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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

The first 100 days: Does Kyiv have a coherent foreign policy?

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

The first 100 days: The Ukrainian Weekly examines the activity of the Yanukovich administration in Ukraine's cultural life, the economy, and foreign and domestic policy. This is the third article in the series.

KYIV – He gave up all of Ukraine's highly enriched uranium, allegedly for a photo-op with U.S. President Barack Obama, as opponents claimed. Little more than a week later, Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich allowed the Russian Black Sea Fleet to remain on the Crimean peninsula for another quarter century.

Prime Minister Mykola Azarov said his goal was to achieve an Association Agreement and Free Trade Agreement with the European Union by the end of this year. But NATO is off the table.

Indeed the Yanukovich administration has no coherent foreign policy strategy, in the view of top experts attending a June 11 roundtable organized by Arseniy Yatsenyuk's Open Ukraine Foundation. As a result, he's leaned heavily on integration with Russia as a reliable comfort zone with proven electoral returns.

"Some people said Ukraine has no foreign policy strategy, and everyone agreed, and I agree with that," Volodymyr Horbach, a political analyst at the Western-financed Institute of Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, told *The Weekly*.

"But there is, in fact, a foreign policy strategy. The problem is it's in Russia, not Ukraine," he added.

Mr. Yanukovich's promoters in the West, including Adrian Karatnycky of the Atlantic Council of the U.S. and Anthony Salvio of

the American Institute in Ukraine, have tried to paint a portrait of an administration that is successfully balancing Russian and European interests.

Yet the consensus among the experts' community, both Western-financed and independent, is that Mr. Yanukovich's foreign policy is posing a direct threat to Ukrainian sovereignty, allowing Russian interests to launch campaigns aimed at dominating the nation's cultural, political and economic life.

Mr. Yanukovich is allowing the Russians unacceptable influence in Ukrainian affairs, said Ukraine's former Ambassador to the U.S. Yuri Shcherbak, referring not only to the Black Sea Fleet lease extension, but also to widescale plans for Russian enterprises, state-owned and state-financed, to buy up Ukrainian counterparts.

"Who counted what percent of an economy's industry, when in the hands of another country, poses a danger to our security?" he asked his fellow experts during the discussion. "Do we know this? Does 80 percent need to be given to another country before we'll be asking what's left?"

Such alarm was confirmed by comments offered on Victory Day, May 9, by Russian Presidential Administration Chair Sergey Naryshkin, who attended celebrations in Sevastopol, where the Russian Black Sea Fleet gained a new lease extension until 2042.

Referring to the May 17-18 interstate commission meetings in Kyiv, he said a very large program of cooperation would be developed "literally in all directions."

"The Kharkiv agreements, without a doubt, are a serious landmark moment in

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Opposition leaders visiting U.S. offer assessments of changes in Ukraine

by Irene Jarosewich
Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WHIPPANY, N.J. – The presentations of three political leaders from Ukraine at the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey (UACCNJ) here on Saturday, June 19, provided the first opportunity since the election of President Viktor Yanukovich for the Ukrainian American community to hear first-hand about the profound changes under way in Ukraine's foreign and domestic policies.

Dr. Yuri Shcherbak's words near the end of the evening best summarized the presentations by the three opposition figures, who were on a five-day visit to the United States that will take them also to New York, Philadelphia and Washington. Referring to himself as an "old pessimist,"

Dr. Shcherbak then offered the opinion that Borys Tarasyuk was a "mature realist," and Valeriy Chalyi, younger than Mr. Shcherbak by half, was the voice of the "young optimists."

Though all three speakers hold an unfavorable view of recent developments in Ukraine, each emphasized different problems and their assessment of Ukraine's future varied.

Mr. Tarasyuk spoke first. Twice he served as Ukraine's foreign affairs minister and currently is a national deputy of the Verkhovna Rada, as well as the chair of Rukh, The Popular Movement of Ukraine. He was Ukraine's ambassador to Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, and he continues to serve as the director of the

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Yuri Shcherbak



Borys Tarasyuk



Valerii Chalyi

Yanukovich calls on diaspora to help improve Ukraine's image

UWC leaders meet with president

KYIV – President Viktor Yanukovich of Ukraine has called on the Ukrainian diaspora to cooperate to improve the country's international image. He made those comments at a meeting on June 21 with the president of the Ukrainian World Congress, Eugene Czolij of Canada, and the UWC's secretary-general, Stefan Romaniw of Australia.

President Yanukovich thanked the leadership of the Ukrainian World Congress for their initiative to hold such a meeting. He described the Ukrainian World Congress as a leading organization of the Ukrainian diaspora, adding that the mood of not only the Ukrainian diaspora, but also Ukraine in general could be felt through the UWC.

"We need to organize cooperation in order to improve Ukraine's image in the

world. This is our common business," the president stressed. "I have an action plan of this kind, and I am implementing it step by step. It can be regarded differently, but proceeding from the fact that I was elected by the Ukrainian people and I received powers from them, I'm acting now, and I'm trying to act as the people want me to act – in the interests of the Ukrainian society," Mr. Yanukovich emphasized.

According to the Ukrainian president's website, Mr. Yanukovich also said that he would like to hear the opinion of Ukrainian diaspora representatives on the life of modern Ukraine and answer their questions. "You know there are a lot of headlines in Ukraine that are interpreted in one way or another, but it is important that you hear my view on our future, and what needs to be done to make Ukraine stronger and improve people's lives," he said.

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Presidents Dmitry Medvedev of Russia and Viktor Yanukovich of Ukraine during their meetings in Kyiv on May 17-18.

ANALYSIS

“Putinization” of Ukraine’s security forces is under way

by **Taras Kuzio**

Eurasia Daily Monitor

The “Putinization” seen in Ukraine’s media policy is taking place also in Ukraine’s “siloviki” (security forces). Both steps lead Ukraine closer to Leonid Kuchma’s semi-authoritarian regime and Vladimir Putin’s “managed/sovereign democracy” in Russia.

“Putinization” is occurring in both the Internal Affairs Ministry (MVS) and the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), following the return of Kuchma-era discredited officials and those linked to the corrupt gas lobby (*Eurasia Daily Monitor*, March 29, April 1). First Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Sergei Popkov headed MVS internal troops when they advanced on Kyiv on November 28, 2004, to suppress the Orange Revolution.

The “Putinization” of the MVS comes after the Party of Regions repeatedly attacked its alleged politicization under “Orange” Internal Affairs Minister Yuri Lutsenko. After being elected, Mr. Yanukovich “demanded” that the MVS become “apolitical” and told Internal Affairs Minister Anatoliy Mogiliov that “de-politicization of your work” is the key to your success (*Ukrayinska Pravda*, March 11).

However, the MVS has become more politicized and is undergoing a “Putinization.” At his 100 days anniversary meeting with the media, President Yanukovich was asked why the MVS prevented the opposition from protesting. He responded that this was untrue and that the MVS merely defended civic peace and halted attempts by a minority to prevent the majority from living in peace. As stated in *Ukrayinska Pravda* (June 5), “A few more such comments [from Yanukovich] and one could think that one was listening to an explanation by a Unified Russia party spokesman.”

Journalists pressed Mr. Yanukovich on why the MVS stood in excessive numbers in full riot gear between his supporters and the opposition? He replied that Berkut and Tytan special forces (“spetsnaz”) forces were there to prevent conflict between the two sides.

Ukrayinska Pravda and other Ukrainian media ridiculed these official explanations, saying there is a three-pronged anti-opposition strategy in place.

- 1. Wherever Mr. Yanukovich travels in Ukraine, a small group of his supporters are brought to the event.

- 2. Berkut/Tytan spetsnaz are placed between the opposition and Yanukovich supporters in greater numbers than the opposition and in full riot gear with load-bearing weapons.

- 3. Spetsnaz blocks the opposition, surround them in a vise and prevent them from moving.

The new policy nullifies the very purpose of the right to protest, “as those to whom it is addressed simply do not see it” (*Ukrayinska Pravda*, June 5). Mr. Yanukovich’s supporters are permitted to stand closest to him and receive the main television coverage.

The aim of the new policy is two-fold: to show that the opposition allegedly has little support and to intimidate citizens, thereby reducing the numbers of protesters.

This is accompanied by a strategy to prevent opposition protesters from traveling to Kyiv (www.maidan.org.ua, May 10-13), plus, a media policy that gives excessive, positive television coverage to

the authorities and limited, negative coverage to the opposition.

The SBU is under the control of the president, according to the 1996 and 2006 Constitutions, and has been considered by every president as his personal institution. A lack of civilian oversight coupled with its large size (30,000 officers compared to a combined 6,000 in the United Kingdom’s MI5 and MI6) has led to the misuse of the SBU by each president.

This includes SBU involvement under Chairman Leonid Derkach in the export of Soviet-era arms to conflict zones such as Sierra Leone, the subject of the 2005 fictional Hollywood film “Lord of War” based on the exploits of arms dealer Yuri Orlov (played by Nicolas Cage). Mykola Melnychenko, a presidential guard in the Directorate on State Defense (UDO), which was separated from the SBU in the early 1990’s, illicitly taped discussions revealing Mr. Kuchma’s apparent abuse of office, including the abduction and murder of journalist Heorhii Gongadze. No SBU officers were ever prosecuted for the crime.

More importantly, the SBU continues KGB-style political surveillance of opponents – not just separatists, which every intelligence agency would see as one of its areas of responsibility. Evidence provided to EDM points to President Viktor Yushchenko using the SBU against domestic opponents such as the Party of Regions and also Yulia Tymoshenko. These sources also point to SBU surveillance of foreign political visitors, including this author.

An international scandal followed the attempted intimidation of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, where the rector was asked to sign a statement agreeing he would not permit students to become involved in protests (*Kyiv Post*, May 28). The U.S. State Department and Canadian Member of Parliament Borys Wrzesnewskyj condemned the SBU’s interference in May 28 and June 2 statements (*Kyiv Post*, June 3).

The Ukrainian rector of UCU, the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, described the SBU’s demands as a return to KGB tactics (*Kyiv Post*, May 28). SBU Chairman Valeriy Khoroshkovsky ridiculed the complaints as “political technology” used by “opponents of the stabilization processes taking place in the state” (*Komersant-Ukraina*, May 31).

Evidence of surveillance of communications was found during the press conference held by President Yanukovich on his 100th day in office. The non-governmental organization Stop Censorship, signed by 502 journalists and 132 NGO’s, planned to undertake a protest during the press conference (<http://5.ua/newsline/242/0/66534/>).

As *Ukrayinska Pravda* (June 5) journalist Serhiy Leshchenko noted, only a few Stop Censorship leaders knew in advance of the planned event. Yet, from his reactions, Mr. Yanukovich clearly had been prepared to expect the protest and the plan to give him a Stop Censorship T-shirt and petition. The only explanation for his knowledge of the protest is that the Stop Censorship NGO’s telephones are being monitored.

Mr. Khoroshkovsky is both a billionaire oligarch and a media magnate. This has meant he has always been criticized by Anatoliy Grytsenko, head of the Parliament’s Committee on National Security and Defense, as unsuitable because of his conflict of interests.

(Continued on page 3)

NEWSBRIEFS

Medvedko on Yushchenko poisoning

KYIV – Procurator General Oleksander Medvedko has said the case of the poisoning of former President Viktor Yushchenko will be investigated no matter what government is in power, adding that “nobody will take unlawful decisions.” At a press conference in Kyiv on June 17, he also noted that “the operative and investigation group had been fully replaced.” On September 5, 2004, Mr. Yushchenko, then a presidential candidate, 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. President Yushchenko later claimed a national deputy from the Our Ukraine-People’s Self-Defense faction, David Zhvaniya, was involved in his poisoning in 2004. Then in 2008, Mr. Zhvaniya claimed that Mr. Yushchenko hadn’t been poisoned. In September of last year reports appeared in the mass media that challenged the results of the official investigation conducted by the Procurator General’s Office, which had found that Mr. Yushchenko was intentionally poisoned with dioxin. (Interfax-Ukraine)

Skull fragments are Gongadze’s

KYIV – Skull fragments found in the Kyiv region are those of murdered Ukrainian journalist Heorhii Gongadze, Ukrainian Procurator General Oleksander Medvedko said at a press conference on June 17. “The examination is over, [and] we have received a positive answer,” Mr. Medvedko said. Gongadze, the late editor of the *Ukrayinska Pravda* web publication, went missing in Kyiv on September 16, 2000. Experts came to the conclusion that a headless corpse found in a forest in Tarascha district in the Kyiv region in November of the same year was likely to be his body. The body remains unburied, as the journalist’s mother, Lesia Gongadze, has refused to have it interred before the head is found. In 2008, three former officials of the

Ukrainian Internal Affairs Ministry’s foreign surveillance department and criminal intelligence unit – Cols. Valerii Kostenko and Mykola Protasov, and Maj. Oleksander Popovych – were found guilty of killing the journalist and were sentenced to 12 years (Kostenko and Popovych) and 13 years (Protasov) in prison. Another suspect in the case, Oleksii Pukach, the former chief of the main criminal investigation department at the ministry’s foreign surveillance unit, was arrested in the Zhytomyr region on July 21, 2009, as a result of a joint operation by the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) and the Procurator General’s Office. On July 28, 2009, police found a fragment of a skull suspected to belong to Gongadze at a site in Bila Tserkva district of the Kyiv region, after being given information by Mr. Pukach. The journalist’s widow, Myroslava Gongadze, insisted that the DNA analysis of the skull fragments be performed abroad, and to suspend the investigators studying the case. On November 28, 2000, Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz publicized in Parliament audiotapes that appeared to implicate then-President Leonid Kuchma in the Gongadze murder. The tapes were allegedly recorded by former presidential security officer Mykola Melnychenko. International experts carried out a comprehensive phonographic examination of the tapes, but their authenticity has not yet been conclusively proved. Those who ordered Gongadze’s murder have yet to be identified. (Ukrinform)

Gongadze’s mother expresses doubt

KYIV – Lesia Gongadze, the mother of the murdered journalist Heorhii Gongadze, says she is still not sure that the so-called “Tarascha corpse” that prosecutors and authorities claim to be her son’s really belongs to him, she said after a meeting with President Viktor Yanukovich. Ms. Gongadze once again stressed that “she could not bury someone else’s child as her own.” News of her comments was provided by Hanna Herman, deputy head of the Presidential Administration, on June 22. The mother of the disappeared journalist urged politicians not to speculate on the

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NEWS ANALYSIS: Moscow ponders strategy in 'reset' of U.S.-Russian relations

by Roger McDermott
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Ahead of U.S. President Barack Obama meeting his Russian counterpart, Dmitry Medvedev, in Washington on June 24, Moscow-based analysts have considered the progress of the "reset."

In two recent articles in *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, Sergey Rogov, director of the U.S.A. and Canada Institute assessed the evolution of U.S.-Russian relations. Although he concluded that the "window of opportunity" is open, he implied that the relationship remains virtual rather than real: "If the achievements of the past year are successfully nailed down and serious progress is made in new spheres, the Russian-American partnership can finally turn from declarations into reality" (*Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, June 11).

However, as Mr. Rogov traced the achievements of the reset, it is worth noting that his conceptual approach was to firmly blame Washington for previous problems in bilateral ties.

In Mr. Rogov's view, since the mid-1990s Washington had presented Moscow with faits accomplis at the latter's expense. NATO enlargement, unilateral withdrawal from the 1972 ABM Treaty, efforts to weaken Russian influence within the CIS, and unilateral use of military force contrary to international law, were examples of U.S. unwillingness to build constructive relations with Russia. Mr. Rogov "overlooked" any instances of Russian foreign and security policy contributing to such difficulties. Proceeding from this stance, he delineated six achievements in the reset, to date:

- 1. Washington has abandoned its "paternalistic tone towards Moscow." Anti-Russian rhetoric has given way to a more positive style: the Obama administration listens to Moscow and refuses to ignore its concerns.

- 2. A new START Treaty was signed this year, which imposes "no unilateral concessions on Russia," and instead allows the maintenance of the balance of strategic

nuclear forces by preserving an approximate parity at a lower level. Developing an arms control regime, he asserts, paves the way to build other "forms and methods of maintaining strategic stability in the multipolar world of the 21st century."

- 3. The Obama administration has canceled or frozen the Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) plans advanced by the previous administration and pursues a regional BMD instead. "Consequently, the model of mutual nuclear deterrence, which Washington tried with fervor to break in the last decade, will be preserved," he suggested.

- 4. Although NATO enlargement to include Georgia and Ukraine has not been abandoned, it has given way to laying greater emphasis upon building military cooperation with Russia.

- 5. Washington refuses to "recognize the CIS as a zone of Russia's 'privileged interests,'" while avoiding confrontation over the issue. He noted that Washington reacted coolly to the change of government in Kyiv and the subsequent Russian-Ukrainian rapprochement.

- 6. The U.S. House of Representatives hearings to consider repealing the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, resuming cooperation over nuclear technologies and unconditionally lifting U.S. sanctions against Rosoboroneksport and MAI (Moscow Aviation Institute) has contributed to improved economic relations (*Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, June 11).

Mr. Rogov highlighted the level of cooperation reciprocated by Moscow over Afghanistan and Iran. Equally, he pointed to only achieving a working cooperative approach on such issues, since a common stance on these remains a long way off. As the reset continues, he acknowledged it faces domestic criticism from the Republican Party, as well as externally by Baltic and Eastern or Central European NATO members.

Mr. Rogov also tied the future pursuit of the policy to practical progress on BMD cooperation: "Only if the BMD problem turns from a source of conflict into a sphere of cooperation will relations between

Among the achievements of the reset, from the Russian point of view: the Obama administration listens to Moscow and refuses to ignore its concerns.

Washington and Moscow become genuinely stable and long-term" (*Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, June 11).

Referring to the recently leaked foreign policy document in Moscow that floated the idea of pursuing closer relations with the West, Dmitry Trenin, director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, stressed additional "rapprochement" indicators ranging from Russian-Polish relations to the reset. The image of Prime Minister Vladimir Putin kneeling at the memorial to Polish officers murdered by Stalin's regime in 1940 at Katyn, or the presence of NATO troops on Red Square during the May 9 Victory Day parade may have been symbolic, but indicated that Moscow is striving for closer relations with the West.

Nonetheless, Mr. Trenin echoed Rogov's concern that the reset must not be allowed to become purely virtual. He linked the real test to the extent that Washington might support President Medvedev, in his attempts to modernize the Russian economy, while identifying that the modernization agenda is currently too narrowly focused.

"Within a few years, when it becomes clear to the Russian leadership that modernization conceived as technological innovation is too narrow to succeed, important choices will have to be made. Either the scope of modernization will be broadened, or modernization will be aborted in favor of regime preservation. Forward-looking elements in Russia will require compelling arguments if their case is to prevail," Mr. Trenin argued (*The Moscow Times*, June 4).

In an effort to tie the reset to a more identifiable basis that might offer a durable understanding on the future course or limits of the policy, in a lengthy article in *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, Mr. Rogov assessed the differences between the U.S. National Security Strategy of the Obama administration and his predecessor. Noting the declarative element of the strategy and linking it to other doctrinal documents (U.S. Quadrennial Defense Review, the Nuclear Policy Review, the Missile

Defense Policy Review, the Cyber Security Policy Review), Mr. Rogov described it as an "open presentation of the policy priorities of the American leadership." He considered its innovations in terms of security, economic prosperity, promotion of "universal values" and strengthening the role of the U.S. in the international order (*Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, June 17).

Mr. Rogov identified the absence of the term "multipolar world," as the document highlights Washington's interest in interaction with key NATO allies (United Kingdom, France and Germany). It also refers to Japan, South Korea, Australia and others. He then considered the absence of any reference in the current strategy to NATO "expansion" or imparting "global functions" to the alliance. New "centers of influence" that must become a greater focus for interaction were mentioned in the same order throughout the document: China, India and Russia. Mr. Rogov implied that Washington has already downgraded the strategic importance it attaches to its ties with Russia, and made a point of noting the other centers of "regional influence" listed in the strategy: "including Brazil, Indonesia, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, and Kenya" (*Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, June 17).

While the U.S. National Security Strategy acknowledges the return of Russia to the international arena and that it is "speaking with a stronger voice," Mr. Rogov said it placed prime importance on nuclear weapons reduction and that Washington intends "to build stable, substantive, multidimensional relations with Russia, based on common interests." However, he then stressed several ambiguities. For instance, the strategy asserts that the Obama administration "supports efforts within Russia to promote the rule of law, accountable government and universal values," which Mr. Rogov perceived as implying "that Russia does not fully meet the criteria of a democratic state." These issues are singled out as important, since the new U.S. National Security Strategy "will continue to be the fundamental doctrinal document of the U.S. at least until 2013" (*Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye*, June 17).

Russian analysis of the reset, often only superficially assesses its contours, while many regard it in purely tactical or self-interested terms. Nonetheless, other than arms control and finding a level of common interest on a range of international issues, from a Russian perspective the reset is bereft of long-term meaningful strategy. Few expect these deeper concerns to be resolved as a result of the forthcoming summit.

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Gryshchenko calls for enhancing OSCE's role in conflict resolution

OSCE

VIENNA – Unresolved and potential conflicts pose the greatest threat to security in the OSCE region and form a serious challenge to the work of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko told the OSCE Permanent Council on June 22.

"Ukraine supports the strengthening of the role of the OSCE in conflict settlement, in particular by ensuring its presence in conflict areas," Mr. Gryshchenko said. "Sustainable and long-term settlement of protracted conflicts should be achieved by peaceful means with full respect for sovereignty and the territorial integrity of states in their internationally recognized borders."

Mr. Gryshchenko said that Ukraine, which is a mediator along with the OSCE and the Russian Federation in the Transdniestrian settlement process, strongly supported the prompt resumption of formal negotiations in the "5+2" format, which includes the two sides, the three mediators, and the European Union and the United States as observers.

"Ukraine will continue efforts aimed at resolving the Transdniestrian conflict by peaceful means," he said.

Conflict prevention also needs special attention, Mr. Gryshchenko said. "Regrettably, recent deplorable events in

Kyrgyzstan are yet another lesson we have to learn. Obviously, we should act now to strengthen the OSCE conflict prevention function, and to ensure that early warning and early action mechanisms work more effectively," he said.

Mr. Gryshchenko also discussed Ukraine's bid to chair the OSCE in 2013, saying the inspiration to launch this bid came from an appreciation of the OSCE's role in strengthening regional and global security.

"As chair of this organization, Ukraine would be guided by the principles of mutual respect, equality, responsibility and transparency. We would act independently and impartially in promoting the common interests of all 56 participating states in all three dimensions. We would listen carefully to all partners and would do our utmost to achieve consensus on key issues of the OSCE agenda," he said.

The OSCE chairmanship is decided by consensus by the 56 participating States. Kazakhstan, which holds the 2010 Chairmanship, will be succeeded by Lithuania. Ireland will chair the OSCE in 2012.

The Permanent Council, one of the main regular decision-making bodies of the Organization, convenes regularly in Vienna to discuss developments in the OSCE area and to make appropriate decisions.

"Putinization"...

(Continued from page 2)

Ukraine's most viewed television channel, Inter, the general director of which is Mr. Khoroshkovsky's wife, Olena, is mainly watched in Russophone eastern-southern Ukraine. Mr. Khoroshkovsky "is in charge of contacting other media owners to ensure a favorable TV coverage of the new leadership" (*Kyiv Post*, May 7). Mr. Khoroshkovsky was accused of taking control of the National Council on Television and Radio which controls the distribution of licenses (*Ukrayinska Pravda*, April 2). A June 7 appeal to President Yanukovich by Channel 5 journalists claimed that Mr. Khoroshkovsky is aiming to take over its license and remove their channel (<http://5.ua/newsline/184/66570/>).

Censorship has a long-term connection to the Putin regime. Igor Shuvalov, a Russian citizen, coordinates the news policies of Inter and State Channel 1 on behalf of the presidential administration. Mr. Shuvalov was the main author of "temnyky" censorship instructions sent by the Presidential Administration in 2002-2004 to television channels.

"Putinization" of Ukraine's siloviki is an outcome of the Yanukovich administration learning the lessons of what made the Orange Revolution possible, neo-Soviet political culture that permeates the administration, and inspiration from one-party rule in Donetsk and Russia.

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Former astronaut Stefanyshyn-Piper speaks in Washington

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON – Space missions by American astronauts begin with the thunderous rocket launch from John F. Kennedy Space Center on Merrit Island, Florida. And Capt. Heidemarie Stefanyshyn-Piper of the U.S. Navy experienced that excitement twice on the Space Shuttle en route to the orbiting International Space Station (ISS) – in September 2006 and November 2008. In all, she logged more than 27 days in space, which included almost 34 hours of extra-vehicular activities during her five space walks.

But the life journey that brought her to space travel began in 1963 in St. Paul, Minn. She spoke about her experiences – on earth and in space – during a recent evening discussion at the Washington headquarters of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation. The June 11 presentation was sponsored by the local chapter of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and The Washington Group, an association of Ukrainian American professionals, whose presidents, Dr. Borys Hlynsky and Andrew Bihun, chaired the event.

Capt. Stefanyshyn-Piper was born in St. Paul into – as she described it – “your typical second-generation Ukrainian family.” She was the second of five children and the only daughter. Her father, Michael, was from Ukraine; her mother, Adelheid – from Germany.

“Being Ukrainian has always been a big part of my life,” she recalled. “And it always will be.”

“It was expected that you were going to go to the ‘subotna shkola,’” the Ukrainian Saturday school, she said. And since that Saturday school lasted only a half day, she added, “you had to fill up the other half of the day with Plast and dancing, and everything else. That was just the way we grew up,” she said.

She and her brothers were also expected to go to college – not so easily accomplished in a family with five children, she observed. So, after applying and being accepted at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, she decided to finance her education through the Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps program.

She graduated from MIT in 1986 with a master’s degree in mechanical engineering and entered the U.S. Navy as a commissioned officer. Initially she served at Pearl Harbor and then with the U.S. Atlantic Fleet as a qualified naval diving and salvage officer.

As it turned out, three of her four brothers also chose military career paths, she said.

Capt. Stefanyshyn-Piper said she wanted to be a pilot, but could not pass the eye test needed to get into flight school. Then she learned about and applied for the astronaut program with the National Air

and Space Administration (NASA), for which one did not have to be a pilot. She was accepted in 1996.

During her two flights aboard the ISS she would spend her spare time looking out of the window into space and at the earth. “It’s just a beautiful planet,” she observed. She recalled the first time she recognized the Black Sea, the Dniipro River and that they must have been flying directly above Kyiv. “And I did take my ‘Ukrayinsky prapor’ [Ukrainian flag] with me,” she said.

The normal five- to seven-person Shuttle crew would include a pilot, who would land the craft, a commander (also a pilot) and scientists, as well as other mechanically inclined specialists and possibly a doctor.

There were no philosophers or poets, she said in response to a question. But she recalled moments of contemplative observations while looking at Earth and its surrounding space.

“You realize when you’re up there that you are in a very harsh environment.” When one looks at the Earth from the Space Station, she recalled, one sees the horizon and the thin shell of dark blue, which is its atmosphere.

“And beyond that, space is pitch black,” she said. “So you realize that there is not a lot that’s holding life on our planet out there. And you realize that this is our one planet.”

“So you come back with a greater appreciation for our planet, for nature and what we’re doing to it. And you realize that we have to take care of this planet,” she continued.

National identities and other notions that separate people on Earth disappear in space, she said. There are no borders visible from out there. “It’s one Earth, we’re all humans, and we should be working together.”

Capt. Stefanyshyn-Piper left NASA in August of 2009 and is now continuing her Navy career with the Naval Sea Systems Command in Washington.

In addition to numerous U.S. commendations and decorations for meritorious service, she is also the recipient of the Order of Princess Olha (third class), which she received in 2007 from then-President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko.

She is married to Navy Lt. Cmdr. Glenn Piper (retired), and they have one son.

As for the future of the U.S. space program, Capt. Stefanyshyn-Piper said, it will continue, although it will not include the Space Shuttle, which is scheduled to be terminated after two more flights to the ISS. After that, the Station will be supplied using the Russian Soyuz spacecraft.

As for U.S.-Ukrainian cooperative space programs, she said that there hasn’t been much since 1997, when a Ukrainian cosmonaut flew aboard the Shuttle.



Capt. Heidemarie Stefanyshyn-Piper shares her experiences growing up in the Ukrainian American community in St. Paul, Minn., and as a Space Shuttle astronaut, during a recent discussion at the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation in Washington. Next to her is the head of one of the evening’s sponsors, Dr. Borys Hlynsky of the local chapter of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

One of the major and growing threats to the Space Shuttle and ISS is the growing amount of debris in the Earth’s orbit.

The larger pieces are not as dangerous as the smaller ones, she said, because they can be tracked and avoided. Indeed, the tool bag that she lost during one of her space walks entered the Earth’s atmosphere and burned up nine months later.

Both of her Shuttle flights came back with some debris damage. On the first flight, one of the Shuttle doors – fortu-

nately to a bay that was not pressurized – received a small, tenth-of-an-inch hole. On the second flight, one of the windows was scratched by space debris.

Dangers to astronauts are not only found during space travels. An hour into the discussion, Dr. Hlynsky asked if any members of the audience could spare some quarters for the parking meter that was about to run out of time on Capt. Stefanyshyn-Piper’s car, lest it be ticketed or towed.

OBITUARY

Former legislator in Alberta and UCC activist Dave Broda

EDMONTON, Alberta – Dave Broda, a former Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) in Alberta and a former president of the Ukrainian Canadian Council Alberta Provincial Council (UCC-APC), died on June 13. Mr. Broda was a longtime volunteer and dedicated activist in the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Mr. Broda was born in Waugh, Alberta, to Ukrainian immigrants Mike and Annie Broda. He resided in Redwater, Alberta, with his wife, Eileen. They have three grown daughters, Susan, Cindy and Trina.

Mr. Broda served on numerous committees, including the Lions Club, Hockey Club, Multi Sports Club and Agricultural Society, and was an active member of both the federal and provincial progressive Conservative associations.

Prior to being elected an MLA for the constituency of Redwater in 1997 and 2001, Mr. Broda was a councilor for the town of Redwater for nine years and was appointed to the Lakeland Regional Health Authority in 1993-1997. He was also a candidate for the federal riding of Beaver River in 1989 and 1993.

For many years he held the positions of president of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Ss. Boris and Hlib in Redwater and president of the Redwater and District Ukrainian Catholic Church Council.

Mr. Broda held many volunteer positions, including president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress Alberta Provincial Council (2004-2006). As an MLA he served as chair of the Advisory Council on Alberta-Ukraine Relations (ACAUR). During his tenure as ACAUR chair, he joined former Alberta Premier Ralph



Dave Broda

Klein on mission to Ukraine in 2002; it was the first official visit to Ukraine made by an Alberta premier.

In 2005 the UCC-APC presented Mr. Broda with the Luchkovich Award, a recognition of outstanding public service by a parliamentarian of Ukrainian origin, for his significant contribution and dedication to the betterment of all Canadians.

UCC National President Paul Grod stated, “On behalf of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress and all its constituent member-organizations, I would like to express our deepest condolences to the family and friends of the late Mr. Dave Broda.” Mr. Grod added, saying “Dave Broda will be remembered as a great leader in the Ukrainian Canadian community who loved Canada, his Ukrainian heritage and his family and friends.”

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Fourth Wave in U.S.: Ukrainian language's Russification or revitalization?

by Oleh Wolowyna

When I was analyzing 2000 census data on Ukrainians (persons who declared that they were of Ukrainian ancestry) in the United States, I made what looked like a surprising discovery: among all persons of Ukrainian ancestry, the percentage speaking Ukrainian at home was smaller than the percentage speaking Russian, 13.4 percent and 14.2 percent, respectively. (These percentages are calculated on all persons age 5 or more, as the question on language spoken at home was asked of persons aged 5 and up).

After revising my calculations to make sure they were correct, I called the U.S. Bureau of the Census in Washington, and told them that it looked that the language data on Ukrainians in the 2000 census may be incorrect. They reviewed the data and a few days later informed me that they could not find any mistakes.

In the meantime I dug deeper into the data, including an analysis of the 1990 census data, and concluded that the results were correct. The analysis revealed that this was one of the consequences of the "Fourth Wave" immigration (also called "New Wave") from Ukraine. (We define the "Fourth Wave" as persons of Ukrainian ancestry and born in Ukraine, who migrated to the U.S. between 1991 and 2006).

Ukrainians have the unique distinction of probably being the only ethnic group in the United States with more people speaking a foreign language (excluding English) than people speaking their native ethnic language. But the linguistic situation in Ukraine is complex and far from normal and, as we shall see, some aspects of this situation have been exported to the United States by the Fourth Wave immigrants.

It is important to keep in mind the definitions used in this analysis. "Ukrainians" are all persons who declared 'Ukrainian' as their first or second ancestry. Language spoken is measured by the following question: "Does this person speak a language other than English at home?" One should also point out that these data capture mainly legal migrants, as illegal migrants in all likelihood avoided answering the census and survey questionnaires.

Six years later, the situation has not improved; actually one can say that it has worsened. In 2006 the percentage of all Ukrainians in the U.S. who spoke Ukrainian at home has remained the same as in 2000 (13.4 percent), while the percentage speaking Russian has increased to 15.2 percent.

One of the objectives of this article is to explain how this happened. We will also describe the evolution of language spoken among Ukrainians in the U.S. between 1980 and 2006, and document the positive impact of the Fourth Wave on the linguistic situation of the Ukrainian diaspora in the U.S.

Table 1 summarizes the language dynamics among Ukrainians in the U.S. since 1980. In 1980 almost 16 percent of all persons of Ukrainian ancestry spoke Ukrainian at home, while less than 2 percent spoke Russian. Ten years later the percentage speaking Ukrainian fell to 13 percent, while the percentage speaking Russian was a little over 2 percent. In 2000 the percentage speaking Ukrainian increased slightly to 13.4 percent, while the percentage speaking Russian increased to more than 14 percent – surpassing the percentage speaking Ukrainian. In 2006 the percentage speaking Ukrainian stayed the same, while the percentage speaking Russian increased even further to more than 15 percent.

The changes observed in the percentage of Ukrainian and Russian speakers among Ukrainians in the U.S. are the result of two very different processes: language assimilation of U.S.-born and pre – "New Wave" immigrants, and the influx of a large proportion of Russian speakers among "new wave" immigrants from Ukraine.

The drop in the percentage speaking Ukrainian from 16 percent in 1980 to 13 percent in 1990 reflects the normal process of language assimilation of any ethnic group residing outside its country of origin.

This decrease in the percentage of Ukrainian speakers was driven mainly by two processes. On the one hand, as Ukrainian speakers tend to be concentrated in older ages, the mortality process has had a more pronounced effect on the attrition of Ukrainian speakers. On the other hand, fewer children in successive generations tend to speak the language, and this is further accelerated by the increasing number of inter-ethnic marriages among Ukrainian in the U.S. The relatively small increase in the percentage of Russian speakers in 1990 reflects the beginning of the "New Wave" immigration from Ukraine which, as will be shown below, actually started in 1988.

The fact that since 2000 the percentage of Russian speakers has been larger than the percentage of Ukrainian speakers among all persons of Ukrainian ancestry in the U.S. is due to two factors: the large proportion of Russian speaking immigrants (reflecting to some degree the linguistic situation in Ukraine), and the large size of this immigration wave. That is, the combination of a high proportion of

Table 1.- Percent* Persons of Ukrainian Ancestry by Language Spoken at Home: US, 1980 - 2006*****

Language	1980	1990	2000	2006
English	78.0%	81.3%	69.1%	68.5%
Russian	1.7%	2.2%	14.2%	15.2%
Ukrainian	15.9%	13.0%	13.4%	13.4%
Other	4.4%	3.6%	3.3%	2.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* % calculated on population aged 5 years or more
 ** Persons with first or second Ukrainian ancestry
 *** 2006*** Averages of 2005, 2006 and 2007 values

Table 2.- Legal Emigrants from Ukraine to the United States by Nationality: 1994 - 2001

Year	Total Emigrants	Percent - Nationality of Emigrants				Total
		Ukrainians	Jews	Russians	Others	
1994	17,068	27.3%	53.9%	14.6%	4.1%	100.0%
1995	13,752	37.6%	41.7%	15.6%	5.2%	100.0%
1996	13,193	41.5%	36.8%	14.9%	6.8%	100.0%
1997	12,165	47.7%	26.6%	14.5%	11.2%	100.0%
1998	12,483	62.7%	11.2%	12.6%	13.4%	100.0%
1999	9,564	64.1%	11.6%	12.8%	11.4%	100.0%
2000	9,298	69.6%	9.9%	12.6%	7.9%	100.0%
2001	7,830	72.4%	7.5%	11.7%	8.3%	100.0%

Source: special tabulations by Derzhkomstat (State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine)

Table 3.- Ukrainians by Migration Waves and Language Spoken at Home: US, 2006

Indicators	Total	US Born	Total Immigrants	Period of Immigrati	
				<1946	1946 - 1990
Ukrainian Speakers	118,076	25,674	92,402	482	25,293
% Speakers of total 4th wave:					
% Ukrainian-speakers***	13.4%	4.2%	33.4%	18.3%	29.0%
% Russian-speakers***	15.2%	1.8%	44.5%	10.0%	30.9%

***: % calculated on population aged 5 yrs. or more

Russian speakers among the immigrants and the large size of the total number of these immigrants resulted in a total number of Russian speakers that is higher than the total number of Ukrainian speakers among all persons of Ukrainian ancestry.

However, given the fact that a large proportion of these immigrants came from western Ukraine, where most of the population speaks Ukrainian, the high proportion of Russian speakers among the New Wave requires explanation. The high proportion of Russian speakers among the immigrants can be traced to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment voted unanimously by the U.S. Congress in 1974, which put pressure on the Soviet government to allow the emigration of refuse-niks and religious minorities, mainly Jews, from the Soviet Union. This resulted in a massive emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union to the United States and, as the data show, quite a few of those born in Ukraine declared in the U.S. census that they are of Ukrainian ancestry.

The data allow us to estimate the number of persons who migrated to the U.S. by year of arrival and by country of birth. In 2006 the average yearly number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry born in Ukraine and who arrived in the U.S. between 1960 and 1975 was about 200. Thanks to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, between 1976 and 1981 this annual average grew to about 1,150, a nearly six-fold increase.

After a significant drop in the next few years, a massive exodus of Jews from Ukraine (as well as other Soviet countries) began in 1988 during the administration of Mikhail Gorbachev. The total number of these immigrants was 2,000 in 1988, it increased to about 8,000-9,000 thousands per year during 1989-1991, and reached close to 14,000 in 2000. Thus, one can say that the New Wave actually begun in 1988, three years before Ukraine's independence.

There are no complete data on the nationality of these immigrants, but partial evidence shows that during the first years of this immigration wave the great majority of emigrants from Ukraine were Jewish.

Between 1994 and 2001 the State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine (Derzhkomstat) registered legal emigrants from

Ukraine by country of destination and by nationality. As can be seen in Table 2, in 1994 more than half of all emigrants to the United States were Jewish, and only starting in 1997 did Ukrainian become the predominant nationality in this migration stream. During this period we see a trend of gradual decrease in the number of Jewish emigrants and a gradual increase in the number of Ukrainian emigrants.

Moreover, according to the 1992 and 1993 Jewish American Yearbooks, 16,300 Jews emigrated from Ukraine to the U.S. in 1992 and 12,800 in 1993, and it is safe to assume that during 1988-1991 these numbers were similar or higher. Thus, between 1988 and 1993 most of the immigrants from Ukraine to the U.S. were Jewish. As the great majority (if not almost all) Jews are Russian speakers, this large influx of Jewish immigrants between 1988 and 1997 is in part responsible for the large proportion of Russian speakers among New Wave.

Table 3 illustrates the strong relationship between nativity (born in the U.S. or immigrant) and immigration waves, and the percentage Ukrainian and Russian speakers among all persons of Ukrainian ancestry in the U.S. For all U.S.-born Ukrainians, only 4 percent were Ukrainian speakers.

If we look at the survivors of the different immigration waves in 2006, we see that the proportion of Russian speakers is substantial even among pre-World War II immigrants. For persons who arrived before 1946, 10 percent were Russian speakers in 2006, compared to 18 percent Ukrainian speakers. For persons arriving between 1946 and 1990, the percentage Ukrainian and Russian speakers are very similar, while for the more recent immigrants (1991-2007), more than half of them are Russian speakers, compared to 35.5 percent Ukrainian speakers.

In absolute numbers, we see that there were less than 500 Ukrainian speakers left among the pre-World War II immigrants in 2006, and about 25,000 among 1946-1990 immigrants. Ukrainian speakers among the most recent immigrants (1991-2007) constitute by far the largest segment of all Ukrainian speakers. With more than 66,000 people, they

(Continued on page 21)

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Wishing for “stability”

The foreign policy leadership in Europe and North America was eager to declare Viktor Yanukovich the winner of the February 7 presidential run-off. The Financial Times offered insight into the West's thinking in early January, when suggesting that a Yanukovich presidency could offer a “stable Ukraine” that “can achieve economic reform and recovery.”

Yet pro-European leaders in Ukraine posed the question, “Stability at what cost?” Totalitarian governments, after all, offer a significant degree of stability.

Western leaders now have much to consider following the first 100 days of the Yanukovich administration. If it's stability they wanted, they now have it in the form of an authoritarian government that is aping the neo-fascist system built by Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin.

Opposition protesters are surrounded by police, suppressed and persecuted, while opposition media are harassed, attacked or shut down. Analysts report the tax code offered by Prime Minister Mykola Azarov taxes close to everything under the sun and is certain to keep economic development strangled. Furthermore, few have confidence that the Azarov government is committed to fighting corruption, given the tainted histories of the Cabinet members and reports of ongoing corruption. The Internal Affairs Ministry has brought back an alarming number of corrupt police officers from the Kuchma era. Mr. Yanukovich's policies have enraged the country's Western oblasts and alienated the moderate central regions.

But nowhere is the destabilization more apparent than in foreign policy.

Mr. Yanukovich's gesture of making his first foreign trip to Brussels has turned out to be an empty shell. In his final press conference, former President Viktor Yushchenko predicted the very scenario for Mr. Yanukovich that is unraveling before our eyes: “His dialogue with the West will be more complicated, and his circumstances will push him towards one plane in forming the foreign policy course, or mostly towards one plane.”

And that certainly has happened, most notably with Mr. Yanukovich allowing the Russians to dock their warships for another quarter century in Sevastopol in exchange for cheaper natural gas for Ukraine's oligarchs.

There's no one in the Ukrainian diaspora who wouldn't want Ukraine to have strong, healthy relations with the Russian Federation. That's precisely what President Yushchenko had wanted – on the basis of two sovereign states relating to each other as equals. But, as an Austrian magazine aptly put it in mid-May, Mr. Yanukovich is standing on his hind legs before the Russians. That was apparent during his first visit to Moscow, when he all but apologized for visiting Brussels first. He's compensated for that gesture far more than necessary. Since that first visit, representatives of his administration have visited Moscow 12 times, as compared to 12 visits to all other countries.

Russian business, practically controlled by the Kremlin, has been given the green light to launch takeovers of steel plants, shipbuilding factories and what's left of Ukraine's nuclear industry. (However, the Azarov government has resisted the Russian government's repeated enticements to merge Naftohaz Ukrainy with Gazprom, which would eliminate the independence of Ukraine's natural gas transit and supply system.)

Mr. Azarov has said he hopes to sign an Association Agreement and Free Trade Agreement with the European Union by the end of the year. But joining the EU is not just about signing documents. As former Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Valeriy Chalyi pointed out, Euro-integration is a civilization choice. And the Yanukovich administration's suppression of civil rights and media freedoms is antithetical to Western, European values.

The first 100 days of the Yanukovich administration have demonstrated that the West should have been careful what it wished for...

July
3
2009

Turning the pages back...

Last year, on July 3, 2009, doctors in Munich declared that John Demjanjuk was fit to stand trial. Mr. Demjanjuk, 90, was accused of being a guard at the Sobibor concentration camp and an accessory in the deaths of thousands of victims of the Holocaust.

The court appearances, the doctors advised, would be limited to two 90-minute sessions per day.

“It is important that Demjanjuk, who actively participated in the implementation of the Final Solution, finally receive as appropriate punishment,” said Efraim Zuroff of the Simon Wiesenthal Center.

John Demjanjuk Jr., the accused's son, released a statement on July 3, 2009, to the news media: “We will vigorously dispute the prosecutor's decision in the Munich court. We know the German doctors have determined my father has about 16 months to live due to his incurable leukemic bone marrow disease, myelodysplastic syndrome.”

“It took seven years to litigate an indictment on Sobibor and Treblinka in Israel, which resulted in an acquittal on all charges. With less than a year and a half for my father to live, a career-seeking German prosecutor is hastily pressing forward with a 100 percent politically motivated effort to blame Ukrainians and Europeans for the crimes of Germans.”

“This has nothing to do with bringing anyone to justice or fitness for trial. My father will not live to fairly litigate the matter as he has successfully done before. They will now file sensational charges to make headlines that could never withstand a fair test of litigation. There will be no evidence of even one specific murder because he has never harmed anyone in his life.”

The statement continued that Mr. Demjanjuk was a victim of the Germans during the second world war, when he was a captured Red Army prisoner of war.

Mr. Demjanjuk was officially charged on July 13, 2009, and his trial in Munich began on November 30, 2009. Since the trial began at least a half dozen sessions had been cancelled due to Mr. Demjanjuk's medical issues. On June 18 of this year, the regional superior court extended the final hearing, scheduled for September 14 until December 22, 2010.

Source: “Demjanjuk declared fit to stand trial,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, July 12, 2009.

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

BY ZENON ZAWADA

KYIV PRESS BUREAU



A linguistic encounter in Kyiv

When you're visiting Ukraine this summer, chances are you'll come across someone like Tetiana Rudenko.

She's a teller at ProCreditBank in Kyiv, which I visited on May 21 in order to dump some of my plummeting euros in exchange for the more stable Ukrainian hryvnia.

I've been living in Kyiv for five years and it's inevitable that my knowledge of Russian has become quite strong. But I still struggle when it comes to understanding more technical terms that are employed in places like hospitals and banks. (But then again, why should I be apologizing for not perfecting the Russian language if I live in the capital of Ukraine?)

When Ms. Rudenko began explaining something to me in Russian, I politely explained to her that: A. I am an American. B. I speak Ukrainian. And, C. I don't speak Russian. It doesn't get any clearer than this.

What happened next is what many diaspora Ukrainians face when they visit the capital city of Ukraine. The employee, who is supposed to be offering you some degree of quality service, continues speaking in Russian, utterly ignoring what you just have said in the clearest of terms.

I am not a psychologist, so I can't explain this phenomenon on that basis. Indeed there are those who switch to Ukrainian without difficulty. Yet every month or so, I come across someone like Ms. Rudenko.

They never say, “I'm sorry, but I don't speak Ukrainian.” That would either be too embarrassing to admit, or it would be a bold-faced lie. Instead they prefer to ignore you. Perhaps they hope you'll just go away. Perhaps they pretend they didn't hear what you just told them.

In any case, it's an utterly bizarre behavior you wouldn't come across in any half-civilized country.

I believe they ignore you because 350-plus years of Russian rule have inculcated in the minds of Ukrainians – not only on an unconscious level but to the extent that it's imprinted in their genes – that speaking Ukrainian is for villagers and radicals. Normal people speak Russian.

Furthermore, Russian supremacy has been ingrained in the minds of Ukrainians that it's natural to request service in the Russian language, or other foreign languages at that, but it's utterly unacceptable to ask for in the peasant Ukrainian tongue.

Ms. Rudenko was having trouble with something, so she called a co-worker to help figure it out. Then she continued speaking to me in Russian, at which pointed I stated (in a much firmer tone): “I am a citizen of the U.S. and I don't speak Russian. I speak Ukrainian, and if you can't speak Ukrainian with me, then I will find another bank.”

This prompted Ms. Rudenko's co-worker to answer. Yet she began speaking in what's known as “surzhyk,” which is the utterly deplorable tendency of central Ukrainians to mix their Ukrainian with Russian words.

My view is, if you're going to speak, choose a darn language and stick with it. No need to mutilate two languages at the same time.

After recovering from the shock of a supposedly educated person speaking to me in “surzhyk,” I was at the end of my wits, about to demand my money and leave the bank, when I decided to give it one last try. “Scho vam potribno?,” I uttered with my last gasp of breath.

“Your address,” she said. I didn't even care at that point that the bank was demanding my home address, simply in order to exchange currencies. No other bank had asked me this information, but in Ukraine you adapt to dealing with such irregularities and inconsistencies when doing business.

Incredibly enough, demonstrating a level of rudeness rarely encountered during my five years of living in Ukraine, Ms. Rudenko continued speaking to me in Russian, even after I had informed her twice that I don't speak that language.

It was at this point that I came to the conclusion that this woman is either an utterly rude Russian chauvinist, or she's utterly incompetent and should not be employed at an otherwise respectable bank.

Once the transaction was done, I sat at the desk of a service representative and asked to speak with the bank manager.

Folks, whenever you ask to speak to the boss in Ukraine, you are almost guaranteed to be told that he's either in a meeting or not available.

Okay, what's his name? “Serhii Muzyka,” she said. That response drew the attention of her neighbor, another service representative, who corrected her: “The branch manager is Muzychko, Bohdan Mykhailovych.”

I felt I was back in kindergarten. Instead I was the teacher, wanting to find out who shot the spitball behind my back.

And here were the service representatives, covering up for each other, “sovok”-style. In Soviet schools, it was considered honorable to cover up for your mischievous friends, or help them cheat on a test. Notions that Soviet education was equal to the American system are unfounded, in my view.

But it's a reflection of how utterly sad the situation is in Ukrainian society, when bank representatives are covering up for an employee that refused to acknowledge the Ukrainian language, rather than encourage her to act like a polite, civilized human being.

It's very sad to see the result of 300 years of Russian imperialism and 70 years of Soviet totalitarianism still encoded in the genes of Ukrainians.

So I sent my letter of complaint to both Serhii Muzyka and Bohdan Muzychko, not being sure of who the branch manager really was.

Impressively enough, I received a call just two days after sending my letter from Taras Omelchenko, the director of the bank's quality service division.

He apologized for the incident, stating it would be reviewed at the next committee meeting. He acknowledged that the ProCreditBank employees acted “unprofessionally.”

He said the practice at ProCreditBank is to serve the client in the language which he or she address you. If the employee can't speak the client's language, he or she ought to call an employee capable of speaking the language. (I didn't ask if this rule applies to English, German or even Albanian for that matter.)

But then, Mr. Omelchenko ruined an otherwise perfect response to the situation. He offered the excuse that ProCreditBank has opened many branches in eastern Ukraine, where the native tongue is Russian, many of whose residents have come to work in Kyiv.

(Continued on page 22)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Russia's "return" and the Churches

Dear Editor:

In reference to the article by Dr. Myron Kuropas, "The Russian 'return' returns" (June 13): It is obvious that Patriarch Kirill of Moscow seeks to bring the Ukrainian Churches, be they Greek-Catholic or Orthodox, under his authority. Moreover, he is working to wrest the mitre from Constantinople and move that seat to Moscow, so that when it comes to dealing with the Roman Church it will be toe to toe as equals. This is the status and primacy he wants and is working toward.

On the other hand, it is disappointing that Rome continues to deny Cardinal Lubomyr Husar the title of patriarch. Why? Church politics. Rome does not want to stir the waters between it and Moscow. Now, if on his visit to Ukraine Pope Benedict XVI not only beatifies Ukrainian martyrs and makes Cardinal Husar patriarch as well, he would certainly be sending a strong and clear message to Moscow that the Church in Ukraine is just that. End of conversation!

Father Michael Fill
Philadelphia

Re: Obama and socialism

Dear Editor:

I confess that I am impressed with Andrew Fedynsky's attempt ("Socialism?" May 23) to influence Ukrainian readers to come to an extraordinarily naive and inaccurate conclusion. He first reminds readers how greatly Ukrainians suffered through two very different forms of socialism – communism and Nazism. Using the emotion of this painful memory, he tries to manipulate the reader to conclude that since President Barack Obama is neither a Communist nor a Nazi, there is no way we can call his progressive political agenda "socialism." Indeed he is "insulted" at the very thought of calling Mr. Obama a "socialist."

Not every socialist country is a totalitarian regime. There are many social democracies – most in Western Europe; leaders of these countries are proud to call themselves Socialists. Many parties include the word socialist in their name. Why, then, is he so afraid to call Mr. Obama a Socialist? Could it be that these socialist governments are failing before our eyes and their destruction is what is spreading fear through America?

There are many ways of implementing a socialist agenda, but the main precepts remain the same: redistribution of wealth, and control of health, education and financial institutions. This exact agenda is the "change" Mr. Obama promised America. As he is implementing his agenda at warp speed, most American citizens are realizing that these are not the principles on which this country was founded on and this is also spreading fear through America. Obamacare, government takeover of the auto industry and financial institutions, and heavy progressive income tax to offset the trillions in debt are all socialist policies. These are among the policies propounded by Karl Marx right in his Manifesto.

Next Mr. Fedynsky tries to pass off government control as "cooperation." If you look at the history of his examples they are all remarkable precisely

because their success was due to the interaction of the government with the private citizen – e.g., the Internet is credited to many scientists working with the Department of Defense. Our medicine is advanced, our meat is safe, and our toilets flush not because of government control, but because of government regulation. Pharmaceuticals manufacture our drugs, farms raise our livestock, and Kohler made my toilets.

Mr. Obama wants control, not regulation; he wants to dictate, not to oversee. There is a profound difference. Socialism has many paths and they do not all lead to the gulag. Mr. Fedynsky should be ashamed to imply that socialism has one main direction – this is an abuse of our sorrowful history.

Mr. Fedynsky is very clever at avoiding Mr. Obama's foreign policy which appeases the Russians while all Ukrainians get are "consultation calls" from the State Department. If this is all I got for supporting this man I would feel like a "useful idiot" (to use Lenin's term).

Lydia Kossak Kernitsky
Colts Neck, N.J.

News from Ukraine and the diaspora

Dear Editor:

Day by day, the news from Ukraine goes from bad to worse. The latest is intimidation of the Rector of Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU) in Lviv by the agents by the SBU (read KGB).

The residents of Lviv have suffered enough from the KGB during many years of Soviet occupation. Is that suffering to be continued under the pseudo-Ukrainian government of Viktor Yanukovich?

President Yanukovich has usurped political power by disregarding and violating the Constitution of Ukraine by simply buying half a dozen or so national deputies in the Parliament to achieve a ruling majority. And then he surrendered national interests to the Kremlin and is in the process of eradicating the Ukrainian national identity to please the Russians.

It is an old story that has been played out on steppes of Ukraine many times before. It starts with intimidation by goons with guns and ends with the physical extermination of the cultural elite as well as the nationally conscious segment of the Ukrainian population, sometimes with help of famine. Is Ukraine on the same track again?

Somehow Ukraine has survived such assaults on its statehood, culture and dignity in the past. Maybe it will survive the Yanukovich administration. Mr. Yanukovich has staked a lot on Russia, mortgaging the national interests of Ukraine in the process. But Ukraine is not Russia, and Russia is not Ukraine.

It is well-known that in Ukraine it is the money that controls the power, but in Russia it is the power that controls the money. Those are diametrically opposed political systems and, in the end, Mr. Yanukovich and his business cohorts from the Donbas are going to lose it all the same way that Russian business clans lost it all under Vladimir Putin. Where all of this will leave Ukraine, nobody knows.

In the meantime, for us in diaspora, the preservation of Ukrainian culture, language and history again falls on our shoulders.

Ihor Lysyj
Austin, Texas



The things we do...

by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

Singing the bittersweet

So much can be said in songs. Any feeling, any expression comes through, especially when the melody and the lyrics are a good fit. The joy, the sorrow, the melancholy, the bitterness – any and all emotion is reflected in one of the infinite number of Ukrainian folk songs.

I am amazed at the unbelievably beautiful melodies of our songs – and their variety. It is absolutely impossible to choose just one favorite.

Recently I was listening to a wonderful CD, "Chary Ukrain's'koho Bahatoholossia" (The Magic of Ukrainian Polyphony), a compilation of multi-part Ukrainian folk songs by prominent choirs and ensembles, produced by Volodymyr Katsan. The singing, the harmony, the voices, and the melodies are out of this world. Most of the songs are familiar and are such a joy to hear.

As I listened to one of them, I thought about how much is conveyed, via both melody and lyrics. There is the basic story, in a few parts, and the symbolism and metaphors that enhance it.

"Oy u Poli Try Krynychenky" starts out with the young man loving three young women, dark-haired one, a blonde, and a redhead one (the ugly one). We'll leave the problem of his three-timing and of the red-haired stigma for another time. The song skips to the girl he really loves, telling him not to go to the Crimea for salt (he's a Chumak, a salt-trader), because he will return to find her a matron. He's been taking so long to decide, she'll just marry someone else. The translation just does not do justice to the simplicity and beauty of his reply.

Любив я тебе дівчиною,
Любить буду молодницею,
Та ще й того дочекаюся,
Поки станеш удовицею.

I loved you when you were an unmarried girl,
Will love you as a matron [i.e., someone else's wife]
And I will wait until it happens
That you become a widow.

This guy's got it bad, and he is truly patient and devoted.

The song continues that not all orchards that are in bud later bloom, and not all couples who are in love become engaged. One-half of the orchard blooms drop off before fully flowering – and one couple marries, while another parts. This song is exquisitely poignant in its lush melody and in the directness of its lyrics.

Another song (ah, there are so many...) that is beautifully melancholy and carries a message is "Iz-za Hory Kamianoyi" (From Beyond the Rocky Mountain). This one is universal, about (pardon the bluntness) aging and regretting not appreciating one's youth and the past. The doves fly from beyond the rocky mountain, the years are passing and I have not had a luxurious life. Let us harness the basking horses and go chase and catch up to my young years.

Ой догнали літа мої
На калиновім мості,
Ой верніться літа мої,
Хоч до мене в гості.

Не вернемось, не вернемось,
Бо нема до кого,
Та було б нас шанувати,
Як здоровля свого.

I found my youthful years
On the kalyna (viburnum) bridge
And asked them to return to me,
At least for a visit.

We will not return,
There is no one to return to.
You should have taken care of us and
respected us
As you would have taken care of your
health...

Enough said. Now if we would only listen to wise eternal advice...

Orysia Tracz may be contacted at ory-sia.tracz@gmail.com.

New website features petition for removal of Stalin statue

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – As outrage continues over the installation of a statue of Joseph Stalin at the National D-Day Memorial in Bedford, Va., the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation has launched a new website, called "No Stalin Statue: Stalin Does Not Belong at the National D-Day Memorial." The key feature of this new website is an online petition to remove the statue.

As of June 23, over 1,300 people have signed the petition, urging the National D-Day Memorial Foundation "to remove the bust of Stalin from the grounds of the memorial immediately."

The petition is addressed also to U.S. Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar. Dr. Lee Edwards, chairman of the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation, explained that the foundation has "included Secretary Salazar because the D-Day Memorial Foundation has indicated it wants to transfer the memorial to the National Park Service, which is a part

of the Interior Department."

The petition asks Secretary Salazar to ensure that, should the memorial park be transferred to the National Park Service, "no bust or statue of Stalin will be included or allowed; in so acting, the National D-Day Memorial Foundation and Interior Secretary Salazar will safeguard the sacred memory of D-Day for ourselves, our veterans, and future generations."

The website also includes a page of links to recent articles about the controversial statue and the protests surrounding it, as well as a page dedicated to information about Stalin and comments from visitors to the webpage.

Readers may explore the website and sign the online petition by visiting www.stalinstatue.com. Readers may choose to merely sign the petition, or have their names and comments displayed on the website for other visitors to read.

– Tyrssa Korduba

Ukrainian Catholic University honors its local and international donors

by Petro Didula
and Matthew Matuszak

LVIV – Local and international donors of the Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU) converged on Lviv over the weekend of May 29-30 both to celebrate and to be honored. On May 29 UCU held its third annual charity folk-ball, “Perelaz” (Neighborly Fences), and on May 30 it unveiled a plaque honoring its major donors from 1994 through 2009.

According to Andriy Kurochka, senior project manager at UCU’s Development Department, Perelaz was a great success. “This year 150 people participated in the event,” said Mr. Kurochka, “including representatives from the diaspora in the U.S. and Canada. The guests enjoyed listening to old Ukrainian songs performed by the famous Ukrainian group Bozhychi and had an opportunity to practice already forgotten old folk dances.”

The event raised some 230,000 hryvnia (more than \$32,000 U.S.) – more than twice the amount raised in 2009 for a scholarship fund to allow “talented but needy students to acquire a good education in a corruption-free environment,” as Mr. Kurochka put it. The event also included a charitable auction of paintings, a lottery, “lots of entertainment for the kids” and a reception.

“Our university, which has 1,300 students, and serious educational and publishing programs, has a much greater goal than only to be an educational or research institution,” said the Rev. Borys Gudziak, Ph.D., rector of UCU, as he opened Perelaz. “The goal of our work and prayer is that these interpersonal relations, for which we were created in the image and likeness of God, may help conquer that fear that reigns in our society.”

The scholarship fund is named after Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and “it’s not an accident that this fund originated within the walls of UCU,” said Yaroslav Kharysh, a member of the Lviv Friends of UCU. “For here breathes the spirit of the Church, which our great metropolitan himself lived... We have the great honor to join in this noble spirit of philanthropy.”

A divine liturgy celebrated in the Church of the New Martyrs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, UCU’s wooden chapel near Stryiskyi Park, began the ceremonies on May 30 to honor UCU’s major donors from throughout the world. The guests then had a chance to become acquainted with the university’s plans to build dormitories and other structures on the site. Then they attended the unveiling and blessing of a plaque honoring major benefactors, constructed under the motto: “We were in need and you supported us. With gratitude we pray for you.”

Pavlo Khobzei, head of the Lviv Regional Board of Education, “UCU shows us how it is necessary to have profound faith and faithfully serve Ukraine.”

“UCU is an institution that makes Lviv better, that gives an example for the development of learning and of spirituality,” said Oleksii Poburko, director of the Department of Humanitarian Policy of the Lviv City Council. He noted the active role of the university’s students in various social actions organized in the city.

Lubomyr Zielyk, chairman of the board of directors of Self Reliance (NY) Federal Credit Union, presented a gift of \$25,000 for UCU. Oresta Fedyniak, chair of the Self Reliance Foundation of Self Reliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union (Chicago), presented a gift of \$10,000, emphasizing that “instruction



The Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University, blesses the choir singing at the unveiling of a plaque in honor of UCU benefactors.

within the walls of this institution with its great spiritual treasures will help raise intelligent and exemplary leaders for our Ukraine.”

The festivities ended with a student performance of “The Second Letter to Timothy, Online Version,” in which the director and actors, on the basis of the text of the epistle of St. Paul the Apostle, modeled the hypothetical conditions of its creation, transferring the location of its activities to the modern world.

Further information about UCU (in English and Ukrainian) is available on the university’s website at www.ucu.edu.ua. Readers may also contact the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, the largest supporter of UCU’s annual operating budget, at: 2247 W. Chicago Ave., Chicago, IL 60622; 773-235-8462; or matuszak@ucef.org. The UCEF’s website is located at www.ucef.org. The phone number of the UCEF in Canada is 416-239-2495.

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The third annual charity folk-ball “Perelaz,” held in Lviv on May 29, included lots of enthusiastic dancing.

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Voices of the laity: The present and future of U.S. Ukrainian Catholic Church

by Anisa Handzia Sawyckyj

NEW YORK – For more than a century, as waves of Ukrainian immigration to the United States have ebbed and flowed, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S. has always adapted to the changing nature of the Ukrainian American communities it served. As the Church moves into its second century of existence in the U.S., questions arise: How is the Church doing today? How will it deal with the challenges that it may face in its second century on this continent?

Today, after all, in addition to ethnic assimilation, which it already had to face in earlier decades, the Church must also deal with the reality of an increasingly secular culture. Also, with the establishment of Ukraine's independence and the creation of a Patriarchal structure de facto (not yet recognized as de jure by the Vatican), Ukrainian Catholic Churches on all continents must adjust to a new dynamic, realigning their relationships with each other and with the patriarchal center in Kyiv.

An additional challenge for the Ukrainian Catholic Church today is juggling the sometimes competing needs and tastes of its multi-layered congregations: the descendants of the second immigration ("stari imigranty") of the 1920s and 1930s; the political émigrés of the post-World War II period and their progeny; and finally, the new immigrants of the most recent Fourth Wave.

In the midst of these developments, the voices of the Ukrainian Catholic laity register loudly and clearly. What emerges from the interviews here are the thoughtful, measured opinions of the dedicated faithful, whose love for their Church and decades of service speak for themselves. Statistics or concepts tell an important story, but sometimes the individual experience can give special meaning or substance to the numbers and, in the process, bring insight and understanding of both the individual and the whole.

In a two-part series of interviews Myron Melnyk looks at past history, present trends and future projections; Maria Olync points to courses and texts on the Eastern Christian tradition; Svitlana Makhno explains the Church experience of many Fourth Wave immigrants from Ukraine; Svitlana Andrushkiw suggests what is needed for mixed-marriage couples.

Natalie Gawdiak, a former Roman Catholic, urges a return to the Ukrainian Catholic Church's Eastern traditions; Jurij Dobjczansky shows one parish's path to religious renewal; Iryna Zaluzhna Lencyk recalls the dynamism of the Church in Lviv; and Dr. Leonid Rudnytsky cites the benefits of an active laity and a strong patriarchal structure.

The interviewees here represent a cross-section of the audience attending the May 1, roundtable in New York City on the topic of the Eastern Churches in North America, an event sponsored by the Patriarchal Society in the U.S.A. in keeping with its goal of promoting discussion of important Ukrainian Catholic Church issues.

This is obviously a group of laity that is self-selected for high involvement with the Church. Out of the eight interviewees, six were from the post-World War II immigration, and two were relatively recent arrivals from Ukraine.

A different sample, focusing more specifically on descendants of the first and second immigrations, or on the Fourth Wave, would no doubt produce a different array of views.

However, the stories that are no less

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important to hear in the future are those of the "C & E Christians," who attend church only on Christmas and Easter, or those who for various reasons have drifted away from the Church, whether through convenience, preference for another faith, intermarriage, indifference to religion, or a spiritual quest that, for whatever reason, could not be satisfied in the Church of their birth.

Hopefully, the time will come for sharing all these untold stories and points of view. The Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S. needs to hear the voices of all her children.

PART I

As a member of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S., what do you think are the major challenges facing the Church today? What needs to be done to help it survive in the future? (Asked of members of the audience who attended the May 1 Roundtable in New York City on "Eastern Churches in North America: Between Ethnocentrism and Assimilation.")

Church must adapt

Myron Melnyk, consulting business owner, New Haven, Conn. has been a parishioner at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in New Haven, for 39 years. He has also served as Director of the School of Ukrainian Studies in New Haven for over 30 years.

The future of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S. does not look positive except for those parishes experiencing a large influx of new Ukrainian immigrants. Of the post-World War II immigration, my parents' generation, a very large proportion – let's say 75 percent – were active in Church life. For my generation, that rate is well under 50 percent. For future generations, the numbers will continue to decline. The forces of assimilation and globalization are unrelenting.

The Church has been slow to adapt to this changing environment. Part of the problem is that the newer priesthood itself seems less committed to building Ukrainian community and parish life. They perform their pastoral functions efficiently, but their work is more perfunctory than the work of the older generation of priests, whose very heart and soul lay in their priesthood and with their people.

As we all know, a good priest can make a world of difference. One way to develop and expand a talent pool of excellent priests is to actively permit a married clergy, a longstanding tradition within our Church. To properly minister to an increasingly educated and professional laity, it goes without saying that the clergy needs to continue educational and spiritual development through in-service training programs.

Spiritual and religious education for children and adults at the parish level is another area that needs significant strengthening. Beyond the basics, we need to learn more about the richness of our Eastern spirituality, our distinctive Ukrainian Catholic identity, and the differences between Eastern and Western Church traditions.

The Church can also do a much better job in leading its followers to live out their faith on a daily basis, by actively engaging its members in helping those most in need amongst us – whether it is recently arrived Ukrainian families, orphanages in Ukraine or other countries, or its own parishioners. The fast-growing evangelical churches in the U.S. are successful because they are tapping into a vast reservoir of spiritual idealism – they are promoting social justice and Christian love, thereby more effectively communicating Christ's teachings by practicing what they preach.



Myron Melnyk



Maria Olync



Svitlana Makhno



Svitlana Andrushkiw

The Church will survive into the future, but it will be a very different institution. My hope is for the Ukrainian language to be maintained in church services as long as possible but it will become increasingly difficult to do so. There inevitably will be more English and also more non-Ukrainian parishioners. On the positive side, in my direct experience these parishioners have proven to be quite an asset to our local parish here in New Haven.

While the patriarchal structure is currently largely in place in our Church in both form and practice, communication between the different levels of authority could be improved, especially with the laity, who have traditionally played an active role in Church affairs. A more open, engaged, and autonomous patriarchal Church could more effectively minister to the disparate needs of its faithful even as they become more widely dispersed around the world. Official recognition by the Vatican of a Ukrainian Patriarchate would be a strategic gain for our Church and would be beneficial to its long-term survival.

Learning about our faith

Maria Harasymowycz Olync, music teacher, Floral Park, N.Y. has been a parishioner at St. Vladimir Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hempstead, Long Island, since 1971 and its choir director since 1986. In 2007 she graduated from University of Ottawa/St. Paul University with a Certificate of University Studies in Theology, focusing on Eastern Christian Studies.

I think that religious education is a key factor in helping Church members to stay committed and involved with their Church, as well as in bringing new members into our Church to insure its future growth. Teaching about our faith is important not just for children of the parish. Adult church members at all stages of their lives need

spiritual sustenance.

There are great opportunities out there for learning more about the spirituality of our Eastern Church. For example, in addition to a weekend cantors' program, the Stamford Diocese offered a weekend seminar on Eastern Christian Studies at St. Basil College Seminary in March which was open to the public. Also, there are catechetical workshops taking place throughout the eparchy, with excellent books available for viewing or purchase. Another option is the annual Sheptytsky Institute Study Days at St. Paul University in Ottawa, Ontario, at the end of June, which in 2009 drew more than 200 people of all ages to this foremost center for Eastern Christian Studies in North America.

In addition to education, good communication among laity, priests and bishops is also very important in helping the Church to stay strong and to grow. I think we laity of the Stamford diocese are fortunate to have access to our Bishop Paul Chomnycky, who often visits various parishes of his diocese, worships with us and wants to be with his people. He is very approachable and involved.

Our faith offers answers to many questions in our lives, but we have to make an effort to seek out these answers. A catechism by the Synod of Bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church called "Christ Our Pascha" is soon to be published. A good start now can be the Eastern Catholic Bishops' catechism for adults called "Light for Life," (God With Us Publications, 1994), which is approved and widely used in our Church. Do not feel you are alone in your quest. Your parish priest is there to help you along.

Sometimes answers are available to us but we are not ready to hear them. Spiritual growth is a very individual thing, involving timing, circumstances, and most of all, divine grace.

(Continued on page 18)

Opposition...

(Continued from page 1)

Kyiv-based Institute for Euro-Atlantic Integration.

In his opening statement, Mr. Tarasyuk offered an analogy between the UACCNJ and the situation in Ukraine. "Here, in this wonderful center, you have united the beauty of tradition with a modern building and services. Ukraine, too, needs to unite its tradition with modern approaches. Moreover, what unites you, our friends here, with us in Ukraine is our mutual love and deep concern, even fear – for what is happening in Ukraine. You have heard us thank you before, but I must say it again, we bow before the diaspora in our thanks for your efforts – everything from support of human rights, the fight for independence and the struggle to make our independence complete."

He continued: With your help we obtained embassies in many places worldwide. Ukraine did not have the money to establish representation internationally. Your help was essential and, therefore, it must be said again – thank you. ... In 19 years, we have much of which to be proud. We have created an infrastructure of power and governance, transformed our military, which participates in international peace-keeping efforts, invigorated civil society – even to the point where the Orange Revolution was possible. These are great achievements."

As he continued, Mr. Tarasyuk's tone then changed and he spoke with a tinge of controlled anger in his voice about the missed opportunities during the past five years to consolidate Ukraine. He criticized the former president, Viktor Yushchenko, stating, "I completely lack the capacity and logic to comprehend the actions of this man."

He accused the opposition of being little "hetmanchyky" and this factionalization extended to lack of support for Yulia Tymoshenko. "I am convinced she would have won if it were not for the so-called 'support' of her fellow democrats," he said. "Now no one is willing to take responsibility for their actions and for their failures and all the multiple little oppositions still do not comprehend their enormous, enormous mistake."

Russia, claimed Mr. Tarasyuk, is taking the opportunity to fully exploit this new situation with a calculated attack on all the democratic progress made in Ukraine and is re-creating the power vertical, with Moscow in charge. The disinformation being disseminated about the progress made during Ukraine's independence is ugly. Particularly rancorous, said Mr. Tarasyuk, are the claims made by certain government ministers that Mr. Yanukovich's arrests by Soviet authorities for criminal activity are the moral equivalent to former Soviet political prisoner and Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil's arrests, since both men broke Soviet laws.

Moscow's advance is obvious on all fronts, he said, and the next big moment of vulnerability in Ukraine is the upcoming October elections, first to municipal and oblast positions of power and then to the Verkhovna Rada in 2012. "Moscow cannot be allowed to win any more elections," he stated emphatically.

Later, in response to questions, Mr. Tarasyuk noted that, regardless of the "current regime, our relationship with Europe continues." He added, with a bit of irony, that only recently, after five years of back and forth, had the European Union announced that Ukraine can apply for membership in the EU – a bitter moment since the current president has no interest in EU membership.

Speaking after Mr. Tarasyuk was Dr. Shcherbak, a physician by training, a former ambassador to Israel, Canada and the United States, and a former member of the

Verkhovna Rada. Dr. Shcherbak was the first chair of the Green Party in the late 1980s and is a published author. He continues to write and recently published a lengthy political analysis in the newspaper Den in which he described a strategy by Moscow that he calls "Operation Destroy Ukraine."

"This operation," Dr. Shcherbak stated, "was instigated by then-President Vladimir Putin in 2005 and for the past five years has been implemented by the security and intelligence services of Russia. Putin's fury at the Orange Revolution and the thwarting of his well-laid plans was obvious then and, with the current blitzkrieg from Moscow against Ukraine, is very clear now."

Speaking with intensity, Dr. Shcherbak said he feels that U.S. government officials seem not to comprehend or are unwilling to comprehend that there is a major power shift under way in Europe, away from U.S. interests. "We understand that Ukraine does not rate any attention in the U.S. at the moment, and that would be fine," he stated, "if we were, let's say, Denmark, which also does not rate much attention from the U.S. government. However, our situation is not Denmark. These past 100 days have turned around the situation in Ukraine 180 degrees."

Answering questions, Dr. Shcherbak stated that he cannot understand how the United States does not see that Russia is exerting all efforts to push American influence out of Europe and is re-establishing a Russia-Germany power axis that will completely change geopolitical and geo-economic relations.

"I am a student of history," said Mr. Shcherbak, "and I remember the war. We have seen this kind of German-Russian power axis before, and we know what it can do. Russia and Germany have had strategic partnerships in every recent century, and it has never been good for Europe or Ukraine. As for Germany, the worst battles, the longest occupation, was on Ukrainian territory. Eight and half million dead, and now Germany has completely forgotten about Ukraine. And this relationship between Putin and [German Chancellor Angela] Merkel, it is a clear attempt to push the U.S. out of Europe."

Russia now considers Europe to be the near abroad. "Furthermore," added Dr. Shcherbak, "Russia knows it's losing the eastern territories. They cannot control the local protests. They need to bind in the Ukrainians, which will be disastrous for us. They will pull us in to fight their battles. Russia is on the verge of crisis, on the verge of a deep, systemic crisis. This is why Moscow pushes the ideology of Russian chauvinism, of the Great Patriotic War, to cover the lack of unity. But it is an ideology based on falsehoods, and it will fail."

In reaction to what many in Ukraine's political leadership see as a full threat to Ukraine's statehood, Dr. Shcherbak explained, the People's Committee for the Protection of Ukraine was established in May with several hundred signatories representing the intellectual and political elite of the opposition forces. (See: www.nkzu.com.ua and www.nkzu.org).

He appealed to the audience to support this committee and even establish local committees here. The leadership of the committee are all elder statesmen, he noted, familiar figures such as Dmytro Pavlychko and Levko Lukianenko, none of whom can be accused of trying to make a new name for themselves as opposition leaders.

"Our careers are behind us," he said, and added emphatically, "but now we cannot sit back and allow the efforts of the past 19 years – our efforts, as well as the earlier efforts of others to build Ukraine – we cannot sit back and watch this enormous success be destroyed. And we well remember the credo that Zbigniew Brzezinski often stated: 'without Ukraine, Russia cannot be an empire and with

Ukraine, it automatically becomes one.'"

In the event that anyone has any doubt as to Russia's intentions, Dr. Shcherbak cited the recent statements made by the new Russian ambassador to Ukraine, in which the ambassador claimed, "Russia and Ukraine are not fraternal peoples, rather, the same people, with only some slight historical variances and nuances between them."

In all the years and places that he and Mr. Tarasyuk have served as ambassadors, noted Dr. Shcherbak, neither remembers any other incident as outrageous and in violation of all diplomatic protocol. This complete lack of respect for Ukraine's sovereignty and flaunting of diplomatic protocol with no reaction from the Yanukovich government should be heeded as fair warning of Moscow's position with regard to Ukraine, he emphasized.

As a final point to underscore Moscow's influence, Dr. Shcherbak pointed out that all three speakers were Ukrainian diplomats, all have worked for European and North Atlantic integration for years, and then "in a day, we saw what happened – an announcement that Ukraine would no longer be pursuing this direction."

The final speaker, Mr. Chalyi served in the administration of President Leonid Kuchma and until recently had been a vice-minister of foreign affairs in the administration of President Yanukovich. However, he resigned his position in May because he does not agree with the new direction of Ukraine's foreign policy. Now Mr. Chalyi is the deputy director general of the Razumkov Center, a highly regarded policy and research institute in Kyiv.

Mr. Chalyi said he agrees that current changes are dramatic and not necessarily in Ukraine's interest, but remains unconvinced that Ukraine's statehood is profoundly threatened. Rather, he emphasized there is an entire new generation that grew up with only an independent Ukraine. "Personally, I believe that we will not return, because we cannot return, to the previous state of affairs," he said. "However, we are at fault, all of us, for the current state of affairs in Ukraine, which I admit, is very difficult," he admitted.

According to the results of polls conducted by his institute, the divide in Ukraine is not, as many claim, primarily between the so-called Russian east and Ukrainian west, rather, the largest divide felt across the entire country is between the tiny number of very rich and the large number of very poor people in Ukraine; it is this divide that causes the most resentment. There is also a strong divide in consciousness between the young and the old, with 20 percent of the population continuing to identify themselves as "Soviet people" – neither Russian nor Ukrainian.

Mr. Chalyi noted that the people who supported Mr. Yanukovich did so because he promised economic reforms, which he will not be able to deliver. The euphoria of victory in the Yanukovich administration and in Moscow will fade when the electorate realizes that they have been fooled yet again and will begin to express its dissatisfaction, which, Mr. Chalyi is convinced,

they will.

Furthermore, he added, members of the Yanukovich administration, deep in their souls, are afraid of another Orange Revolution and, Mr. Chalyi surmised, fear the electorate more than they fear Moscow.

As he answered questions, Mr. Chalyi commented that everyone is feeling Moscow's hard pressure in Ukraine. "The reaction will not come only from average folk," he said, "since people such as [oligarch Rinat] Akhmetov are feeling strong pressure, as well."

More than anything, he said, polls show that Ukrainians want stability, and for that there must be some sort of unity. "However," he added, "the opposition must avoid strategies such as regressing into a narrow cocoon or perpetuating an us/them divide. Ukraine will not lose its language or its culture. However, Ukraine genuinely is very pluralistic. We really must embrace this."

He said his biggest concern is that Ukraine is losing its tempo regarding European integration. "Yanukovich has effectively ended the two-vector strategy to which Ukraine's foreign policy has adhered for two decades," he said. Furthermore, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov has the largest government in Europe, with 27 ministers, seven vice-ministers, and not a single woman in a Cabinet position. "This absolutely sends the wrong message," stated Mr. Chalyi, "the message that Ukraine is a backward country, which is completely untrue."

Ukraine's roadmap of the past 20 years has suffered a detour, commented Mr. Chalyi, "however, I am convinced that we have not lost our way, and within five years we will return to the right direction."

The presentation in northern New Jersey was the first of several meetings with the Ukrainian American community in New York City and Philadelphia on June 20, followed by several days of meetings with government and business representatives in Washington, as well as a presentation by Dr. Shcherbak at the Ukrainian Museum-Archives in Cleveland on June 24.

Prof. Emeritus Taras Hunczak of Rutgers University moderated the event and the guests were welcomed by Dr. Marta Lopatynsky, representing the center.

The visit of the three political leaders to the United States was organized by the Washington-based American Foreign Policy Council, in conjunction with the Center for U.S.-Ukraine Relations.

Walter Zarycky, director of the New York office of CUSUR, said: "We felt that it was crucial to invite well-known and respected political leaders of Ukraine, those who feel that the country stands before political peril, to come and share with us their perspectives before the situation in the country worsens. It is important both for the United States and Ukraine that officials in Washington, D.C., understand the dramatic changes under way in Ukraine since the election of Viktor Yanukovich."

Yanukovich calls...

(Continued from page 1)

Mr. Czolij passed on to the president a memorandum on important issues concerning Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora, including: the threat of losing control of Ukraine's strategically important industries; the Black Sea Fleet agreement that extends the stay of Russia's military base in Ukraine through 2042; the importance of Ukraine joining the European Union and NATO; the introduction of a de facto second state language in Ukraine; reports of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Ukraine; the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in

Ukraine; installation of monuments to Stalin in Ukraine; violation of the rights of Ukrainians in Russia; and unfounded accusations against the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera in a resolution of the European Parliament.

The president and the UWC leaders agreed to continue their dialogue. Mr. Yanukovich said he would provide an official response to the memorandum, and the president and the UWC leaders agreed to continue their dialogue.

Sources: *Ukrinform, Official Website of Ukraine's President, Ukrainian Canadian Congress.*

Ukrainian pro sports update: Soccer

by Ihor Stelmach

Shevchenko's career swan song with Dynamo: kickin' it in Kyiv

Like most professional athletes, star soccer players who return to their original clubs risk undoing their great prior achievements. That's why some say the past is past, and it should remain there. Attempting to relive the past risks altering those memories making the past such a comfort in today's present. Witness many a famous footballer with the later-in-career option to return home to where he made his name, petrified by the thought of soccer dads telling their sons: "See that fat guy out there huffing and puffing? He used to be a great player." The aging star passes on the return option, selecting a new club to play out his twilight years.

Andriy Shevchenko is hoping for the perfect ending to a super-star career back with Dynamo Kyiv. For it was Dynamo that made Shevchenko one of the world's top strikers. He does not feel he is gambling his soccer legacy for the possibility of a sentimental farewell. A return to Kyiv for Shevchenko was almost destiny.

"I always knew that one day I would return to my native club," he said in an interview with guardian.co.uk. "How could I forget when I was the ball boy at Dynamo games and saw the goals scored by my idol, Oleh Blokhin? Now I'm 33, and I'd like to spend my final years at the club where I started my career. When I agreed to my departure from Chelsea, I had a choice of five or six quite well-known European clubs, but I didn't really think seriously about them because I'd already decided the journey that began in Kyiv would end in Kyiv."

New coach plays key role

Dynamo Kyiv's hiring of new coach Valery Gazzaev last year only added to the sense of destiny.

"That was very significant for me," said Shevchenko. "Gazzaev wanted to sign me 12 years ago, when he was the coach of the Russian club Alania Vladikavkaz. I respect him very much. With him, training isn't boring. He has some interesting ideas and ambitions to fulfill."

One of the more interesting ideas proposed by Coach Gazzaev is to play Shevchenko outside on the forward line, a strategy "Sheva" did not greet with total agreement.

"That was quite unexpected," he said in his conversation with guardian.co.uk. "It took some time to adapt because playing on the flank requires more physical work and tackles. Throughout my career I've never complained about a coach's decision, and it didn't take me long to get used to the scheme."

Not complaining publicly is one thing – returning to Dynamo Kyiv only to discover his position of center-forward already filled by another player had to disappoint Shevchenko and make him unhappy. In a prior home match against Vorskla Poltava, Sheva tallied his 100th goal for Dynamo.

One of Shevchenko's major assets was his well-rounded skill set and his willing adaptability to fill more than just the central striker role on his team. This is why Valeriy Lobanovskiy referred to him as the closest he'd ever known to his definition of the perfect "universal player." Shevchenko's wide array of soccer skills was the reason many international football pundits acknowledged him as Marco van Basten's successor as Europe's most complete striker.

Recalling the past, foreseeing the future

Talk of Shevchenko's successor?

Advancement in age and maturation has led to times of reflection and Sheva has mentioned a potential heir. Wayne Rooney has been identified as a Shevchenko mirror image player. Talking of Rooney, it is obvious Shevchenko sees himself in the 24-year-old up-and-coming British star.

"He's not a typical center-forward," Shevchenko says. "He has probably the biggest working area in the modern game. He moves constantly to try to fill the channels in attack, at the same time creating spaces for his teammates. It's true to say he can do anything on the pitch. I've been very impressed by his progress this season."

The in-depth scouting report on a British player is a bit surprising due to Shevchenko's own disappointing tenure in England. Yet he still keeps tabs on the Premier League.

"The chase for the title this year was very intense. But I believed in Chelsea, not only because I played for them, but because I think they have been more consistent than their rivals. I have good memories of my time at the club and I wish them luck," he noted.

Indeed, Sheva admitted he continues to support all of his former clubs. In an interview with goal.com he professes his loyalty to his previous organizations: "All the teams I played for will stay in my heart forever. I wish them all the best, follow their results and will always support them. That goes not only for Milan, but for Chelsea as well. I am a Chelsea fan for life."

Back home, Shevchenko sees much potential with Dynamo Kyiv's talent both for now and the future.

"There are some very promising graduates of the academy," he says. "Many of them won the Under-19 European Championship. I'm sure Dynamo has bright prospects. It's also important that Gazzaev is a coach who can build the team in the best of traditions of Dynamo. Under him Dynamo plays as a team, combining individual and collective pressing, keeping pressure on the opponents and relying on a strong and deep game on the flanks."

Way back when, Shevchenko was thought of as a potential contributor of a promising generation when Coach Lobanovskiy's last great Dynamo squad made it to the Champions League semi-finals in 1999. The team spirit, dedication and zest that fired him up back then still burn inside. However, the wear and tear showing up in his legs and back have begun to limit him physically.

In order to fulfill his dream of ending his fabulous career back where it started in Ukraine, Sheva must fly to Germany twice monthly for back treatments. Early in 2010 he spent three hours in an uncomfortable position on a flight to Kyiv and felt an abrupt pain. The next several days he could not walk normally. A fellow Ukrainian playing for the German club Bayern told him about a really good doctor in Munich.

"There are some medical issues, but the doctor says they are not serious, and I can continue playing as usual at the moment," Sheva told goal.com.

The swan song plan

Based on these words, there is no thought or talk of retirement even though Ukraine was eliminated early on from both European competition and the 2010 World Cup. Shevchenko's priority shifted to winning his country's Premier League. (Dynamo finished the season in second place, behind champion Shakhtar Donetsk.)

"We have an army of faithful fans, and we'd like to confirm to them that Dynamo is

the strongest club in the country," he asserted. "Beyond that, I am Ukrainian and I would like to play in the European Championship we are hosting. I'm still very hungry. After missing the World Cup finals by losing in the playoff to Greece, Euro 2012 for me would be the perfect swan song."

Soccer, or any professional sport for that matter, seldom doles out mental victories, so the odds are good some that disappointment awaits Shevchenko. A victorious swan song ending to his wonderful career in the new

national stadium at the European Championship in July 2012 is not likely. Yet, despite the lengthy list of players who besmirched their legacy by not knowing when to leave the game, who can blame Sheva for grabbing the penultimate opportunity for a perfect curtain call?

But first, the Ukrainian super striker has to survive two more seasons. Let us hope there is never a day when a Dynamo fan looks out at a player slogging around a field in a No. 7 jersey and says: "That used to be Andriy Shevchenko."

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Houston's Zhuravli dancers perform at Texas Folklife Festival

SAN ANTONIO, Texas – Attendees of the 39th Annual Texas Folklife Festival in San Antonio, on Saturday and Sunday, June 12-13, enjoyed four stunning performances by the Zhuravli Ukrainian Dancers of Houston.

The Texas Folklife Festival invites top performing cultural groups, musicians and artisans from across the state to participate at the festival each year. The festival takes place on the grounds of the Institute of Texan Cultures on the UTSA HemisFair Park campus, and features 250 cultural groups during the three day event.

Despite the 95 degree temperature on both days, the Zhuravli dancers performed four different exciting shows on outdoor stages to the waiting crowds that gathered at each show. Introductions and greetings were extended by the group's director, Martha Noukas, and each show began with a "Pryvit" (Welcome dance) and presentation of the traditional bread and salt.

On Saturday, the dancers performed Ukrainian folk dances from the Poltava and Zakarpattia regions, ending each program with a fabulous "Hopak." The crowds delighted in the exceptional solos performed by Andriy Lytvynchuk, Kostya Lytvynchuk, Constantine Noukas and Austyn Slavych. Many members of the audience came backstage to share their compliments with the group after each show.

The Sunday performances highlighted dances from the Zakarpattia, Bukovyna and Carpathian regions which included the group's famously fast "Kolomyika No. 1."

The Zhuravli Ukrainian Dancers invited volunteers to join them on stage to learn a lively "Kartoshka" and a polka, during each of the Sunday shows, which proved to be very enjoyable and well received by the audience and volunteers.

While visiting the Texas Frontier section of the festival on Sunday afternoon,



Vlodko Drobot

The Zhuravli Ukrainian Dancers of Houston perform the "Hopak" at the Texas Folklife Festival.

Texas gunfighters grabbed one of the female Zhuravli dancers (Juliana Noukas) and held her against her will. It took a little muscle by the male Zhuravli dancers (John Pederson and Constantine Noukas) and the intervention of the local sheriff, to set her free. All of this, of course, was done in good fun, and in the lively Texas spirit that permeates at the festival.

This year was the third time that the Zhuravli performed at the Texas Folklife Festival, and they were delighted to be a part of this great annual cultural festival.

The Zhuravli celebrate their ten year anniversary this year and are looking forward to performing at several scheduled Texas shows in the fall of 2010. (More information about the group is available at www.zhuravli.org).



Dressed in their Hutsul costumes, dancers pose for a group photograph in front of a log cabin at the festival.



The Zhuravli perform "Rakivchanka."



The Zhuravli demonstrate a polka, after which they invited volunteers to join them on stage. (Audience participation is encouraged at the festival.)



Olha Seniw and Juliana Noukas pose with the traditional Ukrainian greeting of bread and salt.

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

memory of her son. Procurator General Oleksander Medvedko said that a foreign examination had proved that fragments of a skull found near the village of Sukholisy near Kyiv belong to Gongadze. He also promised that he would report on the completion of the pre-trial investigation on the Gongadze case in July-August. (Ukrinform)

Yanukovich on media pressure

KYIV – President Viktor Yanukovich has said that cases of pressure being placed on the media are unacceptable and described them as “a temporary phenomenon.” Speaking with reporters in Sumy on June 17, he said, “I think that [pressure on the press] is unacceptable... It’s necessary to respond to such cases.” He added, “I believe that this is a temporary phenomenon. Everything will be fine.” (Interfax-Ukraine)

PGO to investigate Kyiv police

KYIV – The Procurator General’s Office (PGO) of Ukraine has announced the creation of a special group of prosecutors to review several detentions by Kyiv police, RFE/RL’s Ukrainian Service reported on June 22. Ukrainian Deputy Prosecutor General Yurii Udartsov said the decision to review the cases was made in light of “some irregularities” by police in Kyiv’s Shevchenko district, particularly the death last month of 20-year-old student Ihor Indyla while in police custody. The student died at the police station shortly after being taken there by police, who said Indyla was drunk and that he suffered a head injury after falling. The Shevchenko District prosecutor’s office opened a criminal investigation into Indyla’s death on May 28. Several police department employees have been charged with abuse of power resulting in manslaughter in connection with Mr. Indyla’s death. (RFE/RL)

Appeal in Bandera case rejected

DONETSK – The Donetsk Administrative Court of Appeals on June 23 issued a ruling rejecting all 20 appeals lodged against a Donetsk District Administrative Court ruling of April 2 that declared illegal and cancelled President Viktor Yushchenko’s decision to award the Hero of Ukraine title to Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Lawyer Volodymyr Olentsevych said, “Thus, the ruling of April 2 remains unchanged.” In October 2009, Mr. Olentsevych, on behalf of Dr. Anatolii Soloviov, filed a lawsuit at Donetsk District Administrative Court to declare the presidential decree on awarding the Hero of Ukraine title to Bandera illegal. On April 2 the court satisfied the lawsuit, as Bandera was not a citizen of Ukraine. (Interfax-Ukraine)

PRU, YTB top rating of parties

KYIV – A rating of political parties that may win seats in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in the next elections, is topped by the Party of Regions of Ukraine (PRU) and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (YTB), according to the survey “The Hundred Days of the New Government” presented by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation and the Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Studies. The poll found that if the elections to the Verkhovna Rada were held this month, the Party of Regions would win the highest percentage of votes – 41.2 percent of those who said they would take part in voting. The YTB would be in second place with 16 percent, followed by Sergey Tigipko’s Strong Ukraine party (11.1 percent) and Arseniy Yatsenyuk’s political grouping (5.3 percent). It is likely that the Verkhovna Rada would also have members of the Svoboda all-Ukrainian union (3.1 percent) and the Communist Party of Ukraine (2.9 percent). The poll also revealed that 2.6 percent of respondents would vote against all, and 12.5 percent were undecided. The poll was based on interviews with 1,611 Ukrainians conducted between June 5 and June 10 in 113 localities. (Ukrinform)

Six OU-PSD deputies join coalition

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn opened the June 18 morning session of Parliament, with 377 lawmakers registered for the meeting, and announced said that six more national deputies from the Our Ukraine-People’s Self-Defense (OU-PSD) faction – Davyd Zhvaniya, Volodymyr Maruschenko, Oleh Novikov, Serhii Kharovsky, Viktor Shemchuk and Valerii Borysov – had joined the Stability and Reforms Coalition. (Ukrinform)

PSD group in Rada is dissolved

KYIV – The political council of the People’s Self-Defense Party on June 23 announced the dissolution of the People’s Self-Defense parliamentary group, part of the Our Ukraine-People’s Self-Defense Bloc. The announcement came in a statement made by the political council of PSD that was headed by former Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Lutsenko. The official reason for the dissolution of the parliamentary group was the switchover of a number of its national deputies to the Stability and Reforms Coalition formed by the Party of Regions, the Volodymyr Lytvyn Bloc and the Communist Party. PSD described its members joining the majority coalition as “a serious moral blow to the party” and said that the reason for this was the imperfection of Ukrainian legislation that “does not allow a party to recall its former representatives in Parliament.” (Ukrinform)

President slams government, MFA

KYIV – Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich at an extended government

meeting on June 23 criticized the Cabinet of Ministers and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) for their failure to fulfill his order to open economic departments at Ukrainian Embassies. “The government is currently delaying the implementation of the order on the economization of our country’s foreign policy,” the president said. “Our embassies and international offices should deal with economic issues, rather than politicking and spreading various rumors about the country,” Mr. Yanukovich said. “This is unacceptable,” he underscored, saying that the order to open economic departments at Ukraine’s Embassies was given three months ago. Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko did not attend the government meeting as he is currently on an official visit to Italy. He said in a June 18 interview with the Segodnya newspaper that the structure of the Foreign Affairs Ministry had changed. He said that trade and economic departments had been formed at Embassies to replace trade and economic missions. (Ukrinform)

Ivano-Frankivsk, Alberta to cooperate

KYIV – Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast Governor Mykhailo Vyshyvaniuk and Alberta Premier Ed Stelmach recently signed an agreement on cooperation between the Ukrainian region and the Canadian province at a Ukrainian-Canadian business forum held in Canada. The press service of Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast State Administration reported on June 16 that participants of the business forum had discussed key issues of Ukrainian-Canadian relations, innovation and investment activities, and visited a number of enterprises and agricultural lands in Alberta. The organizers of the business forum were the Canada-Ukraine Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Embassy in Ukraine and the government of Alberta. Mr. Vyshyvaniuk noted that next year the Canadian city of Edmonton would celebrate the 120th anniversary of its founding by Ukrainians who are natives of the village of Nebyliv (Rozhniativ district in the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast). On that occasion, a delegation from Edmonton will visit the village in Zakarpattia and pay tribute to their countrymen whose relatives were pioneers on Canadian soil. (Ukrinform)

Pysanka becomes coin of year

KYIV – “Ukrainian Pysanka” (Easter egg) was recognized as the Best Coin of the Year in Ukraine. This decision was announced on June 16 by a commission that included representatives of the National Bank of Ukraine, the Mint, members of the expert council on design of memorable coins and representatives of the Association of Numismatists of Ukraine. The coin, dedicated to the traditional art of pysanka-making, has a 20-hrv face value and is made of silver. It was designed by Anatolii Demianenko and Volodymyr Atamanchuk. The coin “International Year of Astronomy” was declared the winner in the unique idea category, and the coin “According to Mykola Gogol’s Work ‘Evenings on a Farm near Dykanka’” won in the in best artistic decision category. (Ukrinform)

Deadly accident in Donetsk

DONETSK, Ukraine – Three miners died as a result of the sudden release of a mixture of coal and methane gas at the Skochinsky mine near Donetsk on June 6. Ukraine’s Ministry for Emergency Situations informed journalists on June 9 that three units of the state paramilitary rescue service of the Coal Industry Ministry were involved in the rescue efforts. Twenty-three miners were in the mine at the time of the incident, 18 of whom were hospitalized with injuries. The Donetsk Prosecutor’s Office launched an investigation into the accident. (Ukrinform)

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(Continued from page 1)

our cooperation,” Mr. Naryshkin said. “Surely it can be said that a new stage of relations and cooperation between our countries is approaching.”

Mr. Naryshkin’s expectations were fulfilled during Russian President Dmitry Medvedev’s two-day visit to Kyiv in May.

“In those issues where we see that a merger creates a synergy effect, we will support the creation of joint enterprises, holdings and corporations which will increase the scopes of our economies and made them competitive,” Mr. Yanukovich said at a May 17 press conference. He specifically mentioned the shipbuilding, aviation building, space and energy industries.

Most notably, Mr. Medvedev announced the possibility of creating a joint enterprise between the Russian state-owned United Aviation Building Co. and Ukraine’s Antonov. A month later, the board of directors of the Russian firm approved the creation of a partnership enterprise with Antonov, which builds the world’s largest airplane, the AN-225 Mriya.

Additionally, the two firms decided to form a joint enterprise to buy materials and parts for the sale and repair of Antonov planes.

Meanwhile, Russia’s state-owned United

Shipbuilding Corp. (USC) is considering acquiring a dozen Ukrainian shipbuilding companies which would fit in the production chains of Russian shipbuilders, reported Andrey Kurasov, the deputy chair of the shipbuilding department of the Ministry of Industry and Trade.

Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin in early May urged USC Chairman Roman Trotsenko to begin pursuing the acquisitions of two Ukrainian plants – More Shipbuilding Co. in Feodosiya and Zoria-MashProyekt in Mykolaiv, which builds the world’s largest gas-turbine engines for shipbuilding.

These projects are taking place in the shadows of Russian attempts to acquire some of Ukraine’s largest steel plants, including confirmed acquisitions of the Alchevsk Metallurgical Plant and the Dzerzhynskiy Metallurgical Plant in Dniprodzerzhinsk.

Zaporizhstal, Ukraine’s sixth largest plant, is currently involved in a legal battle against anonymous Russian investors, who are also attempting a corporate raid on the Illich Mariupol Metallurgical Plant, Ukraine’s second-largest steel plant.

In spite of the buying spree, Gorshenin Institute Director Volodymyr Fesenko said Dr. Shcherbak’s concerns about 80 percent of the nation’s assets being bought by Russians are exaggerated and not in the interest of Ukrainian businessmen.

“Yanukovich and Azarov understand that

on many issues it’s not advantageous for us to dissolve into the Russian economy,” Mr. Fesenko said. “Russians are proposing acquisitions, not mutually advantageous cooperation, therefore large-scale initiatives that Putin spoke of won’t be realized. At the same time, the penetration of Russian capital into Ukraine will continue.”

While the scale of business activity remains uncertain, Russia’s military presence in Ukraine is guaranteed until 2042 following the April 21 Kharkiv agreements, which extended the lease of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol, which was to expire in 2017, by 25 years.

A few weeks later, the Russian Federal Security Service announced that 19 Russian military counterintelligence agents will return to Sevastopol through an agreement reached with the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU).

During his May 17-18 visit to Kyiv, Russian President Medvedev assured students at Shevchenko National University that his government would plan no attacks on neighboring countries using ships based in Sevastopol.

Yet Ukrainian experts cited other threats to security that the Sevastopol base introduces, including the return of counterintelligence agents and Russia’s ongoing propaganda campaign convincing Crimean residents that the peninsula is Russian territory.

With the 25-year lease, the Ukrainian

government loses the opportunity to charge the Russians market prices for the real estate. Instead it’s Ukrainian oligarchs who exclusively stand to gain the estimated \$40 billion in savings gained in the 10-year natural gas agreement, experts said.

Common Ukrainian citizens consume Ukrainian-mined natural gas, while it’s the factories and industry, owned by oligarchs, that rely on Gazprom for their gas supplies. (Ukrainian oligarchs gained discounts of up to \$100 per 1,000 cubic meters of natural gas, experts said.)

The Kharkiv agreements are an “unprecedented, asymmetrical political-economic barter – an exchange of conditional Russian economic preferences for strategic, geopolitical concessions from Ukraine,” stated a report released June 17 by the Razumkov Center, the Institute of Economic Research and Political Consultation and the Center for Political and Legal Reforms in Kyiv.

Similar views reverberated throughout the experts’ community.

“Yanukovich manifestly failed to negotiate on Ukraine’s behalf,” wrote Dr. David Marples of the University of Alberta, evaluating the treaty. “It is inconceivable why his starting point was not a five-year extension of the existing lease, which was stipulated as an option according to the 1997 (Black Sea Fleet) agreement.”

To be continued in next week’s issue.

Timeline of the foreign policy of the Yanukovich administration

- February 25 – Viktor Yanukovich inaugurated as president. He announces his first foreign trip will be to Brussels on March 1, followed by a visit to Moscow on March 5.

- February 25 – The European Parliament grants Ukraine the right to apply for European Union membership. Led by Polish and German MPs, it asks that Yanukovich cancel the decree granting Hero of Ukraine status to Ukrainian liberation leader Stepan Bandera, libeling him a “Nazi collaborator.”

- February 26 – Presidential Administration First Deputy Chair Iryna Akimova announces Ukraine won’t enter a customs union proposed by the Russian government for post-Soviet states, including Belarus and Kazakhstan.

- March 1 – While in Brussels, Yanukovich pledges to do everything to ensure Ukraine’s EU integration is “real and efficient.”

- March 5 – In his first visit to Moscow, Yanukovich promises to pass laws to defend Ukraine’s Russian-speaking population. He early apologizes for visiting Brussels before Moscow, assuring Russian journalists, “All roads lead to Moscow.”

- March 5 – Russian Federation Prime Minister Vladimir Putin proposes to Yanukovich that Ukraine join its customs union with Belarus and Kazakhstan. They agree to joint commemorations of the 65th anniversary of Victory Day and the 200th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko in 2014.

- March 11 – Mykola Azarov elected prime minister by illegally formed coalition. Ukraine’s Ambassador to Russia Kostyantyn Gryshchenko is appointed foreign affairs minister.

- March 19 – First Vice Prime Minister Andrii Kliuyev says the Azarov government will pursue transferring ownership of Ukraine’s natural gas transit system to a consortium involving the European Union and Russian Federation.

- March 23 – Russian Duma Deputy Sergei Markov says his government won’t lower the price of natural gas for Ukraine in exchange for granting the Russian language official status.

- March 25 – Azarov meets with Gazprom Chair Aleksey Miller in

Moscow to discuss natural gas distribution and consumption. He tells Putin to forget the last five years and start Russian-Ukrainian relations with a blank page.

- March 25 – Yanukovich says Ukraine shouldn’t choose any collective system of security and instead should pursue maximum cooperation with NATO without integration. He says a “Ukrainian Initiative” should be launched for a new security architecture in Europe.

- March 25 – U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Tefft announces the U.S. government will grant the Ukrainian army \$11 million in aid as part of the FMF program.

- March 28 – Vice Prime Minister for Humanitarian Affairs Valentyn Semynozhenko says he supports considering a union with Russia and Belarus, which the majority of Ukrainians allegedly support. “No one expects Ukraine in the EU in the next 15 years,” he says.

- April 1 – The parliamentary coalition declines to review a resolution calling for Ukraine to join the Single Economic Space with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, and declines consideration of joining a customs union with those states.

- April 3 – The Russian government submits documents to the State Property Fund laying claim to 78 sites that Ukraine inherited from the Soviet collapse.

- April 4 – Yanukovich signs a decree eliminating the Joint Committee on Preparing for NATO Admission and the National Center for Euro-Atlantic Integration Issues.

- April 6 – Yanukovich signs a decree keeping Raisa Bohatyriova as the chair of the National Security and Defense Council. She’s a close associate of industrial tycoon Rinat Akhmetov.

- April 8 – Azarov declares his goal of securing an Association Agreement and Free Trade Agreement with the European Union by the end of the year.

- April 10 – Azarov travels to Moscow to meet with Putin in order to lower prices for natural gas. Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Sergei Lavrov says they will consider any proposal to extend the lease of the Russian Black Sea Fleet.

- April 11-14 – Yanukovich meets with

U.S. President Barack Obama and agrees to surrender Ukraine’s remaining stock of highly enriched uranium, drawing praise from Western leaders. The two leaders reaffirmed their intentions to build relations on the basis of the Ukraine-U.S. Strategic Partnership Charter and the Strategic Partnership Commission.

- April 13 – Yanukovich declares that the Obama administration’s policy of resetting relations with the Russia promotes the creation of new mechanisms for cooperation between Ukraine and Russia.

(Continued on page 18)

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UMANA Foundation now in its 15th year of activity

by Maria Hrycelak

CHICAGO – The Foundation of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA Foundation) has entered its 15th year of existence and efforts to improve medical knowledge and health awareness of Ukrainians worldwide.

This year the board of directors – consisting of Maria Hrycelak, M.D., president; Nestor Popowych, secretary; George Domino, treasurer; Ariadna Holynskij, M.D., Paul Kulas, Jerome Maryniuk M.D., Andrew Melnyk, M.D., Wayne Tymchak, M.D., and Ihor Voyevodka, M.D., – is funding four major projects, two in North America and two geared to Ukraine.

In North America, the foundation is expanding the free cardio-pulmonary resuscitation (CPR) and first aid training for camp counselors of various Ukrainian American youth groups. This successful project was introduced last year in Whippany, N.J., and Chicago, and met with and appreciation from the Ukrainian American community.

This year, over 70 counselors from Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization and the



Philadelphia Plast participants of a first aid class hold complimentary first aid kits presented to them by the UMANA Foundation.

Ukrainian American Youth Association (UAYA) have already completed their basic training and received certificates of competency in Cleveland, Detroit and Philadelphia. All training costs were underwritten by the UMANA Foundation, with local community organizations graciously providing space for the training courses.

The UMANA Foundation and the Dr. Walter and Olga Prokopiw Scholarship Fund continues to give financial support to qualifying medical students in the form of \$1,000 per year per student. This year the recipients were Stephen Ros, a fourth-year student at Mount Sinai M.D./Ph.D. program in New York City, and Adrienne Victor, a third-year student at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Mr. Ros's interests are biomedical engineering and orthopedics, and he hopes to study tendon injuries and methods of repair. He is an active member of the UAYA, who volunteers his time and medical knowledge at camps whenever time permits. He is an avid runner and has successfully completed the New York Marathon.

Ms. Victor has volunteered at a local free clinic for the last two years, first as an administrator and now a clinical aide. Last summer she completed a rural medicine preceptorship. She continues to mentor a Ukrainian American student who also plans to attend medical school.

Reaching out globally, the foundation awarded \$1,000 to the Ukrainian Diabetes Project (UDP) based in Santa Rosa, Calif. The UDP was founded in 1990 by registered dietician and certified diabetes educator Andrea Skrypka, herself a diabetic. The UDP has provided diabetic supplies and concomitant education to hundreds of newly diagnosed diabetics, primarily children, all over Ukraine.

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(Continued on page 22)

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UMANA Foundation scholarship recipients Adrienne Victor (top) and Stephen Ros.



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Voices of the laity...

(Continued from page 9)

The Fourth Wave

Svitlana Makhno, administrator, Staten Island, N.Y., is a parishioner of Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic Church on Staten Island.

I grew up in Ternopil, Ukraine, population about 500,000 – and came to the U.S. in 2000 as a young adult. So I will try to give a perspective of how I, and perhaps other “new” Ukrainian Americans, relate to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S. in light of where we came from and what our Church experience has been.

Of course, the Church in Ukraine has probably changed since 2000. I was there when it had just come out of the underground in 1989-1991 and the freedom to attend church was a new thing. Also, I saw things through the eyes of a teenager and young adult.

In Ternopil there were huge numbers of people coming to church every Sunday. They did not choose a parish, basically they went to whatever Ukrainian Catholic Church was in the neighborhood. There was no sense of church community. They not only did not have a personal relationship with the pastor, they often didn't even know each other. I do not recall that there were any church committees, coffee hours, special parish events, youth groups or even a parish enrollment system. There were no church membership fees, nor the weekly “kopertky” (envelope system) that exists in the U.S. When the collection basket came around, you put in whatever amount you felt you could afford and that was it.

The priest was seen as a distant figure, a breed apart from the laity, on a kind of higher plane. We did not socialize with him nor exchange views with him on religion or any other topic. We only saw him on

Sundays or feast days or when we went into the church office to request a liturgy, or to make arrangements for a baptism, wedding or funeral.

This may perhaps explain why Fourth Wave churchgoers in the U.S. seem to keep their distance from active involvement in organized parish life here. For some, it is the only way they have ever related to the Church. It takes some time for them to become more involved, and this often occurs through their children's participation in the sacraments, such as baptisms, first communions, or through membership in Ukrainian community youth organizations.

For many newcomers to the U.S., the style of Church life here is a kind of culture shock. For the first time, they can talk to their parish priests and can relate to them as human beings. Also, they discover that the economic well-being of a parish depends on the parishioners and their financial contribution to the parish.

On the issue of celibate vs. married clergy, many see it as a purely practical issue and will say that celibate priesthood is better because it requires a smaller financial commitment from the parishioners. Some also see the celibate priest as someone for whom priesthood is a calling or vocation, as opposed to a married priest for whom it is a profession, a means to provide for his family.

On the issue of language, children of new immigrants learn English immediately and they will prefer the English language in the church very quickly. They relate to it better, especially as teenagers. I see this happening already, especially if there are no Ukrainian-speaking grandparents nearby.

As soon as immigrant families get on their feet economically, develop friendships and move further away, their inclination to drive to a now distant church declines. So the Church should try its best to engage them now, while their numbers are high. Free coffee hours after liturgies, children's activities, family or crisis counseling for

adults – these and other options may hopefully bind them more closely to that Church in the future.

Need special programs

Svitlana Andrushkiw, librarian, Maplewood, N.J. has been a parishioner at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church in Irvington, N.J. for more than 30 years and a member of its parish council for 10 years.

In order to serve its parishioners and potential parishioners well, the Ukrainian Catholic Church should concentrate on attracting young families, especially with children, to its parishes. The best way to do this is by offering special programs for families, starting with kindergartens or Sunday schools.

With increased numbers of mixed marriages (Ukrainian with non-Ukrainian), the Church should also be sure to offer some English-language liturgies so that both partners can participate in church

services together.

For young people (and not just for young people), churches could organize special programs, such as discussion groups or films on the Eastern Rite or on other spiritual topics. These events have to be promoted and presented in an interesting way in order to make them appealing, because there is so much competition in today's world for the attention of young people. At the same time, we know that there is a hunger for spiritual life out there, otherwise you would not see the burgeoning of various evangelical movements in the U.S. and even in Ukraine.

So much depends on the parish priest. His role is key: he sets the tone and level of expectation in the parish. At the same time it is really important for people who just occasionally come to church to actually join the church as parishioners so that the parish can function normally. It's very hard for the priest to run a parish organization if he can't count on his parishioners. There will have to be close cooperation between the priests and the laity in order to make the Church flourish in the future.

Timeline...

(Continued from page 15)

- April 15 – Ukraine's Ambassador to the U.S. Oleh Shamshur is nominated to become first vice-chair of the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

- April 21 – Yanukovich signs the Kharkiv agreements with Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, in which he extends the lease of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol for 25 years more to 2042 in exchange for reduced natural gas prices of up to \$100 per 1,000 cubic meters. The discount will only benefit Ukrainian industry, economists said.

- April 22 – NATO officials state the Russian Black Sea Fleet is a matter between the Russian and Ukrainian governments to resolve, and won't affect Ukraine's prospects for future membership. EU Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fule says the Kharkiv agreements won't affect Ukraine's Euro-integration efforts.

- April 23 – During his three-day visit to Kyiv, Fule gives the Ukrainian government a list of key, urgent reforms with set deadlines, calling it the “matrix of cooperation” with Ukraine. Reforms on mobility are required within six months for Ukrainians to gain a visa-free regime. About 470 million euros is pledged.

- April 24 – More than 1,500 protesters arrive at the Verkhovna Rada for the opposition's first mass demonstration. Coalition deputies barricade the session hall. The next day, a protest in Lviv draws more than 4,000 demonstrators.

- April 25 – Crimean Ministers Council Chair Vasyl Dzharty says Yanukovich and Medvedev signed an agreement to build a bridge between Kerch and Kuban by 2014.

- April 27 – Confronted by more than 3,000 protesters in a raucous demonstration, Parliament votes to approve the Kharkiv agreements amidst flying eggs, smoke bombs and brawls in the Rada session hall.

- April 30 – The EU submits a document to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) expressing its concern about violence and repression against journalists in Ukraine.

- April 30 – Meeting with Putin in Sochi, Azarov approves plans for intensified economic cooperation, including a possible consortium for the transit and supply of natural gas, joint aviation projects, as well as infrastructure projects such as a new Moscow-Kyiv highway. Putin suggests merging Naftohaz Ukrainy with Gazprom

- April 30 – Learning what the prime ministers discussed, opposition leader

Yulia Tymoshenko states “this isn't uniting efforts based on partnership, but a complete takeover of Ukraine by Russia.”

- May 4 – Putin urges no delays in the complete integration of Ukraine's atomic energy sector with Russia.

- May 9 – On the 65th anniversary of the Bolshevik defeat of Nazi Germany, Russian Presidential Administration Chair Sergei Naryshkin declares “a very wide program of cooperation, literally in all directions” between the two states. The Kharkiv agreements of April 21 were a “serious, landmark moment” in bilateral relations, he says.

- May 12 – Russian Federal Security Service Chair Aleksander Bortnikov announces it will sign a document with the Security Service of Ukraine allowing for Russian military counterintelligence agents to return to posts in Sevastopol, where the Russian Black Sea Fleet is based.

- May 13 – Fuel and Energy Minister Yurii Boiko travels to Moscow to meet with the chair of Gazprom to discuss the possible merger of Gazprom and Naftohaz Ukrainy, the state-owned natural gas supplier and distributor.

- May 14 – Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko announces Ukraine doesn't recognize the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

- May 17 – Medvedev travels to Kyiv for a two-day visit, signing an agreement demarcating the states' common border, gaining Ukraine's participation in the GLONASS satellite system, and ensuring cooperation between the two countries' education and culture ministries, among other agreements.

- May 18 – The European Parliament approves 500 million euros in aid for Ukraine to deal with its financial crisis.

- May 18 – The Verkhovna Rada approves a law allowing foreign soldiers to conduct nine training exercises on Ukrainian territory in 2010, including NATO's Sea Breeze and Rapid Trident.

- May 19 – Ukrainian government officials announce they're not considering membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States or the Collective Security Treaty Organization, both led by the Russian Federation. Azarov says Ukraine will consider membership in the Single Economic Space led by Russia.

- May 27 – Gryshchenko announces the removal of accession to NATO from his ministry's agenda, though plans remain to develop activities.


- June 1 – The parliamentary coalition registers a bill, “The Foundations of Domestic and Foreign Policy,” which excludes NATO integration but calls for joining the EU.

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COMMUNITY CHRONICLE

Boston Ukrainians present seminar on Holodomor at teachers' conference

STURBRIDGE, Mass. – At the Northeast Regional Conference for the Social Studies (NERC), held on March 23 at Sturbridge Host Hotel and Conference Center, Ukrainian activists from the Boston area gave a seminar on the Ukrainian genocide, the Holodomor of 1932-1933.

The Very Rev. Yaroslav Nalysnyk spoke about the religious impact of the Famine-Genocide, attorney Paul Rabchenuk gave a presentation regarding his family's experiences during the Holodomor – he had an uncle who witnessed what was happening – and the legal ramifications of the Holodomor, and Tamara Nary of Harvard University presented the historical background to the events of 1932-1933.

The Northeast Regional Conference Social Studies (NERC) encompasses the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts. There were 20 teachers present at the conference from various states.

Besides hearing the presentation, the teachers were given part of the report issued by the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, a bibliography, a letter from President Barack Obama regarding the Ukrainian Famine, an article from Newsweek and a speech by Rep. Sander Levin before the House of Representative.

Readers who would like a copy of the this handout may send a check for \$3, made payable to the UCCA (Ukrainian Congress Committee of America), which covers the UCCA Boston branch's expens-

es for printing the copies. The request for copies should be sent to: Maria Walzer, 11 Green Valley Road, Medway MA 02053.

Ms. Walzer, an activist of the Boston UCCA, suggested that those who order the information packet make copies for themselves and bring them to the local high school history department, encourage their children to write a history project at school using the materials, and bring the packet to state legislators and ask them to sponsor a bill that stipulates the educational department in their state has to include the Holodomor in the school curriculum.

According to Ms. Walzer, the Ukrainian presenters at the NERC gave out a total of 102 copies of the information packet about the Holodomor to teachers who attended the Holodomor seminar, as well as others they met at the conference. The comments from the teachers were very positive. Ms. Walzer added.

The Ukrainian group has already been invited to apply to make its presentation about the Holodomor at next year's NERC.

In related news, the Boston branch of the UCCA is busy promoting a bill in the Massachusetts House of Representatives: Docket No. 4833, "An act relative to the teaching of the Ukrainian Genocide Holodomor." In the state Senate, the bill is now in the Educational Committee. Ms. Walzer said she encourages those who live in the state to go to their local representative and senator and ask them to sponsor the bill.

Basilian Sisters collecting memories for their centennial

FOX CHASE MANOR – From Philadelphia to New York City, Chicago to Newark, N.J., Hamtramck, Mich., to Chesapeake City, Md., the Sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great have been a major component of numerous lives through schools, orphanages and parishes.

In preparation for their 100th anniversary of ministry in the United States since 1911, the sisters are collecting memories of the many people whose lives are intertwined with the sisters.

"If you, or someone you know, has

memories of time spent with the sisters, photographs, or other mementos – we would not only like to hear from you but would like to tape your memories. Or if you are bashful, and have pictures or old movies (regardless of the format i.e. 16mm, 8 mm. etc), please share them with us for the Centennial DVD," said Sister Dorothy Ann Busowski, OSBM.

Sister Dorothy Ann may be contacted at: 215-379-3998, ext. 35, dabusowski@

(Continued on page 22)



Mykola Yaremko and Sister Ann Laszok, OSBM, videotape former students of the Sisters of St. Basil in Jenkintown, Pa., for the upcoming Basilian centennial documentary.



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Fourth Wave...

(Continued from page 5)

encompass more than half of all Ukrainian speakers and 72 percent of Ukrainian speakers among all immigrants.

Table 4 provides a more detailed analysis of the latest wave of immigrants from Ukraine (here we limit the data to Fourth Wave immigrants, that is, persons born in Ukraine). First we see that the great majority of Ukrainian speakers among 1991-2007 immigrants are Fourth Wave immigrants: 66,600 among all immigrants (Table 3) and 62,400 among Fourth Wave (Table 4).

Second, the percentage Fourth Wave of Ukrainian and Russian speakers has specific dynamics. For immigrants arriving between 1991 and 1995, there were more than twice as many Russian as Ukrainian speakers (62 percent and 28 percent, respectively). For immigrants arriving during 1996-2001, this gap narrows significantly, with 49 percent Russian speakers and 36.5 percent Ukrainian speakers. In the last seven years (2000-2007) the percentage of Ukrainian speakers has surpassed the percentage of Russian speakers, 44 percent to and 41 percent.

The strong relationship between the ethnic composition of the new immigrants and the percentage of Ukrainian and Russian speakers is further illustrated in Graph 1, which shows the yearly progression of the number of Fourth Wave Ukrainian- and Russian-speaking immigrants between 1991 and 2006. Between 1991 and 1997 there were, on average, twice as many Russian- as Ukrainian-speaking immigrants. Between 1998 and 2001 these numbers become roughly equal, and after 2001 the number of Ukrainian-speaking immigrants became consistently higher than the number of Russian-speaking immigrants.

In spite of the very high number of Russian speakers among Fourth Wave of immigrants, with the negative result of a higher percentage of Russian versus Ukrainian speakers among all Ukrainians in the U.S., the large number of Ukrainian speakers in this migration wave has had a very positive effect on the Ukrainian community in the U.S.

Over all, the Fourth Wave more than doubled the number of Ukrainian speakers among all Ukrainians in the U.S. As indicated earlier, in 2006 there were a total of 118,076 Ukrainian speakers, of which 62,426 were of the Fourth Wave. The full impact of this contribution can be better assessed by looking at the age-sex distribution of all

(Continued on page 22)

Table 4.- Fourth Wave Ukrainian Speakers by Period of Immigration, 2006

Indicators	Total	Period of Immigration		
		1991 - 1995	1996-2001	2002 - 2007
Ukrainian Speakers	62,426	15,159	27,734	19,497
% Speakers of total 4th wave:				
% Ukrainian-speakers***	40.2%	30.9%	41.7%	48.9%
% Russian-speakers***	51.6%	63.4%	49.5%	40.3%

***: % calculated on population aged 5 yrs. or more

Graph 1.- Yearly Number of Fourth Wave Immigrants by Language Spoken at Home, 1991-2006: Ukrainian and Russian, 2006

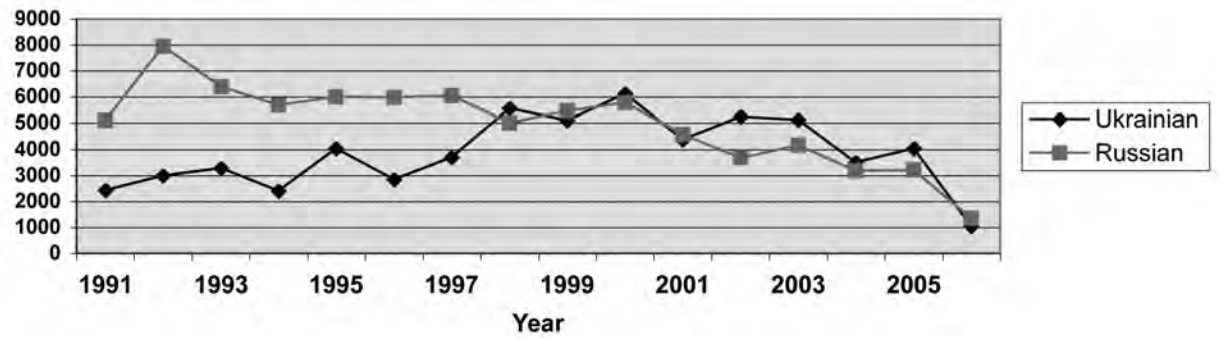


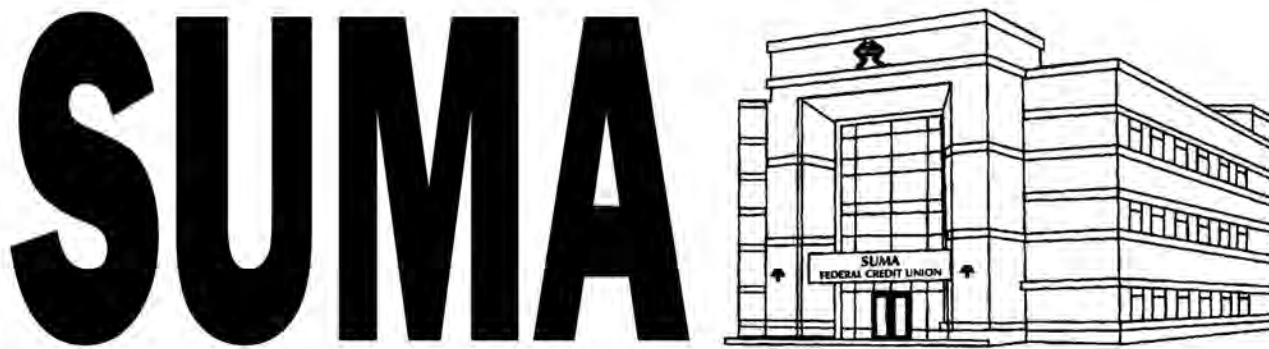
Table 1.- Percent* Persons of Ukrainian Ancestry by Language Spoken at Home: US, 1980 - 2006*****

Language	1980	1990	2000	2006
English	78.0%	81.3%	69.1%	68.5%
Russian	1.7%	2.2%	14.2%	15.2%
Ukrainian	15.9%	13.0%	13.4%	13.4%
Other	4.4%	3.6%	3.3%	2.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* % calculated on population aged 5 years or more

** Persons with first or second Ukrainian ancestry

2006*** Averages of 2005, 2006 and 2007 values



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UKRAINE – SWEDEN

at the crossroads of history (XVII – XVIII centuries)

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Hetman Pylyp Orlyk's
mace (bulava).
Linköping Public Library

The exhibition *Ukraine–Sweden: At the Crossroads of History (XVII–XVIII Centuries)*, without exaggeration, will be the most influential international museum project of Ukraine's first 20 years of independence.

— T. H. Kokhan
Deputy Minister of Culture
and Tourism in Ukraine

Plan a group visit to the Museum to see this extraordinary exhibition. Book now for the summer and fall in order to get your choice of dates.



Young scholars study the decorative cover of Hetman Ivan Mazepa's Gospel

Reserve a guided tour (groups of 10 or more)
\$9 – adults, \$7 – college students (with valid full-time ID) and seniors, \$5 – Museum members, \$3 – children and students through high school.

To make reservations call 212.228.0110 or e-mail edu@ukrainianmuseum.org.

View the exhibition at your own pace during gallery hours. Admission: \$8 adults, \$6 students (with valid full-time ID), \$6 seniors, children under 12 – free, Museum members – free.

This exhibition and the Museum's programs would not be possible without the generosity of sponsors, members, and other benefactors.

Support the Museum by donating today!



The Ukrainian Museum
222 East 6th Street
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T: 212.228.0110 F: 212.228.1947
info@ukrainianmuseum.org
www.ukrainianmuseum.org

Museum hours:
Wednesday – Sunday
11:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m.

UMANA...

(Continued from page 16)

2,500 copies of the easy-to-understand Ukrainian-language version of Luther Travis's "An Instructional Aid on Insulin Dependent Diabetes Mellitus." These books will be distributed to children throughout Ukraine with the help of diabetes centers in Kyiv and Kherson. The children also receive instruction and education on how to live with their diabetes. (Readers may visit the UDP website www.sonic.net/updandy to learn more about this worthwhile undertaking.)

In the virtual global realm, the UMANA Foundation continues to support the Internet-based Ukrainian-language learning

portal (CITKA LIKAPIB e-Zustrich) where Ukrainian physicians anywhere in the world who have access to the Internet conduct grand round-type teaching sessions, with audio and video available to approximate face-to-face learning experiences.

In Ukraine several hospitals and clinics actively participate in the conferences. Thirty of these e-grand rounds sessions, under the capable leadership of Roxolana Horbowyj, M.D., vice-president of the World Federation of Ukrainian Medical Associations, have been completed so far, with the foundation defraying some of the significant costs of this cutting-edge project.

To support these efforts or to learn more about the UMANA Foundation readers can log on to www.umana.org.

Fourth Wave...

(Continued from page 21)

Ukrainian speakers and compare it with respective numbers of non-Ukrainian speakers (Graph 2).

As New Wave immigrants tend to be younger than the general Ukrainian population in the U.S., Ukrainian speakers among them tend to be more concentrated in the younger ages. This has had the effect of adding large numbers of Ukrainian speakers to younger age groups. Among all Ukrainian speaking children age 5-9, close to 50 percent are Fourth Wave immigrants, and these new immigrants make up between 70 and 80 percent of all Ukrainian speakers age 10 to 39.

The massive influx of Ukrainian speakers in these critical ages has great potential for revitalizing the Ukrainian community in the United States. If we consider that among U.S.-born Ukrainians only 4 percent were Ukrainian speakers in 2006, one can safely say that the Fourth Wave saved the Ukrainian diaspora in the U.S. from practically total language assimilation in the not too distant future. Although only a fraction of them have become active in the organized community, tangible effects of this contribu-

tion can be seen in many areas.

New Wave immigrants have strengthened Sunday schools and youth organizations, replenished and energized many Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox parishes, increased the readership of our dying Ukrainian newspapers and started publishing new ones. They have revitalized the cultural life of the community by either joining or creating new choirs, dance groups and music ensembles, as well as contributing to Ukrainian art and literature. Over all, the positive effects of the large influx of Ukrainian speakers compensate by far the negative effects of even larger numbers of Russian speakers.

Thus, the effects of the linguistic Russification of Ukraine are not just something Ukrainians from the U.S. have to deal with when they visit Kyiv, Odesa or Kharkiv. As one of the effects of the Fourth Wave, the linguistic Russification prevalent in Ukraine has also hit home in a big way. It may not be too noticeable because many of these Russian-speaking immigrants are not active in the Ukrainian community for obvious reasons, but it would be unwise to ignore them or reject them. They are part of Ukraine's reality and now, for better or for worse, some of them are part of our reality as well.

A linguistic...

(Continued from page 6)

Now we see the nation-destroying strategy of the Party of Regions of Ukraine in action.

One the one hand, their provocateur deputies, like Vadym Kolesnichenko, yell and scream about discrimination against the Russian language and the closure of Russian schools and "ethnocide" (this is his insane, Orwellian claim that he promotes on a daily basis).

Yet when their sons and daughters go to work in Kyiv, and have to serve us annoying diaspora people who speak that peasant Ukrainian tongue, they're allegedly incapable of speaking it themselves.

You won't find any logic to the linguistic hysteria of the Party of Regions, stirred up on a daily basis in order to harness votes instead of ensuring stability and consolidation in Ukraine.

Its single goal is the supremacy of the Russian language at all costs, whether it requires yelling about discrimination (Scholars estimate that 70 percent of Ukrainians use the Russian language in their daily life, so who's being discrimi-

nated against?) or claiming that you can't speak the Ukrainian language after you've yelled discrimination to ensure that you don't study it in school!

But I didn't want to get into a political discussion with Mr. Omelchenko, nor point out the flaws in his explanation.

He repeated that the incident didn't reflect the type of customer service ProCreditBank seeks to give its clients. My final question was what should diaspora Ukrainians, like myself, do in similar situations?

He said the client has the right to speak with the branch manager. If he or she happens to be "busy at the moment," the client ought to contact the customer support hotline of the business.

In standard neo-Soviet fashion, he asked that our discussion not be published, even though I indicated in my letter of complaint that I am an American journalist and I'll be writing about the incident in my newspaper.

He assured me that the bank's public relations director, Carmen Geil, would contact me instead. She never did.

But then again, I doubt Carmen speaks much Ukrainian.

Basilian Sisters...

(Continued from page 19)

stbasils.com, or 710 Fox Chase Road, Fox Chase Manor, PA 19046.

Alternately, Sister Ann Laszok, OSBM, may be contacted at 412-260-1607 or srannl@aol.com

The Sisters of the Order of St. Basil

the Great are a worldwide religious community. In leading uniquely effective and innovative ministries in education, spiritual direction, evangelization and lay collaboration, they bring the rich traditions and mysteries of the Eastern Church to those they encounter. For more information about the Basilian sisters readers may call 215-379-3998 or visit www.stbasils.com.

OUT AND ABOUT

- July 2-5
Ellenville, NY
Lemko Vatra, Organization for the Defense of Lemko Western Ukraine, Ukrainian American Youth Association resort, 845-647-7230
- July 2-4
Vegreville, AB
Pysanka Festival, Vegreville Cultural Association, Festival Grounds, 780-632-2777 or www.pysankafestival.com
- July 2-4
Colebrook, CT
Independence Day weekend, Bobrivka, www.bobrivka.org or 860-883-1391
- July 9-11
Ellenville, NY
Volleyball tournament, Ukrainian American Youth Association resort, 845-647-7230
- July 16
Ellenville, NY
Western pub night, Ukrainian American Youth Association resort, 845-647-7230
- July 17
Jewett, NY
Concert with Natalia Khoma and Volodymyr Vynnytsky, Grazhda Concert Hall, 518-989-6479 or www.grazhdamusicandart.org
- July 19
Stratford, ON
Music Festival, featuring performance by the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus, Stratford Summer Music Festival, www.stratfordsummermusic.ca
- July 23-24
Ellenville, NY
Seafood pub night, featuring music by Zuki and Mike, Ukrainian American Youth Association resort, 845-647-7230
- July 23-25
Dickinson, ND
Ukrainian Festival, Ukrainian Cultural Institute and Dickinson State University, 701-483-1486 or www.ukrainianculturalinstitute.org
- July 26-30
Jewett, NY
Ukrainian Folk Art Courses, pysanka writing with Sofika Zielyk and embroidery with Lubow Wolynetz, Grazhda Music and Art Center of Greene County, 212-533-6419 or 518-989-6218

Entries in "Out and About" are listed free of charge. 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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- | | |
|---|---|
| June 25-27 – Wedding | Aug 8-21 – Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Dance Academy Camp 2 |
| June 27 - July 4 – Tabir Ptashat 1 | Aug 14-21 – Club Suzy-Q |
| June 28 - July 2 – Exploration Day Camp | Aug 21 – Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Dance Academy 2 Recital |
| July 4-11 – Tabir Ptashat 2 | Aug 22-28 – Joseph's School of Dance |
| July 5-9 – Exploration Day Camp | Aug 30 - Sep 6 – Labor Day week / weekend |
| July 4-17 – Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Dance Academy Workshop | Sept 10-12 – Salzburg Reunion |
| July 16-18 – Ukrainian Cultural Festival | Sept 13-16 – Bayreuth, Berchtesgaden, Regensburg, Karlsfeld, Landshut Reunions |
| July 18-23 – Heritage Camp 1 | Sept 17-19 – KLK Get-Together |
| July 18-24 – Discovery Camp | Sept 20-22 – Mittenwald Reunion |
| July 23-25 – Adoptive Family Weekend | Sept 25 – To be announced |
| July 25-30 – Heritage Camp 2 | Sept 30 - Oct 3 – NEMF Convention |
| July 25-31 – Sitch Camp 1 | Oct 8-10 – Wedding |
| July 25 - August 7 – Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Dance Academy Camp 1 | Oct 15-17 – Wedding |
| Aug 1-7 – Sitch Camp 2 | Oct 22-24 – To be announced |
| Aug 7 – Sitch Camp Closing Banquet; Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Dance Academy Recital 1 | Oct 29-31 – Halloween |
| | Nov 6-7 – USCAK Convention |
| | Nov 12-14 – Plast Orlykiada |

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Friday, July 9,
to Friday, July 30

CHICAGO: The exhibit "Rediscovering Ukrainian Album Cover Art" at the Ukrainian National Museum opens Friday, July 9, at 7 p.m.; it will be on view through July 30. Along with the album covers, archived treasures, never before displayed, will be available for viewing during this

exhibit. LP's will also be for sale. The Ukrainian National Museum, 2249 W. Superior St., is open Thursday through Sunday, 11 a.m.-4 p.m. Admission: adults, \$5; children under 12, free. For driving instructions, visit the museum's website at www.ukrainiannationalmuseum.org. For additional information call 312-421-8020 or e-mail Admin@UkrainianNationalMuseum.org.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

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

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

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

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