last Years.” He described the reaction of the Russian Orthodox Church to Mazepa's “betrayal” and the role of the state, specifically Tsar Peter I, in these actions. He provided a historical survey of liturgical condemnations of Mazepa proclaimed annually throughout the 18th to 20th centuries. He concluded with an overview of the rehabilitation of Mazepa in the 20th century by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and, finally, provided some insight on the de-anath-

emizing of Mazepa in the 21st century and the role of the government of Ukraine in these rehabilitation efforts.

Dr. Myroslav Shkandrij of the Department of German and Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba presented a paper on “Mazepa in Russian Romantic Literature.” He traced the development of Russian iconic images about Ukraine created in the early 19th century by Russian Romantics, a classic colonial image of a backward, violent, outdated country. He

(Continued on page 22)



The symposium on the legacy of Hetman Ivan Mazepa held on November 28, 2009, at Oseredok Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center.



Prof. Radoslav Zuk of McGill University speaks at the Mazepa symposium at Oseredok Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center in Winnipeg.

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Ukraine and Ukrainians at XXI Winter Olympic Games

by Ihor N. Stelmach

After five days of competition, Ukraine's athletes at the XXI Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver, British Columbia, had not won a single medal in any of the eight sports in which they had qualified to compete.

Ukraine's best finish was a fifth place in biathlon – an event considered to be one of Ukraine's best hopes for a medal – earned by veteran Olympian Andriy Deryzemlya in the men's 10-kilometer sprint.

Also in biathlon, Serhiy Sednev came in 10th in the men's 12.5-kilometer pursuit.

Three Ukrainian women biathletes finished back-to-back-to-back in the 10-kilometer pursuit: Olena Pidhrushna (21st), Oksana Khvostenko (22nd) and Valentyna Semerenko (23rd).

The Ukrainian figure skating pair of Tetyana Volosozhar and Stanislav Morozov earned 181.78 points in their short program and free skate, good for eighth place, while Valentyna Shevchenko came in ninth in the 10-kilometer cross-country skiing competition.

Top-20 finishes were turned in by Team Ukraine in the men's and women's luge competitions, as well as in other events in the biathlon. (See listing below.)

Luger Ludan leads delegation

Luge athlete Liliya Ludan proudly led Ukraine's delegation of 47 athletes plus training staff and dignitaries when she carried the Ukrainian flag at the Olympics



UNIAN

Ukraine's top-finisher thus far in the 2010 Games: Andriy Deryzemlya, who came in fifth in the biathlon's 10-kilometer sprint on February 16.

opening ceremony in B.C. Place Stadium. Proving experience counts, Ludan's fourth winter Olympics earned her flag-carrying honors. Ludan's highest Olympic result to date was the sixth place at the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City.

Entering the indoor stadium as the 70th country to be introduced, Ukraine's Olympians were dressed in custom-made sports apparel in Ukraine's national colors made by the Bosco Sports Company.

A flag is raised

Prior to the official opening ceremonies on February 12, the national flag of Ukraine was raised in Vancouver's Olympic village as a symbol of Team Ukraine's readiness to begin its participation in the XXI Winter Olympics. The flag-raising ceremony was held at a specially selected square in the Olympic Village and was accompanied by Ukraine's national anthem. Olympic Village Mayor Trisha Smith officially greeted the Ukrainian delegation.

Ukrainian Canadian speed skater

Speed skater Lukas Makowsky, a Ukrainian Canadian who resides in Calgary, Alberta, competed in the men's 5,000 meters, finishing 13th in his first ever Olympic competition. Makowsky finished 14.11 seconds out of the top spot.

Born on May 30, 1987, in Regina, Saskatchewan, Makowsky began skating at the age of 6. He competes in the 500, 1,000, 1,500, 3,000 and 10,000, but his favorite is the 5,000 meters.

December 28, 2009, was the day his Olympic dream came to fruition. After skating the fastest time in the 5,000 at the Canadian long-track team competition in Calgary, the 22-year-old officially gained his Olympics entry pass.

His goal of becoming an Olympian took shape in 2003 when Makowsky heard the 2010 Games were coming to Canada. The notion of participating in the world's ultimate skating competition near his backyard was terribly appealing.

It took a personal-best time of 6 minutes, 24.57 seconds in the 5,000 to earn Makowsky one of Canada's two spots on the men's team. Lucas' time was a scant .83 seconds better than runner-up Denny Morrison of British Columbia.

"I knew I'd be close with the times I was posting throughout the race," Makowsky said in an interview with Rob Vanstone of the Regina Leader-Post. "I figured that as long as I maintained that pace, I knew that I would be in contention. When I crossed the line, I took a quick peek and looked up and saw my name on top of the leader board. That's when I knew I was going to the

(Continued on page 18)



UNIAN

Team Ukraine marches in the opening ceremonies of the XXI Winter Olympics on February 12. Luger Liliya Ludan is the flag-bearer.



UNIAN

Cross-country skier Valentyna Shevchenko races on February 15.



UNIAN

Biathlete Serhiy Sednev competes on February 16.



NOC Ukraine

Ukraine's top pairs figure skaters, Tetyana Volosozhar and Stanislav Morozov, during competition on February 14.

In the top 20

Below is a listing of Ukrainian Olympians who finished in the top 20 in their respective competitions through February 17.

Place	Athlete	Sport	Event
5th	Andriy Deryzemlya	Biathlon	Men's 10 K sprint
8th	Tetyana Volosozhar and Stanislav Morozov	Figure skating	Pairs
9th	Valentyna Shevchenko	Cross-country skiing	Women's 10 K
10th	Serhiy Sednev	Biathlon	Men's 12.5 K pursuit
11th	Oksana Khvostenko	Biathlon	Women's 7.5 K sprint
11th	Nataliya Yakushenko	Luge	Women's singles
16th	Andriy Kis/ Yuriy Hayduk	Luge	Men's doubles
18th	Olena Pidhrushna	Biathlon	Women's 7.5 K sprint
19th	Liliya Ludan	Luge	Women's singles
19th	Roman Zakharkiv/ Taras Senkiv	Luge	Men's doubles

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(Continued from page 2)

Lytvyn demands coalition confirmation

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn on February 17 asked the parliamentary coalition to provide documents in support of its existence and activity. The ruling coalition comprises the factions of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc, Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defense and the Volodymyr Lytvyn Bloc. However, in view of the split in OU-PSD, there are questions about the coalition. Referring to the recently adopted law on the parliamentary regulations, Mr. Lytvyn noted that a coalition agreement must include lists of members of the deputies' factions who formed the coalition with their personal signatures. He also emphasized that "as long as there is no other, the current coalition exists." Commenting on Mr. Lytvyn's statement, Andrii Kozhemiakin of the Tymoshenko Bloc said that there are now three scenarios: "either the OU-PSD faction forms a coalition with the Party of Regions or it confirms its presence in the current coalition, or all of us go into pre-term parliamentary elections." (Ukrinform)

Lytvyn: Cabinet should resign

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn said the Tymoshenko-led government should resign. Speaking in a February 12 interview with the parliamentary TV channel Rada, Mr. Lytvyn explained that, amid current developments, the newly elected president [implying Viktor Yanukovich] will not be able and will not agree to work with the incumbent government. "It would be a courageous step to let [the new president] decide on how to further organize the work of executive power," he said. The Rada chairman also said he believes that Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko's Cabinet will resign anyway, but that this could happen "amid political feuding." This "will not add authority to the country and all politicians, and, what is more important, time will be lost," Mr. Lytvyn underscored. On February 10 Viktor Yanukovich, the apparent winner of the presidential runoff, called on Prime Minister Tymoshenko to resign. However, First Vice Prime Minister Oleksander Turchynov said there were no grounds for the Cabinet's resignation. (Ukrinform)

CPU may end cooperation with PRU

KYIV – The Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU), which supported Party of Regions of Ukraine (PRU) leader Viktor Yanukovich in the second round of Ukraine's presidential election, may end its further cooperation with the PRU and not join a new parliamentary coalition with the party, CPU National Deputy Alla Aleksandrovska said on February 17. She said that if President-elect Yanukovich did not cancel a decree by his predecessor, Viktor Yushchenko, on awarding the Hero of Ukraine title to Stepan Bandera, the parliamentary faction of the Communist Party (27 deputies) would not join a new coalition. The Communists continue to consider Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, a fascist, she said. Ms. Aleksandrovska said that, after the first round of the election, the CPU had decided to support Mr. Yanukovich since he backed the election platform of the Communists. One of the CPU's important demands was that the future president refuse to glorify the OUN-UPA. (Ukrinform)

U.S. delegation visiting Sevastopol

KYIV – A delegation of the U.S. Department of Defense led by Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia/Ukraine/Eurasia Celeste A. Wallander is on a visit to Sevastopol, Crimea, the press center of the Ukraine's Naval Command reported on February 17. Delegation members

discussed military cooperation with Ukrainian Naval Forces First Deputy Commander Viktor Maksimov. The U.S. delegation visited the foreign language department at the Nakhimov Naval Academy and is slated to visit the Naval Operations Center and the frigate Hetman Sahaidachny. (Ukrinform)

Yushchenko on his poisoning case

KYIV – President Victor Yushchenko said on February 16 that, at present, the Russian Federation will not cooperate with Ukraine on the case of his poisoning in 2004 when he was a presidential candidate. "I don't expect anyone will close this case, but obviously the Russian side still will not have any [desire] to cooperate on this case," the president said at a press conference in Kyiv. He said that everything depends on how much Russia is ready to fulfill its obligations. According to Mr. Yushchenko, while the three main persons cited in the investigation are citizens of Russia, until they give evidence to representatives of the investigation "this case will remain in the same state as it is at present." At the same time he noted that Ukrainian law enforcement agencies had conducted a "brilliant investigation" into this case. On September 5, 2004, Mr. Yushchenko was taken ill after having dinner with the leadership of the Security Service of Ukraine. He was hospitalized in Vienna on September 10. Doctors said Mr. Yushchenko had been poisoned with dioxin. Moreover, they said the poison had been administered five days before his hospitalization. An examination conducted late in May 2006 confirmed the presence of dioxin in Mr. Yushchenko's body. (Ukrinform)

NATO views Ukraine as active partner

KYIV – NATO considers Ukraine as its most active partner since the country participates in all operations led by the alliance, the chairman of the NATO Military Committee, Adm. Giampaolo Di Paola, said in Kyiv on February 12 at a meeting with Ukraine's acting Defense Minister Valerii Ivashchenko. Adm. Di Paola emphasized that NATO will work with to any president elected by the Ukrainian people during a democratic election. He described the current level of NATO's cooperation with Ukraine as "fruitful" and voiced hope for its successful continuation. As previously reported, on February 4, President Viktor Yushchenko endorsed the Annual National Program 2010 on Ukraine's Preparations for NATO Membership. (Ukrinform)

Tarasyuk: PRU against Eurointegration

KYIV – Borys Tarasyuk, head of the Verkhovna Rada's Committee on European Integration and an ex-foreign minister, voiced concern over the Party of Regions' deviation from Ukraine's Eurointegration course. The issue involves bills tabled in by Party of Regions National Deputy Hryhorii Smitiukh which denounce the readmission agreement between Ukraine and the European Union and on the establishment of equal terms of travel for Ukrainian and EU citizens, i.e., the restoration of a visa regime for EU citizens that Ukraine had unilaterally abolished in 2005. "These bills affect Ukraine's positions and cast doubts on the statements of presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich on further development of relations with the European Union," Mr. Tarasyuk said. He explained that denunciation of the readmission agreement will lead to aggravation of relations between Ukraine and the EU, a return to a visa regime for EU citizens and termination of a dialogue with the EU on a visa-free regime for Ukrainians. (Ukrinform)

Google opening office in Ukraine

KYIV – The world's largest Internet company, Google, is preparing to open an office in Kyiv, it was reported on February

(Continued on page 15)



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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 14)

5. Employee recruitment has already been announced; the company is seeking an account manager and an account strategist for the Kyiv office, according to the official blog Google Ukraine. The work of the Ukrainian office will be aimed, first and foremost, at selling contextual advertising in the AdWords network. Google is currently represented in Ukraine by one person – Business Development Manager Dmitry Sholomko. (Ukrinform)

Humanitarian aid for Haiti

KYIV – The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has decided to provide humanitarian aid of \$500,000 (U.S.) to Haiti. On January 14, President Viktor Yushchenko ordered the Cabinet to immediately guarantee the extension of humanitarian aid to Haiti, which is suffering the consequences of a disastrous earthquake. Commenting on the decision, Health Minister Vasyl Kniazevych said on January 27 that Ukraine was ready to send a mobile hospital to Haiti. (Ukrinform)

Secret documents about Bandera released

KYIV – A three-volume collection of secret documents of the NKVD and KGB called “Stepan Bandera in Documents of Soviet State Security Bodies (1939-1959)” was presented in Ivano-Frankivsk, it was reported on February 1. “Elaborated and systematized, thanks to the titanic labor of Ukrainian historians and Security Service workers, documents presented in three volumes now will enable many of our compatriots, and not only them, to re-estimate their opinions about the most tragic period in modern Ukrainian history,” said Prof. Volodymyr Serhiychuk of Kyiv Taras Shevchenko University. On January 22, President Viktor Yushchenko conferred the title of Hero of Ukraine on Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). (Ukrinform)

Foreign investors in no rush

KYIV – Foreign investors believe in Ukraine’s future, according to a February 2 report. Of these investors, 46.1 percent believe that following the presidential election the situation will turn for the better, 30 percent expect no changes and only 9.6 percent forecast a worsening. A study carried out by the SEOLA Group Ideas Factory polled the heads of 697 investment companies from 34 countries around the world. Despite their optimism, investors are not in a hurry to realize long-term projects in Ukraine. According to the forecasts of 58 percent of those questioned, over the next two years Ukraine should count mainly on short-term investments. Twenty-five percent of respondents said they believe that investors will take a risk to invest funds for a five-year period; only 5 percent are convinced that long-term investments (for over five years) will come to Ukraine. Suggesting an action plan for the new president to fight the financial crisis, respondents cited consolidation of all branches of power (92 percent), constitutional reform (85.2 percent) and creation of a long-term strategy for Ukraine’s development (79.9 percent). The study was carried out on January 11-29. (Ukrinform)

Justice Ministry registers 173rd party

KYIV – Ukraine’s Justice Ministry has registered the 173rd party organization in the country – the Pravednist (Righteousness) Party, it was reported on February 1. Volodymyr Yeriomenko, born in 1956, was elected head of the party at its constituent assembly. (Ukrinform)

Holovatyi named to Venice Commission

STRASBOURG, France – Ukraine’s parliamentary delegation member and Party of Regions National Deputy Serhii Holovatyi

has been appointed a representative of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) to the Venice Commission. Mr. Holovatyi told reporters on January 28 that he had previously served as deputy chairman of the PACE Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights and as chairman of the assembly’s Monitoring Committee. He said that it was very important for PACE to have its representative on the Venice Commission, because these two organizations of the Council of Europe should coordinate their activity, especially in the sphere of human rights and monitoring. (Ukrinform)

Record number of children adopted

KYIV – During 2009, Ukrainian citizens adopted 2,381 children, which is almost 1,000 more than in 2005 (1,419) and 15 percent up from the number in 2008 (2,066), the Family, Youth and Sports Ministry reported on January 27. “This year has confirmed a stable trend of yearly increases in the number of children adopted by Ukrainian citizens, which began in 2006,” when domestic adoption was encouraged and requirements for foreign adoption were toughened, Family Minister Yuriy Pavlenko said. In 2009, foreign citizens adopted 1,426 Ukrainian children, which is 10 percent less than in 2008 (1,587) and 730 less than in 2005 (2,156 children). (Ukrinform)

Ukraine, Poland agree on development

KYIV – Ukrainian Regional Development and Construction Minister Vasyl Kuibida and Polish Minister of Regional Development Elzbieta Bienkowska signed a memorandum of mutual understanding in Lviv, the Ukrainian ministry’s press service reported on January 27. Mr. Kuibida said the signing of the document would help both sides share experience and achievements in the sphere of regional development, initiate new directions of cooperation, and implement joint projects as part of the Ukraine-Poland-Belarus cross-border cooperation program. He said that the program’s goals would be achieved through the implementation of non-commercial projects that will be realized according to such priorities as increasing the competitiveness of cross-border areas, improving the quality of life, institutional cooperation and supporting the initiatives of local communities. (Ukrinform)

Akhmetov, Pinchuk among top 50

KYIV – The owner of System Capital Management and president of the Shakhtar Donetsk soccer club, Rinat Akhmetov, and the principal owner of the Interpipe Group, Victor Pinchuk, were included on the list of 50 emerging market business leaders, it was reported on January 26. According to the British newspaper Financial Times, which compiled the list, 50 emerging market business leaders have shaped the economic performance of their respective regions. According to the authors of the list, Ukrainian oligarchs control much of the country’s economy and politics. They are not as rich as Russia’s business elite, whose wealth has been built up largely on petrodollars and natural gas. But, in contrast to their peers in Russia who bow to the Kremlin’s will, Ukrainian oligarchs exert much more influence domestically, playing off the country’s political leaders, the Financial Times noted. (Ukrinform)

Poroshenko on Russian fleet

KYIV – Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Petro Poroshenko said on February 2 in an interview with the Kommersant-Ukraine newspaper that issues linked to the presence of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol should be resolved gradually and constructively. He expressed his opinion that, if it is impossible to solve the problem in a comprehensive way, it should be split into several parts. “For example, there was a problem with procedures for issuing permis-

sion for hardware transportation. This was fueled by the presence of a great number of mutual complaints in which the parties accused each other of following an unconstructive approach. Talks on this issue were not held for the last six months. But this dialogue has currently resumed and the sides have demonstrated their readiness to resolve this issue,” Mr. Poroshenko said. He cited the text of the agreement between Ukraine and Russia: “It says that 2017 is the last year of the presence of the Black Sea Fleet [in Ukraine],” Mr. Poroshenko said. (Ukrinform)

Flu epidemic over in Ukraine

KYIV – A considerable improvement of the epidemic situation has been registered in Ukraine. By February 8, there were no regions where the epidemic threshold was exceeded for the flu or acute respiratory virus infections (ARVI). Only the Volyn, Dnipropetrovsk, Odesa and Sumy regions are close to the epidemic level, the press service of Ukraine’s Health Ministry reported. In all other regions the epidemic situation is relatively favorable. Since the beginning of the flu and ARVI epidemic in Ukraine, cases of these ailments were diagnosed in 4,922,532 people. A total of 1,076 patients died over the period from October 29, 2009, through February 8 of this year. (Ukrinform)

Soviet Age Park to be set up

KYIV – A park of the Soviet era with 126 sculptures from those times will be set up at the Kyiv Hydropark, the Segodnia newspaper reported on February 7. According to the director of the public utility company Restoration and Recovery Work, Hennadii Hera, builders have chosen a 2.5-hectare plot of land. “At the nearest session of the Kyiv Council, this land plot will be allocated for a new public utility enterprise [called] Soviet Age Park. In 10 to 15 days, a tender will be announced for development of the

park project,” he said. He noted that 126 monuments dismantled in Kyiv over 17 years will be displayed and excursions will be conducted to the park. (Ukrinform)

43,000 farming enterprises in Ukraine

KYIV – There are 43,000 farming enterprises operating in Ukraine and their number has remained unchanged compared with previous years, said Ivan Tomych, president of the Association of Farmers and Private Landowners of Ukraine (AFPLU). Speaking on February 6, he said the number of farmers remains unchanged because an equal number have entered the business and withdrawn from it. Mr. Tomych also emphasized that the farmers presently cultivate 4.2 million hectares of land – equal to the area of Belgium. In comparison, in 1999 the farmers cultivated 1 million hectares. He added that the average size of a farm grew from 28 hectares in 1999 to 101 hectares in 2009. The volume of government support for the farmers in 2008 was 154 million hrv, whereas in 2009 this figure was 100 million hrv. According to the AFPLU, about 500 million hrv are needed in 2010 for intensive development of farming in Ukraine. (Ukrinform)

Ukraine’s best cities are named

KYIV – Odesa, Kyiv and Dnipropetrovsk are the most comfortable and safe cities of Ukraine, Oleksander Serhienko, head of the Institute of City analytical studies center, told a February 6 press conference. He noted that a study of cities with populations of over 670,000 involved 17 parameters, such as birth and mortality rates, the number of marriages and divorces, housing, cost of utilities, transport network, housing construction, the environmental situation. Odesa won the top marks in this study, followed by Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Kryvyi Rih, Lviv, Kharkiv, Donetsk and Zaporizhia, Mr. Serhienko said. (Ukrinform)

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Valentina Kuryliw is honored for her work in education

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – It is a custom in Ontario for members of the Provincial Parliament to present Community Recognition Awards at their New Year's levees. At MPP Donna Cansfield's reception on January 17, Valentina Kuryliw received a Community Recognition Award "for outstanding volunteer service."

In her presentation, Ms. Cansfield, who represents Etobicoke Center, paid tribute to Ms. Kuryliw's services to education, both in Canada and in Ukraine, and spoke about her work in helping to develop a Holodomor curriculum and spearheading its introduction into Toronto public schools.

Before retiring in 2001, Ms. Kuryliw taught history and was head of the history department at York Humber High School. In 1993, along with other educators, she was invited to Ukraine to develop a program for instructing Ukrainian history teachers on how to use critical teaching skills.

In 2003 she published the textbook "Metodyka Vykładannia Istorii" (Methods of Teaching History), which was officially endorsed by the Ministry of Education of Ukraine. As the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor approached, Ms. Kuryliw took on the task of ensuring that the Holodomor would be taught in Toronto public schools.

In the spring of 2008, the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) created a Genocide course, but the Holodomor was not to be included. (The course covered the Holocaust, and the Armenian and the Rwandan genocides). In response, the Holodomor Education Team (HET) was created. Its current members include: Ms. Kuryliw and Eugene Yakovitch (as co-

chairs), Andrew Melnyk, Alex Chumak, Marika Szkambara, Roman Kordiuk and Halya Dmytryshyn. All are active members of the Ukrainian community and former teachers (Mr. Melnyk served as school principal for 20 years; Mr. Chumak was a school trustee for the TDSB and is a social worker).

The HET mounted a careful and well-thought-out strategy to have the Holodomor acknowledged and taught in Toronto public schools. In spite of initial opposition and seeming lack of interest, the TDSB finally agreed to have the fourth Friday in November designated Holodomor Memorial Day in all schools, and directed the preparation of a curriculum on the Holodomor.

In the summer of 2009, a TDSB Writing Team on the curriculum was created. Ms. Kuryliw worked as a consultant, providing expertise and resources, such as the Holodomor Teaching Kit: "The Unknown Genocide – Ukrainian Holodomor 1932-1933." The kit includes copies of original documents and a workbook for teachers and students. (It is available on the website www.famigenocide.com). Two curriculum units teaching the Holodomor were developed and were designated for two grade 12 courses – World History and World Politics.

An announcement of the Holodomor Memorial Day, November 27, 2009, was sent out to all schools by the superintendent of education one week before the event. But it is up to individual schools to decide which directives they will announce and Ms. Kuryliw said that the HET is not yet receiving enough feedback about the implementation of Holodomor Memorial Day. It is certain only that three schools observed it, but only because of



Oksana Zakydalsky

Honoree Valentina Kuryliw and friends at the Community Recognition Award presentation: (from left) Marika Szkambara, Member of Parliament Borys Wrzesnewsky Member of Provincial Parliament Donna Cansfield, Ms. Kuryliw, Ivan Baker, Halya Dmytryshyn, Myroslava Oleksiuk-Baker and Marika Dubyk-Wodoslawska.

the interest of individual teachers within the schools.

By the end of 2009, all public secondary schools and history departments in Toronto had received the Holodomor curriculum but, Ms. Kuryliw stressed, it is not enough to have a curriculum, as teachers make choices about what they teach in their history courses and the Holodomor is only one of many elective topics. Thus, the HET has taken on the task of making educators aware of materials available on the Holodomor through presentations at schools and conferences, through in-service training and the distribution of the Holodomor Teaching Kits. The HET has also established contact

with the Hamilton-Wentworth District School Board, where Ms. Kuryliw was invited to give a workshop on the teaching of the Holodomor and 22 teachers and administrators received the teaching kits.

The HET is now taking the issue of the Holodomor curriculum one step higher: it is developing a presentation to the Ministry of Education Curriculum Review Division to have the internment operations of World War I and the Holodomor taught in all Ontario schools. Such a curriculum review by the province is usually done only once in 10 years, and the deadline for submissions is March of

(Continued on page 22)

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Experts at D.C. ...

(Continued from page 1)

ousel”) and non-resident voting, more votes reported from a hospital than there were patients, the disappearance of ballots in Ivano-Frankivsk after the killing of an election commission member there, among others. He also cited the surprising amendment of the election law three days before the second round dealing with the number of election commission representatives that had to be present at voting stations. He likened this to changing the rules of the game during the intermission of a soccer or football game.

“Judicial reform should be a priority because without a judicial reform in Ukraine you cannot have the applicability of the rule of law,” he underscored.

As for what contributed to the “victory or alleged victory” of Mr. Yanukovich, Judge Futey suggested that it was the combination of those who did not vote and those who cast their ballots for neither of the candidates. He added, though, that many Ukrainians attributed “the alleged victory” of Mr. Yanukovich to the policies of President Viktor Yushchenko.

David Kramer of the German Marshall Fund who was at the State Department during the administration of President George W. Bush and the director of the International Republican Institute study mission to Ukraine, was impressed by the voter turnout – 67 percent – which he characterized as high despite the cold and snowy winter weather. He suggested that Ukraine should change the date of its elections to a milder season of the year.

There were no systemic abuses or fraud, he said. Yulia Tymoshenko lost because she was the prime minister when the economy shrank by 15 percent and because of what he called the “Yushchenko effect” – the president’s “nasty attacks” against his former ally. “The president, ironically, was doing Yanukovich’s dirty work for him,” Mr. Kramer commented.

As for criticisms of President Barack Obama telephoning to congratulate Mr. Yanukovich before the official announcement of his victory, Mr. Kramer said, “It would have been a mistake, in fact, had the president not placed a phone call and had he been the last one to congratulate Yanukovich.”

Orest Deychakiwsky, a senior advisor with the U.S. Helsinki Commission who was an election observer for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, noted that 95 percent of the OSCE observers called the election process “good” or “very good.”

“You really can’t do much better than that,” he said, adding that the fact that the election results were not predictable is a success in itself – “a relatively rare concept in

that part of the world.” And while Prime Minister Tymoshenko has every right to ask for a recount, he expressed his doubt that it would change the final outcome.

As for Ukraine’s future course under the new administration, he said that as president Mr. Yanukovich may not turn out to be as pro-Moscow as many expect him to be. Also, the oligarchs who backed him may well see their interests more in a European future for Ukraine.

Regarding U.S.-Ukraine relations, he said, “The U.S. has a solid record of standing with the Ukrainian people over the decades in their support for freedom and democracy that crosses party lines. It’s in Congress, it’s in the executive branch. And now certainly is not the time to give up on them.”

Another election observer – for the UCCA in Sevastopol – James Greene, who had been a NATO representative in Ukraine, said that the voters of eastern Ukraine, who felt dispossessed after the 2004 election, now feel empowered as stakeholders in a politically balanced Ukraine. He sees the next battle as being between those who are only seeking patronage benefits in the incoming Yanukovich administration and those who recognize the need for institutional reform.

Samuel Charap of the Center for American Progress debunked what he saw as the four myths spread in the U.S. media headlines about the Ukrainian elections:

- Ukraine is not heading back “into the arms of Mother Russia,” as some headlines suggest, he said. Yanukovich’s cultural background will not necessarily dominate his political and economic preferences.
- The election was not “the death of the Orange Revolution.” The real 2004 revolutionaries were not Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, but the people – the voters who wanted to reform the system of governance in Ukraine.

- Free and fair elections in Ukraine do not prove that it is a democracy. One must also consider the way the country is run between elections – democratically or elite-dominated and corrupt.

- Ukraine is not hopelessly divided between the East and West. While that may be true about its historical development, Mr. Charap said, socioeconomic considerations of the people play a role as well.

Nadia McConnell, the founder and president of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, also took issue with the interpretation of Ukraine’s election in the East-West context as a Moscow-backed victory over the U.S.-backed Orange Revolution.

And polling results showed that their top three concerns in this election were jobs (71 percent), inflation (56 percent) and corruption (48 percent), and not the East-West issues, such as the gas dispute with Russia (17 percent), the status of the Russian language (9 percent), European Union relations



Federal Claims Court Judge Bohdan Futey responds to a question during The Washington Group’s post-election review conference. Seated next to him on the panel are Orest Deychakiwsky (left) of the U.S. Helsinki Commission and David Kramer of the German Marshall Fund. TWG President Andrew Bihun is at the podium.

(3 percent) and NATO (1 percent).

“The evidence is clear and consistent: the people of Ukraine have once again demonstrated that they are seeking democracy,” that they are making the transition “from tyranny to freedom,” she said.

“[Mikhail] Gorbachev and President [George] Bush misunderstood what was happening in Ukraine in 1991,” she said, and Vladimir Putin and the West today do not understand what is motivating Ukrainian society. When and if President Yanukovich visits Washington, he will surely pay his respects to the poet Taras Shevchenko at his monument here. Inscribed on its base, she said, are the poet’s words longing for Ukraine to someday get its own George Washington “with his new and righteous law” (“Yurodyvyi,” 1857). “This is something that the people of Ukraine have wanted for centuries, not just since the Orange Revolution,” she said.

Still, Ms. McConnell noted later in response to a question, the Orange Revolution is continuing. And why were its leaders ousted – “because they failed their promises and commitments... and the new president of Ukraine will be held accountable by the people,” she added.

Foreign relations panel

Steven Pifer, former ambassador to Ukraine now associated with The Brookings Institution in Washington, was the first speaker of the second panel discussion, dealing with the election results’ impact on Ukraine’s foreign relations.

He mentioned these among his expectations: less tension between Moscow and Kyiv, but Moscow will not get all it wants from Ukraine; while the new government will not seek full NATO membership, it will continue its cooperation with the alliance and deepen its relationship with the European Union; the majority of Ukraine’s foreign policy elite and its people see their future within Europe, and this will be “somewhat disconcerting” to Moscow.

Ambassador Pifer said that the United States and the European Union should welcome Mr. Yanukovich as the democratically elected president of Ukraine and stress the need for its further democratic development; stress that the doors to the European Union and NATO remain open and that it is up to Ukraine to determine how far and how fast it wants to go in that direction; and advise the new Kyiv government that it should not postpone its hard domestic challenges but make the hard decisions and tackle those problems – with energy sector reforms on top of the list – as early in the administration as possible.

If Ukraine does not take on this agenda, the West should make clear that it will hold back its assistance through the International Monetary Fund and other channels, Ambassador Pifer said. “We can’t be in a

position where we want Ukraine to succeed more than the Ukrainian leadership.”

The second session of the conference also heard from Lawrence R. Silverman, director for Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus Affairs at the Department of State. His remarks, however, were delivered “off the record” and, thus, not for publication.

Speaking on the record, Damon Wilson, vice-president and director of the international security program of the Atlantic Council said that the election of Mr. Yanukovich was not so much the result of Russia’s strategy as a result of the Yushchenko-Tymoshenko infighting.

To those who had a vision of Ukraine firmly anchored in the West it was, of course, disappointing. “We all have had to, in some sense, downgrade the aspirations we had for Ukraine in the wake of the Orange Revolution,” he said, noting that now it seems like “we’re going to muddle along” in further developing Ukraine’s relationship with the West.

From a geopolitical perspective, in some respects, Ukraine is now untethered, uncertain and in the process of being decided, Mr. Wilson said. “It is a reality that we just can’t ignore.” Still, he added, Ukraine “is now and can become a powerful example in a region that needs an example of a success of a democracy and a free-market economy.”

Mr. Wilson said he is looking to see how President Yanukovich will handle Ukraine’s relationship with Georgia, the issue of extending Russia’s Black Sea Fleet arrangement in Crimea, energy security, and its economic relations with Russia and Europe. It’s a heavy agenda for the new president, he added, and much of how he handles Ukraine’s domestic affairs will influence how he is perceived in foreign capitals.

Michael Sawkiw, the former president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and director of its Ukrainian National Information Service in Washington, indicated that he, too, will be looking at how Mr. Yanukovich handles these issues.

He called on Ukrainian Americans to engage with members of Congress and the Obama administration to develop a policy of full engagement with Ukraine. “Because a non-vector policy in Ukraine right now – neither West nor East – is going to be detrimental not just for the United States, not just for the region, [but] obviously for Europe as a whole,” he said.

Tribute to Roman Kupchinsky

Between the two sessions, the conference paid tribute to Roman Kupchinsky (1949-2010), who was buried the day before with military honors at Arlington National Cemetery. Myron Smorodsky, an old friend of his, recalled his many years of work in behalf of the United States and Ukraine, and the development of their bilateral relationship.



Nadia McConnell, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation president, makes the point that the Ukrainian people’s yearning for freedom and independence dates back centuries and is inscribed – in Taras Shevchenko’s words – on the base of his monument in Washington.

Ukraine and...

(Continued from page 13)

Olympics. My coach had a smile on his face. I could only reciprocate with that one."

91-year-old carries torch

The oldest living long jump competitor in the world was one of a select few to be allowed to hold history in her hands. Olga Kotelko, a 91-year-old Ukrainian Canadian, was one of the 12,000 torch-bearers during the Olympic flame's journey to the site of the XXI Winter Olympic Games.

Beginning at 7:45 p.m. on February 10th on Marine Drive in West Vancouver (between 15th and 17th Streets), Kotelko carried the Olympic torch.

"I am so very happy and so overwhelmed to have this once-in-a-lifetime experience," said an emotional Kotelko, according to a press release issued by Ukraine House. "Carrying the torch represents inspiration, dedication, hope, perseverance and community spirit. To me, this flame is a shining symbol saluting good health and well-being."

A former teacher from Burnaby, British Columbia, Kotelko has been active in running, jumping and throwing since 1997, when she was 77. She has broken several

records in the W80, W85 and W90 age categories. In her West Vancouver community she is a popular motivational speaker on the senior circuit and a shot put coach at her local elementary school.

She is a member of the Canadian Masters Athletics Hall of Fame, has been honored as British Columbia's Masters Athlete of the Year and is a winner of the Vancouver YWCA's Women of Distinction in Sports award.

Mission: Bubka, 007

In the early morning hours of February 8, in the tiny town of Mission, British Columbia, some five miles from the U.S. border, Sergiy Bubka, president of the National Olympic Committee of Ukraine, once again participated in the Olympic torch relay. An early-rising substantial crowd, including many Ukrainians waving Ukrainian flags, turned out to pay tribute to one of Ukraine's most outstanding athletes.

Ukraine's most famous Olympian was designated as No. 007 at the torch relay ceremony in the town of Mission. After completing his leg of the torch relay, event organizers referred to Bubka as "agent 007 fulfilling his Mission."

This was the eighth time Bubka was afforded the honor of carrying the Olympic

torch. His first such honor was at the Olympics in Sydney, Australia, in 2000. It is worth nothing that he was assigned the task of carrying the torch twice in several recent Olympic torch relays. Double assignments in one torch relay are quite rare – obviously, a strong indication of the great esteem with which Bubka is held by the International Olympic Committee.

'Great One' lights cauldron

It was a sure bet the opening ceremonies of the Vancouver Games would have a taste of hockey. After all, hockey is a part of the host country's national identity.

After a snowboarder opened the ceremonies, hockey took over as one of the themes of the night – right up to the moment when hockey legend Wayne Gretzky, who has Ukrainian roots, brought down B.C. Place by lighting the Olympic cauldron.

The four-time Stanley Cup champion leader of the Edmonton Oilers some three decades ago rewrote the NHL's record books. More relevant to the day, he was a member of Team Canada in 1998, the first Olympic Games to feature NHL players. He was Team Canada's general manager in 2002 – the year the squad won the gold medal in Salt Lake City, ending its 50-year gold-medal drought in

Olympic hockey.

Canadian downhill skier Nancy Greene lit Gretzky's torch, with which he then jogged to the middle of the B.C. Place floor, standing for several minutes with the torch held over his head. The cauldron rose out of the floor in front of Gretzky, who was then joined by three other Canadian torchbearers. The group proceeded to light three arms of the Olympic cauldron (a fourth did not emerge due to a malfunction), sending the flame into the base.

Gretzky then acted out the finale by carrying the flame out of the building and, after being driven to the site, lighting the outdoor cauldron that will be visible for all to see for the duration of the Games.

Rewriting history...

(Continued from page 7)

dates the events on July 1, 1941.

Ms. Wagner describes her own and her family's fears and the persecution suffered at the hands of the Nazis and the local residents of Lviv. She describes her oppressors as young Ukrainian street thugs and bandits. There is not a single reference by the witness to the OUN.

This clearly does not satisfy Prof. Himka, so he distorts, suggesting that Ms. Wagner had no way of knowing that her oppressors were led by the recently formed Ukrainian militia consisting of men directed by the OUN. Prof. Himka offers as corroborating evidence a Ukrainian Militia identification card belonging to one Iwan Kowalyschyn. The card is neither authenticated, nor signed or dated by an issuing officer. Other eyewitness accounts label the persecutors of the Jews in Lviv at that time as being Polish. Prof. Himka simply dismisses that label as erroneous.

While there is divergence in various accounts of the Lviv incident as to the identity of the perpetrators, the indisputable facts are that the Soviets left a gory landscape, prisons replete with corpses of their Ukrainian prisoners accumulated over almost two years from the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact until the Nazi invasion of Western Ukraine. What is also indisputable is that many Jews served in the Soviet secret police during that period of Soviet rule in western Ukraine. Prof. Himka fails to mention the Jewish complicity, which may have pointed to the motive of any number of oppressors.

Such is Prof. Himka's scholarship throughout his writings on the OUN-UPA and the Holocaust, at least in what I have reviewed. His aforementioned November 2009 paper on the UPA and the Holocaust relies strictly on eyewitness testimony. No documentation is offered. The reliability factor is even more questionable in the UPA paper since, without exception, the "eyewitness accounts" impugning the UPA are not eyewitness at all. Rather, they are hearsay, i.e., my friend told me that in the village the UPA murdered Jews. In instances of direct accounts, the narrative consists of battles between the UPA and Soviet partisans or the Polish Armija Krajowa which includes people who happened to be Jewish. While being Jewish in and of itself, certainly, was not reason to be killed, being Jewish was not immunity from being attacked when you sided and fought with the enemy.

This article is not a scholarly attempt to refute all allegations of complicity by the OUN, the UPA, Shukhevych or Bandera in the Holocaust. It is, however, an impeachment of the impugning alleged scholarship that really is not scholarly at all. Allegations of complicity by the OUN, the UPA, Shukhevych or Bandera in the Holocaust at this point in time are moot since none of the above was afforded as much as a mention in the Nuremberg proceedings. Soviet Prosecutor Roman Rudenko certainly had access to Soviet archives, eyewitness accounts and other evidence. Case closed!



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St. Josaphat Ukrainian School Reunion celebrates four decades of tradition

PHILADELPHIA – For St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic School in Philadelphia, the year 2010 began with much excitement and joy. After 22 years, it hosted the Alumni Reunion of 1962-2002. The event, organized and sponsored by St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church, took place on Saturday, January 30, gathering over 150 graduates of four decades.

The evening was opened with a solemn divine liturgy celebrated by Metropolitan-Archbishop Stefan Soroka who delivered a deeply moving, bilingual homily as he welcomed all those gathered for the celebration of St. Josaphat Alumni Reunion.

The main theme of archbishop's homily was the gift of God's love for each of us is reflected in the joy of celebrations. His love, continued Archbishop Soroka is present here, at St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic School, whose loving and caring administration and faculty have dedicated their efforts to teaching generations of students about this precious gift of our Heavenly Father.

Archbishop Soroka expressed words of his gratitude to the Rev. Ihor Bloschynskyy, pastor and school administrator, and members of the Reunion Committee for their dedication in organizing the event; Christine McIntyre, principal, and teaching faculty for their assistance in preparations of the reunion; and especially to the parishioners of St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church, who initiated and generously sponsored the joyous celebration, and who tirelessly continue to build a strong community with the school.

Upon the conclusion of the divine liturgy, the Rev. Bloschynskyy expressed his gratitude to Archbishop Soroka for his spiritual leadership, professional advice and steady support of St. Josaphat School.

All those present had an opportunity to take a group picture with the spiritual leader of the Ukrainian Catholics in the U.S. Opening the official ceremony, the Rev. Bloschynskyy welcomed Archbishop Soroka, as well as a former school administrator, Msgr. Peter Waslo, the archbishop's chancellor, Sister Laura Palka, provincial of the Basilian Sisters, accompanied by sisters Maria Rozmarynowycz and Diya Zahurska from Ukraine; a long-term member of the teaching faculty, Justine Kunderewicz; the school's current principal, Mrs. McIntyre, and all alumni present at the reunion.

Sharing his personal observation of a long-planned festivity, the pastor said: "When the committee started planning the event some eight months ago, there was much excitement, but even more concerns and doubts. I am glad that of the three only excitement reverberates among us this evening. Life is what happens to us while we are busy planning other things. We can plan for tomorrow, but we cannot guarantee that tomorrow will be there for us to enjoy. Many of our friends did not live to this



Stephen Fartuszok

Metropolitan-Archbishop Stefan Soroka of Philadelphia and the alumni of St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic School upon the conclusion of the divine liturgy.

moment, many sisters, teachers, supporters of the school departed to the eternity. There is no certainty in the future; the only moment in time we can be absolutely sure of is now – today – this moment. Live in the moment, treasure it, savor it, wrap yourself and those you love within it and hold on tight."

At the conclusion of his speech, the Rev. Bloschynskyy wished all those present a memorable and pleasant evening, filled with most unexpected surprises and cherished moments, and encouraged them "to get together again."

Mrs. McIntyre, extended words of gratitude to the parishioners of St. Josaphat Church, who with their dedication and enthusiasm had enabled alumni with a great chance to reconnect with their fellow classmates, to share their life stories and enliven the memories of their joyous days spent in the walls of the school, and especially to the committee members and contributors to the event.

She emphasized the great assistance of the Home and School Association in serving attendees at various parts of the event.

Sister Laura greeted the alumni on behalf of all the Sisters of St. Basil the Great who used to teach generations of St. Josaphat students. For decades, the sisters instilled Christian and moral values, passed the Ukrainian heritage and equipped thousands of students with good education.

Sophia Halas-Pryszlak, a member of the committee, delivered an emotional speech as an alumnae and present supporter of the school. She emphasized the value of the traditions the school has kept for so many years, introduced those present with the problems and concerns it deals today, and shared her observations of numerous changes the school has experienced over the



Reunion Committee members and volunteers (from left): Andrea (Michalsky) Quinn, John Kusen, Theresa Kusen, David Wisniewski, Christine McIntyre, the Rev. Ihor Bloschynskyy (chair), Sophia Halas-Pryszlak, Iryna Ivankovych-Bloschynska, Denis Jones, Lesia Krych-Schofer, Linda (Klakowicz) Beerley and Maria (Iwanowicz) Holt.

decades.

With the opening prayer, Archbishop Soroka blessed the food and invited everyone to the evening of joy and celebration. Throughout the night, those present had an opportunity to watch the slide show presentation (contribution of Stephen Fartuszok and John Kusen), took group pictures (photographers: Karen M. Cheung, Stephen Fartuszok), participate in the 50/50, (the

winner of which, Roman Iwaskiw, donated \$203 to the school), and raffle auctions, took a tour of the school, and danced to the Ukrainian American music played by DJs Jerry and Roman Mykijewycz.

The reunion was a good time to look back and celebrate. But, it was also a time for attendees to reignite the passion and look forward to the future for themselves and the school.

St. Josaphat at a glance

On September 5, 1957, the doors of St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic School opened to welcome 69 children. In this first year, there were only four grades. The first principal of the new school was the Very Rev. Mother M. Basil, OSBM, and the first administrator was the Very Rev. Msgr. Myroslav Charyna.

1962 marked the first graduation from St. Josaphat School, with a class of eight. Two years later, in 1964, the graduating class consisted of 29 students.

The solemn dedication of the new St. Josaphat School Auditorium-Gymnasium took place on May 19, 1968. On November 2, 2008, Metropolitan-Archbishop Stefan Soroka blessed a newly built church, thus bringing the parish and school families together.

Throughout the years, the mission of St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic School has remained unchanged, that is, to instill the love of God, neighbor and self, and to have all students strive and accomplish their own level of academic excellence. Its ultimate goal is to create an atmo-

sphere where all students feel accepted, fulfilled and loved.

Today, over 200 children, regardless of their religious and ethnic background, are carefully instructed in the fundamentals of the Catholic religion, the Ukrainian rite, the Ukrainian language and culture, as well as the basic moral, civic and social responsibilities which aid them in later years to become good Christians and constructive members of American society.

The newly equipped, Microsoft-based, Internet-ready computer lab offers students the ability to master their skills using the latest technology. The school library collection includes a variety of books and videos for classroom use and exciting books for personal reading pleasure. St. Josaphat offers a CYO and music program to students. The school invites visitors. It is located at 4521 Longshore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19135; telephone, 215-332-8008.

– the Rev. Ihor Bloschynskyy
and Christine McIntyre



A Ukrainian "Kolomyika" is performed by St. Josaphat alumni.

COMMUNITY CHRONICLE

Jersey City parish welcomes Metropolitan Stefan Soroka

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church warmly welcomed Metropolitan-Archbishop Stefan Soroka on November 22, 2009.

During the metropolitan's visit, a member of the parish who is a priest was one of the participants in the celebration of the liturgy. The Rev. Dmytro Dnistrian is currently ministering to a parish in Canada.

After the liturgy, the parish women prepared a luncheon in the parish hall for the parishioners and honored guests. Metropolitan Soroka was able to see the parish's future – its children. The children from the Ukrainian American Youth Association (UAYA), the local School of Ukrainian Studies and the Ukrainian dance school performed Ukrainian dances as well as special recitations of poems dedicated to the hierarch's visit.

Oksana Bartkiv of the Jersey City UAYA was the master of ceremonies during the performance.

After the luncheon the leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States mingled with parishioners, listened to their requests and asked for suggestions.



Metropolitan-Archbishop Stefan Soroka with parishioners of Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church in Jersey City, N.J.

To The Weekly Contributors:

We greatly appreciate the materials – feature articles, news stories, press clippings, letters to the editor, etc. – we receive from our readers. In order to facilitate preparation of The Ukrainian Weekly, we ask that the guidelines listed below be followed.

- News stories should be sent in not later than 10 days after the occurrence of a given event.
- All materials must be typed (or legibly hand-printed) and double-spaced.
- Photographs (originals only, no photocopies or computer printouts) submitted for publication must be accompanied by captions. Photos will be returned only

when so requested and accompanied by a stamped, addressed envelope.

- Full names (i.e., no initials) and their correct English spellings must be provided.
- Newspaper and magazine clippings must be accompanied by the name of the publication and the date of the edition.
- Information about upcoming events must be received one week before the date of The Weekly edition in which the information is to be published.
- Persons who submit any materials must provide a daytime phone number where they may be reached if any additional information is required.
- Unsolicited materials submitted for publication will be returned only when so requested and accompanied by a stamped, addressed envelope.

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COMMUNITY CHRONICLE

Parma parish hosts Bishop Bura

PARMA, Ohio – December 20, 2009, was a special day for the parish community of St. Andrew Ukrainian Catholic Church. Bishop-Administrator John Bura of St. Josaphat Eparchy visited the community to bless two icons and meet the parishioners.

In 2007, St. Andrew Parish celebrated its 40th anniversary. In commemoration of this event, the anniversary committee commissioned iconographer and parishioner Daria Hulak-Kulchytsky to begin decorating the church interior according to the Ukrainian-Byzantine tradition.

Mrs. Kulchytsky's first icon was the "Last Supper," which she donated to the church in honor of her late parents and in-laws. This was installed before Easter 2009. "The Crucifixion" and "Resurrection" were completed in

December 2009.

Children of the parish – Alexander Polatajko, Alexandra Popadiuk and Kalyna Kulchytsky – greeted Bishop Bura with flowers and Ukrainian greetings. Parish activist Olena Chmilak greeted the bishop with the traditional bread and salt, and gave a brief history of the parish.

During the divine liturgy celebrated by Bishop Bura, the Rev. Ihor Kasiyan (pastor), Msgr. Michael Poloway, Msgr. Michael Rewtiuk and Deacon Roman Turchyn, the liturgical responses were sung by the new choir directed by Volodymyr Andrusyshyn.

A reception prepared by the ladies of the parish was held in the lower church hall, where parishioners had the opportunity to speak with Bishop Bura and welcome him to their community.



Bishop John Bura is welcomed to St. Andrew Ukrainian Catholic Church in Parma, Ohio, by parishioners.

Minneapolis students share Peace Light

MINNEAPOLIS – On Saturday, December 19, 2009, students from the Ukrainian School at St. Constantine Ukrainian Catholic Church gathered at the school library to learn about the Bethlehem Peace Light that was brought to Minnesota from Bethlehem through the efforts of scout groups, including Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization.

After learning about the flame's significant journey, each of the approximately 15 students was given a candle to light in the darkened room while singing the Ukrainian Christmas carol "Boh Predvichnyi." All were asked to share the flame with their families during the upcoming Christmas holidays at home.

At the end of the program, all the stu-

dents and parents wished each other a Merry Christmas and left with a special feeling in their hearts. This short but meaningful program was sponsored and led by Christina Cybriwsky-Jermihov and Dmytro Tataryn.

Saturday, February 27, 2010

Jenkintown, PA - The annual meeting of UNA Br 83 (Ivan Franko Society) and Br 339 (St. Basil Society) will be held at 2 PM at the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 700 Cedar Rd, Jenkintown, PA, 19006.

On the agenda: merger of Branches 83 and 339, election of delegates to the 37th UNA Convention.

All members are asked to attend.

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Western leaders...

(Continued from page 9)

Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was transported along special streets and ate in special cafeterias. The same thing here," commented Mr. Vlasenko.

In extending early congratulations, the West revealed another misunderstanding it harbors about Ukraine, Dr. Perepelytsia said. It's the notion there's little difference between Mr. Yanukovich and Ms. Tymoshenko.

Mr. Yanukovich's statements are of an overtly anti-Ukrainian and anti-statehood nature, he said, referring to plans to transfer Ukraine's natural gas transit system to an international consortium led by the Russian state-owned monopoly, Gazprom. Mr. Yanukovich also suggested allowing the

Russian Black Sea Fleet to extend its deadline of 2017 for removing its ships from Crimean ports and to allow the fleet's basing at little to no rent.

"In democratic conditions, it's impossible to realize his goals," Dr. Perepelytsia said. "If they realize these intentions, it will cause quite a destabilization of the situation in Ukraine."

The premature recognition of Mr. Yanukovich's presidency was a political move with secret, hidden motives, said Vasyl Repetskyi, a professor of international law at Franko National University in Lviv. "It was a gesture to show they are loyal to the new president or to obtain dividends or preferences in their future relations," he said. "Otherwise it's a paradox that doesn't confirm to the rule of law EU countries profess."

New Russian...

(Continued from page 2)

emerging threats.

• United Nations and other international, including regional, organizations: mainly in relation to peacekeeping (www.kremlin.ru, February 5).

On February 6, during an interview on the sidelines of the 46th Munich Security Policy Conference, NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen criticized several aspects of the new Russian military doctrine. He singled out the negative depiction of NATO enlargement, which he emphasized, contradicted existing efforts to improve NATO-Russia relations and did not reflect reality (ITAR-TASS, February 7).

President Barack Obama's "reset" poli-

cy vis-à-vis Russia faces longer-term challenges, particularly in relation to the issue of NATO enlargement. The new Russian military doctrine defining NATO enlargement as the main external military danger confronting the country is unsurprising; it confirms the anti-NATO trend in Russian security documents that has developed since 1993. Advocates of the reset must now hope that the doctrine turns out to be a PR exercise, rather than reflecting dogma: otherwise future NATO-Russia relations will depend on the willingness of the alliance to abandon its enlargement commitment given to Georgia and Ukraine in Bucharest in April 2008.

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Valentina Kuryliw...

(Continued from page 16)

this year.

The inclusion of the Holodomor and internment into the Ministry of Education guidelines will ensure that these topics will be taught in all schools in Ontario and that future textbooks will be written

with them included. It is a vital step as all school boards must comply with ministry requirements.

Ms. Kuryliw has been appointed National Holodomor education chair for the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. She will set up a committee of representatives from all parts of Canada to help coordinate the teaching of the Holodomor in all provinces and territories.

Yushchenko...

(Continued from page 3)

Mr. Yushchenko, long vilified by Russia, likely facilitated the election of the pro-Russian candidate, Mr. Yanukovich, Moscow's favorite in the Ukrainian elections (EDM, January 22, 27, 29). President Yushchenko, brought to power by the 2004 Orange Revolution, effectively destroyed the Orange Revolution. The revolution, long the personal object

of hate of former Russian President Vladimir Putin, who saw it as one of his personal policy failures, was buried by that very person (Mr. Yushchenko) so despised by Mr. Putin.

No better final epitaph could have been written for Viktor Yushchenko.

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Mazepa symposium...

(Continued from page 11)

pointed out the myth-making nature of Russian Romantic literature and its role in creating empire building allegories. In that context he compared Konstantin Ryleev's poem "Voinarovsky" with Alexander Pushkin's "Poltava". He also alluded to the construction of Ukrainian countermyths to those of Russian empire, mentioning writers like Taras Shevchenko, Bohdan Lepky and Roman Ivanychuk.

Dr. Denis Hlynka of the Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning at the University of Manitoba presented an unusual view of the Mazepa legend in a paper titled "The Post Colonial Mazep(p)a: A Study in Globalization." Tracing the genesis of the Mazepa legend from Voltaire (1731), Lord Byron (1819) and Victor Hugo (1829) to the popular culture

in North America of the late 19th and the 20th centuries, he painted a story of transformation and mutability, the story of a "virtual" Mazepa. This trans-media representation of the Romantic image of Mazepa is the final deconstruction of Mazepa, the historic figure.

This exploration of the age and legacy of Mazepa shed light on the role of Russian colonialism and imperialism, as well as the Russian Orthodox Church in the construction of an image of Mazepa as traitor and villain. It showed how Russian Romantic literature propagated this image and how Ukrainian writers constructed a counter-image. It traced the genesis of the two opposing images to two social value systems related to a divergent understanding of a contract between a sovereign and his lieges. Finally, it charted the rehabilitation of Mazepa and concluded with a deconstruction of the legend of a "virtual" Mazepa in popular culture.



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OUT AND ABOUT

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| Through March 13
New York | Gerdany (beaded necklaces) workshop, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110 or edu@ukrainianmuseum.org | March 7
Ottawa | Taras Shevchenko Concert, Ukrainian Canadian Congress - Ottawa Branch, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Orthodox hall, 613-728-0856 |
| February 24
New York | Discussion, "Ukraine's Presidential Race: Outcomes and Prospects," Columbia University, 212-854-4697 or ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu | March 7-31
Daytona Beach, FL | Art exhibit, "Across the Universe," featuring work by Pat Zalisko, Art League of Daytona Beach, 386-258-3856 |
| February 25
Washington | Lecture by Taras Prokhasko, "FM Galicia" Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, 202-691-4000 | March 8
Cambridge, MA | Seminar by Valeriy Kuchinsky, "Power, Politics and Diplomacy in Ukraine after the 2010 Presidential Election," Harvard University, 617-495-4053 |
| February 25
Washington | Concert, featuring baritone Oleksandr Pushniak and pianist Oksana Skidan, Embassy of Ukraine, 202-364-3888 | March 9
Ottawa | Lecture by Lubomyr Luciuk, "Internment of Ukrainian Canadians during World War I," University of Ottawa, ucpsbaottawa@infoukes.com |
| February 25-28
New York | Kinofest NYC, The Ukrainian Museum, http://www.kinofestnyc.com/index.html | March 12
Washington | Concert, featuring pianist Inna Faliks, Embassy of Ukraine, jbarry@embassyseries.org or www.embassyseries.org |
| February 27
West Orange, NJ | Hockey fund-raiser to benefit Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund and the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, featuring the N.J. Devils Alumni versus N.Y. Ukrainian Kozaks, Richard J. Codey Arena, 973-867-8855 or www.hockeyfundraiser.org | March 13
Hunter, NY | Ski Races, Carpathian Ski Club (KLC), Hunter Mountain, virapopel@aol.com |
| February 27
Ottawa | "Perogy" Night Family Dinner, St. Vladimir the Great Council and the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Shrine, 613-830-7787 | March 14
Scranton, PA | Ukrainian Cultural Exhibit and Craft Sale, North Anthracite Council - League of Ukrainian Catholics, St. Vladimir Parish Center, 570-759-2824 or nacofluc@hotmail.com |
| March 1
Cambridge, MA | Seminar by Volodymyr Dibrova, "Gogol's 'Taras Bulba': The Novel, the Film, the Ideology," Harvard University, 617-495-4053 | March 15
Cambridge, MA | Seminar by Michelle Vlise, "Writing and Copying 17th Century Poland-Lithuania: The 'Silva Rerum' in Ruthenia," Harvard University, 617-495-4053 |
| March 2
New York | Lecture by Oksana Kis, "Beauty Will Save the World: Manifestations of Normative Femininities in Yulia Tymoshenko's Political Images," Columbia University, 212-854-4697 or ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu | March 17-18
Washington | "Ukrainian Days," Ukrainian National Information Service, 202-547-0018 or unis@ucca.org |

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.

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Wednesday, February 24

212-254-5130.

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Studies Program at the Harriman Institute of Columbia University invites you to attend the discussion "Ukraine's Presidential Race: Outcomes and Prospects." Taking part in the discussion will be Ambassador Valery Kuchinsky, former permanent representative of Ukraine to the United Nations; Alexander Motyl, professor of political science, Rutgers University; and Adrian Karatnycky, senior fellow, Atlantic Council. The discussion will be held at noon in Room 1219, International Affairs Building, 420 W. 118th St.

Saturday, February 27

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a lecture by Rostyslav Melyukov titled "A Person with an Odd Name. On the 115th Anniversary of the Birth of Mayk Johansen." The lecturer is a candidate of philological sciences and a "dotsent" (associate professor) in the Department of Ukrainian Literature at Kharkiv National Pedagogical University. He presently holds the Dr. Jaroslaw and Nadia Mihaychuk Fellowship in Ukrainian Studies at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. The lecture will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Avenue (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call

WEST ORANGE, N.J.: The Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund and the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey are proud to present the Devils Alumni vs. the New York Ukrainian Kozaks hockey fund-raiser game at 2 p.m. at the Richard J. Codey Arena on Northfield Avenue in West Orange, N.J. The fun begins with an open skate for all ticket holders at 12:30 p.m. Natasha Popova, the 2009 gold medalist at the National Figure Skating Championship of Ukraine, and Alina Milevskaya, the 2009 gold medalist of the Junior Championship of Ukraine will perform before the game. Meet the Devils' mascot, the New Jersey Devil, bid on autographed memorabilia from your favorite athletes and purchase commemorative pucks. Tickets are \$50 for gold seating, which includes a meet and greet with all players; \$25 for silver reserved seating; and \$20 for bronze general admission seats. PayPal is accepted for online ticket orders. For more information call 973-867-8855 or visit the website at www.hockeyfundraiser.org. Auction proceeds will benefit the Eugene Kinasevich Fund, which provides financial assistance to needy and worthy students from Ukraine, Canada, the United States and elsewhere.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

To have an event listed in Preview of Events please send information, in English, written in Preview format, i.e., in a brief paragraph that includes the date, place, type of event, sponsor, admission, full names of persons and/or organizations involved, and a phone number to be published for readers who may require additional information. Items should be **no more than 100 words long**; longer submissions are subject to editing. Items not written in Preview format or submitted without all required information will not be published.

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

Information should be sent to: preview@ukrweekly.com or Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054; fax, 973-644-9510. **NB: If e-mailing, please do not send items as attachments; simply type the text into the body of the e-mail message.**

Attention Debutante Ball Organizers!



As in the past, The Ukrainian Weekly will publish a special section devoted to the Ukrainian community's debutantes. The 2010 debutante ball section will be published on March 21. The deadline for submission of stories and photos is March 8.