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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Unclear if Ukraine's parliamentary elections met international standards

by Zenon Zawada

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV – The outcome of Ukraine's parliamentary elections on October 28 was decided as early as last December, when President Viktor Yanukovich signed legislation to create a new electoral system in which half the candidates are chosen by single-mandate districts and the other half by closed party lists.

It's likely that the Presidential Administration will recruit enough single-mandate national deputies to form a supporting parliamentary coalition.

What wasn't clear was whether the elections would meet international standards, as determined by Western-sponsored election observing organizations. Indeed the leading authorities, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), declined to offer a pass-fail judgment.

Instead, most assessments conformed to the OSCE's reproachful statement on October 29, which stated that election day itself was conducted more or less in line with democratic standards, yet the campaign beforehand and tabulation afterwards fell short.

"Considering abuse of power and the excessive role of money in this election, democratic progress appears to have reversed in Ukraine. This we deeply regret," Walburga Habsburg Douglas, the head of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation, said at an October 29 press conference in Kyiv.

"Certain aspects of the pre-election period constituted a step backwards compared with recent national elections. Voters had a choice between distinct parties, election day was calm and peaceful overall. Voting and counting were assessed mostly positively. Tabulation was assessed negatively, as it lacked transparency," she noted.

All the major Western institutions, including the U.S. government, echoed the OSCE's judgment that the elections as a whole were a "step backwards" for Ukraine in its development as a democratic state. Yet these statements were also careful not to say anything that would cause the Ukrainian government to close the door on integration with the European Union.

The elections became the latest chapter in an ongoing courtship between EU leaders, who are desperate not to let the Ukrainian leadership drift into the orbit of the Moscow-led Eurasian Union, and the

All the major Western institutions, including the U.S. government, said the parliamentary elections as a whole were "a step backwards" for Ukraine in its development as a democratic state.

Yanukovich administration, which is desperate to cling to power after burning most of its political bridges in the last two years.

Western institutions did all they could do in their current relations with the Ukrainian government, said Oleksander



Vitali Klitschko (left) of UDAR and Oleh Tiahnybok of Svoboda. Their parties are the new political forces elected to Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada.



Paliy, an authority on Ukrainian foreign policy and graduate of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy. Moreover, the elections had portions that were salvageable.

"There was nothing to criticize in the proportional [closed list] voting, in which the Central Election Commission recognized the opposition's victory," Mr. Paliy said.

"The elections weren't entirely ruined. There were simply preferences and a dishonest game played by the government on behalf of its candidates and parties. But elections as an institution aren't canceled in Ukraine, as they are in Belarus and Russia. They are preserved in Ukraine, where even pro-government candidates can lose. That's testimony that Ukraine is not a country like Russia or Belarus," he said.

Among the positive moments of the elections cited by observing organizations was the recognition by the Central Election Commission (CEC) recognition that the three pro-Western opposition parties earned 49.9 percent of the closed list voting, as compared with 43 percent for the ruling Party of the Regions of Ukraine and Communist Party of Ukraine.

The CEC also recognized the defeat of pro-government candidates, such as 25-year-old Andrii Illyenko of the Svoboda nationalist party defeating oligarch Halyna Hereha in a Kyiv city district.

Yet these were exceptions to the rule in an election campaign in which its candidates will be most remembered for their egregious abuse of government resources

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Rada elections marred by lack of level playing field, say observers

OSCE

KYIV – Ukraine's parliamentary elections were characterized by a tilted playing field, international observers concluded in a statement released on October 29. This was the result, primarily, of the abuse of administrative resources, as well as a lack of transparency in campaign and party financing, and of balanced media coverage.

Voters had a choice between distinct parties and candidate registration was inclusive, with two notable exceptions, representing a wide variety of political views. The political environment, however, was dominated by powerful economic groups,

to the detriment of the electoral process, the statement said.

"Considering the abuse of power, and the excessive role of money in this election, democratic progress appears to have reversed in Ukraine," said Walburga Habsburg Douglas, the special coordinator who led the short-term election observation mission fielded by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the head of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly delegation. "One should not have to visit a prison to hear from leading political figures in the country," she added.

(Continued on page 11)

FOR THE RECORD: U.S. expresses concern about elections' conduct

The following press statement on the parliamentary elections in Ukraine was delivered on October 29 in Washington by the acting spokesperson for the U.S. State Department, Mark C. Toner.

The United States government is concerned that the conduct of Sunday's parliamentary elections constituted a step backwards from progress made during previous parliamentary elections and the 2010 presidential election, elections that had marked important steps forward for Ukraine's democracy.

We share the concerns cited in today's preliminary report from observation missions from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (OSCE) Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. These include the use of government resources to favor ruling party candidates, interference with media access and harassment of opposition

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ANALYSIS

Russia is economic lifeline and cultural magnet for Belarus

by Grigory Ioffe
Eurasia Daily Monitor

To Belarus, Russia is not just the "meaningful other." It provides an existential lifeline to Belarus as a de facto custodian of Belarus's socio-economic model and a cultural magnet of sorts. It was only after Russia dropped the price of natural gas sold to Belarus to \$165 per 1,000 cubic meters and provided a critical loan (officially through the Eurasian Economic Community) that Belarus's financial crisis of 2011 was alleviated.

By different accounts, the discounts on oil and gas and preferential treatment of some Belarusian exports to Russia are worth from 10 to 15 percent of Belarus's GDP. Due to the cancellation of export duties on Russian oil and the ensuing steep growth in Belarus's export of solvents and lubricants, from January to July, Belarus enjoyed a net excess of exports over imports for the first time in seven years. After Russia launched an investigation motivated by suspicion that Belarus re-exports Russia's crude oil disguised as solvents and thus dodges paying duties to the Russian treasury, Belarus's exports suddenly sagged. So in August 2012, imports (\$3.952 billion) again exceeded exports (\$3.543 billion) (http://gtk.gov.by/ru/stats/itogi_vnesh_torgovli2012/yanv_avgust12).

Nevertheless, independent experts probed by the Belarusian Service of Radio Liberty did not overdramatize the situation. According to Dmitry Kruk from the Minsk-based IPM Research Center, the reversal of the positive balance of international trade is temporary and is part of a political and business cycle, while the current economic situation is far healthier than that on the eve of the 2011 crisis.

According to Alexei Pikulik, the director of the Minsk-based Belarusian Institute for Strategic Studies, which is funded by Western sponsors, the Belarusian economic model, emphasizing a high level of social subsidies and low income disparity, still has some potential if only because there are still plenty of lucrative assets that Belarus can sell. Also, the export of solvents was not just a Belarusian affair – certain Russian businesses profited from it as well, and there exist many more mutually beneficial schemes of that kind that can still be used.

At the same time, however, a lasting trend whereby popular support for President Alyaksandr Lukashenka closely correlates with the growth of personal income has been terminated. Since the beginning of 2012, the U.S. dollar value of the average monthly wage in Belarus increased by 38 percent, but no commensurate growth in Mr. Lukashenka's rating has been recorded. Yet, according to Yevgenii Preigerman from the Minsk-based Liberal Club, no street protests are to be expected in the foreseeable future (<http://www.svaboda.org/content/article/24732827.html>).

Some insights on the aforementioned Belarusian economic model can be gained from an interview Nikolay Snopkov, Belarus's minister of economics, gave to the independent news portal Tut.by. According to Snopkov, all economic models in today's world are mixed and contain a dose of central planning. Minister Snopkov pays special attention to Singapore's development over the course of 30 years and

sees it as essentially centrally planned. Moreover, he believes that Belarus's present-day economic model takes its guidance from the seminal work of Alfred Mueller-Armack (1901-1978) who in 1946 coined the term "social market system" and who made critical contributions to Germany's economic model while working as an aide to Ludwig Erhard, Germany's minister of economics and subsequently Federal Chancellor (1963-1966).

Mr. Snopkov believes production costs in Belarus can still be significantly lowered. He also announced the introduction of incentives for attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) to Belarus. Specifically, bonuses will be paid to regional administrators amounting to 0.1 percent of the total FDI allocated to their regions. Finally, throughout the first seven months of 2012, there were 7 percent more registered small and medium-sized businesses in Belarus than during the first seven months of 2011 (<http://news.tut.by/economics/313827.html>).

According to Andrei Souzdaltsev, a Russian economist expelled from Belarus in 2006, the opinion that Russia is keenly interested in buying up Belarus's enterprises is a figment of the Belarusian opposition's imagination. Nor is Russia particularly interested in Belarus's exports of dairy products, sugar or meat. Belarus receives huge Russian subsidies for purely geopolitical reasons. In particular, Moscow wants to contain the further extension of the European Union's sphere of influence, and this desire intensified after Russia's 2008 war with Georgia. That the West gained a foothold in the South Caucasus implied to Moscow that Russia was "squeezed out to the northeastern corner of Eurasia and would eventually be left one-one-one with China." Furthermore, Moscow decided that the western margin of Russia's own hinterland should be given special care.

As a result, previous rhetoric about Russia switching to market principles in its relations with Belarus (2006-2010) abruptly gave way to even larger subsidies to Belarus than those administered prior to 2006. According to Mr. Souzdaltsev, Russia is interested in the retention of Belarus's sovereignty as "a buffer between Moscow and NATO" (http://naviny.by/rubrics/politic/2012/10/14/ic_articles_112_179559/).

Aside from providing an economic lifeline to Belarus, Russia appears to be its cultural magnet. According to Yuri Drakakhrust, a Belarusian analyst based in Prague, a striking difference between the recent parliamentary elections in Belarus and in Georgia is due to the fact that these countries obtained their independence in a different way. "Georgia fought for its independence. We remember sapper shovels [with which the police cracked down on the 1989 rally in Tbilisi] and thousands demonstrating in the streets. As for Belarus, it did not do a thing to win independence. And so we are now paying for the fact that independence and democracy were bestowed on Belarusians as freebies."

According to Mr. Drakakhrust, Belarus's so-called political backwardness goes back to cultural and mental closeness between Belarus and its great eastern neighbor. It is as if there is a shared political culture of the three East Slavic countries – Belarus, Ukraine and Russia – that Mr. Drakakhrust terms a shared "political matrix." He notes,

(Continued on page 3)

NEWSBRIEFS

Lytvyn on electoral legislation

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn said he believes that Ukraine's electoral legislation needs to be improved. He expressed this opinion on October 25, during a meeting with the head of Canada's mission to monitor the parliamentary elections in Ukraine, Raynell Andreychuk. Mr. Lytvyn noted that the current election law is the result of a compromise, and he expressed his view that it needs to be improved in terms of increasing the level of national deputies' responsibility to the electorate. "The electoral system should be targeted at one goal: to have a responsible deputy who would feel the needs of people and the need to serve them," he said. He said such changes should be considered by the next Parliament. In turn, Sen. Andreychuk reported that the mission includes 400 people and that a relevant report would be prepared, as well as recommendations on improvement of the electoral process. Both Mr. Lytvyn and Sen. Andreychuk noted the importance of politicians taking into account the results of the elections, which are the expression of the people's will, as well as the need for voters to understand that every vote is important. (Ukrinform)

Cabinet will be transformed

KYIV – The chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Party of Regions of Ukraine (PRU), Oleksander Yefremov, on October 25 advised against rushing to make forecasts on the formation of the next government, although there will be changes in it. Speaking during a press conference at the official press center of the PRU, he said, "The fact that the Cabinet will be transformed is indisputable. However, it will be possible to say what kind of a format it will take only after a majority is formed in Parliament." Mr. Yefremov emphasized that all the questions of rotations in the government, and those concerning the future Verkhovna Rada chairman will be solved in the framework of the next convocation of the Parliament. The PRU faction leader said the Rada chairman

must represent his party. Answering a question about the forces with which the Party of Regions will cooperate in the next Parliament, Mr. Yefremov said, "We exclude the possibility of cooperation only with parties of extremely radical and nationalistic orientation." (Ukrinform)

Melnichenko detained at Boryspil

KYIV – Officers with the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) detained former State Guard Maj. Mykola Melnychenko at Kyiv's Boryspil International Airport on October 24. The SBU press office reported: "On October 24 officers with the Security Service of Ukraine and the State Border Guard Service, by order of the Shevchenkivsky District Court of Kyiv, detained at the Boryspil International Airport the internationally wanted citizen of Ukraine Mykola Melnychenko." Mr. Melnychenko is accused of abuse of office, divulging state secrets and creating artificial prosecution evidence. After he was detained, Mr. Melnychenko was sent to the Main Administration for Special Cases of the Procurator General's Office, where he was questioned by investigators. It was on November 28, 2000, that "Tapegate" flared up in Ukraine over recordings allegedly made by Mr. Melnychenko in the office of President Leonid Kuchma. Mr. Melnychenko was prosecuted and declared wanted on September 23, 2011. The Shevchenkivsky District Court of Kyiv ordered his arrest. On August 3 of this year Mr. Melnychenko was arrested in Italy on the basis of an Interpol warrant. On August 14, the Court of Appeal of Naples released him from custody. Mr. Melnychenko most recently had been staying in the U.S. (Ukrinform)

One in 10 of Kyiv was ready to sell vote

KYIV – In Kyiv, many more people than in other parts of Ukraine, said they were ready to vote in the parliamentary elections for a candidate motivating them with money: in fact, every 10th resident of Kyiv was ready to vote in return for a bribe.

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Whistleblower's return on eve of elections sparks debate in Ukraine

by Dmytro Shurkhalo
and Robert Coalson
RFE/RL

KYIV – For over a year the Ukrainian government has been trying to get its hands on former presidential bodyguard Mykola Melnychenko, who is wanted on charges of revealing state secrets, falsifying documents and abuse of his position.

But on October 24, the enigmatic intriguer appeared at Kyiv's international airport, where he was promptly taken into custody and whisked away.

Mr. Melnychenko's lawyer, Mykola Nedilko, who was at the airport when Mr. Melnychenko arrived in Ukraine, was surprised by the arrest and coy about his client's reasons for returning home.

"The goal of his visit, I think, Mykola Melnychenko will announce himself. I expected that he would be detained, but not right away," Mr. Nedilko said. "In the warrant itself, the court sanctioned the arrest of Mykola Melnychenko and, also, noted that within 48 hours of his arrest, he will be brought to court for a ruling on whether he will be kept in custody or released."

There is no simple explanation for what Mr. Melnychenko might have been up to, showing up in Kyiv just days before Ukraine's October 28 parliamentary elections. After all, having been granted political asylum in the United States in 2001, he seemed to be safely beyond Kyiv's reach. In

August, he was detained on an Interpol warrant in Naples, Italy, but released days later.

Kuchma tapes

Mr. Melnychenko became a household name in Ukraine in 2000 when it was revealed that he had secretly recorded hundreds of hours of conversations in the office of President Leonid Kuchma. Among other things, the profanity-laced tapes seemed to implicate Mr. Kuchma and senior officials in the 2000 kidnapping and killing of independent journalist Heorhii Gongadze and in the illegal sale of a Kolchuha radar system to Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein.

Ever since the so-called cassette scandal broke, Mr. Melnychenko and his tapes have hung over Ukrainian politics like a sword of Damocles. What other voices might emerge from the past to scuttle political careers in the present?

In April, Mr. Melnychenko claimed to have met in Paris with Ukrainian officials and to have handed over to them material implicating "a prominent Ukrainian politician" in the Gongadze killing. Media reports later focused attention on former Parliament Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn, who was an aide to President Kuchma from 1994 until 1999 and head of the presidential administration from November 1999 until 2002.

In August, Mr. Melnychenko said he had

tapes that implicate former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko in the 1996 killing of Donetsk businessman and Parliament Deputy Yevhen Shcherban. Political observers in Ukraine have speculated that the government of President Viktor Yanukovich intends to bring new and more serious charges against Ms. Tymoshenko – who is already serving a seven-year prison term for abuse of office – following this weekend's elections.

Ms. Tymoshenko's supporters have rejected Mr. Melnychenko's accusations, saying he previously offered them compromising information about Prime Minister Mykola Azarov in exchange for a high place on the party list of Ms. Tymoshenko's Batkivshchyna party.

Why is he in Kyiv?

Hennadii Moskal, vice chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Organized Crime and Corruption, told RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service that it would be difficult for the government to use any Melnychenko tapes in its prosecution of Ms. Tymoshenko.

"The Constitutional Court has already definitely ruled that any recordings that are obtained illegally are compromised and cannot be submitted as evidence in a criminal case," Mr. Moskal explained.

Nonetheless, the government – which is under heavy pressure from the European Union and others to demonstrate that its

prosecution of Ms. Tymoshenko and other former officials is not politically motivated – would certainly be interested in hearing what Mr. Melnychenko has to say on this matter. This has prompted speculation that he cut some sort of deal with the authorities.

But why then was he arrested?

Parliament Deputy Oleh Liashko, head of the Radical Party, claims Mr. Melnychenko was arrested because his girlfriend, Natalia Rozynskaya, a well-known television journalist, is running for a single-mandate seat in Parliament from the Radical Party.

Mr. Liashko posted on his Facebook page: "Bandits in power! Know that we are not afraid of you and we will not be broken."

Other observers are convinced that Mr. Melnychenko is simply too much of a loose cannon for the authorities to risk having him at large in the country in the days before the crucial parliamentary vote.

Written by Robert Coalson in Prague, based on reporting by Dmytro Shurkhalo in Kyiv.

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Dnipropetrovsk unveils large Jewish center, Holocaust museum

RFE/RL Ukrainian Service

DNIPROPETROVSK, Ukraine – A large Jewish cultural center with a Holocaust museum has opened in Ukraine's eastern city of Dnipropetrovsk.

The museum, which was scheduled to open to the public over the weekend of October 20-21, is a complex of seven buildings arranged in the shape of a menorah, the traditional Jewish candleholder. Named the Menorah Center, it houses thousands of artifacts plus a community center, hotel, kosher restaurant and art galleries.

The museum occupies almost 3,000 square meters in the 50,000-square-meter Menorah Center.

The complex hosts an Institute for Jewish Culture in Ukraine and a gallery that features photographs of 40 major synagogues in Dnipropetrovsk before the Nazi occupation and video footage about the Holocaust.

The opening ceremony was attended by Jewish leaders from Ukraine, Russia and

other former Soviet republics, officials from Israel, and the president of the Jewish Communities of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Levi Levayev.

Yuli Edelstein, Israel's minister of public diplomacy and Diaspora affairs, praised the local authorities and the Jewish community for reviving Jewish heritage and culture in Dnipropetrovsk. He expressed hope that the new Jewish center will serve the local Jewish community, its children and its future.

"The real achievement will be when we get here in a year from now, in two years from now, and we will see this place full of kids, full of different Jewish activities, full of different organizations working here," Mr. Edelstein said. "I think that this will be the real answer to what Nazis and Communists tried to do to Jewish communities in the [sic] Ukraine and in the former Soviet Union."

Rabbi Levi Yitzchok Matusof of the Brussels-based European Jewish Public Affairs group was also present at the ceremony. He said that Jewish centers in Ukraine would help Jewish communities to

fully integrate into European society.

"When there is a center like such in Dnipropetrovsk and also in other places in Ukraine where there are striving Jewish communities in terms of buildings and spaces," he said, "people feel that there is a place where they could come, there is someone they could talk to, there is a meal they could share, there is a place where they could send their children to learn, to be educated better, to have a proper Jewish life and at the same time living integrated fully in the society with a European perspective."

Beth Moskowitz from Boston's Jewish Community Relations Council called the Jewish center's opening in Dnipropetrovsk a revival of Jewish life in the city.

"We all thought that there would be no Jews here today in 2012," she said. "And to see the amount of Jews that actually take part in the Menorah Center and in the synagogue, in the Golden Rose Synagogue, the activities here – it's hard to believe. I actually think this is the center for Jewish community and the center for thriving and

there has been an incredible revival."

At least 12,000 Jews from Dnipropetrovsk were killed by the Nazis in 1941.

The Jewish cultural center in Dnipropetrovsk was initiated and financially supported by local businessmen Henadiy Boholyubov, a banking magnate whose net worth is estimated by Forbes at \$2.8 billion, and his partner and fellow billionaire Ihor Kolomoysky.

Some sources put the cost of the building during the time of its construction at \$60 million. That figure could not be independently confirmed.

Reported by RFE/RL Ukrainian Service correspondent Yulia Rastybaska. Written by Charles Recknagel in Prague.

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Russia is economic...

(Continued from page 2)

"Whenever they [Belarus, Ukraine or Russia] try to create some democratic structure, they end up with some form of authoritarianism... There are no good and bad peoples. But in some countries, no prerequisites have matured for consolidated democracy" (<http://www.svobodanews.ru/content/transcript/24734628.html>).

To Mr. Drakakhrust, this situation is due to a deficiency of grassroots self-organization. If a ditch formed in front of a house, Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians would fail to level it collectively; rather they

would appeal to the authorities to fix it. Building a national party from the ground up is much like leveling a ditch. Both efforts require mechanisms of self-organization that are available in some national communities but are missing elsewhere. As a result, whereas in Georgia there are several centers of power that preclude omnipotence of any one of them, in Belarus such alternative centers are missing (<http://www.svobodanews.ru/content/transcript/24734628.html>).

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U.S. expresses...

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candidates. While election day was peaceful overall and observed by a large number of domestic and international observers, we are troubled by allegations of fraud and falsification in the voting process and tabulation, by the disparity between preliminary results from the Central Election Commission and parallel vote tabulations, and by the Central Election Commission's decision not to release precinct results. We also reiterate our deep concern that the politically moti-

vated convictions of opposition leaders, including of former Prime Minister [Yulia] Tymoshenko, prevented them from standing in these elections. We again call on the government to put an immediate end to the selective prosecution of political opponents.

The United States will continue to support the Ukrainian people's aspirations for an independent, prosperous and democratic Ukraine. We regret that flawed parliamentary elections do not advance Ukraine toward this goal, but we remain committed to working with Ukraine to improve democratic institutions, strengthen the rule of law and advance essential economic reforms.

Canadian mission: 'significant shortcomings' in Ukraine's parliamentary elections

KYIV – The Canadian election observation mission on October 29 presented its preliminary report on its chief findings upon the closing of polls in Ukraine's parliamentary elections.

Presenting the interim report, the head of mission, Sen. Raynell Andreychuk, noted that Mission Canada observers were still in the field observing the important tabulation process and that sufficient information was not yet available to make definitive pronouncements on yesterday's vote.

"Based on observations to date, we can report that the execution of the October 28 election did see some irregularities in a number of areas which undermine a fully fair election. These irregularities, in and of themselves, do not necessarily impede a free and fair democratic expression of the will of the Ukrainian people," said Sen. Andreychuk. "However, the environment in which these elections were held underscores the fact that election day is but one important piece of a larger process that includes legal and structural factors equally

important to electoral fairness."

"A cumulative effect of multiple factors in the broader electoral process leads our mission to preliminarily conclude that Ukraine's parliamentary elections fell short of meeting international standards in some significant respects that must be noted and should be remedied," she continued.

Mission Canada's preliminary report identified a number of serious shortcomings in the Ukrainian electoral environment, including:

- the imprisonment of leading opposition figures and potential electoral challengers;
- structural advantages for the governing party;
- uneven and unfair application of aspects of electoral law;
- lack of effective recourse and appeal for perceived injustices and protection of electoral rights;
- questionable practices in the delineation of electoral districts;
- use of administrative resources to assist the governing party;

- insufficient financial reporting requirements to allow voters and civil society groups to follow the flow of money backing campaigns;
- insufficient transparency in the election administration across levels;
- inequitable access to representation on district and precinct electoral commissions;
- a troubling degree of recrimination against, and harassment of, opposition candidates;
- a troubling backslide in media freedom, coupled with increasing media concentration and media alliances with political parties; and
- failure to bring electoral offenders to justice.

Mission Canada deployed 422 short-term observers to every oblast and region in Ukraine to monitor the parliamentary elections. Sixty-five long-term observers had been deployed for three months, evaluating the context of the election, including the organization of electoral commissions,

electoral law, freedom of press, and other factors that contribute to an open and transparent vote.

The mission's objective was to observe and report on whether the election result genuinely reflects the democratic expression of the voters of Ukraine. The Canadian observers sought to observe, record and report, while in no way interfering or intervening in any electoral processes.

A final report will be issued, including recommendations for the strengthening of the broader electoral framework, as well as civil society and a freer media.

Mission Canada was undertaken with the financial support of the government of Canada provided through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). The project was implemented by CANADEM, a non-government organization.

The full text of the mission's preliminary report can be found at www.canadem-missions.ca/ukraine.

FOR THE RECORD

Preliminary statement by UWC International Election Observation Mission

The statement below was released in Kyiv on October 29, a day after Ukraine held its parliamentary elections.

The Ukrainian World Congress (UWC) is the largest non-government funded international election observation mission monitoring Ukraine's parliamentary elections of October 28, 2012. The mission fielded over 250 observers from 20 countries (including observers from the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, a UWC member organization). The purpose of the mission is to assess both the pre-election environment and the parliamentary elections.

Based on the assessment of the long-term observation mission, which began its activities in early July 2012, the UWC decided to deploy a large short-term election observation mission to every region of Ukraine and several of Ukraine's diplomatic missions around the world.

The mission's conclusions are based upon direct observations by its long-term observer mission and meetings held with officials from state institutions, the election administration, as well as representatives of political parties, media, civil society and the international community.

During the election campaign, the mission produced six reports on the "Gerrymandering of Electoral Districts," "Media Freedom (pre-campaign) in Lead-up to Official Start of Campaign," "Election Financing," "Media Freedom II (campaign)," "Central Electoral Commission" and "Conduct of the Election Campaign."

The mission has analyzed both the campaign and the elections in light of Ukraine's international commitments to democracy, the rule of law, freedom of speech, and fair and free elections.

To properly examine whether the elections demonstrate the will of the Ukrainian

people, the mission examined the entire election process in the context of key international standards. These included universal and equal suffrage, a sound legal framework, a level playing field for all contestants in the campaign, impartial and transparent election administration, an election process free of pressure and coercion, impartial and transparent election administration, independent media and balanced coverage, ability to remedy violations of electoral rights, and a voting process that is free of manipulation.

Ukraine continues to hold elections for the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) every five years on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot. Ukraine's voters' list has been overhauled in an attempt to make it both tamper proof and up-to-date. The election campaign did contain vigorous expressions of competing views on major issues by all parties. Although there were substantial impediments faced by the opposition, all parties held meetings, advertised their views and had varying degrees of access to the press.

There were nevertheless serious flaws in the way that the election campaign was conducted. These flaws have clearly affected the electoral vote and, thus, may have an impact on the relative representation of the major political parties in Parliament.

The imprisonment of a number of the principal opposition leaders – in particular the United Opposition Party "Vseukrayinske Obiednannia Batkivschyna" leaders Yulia Tymoshenko and Yuriy Lutsenko, which have been condemned by international jurists, human rights organizations and democratic governments as politically motivated – casts from the outset severe doubt on whether the elections could have been considered to be free and fair.

A worrisome trend has been the decline

in access to media coverage in Ukraine that has accelerated over the course of the election campaign. As the government and its supporters control most media outlets in Ukraine, election coverage has been largely in favor of the government and pro-government political forces. Political advertisements disguised as regular articles and broadcasts have been placed by several political parties and have constituted a major part of Ukrainian media content.

Many of the few remaining independent media channels have faced significant state-sanctioned pressure from tax and regulatory authorities. Only after pressure from the Ukrainian and international communities, the government pulled-back in one of the most prominent cases of harassment, which involved the television station TVi. Domestic and international pressure has also stopped the Ukrainian Parliament from adopting a law seeking to criminalize libel. Local journalists have reported a growing number of harassment and assault cases. Such a situation is incompatible with the free expression of all points of view involved in democratic elections.

The lack of transparency in the source of funds for the campaign, and of effective control of expenditures, the employment of government manpower and financial resources, and the offer of money by many parties and candidates as inducements to influence voters are not in accordance with international standards in the area of campaign finance.

The independence and impartiality of the Central Electoral Commission (CEC), which are central to the credibility of the election results, are under question on issues of:

- the delimitation of the boundaries of the constituencies,
- the lack of openness and transparency in many of the CEC's decisions, and
- an imbalance in the representation of the principal political parties in the District Electoral Commissions (DECs) and the Precinct Electoral Commissions (PECs).

On election day, approximately 250 UWC short-term election observers (UWC STOs) monitored the elections in 12 oblasts of Ukraine including Cherkasy, Chernivtsi, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kharkiv, Kyiv, Lviv, Odesa, Poltava, Sumy, Zaporizhia and the Crimean Autonomous Republic. UWC STOs were

also present at many Ukrainian diplomatic missions throughout the world.

UWC STOs visited polling stations, including, among others, prisons, hospitals, schools and other institutions of higher learning; and local and district elections commissions, varying the length of stay at each site as necessary.

In monitoring the election process and the vote tabulation, UWC STOs reported several serious violations, such as duplicate ballot boxes, a great surplus of ballots in relation to the number of registered voters at certain polling stations and a deficiency of ballots at other polling stations. In addition, significant restrictions on the ability of UWC STOs to effectively observe voting and vote counting were noted at certain polling stations. In certain circumstances, election commissioners refused to provide copies of election protocols to UWC STOs.

UWC STOs also noted serious organizational deficiencies, such as late opening of polling stations, lack of voter privacy, insufficient number of protocols for reporting purposes and ineffective video monitoring systems.

These violations and deficiencies undoubtedly affected the electoral results; however, it is difficult at this time to quantify their impact. Notwithstanding the above, the majority of the voting public appears to have been able to exercise their voting rights at the polling stations on the day of the elections.

In the view of the mission's long and short term observation findings, the 2012 parliamentary elections in Ukraine have not met all international standards for the conduct of democratic elections.

This preliminary statement is delivered prior to the completion of counting and tabulation, the announcement of preliminary and final results, and adjudication of possible complaints and appeals. The mission will publish a comprehensive final report, offering recommendations for potential improvements after completion of the process. The Ukrainian World Congress expresses gratitude to the Ukrainian people for their hospitality during the work of the international election observation mission.

Tamara Olexy, Paul Grod
Co-Heads of Mission

Derek Fraser
Chief Observer

ABOUT THIS ISSUE: A special hurricane edition

As Hurricane Sandy battered the East Coast, The Ukrainian Weekly was among those affected by the unprecedented storm. Our editorial offices were closed Monday and Tuesday, October 29-30, due to dangerous conditions and widespread power outages. On Wednesday, October 31, we had partial power, allowing us to work on our computers, but without Internet access or phone service. As of our press deadline late Thursday, November 1, we still did not have Internet or phone service. As a result, this issue is an abbreviated 16-page edition released under difficult circumstances. We hope to be back online next week.

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

“A step backwards”

Ukraine's 2012 parliamentary elections – in which 36 million citizens were registered to vote – were held on October 28, with 225 national deputies being elected in first-past-the-post single-mandate districts and the same number being voted in based on proportional representation for seats elected according to party lists.

Already before election day, observers and analysts pointed to misuse of administrative resources, procedural irregularities, “technical” candidates, the lack of a level playing field, vote-buying, plus violent incidents involving candidates and their representatives, the electorate, election observers and journalists. And then there was the salient fact that two major opposition leaders were sitting in jail after having been convicted and sentenced following trials that were deemed to be politically motivated. Clearly, the falsifications and fraud had begun before the voting started.

Then, on the day after the vote, Western observers began to offer their assessments.

The U.S. Department of State issued a press statement noting that “the conduct of Sunday's parliamentary elections constituted a step backwards from progress made during previous parliamentary elections and the 2010 presidential election, elections that had marked important steps forward for Ukraine's democracy.” Similar statements were made by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and other international monitors.

The Ukrainian World Congress issued a statement on October 30 in which it cited its concern “about incoming reports from its short-term observers of election law violations during the vote tabulation process at District Election Commissions (DECs).” The UWC mission issued a call to all international observers to continue the monitoring of the Ukrainian parliamentary elections, and return to DECs where vote tabulations continued. “The systemically slow tabulation of Precinct Election Commission protocols at the DECs may result in falsifications and affect the will of the Ukrainian electorate,” the UWC underscored.

Mission Canada said it “observed irregularities – ranging from open vote buying to voter intimidation, to proxy voting to disappearing-ink pens being left in polling booths. Irregularities in mobile voting were also observed, as were breeches of rules prohibiting campaigning on election day.” On the plus side, Mission Canada noted: “...the establishment of a centralized permanent voter registry appears to have been a success, ...civil society groups have been able to organize effectively and to mobilize significant domestic scrutiny of the election process, ...the field of candidates and parties is certainly pluralistic.”

The election also marked the rise of new political forces: Vitali Klitschko's new party, UDAR (Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform), which is strongly pro-Western, won some 14 percent of the vote according to preliminary results in the party list voting; the nationalist party Svoboda, which has been on the scene for a number of years, got about 10 percent support – well past the 5 percent threshold needed to be in Parliament – for the first time giving it seats in the Verkhovna Rada. Other parties that made it into the new Rada were the ruling Party of Regions of Ukraine (30 percent), Batkivshchyna (25 percent) and the Communist Party (13 percent). (N.B.: The reported percentages of voter support for these parties varied widely among various sources, and the official vote count is far from complete.)

Noted analyst Taras Kuzio provided a dose of reality when he noted in his blog on the Jamestown Foundation site: “If the 2004 full proportional election law had remained in place, the combined opposition... would have been in a position to establish a parliamentary majority – as they did in 2006 and 2007.”

As of now, we await the final voting results, especially from the single-mandate districts. Only then will be able to comment with any certainty on the composition of this new Verkhovna Rada – a Parliament that will determine Ukraine's course: eastward, westward or nowhere.

Nov.
8
2011

Turning the pages back...

Last year, on November 8, 2011, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev turned on the tap in Lubmin, Germany, that opened flow of gas at the western end of the Nord Stream pipeline, that links Western Europe directly with the Siberian natural gas reserves. The pipeline, which is a joint venture between Gazprom, German firms BASF

and EON, the Dutch company Gasunie and GDF Suez of France, leaves Russia at the port city of Vyborg.

The prime ministers of France and the Netherlands, respectively, Francois Fillon and Mark Rutte, and European Union Energy Commissioner Guenther Oettinger also attended the ceremony, underlining the political importance of the new energy link meant to strengthen the security of natural-gas supplies.

The \$10 billion, 1,224-kilometer pipeline's main goal is to lessen Moscow's reliance on gas transit countries like Ukraine and Belarus. The Nord Stream pipeline is the longest undersea pipeline in the world, surpassing by about 60 kilometers the Langeled pipeline, which carries natural gas from northern Norway to the United Kingdom. At full operating capacity, the pipelines will carry 55 billion cubic meters of natural gas a year into the European grid.

In 2011 approximately one-quarter of the natural gas consumed in the European Union was supplied by Russia, and 80 percent of Russian natural gas supplies to the EU passed through Ukraine.

Disputes between Naftohaz Ukrainy and Russia's Gazprom over natural gas supplies, prices and debts have disrupted supplies to the EU in the past. Poland and the Baltic states have also been bypassed as transit countries, which led to criticism from those countries since the project was agreed upon in 2005, even though the EU has supported the pipeline.

(Continued on page 13)

March of Remembrance, ecumenical service scheduled 80th anniversary commemoration of Holodomor begins

NEW YORK – This autumn, Ukrainians throughout the world will begin a yearlong commemoration of the 80th anniversary of Ukraine's Genocide of 1932-1933, when up to 10 million innocent victims were starved to death due to a deliberate Soviet policy designed to crush the nationally conscious Ukrainian peasantry.

Two relevant factors make the 80th anniversary a unique opportunity to commemorate this event. First, documents previously held secret, and since declassified and released, relate the genocidal nature of the Famine; second, survivors and eyewitnesses who can provide a human-interest aspect to this story of the Famine are still alive and prepared to tell their stories.

On Saturday, November 17, thousands of Ukrainian Americans will march in New York's borough of Manhattan under banners proclaiming “Ukraine Remembers – The World Recognizes” and “Holodomor – Genocide in Ukraine: 1932-1933,” thus commencing a yearlong tribute to the victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933.

The March of Remembrance will begin at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church promptly at 10:30 a.m. and conclude at St. Patrick's Cathedral, where a solemn ecumenical requiem service will follow at 1 p.m. Previous Marches of Remembrance have been held in New York and other cities in the United States to raise awareness of the Ukrainian Holodomor within the American society.

Throughout the procession route, participants in the March of Remembrance will distribute brochures, which provide a brief overview and history of the Ukrainian Genocide of 1932-1933. Communities participating in the March of Remembrance are requested to bring signs and placards promoting recognition of the Ukrainian Holodomor. The purpose of the march is to promote knowledge of the Holodomor and to share this knowledge with others.

“During the March of Remembrance, we will remember the millions who died, and vow to do whatever we can to prevent such an atrocity from ever happening again. It is the first event in an effort to tell the story of the Ukrainians who perished during the Genocide of 1932-1933,” stated Tamara Olexy, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA).

Invited speakers to the memorial service inside St. Patrick's Cathedral include representatives from the United Nations, as well as U.S. and Ukrainian government

officials. The hierarchy and clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches will concelebrate the solemn requiem service, while the Dumka Chorus of New York will sing the responses.

Michael Sawkiw Jr., chairman of the U.S. Committee for Ukrainian Holodomor-Genocide Awareness 1932-1933, pointed to plans for “conferences and exhibits, and developing curricula for high schools and colleges to educate the world about the Holodomor, which are being proposed throughout the 80th commemorative year.”

“We also hope to dedicate a memorial in 2013 to the innocent victims of the Ukrainian Genocide of 1932-1933 – on federal land in Washington, D.C.,” he added.

March of Remembrance

Where to assemble: On Seventh Street in front of St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church (between Second and Third avenues). The street will be closed to traffic. If you're being dropped off, use the adjacent avenues. Buses should have this sign posted in the window: Ukrainian Genocide March. After drop-off, buses may pick up their passengers at St. Patrick's Cathedral. If you're using public transportation (recommended), take the No. 6 train to Astor Place or the R or W to Eighth Street/Broadway. Bus routes: M15 (closest), M101, M102, M103, M1, M2, M3, M8.

When to be there: No later than 10 a.m., as the march begins promptly at 10:30 a.m.

What to wear: Traditional Ukrainian embroidered shirts and blouses may be worn with clothing that is appropriate for this somber occasion. Members of Ukrainian youth organizations are asked to wear Ukrainian embroidered shirts and blouses as well.

What to expect: The march will proceed north along Third Avenue to 51st Street, and then turn west to Fifth Avenue, the location of St. Patrick's Cathedral. A solemn requiem service will be held at the cathedral at 1-2 p.m.

If you can't walk that far: You can still take part in the march. Assemble at the Ukrainian Mission to the United Nations (220 E. 51 St.) by noon and you'll be able to join in from that point onward.

Please note: The New York Police Department has banned the use of wood or metal in signage and flags. Please bring small flags and appropriate signs acknowledging the Holodomor.

Canadians prepare to mark Holodomor Awareness Week

OTTAWA – The Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) is launching the fifth annual National Holodomor Awareness Week on November 19-25. The goal is to annually unite the Ukrainian community and all Canadians in remembering the victims and raising awareness of this Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933.

International Holodomor Memorial Day will be observed on Saturday, November 24. In Canada, this day has been enshrined in both federal and provincial legislation as Holodomor Memorial Day.

The Holodomor, by its geographical focus and intensity, is one of the greatest

genocides in human history. It is an example of the deprivation of the human right to food and embodies the human rights violations suffered by the victims of communism around the world.

The UCC continues its efforts to secure this genocide's rightful place in the new publicly funded Canadian Museum for Human Rights and to ensure that the Holodomor is included in school curricula across the country.

For a complete list of events across Canada marking the anniversary of the Holodomor readers may visit <http://www.ucc.ca/programs/projects/holodomor/holodomor-2012/>.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Pro-Obama column: standard talking points

Dear Editor:

In vain I searched Andrew Fedynsky's column "For Obama," (October 14) for hints of original thinking. Instead I found a recitation of the standard Obama campaign talking points, fictitious achievements and excuses.

Mr. Fedynsky begins by stating he is better off today than four years ago. That is a stunningly disingenuous statement. The vast majority of Ukrainian Americans would vehemently disagree with such a preposterous declaration. Perhaps Mr. Fedynsky would not have lost half of his savings had he been more prudent in his investments. You don't speculate in the stock market with your nest egg. And if he did not see the real-estate bubble forming, he should have boned-up on economic cycle theory. Sooner or later all bubbles burst with a vengeance, particularly those created by artificially low Fed interest rate policy. On economic stimulus working, the only thing it does is balloon our already untenable \$16 trillion debt. And if he thinks that government spending works, then Greece should have a robust economy.

On foreign policy Mr. Fedynsky correctly states that President Barack Obama wound down two wars, but that would have happened under any president. It was time to disengage from misguided and unwinnable interventions. However, he neglected to address an issue particularly salient to Ukrainians: the total failure of the so called "reset" with Russia. Nor does he attempt to explain what Mr. Obama meant when he whispered into Dmitry Medvedev's ear: "after the elections I'll have more flexibility."

But here's the real reason Ukrainians should fear Mr. Obama's re-election. He is a crypto-socialist at heart, if not worse. After all, one of his most influential mentors during his formative years was Frank Marshall Davis, a card-carrying member of the Communist Party. In his autobiography, Mr. Obama speaks warmly of how "Uncle Frank" influenced his ideological development. Has Mr. Fedynsky completely forgotten why our parents and grandparents fled Ukraine at the end of World War II? They fled from the Communist scourge. So how often do we need to be reminded that anything remotely approaching that evil system must be

feared and avoided like a plague? And is there any question that the president's policies are gradually taking America in that direction?

Moreover, Mr. Obama, after all, doesn't really believe in free-market capitalism. In fact he blames capitalism for the current ills, which only proves he doesn't understand what capitalism is or how it works. Truth be told, we have not had capitalism for almost half of a century because it's been so thoroughly distorted, corrupted and perverted by the IRS and politicians on both the left as well as on the right.

I have no doubt that our deceased parents would turn in their graves if they saw how a new generation of Ukrainians have forgotten their history and been seduced by "Hope and Change," and "Forward." By the way, it's worth taking note that not so long ago "Forward" was a popular slogan with Marxists and Leninists of all shades and Progressives.

Jaroslav Martyniuk
Washington

Reaction to columnist's "ode to Obama"

Dear Editor:

It is shocking that Andrew Fedynsky (October 14) is impressed by Barack Obama's performance!

He claims to be better off financially due to President Obama's stimulus program. This might be the case for a liberal college professor, but the average working American in the private sector is not so lucky.

A typical family has \$5,000 less disposable income per year (gas prices, etc.). Mr. Obama's stimulus package was really a "spending package" of \$800 billion. The U.S. debt has increased to about \$16 trillion. We need long-term reforms, not quick fixes that result in massive deficits. The promised unemployment of 5 percent remains elusive, as unemployment is 8 percent, and at times much higher.

As far as the car industry, Mitt Romney (a Detroit native) is well aware that the car industry is vital to Michigan's economy. He proposed a "managed bankruptcy" with government guarantees. Mr. Obama actually "bankrupted" the industry and then bought it with our tax dollars. He was also buying the union vote.

As for Osama-bin-Laden, after all that crowing by President Obama, Al-Qaeda is not on the run. Its adherents struck in Benghazi on 9/11. Now we are confronted with total incompetence leading to a massive cover-up by the Obama administration and, sadly, four dead Americans.

However, the most egregious part of Mr. Fedynsky's ode to Mr. Obama is implying that the reason the president ignored Ukraine is that there is no leadership there. All of the once-captive nations look to U.S. leadership, which is now sorely lacking. Mr. Obama does not relate to these countries. Mr. Fedynsky must be aware of the letter (July 2009) sent by 20 Eastern European leaders (e.g., Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel) to the Obama administration expressing anxiety about U.S. policy towards their countries. Nothing has changed. They are rightfully concerned about that "flexibility" Mr. Obama promised Russia. Gov. Romney's visit to Poland, on the other hand, showed his desire to connect with these nations. It was a success. Incidentally, President Obama returned that bust of Winston Churchill to Britain – certainly more insulting than Mr. Romney's comment about the organization of the London Olympics.

Mr. Fedynsky states that the Republican record on Ukraine is not very good and cites some insignificant missteps. However, Democratic President Woodrow Wilson handed western Ukraine over to Poland at Versailles and our ancestors endured decades of oppression. Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt enabled Stalin to enslave Eastern Europe at Yalta. In contrast, Republican President Ronald Reagan's policies bankrupted and broke the Soviet Union and enabled Ukraine to become an independent state.

In short, Mr. Fedynsky is trying to influence ethnic voters in states like Ohio by feeding them false facts about who Obama really is.

Lydia Kossak Kernitsky, D.M.D.
Colts Neck, N.J.

Freedom – the only choice

Dear Editor:

People living in freedom respect all life and the achievement and greatness that is rational human potential. This magnifi-

cent country, America, was established on a rational proposition of liberty, individual freedom and rights, individual responsibility and accountability, individual achievement and reward. Under Barack Obama, it is morphing into an irrational politically correct society of "social justice," "outcome equality" and "wealth redistribution."

History shows that progressivism, in all its various forms, is an unbridled elitist madness – a destructive anti-human, anti-life philosophy with power at its root, hate its fuel, misery and death its end result.

I truly believe in an awakening of the human spirit to what is best in us, in truth and honor, in reason and logic, in our Constitution as our guiding rule of law, in life and liberty, in individual responsibility and accountability. I believe in capitalism and free enterprise, and in laissez-faire limited government leading us to life-enhancing rational individualism, recognition and the rejection of life-devouring sociopathic collectivism.

Our "wizard of smarts," President Obama takes conscripted tax money and "bestows" it on his donors' companies (Solyndra et al). They fail, go bankrupt, costing the taxpayer billions. He's proclaimed and applauded as a marvy success; he has the best and purest of "good intentions"; he cares.

Mitt Romney takes voluntary private money (Bain Capital), "bestows" it on troubled private companies and saves 80 percent from collapse and bankruptcy, costing the taxpayer nothing. He is proclaimed a failure, a tax cheat, a felon. His intentions are described as impure and greedy – seeking only to make a profit without caring for the people.

The world we live in is upside down. What do you truly know? Listen and you will hear. Open your eyes and you will see. "An informed knowledgeable citizen is a progressive liberal's worst nightmare," an unknown sage once said.

Life matters! America matters! Freedom is the only choice and not the Obama-imposed slave dependency and the incompetence-laden bureaucratic intrusions into our lives.

May God bless this magnificent country and protect it from its detractors, willful destroyers and ignorant "useful idiots."

Ask yourself: What kind of America will you leave your children?

Walter Swyrydenko
Cleveland

COMMENTARY

Tabachnyk's televised embarrassment

by Askold S. Lozynskyj

Viktor Yanukovich does not have a very good reputation amongst his peers of world leaders. Most consider him autocratic. Some would even call him thuggish and primitive. In addition, he is not viewed as being particularly intelligent in an educated sense or even particularly bright. His latest chase of the Obamas at the United Nations in New York to grab a phone opportunity did little to raise his esteem.

A recent performance by one of his ministers on Ukrainian television must have embarrassed even Mr. Yanukovich, who

has not set the intellectual bar particularly high. Mr. Tabachnyk, Ukraine's controversial minister of education, science, youth and sport recently appeared as one of six panelists debating the role of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) on its 70th anniversary. The program was titled "Velyka Polityka" and was hosted by Yevgeniy Kyseloiv.

Naturally, Minister Tabachnyk came to disparage the UPA, which was to be expected. As per his custom, he labeled the UPA fascist, spoke of a civil war (the UPA fighting the NKVD?) and then, taking a line from the Russian Ukrainophobe Vadym Kolesnichenko, asserted that the UPA never fought the Germans. After being challenged by the other five panelists – all of whom pointed out that the UPA was formed in 1942 when Ukraine was occupied by the

Germans and thus formed to fight the Germans – Mr. Tabachnyk produced a book on the OUN and the UPA edited by a committee headed by academician Stanislav Kulchytsky and published in late 2005.

Challenged to produce evidence, Mr. Tabachnyk furiously spent the next 30 minutes on television looking through the book while the other panelists continued their discussion on the UPA. Finally he did the best he could and pointed to a passage in the book that the Germans had upon occasion supplied arms to the UPA.

What was particularly troubling and, in fact, embarrassing was that this was the extent of Mr. Tabachnyk's performance. Political bias aside, Mr. Tabachnyk manifested almost complete ignorance of the subject matter. This became so obvious to

the other panelists, that some even took the liberty of ridiculing Mr. Tabachnyk's alleged doctorate in history, which he did not rebut.

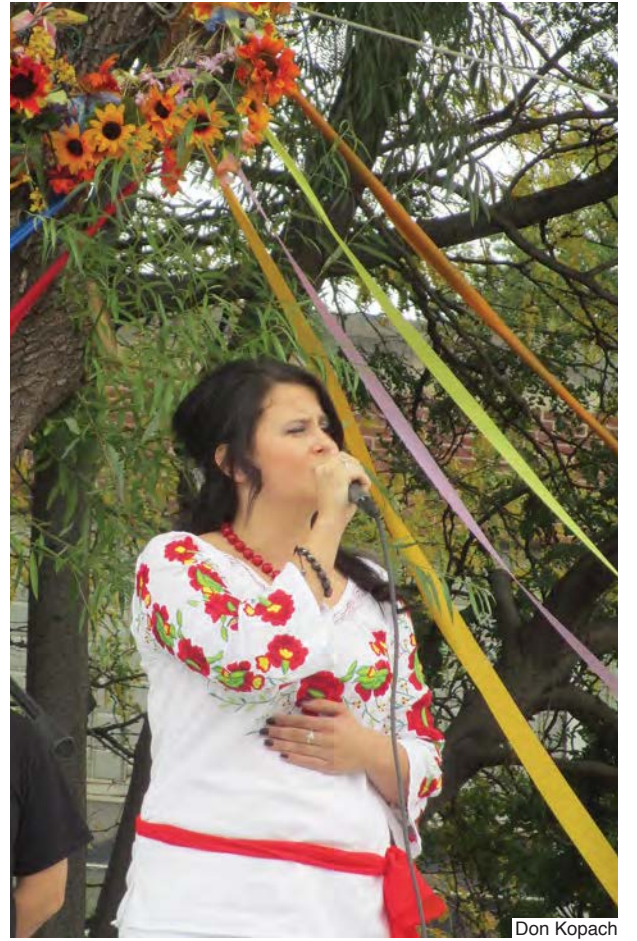
Mr. Tabachnyk allegedly does have degrees in history. Wikipedia provides that Mr. Tabachnyk received a diploma in history from the Kyiv State University in 1986. Nine years later, in 1995, he allegedly received a doctorate in history. The question that immediately comes to mind is how Mr. Tabachnyk could have earned that doctorate in view of his recent abysmal television performance. More interestingly, in 1994 Mr. Tabachnyk headed the Leonid Kuchma presidential campaign and upon Kuchma's election in 1994 until 1996 he served as chief of President Kuchma's staff.

(Continued on page 11)

Askold S. Lozynskyj is an attorney based in New York City. He is a former president of the Ukrainian World Congress.



Philly Mimmers with Fralinger's String Band Music Director Ivan Werneg.



Yuliya Stupen sings "Moya Ukraina."

Philadelphia community celebrates Ukrainian Fest at UECC

by Petrusia Sawchak

JENKINTOWN, Pa. – The Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center (UECC) held its inaugural Ukrainian Fest on October 6. The exciting event was a daylong celebration of Ukrainian culture that included outdoor fun activities, traditional Ukrainian music, dance troupes and a full menu of delicious ethnic cuisine.

More than 1,500 people, Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike, attended the festival. It was a day that members of the Ukrainian community gathered together to celebrate their rich heritage and share it with their non-Ukrainian neighbors. It was also a time for people to reconnect with their roots and to be proud of their culture. Also heartwarming was the participation of the children who were so

eager to be part of this celebration. It was truly a milestone for the Ukrainian community in the Philadelphia area.

Contributing greatly to the success of the festival were its major sponsors: John Hynansky (Winner Automotive Group, USA and Ukraine); MBFinancial Bank; Ukrainian Selfreliance Federal Credit Union; Basil Kuzio (Ameriprise); Meest-America Inc.; Borys and Dzvinka Zacharczuk; Fletcher-Nasevich Funeral Home; Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America; and Wolodymyr Zin, DDS, Everest Dental LLC. There were also many in-kind contributions.

The festival was held on the center's six acres of land from 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. A dance followed, in the Borys Zacharczuk Grand Hall of the UECC with music by the Cheremosh Dance Band, which also provided live entertainment throughout the day.

The opening ceremonies began on the outdoor stage, adorned with an oversized decorated wreath and colorful ribbons, and the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem by Yuliya Stupen and the American national anthem sung by Dmytro Terleckyj.

Emcee Eugene Luciw gave bilingual introductions for all of the performances. A few members of the Fralinger's String Band (which participates in Philadelphia's annual New Year's Day parade) led by music director/arranger Ivan Wernega strutted up and down the aisles playing their music while getting the audience in a party mood. As many may recall, the Fralinger String Band presented "At the Golden Gate of Kiev" [sic] during the 2011 Mimmers Day Parade. They were praised for their performance and beautifully adorned costumes.

There were two stage shows - one at 1 p.m. and another at 3 p.m. - coordinated by Andrea Zharovsky and Ania Bohachevsky Lonkevych. The melodic tunes of the performers, together with the sounds of the dance troupes stomping their feet in unison, and their costumes - a sea of red, blue, yellow and green - provided an aural and visual landscape that captivated everyone.

During the first performance, the School of the Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, led by artistic director Oleg Goudimiak, opened the program with the traditional "Welcoming Dance." They were followed by the 3- and 4-year-olds, "Malyatka," from the Ukrainian American Youth Association (UAYA), who performed "Hutsulska Vechirka." Yuliya Stupen, winner of many singing awards, delivered beautiful renditions of "Moya Ukraina" and "Karpaty."

Another real crowd-pleaser, the famed Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, whose musical director is Taras Lewyckyj, performed two dances, "Barrel Breaks" and "Transcarpathian Dance." Then the adorable youngsters in lily white costumes with red Ukrainian embroidery from the School of Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble - one of the largest schools of its kind in the U.S. - charmed everyone with a dance called "What the Mice Do When the Cats Are Sleeping."

As an additional treat, the graceful ballerinas from the Metropolitan Ballet Academy, under the tutelage of Lisa Collins Vidnovic, artistic director, delivered a fascinating excerpt from "Peter Pan." The Metropolitan Ballet Academy makes its home at the UECC and is one of its longtime supporters.



Festival Committee Members (from left): Vera Andryczyk, Marijka Cyhan and co-chairs Petrusia Sawchak and Nila Pawluk.



The audience enjoys the stage show.



At the Philly soft pretzel sale (from left) are Kalyna Buck, Juliette Louer, Mia Chuma and Anetka Luba.



The Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble performs “Gossips.”



The School of the Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble.

During the second performance, the Voloshky Ensemble showcased two more intriguing dances, “Tyzh Mene Pidmanula” and “Gossips.” Their performances also included the captivating movements of a gypsy-Roma dance complete with purple and red bejeweled costumes. The UAYA Dance Ensemble performed a delightful “Spring Dance” followed by soloist Viktoriya Fitsyk, who sang a very moving rendition of “Ukraina.”

Two more performances showcasing the talents of the children from the Voloshky School were titled “Hutsul Dance” and “Varvarka.” Concluding the program was the Voloshky School’s rendition of the highly spirited “Hopak,” which dazzled the audience with its athleticism. All of the dance groups hold classes regularly at UECC.

There were Ukrainian folk art exhibits and demonstrations led by artisans and co-sponsored by the UECC and the Ukrainian Heritage Studies Center (UHSC) at Manor College, arranged by UHSC Curator Chrystyna Prokopovych. The artisans demonstrating their crafts were as follows: Stephanie Hryckowian (pysanky), Olga Kolodij and Chrystyna Prokopovych (gerdany), Lesia Leskiw (embroidery), Myhailo Luciw (woodwork and leatherwork), Maria Panczak (weaving) and Iryna Galai (reverse painting on glass).

There was also a demonstration of the playing of the bandura by master player Anatoli Murha. Completing this section was a unique exhibit of ancient Trypillian ceramics and other artistic works. Many people from the surrounding communities unfamiliar with Ukrainian folk art were enthralled with its beauty and complexity.

In the Kids Fun Zone, youngsters enjoyed typical festival activities like face-painting, games with prizes and the popular Moon Bounce.

In addition, there was a special award-winning museum-quality exhibit by Luba and Andrij Chornodolsky from

Baltimore that included stage sets, featuring dolls and animals in handcrafted Ukrainian embroidered costumes made by Lida Dyhdala. The exhibition consisted of a series of seven free-standing animated dioramas. Each scene depicted a moment from a renowned Ukrainian children’s story. Though the purpose of the exhibit was to amuse and educate children about the lessons in the stories, it served also to enchant viewers of all ages.

A varied group of vendors offered unique crafts, jewelry, books, toys, T-shirts and gifts for the entire family. Special royal blue with gold lettering T-shirts with the Ukrainian Fest logo, designed by Iryna Galai, were also available for purchase.

Festival visitors had the opportunity to bid on 24 beautiful and valuable gift baskets donated by various benefactors, as well as to win prizes in the 50/50 raffles awarded hourly as well as the Super 50/50 Raffle.

No festival would be complete without delicious Ukrainian food – varenyky, kovbasa and kapusta, holubtsi, kartoplianyky and borshch – as well as picnic and carnival food like hot dogs, Philly soft pretzels, cotton candy and popcorn. Also available was a scrumptious Dessert Café featuring donated homemade baked goods.

The Ukrainian Beer Garden, serving exclusively Ukrainian beer (Lvivske 1715) and decorated with a thatched roof (built by Danylo Zacharczuk), enticed many to enjoy a cold beverage and mingle with friends.

Heading the Festival Committee were co-chairs Petrusia Sawchak, a UECC board member, and Nila Pawluk. They were assisted by a hard-working committee that included Oleh Luba, Mr. Kuzio, Zenia Brozyna, Vera Andryczyk, Marijka Cyhan, Natalka Firko, Ihor Kuszniir, Ms. Galai, Nestor Tomalishchak and Sophijka Koropecyk, as well as UECC President Borys Pawluk and Marko Tarnawsky, exec-



Borys Pawluk (right), president of UECC, with committee member Nestor Tamalishchak.

utive director. They worked diligently for an entire year to prepare for this event.

Many thanks were expressed to 13-year-old Peter Luba, who created a video/commercial and webpage about the festival complete with photographs, which can be viewed on www.ukifest.com

Much appreciation was also extended to the more than 160 volunteers, members from many UECC organizations (Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, Ukrainian American Youth Association, Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, School of the Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, Ukrainian National Women’s League of America, Ukrainian Federation of America, Prometheus Ukrainian American Male Chorus, Ukrainian American Senior Citizen Association, Ukrainian Engineers’ Society of America, Svitlychka Cooperative Nursery, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ukrainian Heritage School, Ukrainian Hutsul Society Cheremosh, Ukrainian America Veterans Post No. 1, and others).



Tusia Kopach (left) and Ariadna Louer, in their UkiFest T-shirts, help out in the Kids Fun Zone.



The School of the Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble performs “What the Mice Do When the Cats Are Sleeping.”

GENERATION UKE

Edited and compiled by Matthew Dubas

Exchange program brings UAYA counselors to Ukraine

by Khrystia Bihun

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Several years ago an innovative exchange program was started by the Ukrainian American Youth Assn. (UAYA) – in the form of a yearly exchange between Ukrainian Youth Association's sister organizations in the United States and in Ukraine. The program brings about the exchange of ideas, best practices and life experiences between the counselors and junior counselors of the two countries.

Perhaps even more importantly, it is helping to develop lines of communications, collegial relationships and even enduring friendships between developing leaders of our youth organization in two very different countries; it fosters the realization that although we are different, we have a strong common bond that unites us.

The Counselor Exchange program continued its tradition this year as four American UAYA members traveled to attend summer camps in Ukraine. The UAYA's national executive started its search for prospective exchange candidates in December of 2011. With a goal of identifying a diverse and eclectic group of candidates, nominations were solicited from program directors of the organization's national Counselor Training Camp, as well as from individual UAYA branches throughout the U.S.

Nominated candidates were asked to complete an application, produce letters of reference and recommendation, and undergo an interview process with the Exchange Committee. After an extensive elimination process, four participants were chosen for the 2012 Counselor Exchange, representing UAYA branches of the east and midwest: Markian Blazejowskyj (Jersey City, N.J.), Solomia Pylypiw (Whippany, N.J.), and Olga Tymouch and Kristina Shnyak (Chicago).

In mid-July these four participants traveled with a mentor to Lviv to embark on a new adventure. Below are their own thoughts and words, following the experience.

Markian Blazejowskyj:

When applying to the "Obmin" (exchange) program, I did not know what to expect from the trip. I thought the camps in Ukraine were very similar to the Ukrainian camps here in Ellenville, N.Y. When we arrived in Ukraine, we could see how much Lviv has improved because of the Euro Cup that took place earlier in the

summer. After spending a few days in Lviv, we headed off to the village of Komariv, where the camps were going to take place. Upon arrival, we met the Ukrainians who we would be spending the next three weeks with.

The first week of camp was a week of preparation for the two weeks that would follow, during which we would be taking care of children. For my fellow travelers and myself, this would be the first time we had taken on the role of being a camp counselor at a camp in Ukraine. During this week, we had many informative presentations about how to look after the children and how to run lessons to teach the children about many topics. I had a bit of trouble planning some of these lessons because I felt I had only a basic knowledge of Ukraine's history and its famous people and not much depth information, and, of course, there was the issue of the language. But this did not cause a big problem because everyone there was willing to help anyone in need.

When the second week came, all the children arrived ready to have a great two weeks. Every day we had three lessons planned for the children, one of which was catechism. After these lessons, we had the rest of the day to play sports and do arts and crafts with the children. I found each day to be very demanding of the camp counselors, but ultimately those two weeks passed by very quickly and I didn't want to leave. In the end, I was glad that I applied to the Exchange Program, and even more glad that I was chosen, because the experience of traveling to Ukraine, working at the camp and meeting many new people is one I will never forget.

Kristina Shnyak:

This summer I had the opportunity to travel to Ukraine for the UAYA's exchange program and spent a month experiencing the Ukrainian Youth Association in a completely new setting. I met many new people who enriched my stay with their openness and desire to show me everything that their camp had to offer. It challenged me in a way that no camp back in America ever had and I was excited to learn many valuable things during our week of preparation for the camp that I was able to take back home with me.

"Obmin" really opened my eyes to what the UYA has to offer and how facilitating communication throughout the organization in different parts of the world is of the



Campers struggle to untangle themselves in a game of the human knot.

utmost importance. The most valuable thing that I took away from my trip is that despite the many differences that I noticed the organization's common goal unites everyone who is proud to call themselves a "sumivets" (a UYA member) and a Ukrainian.

Although being out of my comfort zone was difficult at times, this is a program that I would recommend to any vporiadnyk/vykhovnyk (counselor in training/counselor) who would like to broaden his or her horizons, learn something new, and get a new outlook on Ukraine and its people.

Solomia Pylypiw:

The opportunity to go work at camp in Ukraine was very unexpected. I had heard about the program but had not really thought about going. After talking to a member of my UAYA branch, I decided to apply and was chosen to participate. Going to Ukraine was one of the best choices that I have made. I had the opportunity to work with children from a different country that belong to the same organization as me. I was expecting to see the differences that lay between the two countries, but I found that there were many more similarities. It was amazing to see how we can be brought up in two very different cultures but still share those same values.

I came into the camp and did not feel like a stranger. We had all been taught the same ideals to live by in the organization, which gave us a common ground. It was easy to blend in with the other people because people accepted us with open arms. I greatly enjoyed being able to sit together at night and sing the songs that we love so much in camps in America with the "sumivtsi" in Ukraine.

I had the opportunity of working with a group of six truly amazing girls. No matter what their personal backgrounds were, they were able to come to this camp for two weeks and have the best time of their lives. In this, I learned a lot from them and they from me. I learned no matter how tough life gets, there is always a light at the end of the tunnel. The girls all loved Ukraine and wanted to learn as much as they could about it.

After the end of the two weeks, it was hard for me to leave because I had connected with the campers so much, but I always knew we would have UYA there and that I could return someday. Overall, this trip has showed me that the organization will keep

growing because there are people all over the world young and old who are ready to fight for our organization and Ukraine.

Olga Tymouch:

Traveling to Ukraine this summer to volunteer as a camp counselor for the Ukrainian Youth Association was one of the best opportunities I have ever been given. Although the adjustment to typical life in Ukraine was not always easy, my three weeks there have become one of my most rewarding experiences to date. I met people with whom I developed close personal connections and who I will continue to stay in contact with for many years in the future.

Upon first arriving at the camp base in Ukraine, I couldn't help but wonder how I could possibly survive three weeks. Here I was thousands of miles away from my family, my friends and the comforts of home. I was completely immersed in a culture I had never before experienced in such extremity. I was a Ukrainian in Ukraine, but a part of me was still innately American. I wasn't seen by everyone around me as just another camper. I was "the American" who came to visit.

Being "the American" came with certain expectations of opinion and behavior. It wasn't until these expectations were dissipated that I had finally dispelled the assumptions that many Americans hold of Ukraine. I was able to fully embrace the experience and fell in love with the 80-person camp that will forever be a part of me, a cherished memory. I learned more in those three weeks than I could have ever expected possible. I became acquainted with Ukrainian camp traditions, slightly different from those in America, as well as accustomed to the Ukrainian mindsets in which I was born, but not always raised. I came to better realize my own identity, and better understood how that identity is applicable and realizable in the country I now call my home. There isn't a day where I don't look back on my time at UYA camp in Ukraine with warm memories and reflections.

There isn't a day where I don't miss the beautiful smiling faces of the children, and the warm laughter and words of the staff. There isn't a day where a part of me doesn't wish I could go back and relive every single wonderful moment.

You can watch the multimedia presentations of the exchange participants on the U.S. webpage at www.cym.org.



Visiting the museum of embroidered icons by the Rev. Dmytro Blazejowskyj in Lviv.



Ukrainian pro hockey update

by Ihor Stelmach

Donbas Donetsk joins KHL

The balance of power in Russian hockey may be shifting westward. The fifth edition of the Kontinental Hockey League sees an expanded Western Conference with a revived Lokomotiv Yaroslavl, big-spending CSKA Moscow and three new franchises bringing pro hockey to Prague, Bratislava and Donetsk.

Much of the early season attention will focus on Yaroslavl as the club returns a year after the tragic air crash that wiped out the entire team on opening day a season ago. Incoming head coach Tom Rowe has assembled an experienced squad with a blend of second-tier youngsters who kept the organization going in 2011-2012.

Fuelled by Rosneft's petrol dollars, CSKA Moscow went the big money route in an attempt to add a new championship trophy to the mantle of the most titled hockey club in history. Alexander Radulov's signing to a contract worth more than \$9 million earned a rebuke from President Vladimir Putin about the outrageous salaries being paid to Russian sportsmen.

Aside from the above headliners, the Western Conference welcomes three newcomers and adds two nations to the KHL for 2012-2013. Ukraine's Donbas Donetsk moves up from the Russian VHL, while Lev Prague brings the league to the Czech Republic and Slovan Bratislava flies the flag in Slovakia.

Donbas, bankrolled by Ukraine's Vice Prime Minister Boris Kolesnikov, pulled off a major coup by winning the race to sign Florida Panthers prospect Yevgeni Dadonov after the 23-year-old Russian

decided to return to Europe after two years in North America. The Ukrainian squad also features former Salavat Yulayev Ufa goaltender Erik Ersberg and veteran defenseman Jaroslav Obsut – two proven performers who may help head coach Julius Supler maintain his record of always reaching the KHL playoffs.

Club history

The Donbas Hockey Club was founded in 2005 and participated in the XIV Ukrainian Championship by competing in the First League. Following three years of competing only in tournament play, the club returned to the Ukrainian Hockey Championship and rose to the Ukrainian Major League. In its four seasons of national competition starting in 2008, the franchise won its first national title in 2011, before joining the Russian Major Hockey League (VHL).

After the 2010-2011 season, Donbas split into two teams, with their affiliate, Donbas-2, representing the organization in the Professional Hockey League of Ukraine. Donbas-2 won its first title in 2012, the PHL's inaugural campaign. Fortunes for the club changed in 2010, when Mr. Kolesnikov, a prominent Ukrainian businessman, gained full control of the team, making it the most financially stable team in the history of Ukrainian hockey.

There are 11 native Russians on the 36-player roster of Donbas as the current KHL season turns the corner into November, followed by 10 Ukrainians. The nationality breakdown has six skaters born

in the Czech Republic, four from Finland and one from the United States (Clay Wilson). Among the skaters are several who were once drafted into the NHL ranks and saw extended action in the North American professional ranks, mostly in the AHL. These include two defensemen (Oskars Bartulis, Karel Pilar), a pair of once-promising forwards (Lukas Kaspar, Vaclav Nedorost), and the afore-mentioned Ersberg, Obsut and Dadonov. The team's captain is ex-St. Louis Blues prospect Serhiy Varlamov.

Fedotenko, Ponikarovsky join

NHL forwards Ruslan Fedotenko of the Philadelphia Flyers and Alexei Ponikarovsky of the Winnipeg Jets signed contracts to play for KHL newcomer Donbas Donetsk. Both are native Ukrainians and were permitted to sign with European clubs after the NHL locked out their players on September 16.

Fedotenko, 33, spent two seasons with the Flyers before moving to Tampa Bay, where he won his first Stanley Cup with the Lightning, scoring the cup-winning goal in the 2004 finals. Five years later the left-winger lifted his second Stanley Cup with the Pittsburgh Penguins, then left for two years with the New York Rangers. He returned to Philadelphia this past summer, signing with the Flyers as a free agent.

Ponikarovsky, 32, moved from Dynamo Moscow to the Toronto Maple Leafs in 2000, spending eight years of his NHL career there, prior to brief stops in Los Angeles, Pittsburgh and Carolina. This is his second lockout stint in Europe; he played with the Russian team Khimik during the 2004-2005 campaign. Last year Ponikarovsky was a valuable late-season

addition to the New Jersey Devils' run to the Stanley Cup Finals. He signed with Winnipeg as a free agent last July.

Calgary's Babchuk signs

Donbas Donetsk became the second KHL team to fill its North American quota of three players when the club announced the signing of Ukrainian defenseman Anton Babchuk. The offensive blue-liner has previous KHL experience from the 2009-2010 season, when he played for Avangard Omsk. He played in the Russian professional league for Ak Bars Kazan and SKA St. Petersburg prior to starting his NHL career in 2003. Babchuk has tallied 107 points in 295 NHL games with Chicago, Carolina and Calgary.

Fedotenko nets winner

In his September 23 debut with his new club Fedotenko scored the game-winning goal in a shootout to cap off a comeback victory against Atlant Mytishchi. Donbas had fallen behind 2-0 in the second period. Former Flyer and fellow Ukrainian Nikolay Zherdev opened the scoring for Atlant midway through the second stanza. Fedotenko took a tripping penalty late in the third period and anxiously watched his teammates kill off the Atlant power play while voicing major displeasure with the referee's call.

Fedotenko was quoted on the Donbas website as saying he was happy to join the KHL's only Ukrainian club. "I've got a chance to keep my shape until the lockout ends," Fedotenko said. "I need to talk to the coach and adjust to European ice that's bigger, but it's not such a problem."

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Tabachnyk's...

(Continued from page 7)

While performing those demanding duties Mr. Tabachnyk, somehow, "earned" a doctorate!

Mr. Tabachnyk does not have the credentials to be the minister of education, science, youth and sport aside from his bias and temperament. Mr. Yanukovych may not be qualified as president, but the standard for elected officials even in a democracy is that the electorate has the right to make mistakes. After all, the electorate is not shaped by knowledge or information, but by emotions. Arguably elections are essentially popularity contests. However, nominations for political positions subject to confirmation by the legislature should be predicated on qualifications and competence.

Mr. Tabachnyk may have endeared himself to the Kremlin and to Mr. Yanukovych with his anti-Ukrainian bias and propensity for hyperbolic outbursts. Yes, Ukraine is a strange country because of its history and its lack of suitable cadres.

Others in Mr. Yanukovych's inner circle are similarly deficient. Minister of Justice Oleksander Lavrynovych is a quasi-attorney with a correspondence diploma from a school of law in Kharkiv earned while he was a member of the Ukrainian Parliament and running a parliamentary faction in the Verkhovna Rada in Kyiv. He is either brilliant, or else his law degree does not mean much.

Mr. Tabachnyk should consider returning even his own low-level history diploma to the Kyiv State University since it's essentially worthless. As to his alleged doctoral diploma, that should be returned immediately since he could not have earned it.

That may be Ukraine's biggest problem after all – the ambitious and powerful with egregious biases, preoccupied with self-aggrandizement. Equally unfortunately, they are simply incompetent and thus unable to carry out the duties that have been entrusted to them.

Mr. Yanukovych may be the model for others within his inner circle. That would pretty much explain everything that's wrong with Ukraine. After all bias, corruption and incompetence are all by-products of ignorance. You can't just buy that diploma. You have to earn it.

observer with the Ukrainian World Congress. The leading Ukrainian observer organization, Opora, reported that more than a fifth of polling stations opened too early. The Common Cause civic initiative led by Oleksander Danyliuk reported that results were falsified in at least 35 election districts.

Virtually no commission reviewed complaints filed by voters. At least 3 percent of polling stations lost track of 100 or more ballots.

Much of the violence came in the days following election day, though National Deputy Olha Herasymiuk reported being assaulted during voting hours in the Odesa Oblast where she was running.

Police used tear gas in two hotly contested Kyiv districts where young nationalists from the Svoboda party – Mr. Illyenko and Yurii Ulianchenko – fought to get accurate vote counts against their oligarch opponents, Ms. Hereha and Viktor Pylypyshyn.

Rada elections...

(Continued from page 1)

"Ukrainians deserved better from these elections. The 'oligarchization' of the whole process meant that citizens lost their ownership of the election, as well as their trust in it," said Andreas Gross, the head of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) delegation. "Unfortunately, the great democratic potential of Ukrainian society was not realized in yesterday's vote."

Election day was calm and peaceful overall. While the voting and counting were assessed mostly positively by the observers, the tabulation was assessed negatively, as it lacked transparency.

The election administration managed the technical aspects of the pre-election process adequately, but routinely held pre-session meetings behind closed doors, and most open sessions lacked substance.

"Yesterday, we witnessed a strong turnout and a well-conducted polling process. The positive engagement of the Ukrainian people shows their steadfast desire for democracy, and this bodes well for Ukraine's future," said Assen Agov, head of the delegation from the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. "We all hope that the disappointment of our overall assessment will galvanize political stakeholders into delivering the democratic progress which Ukrainians clearly seek."

"The lack of appropriate responses by the authorities to the various electoral violations has led to a climate of impunity," said Audrey Glover, the head of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) long-term election observation mission. "This has cast a shadow over the election and the democratic progress that, until recently, Ukraine had been making."

Unclear if Ukraine's...

(Continued from page 1)

and their vote-buying efforts, which were both subtle and overt.

Oligarchs such as billionaire Kostyantyn Zhevago, Ukrainophobe millionaire Igor Markov, Oleksii Azarov, the son of Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, and Viktor Yanukovych Jr., the president's son, all qualified for Parliament.

Yet the OSCE's claim that election day was relatively peaceful wasn't fully endorsed by reports from observers, as well as news reports of conflicts at dozens of polling stations that dragged on for days.

"Election commissioners were confused and disorganized," said U.S. Federal Court Judge Bohdan Futey, an

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

Serhiy Taran, board chairman of the center for sociological and political studies Sotsioizmerenie, revealed this information at a press conference held about a month before election day. "According to various polls, in Ukrainian society today about 7 percent of the people are frankly admitting that they are ready to vote for material handouts from the candidates, that is, in fact, for a bribe. Incidentally, in Kyiv the number of such citizens, in spite of certain stereotypes and expectations, is much more – about 10-11 percent," Mr. Taran said. Under such circumstances, he added, falsification "certainly can be expected." The expert admitted that the candidates who have material resources and power may simply calculate that it is more economically advantageous to bribe not the voters but the members of election commissions who will falsify the voters' ballots for money. (Ukrinform)

Russia, Ukraine to celebrate Shevchenko

KYIV – Ukraine and Russia will prepare together for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko, Russian President Vladimir Putin said after talks with Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich in Novo-Ogaryovo on October 22. "The forthcoming 200th anniversary of the great Shevchenko in 2014 promises to be a significant joint project. We have agreed with Mr. Yanukovich to give instructions to the governments to begin a joint comprehensive preparation for this event," said Mr. Putin. The 200th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko will be celebrated on March 9, 2014. (Ukrinform)

MPs will try to restore libel law

KYIV – The National Union of Journalists of Ukraine (NUJU) has been informed that immediately after the parliamentary elections the Verkhovna Rada of the sixth convocation will vote again on the libel law. NUJU Chairman Oleh Nalyvaiko said, "We have received information that after the elections the old composition of the Verkhovna Rada will make a second attempt to vote for changes to the Criminal Code, the so-called amendments of National Deputy [Vitalii] Zhuravsky on libel." He added that the NUJU is consulting with the public, media lawyers and fellow journalists. The union head noted that the NUJU has many allies who openly opposed

the law, including President Viktor Yanukovich. "So, this is first of all the head of state to whom we are going to appeal as the guarantor of freedom of speech, if the parliamentary majority tries again to return to this issue," Mr. Nalyvaiko said. On October 2, the Parliament abolished the law of Party of Regions National Deputy Zhuravsky on amendments to the Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine on increasing responsibility for attacks on honor, dignity and business reputation, which, in particular, provides for criminal liability for defamation – up to three years in prison. The law had been passed in its first reading on September 18. (Ukrinform)

Citizens trust parties, not leaders

KYIV – Ukrainian citizens feel more trust toward political parties than individual leaders. The returns of a sociological poll testify to that, explained Svitlana Kushnir, an expert of the communication studio PolitLab and head of its sociological studies sector. The poll testifies to the decline of the role of political leaders among the electorate. "We believe that the most active and able-bodied electorate group (those age 25-45) does not have a political need for leaders, but for teams, parties," Ms. Kushnir said, according to September 26 news reports. The Party of Regions ranks the first among political parties in the rating: 26.7 percent of those interviewed would cast their votes for the party if Rada elections were held today. Fifteen percent of voters are undecided, and the same number of respondents is ready to vote for the United Opposition, headed by Arseniy Yatsenyuk. Almost 7 percent among the respondents were members of Natalia Korolevska's party Ukraine – Forward! (Ukrinform)

Few believe MPs vote without orders

KYIV – Most Ukrainians believe that decision-making by national deputies at the Verkhovna Rada depends on various factors, but mainly orders from above. Only 8.6 percent of Ukrainians think that national deputies vote independently, in accordance with their beliefs. This is shown in a public opinion poll released on September 26 by Andriy Bichenko, director of the sociological service at Ukraine's Razumkov center for economic and political studies. "According to the survey, 30.4 percent of the Ukrainians believe that oligarchs influence decision-making by national deputies; 19.2 percent say parliamentary factions and their leaders influence voting; 10.5 cite the president of Ukraine; 9.9 the

Verkhovna Rada leadership, parliamentary committees and other factors. The study was conducted by the sociological service of the Razumkov Center in conjunction with the Democratic Initiatives Foundation on August 10-15; 2,000 respondents age 18 and over were interviewed in all regions of Ukraine. (Ukrinform)

Russian activist kidnapped in Ukraine?

MOSCOW – Russia's Investigative Committee said Leonid Razvozzhayev, an aide to a State Duma deputy, has been officially charged with plotting mass riots. The charges filed on October 23 are in connection with an opposition protest in Moscow in May. Investigators say Mr. Razvozzhayev turned himself in to the authorities and confessed on October 22 that a Georgian official had financed the demonstration. But Mr. Razvozzhayev's lawyer, Violetta Volkova, said that her client was kidnapped in Kyiv last week. She said he was brought to Moscow against his will and suspects his confession is the result of torture. Ms. Volkova said she's been denied access to her client. Ukrainian opposition members are demanding explanations from the government regarding the alleged abduction. The Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry promised to comment on the situation in due time. (RFE/RL, based on reporting by Interfax, ITAR-TASS, and UNIAN)

Human Rights Watch on disappearance

KYIV – Ukrainian authorities should initiate a prompt and impartial investigation into the disappearance from Ukraine on October 19 of Russian opposition member Leonid Razvozzhayev, said the international organization Human Rights Watch in a statement issued on October 24. Human Rights Watch's Europe and Central Asia Director Hugh Williamson described the situation surrounding Mr. Razvozzhayev's disappearance as "profoundly shocking." He said, "Anyone who goes to Ukraine to seek protection should be given a fair opportunity to apply for it. Asylum seekers should be fully protected while their asylum claims are pending." Human Rights Watch noted that domestic law and Ukraine's international obligations envisage a ban on forced return. "As a party to the 1951 U.N. Convention on the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, Ukraine has an obligation not to return people to places where they would face threats to their lives or freedom upon return. The U.N. Convention against Torture and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which Ukraine is also a party, prohibit without exception any returns to risk of torture," Human Rights Watch said. On October 20, associates of Mr. Razvozzhayev, who was put on the federal wanted list in Russia, said that the opposition member had been kidnapped by unidentified men in Kyiv. Mr. Razvozzhayev was allegedly taken from Kyiv to Moscow in a private plane, where the Basmany court ordered him arrested for two months. (Ukrinform)

Tymoshenko's trial postponed again

KYIV – A court in Kharkiv in eastern Ukraine once again postponed the tax-evasion trial of jailed former Prime Minister

Yulia Tymoshenko, who is already serving a seven-year sentence over a separate abuse-of-power case. Her lawyer, Serhiy Vlasenko, said on October 15 that Ms. Tymoshenko cannot appear at the court hearing because she has serious back pain and cannot walk on her own. Judge Konstantyn Sadovskiy adjourned the hearing until November 13. This is the ninth time the trial has been postponed since April due to Ms. Tymoshenko's health problems. The trial focuses on allegations that she evaded millions of U.S. dollars in taxes in connection with a private energy company she headed during the 1990s. Western governments say the case appears to be politically motivated. (RFE/RL, based on reporting by Reuters, ITAR-TASS, Interfax, and UNIAN)

Tymoshenko video being investigated

KYIV – Ukraine's State Penitentiary Service has said that it will investigate a new video depicting a woman who looks like jailed former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. The video, showing a woman doing physical exercises in a hospital room, circulated on the Internet on October 16. Representatives of her Batkivshchyna party said the video was a provocation and demanded a thorough investigation into its appearance online. (RFE/RL, based on reporting by UNIAN and Interfax)

Movchan on new version of language law

KYIV – A new version of the Law "On Principles of the State Language Policy," prepared by a working group tasked with the revision of the document, draws the law nearer to constitutional norms, however, provisions, laid down in the revised variant, are not quite clear. Pavlo Movchan, a member of a working group for the law's revision and head of the All-Ukrainian Taras Shevchenko Society Prosvita said at a press conference on October 24: "I have a different opinion in many cases as regards the law, prepared by the working group. It seems to me that it is a buffer law, not radical and it does not envisage the most important thing: a mechanism for realization. Here, organizational structures are presented only in a light stroke definition. However, realizing what hardships are in store for us due to the declared language war, I signed this document and voted for it." He stressed that the new wording cancels "threatening" provisions of the original law. "This law draws closer to Article 10 [of the Ukrainian Constitution] rather than distances from it," Mr. Movchan added. The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on July 3 adopted the law "On Principles of the State Language Policy." Afterwards, protest actions against the law took place all over Ukraine. President Viktor Yanukovich, after signing the law, created a working group charged with revising the law. (Ukrinform)

Kravchuk: we need two language laws

KYIV – In the future, Ukraine will have to adopt a separate law on the development of the state language and a law on minority languages. This opinion was expressed to the press before the second meeting of the Constitutional Assembly by its chairman, the first president of Ukraine, Leonid



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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 12)

Kravchuk. "For example, my point of view is that we will have to pass two more laws: a law on the state language, its development and application, and a law on the use and application of the languages of national minorities," Mr. Kravchuk said, according to September 21 media reports. He noted that a large number of countries in the world have done this. Mr. Kravchuk also said that he foresees the creation of two subgroups of the government-appointed working group dealing with the question of languages: one will deal directly with making changes to the new law on the basics of state language policy, and the other with drafting a program for the development of the Ukrainian state language." (Ukrinform)

Voters worry about economic issues

KYIV – Ukrainian voters are most concerned about economic issues, security and stability in the country, as evidenced by a survey conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) and AlphaVu. "Fifty-four percent of respondents said that stability in Ukraine is their main concern. Ukrainian voters focus much attention on the creation of jobs and increase in wages and social benefits," the report released on September 26 said. According to the survey, the Party of Regions is currently 8 percent ahead of Vitali Klitschko's UDAR party and 9 percent ahead of the United Opposition. The Party of Regions enjoys the support of 22 percent of the voters, at a time when UDAR has 14 percent support and the United Opposition has 13 percent. The Communist Party is in fourth place with 9 percent, while Svoboda has 4 percent of the vote, and Ukraine – Forward! has 3 percent. "There remains uncertainty as to the place

of Klitschko's UDAR. Indeed, the growth in support for the party may be a real trend and a consequence of the recent media portrayals of its leader. [The vast majority of the interviews were conducted after Mr. Klitschko's victorious fight.] An answer to this question will be given by future polls," the report reads. The survey was conducted on September 1-18. The nationwide random sample involved 2,024 respondents age 18 years and older; the sampling error does not exceed 2.2 percent. AlphaVu is a Washington-based organization that is engaged in policy research. (Ukrinform)

Every fifth working person is poor

KYIV – The incomes of nearly 20 percent of employed Ukrainians are so low that they are in the category of poor people, Liudmyla Cherenko, head of the living standards research department at the Institute of Demography and Social Studies, said in an exclusive comment to Ukrinform on October 17. "Over the past year, the level of poverty among working people significantly decreased – from 23.5 percent to 19.6 percent. However, if in the future the rate does not fall, it may become critical," Ms. Cherenko emphasized. She attributed this prognosis to the fact that wages in Ukraine are low: "In general, work should ensure against poverty and reduce risks to minimum. If we say that 20 percent are poor, it means that the wage standards are low and must be changed." The expert explained that the minimum wage in the state is above the poverty line, but it concerns only one person. "If there are two young people and they have a child, two salaries should be divided by three, and then they run the risk of getting below the poverty line," Ms. Cherenko said, noting that low wages at the minimum level are most often paid to young people who have children. Therefore, she added, concepts such as

poverty among working people and children are interconnected. She did note the decline in poverty among working people: "The poverty rate for this group in the past year decreased from 32.7 percent to 32 percent." Analyzing the overall situation in Ukraine's households, Ms. Cherenko reported that Ukraine reduced the gap in poverty levels depending on the presence of children: "If in 2010 it stood at 1.99 times, in 2011 it was 1.92 times. This means that the all-Ukrainian situation has improved with respect to families with children. However, there is a deterioration of the situation in families with two children, where the poverty rate rose from 40.7 percent to 42.0 percent." At the same time, the researcher stated, the situation improved for large families and households where all adults work. "There the poverty rate decreased, respectively, from 58.4 percent to 55.8 percent and from 24.3 percent to 22.5 percent. Among households without children, the most sensitive deterioration was observed where there are unemployed persons. The poverty rate among them has increased from 28 percent to 40.7 percent," she said. (Ukrinform)

Ukraine's fight against poverty

KYIV – Ukraine has already fulfilled two of the three commitments undertaken after

it signed the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, Kateryna Rybalchenko, senior program manager at the U.N. Development Program, said at an October 17 news conference dedicated to poverty reduction in Ukraine as part of the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty. "After signing the Millennium Development Goals, to fight poverty Ukraine has undertaken the following three main tasks. In 2011, the proportion of the population living on less than \$5 (U.S.) a day in purchasing power parity was 1.7 percent against the target of 4 percent. Therefore, we can assume that the task is completed. There is every reason to say that by 2015 the task to reduce poverty among children and working people will be implemented," said the UNDP representative. She also focused on the problematic third issue, which is to reduce by 10 times part of the population whose consumption is less than the subsistence minimum. The level of poverty in absolute criterion declined only by 2.2 percent, that is, from 16.8 percent in 2010 to 14.6 percent last year. Unfortunately, statistics show that the proportion of the population whose consumption is less than the subsistence minimum continues to rise, she noted. "Last year it was 25.8 percent against 23.5 percent in 2010," Ms. Rybalchenko said. (Ukrinform)

Turning...

(Continued from page 6)

Poland depends heavily on Russian gas imports, and played a role as a transit country for Russian gas to the EU. Poland's gas monopoly, PGNiG, is locked into long-term gas deals that have linked the price it pays for Russian gas imports to high oil

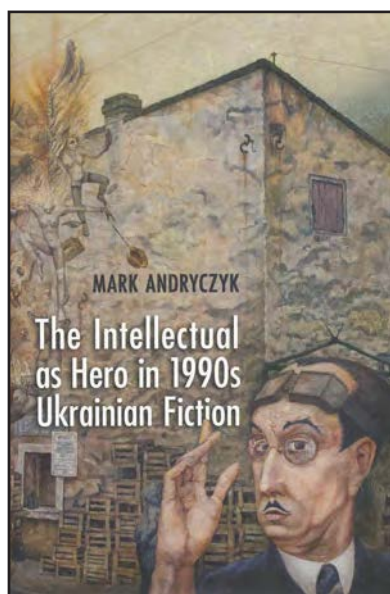
prices. But it is forced to sell the gas on to EU customers at lower retail prices.

Minsk has also had disputes with Gazprom over gas prices and debts, and led to Gazprom cutting back on deliveries to Belarus in 2007.

Source: "Merkel and Medvedev launch pipeline beneath Baltic Sea," (RFE/RL), The Ukrainian Weekly, November 13, 2011.

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The Holodomor Reader

A Sourcebook on the
Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine



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OUT & ABOUT

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November 8
Cambridge, MA
Roundtable discussion, led by Lubomyr Hajda, "Results of the October 28 Parliamentary Elections," Harvard University, 617-495-4053

November 9
Whippany, NJ
Reception, Bishop Borys Gudziak, Ukrainian Catholic University, Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, soniah@ucef.org or 773-235-8462

November 10
Denville, NJ
Volleyball tournament, Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S.A. and Canada, Powerzone Volleyball Center, Wsyzo63@optonline.net or www.socceragency.net/lys

November 10
New York
Book launch, "Orwell and the Refugees: The Untold Story of Animal Farm" by Andrea Chalupa, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110 or www.ukrainianmuseum.org

November 10
Sacramento, CA
Film screening, "Genocide Revealed" by Yuriy Luhovy, Sacramento Public Library - Carmichael Branch, www.yluhovy.com

November 10
Passaic, NJ
Dance, featuring music by Klooch, Ukrainian Center, 973-473-3379 or PassaicZabava@yahoo.com

November 10-11
St. Petersburg, FL
Ukrainian Autumnfest, Epiphany of Our Lord Ukrainian Catholic Church, 727-576-1001

November 10
Berkeley, CA
Concert, the Chamber Chorus of the University of California, Zellerbach Hall, http://calperfs.berkely.edu

November 11
Los Angeles
Concert, "Devotions East and West," the Chamber Chorus of the University of California, St. Sophia Cathedral, 510-642-5519 or ucchamber@gmail.com

November 11
Chicago
Benefit luncheon, Bishop Borys Gudziak, Ukrainian Catholic University, Ukrainian Cultural Center, soniah@ucef.org or 773-235-8462

November 11
Alexandria, VA
Concert, featuring violinist Solomiya Gorokhivska, flutist Andrei Pidkivka, guitarist Richard Miller and bassist Branislav Brinarsky, The Washington Group Cultural Fund, The Lyceum, 301-229-2615 or 703-838-4994

November 13
Los Angeles
Concert, the Chamber Chorus of the University of California, Walt Disney Concert Hall, http://calperfs.berkely.edu

November 17
New York
Holodomor march, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, St. Patrick Cathedral, 212-228-6840 or www.ukrainegenocide.com

November 17
Edmonton, AB
Concert, "Koliada with Nina and Tonia Matvienko," with the Yara Arts Group and the Shumka Dancers, Jubilee Hall, Yara.arts.group@gmail.com or www.brama.com/yara

November 18
Scranton, PA
Harvest Dinner, St. Vladimir Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, 570-346-2414 (advance only)

November 19
Cambridge, MA
Lecture by Maria Ivanova, "The Art of Dissimulation in Ruthenian Thought of the 16th and 17th Centuries: History, Problems, Perspectives," Harvard University, 617-495-4053

November 23
Whippany, NJ
Dance, with music by Svitanok, Chornomortsii fraternity of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, 973-386-5622

November 23
Chicago
Pub Night, 10th anniversary show of Ephyra, Ukrainian American Youth Association hall, http://ephyra10.eventbrite.com

Entries in "Out and About" are listed free of charge. Priority is given to events advertised in *The Ukrainian Weekly*. However, we also welcome submissions from all our readers. Items will be published at the discretion of the editors and as space allows. Please send e-mail to mdubas@ukrweekly.com.

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, November 10

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a lecture on "The Elections of 2012: Language, Discourse and Ideas" by Dr. Antonina Berezovenko (Kyiv Polytechnical University). The lecture will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call 212-254-5130.

Saturday-Sunday, November 10-11

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla.: The 32nd Annual "Ukrainian Autumnfest" will be held at Epiphany of Our Lord Ukrainian Catholic Church at 434 90th Avenue North, St Petersburg, FL 33702 on Saturday from noon to 7 pm and Sunday from 11 am to 5 pm. The festival will feature authentic Ukrainian food (borsch, holubtsi, varenyky and potato pancakes available for take out), Ukrainian beer, Ukrainian arts and crafts, vendors, church tours, children's rides and games, music for dancing – a "zabava" on both days, and dance performances by the Kalyna Ukrainian Dancers. A silent auction and raffle will be held Sunday; winner need not be present. Free parking is available on site. Admission is \$2 for adults; free for children under 12. For information call 727 576-1001.

Sunday, November 11

ALEXANDRIA, Va.: The Washington Group Cultural Fund continues its Sunday Music Series with a program featuring violinist/vocalist Solomia Gorokhivska, flutist Andrei Pidkivka, guitarist Richard Miller and bass/vocalist Branislav Brinarsky. Traditional songs along with modern compositions of Myroslav Skoryk, Antonin Dvorak and George Gershwin get vivacious original arrangements in diverse and fascinating combinations of acoustic folk art instruments in folk, classical, jazz, samba and tango music. The concert is at 3 p.m. at The Lyceum, 201 S. Washington St. Suggested donation: \$20; students, free; unreserved seating. For more

information e-mail twgculturalfund@gmail.com; event contact phone number, 301-229-2615; venue phone number: 703-838-4994.

Sunday, November 18

NEW YORK: At 2 p.m. Dr. Alexander Motyl will introduce the just-published "Holodomor Reader," a unique source book on the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, consisting of important scholarly articles; key Soviet, Polish and German documents; eye-witness testimonies and journalistic reports; and a wide selection of literature. Published by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the "Holodomor Reader" is an indispensable guide to one of the greatest mass killings of the 20th century. Copies will be available for sale. Admission (includes reception): \$15; \$10 for members and seniors; \$5 for students. Tickets are available online at www.ukrainianmuseum.org or at the door. The Ukrainian Museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St.; telephone, 212-228-0110.

Sunday, November 25

OSHAWA, Ontario: Marking Holodomor Awareness Week, the award-winning feature documentary "Genocide Revealed," produced and directed by Yuriy Luhovy, winner of 12 international awards including Best Historical Film and Best Documentary will be screened. Narrated by actors Grahame Greene, Jill Hennessy and Lubomir Mykytiuk, the film exposes Moscow's policy of genocide against the Ukrainian nation. The film focuses on the 1932-1933 Famine in Soviet Ukraine and the accompanying decimation of the national elite. The screening is sponsored by the Oshawa/Durham Region branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress and will be held at the Dnipro Hall, 681 Dnipro Blvd., at 1:15 p.m. Admission is by donation; proceeds will go toward the educational version of the documentary intended for schools. Admission is by donation. For information log on to www.yluhovy.com.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

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

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

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



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