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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a fraternal non-profit association

Vol. LXXVIII

No. 28

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

SUNDAY, JULY 11, 2010

\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

U.S. envoy to Ukraine stops short of criticizing Yanukovich policies

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Tefft acknowledged troubling reports of government pressure and censorship in Ukraine in his first press conference on Ukrainian politics since taking his post on December 2, 2009. His staff is in frequent discussions with the administration of President Viktor Yanukovich, he said.

Yet Ambassador Tefft demonstrated the cautious approach taken by U.S. foreign policy leaders towards the Yanukovich administration in his June 24 remarks, abstaining from any criticism of its authoritarian policies and repeated constitutional violations in order to achieve pragmatic goals and maintain dialogue.

“We have concerns about democracy and freedoms,” said Ambassador Tefft, responding to The Weekly’s question about whether the Ukrainian government

is pursuing authoritarian policies. “Some of those things, when we investigate them – we do investigate very carefully the allegations – don’t turn out to be actually what they’re billed as. Some of them do, and we’ve raised them aggressively with the government.”

The ambassador addressed more than 50 journalists and policy experts at the Institute of World Policy in Kyiv. Mr. Tefft previously served as U.S. Ambassador to Georgia, where he dealt with the South Ossetian War of 2008. Therefore he’s considered among the leading U.S. experts in dealing with the Russian Federation.

U.S. foreign policy towards the Yanukovich administration consists of five priorities: economic reform, trade and energy, defense and security, fighting against corruption, and strengthening democracy and freedom of the press.

Ukraine’s path to economic recovery

(Continued on page 16)

Canadian symposium spotlights 1914-1920 internment operations

KINGSTON, Ontario – The Canadian First World War Internment Recognition Fund’s Endowment Council sponsored a weekend-long symposium here at Queen’s University on June 17-20, bringing together some 50 community activists, scholars, archivists, museum curators, internee descendants and artists to develop initiatives that will commemorate and educate all Canadians about what happened during Canada’s first national internment operations of 1914-1920.

It was only fitting that the symposium

was held in the “Limestone City,” where in 1978 the Ukrainian Canadian community’s campaign for acknowledgement and redress began with an interview between former internee Nykola Sakaliuk and Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, then a geography student at Queens University.

The symposium schedule, facilitated by Gail Lord, revolved around four major themes: “A Crippling Legacy – The Affected Communities,” moderated by Paul Grod, president, Ukrainian Canadian

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Participants at the Kingston symposium on Canada’s internment operations of 1914-1920.

Hillary Clinton visits Kyiv Meets with government, opposition and NGOs

by Zenon Zawada
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton met with Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich and his foreign policy team during a one-day visit to Kyiv on July 2 in which they discussed security and defense cooperation, including fulfilling the nuclear security agreements reached recently in Washington.

Ms. Clinton offered much praise for the Yanukovich administration and refrained from criticism, despite evidence that the government is pursuing authoritarian policies in monopolizing power, abusing the rule of law and restricting individual rights.

She raised concerns about threats to freedom of speech and assembly with Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, while at the same time stating the U.S. is “encouraged by your government’s commitment to support freedom of the press and to take concrete steps to ensure the independence of Ukraine’s vibrant media.”

“And together we look forward to collaborating on how we can work with you to advance democracy and the rule of law. Mr. Minister, Ukraine’s new leadership has already demonstrated a commitment to democracy,” she stated following a morning meeting of the U.S.-Ukraine Strategic Partnership Commission.

Ms. Clinton’s foreign policy team also made it a point to meet with leaders of Ukrainian civil society, who reported on the Yanukovich administration’s increasing restrictions on rights and freedoms. Ms. Clinton met with opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko, who told her of rising authoritarianism.

Ms. Tymoshenko reported on threats to Ukrainian independence, the country’s loss of economic and energy independence, repressions against political opponents and the government’s monopolization of the judiciary.

Yet that wasn’t the picture painted by Ms. Clinton, whose first press conference was with Mr. Gryshchenko. The first question at their joint press conference at the Foreign Affairs Ministry asked the secretary of state whether she had noticed any restrictions to freedom of speech and assembly in Ukraine.

Secretary Clinton said the U.S. government has raised concerns about threats to freedom of speech and assembly and



Zenon Zawada

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich shake hands at a July 2 press conference at the Presidential Administration in Kyiv.

will continue to raise those concerns. At the same time, she said the Yanukovich administration has committed itself to strengthening and advancing democratic institutions. “It’s important, obviously, to translate commitments into actions, which is part of the reform agenda that the government of Ukraine is pursuing,” she added.

Following the brief press conference, Ms. Clinton’s motorcade traveled through a heavy downpour that soaked downtown Kyiv, and eventually reaching the Presidential Administration building where she met with Mr. Yanukovich.

Ms. Clinton said they discussed economic and energy reform, and followed up on Ukraine’s “historic decision to get rid of its stocks of highly enriched uranium by 2012,” which was announced at the Nuclear Security Summit in Washington on April 12-13.

The secretary of state said they discussed the importance of protecting Ukraine’s democracy by supporting a strong civil society, media independence and public sector transparency.

She expressed appreciation for the president’s recent statements in support of media freedom and the desire of the U.S. to work with the Yanukovich administration in continuing to safeguard such liberties.

The Channel 5 television network, whose license to broadcast news is under

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ANALYSIS

Ukrainian opposition registers disappointment with Clinton visit

by **Taras Kuzio**

Jamestown Foundation Blog

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton paid a two-day visit to Ukraine last week as part of a wider tour to the region. This was her fourth visit to Ukraine, which she twice visited as first lady in the Clinton administration; her third working visit to Ukraine was in 2005 as a U.S. senator.

The visit failed to impress local Ukrainians who feel that the U.S. is ignoring them in the interests of re-setting U.S. relations with Russia or to appease President Viktor Yanukovich because he came to Washington in April bearing gifts (enriched uranium). The visit, therefore, was a big disappointment to Ukraine's opposition, confirming their worst fears that the Obama administration had betrayed Ukraine and its traditional Central-Eastern European allies.

This week's edition of the weekly magazine *Ukrayinsky Tyzhden* is a special issue on international affairs and Ukraine's foreign policy. Prominently featured was an article titled "The Grand Betrayal" by Economist writer and author of the book "The New Cold War" by Edward Lucas.

The feeling in Kyiv about the lack of a clearcut U.S. vision for Ukraine was evident in this week's Kyiv Post cartoon. The cartoon has Secretary Clinton confused as to which of the five buttons offered to her by a State Department official she should take with her to Kyiv. The buttons included "blah-blah," "strategic partnership," "What Ukraine?" "drop dead" and "reset."

Traditionally, U.S. Ambassadors to Ukraine have been pro-active both inside Ukraine and after their posting in Washington, where they have been awarded senior positions at the Brookings Institution, the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars and the U.S. Institute of Peace.

Of the two blogs written on the eve of Secretary Clinton's visit to Ukraine by former U.S. Ambassador Steven Pifer and German Marshall Fund of the United States Senior Fellow David Kramer, who served as deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs in the administration of President George W. Bush, the latter was more critical of the Yanukovich administration. Mr. Kramer called upon Secretary Clinton to seek the resignations of the internal affairs minister and the chairman of the Security Service of Ukraine (see reply to Kramer by Hanna Herman, deputy head

of the presidential administration).

The passivity of the U.S. ambassador confirms to Ukraine's opposition the passivity of the Obama administration. This week's Kyiv Post complained: "We would also hope that Clinton encourages U.S. Ambassador John Tefft to be more visible and vigorous in defense of liberty and democracy in Ukraine. His low profile comes at a bad time. With Ukraine's democratic fate hanging in the balance, all – from ambassadors, tourists and businesspeople – need to strongly, publicly and repeatedly show Ukrainians that that they care."

Judging by Ukrainian media reports and the negative feedback given to the author by the opposition, the secretary of state chose "blah-blah" of the five buttons she was offered. Roman Olearchyk wrote in his story headlined "Clinton treads lightly during Ukraine visit" (*Financial Times*, July 3) that, "The tone delivered by Ms. Clinton's speech in Kiev, Ukraine's capital, was one of mixed praise and light criticism, seemingly gentle enough so as not to push the nation further toward Moscow."

Senior advisers to the opposition told this author they were quite disappointed by the visit but declined to be directly quoted as they did not wish to have poor relations with the Obama administration. The disappointment was, "because Clinton complimented Yanukovich from every angle."

"Not coincidentally, following her visit the IMF announced its intention to provide Ukraine with a new financial program of assistance even though the Party of Regions had undermined the stand-by agreement by voting for populist wage increases in November 2009 and regardless of the fact that the Nikolai [Mykola] Azarov government has no intention of undertaking any radical reforms" the source continued, "During Secretary Clinton's visit to Kyiv her criticism of the Yanukovich administration's attack on Ukraine's democracy was barely audible and her support for, and her stress on working with, the 'pragmatic' and 'foreign policy-balanced' Yanukovich was re-played over and over again on every television channel. We feel that we have been let down."

Given the brief nature of Secretary of State Clinton's visit to Ukraine, it was only natural that she allocated time to meet opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko as she won 45 percent in this year's presidential elections three times the combined vote of the other Orange candidates in the first round. The Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (YTB) also came second in the last two parliamentary elections, and in the last won twice the number of votes as Our Ukraine. Ms. Tymoshenko, alone among the former Orange camp, was also twice prime minister. YTB continues to remain the most popular opposition political force.

Secretary Clinton did tell a student audience at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute that, "I've discussed the importance of defending these rights with your president," adding, "He has made a commitment to uphold Ukraine's democracy, to uphold the rule of law, to maintain respect for human rights." This "commitment," of course, is laughable to Ukraine's opposition.

The mild criticism of Secretary Clinton was evident from feedback given

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NEWSBRIEFS

Yanukovich sends greeting to Obama

KYIV – President Viktor Yanukovich of Ukraine congratulated U.S. President Barack Obama on the occasion of Independence Day in the United States, the press service of the Ukrainian president reported. "Over the period of its independence, the American nation has built the state that became an example of democratic development, respect for human rights, and a symbol of welfare and prosperity," read the congratulatory message. Mr. Yanukovich expressed confidence that strategic partnership between Ukraine and the United States based on common democratic values would continue to be strengthened, while respect and mutual understanding in relations between the two countries would grow. "I recall with satisfaction our meeting at the nuclear security summit in Washington in April this year, and, taking the opportunity, I hope to meet with you soon to discuss topical issues of bilateral and multilateral cooperation," the Ukrainian president said. Mr. Yanukovich wished good health and success to Mr. Obama, as well as happiness and prosperity to the friendly American people. (Ukrinform)

Tarasjuk criticizes new foreign policy

KYIV – The chairman of the parliamentary Committee for European Integration, Ukraine's former Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk, criticized the law adopted on July 1 "On the Foundation of Internal and Foreign Policy." Writing on the website of the *Ukrayinska Pravda* newspaper, Mr. Tarasyuk, who also chairs the People's Rukh of Ukraine, called this development "a gradual transformation of Ukraine from a subject of foreign policy into an object." He said a fundamental change has taken place in Ukraine's foreign policy, its strategic interests are damaged, its state sovereignty and territorial integrity are threatened, and its political and economic positions are weakened on the international scene. Mr. Tarasyuk expressed indignation over the fact that such a fundamental document was developed without a public discussion and that numerous amendments submitted mainly by deputies from the opposition were not taken into consideration. A provision about

the country's NATO membership was withdrawn from Ukraine's foreign policy goals. "At the same time, a course is announced that has never existed in the nature – the so-called 'non-aligned' status – and it is assured that we will participate in strengthening the European collective security system, which does not exist," Mr. Tarasyuk noted. He asked the rhetorical question: How do the present authorities propose to ensure our national security? Mr. Tarasyuk cites figures of the army financing over recent years that decreased stably to 0.7 percent of the GDP in 2009. In other words, in Ukraine \$35 (U.S.) is spent per capita for defense, while non-aligned Sweden spends \$606. Therefore, he said, "The only guarantee of our national security is participation in the collective security system that is NATO." Unfortunately, the current authorities have other aims, he stated. (Ukrinform)

Khoroshkovsky apologizes to Gudziak

KYIV – The chief of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), Valeriy Khoroshkovsky, apologized to the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, it was reported on July 2 by Hanna Herman, deputy head of the Presidential Administration. "Khoroshkovsky recently visited the Catholic university and met with the rector. He offered Gudziak an apology and the rector accepted it. They had a sincere and open conversation," Ms. Herman said. As reported earlier, an employee of the SBU had met with the Rev. Gudziak and attempted to pressure him about the political activity of UCU students. (*Ukrayinska Pravda*)

War Memorial Cemetery to be created

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on July 7 adopted in its first reading a draft resolution on the creation of a National War Memorial Cemetery. The measure was proposed by National Deputy Vadym Kolesnichenko of the Party of Regions. It proposes creating a National War Memorial Cemetery to perpetuate the memory of soldiers killed during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, participants of the war in Afghanistan and other military conflicts, those who fulfilled their

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY FOUNDED 1933

An English-language newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a non-profit association, at 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

Yearly subscription rate: \$55; for UNA members \$45.

Periodicals postage paid at Caldwell, NJ 07006 and additional mailing offices.
(ISSN 0273-9348)

The Weekly: UNA:

Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 644-9510 Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 292-0900

Postmaster, send address changes to:

The Ukrainian Weekly
2200 Route 10
P.O. Box 280
Parsippany, NJ 07054

Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz
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Zenon Zawada (Kyiv)

The Ukrainian Weekly Archive: www.ukrweekly.com; e-mail: staff@ukrweekly.com

The Ukrainian Weekly, July 11, 2010, No. 28, Vol. LXXVIII

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Errata

In "Voices of the laity: The present and future of U.S. Ukrainian Catholic Church" (July 4), due to a technical error, the beginning of the response from Natalie Gawdiak was truncated. The opening sentences should have read: "As an Irish American Roman Catholic, I accepted my husband's rite when I married and learned to speak Ukrainian. I feel privileged to be a Ukrainian Catholic because it has given me what I think the Latin rite has lost in the reforms of the Vatican II Councils."

Due to a layout error, Table 1 was mistakenly published twice (on pages 5 and 21) along with the article "Fourth Wave in U.S.: Ukrainian language's Russification or revitalization?" by Oleh Wolowyna (June 27).

NEWS ANALYSIS: Ukraine blocks the road to NATO membership

by **Taras Kuzio**

Eurasia Daily Monitor

The Ukrainian Parliament has voted for a new law on "The Fundamentals of Domestic and Foreign Policy" that dropped the goal of seeking NATO membership. At 8 p.m. on July 1, only 50 deputies from the Stability and Reforms coalition were present and yet 259 "voted" in favor, showing the widespread use of absent deputies voting cards. To hide the voting falsification, live transmission of Parliament on State Channel 1 and Rada channel were cut (<http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/tarasyuk/>).

As with the April 27 Black Sea Fleet treaty extension, the law was rushed through Parliament after ignoring 420 proposed changes by the opposition and without the scrutiny of parliamentary committees. Our Ukraine National Deputy Vyacheslav Kyrylenko, described the vote on such an important issue of national security as a "farce," adding "[Parliament's] hall is a pure profanation of the democratic process" (www.pravda.com.ua, July 1). Parliament, in his view, has become a "rubber-stamp body."

The vote was timed to occur before U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton arrived in Kyiv on the following day. At a joint press conference, President Viktor Yanukovich stated, "We appreciate today the reaffirmation of the U.S. position to guarantee the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of Ukraine's state borders of Ukraine." He went on to stress, "This is especially important for Ukraine as a European non-aligned country" emphasizing that Ukraine is now a "non-bloc country." Secretary Clinton stressed that the door to NATO membership remained open (www.pravda.com.ua, July 2).

As former Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk noted, Ukraine's neutrality is not supported by any increase in the defense budget. Neutral Sweden and Finland spend between \$608 and \$745 per citizen on defense, while Ukraine spends only \$26 per citizen (<http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/tarasyuk/>). Neutral Ukraine has also agreed to a long-term foreign military base.

The July 1 vote came exactly eight years after then-President Leonid Kuchma issued a decree that first announced Ukraine's desire to join NATO. He followed this with two failed attempts to obtain a Membership Action Plan (MAP) at the Prague (2002) and Istanbul (2004) NATO summits. Parliament's approval of a 2003 law on national security that enshrined Ukraine's desire for NATO membership was voted for overwhelmingly, including by the Party of Regions, and was not opposed by then-Prime Minister Yanukovich.

Ukraine's new position is diametrically at odds with that of the Kuchma era, during which NATO played two roles. In 1994-1999 the NATO card was used to pressure Moscow to respect Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Although Russia was one of five nuclear powers that gave "security assurances" to Ukraine in December 1994 in exchange for Kyiv's renunciation of nuclear weapons and accession to the non-proliferation treaty (NPT), the Russian executive and Parliament took until 1997-1999 to sign and ratify a treaty that recognized Ukraine's borders. The Russian-Ukrainian border has yet to be delimited (President Dmitry Medvedev agreed to revisit this issue during his May visit to Kyiv) and demarcated.

Ukraine joined NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) in January 1994 and a NATO Documentation and Information Center was opened in Kyiv in 1997 (the second such office after Moscow). In 1994-2004 Ukraine became the most active PfP member among the Commonwealth of Independent States; developed extensive levels of cooperation with individual NATO countries, such as the United Kingdom and the United States; and sent troops to every peacekeeping mission under NATO.

Ukraine entered the second stage in its relationship with NATO in 2000-2004. The Heorhii Gongadze murder ("Kuchmagate") and Kolchuha scandals (radars allegedly sent to Iraq) isolated President Kuchma from the West and pushed Ukraine into Russia's orbit. In addition, Washington established close relations with Moscow in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which led to fears echoed today in Kyiv that

a U.S.-Russian "reset" would result in Ukraine being left within Russia's sphere of influence.

In order to balance against Russia and break out of isolation, Mr. Kuchma took the following steps. First, he sought NATO membership, especially following Russia's threat to annex the Island in September 2003. Second, in March 2003 he ingratiated himself with the U.S. by sending the third largest troop contingent to join the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq.

Five factors have changed over the last eight years.

1. In the post-Kuchma era, the Party of Regions evolved into an ideological party that represents the eastern Slavic-neo-Soviet political culture of Russophone eastern-southern Ukraine, particularly Donetsk and Crimea.

2. There is counter-reaction to the Viktor Yushchenko era (2005-2010), specifically perceived as his single-vector pro-Western foreign policy and poor relations with Russia.

3. Mr. Yanukovich, and the leadership of the Party of Regions, admires the resurgence of Russia under Vladimir Putin ignoring its authoritarianism and great power ambitions.

4. In Ukraine, support for NATO membership has declined, while opposition has grown. This resulted from anti-American and anti-NATO campaigns launched since 2004 by the Party of Regions and its allies, and the U.S. invasion of Iraq, which Ukrainians misunderstood as a "NATO" operation.

5. The current Ukrainian leadership is the first to not see Russia as a threat to Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to pursue a single vector pro-Russian foreign policy (*Eurasia Daily Monitor*, March 12, April 23). The rationale for a "NATO card" is meaningless if Russia is no longer perceived as a threat.

On the eve of the Clinton visit, Western commentators offered mixed appraisals of

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Quotable notes

"... Secretary of State Hillary Clinton will make a timely visit to Kyiv on Friday [July 2]. She should build four themes into the message that she brings:

"First, Ukrainian officials say they want to balance relationships with Russia and the West, but Kyiv appears to have leaned dramatically toward Moscow the past few months. Ukraine should give greater attention to developing relations with Europe and the United States. If so, the West will work with Ukraine to build robust and substantive relationships.

"Second, disturbing reports are coming from within Ukraine regarding media pressure, efforts to assert control over the judiciary, and SBU activities. It is important that Kyiv understand that a rollback of democracy would severely damage Ukraine's image in – and relations with – the West.

"Third, Ukraine appears to be doing many rapid deals with the Russians. That is Ukraine's prerogative. But Kyiv should be careful: the West will not be able to help if Ukraine negotiates away some of its sovereignty.

"Fourth, genuine reform of the Ukrainian economy remains critical. It will improve living standards and give Kyiv greater wherewithal to pursue foreign policies of its own choice rather than out of necessity.

"The West cannot be indifferent to what happens to Ukraine. Secretary Clinton can put down important markers as to how Ukraine's relations with the United States and Europe should develop."

– *Former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Steven Pifer, writing in a June 30 commentary titled "Ukraine – Not Yet Lost" on The Brookings Institution website.*

"Of all the stops on Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's upcoming trip to Europe, none is more important than Ukraine. This is a country heading in the wrong direction – as evidenced by the disturbing and rapid rollback of its democratic gains. Much is at stake, for the implications of a Ukraine moving toward a non-democratic, if not authoritarian, system of governance are enormous not just for Ukraine, but also for Europe and the United States. Ukraine is critical to advancing the vision of a Europe whole, free, and at peace. Thus, it is imperative for Clinton to convey to Ukraine's new leadership the United States' distress over recent developments and its strong hope that this represents just a detour – and not a dead end – for democratic development in the country. ...

"Yanukovich must be told directly by Clinton that the track he is on leads into a brick wall. On its current trajectory, Ukraine will lose support and interest from the West, which already is not keen to engage Ukraine, and be left to deal with Russia on its own. Here are some points the Secretary of State should convey:

"• Mr. President, you need to remove the heads of the SBU and/or Ministry of Interior [Internal Affairs] – or any local officials – if pressure or attacks against journalists continue. That is the only way the message will get out that the media are off-limits.

"• You and your ministers should avoid stirring controversy over issues of Ukrainian identity, language, and culture, especially for those living in the western part of the country; you are only contributing to the country's polarization.

"• Stop allowing officials to harass religious organizations and non-governmental organizations, permit freedom of assembly, and show tolerance for diversity as well as critics (foreign and domestic) of your government.

"• Deal with corruption aggressively – including within your own ranks – and not just to settle old scores.

"... the United States and the European Union need to wake up to what is unfolding and be prepared to ramp up their engagement significantly. ... Yanukovich and his government need to know that the West recognizes the importance of a successful Ukraine – and is serious about offering it the prospect of deeper integration. But Yanukovich must do his part too, and that means getting Ukraine back on the right democratic track."

– *David J. Kramer, senior Transatlantic fellow with the German Marshall of the United States, in a July 1 article on the fund's website titled "Clinton to Kyiv: Speaking Truth to Power."*

IMF announces agreement on \$14.9 billion loan to Ukraine

An International Monetary Fund (IMF) mission visited Kyiv on June 21-July 3 to discuss economic policies that could be supported by a stand-by arrangement (SBA) with the IMF. At the conclusion of the visit, Thanos Arvanitis, mission chief for Ukraine, issued the following statement in Kyiv. (The statement was also released by the IMF in Washington.)

The mission has reached a staff-level agreement with the authorities of Ukraine on an economic policy program that can be supported by a two-and-a-half-year stand-by arrangement in the amount equivalent to SDR [Special Drawing Rights] 10 billion (\$14.9 billion U.S.). The agreement reached with the authorities is subject to approval by IMF management and the executive board. Consideration by the executive board is expected in late July, following approval of legislative changes relating to the budget and financial sector.

The goal of the authorities' economic program is to entrench fiscal and financial stability, advance structural reforms, and put Ukraine on a path of sustainable

and balanced growth. Policies under the program include fiscal adjustment to contain the 2010 consolidated general government deficit to 5.5 percent of GDP in 2010 and 3.5 percent in 2011 with a view to setting public debt firmly on a declining path.

The fiscal adjustment is to be achieved by tax and social security structural reforms, expenditure rationalization combined with efforts to improve tax administration. Additional resources are allocated in the budget to protect the poorest segment of the population.

Financial sector reforms are focused on restoring the health of the banking system, including by ensuring an adequate level of capitalization and strengthening the independence of the National Bank of Ukraine.

Energy sector reforms will help to strengthen the gas sector and improve Naftohaz's financial position, limiting its deficit to 1 percent of GDP in 2010 and balancing its finances in 2011, while, at the same time, protecting the most vulnerable people. Legislative reforms will be aimed at modernizing the economy and improving business environment, to restore robust economic growth over the coming years.

FOR THE RECORD: Joint statement of U.S.-Ukraine Strategic Partnership Commission

Following is the text of the Joint Statement of the Second Session of the United States-Ukraine Strategic Partnership Commission, which was issued in Kyiv on July 2.

Foreign [Affairs] Minister of Ukraine Kostyantyn Gryshchenko and U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton met July 2, 2010, in Kyiv, Ukraine, and co-chaired the second session of the United States-Ukraine Strategic Partnership Commission. They reiterated that cooperation between our two countries is based on common interests and shared values mirrored in the United States-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership, including democracy, economic freedom and prosperity, security and territorial integrity, energy security, cooperation in the defense area, the rule of law and people-to-people contacts. To realize the full potential of our partnership, Secretary Clinton and Foreign Minister Gryshchenko decided to expand cooperation across a broad spectrum of mutual priorities. They agreed to establish three new commission groups on civil nuclear power cooperation, political dialogue and the rule of law, and science and technology, and to explore ways to expand people-to-people exchanges.

The Strategic Partnership Commission's day-long session covered a range of issues that reflected the breadth and depth of bilateral relations: economic recovery, energy, foreign policy, defense and security, democracy and the rule of law, and nuclear security and non-proliferation.

Ukraine and the United States exchanged views and agreed to continue dialogue on recovery from the global financial downturn and the results of the recent G-8 and G-20 summits. The United States expressed support for Ukraine's systemic reforms, as well as Ukraine's

continued engagement with the International Monetary Fund. Both sides recognized the potential for increased bilateral trade and investment and, in that regard, agreed on the need for renewed efforts to improve the business and investment climate and to tackle corruption. The crucial issue of energy was discussed, including the modernization of Ukraine's gas transit sector. Ukraine recognized the importance of enhancing its energy consumption efficiency as it seeks to expand domestic production. Prospects for the development of conventional and unconventional energy sources were explored.

Ukraine reiterated its goal of European integration, and the United States welcomed progress in negotiations toward an EU [European Union]-Ukraine Association Agreement. The two sides discussed the future of European security and ways it could be enhanced. Both agreed that security in Europe must be indivisible and should not create new divisions among partners and neighbors. The United States and Ukraine will redouble efforts to seek a negotiated settlement to the Transnistrian conflict through the 5+2 talks.

Both sides noted with satisfaction the planned increase in defense engagement this year, specifically the joint Sea Breeze and Rapid Trident exercises. Ukraine reaffirmed that its continued partnership with NATO, including through its Annual National Program, remains among its priorities. The United States reiterated its support for Ukrainian efforts to transform and restructure its armed forces, and commended Ukraine's continuing contribution to international peace and security through its deployments to Afghanistan, Iraq and Kosovo. The United States and Ukraine agreed to further consultations on ways to strengthen regional and global security through mutual efforts.



U.S. State Department

Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko with U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The United States and Ukraine discussed issues related to democratic development. The United States welcomed the fact that Ukraine's presidential elections had been conducted in accordance with international standards. Both sides reiterated their commitment to shared democratic values, particularly in the areas of freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and judicial independence.

The sides discussed the steps to implement the agreements reached by our two presidents during the Nuclear Security Summit, namely, Ukraine's decision to get rid of all its stocks of highly enriched uranium by the time of the next nuclear security summit, including the removal of a substantial part of those stocks this year, and the United States' necessary

technical and financial support to reach this goal. To promote the modernization of Ukraine's nuclear power industry and diversification of its fuel supply, both sides agreed to establish a group under this Commission to look at further possibilities for cooperation in civil nuclear power. The two sides also agreed to continue working together on nuclear safety, including efforts to safeguard the Chernobyl nuclear reactor site. With the approaching 25th anniversary of the Chernobyl catastrophe, Ukraine underlined the significance of the International Conference on Chernobyl to be held in Kyiv in April 2011. Both sides reaffirmed the importance of continuing international assistance, including the Shelter Fund financing to complete the project of its conversion into an ecologically safe system.

Both sides reaffirmed their shared vision of a world without nuclear weapons and pledged to work together to prevent proliferation and to realize the Nuclear Security Summit's goal of securing all vulnerable nuclear materials. The U.S. recognized Ukraine's unique contribution to nuclear disarmament and reconfirmed that the security assurances recorded in the Budapest Memorandum with Ukraine of December 5, 1994, remain in effect.

The U.S. and Ukraine remain committed to the safe storage and elimination of the SS-24 solid rocket propellant stored in Pavlograd, Ukraine, and will jointly consult on how to do so in an expeditious, economically feasible and environmentally sound manner.

Secretary Clinton and Foreign Minister Gryshchenko look forward to further strengthening the strategic partnership between the United States and Ukraine and convening the next session of the Strategic Partnership Commission in Washington, D.C.

U.S. secretary of state's address at Kyiv Polytechnic Institute

Below are excerpts of U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's town hall meeting at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute on July 2. The full text may be read at <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/07/143941.htm>.

Over the years, I've been fortunate to visit Ukraine and made many friends, and have had a front-row seat on history as I've watched the latest chapter in Ukraine's centuries-long story unfold. I'm pleased to be visiting Central and Eastern Europe and the Caucasus on this trip over our Fourth of July holiday. Tomorrow I will be traveling to Poland for a meeting of the Community of Democracies, and then I will visit Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia.

At every stop, I'm talking about the importance of openness, civil society, and the values that support democracy. And I cannot think of a better place to begin this trip than right here in Ukraine. Your country has made a remarkable journey and you are still moving forward toward the future you deserve.

When I first visited Ukraine in 1995, this was a newly independent state still emerging from decades of Soviet rule. Today, Ukraine is a proud democracy. And people not only in my country, but in countries around the world, have found inspiration in your commitment to free and fair elections. ...

Meeting the challenges of the century will require us to face the difficulties that lie ahead and to make tough choices. I know that the global economic downturn has taken a heavy toll on Ukraine, and even though there are signs of progress and recovery, more help is needed to ensure a

sustainable economic future. I know there have been disputes over energy and the cost of energy that have literally played out in your daily lives. More needs to be done to make Ukraine energy independent. Ukraine has the resources that can be used to achieve that goal. I know that we face together global issues ranging from climate change to HIV/AIDS, food insecurity and conflict.

So no matter where one lives in the world today, there is always a temptation to get discouraged, dispirited – give up on the promise of democracy because it is a slow and sometimes messy process. But I'm here to urge you to do the opposite – to work even harder to strengthen your democracy, to build your civil society, to empower your media, to ensure that your future here in Ukraine is as positive as you deserve it to be. ...

Ukraine matters, not just to Ukrainians – Ukraine matters to the world. Because there are so many opportunities for Ukraine to assume a position of prominence and influence in the region, in Europe, and even beyond. An open, innovative Ukraine has much to offer. When I look at the students who graduate from this institute and know that you are among the best in the world, I see limitless possibilities. And the world is looking to you to secure your democracy, grow your economy, deepen your integration with Europe, and create the conditions that will allow you and every Ukrainian citizen to make the most of your God-given potential.

The United States wants to be your partner. The foreign [affairs] minister and I are chairing a Strategic Partnership Commission, and we held our second meet-



U.S. State Department

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton responds to students' questions at Kyiv Polytechnic Institute.

ing today, and later this year we'll have the third meeting in Washington. ...

Our cooperation with Ukraine is very important to the United States and to the Obama administration. And we look for ideas that come not just from the government-to-government interaction, but the people-to-people contacts that this town hall represents. Because we know that it is not, in the end, our governments that discover the solutions to the problems we face, but it is within an open society the work of individual citizens who challenge conventional thinking, who work through the solutions that are necessary for progress. ...

That's why it's particularly important

that in democracies, where they be 234-years-old or 19-years-old, that we never lose sight of the values and core freedoms that protect and promote democracy and reform: Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom to petition governments, to assemble, to participate in the political sphere. These are not just afterthoughts, these are not just enshrined in our Declaration of Independence or the Human Rights Declaration, these are absolutely the right and the property of each individual.

I discussed the importance of defending these rights with your president, and he has

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Remarks by Hillary Clinton and Viktor Yanukovich

Following is the text of remarks by U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich on Friday, July 2, in Kyiv. The text was released by the U.S. Department of State.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Let me begin by thanking the president for his hospitality. And I want to extend on behalf of President [Barack] Obama and myself congratulations on your upcoming 60th birthday. I am delighted to be back in Ukraine for my fourth visit. I was privileged to come twice as first lady, once as a senator from New York, and now as secretary of State on behalf of the Obama administration.

Ukraine's journey has been remarkable, and people in many nations, including the United States, are deeply impressed by your progress. The United States is proud of our partnership with Ukraine and the many ties that connect the American and Ukrainian people.

The president and I had a very productive meeting. We discussed ways that Ukraine and the United States can deepen and expand our strategic partnership, moving forward with the work of the U.S.-Ukraine Strategic Partnership Commission that I co-chair along with the foreign [affairs] minister.

My visit comes at an important moment in Ukraine's history. The recent elections represented a major step in the consolidation of Ukraine's democracy.

As Ukraine moves forward, the country will face questions about its place in the region and the world. Some have tried to force Ukrainians into a choice between aligning your country with Russia or with the West. We believe that is a false choice. Ukraine is an independent nation, and we hope Ukraine will have good relations with its neighbors – including Russia – and that Ukraine will pursue close, constructive relationships with the United States and countries of the European Union. We do not believe in the concept of “spheres of influence.” We believe that it is up to Ukrainians to chart your own course towards your own future. And in doing so, you can count on the support and friendship of the United States.

The president and I also discussed economic reform, which is critical to Ukraine's ability to prosper and attract foreign investment. We discussed energy reform and its potential to transform Ukraine into an energy producer and becoming more energy efficient, which will save money not only for the government, but the people of Ukraine in the long run.

We also discussed the importance of protecting Ukraine's democracy by sup-

porting a strong civil society, media independence, and public sector transparency. And we appreciate the president's recent statements in support of media freedom, and we will work with the Ukrainian government to continue safeguarding these critical liberties.

We are following up on Ukraine's historic decision to get rid of its stocks of highly enriched uranium by 2012, and we greatly appreciate the leadership the president showed in making that announcement at the Nuclear Security Summit in April.

And the United States welcomes the Ukrainian Parliament's decision to approve foreign military exercises on Ukrainian territory in 2010 and we thank Ukraine and the Ukrainian people for your important contributions to NATO and other international security operations.

Mr. President, your nation's commitment to democracy has inspired the United States and the world, and we will draw upon that inspiration as we work to build the partnership between our nations. I thank you for your hospitality, and both President Obama and I look forward to many years of close cooperation and partnership between our governments and our people.

PRESIDENT YANUKOVYCH: (Via interpreter.) Dear Secretary of State, dear ladies and gentlemen, I'm very happy to welcome you in Ukraine today. I'm grateful to you, your Excellency and I'm grateful to President Obama for all the kind words that you have told me today.

Today's meeting with the secretary of state has reaffirmed the readiness of our both countries to further deepen bilateral relations on the basis of the U.S.-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership.

Today, we had a wonderful opportunity to discuss the most pressing issues of the U.S.-Ukrainian relations and identify the areas where our cooperation can further broaden. This is true in particular about increasing our cooperation in the areas of trade and investments as well as energy.

We paid special attention to discussing some practical aspects of the implementation of the agreements that we reached when I saw President Obama in April of this year in Washington. The state secretary and myself were quite happy to note the fruitful results of the second meeting of the U.S.-Ukrainian Commission on Strategic Partnership that took place this morning in Kyiv with participation of our high-ranking guest.

During our meeting, we also shared our ideas about a range of important international issues and we noted that our understanding of possible solutions for them is



U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton participates in a joint press conference with Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich in Kyiv.

Some have tried to force Ukrainians into a choice between aligning your country with Russia or with the West. We believe that is a false choice. Ukraine is an independent nation, and we hope Ukraine will have good relations with its neighbors – including Russia – and that Ukraine will pursue close, constructive relationships with the United States and countries of the European Union.

– U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton

very close. The issues related to Ukraine's domestic situation were also on the agenda today. And I'm very happy to know that the United States assess positively political stabilization in the country, the fact that the public administration system is becoming more effective – basically that means that they positively assess the first steps of Ukraine toward reforms.

It is very important that the United States support the program to overcome the crisis that the Ukrainian government and president are implementing. We highly appreciate the readiness of the United States to provide support to Ukraine in some of the most important areas for the country, such as re-establishing cooperation with the International Monetary

Fund, overcoming the consequences of the financial and economic crisis, and conducting systemic reforms in Ukraine.

We highly appreciate the position that – the consistent position of the United States that was reaffirmed today to guarantee Ukraine's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of its borders. This is especially important for Ukraine as a European non-bloc nation. I want to emphasize that the United States of America is our reliable, strategic partner, and we on the Ukrainian side are ready to do whatever is necessary to further consolidate our partnership. I am cordially grateful to you, dear Secretary of State, for our today's fruitful work.

U.S. secretary...

(Continued from page 4)

made a commitment to uphold Ukraine's democracy, to strengthen the rule of law, to maintain a strong respect for human rights. During his visit to the Council of Europe on April 27, President Yanukovich said very clearly that the rule of law cannot exist in Ukraine unless corruption is eradicated and comprehensive judicial reform is implemented. He also spoke out against the intimidation of journalists.

Now the United States applauds these statements and we welcome these commitments. But we recognize that rhetoric alone does not change behavior. These statements need to be followed up with concrete actions. And we have said, very clearly, to the Ukrainian government that we will help to make sure these values and freedoms are protected.

It's important, too, that we look at how to promote broadly based prosperity. One of the problems in societies around the world today is that too much of the productivity of the economies are going to too few. Too few people, the political and economic elite, are realizing the vast majority of benefits from economic activity. So part of the challenge of economic growth and prosperity is to make sure it gets down and equally spread among people. And we have to work towards spurring investment and long-term growth in Ukraine. And we have to work together to end corruption in both the public and the private sectors.

I know that having been elected to office and having run for president, that when it comes to motivating democratically elected officials, there is no force more powerful than citizens who refuse to accept the status quo, who insist that measurable progress be made. Here in Ukraine, you have a powerful asset: A strong, courageous civil society,

women who have banded together to rescue victims of human trafficking, people fighting for the rights of the disabled, students and grandparents, men and women who have devoted so much of their lives to protecting human rights, to fighting diseases like HIV/AIDS, to protecting the environment, to creating a more open and accountable society.

I just met with a group of representatives of civil society groups that are working here in Ukraine. And I will say to you what I said to them. Do not get discouraged. Do not lose heart. Do not stop now. Because building a strong democracy is not a job for other people; it is really a job for each of us. And even though it is difficult, the challenges of our age are great, but they are not greater than the challenges Ukraine faced in the past. Ukraine has overcome so much. ...

I'm very optimistic, as is my nature. I believe that we face a great threat from

extremism around the world, from those who would turn the clock back on education, on women, on the modern advances that we take advantage of. I, for one, will do everything I can to bring together European civilization, Americans, and like-minded people around the world who will work for a better future and against the forces of disintegration.

Ukraine has a very important role to play in that because of your history, because of your geography, you are uniquely positioned to play that role. And I know that as you go forward in making whatever choices are best for you and your own families, that whatever contribution you can make to Ukraine's future will come back to benefit you and future generations. And as you make those choices, I want you to know that the United States, the Obama Administration, and the American people are cheering you on and standing with you.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

U.S. strategy in Ukraine

The United States government is certainly in a difficult position in dealing with the administration of Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich. After watching Mr. Yanukovich conduct an extensive reversal of Ukrainian foreign policy, forging unprecedented cooperation between the Russian and Ukrainian governments in all key spheres, the U.S. was left with little leverage for influence.

What's left is to try and prevent the Yanukovich administration from completely following in the footsteps of the Russian Federation in establishing an authoritarian regime that is hostile to Western values such as rule of law, balance of power, individual rights and property rights.

Therefore, the strategy of the U.S. foreign policy team dealing with Ukraine has been to encourage the Yanukovich administration in its moments of progress and reform, while avoiding criticism, which could send Kyiv diving into Vladimir Putin's embrace and leaving the U.S. impotent in addressing pragmatic concerns. The strategy is an admirable attempt to keep the Ukrainian government engaged with Western governments and institutions, and to stave off the drift towards Russia that has already begun.

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's visit to Kyiv on July 2 fulfilled that strategy, as her foreign policy team was able to address pragmatic questions on economic stabilization and energy cooperation, and following up on the historic decision of Ukraine's government to surrender its highly enriched uranium stocks.

Her foreign policy team also deserves credit for organizing meetings with opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko and key leaders of Ukrainian civil society, including Natalia Ligachova and Viktoriya Siumar of the Stop Censorship movement and the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University.

But the absence of any criticism in her remarks, as well as those of U.S. Ambassador John Tefft, is cause for great concern.

Secretary Clinton repeatedly commended the Yanukovich administration for its "commitment" to European standards and to support freedom of the press and independence for Ukraine's media. "Ukraine's new leadership has already demonstrated a commitment to democracy," she said. Yet, when she said that it's also important to "translate commitment into actions," Ms. Clinton revealed the sophisticated diplomatic terminology being used by the U.S. government. These alleged commitments simply aren't what European-oriented Ukrainians are observing in the reality of their day-to-day lives.

"A strong and independent Ukraine is good for Russia," Mr. Tefft said. But that's not how the Russians see it. A strong and independent Ukraine would cost Russia its naval base in Sevastopol, end its domination over Ukrainian media and culture, and decimate the fifth-column position it currently enjoys in Ukrainian politics as it creates for itself a servile, satellite nation.

His statement that "the changes created by the Orange Revolution appear to be irreversible" is simply out of touch with reality. Many of the gains made by the Orange Revolution in the spheres of reviving Ukrainian cultural life, democratic institutions and European integration efforts are already decimated, and it will take years of rebuilding to get them back if the authoritarian-minded Yanukovich administration were to ever leave power.

The U.S. government is extending an overly generous "line of credit" to President Yanukovich during this exceedingly long honeymoon period. The Ukrainian community in the U.S. is wondering just how long the U.S. government intends to play ball with this authoritarian government before it decides that enough is enough. What will it take for the U.S. to speak up?

Journalists are already being tracked and followed by the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), which is spying on Father Gudziak, the rector of one of Ukraine's most progressive, Western-oriented universities. Its officers asked him to dissuade students from participating in demonstrations that are illegal – which could mean almost all public meetings if certain legislation is passed. And, when people do demonstrate, they're being corralled like animals and beaten. Ukraine's illegally formed parliamentary coalition is passing new legislation every week that enhances the power of the Ukrainian presidency to control the legislative and judicial branches of government.

The U.S. isn't supposed to be merely a pragmatic actor in global politics. It's supposed to defend the ideals of democratic institutions, rule of law and individual freedoms wherever they're under threat – particularly in nations on Europe's doorstep striving to become part of the European community.

If the U.S. government decides down the road that a democratic, European Ukraine is worth sacrificing for pragmatic, tactical gains, then it will only be playing into the hands of those who stand opposed to Western civilization and values, and human progress.

July
16
1990

Turning the pages back...

Twenty years ago, on July 16, 1990, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR proclaimed the republic's state sovereignty, defined as "supremacy, independence, fullness and indivisibility of the republic's authority within the boundaries of the its territory, and its independence and equality in external relations."

The Ukrainian Parliament overwhelmingly approved the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine by a vote of 355 to 4. The document was divided into 10 sections: Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation; Rule of the People; State Authority; Citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR; Territorial Supremacy; Economic Independence; Ecological Safety; Cultural Development; External and Internal Security; and International Relations.

The declaration decreed that Ukrainian law would take precedence on Ukrainian territory above all-union laws, and declared that the Ukrainian SSR would maintain its own

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COMMENTARY

The SBU versus Western analysts

by Alexander J. Motyl and Taras Kuzio

The detention on June 26 and threat of expulsion of Nico Lange, Ukraine director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, together with a range of new policies directed at the opposition and journalists, signifies a return to pre-August 1991 KGB tactics. This is a worrying development, as it shows the degree to which Ukraine's young democracy is threatened by a return to neo-Soviet semi-authoritarianism.

The only time a foreigner was prevented from entering Ukraine under President Leonid Kuchma was in 2000 when Jed Sunden, owner of the Kyiv Post, Korrespondent and other publications, was detained but then, like Mr. Lange, allowed to enter the country. In the USSR the KGB had blacklists of foreigners and it would seem from the Lange detention that the SBU has for the first time in Ukraine's two decades of independence drawn up similar KGB-style lists of Western analysts.

Taras Kuzio was on the KGB blacklist and was expelled from Sheremetyevo Airport in April 1990 on his way to attend the inaugural congress of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. These KGB blacklists disintegrated at the same time the KGB disintegrated after the failed August 1991 hard-line putsch. Will Western academics and experts now be prevented from visiting Ukraine, as before August 1991?

Return to KGB tactics

The return to KGB-style tactics is facilitated by the of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) cooperating with the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) and the re-definition of what constitute threats to the Ukrainian state. The current authorities have adopted the Russian-Belarusian threat perception that sees the West (especially the United States) as the main threat to Ukrainian national security.

Anti-Americanism re-surfaced in Ukraine in response to the Kuchmagate crisis, the rise of Viktor Yushchenko and Our Ukraine, which won the 2002 elections, and the opposition threat in the 2004 elections. But this anti-Americanism was tempered by President Kuchma's support of NATO membership (he twice sought Membership Action Plans in 2002 and 2004) and Ukraine's sending the third largest contingent of troops to support the U.S.-led coalition forces in Iraq in 2003.

Today, President Viktor Yanukovich's re-orientation towards Russia and anti-Westernism is no longer tempered by pro-Western foreign policies, as they were when he was prime minister under President Kuchma in 2002-2004. In effect, we now have the "Putinization" of the media (as Natalia Ligachova, editor of *Telekritika* has written) and of Ukraine's security forces.

A single-vector foreign policy

The Lange detention is confirmation that independent Ukraine, for the first time in its 20-year history, is pursuing a single-vector pro-Russian foreign policy,

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and not President Kuchma's multi-vectorism. Mr. Yanukovich is the first president to oppose NATO membership and not to see it as a steppingstone to European Union membership (as all Eastern European countries did).

But, how serious is the claim that Ukraine seeks EU membership? If one really wants to join the EU, one doesn't spoil relations with Germany by detaining one of its analysts. Nor does one pursue semi-authoritarianism if one is serious about European values.

Ukraine has given away its "NATO card" to get Moscow to respect Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Damaging relations with Germany and undermining Ukraine's integration into the EU, ahead of Mr. Yanukovich's August visit to Berlin, is tantamount to giving away Ukraine's "EU card."

The SBU under President Yushchenko was never reformed into an institution under democratic control and continued to be an extension of the presidential apparatus. The lack of reform in the SBU is evident from the speed with which it has quickly returned to KGB-style operating tactics under President Yanukovich.

10 pieces of advice

In the meantime, Western experts traveling to Ukraine would do well to heed the following 10 pieces of advice for western analysts who are detained by the authorities upon entering Ukraine:

- 1) Do not sign any Ukrainian document.
- 2) Do not let them have your passport or other form of identification.
- 3) Call your Embassy or Consulate immediately. Ensure you have names, mobile telephones and emails of Embassy personnel with you.
- 4) Telephone, text or e-mail Ukrainian and Western politicians and journalists immediately when you are denied entry. Ensure you have names, mobile telephones and e-mails contacts of Ukrainian national deputies, journalists and NGO leaders. Bring contact numbers of Western journalists resident in Kyiv (Reuters, Associated Press, Financial Times, Wall Street Journal, Kyiv Post).
- 5) Ensure you have a mobile telephone with built-in camera and e-mail and/or texting facility. Make sure it is fully charged and bring one extra battery. Ask another Westerner in line at passport control to take a photo or video of you and send these to Ukrainian/Western journalists.
- 6) Ensure you have some cash with you for essential purchases. Most facilities in Kyiv's Boryspil Airport do not take credit cards.
- 7) You do not know when you will see your luggage. Include basic toiletries in your hand luggage.
- 8) Bring reading and writing material with you. Detention can be for up to 10 hours. Keep a log of what is taking place and what is being said. Use this log to write a blog and/or article afterwards. Publicity is good for your plight.
- 9) Use Twitter or texting to keep people informed. To save time, prepare a mailing list on your mobile phone of key people (Embassy/Consulate officials, Western/Ukrainian journalists, Ukrainian politicians and NGO activists) you would wish to keep informed of your plight.
- 10) Before travelling to Ukraine, ask your colleagues for contact details of a Kyiv-based lawyer whom you could telephone if you are detained.

IN THE PRESS: U.S. policy toward Ukraine and Russia

“What the Secretary Will Find in Ukraine,” by Alyona Getmanchuk (director of the Institute of World Policy in Kyiv), The New York Times, July 1:

“While Europeans are talking about how Ukraine has been ‘swallowed’ by Russia, Hillary Clinton is making her first visit to Kiev [sic] as secretary of state. ...

“But not everything is as it might have seemed even a half year ago. ...

“First, the Ukraine of President [Viktor] Yanukovich [sic] does not feel offended by the United States. On the contrary, it is grateful: Ukrainian authorities can now use the U.S.-Russian ‘reset’ as a carte blanche for moving themselves closer to Russia than they’ve been in 20 years.

“The United States must understand that this Ukraine does not view itself as a victim of Russia’s ‘imperial ambitions.’ It is freely and willingly helping Russia appear as a new superpower.

“For President Yanukovich, in contrast to the millions of Ukrainians who did not vote for him, the presence of the Russian Black Sea fleet in Sevastopol, or the law on Ukraine remaining outside any bloc (like NATO), is logical and natural.

“The new government, in contrast to the opposition, does not see these agreements with Russia as a threat to Ukrainian sovereignty or territorial integrity.

“Yanukovich offers Russia a very simple deal: Kiev will help Moscow gain the illusion that it is reviving its spheres of influence, and in exchange it will receive financial help...

“Yanukovich ... needs not only American help in securing financing, but also the symbolic support of the Obama administration.

“During Secretary Clinton’s visit, the United States should make clear that such support will not be possible if Ukraine continues to manifest tendencies incompatible with its declared desire for integration into Europe. ...”

“The Myth of the Russia Reset,” by Robert Amsterdam (lawyer and rule of law advocate), Perspectives on Global Politics and Business, June 25:

“...The truth is that almost nothing in Russia has changed outside of symbolic gestures. Democratic freedoms are still on total lock-down, while a protest movement seeking only to protect their minimal constitutional rights is being crushed with a surplus of brutality. Energy imperialism has advanced unencumbered... Political prisoners are still on trial, businessmen are imprisoned and in some cases killed while those responsible remain unpunished, while some of the worst criminals are swiftly pardoned and let back onto the streets. ... Russia remains in open violation of a ceasefire agreement [in Georgia], occupying territories which no real governments recognize as independent. ...

“The reasons behind the Obama-Medvedev burger summit have something to do with the fact that both leaders are experiencing a mutually decreasing ability to manage international outcomes, from Kyrgyzstan to Iran to China. ...

“Having a camera down on the ocean floor to capture the sickening eruption of oil certainly produced a sense of urgency in the U.S. president. Perhaps we should consider putting some streaming cameras all over Russia as well, to watch the show trials, beaten protesters, murdered journalists, and disappeared North Caucasians, which may at least bring a

sense of balance to all the self-congratulation in Washington this week.

“Somebody in this government needs to wake up and smell the coffee, and take note that it is not Russia nor the relationship that has been reset, but rather Obama himself. If all the high-fiving continues, it is likely to be very short-lived, and looked back upon with embarrassment.”

“No, it’s not a gentler, kinder Russia,” by David J. Kramer (senior Transatlantic fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States), The Washington Post, June 22:

“Ahead of Dmitry Medvedev’s visit to Washington this week, a ‘leaked’ Russian foreign policy document is causing some Russia watchers to wonder whether the Russian president is shifting his country toward a more positive, pro-Western stance. A careful read of the 18,000-word document does not support such wishful thinking. ...

“Unlike the foreign policy document, the [officially released] military doctrine was not greeted warmly in the West, given its clear anti-Western tone. According to the doctrine, the top dangers to Russia are NATO’s enlargement and its efforts to take on ‘global functions carried out in violation of the norms of international law.’ Other dangers include deployment of foreign (i.e., American) troops in states bordering Russia and strategic missile defense, which would ‘undermin[e] global stability and violat[e] the established correlation of forces in the nuclear-missile sphere.’ ...

“Overall, the foreign policy document clearly supports establishment of a Russian sphere of influence, emphasizing the need to ‘consolidate the CIS (post-Soviet) area’ and the imperative ‘actively to counter ...attempts by forces outside the region to interfere in Russia’s relations with the CIS countries.’ It calls for bolstering the Russia-led Collective Security Treaty Organization and consolidating Russia’s Black Sea Fleet presence in Ukraine’s Crimea and argues for the promotion of Russian language and culture in the countries along its borders.

“...the document... calls for drawing Ukraine ‘into the orbit of economic cooperation with Russia.’ It also pushes for a consortium to manage and develop Ukraine’s gas-transportation system and the ‘acquisition by Russian investors of controlling shareholdings in major Ukrainian enterprises.’ ...

“Russia under Medvedev remains a country with which we can still get some things done. But vast differences in our interests and values remain. They should not be swept under the rug.”

“It Takes Two to Reset,” by Lilia Shevtsova (senior associate, Carnegie Moscow Center), Foreign Policy, June 16:

“With Russian President Dmitry Medvedev due to visit Washington next week, Barack Obama’s administration is seemingly anxious to tout improved U.S. relations with Russia as one of its primary foreign-policy achievements. ...

“The Kremlin is willing to help Obama try to earn his Nobel Peace Prize as long as he’s aware that the reset is possible only on Russian terms: Don’t meddle in Moscow’s affairs; recognize its spheres of interest; and help with its economic modernization. The United States has fulfilled the first two conditions so far, but help on the third is not yet in sight. Moscow therefore must take a firmer line in bargaining with Washington: All con-

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From a Canadian Angle

by Oksana Bashuk Hepburn



The best people are in prison

“Bereza Kartuzka” is a film about political prisoners during the inter-war Polish rule of western Ukraine. Its harshness spawned the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which went on to fight the Nazi and Soviet machines. Producer/Director Yuriy Luhovy caps the universality of man’s inhumanity to man with the message: resistance to tyranny is eternal. “Bereza Kartuzka,” named after the notorious prison, is about yesterday; its lessons are applicable today.

Many young faces on the screen are familiar; they became Ukrainian leaders: Roman Shukhevych founded an army; Stefan Bandera led an independence movement.

Then there are the familiar faces from Canada: Winnipeg’s Olha Bilas-Senchuk is seen crying, recalling her uncle and brother’s execution by hanging for resisting oppression. Volodymyr Makar is there, along with Sofijka and Lesia Kachor’s mother, Ivanna Chernetska-Kachor, and Theodor Baran, whose son Emil was a strong Canadian presence in post-independent Ukraine. Jaroslav Pryszyk’s commentary throughout the footage is invaluable just like his eulogy at my father’s funeral was in 1995. Olha Pawlyshyn-Kobziar recalls the horrid conditions in Bereza. Rotting, inadequate food, overcrowding and toilet for all on a whistle command – finished or not. Psychological torture was designed to reinforce the prison authorities’ pledge to the incarcerated: Here you are nothing.

Most of the faces are gone now, but their story continues. Bereza prisoners went on to become activists of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, freedom fighters and the backbone of the diaspora around the world. “Bereza Kartuzka” made me understand why my mother loved Hollywood’s “High Noon” – she was applauding the stand of one man against oppression.

Bereza’s political prisoners, including my father, were incarcerated for resisting Poland’s de-Ukrainization. Most were students, held without trial, some for three or four years. And there was the assassination of Minister Bronislaw Pieracki, the minister who directed the Polonization campaign.

The documentary says Hryhorij Matsejko, a Lviv student, committed the act. His photo reveals an unlikely assassin: handsome, dreamy-eyed, studious, a person who, like the rest of them, chafed under Polish chauvinism.

Here’s what happened. The Treaty of Versailles legitimized new nations springing from the collapsed Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Entente, deferential to Russia in matters dealing with the eastern part of Europe, was baffled by what to do with Ukraine. Margaret MacMillan, in “Paris 1919,” describes Lloyd George, then prime minister of England, dismissing Ukraine’s delegation, which was seeking recognition for statehood: he had once met a Ukrainian and he doesn’t need to meet another!

Such ignorance landed western Ukraine in Poland’s “care” for 25 years only. But the clever Poles had other plans: Polonize the population and keep Ukraine. Chauvinism, ethnic hatred and violence reigned. Ukrainians were kept out of businesses, professions and institutions of higher learning. Speaking Ukrainian constituted insubordination to

the Polish regime. In response, popular resistance, directed by the OUN, spread. The assassination, followed by Poland’s determination to “pacify” Ukrainians exacerbated the situation. There were widespread arrests, prisons like Bereza Kartuzka and, ultimately, national resistance by UPA under Gen. Shukhevych.

And there, on the screen is my father, Petro Bashuk, who was among those rounded up and incarcerated.

And real-life history changes like channel surfing. Click! It’s 1939. Stalin collaborates with Hitler to invade Poland. Will Western Ukraine finally be rid of the insufferable Poles? Click! They’re out. Click! The Soviets are in but even more brutal than the previous bastards. Click! They’re out. For a few months there is peace and rejoicing. Click! It’s 1941. The Germans march in; this time without Russians. Click! It’s the declaration of Ukraine’s independence! Click! The Gestapo are arresting the OUN’s leadership. Several hundred, including its leader, Bandera, are herded to Nazi concentration camps. My father spends much of the war period in the death mills of Auschwitz.

Click! The war ends. In Ukraine the Soviets are crucifying the people. This must stop. But the Allies have clicked to “off.” There is little compassion for those being persecuted, killed or exiled by Soviet comrades. A new policy of don’t ask, don’t tell allows the Kremlin to commit then whitewash atrocities for nearly 50 years.

Occupations – by Poland, Germany and Russia – defined Ukraine’s inter-war period. Today, the same players are at it again. Russia is determined to control Ukraine, albeit through its own government. Poland protests the UPA and the OUN’s resistance to Polish atrocities hoping, no doubt, favourable strategic alliances with Russia. To placate Moscow, Germany undermines Ukraine’s Euro-integration and its energy advantage. A dying, stateless John Demjanjuk is persecuted for alleged war crimes while Germany exonerates its own war elite.

Mr. Luhovy’s film is about resisting injustice. It attests to the universality of the right to self-determination and proclaims the inability of despots to suppress this basic human right enshrined in the United Nations charter and various international covenants.

My father was incarcerated in Bereza Kartuzka, then Brigidky Prison in Lviv from which he, Yaroslav Haywas and Petro Kaniuka escaped, creating a national sensation and firing the spirit of resistance. A bas-relief of three falcons breaking out from behind bars was installed in that infamous place, 33 Horodotska Street. Please say “Slava Ukrayini! Heroyam Slava!” for freedom everywhere, should you ever visit.

Brigidky was as foul as Bereza Kartuzka and as brutal as Auschwitz: Occupational forces everywhere are merciless. Yet Tato (father) would say, “Katset, incarceration, was a university.” And more in those institutions of “higher learning” he developed friends for life. The “katsetnyky” were like no other fraternity on earth. Nelson Mandela, undoubtedly, knew this bond, as did the dissidents of the Soviet regime – Levko

(Continued on page 20)

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Parma cathedral dedicates Our Lady of Pochaiv Shrine

by Dick Russ

PARMA, Ohio – Hundreds of people gathered here on a glorious Pentecost Sunday morning to officially dedicate Our Lady of Pochaiv Shrine on the grounds of St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral. The May 23 ceremony capped seven years of planning, fundraising and hard work by the St. Josaphat Apostleship of Prayer, a small group of prayerful women.

“It has been Our Lady who took our desires and led us to build this shrine in her honor,” said Christina Sywyj-Hlabse, current president of the Apostleship of Prayer. “Today it is our privilege to present this gift of love to our church, to our fellow parishioners, and to all those who will pray and worship here for generations to come.”

Bishop John Bura, apostolic administrator of the Eparchy of St. Josaphat in Parma, presided at the divine liturgy which was part of the dedication ceremony. “It is a beautiful shrine and we are grateful to all those who helped,” he said at the conclusion of his homily.

“This is a great day for our cathedral parish and certainly a blessing for us all,”

Bishop Bura told those in attendance. “It is my great privilege to gather with the clergy and all of you to participating, along with the members of the Apostleship of Prayer, to bless and dedicate Our Lady of Pochaiv Shrine today.”

The bishop led numerous clergy and hundreds of parishioners in a procession around the cathedral and, arriving at the shrine, presided over the formal dedication, sprinkling the shrine with holy water brought from the monastery in Pochaiv, Ukraine.

“Certainly the Mother of God is present here with us today her mantle to cover us and protect us,” Bishop Bura commented.

The Rev. Michael Kulick, pastor, followed the bishop in blessing the Shrine and reminded parishioners of the miraculous history of Our Lady of Pochaiv, who appeared to a monk and some shepherds on Mount Pochaiv in western Ukraine on April 17, 1198.

The icon, whose origin remains a mystery, is credited with many miracles, including the defeat of the invading Turks at the Pochaiv Lavra in 1675, and the saving of 200 lives during a church collapse in the 1780s.

“Just as our Blessed Mother selected Pochaiv from where she would produce miracles, our Blessed Mother also chose us, the parishioners of St. Josaphat, and the members of the Apostleship of Prayer,” the Rev. Kulick said. “Through our obedience to her and our imitation of her, we were guided along the way to this point, to this day. She promises us her protection. We honor her today, and we now ask through the grace of God and the guidance of our Bishop John for the blessing of this shrine for our future protection.”

Commissioned by the St. Josaphat Apostleship of Prayer, the shrine was designed by Kulchytsky Architects. The icon mosaic was designed by Eikona Studios of Cleveland and assembled in Italy.

Our Lady of Pochaiv is revered in both Catholic and Orthodox Churches. The icon is known as a “tenderness” icon, because Jesus’ and Mary’s face touch, while Jesus gives a blessing with his hand.



Stefan A. Hlabse

Parishioners and clergy process around St. Josaphat Cathedral prior to the dedication of Our Lady of Pochaiv Shrine.



Detail of the icon mosaic of Our Lady of Pochaiv, dedicated Pentecost Sunday at St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral.



Bishop John Bura looks on, as clergy follow him in blessing the shrine with holy water from Pochaiv, Ukraine.



Bishop John Bura, the cathedral’s pastor, the Rev. Michael Kulick, associate pastor the Rev. Vasyl Petriv, and other clergy pray with parishioners at the dedication of the shrine.



Parishioners Barbara Maciech and Faina Sywyj display an image of Our Lady of Pochaiv, on which the icon mosaic in the Shrine was based.

Vocal coach Oresta Cybriwsky shares her expertise around the globe

by Adrian Bryttan

MUNICH, Germany – “Just how am I supposed to find that note?” Brett, a highly decorated 27-year-old lieutenant commander returning from his second tour of duty in Iraq, was lying on his back in Chicago, learning to relax and breathe deeply. After humming a simple exercise, he finally found one pitch he could hold onto... and then another. “I’m trained to aim at tanks, not to look inside and hunt for notes,” he dead-panned to his teacher.

It is in such re-alignment workshops with non-singers that internationally known pianist and vocal coach Oresta Cybriwsky demonstrates her conviction that every human being is innately musical. A natural voice-body connection exists from birth, but issues can block this natural process and the body will reveal the story. Vocal technique can thus be seen as learning how to eliminate what is getting in the way.

Ms. Cybriwsky believes a greater part of singing is re-learning to breathe properly and naturally. Breathing for life: inspiration...respiration...spirit (spirare, to breathe; Latin). She discussed this with the head of an organization that rehabilitates American troops traumatized by service in Iraq: “95 percent of our therapy is breath work. These young soldiers have great difficulty verbalizing their experiences, but by learning to connect with their breath, with their bodies, they can better access any locked-up trauma.”

“Connections” are the themes of Ms. Cybriwsky’s life, linked by the golden thread of music. Growing up in New Haven, Conn., she discovered her deep bond to nature during many summers at Plast camps: the shadowy woods and starry nights, the smells of dry wood crackling

in bonfires, colorful Ukrainian myths of the “lisovi mavky” (forest nymphs) and age-old goddess traditions of weaving wildflower-wreaths. Later, while studying 19th century Romantic repertoire, she experienced on many levels how nature deeply inspired Franz Schubert and other composers. Awakening this awareness in younger generations is central to her work.

Back in Munich, Germany, in addition to her regular position as vocal coach at the University for Music and Performing Arts, Oresta assumes a more traditional role of vocal coach/pianist for master classes with some of this era’s greatest singers. Always musically inspiring, these intense collaborations also reveal the “human-ness” of the vocal gods and goddesses.

After a particularly difficult session correcting the pronunciation of that feared German suffix called the “schwa,” legendary soprano Elisabeth Schwarzkopf just smiled and sighed, “You know, in our day we couldn’t really do it any better, either.”

During a cigarette break, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, probably the most recorded vocalist in history, once joked with a bare-footed Ms. Cybriwsky about whether she was planning to wear shoes for the concert.

Divas Christa Ludwig and Brigitte Fassbaender insist on the presence of Meggy, Ms. Cybriwsky’s tri-colored Jack Russell terrier, whenever they teach in Italy and Austria. Meggy has developed into somewhat of a celebrity in music circles, quietly sleeping or nestling under the piano. She has been filmed on Italian and Austrian TV, and newspapers have called her “The accompanist’s very own accompanist”: “The little dog, usually found next to the right pedal, shows her appreciation upon hearing a beautiful voice, but imme-

diately drops her floppy right ear when she dislikes any sound...”

In 2004 Meggy stayed home with her dog-sitter when Ms. Cybriwsky made the first of several trips to China to perform and teach master classes in opera, Lied, vocal technique and accompanying. Her uniquely passionate and refreshing approach to music is so new to the Chinese that they record and videotape whenever her hands touch the keyboard.

One voice professor recently exclaimed after hearing her performance of Rachmaninoff songs, “I didn’t know whether to listen to the singer or to the pianist. Exquisite!”

Serving as interpreter, Chinese superstar Lang Lang’s first piano teacher, feisty little Yafen Zhu added: “Of course she’s brilliant! Every note is vibrant and alive in her playing.”

In Shanghai, various questions were posted regarding Ms. Cybriwsky’s most important advice for accompanists. The Chinese translation for “Get a life!” drew peals of laughter from the audience. An accompanist, especially for singers, must draw upon many and varied experiences to be extraordinary, and for the Chinese it was an extraordinarily new concept to have a collaborative pianist as cultural envoy of European and American music.

Ms. Cybriwsky has two handsome sons and has never believed in giving something up in life for the sake of a so-called career. It is the additional rewards of being a mother that make her life special and down-to-earth.

She found Asians a joy to work with because their innate language ability is rooted in pictures and imagination. Chinese is a symbolic language where each word reveals its meaning through its representational calligraphy. Ms. Cybriwsky compares the words of Western poetry to many waterlilies on a lake’s surface: by themselves they make pretty poetic sentences but if one searches underneath, the roots of the water-lilies (words) are very long and deep, intertwined, many-shaded and textured by light or darkness.

For instance, in the written Chinese word for flower (“hua”), one can actually “see” the stem, neck and petals. Or consider the descriptive vowel “o” in the word for “rose” in most languages... The deep experiencing of words in any language – word energy – results in convincing, authentic expression, and not merely an intellectual exercise.

After more than three decades working in Europe, Ms. Cybriwsky delights in coaching German students on American musicals and checks on current idioms by phoning her sister Nina in New Haven.

At one of her last master classes, how-



Oresta Cybriwsky with her Jack Russell-mix Meggy, who accompanies her almost everywhere.

ever, Ms. Schwarzkopf warned that the Chinese are overtaking today’s musical scene. Ms. Cybriwsky is indeed most impressed by their hunger for knowledge and total dedication to learning Western music.

For the special holiday “Moon Festival” she was invited to the Beijing home of Lin Shi, a gifted, then 17-year-old mezzo-soprano who “devoured” music for breakfast, lunch and dinner. Lin wore the standard dark-blue, white-striped jogging pants and white polo shirt of the young students. But all the etiquette in the world could not help Ms. Cybriwsky know how to react when she realized the whole family literally lived in the garage of a high-rise. Lin’s own room was the size of a tiny bathroom crammed with thousands of CDs of Western classical music. A plastic soda bottle cut in half served as a vase for the lilies Ms. Cybriwsky had brought.

During their feast of various dumplings, lovingly prepared by Lin’s mother in their cramped quarters, Ms. Cybriwsky explained Ukrainian Christmas foods and customs. Gratitude for food on the table mingled with personal stories of the Cultural Revolution, when the Chinese people were reduced to eating tree bark and making soup from leaves. Having always been deeply disturbed by the never-ending hunger rampant in this world, Ms. Cybriwsky drew parallels to the tragic enormity of the Holodomor.

She and Lin gave an impromptu concert for the family and curious neighbors. Currently the young Beijing singer is ful-

(Continued on page 18)



Oresta Cybriwsky (second from left) during a master class in Shanghai, with Yafen Zhu (left) as interpreter, working with pianist and singer together.

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Bandurist Julian Kytasty performs in Massachusetts

by Ihor Slabicky

JAMAICA PLAIN, Mass. – Just one week after the premiere of the radiobanduristan.com website and his performance at the Radio Banduristan International concert in New York City, Julian Kytasty, world-renowned bandurist, was on the road.

Packing up his concert bandura and another that is a faithful reproduction of an 18th century instrument, he traveled to Jamaica Plain, Mass., to perform a solo concert at the parish hall of St. Andrew the First-Called Apostle Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The 90-minute concert, on Sunday, May 16, which drew some 70 bandura aficionados from as far away as Rhode Island, was co-sponsored by the Ukrainian American Educational Center of Boston, the Ukrainian American Heritage Foundation, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America – Boston Branch (UCCA), the Ukrainian churches of Boston, and Vsevolod Petriv.

Mr. Petriv, president of the UCCA Boston, opened the gala event by welcoming everyone and then introduced Mr. Kytasty who recounted some of his musical travels – a journey that began over 30 years ago.

He started with the “Duma about Fedir Bezridnyi,” the poignant duma about a kozak who, fatally wounded in battle, gives all of his prized possessions to his aide and asks that he return with the kozaks so that they may bury him in a “mohyla” (burial mound) in the steppe.

This work, which originated in the 17th century, is rarely performed. Played on a bandura modeled after the 18th century version of the instrument, Mr. Kytasty transported the listeners to a distant place and time when this song may very well have been just composed.

Next was “Myliy Kysilenku Zakhotiv” a humorous song about a woman who keeps putting off cooking porridge for her husband until, in the end, he passes away. Julian Kytasty played this in the style of famed 20th century bandurist Zenoviy Shtokalko, whose research showed this song to have been in the repertoire of Ostap Veresai.

Recalling the difficult lives that the bandurists knew all too well, Mr. Kytasty offered two songs about misfortune. “Prozhyv Ya Sviy Vik” was a very somber telling of a man who all his life was surrounded by misfortune, much like a boat is surrounded by water. This segued into “Oi, Ya Bidu Rozpiznav,” in which the singer recounts being so familiar with misfortune at every turn that he finally offers to personally take Misfortune to the devil himself. The melody for this is a lively dance tune and Mr. Kytasty at times emphasized the dance step and rhythm by tapping it out on his bandura as he sang.

Next performed was “Nema v Sviti Pravdy” (“Of truth and falsehood”), a traditional kobzar piece about Truth being

pushed out and Falsehood taking its place. During his introduction to this song, Mr. Kytasty suggested that reading any newspaper could show just how true this old song is in contemporary times.

Switching to his modern bandura, Mr. Kytasty recounted his early days, learning to play on a similar instrument, being taught by his father and performing at church halls in Detroit. He proceeded to play one of the first pieces he learned, a wonderful dance number that under his nimble fingers sounded light and airy.

From Detroit, the bandurist took the audience with him to Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. There, on a winter afternoon, waiting for an event to start at the Mohyla Institute, and wanting to warm up his fingers, he started practicing, and came up with a piece that is now known as “Dance 5,” or as “Kozachok z Mohyly.” Although the piece is intended to be played by an ensemble, hearing it as a solo performance allowed one to appreciate the intricacies of the work and to admire the compositional skills of Mr. Kytasty.

“Vze Bilshe Lit Dvisti” is a historical song that Mr. Kytasty learned in Detroit. Although he seldom performs it, he had recently been asked by Mr. Petriv to perform it at a book launch event in New York City. With Mr. Petriv present at this concert, Mr. Kytasty performed it here also.

Mr. Kytasty then travelled us to the little Ukrainian town of Esperanca, near Prudentopolis, in Brazil. While waiting for the people to gather at an old pioneer chapel where he would be performing, he took out his sopilka and a melody came to be. The resulting work, “Nadiya” (as the name of that town translates from the Portuguese) was simply enrapturing. One wondered how it might sound if it was presented in an expanded, group setting.

Returning back to some of his favorites – historical songs that he does not get to perform as often as he would like – Mr. Kytasty presented “Pro Kharka.” The song tells of a Kozak leader who was invited to dinner with the opposition leader, where he was poisoned. In his introduction of the song, the bandurist pointed out that even though the song had been written in the middle of the 18th century, it somehow seemed to resonate with recent events.

Another historical song from that time period, “Pro Shvachka i Bondarenka,” was next. Anticipating the spoils that they would be getting from an upcoming engagement, the two Haidamaky argue over how to divide them. They do not notice the arrival of the imperial troops, who proceed to take them away to an exile in faraway Siberia. Again, a traditional song that seemed apropos to the news of the day.

Switching back to his older-model bandura and lighter fare, the soloist performed were treated to the humorous “Pip z Borodoyu.” In this a sprightly tune, the wife

of the village priest is upset by his too-long beard. When she goes to complain to the bishop, she finds out that he has an even longer beard. With the lightness of his playing, Mr. Kytasty brilliantly portrayed the tone and rhythm of the upset woman.

Mr. Kytasty spoke about some of his upcoming travels and performances: New Mexico, Israel, Toronto and Buryatia – the latter at an international music festival celebrating the peoples and cultures of the steppes that stretch from Buryatia to Ukraine.

Noting the admiration for horses that is common to all steppe dwellers, he performed two songs from the steppe repertoire of the bandurists.

The first was “Oi, Konyu, Miy Konyu,” which started off slowly, as the Kozak tells his golden haired horse to take him to where his beloved is. Once there, he takes her up on the horse and they ride off together, the music now reflecting the happiness of the two lovers and the liveliness of the horse.

The second song was “Homin Stepiv” (“Echo of the Steppes”). The sensation of riding one’s steed across the steppe – the wind in one’s face, the horse neighing, galloping freely – were wonderfully presented by Mr. Kytasty in his rendition of this famous composition by Hryhoriy Kytasty.

Nearing the end of his concert, Mr. Kytasty recalled that Hryhoriy Kytasty would often select for performance historical songs that related to current events. Wondering which song his great uncle would have picked for the present, he felt it might have been “Kupim Konya Otamanu.” The song urges the Kozaks to each contribute a few coins so that together they may buy their leader a horse. Although the song does not say it explicitly, the gesture of buying the horse could



Ihor Slabicky

Julian Kytasty performs in the parish hall of St. Andrew the First-Called Apostle Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Jamaica Plain, Mass., playing a reproduction of an 18th century bandura.

be interpreted to mean that it was time for the otaman to ride off. It was a wonderful choice of song, leaving the listener wondering what was really meant by the words.

A reception followed the concert, which concluded with a standing ovation for the bandurist, and Mr. Kytasty took time to speak with individual concert-goers and autograph copies of his latest CDs which were available for purchase.

Many also took advantage of the opportunity to view a photo exhibit on life in the DP Camp Somme Kaserne which also had been put together by Mr. Petriv and will be included in a forthcoming book on the camp.



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Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

army and national bank, and reserve the option to introduce its own currency. Each section of the declaration was debated in Parliament; the document was voted on section by section.

The declaration also highlighted the need for all-encompassing guarantees of the rights and freedoms of Ukraine's citizens, respect for the national rights of all nations, and recognition of the necessity of establishing a lawful state.

Other countries that had declared sovereignty included Moldova, Russia and Uzbekistan, while the Baltic states went further, asserting their independence. Ukraine's declaration of sovereignty extended beyond those of other Soviet

republics, particularly in regard to armed forces and non-participation in any military bloc. The Ukrainian SSR's relations with other Soviet republics were to be conducted "on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs."

Also on July 16, 1990, the Ukrainian Parliament voted to proclaim July 16 a national holiday in Ukraine. Thousands of Kyiv residents celebrated on what was October Revolution square – later renamed Independence Square.

National Deputy Oles Shevchenko proclaimed, "from today our children will be born in a free country and not a colony belonging to Moscow."

Source: "Ukraine proclaims sovereignty," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, July 22, 1990.

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Session 2 - Jul 25 - 30

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Hillary Clinton...

(Continued from page 1)

threat by the Yanukovich administration, was present for these discussions and broadcast President Yanukovich's reaction to Ms. Clinton's comments about threats to freedom of speech and assembly. "As I promised, I will tell you openly that after the disorder that was in Ukraine for the last five years, such work sometimes appears rigid," he said.

The results of the second meeting of the U.S.-Ukraine Strategic Partnership Commission were fruitful, according to Mr. Yanukovich. The two sides discussed cooperation in trade, energy and investment and practical steps to fulfill the agreement to surrender highly enriched uranium. The commission was established in December 2008 by Ukraine's former Foreign Affairs Minister Volodymyr Ohryzko and former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

"I'm very happy to know that the United States assess positively political stabilization in the country, the fact that the public administration system is becoming more effective – basically that means that they positively assess the first steps of Ukraine toward reforms," President Yanukovich said.

"It is very important that the United States support the program to overcome the crisis that the Ukrainian government and president are implementing. We highly appreciate the readiness of the United States to provide support to Ukraine in some of the most important areas for the country, such as re-establishing cooperation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), overcoming the consequences of the financial and economic crisis, and conducting systemic reforms in Ukraine."

During her press conference with Mr. Gryshchenko, Ms. Clinton said the IMF loan was a matter between Ukraine and the IMF but the U.S. hopes for an agreement to be reached.

The next day, the IMF Mission to Ukraine recommended that the fund's board of directors issue Ukraine a \$14.9 billion loan pending legislation to introduce financial and budget reforms expected by the end of July. Ms. Clinton is widely believed by experts to have influenced that decision.

Ms. Clinton commended the Ukrainian government for passing legislation that enabled joint-military exercises with foreign armies on Ukrainian territory, as well as Ukraine's commitment to NATO



U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton meets with Ukrainian members of civil society and NGO representatives.

and U.N. military operations globally.

She expressed support for a relationship with Russia, "that is in Ukraine's interest, that helps to further what President [Barack] Obama has called the resetting of relations with Russia."

"Some have tried to force Ukrainians into a choice between aligning your country with Russia or with the West. We believe that is a false choice," Ms. Clinton said. "Ukraine is an independent nation, and we hope Ukraine will have good relations with its neighbors – including Russia – and that Ukraine will pursue close, constructive relationships with the United States and countries of the European Union."

Ms. Clinton traveled to the National University of Kyiv Polytechnical Institute following her press conference with President Yanukovich to meet with about 15 leaders of Ukrainian civil society. Among them were the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of Ukrainian Catholic University; Marta Kolomayets of the U.S.-based Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation; and Alexa Milanytch, the Ukraine country director of the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund.

Other leaders included Natalia Ligachova, the editor-in-chief of the Telekritika website; Viktoriya Siumar, executive director of the Institute of Mass Information in Kyiv; Iryna Bekeshkina of the Democratic Initiatives Fund; Soviet-era dissident Semen Gluzman; Alyona Getmanchuk of the Institute of World Policy; Oksana Horbunova of International Organization for Migration; and Andriy Klepikov, director of the International Alliance of HIV/AIDS in Ukraine.

Before meeting with the secretary of state, the leaders engaged in a roundtable discussion led by Celeste Wallander, deputy assistant secretary of defense for Russia/Ukraine, and Daniel Baer, deputy assistant secretary of the Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. They voiced their complaints and concerns about the Yanukovich administration's demonstrated restrictions on individual rights, such as freedom of speech and assembly.

"In its approach to assessing the Ukrainian government, the U.S. is balanced and not categorical so far,"

Ms. Siumar told The Ukrainian Weekly. She and Ms. Ligachova are among the leaders of the Stop Censorship movement that emerged in May. "This is an advance of trust that's given to each new government, and Yanukovich hasn't exhausted this advance. But if the White House still has a loan of trust, then Ukrainian society doesn't have any following our initiatives being ignored, freedoms curtailed, marginalization of the opposition and a systemic offensive on freedoms and rights. They [the U.S.] said they support our efforts, but there wasn't a statement of criticism against Yanukovich."

The State Department officials understood the situation well, Ms. Siumar said,

and asked the civil leaders whether they're committed to defending their rights. "The Russian scenario became possible in Russia because there wasn't any opposition there," she said. "They asked whether we're ready to resist, to act and to unite."

Later that evening, Ms. Clinton also addressed a town hall meeting organized at Kyiv Polytechnical Institute, where she was accompanied by Melanne Verveer, the State Department's ambassador-at-large for global women's issues.

Ms. Verveer, the top-ranking Ukrainian American in the Obama administration, accompanied Secretary Clinton throughout her visit.



U.S. State Department

Former Ukrainian Prime Minister and opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko greets U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

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official duties and took an oath of loyalty to the Ukrainian people, as well as to commemorate and ensure the burial of war veterans, combatants, servicemen, including those discharged or retired, their families and other individuals who committed heroic acts in the name of the Ukrainian people and received special awards for service to their motherland. It is expected that the cemetery will be located in the village of Bykivnia in the Kyiv region. (Ukrinform)

Institute of National Memory to carry on

KYIV – The president has no intention of abolishing or putting under any supervision the Institute of National Memory, said the deputy head of the Presidential Administration, Hanna Herman. “The Institute of National Memory should work and develop. We have not only the national, but we have the national memory. We

should protect it and do everything possible so that this heritage is handed over to the future generations,” Ms. Herman said during a July 6 direct telephone link with readers of Argumenty i Fakty v Ukraine (Arguments and Facts in Ukraine) newspaper. Without naming the person, Ms. Herman said that soon the institute will be headed by “a competent and honest person.” Earlier this year, academician Ihor Yukhnovskiy was dismissed by the Cabinet from the post of director of the Institute of National Memory, based on an application he filed. Dr. Yukhnovskiy explained that there was an agreement that Vice Prime Minister Volodymyr Semynozhenko would head the institute ex officio. But the Parliament unexpectedly dismissed Mr. Semynozhenko on July 2. Learning of Mr. Semynozhenko’s dismissal, Dr. Yukhnovskiy tried to recall his application to leave the post, but was not successful. According to opposition National Deputy Yaroslav Kendzior, the dismissal of Dr. Yukhnovskiy as director is the beginning of

the institute’s liquidation and its handover to the State Committee on Archives, now headed by Communist Party member Olha Ginzburg. Mr. Kendzior commented that he believes the institute’s abolition would be in keeping with the position of the present authorities regarding the Holodomor of 1932-1933. (Ukrinform)

Parliament dismisses Semynozhenko

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada supported a bill submitted by the opposition Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (YTB) on the dismissal of Vice Prime Minister for Humanitarian Issues Volodymyr Semynozhenko. A total of 378 lawmakers voted for the bill on July 2. National Deputy Olha Bodnar, who authored the bill, said Mr. Semynozhenko had been appointed to the post in violation of the Parliament’s rules of procedure, without any discussions held in the committee for state development and local government. The parliamentary coalition will decide on a candidate for the post of vice prime minister within a week, Party of Regions National Deputy Vadym Kolesnichenko said at a briefing on July 2. (Ukrinform)

Rada dismisses environment minister

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on July 2 dismissed Environmental Protection Minister Viktor Boiko with 258 votes in favor. The motion was submitted by Prime Minister Mykola Azarov. At the same time, the Ukrainian Parliament approved Mykola Zlochevsky as new environmental minister with 259 votes. (Ukrinform)

Local elections to be held October 31

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on July 1 passed a resolution to call a regular election of deputies of local councils and village, community and city mayors on October 31, with 247 national deputies voting in favor of the measure out of 428 deputies registered as present. As reported earlier, local elections should have taken place on May 30, but the Parliament cancelled them on February 16, without setting a new date. The decision to postpone the elections was made due to the fact that the state budget for 2010 had not been adopted at that time. (Ukrinform)

Secondary education back to 11 years

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on July 6 amended the law on general secondary education and pre-school education, with 248 lawmakers voting for the document. The new law provides for an 11-year course of study for completing a general secondary education and introduces compulsory pre-school education for children of older pre-school age. This law is also designed to provide state guarantees for children who require physical and mental development, including children with disabilities, to receive good education at secondary educational institutions. According to surveys conducted by the Institute of Social and Political Psychology of the National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, only about 10 percent of schoolchildren, 15 percent of parents and 20 percent of teachers had supported the switch to a 12-year course of study; over 70 percent of respondents had negative feelings about a 12-year course of study. On June 9 the Verkhovna Rada held parliamentary hearings on “The Introduction of 12-year General Secondary Education in Ukraine: Problems and Ways to Resolve Them.” Most participants in the hearings proposed re-introducing an 11-year course of study for completing secondary education, as well as compulsory pre-school education for 5-year-old children. (Ukrinform)

Tabachnyk comments on new law

KYIV – The return to an 11-year course of study at secondary educational institutions is topical and necessary for Ukraine, Education and Science Minister Dmytro

Tabachnyk said on July 6 in commenting on the Parliament’s adoption of a new law to that effect. Speaking about the problems facing Ukrainian schoolchildren and their parents with respect to a 12-year secondary education, Mr. Tabachnyk said: “A whole year of enrollment in higher educational institutions would have disappeared, and not only faculties, but also departments and universities would have been destroyed.” He added, “Around 400,000 schoolchildren graduate from schools every year, and a great number of them enter higher educational establishments. And nobody would have entered universities under a 12-year period of study. There are two conscriptions to the army [in the spring and in the autumn], and they would have also disappeared. These are from 75,000 to 80,000 people.” The minister noted that a 12-year course for secondary education would result in excess expenditures by central and local budgets and the construction of a large number of school buildings. The minister expressed confidence that following the adoption of a new law on an 11-year course of study at secondary schools, Ukrainian education would remain competitive in the European space. “I received a letter from the Council of Europe that was signed by its secretary-general with a positive assessment of such actions,” the minister noted. (Ukrinform)

Israel extradites accused murderer

KYIV – Israel on July 6 extradited to Ukraine a citizen accused of killing a policeman in Dnipropetrovsk. The suspect was delivered to Kyiv by plane from Tel Aviv. Identified only as “citizen P,” the man was wanted on charges of murdering a policeman in 1997 in Dnipropetrovsk. His extradition to Ukraine is the first extradition from Israel in the history of relations between the two countries, the Procurator General’s Office (PGO) noted. “The process of extradition was complicated by the fact that, in accordance with Article 6 of the European Convention on Extradition, 1957, which was signed both by Ukraine and Israel, the contractual party has the right to refuse extradition of its citizens,” the PGO explained. Only in 2007, after a series of procedures, Israeli authorities made an initial decision on the admissibility of the suspect’s extradition to Ukraine, but the actual transfer of the accused to Ukrainian law enforcement officials was impossible because of many lengthy appeals to higher courts. Ukrainian officials expressed hope that this decision will facilitate other requests by the PGO of Ukraine for the extradition of offenders evading investigation on the territory of Israel. (Ukrinform)

Rada wants more security guarantees

KYIV – Ukraine’s Parliament ordered the Cabinet of Ministers to draft an international treaty on security guarantees to Ukraine and ensure its signature by the major nuclear states: Russia, Great Britain, the United States, China and France. A total of 345 national deputies voted on July 6 for the resolution “On the Statement of the Verkhovna Rada on Non-Nuclear Status of Ukraine - Real Guarantees.” The statement recalled that in the Budapest Memorandum on security guarantees to Ukraine after its renunciation of nuclear weapons in 1994, Russia, Great Britain and the United States pledged to respect the independence and sovereignty of Ukraine, and refrain from the threat of force and economic pressure on Ukraine to secure their own interests. However, the current international situation, according to lawmakers, requires the evolution of this memorandum and the adoption of a separate document that would guarantee the national security of Ukraine. (Ukrinform)

Patriarch Kirill to visit in July

KYIV – Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Kirill I will pay a pastoral visit to

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EVENTS

ART
EXHIBIT

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In the press...

(Continued from page 7)

cessions must be prepaid. ...

"We are dealing with two completely different ways of thinking here. Where U.S. officials see dialogue, compromises, and concessions as a means of embracing and winning over the other side, the Russian elite consider dialogue, not to mention concessions, to be a sign of weakness. ...

"Let's hope that the United States has a "Plan B" up its sleeve to effect a real Russian transformation when it turns out the reset has not only failed, but has even had exactly the opposite effect of what was intended."

"Yanukovich's 100-Day Drift To Moscow," by Myroslava Gongadze (journalist, Voice of America) and Nadia Diuk (vice-president, National Endowment for Democracy), The Wall Street Journal, June 8:

"One hundred days after the 2010 presidential election, twin specters haunt Ukraine: One is the evil spirit of renewed authoritarianism, the other is the unquiet ghost of the Russian imperial dream. ...

"Perhaps it should have been expected. Three months ago, half the Ukrainian electorate voted for Mr. [Viktor] Yanukovich, who promised to renew a 'lost' friendship with Ukraine's powerful northern neighbor. But the other half of the nation did not choose this path. ...

"The dash to join with Russia happened on our watch and almost overnight. When Mr. Yanukovich made his first foreign trip to Brussels, he was given a warm welcome. ...Mr. Yanukovich proclaimed too that European integration is a key priority in his foreign policy. In early April, he was greeted in Washington as the democratically elected leader of a

sovereign country. ...

"Not many could have predicted that just a few days later the newly elected leader of Ukraine would endorse Russia's denial of the historic fact of the Holodomor as a genocide of the Ukrainian people committed by Stalin's regime, which undermined the last administration's years of patient research into previously closed archives and interviews with survivors who had been too terrified to speak out.

"... In late April, without much explanation or public discussion, Mr. Yanukovich signed an agreement with President Medvedev allowing the Russian Black Sea fleet to be based on Ukrainian territory for the next 32 years.

"... unless the West holds the new government to its word, Ukraine could fall back into the Russian sphere of influence and would be lost to the democratic world for many years to come..."

"One hundred days of Yanukovich" [sic], The Economist, June 3:

"...By the time Mr. [Viktor] Yanukovich was elected in February, the enthusiasm with which the West had embraced the color revolutions in Ukraine and Georgia had long been replaced by fatigue. But where Viktor Yushchenko, his predecessor, was merely a source of irritation and impatience, Mr. Yanukovich causes genuine alarm. To many pundits, Ukraine has been lost and Mr. Yanukovich has turned out to be as bad as they had always feared.

"The reality is more subtle. Ukraine's relations with Russia had become so strained under Mr. [Viktor] Yushchenko that improvement was both inevitable and desirable. And yet the scope for cooperation may be limited..."

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 14)

Ukraine later this month. On July 20-23 Patriarch Kirill will be in Odesa, where he will hold services at Holy Transfiguration Cathedral. On July 22 he will take part in festivities at the Odesa Opera House. In Dnipropetrovsk on July 24 he will celebrate liturgy in the square in front of the Transfiguration Cathedral. On July 25-28, Patriarch Kirill will be in Kyiv, where on July 28, the feast day of St. Volodymyr, he will lead liturgy at Holy Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pecherska Lavra. The last time the primate of the Russian Orthodox Church visited Kyiv was in late February, when he attended the inauguration of President Viktor Yanukovich. Prior to that he visited Ukraine on July 27-August 5, 2009. (Ukrinform)

Will Mazepa Street be renamed?

KYIV – The newly appointed vice-chair of the Kyiv City State Administration, Oleksander Popov, spoke out on June 24 against renaming Mazepa Street as Lavrska Street, as Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Kirill I had proposed to Kyiv deputies. "My principal position is this: do not touch history," stated Mr. Popov. A decision will be made by the Kyiv Rada. (Ukrinform)

Azarov on Ukraine-EU relations

KYIV – The concluding documents adopted on June 15 in Luxembourg following the 14th meeting of the European Union-Ukraine Council on Cooperation have indicated stabilization of the political situation in Ukraine after the presidential election in February that helped lay the foundation for the further implementation of socio-economic reforms and overcoming the economic crisis in Ukraine. The meeting reaffirmed the importance of finalizing

preparations of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, including the establishment of an in-depth and comprehensive free trade area. The parties commended the cooperation between Ukraine and the EU in foreign and security policy, welcomed Ukraine's accession to EU statements and positions on international issues, as well as Ukraine's contribution to crisis management. The parties agreed to strengthen a mechanism of consultations for political and security issues for further rapprochement of Ukraine and the EU in the international arena. The meeting also welcomed progress in the dialogue between the EU and Ukraine on the development of conditions for introducing visa-free regime and confirmed the arrangements for the preparation of an action plan by the European Commission for the forthcoming Ukraine-EU summit to introduce a visa-free regime for short-term trips of Ukrainian citizens to the EU. The Ukrainian delegation was headed by Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, who expressed satisfaction with the consultations. (Ukrinform)

Ukraine, EU to draft program on GTS

KYIV – Ukraine and the European Union will draw up by this autumn a joint program on the modernization of the Ukrainian gas transport system (GTS), Ukrainian Prime Minister Mykola Azarov said at a joint press conference with Vice-President of the European Commission Catherine Ashton in Luxembourg on June 15. Mr. Azarov said that Ukrainian Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Boiko and EU Energy Commissioner Guenther Oettinger would meet in Brussels on June 25 to develop specific mechanisms to modernize the Ukrainian gas transport system. "During the summer we will find a solution to this problem and draft in 2011 a specific program for the modernization of our GTS," he said. (Ukrinform)

Ukraine blocks...

(Continued from page 3)

President Yanukovich, although more were on the critical side. Former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Steven Pifer, now a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, pointed to the positive side of Ukraine's Parliament voting to approve the annual plan of military exercises with foreign troops, mainly NATO (www.brookings.edu/opinions/2010/0630_ukraine_pifer.aspx). This optimistic scenario ignores recent history and the political culture of the Ukrainian leadership.

In the last five years, Mr. Yanukovich's Party of Regions has withdrawn support for PFP exercises and this year's positive vote could become a negative vote next year. Ukraine's annual Action Plans in place since 2003, which differed little from MAPs, have now become redundant, as Kyiv no longer has any incentive to fulfill them, despite NATO's optimism that cooperation will continue (www.pravda.com.ua, July 2).

Finally, an optimistic scenario ignores

Mr. Yanukovich's strong endorsement for Mr. Medvedev's European security treaty, a revived Soviet-style plan that replaces NATO with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and removes the U.S. from Europe. It is a contradiction for Kyiv to reiterate its desire for continued high levels of cooperation under PFP, while also backing Russia in seeking to remove NATO and the U.S. from European security.

Such contradictions have always been present in Mr. Yanukovich's thinking since 2004 when, with Ukrainian troops fighting in Iraq, his election campaign was accompanied by a fierce anti-American campaign (EDM, July 7, 2004). Contradictions remain, leading to continued confusion in the West as to the nature of Ukrainian foreign policy.

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Canadian...

(Continued from page 1)

Congress; "Repositories of Memory – The Curators, Custodians and Collectors," with comments by Mark O'Neill, chief executive officer of the Canadian War Museum; "Recovering Memory: Educating the Educators," guided by Dr. Ruth Sandwell of the Ontario Institute of Education; and "Reshaping Canada's Cultural Landscapes – The Creators" with Marsha Skrypuch, author and internee descendant.

The keynote address was by Prof. Roger Daniels, professor emeritus, University of Cincinnati, who spoke on "Bringing Governments to Justice."

The symposium ended with a memorial service at Fort Henry, Canada's first permanent internment camp, hosted by this UNESCO World Heritage site museum curator, Ron Ridley. Wreaths were laid by Orest Kruhlyak, chair of the Endowment Council, and Andrew Hladyshevsky, president of The Shevchenko Foundation, and by diplomats representing a number of the homeland countries, namely Dr. Ihor Ostash, ambassador of Ukraine to Canada; Vesela Mrden Korac, ambassador of Croatia to Canada; and Tamas Kiraly, deputy head of Mission for the Embassy of the Republic of Hungary. Diane Dragasevich represented the Serbian Canadian community.

An ecumenical prayer was given by

the Rev. Dr. Stanford Lucyk following comments by Peter Milliken, speaker of the House of Commons. The Ukrainian song, "Eternal Memory" (Vichnaya Pamiat) concluded the event.

The symposium's local organizer and chairman of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, Prof. Luciuk, said: "This meeting represents the culmination of many years of effort on the part of many of those attending it. We hope the Kingston Symposium will lay the groundwork for helping the Endowment Council ensure that what happened to Ukrainians and other Europeans during this country's first national internment operations becomes part of the educational curricula of every province and is recalled through film, artwork and historical markers across Canada."

Dr. Luciuk noted: "Our fellow citizens need to become better aware of what the internees suffered – not because of anything they had done, but only because of who they were, where they came from. This violation of the civil liberties and human rights of thousands of innocents remains an historical episode in Canadian history that is scarce known. We are beginning the process of recovering this historical memory to help ensure that, in future periods of domestic or international crisis, no other ethnic, religious or racial minorities in Canada suffer needlessly as these "enemy aliens" of the first world war period did."



Zorianne Bytz Korbiak

age 48, passed away on Saturday afternoon, July 3, 2010, at home in Warren, Michigan, surrounded by her loving husband, John, and parents, after a long illness.

Zorianne was the daughter of Paul and Ewhenia Bytz and daughter-in-law of Margaret and the late Gregory Korbiak. She leaves behind three brothers, Myron and his wife, Chris, of Randolph, NJ with their children, Myroslaw and Cassandra; Paul and his wife, Anna, of Sterling Heights, MI with their children, Andrew and Alana; and Stephen with his wife, Christine, of Warren, MI along with their three boys, Stephen, Andrew and Roman. She will be missed by her brothers-in-law, Michael and Steve of Warren, MI and Bohdan of Troy, MI with his children, Adam and Brian both of Lansing, and Krista and her husband, Corey of Connecticut. In addition, Zirka, as she was lovingly called by her family and closest friends, left many relatives and friends in the US, Canada and Ukraine.

Viewing was held on Tuesday, July 6th, at Mandziuk Funeral Home in Sterling Heights, MI. Burial was on Wednesday, July 7th, from St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Warren, MI.



U.S. envoy...

(Continued from page 1)

and renewed prosperity runs through cooperation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), "which can help Ukraine find a way out of its current crisis and open the door to other financial institutions and the European Union," Ambassador Tefft said.

"That will require strong leadership to cut the budget deficit, revive the banking system and phase out energy subsidies," he added.

[Editor's note: The IMF Mission to Ukraine announced on July 3, following the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, that it will ask the board of directors to issue a \$14.9 billion loan to the Ukrainian government over two and a half years.]

In his speech, Ambassador Tefft cited numerous accomplishments of the Yanukovich administration, most notably the president's "successful" visit to Washington where Ukraine announced it would surrender remaining stocks of highly enriched uranium, which he described as "the highlight of the April [12-13 Nuclear] Security Summit."

Other accomplishments cited by the U.S. ambassador were the Parliament's May 18 vote to allow joint NATO and U.S. military exercises on Ukrainian territory, as well as its June 1 vote to change the public procurement law so that it complies with European Union, World Bank and U.S. Agency for International Development standards.

Ambassador Tefft offered the Yanukovich administration compliments for statements that have yet to show any concrete results, such as claims about lowering taxes and reducing red tape. Indeed, experts said the new proposed tax code will only increase tax burdens across the board.

Meanwhile the 2010 budget enhances central administrative control on spending instead of granting regional governments more authority, said critics, among them economist Andriy Novak.

"We've noted with great hope the new government's statements that fighting corruption is a top priority," Mr. Tefft said. "However actions speak louder than words."

So far the Yanukovich administration's plans to fight corruption are just words – in late March the president decided to postpone the introduction of anti-corruption laws until January 1, 2011. This decision came after repeated statements about the urgency of combating corruption.

Yet nowhere has the gap between official statements and real actions been bigger than in the sphere of democratic institutions and protecting individual freedoms.

Evidence demonstrates a systemic effort by the Yanukovich administration to restrict freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, including threatening news organizations with having their licenses confiscated, beating and physically intimidating journalists, and physically preventing demonstrators from protesting.

There should be no going back to the old system of government pressure on journalists and media companies, Ambassador Tefft said. "At the same time, we should recognize some media companies do practice self-censorship, which we believe is equally destructive to the principle of press freedom," he said.

In his remarks, the envoy referred to "troubling reports of pressure on journalists," complaints by television networks of inappropriate pressure and censorship, and the violent March 23 attack on Kolomyia newspaper editor Vasyl Demianiv, which left him with broken bones and brain trauma.

"We believe the police should investigate violent incidents thoroughly, and government should take reports of pressure seriously," Mr. Tefft said.

"We applaud President Yanukovich's public statements to support freedom of the press and hope the government will take action whenever freedom of the press is threatened," he added.

Ambassador Tefft also lauded statements issued by the Yanukovich administration in "guaranteeing the rule of law in Ukrainian society. To do that, Yanukovich and his team have the ambitious goal of elevating the justice system to the norms and standards of the Council of Europe."

Yet, the Parliament on July 7 approved the first reading of the "Law on the Judicial System and Status of Judges," which is sharply criticized by the opposition for eliminating any remaining independence of judges and re-organizing the nation's judicial system under the president's full control.

The parliamentary coalition ignored most of the amendments to the law proposed by opposition deputies, who left the session hall in disgust before the legislation was approved. It was also approved without review of the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe.

During its tenure thus far, the Yanukovich administration has demonstrated a consistent disregard for the rule of law, which began when it supported the formation of a parliamentary coalition by individual deputies rather than factions, in clear violation of the Constitution of Ukraine.

Ambassador Tefft's careful remarks, in which he avoided using the term "authoritarian" or voicing criticism of the Yanukovich administration, drew numerous questions from concerned Ukrainians wanting to know specifically what the U.S. government was doing to prevent authoritarian measures.

That question was posed by Viktor Shlinchak, the chairman of the board of directors of the Institute of World Policy in Kyiv, to which Ambassador Tefft responded, "When we see problems, we ask questions. When we see violations, we raise the questions."

Vadym Karasiov, a former adviser to the Presidential Secretariat, pointed out that foreign policy towards Ukraine under President Barack Obama has set out to achieve tactical and pragmatic goals, replacing the strategic, fundamental goals of the presidency of George W. Bush.

He wanted to know the main goal of U.S. foreign policy towards Ukraine. Ambassador Tefft responded that both governments were seeking to fulfill the goals outlined by the U.S.-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership signed in December 2008.

Pavlo Zhovnirenko, an expert with the Center for Strategic Research, called for the U.S. government to press for more transparency in how the IMF loans are spent in Ukraine.

"I wanted to know about transparency, and he simply spoke of loans as a necessary thing," Mr. Zhovnirenko said of the ambassador's response. "He didn't answer questions about those rights vio-



Zenon Zawada

U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Tefft at his first press conference about Ukrainian politics on June 24 at the Institute of World Policy in Kyiv.

lations. He said the two themes weren't related to each other. It's not surprising, considering the re-setting of relations with Russia."

The question on rights violations was posed by Mykola Kniazytskyi, the chief executive officer of the TVi network, which has been denied its license to broadcast news on a national level. Mr. Kniazytskyi reported that the Security Service of Ukraine has been following him and his colleagues since mid-June. The TVi network, owned by British citizen Konstantin Kagalovsky, promotes itself as an independent news source defending freedom of speech in Ukraine.

Mr. Kniazytskyi asked whether the West understood that freedom of press could be sacrificed by the Yanukovich administration in order to implement unpopular economic reforms that could be used by opposition politicians to mobilize support against the government.

"I don't think there's a connection, or there should be a connection, between the IMF and the freedom of the media," Ambassador Tefft responded. "The freedom of the media stands by its own."

The ambassador's vague answers and reluctance to address the government's policies drew more such questions from

the curious audience, which began to draw slight irritation from ambassador.

Mr. Kniazytskyi's colleague at TVi, editor Vitaly Portnikov, asked how far the U.S. government was willing to go in dealing with the Yanukovich administration's authoritarian policies.

"All I can say is that we have regular conversations with the highest level officials in this government on a lot of these issues," the U.S. envoy responded. "I'm not going to go into the details of these discussions – that's not right. That's not what diplomacy is about. We've raised this, and you can ask the government officials whether we're raising it. I don't think you can say we approve of everything this government has done."

Yet the ambassador made no mention of the repeated violations of freedom of assembly by the Yanukovich administration or its repeated constitutional violations in approving legislation without quorums or committee discussions.

The Weekly asked whether the rise of authoritarianism in Ukraine was a concern and whether there are indications the government is pursuing an authoritarian policy.

"You're trying to put words in my mouth," the ambassador said. "I've said it quite clearly I think in my speech that we have concerns about democracy and freedoms."

The goal of Ambassador Tefft's speech wasn't an evaluation, commentary or criticism of the government's actions, said Ihor Zhovkva, director of foreign policy at the International Center for Policy Studies, who attended the press conference.

"He is a professional diplomat and understands the boundaries of diplomatic work, reporting on events and the limits on interfering in a country's affairs," he said. "He adequately communicated that America is watching and will react if the violations become egregious."

The U.S. ambassador insisted that Ukraine remained a high foreign policy priority for the U.S. The nation's interests haven't been overlooked or forgotten as the U.S. pursues its re-set policy with the Russian government, he said.

"The idea that Americans somehow don't care, that somehow we're not interested in Ukraine, is baloney, it's not true," Ambassador Tefft said.

In the press...

(Continued from page 15)

"When Vladimir Putin, Russia's prime minister, suggested a merger between Gazprom and Ukraine's state gas monopoly, Naftogaz, Mr. Yanukovich quipped that Russia would have to give Ukraine half of Gazprom first.

"In fact, the intensity of Russia's overtures appears to have spooked not only Western observers but Mr. Yanukovich, too. He showed little enthusiasm when Dmitry Medvedev, Russia's president, expressed his eagerness to ratchet up cooperation between the two countries during a recent visit to Kiev [sic]. ...

"The obstacle to Ukraine's integration with the EU lies not in its rapprochement with Russia but in its domestic politics, its weak institutions and the dire state of the economy. ...

"The role of America and Europe is also crucial. As Andrew Wilson of the European Council on Foreign Relations argues, the West should avoid giving the impression that it would be happy for Mr. Yanukovich to undercut freedom in the name of restoring stability. ..."

Russia moving quickly to fill power vacuum left by U.S.," by David Marples (professor of Russian and East European history at the University of

Alberta), Edmonton Journal, June 2:

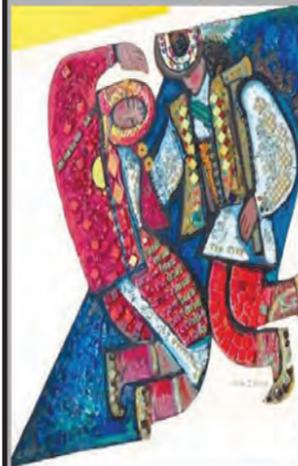
"...Russia has become an activist player on the European stage. A foreign policy statement, issued on the Internet before President Dmitry Medvedev took office in 2008, indicates Russia's desire to reverse some of the setbacks of the past two decades and reassert its influence in its "neighborhood."

"An opportunity has been provided by several unrelated factors. Most notable has been the change of presidency in the United States. George W. Bush's program of enforcing democracy by threats or military action was perceived widely as a failure. It alienated former allies and caused acute anxiety in Russia.

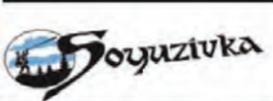
"Yet Barack Obama has neglected to offer any firm initiatives in foreign affairs, which is tantamount to a policy of isolationism. Obama is surely justified in rejecting his predecessor's branding of regimes according to an "axis of evil," but his lack of policy has created a vacuum. In Europe it is one that Russia intends to fill. ...

"A second factor has been this year's change of presidency in Ukraine. Practically from the moment Viktor Yanukovich took office, he has been under pressure from Moscow to take on the role of junior partner, and Russia has exploited Ukraine's economic predicament to acquire some key concessions. ..."

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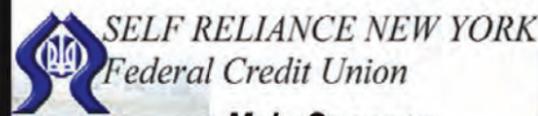
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Vocal coach...

(Continued from page 10)

filling her dream as a scholarship student at Munich's University of Music and Performing Arts.

Of course there were opportunities to visit the Great Wall, the Forbidden City, temples... and time to marvel at trendy mimicry now polluting this ancient culture: Jetsons-style fast-food joints and Chinese bellhop-girls grinning like Siamese cats, with their constant sing-song: "Welcome to Mr. Pizza."

The current melting pot of old and new also creates dilemmas in music. How does one communicate "passion" in Tchaikovsky to young people who traditionally are very reserved about their privacy? Or evoke the emotion of love in songs from students who say "it is not allowed to have a girlfriend when we are

so young"?

Coaching Liszt's "Hungarian Rhapsody" in Beijing, any attempt to describe European gypsies was fruitless. When Ms. Cybriwsky asked the assembled pianists if anyone had seen the film "Crouching Tiger," only five hands went up! She then vividly described the hero who rode bareback, stole his lover's hair combs and passionately whisked her away, defying all rules of propriety. Now the young Chinese pianist finally began to tell a story, rather than merely trying to dazzle with technique. Ms. Cybriwsky periodically receives his grateful e-mails: whenever Yinghe plays the "Hungarian Rhapsody," he now taps into the Gypsy spirit by thinking of the Ang Lee movie that he has finally seen.

So many wonderful impressions... always something new to see, something new to think about. According to her mother Natalia, Ms. Cybriwsky loved to

sing along with birds at the age of 4 months, and talked before she could walk. She was an inquisitive, brave little spirit with eyes and ears receptive to everything around her and to her inner world. But she also needed the right soil to flower.

Ms. Cybriwsky's father, Prof. Yuri Cybriwsky, who passed away in 1997, was a third-generation pianist from Ivano-Frankivsk who later studied in Vienna. A gifted teacher, he started daily piano lessons with Ms. Cybriwsky when she was 5. She gratefully attributes her solid pianistic foundation to her father's attentive and loving guidance. (Later, with life coming full circle, she would dedicate her solo piano CD "prelude" to her father, who was the musical supervisor of the recording.)

Young Ms. Cybriwsky accompanied the Ukrainian Chorus in New Haven, Conn., school choirs and glee clubs, and played in the Youth Orchestra. Opportunities to perform with her cellist brother Nestor followed. Natural curiosity led her to additionally explore chamber and symphonic music and opera – far beyond the piano solo literature. She also began tying in art and literature, noticing how structure, style, textures and colors cross boundaries and unify all art forms.

When she was a 21-year-old piano major at Peabody Conservatory, Ms. Cybriwsky was suddenly given 10 minutes to make a decision that would affect the rest of her life. Gregg Smith invited her to be the pianist for the Gregg Smith Singers, the renowned vocal ensemble that had worked with Igor Stravinsky and toured throughout the world, recording over 100 albums and winning three Grammy Awards. Accepting Smith's offer opened up new worlds of contemporary music, concert tours and recordings. She worked with composers like Ned Rorem and Lukas Foss, and learned very quickly

what it means to be a professional, to perform under the worst conditions or when you aren't feeling well.

With a two-year Fulbright grant to the Stuttgart University of Music and Performing Arts, in Stuttgart, Germany, the dream of studying in Europe became reality. Completing her studies, she was appointed to the faculty and, on a fluke, visited Gärtnerplatz State Theater in Munich, a city she fell in love with in 1970 during a Plast tour of Europe. Without hesitating, Ms. Cybriwsky dialed the chief conductor from a phone booth in front of the famed Hofbräuhaus and arranged an impromptu audition, during which she was hired on the spot.

Inquiring into her background, General Manager Kurt Pscherer recalled Ukraine from his days as a young soldier. He praised "...the wonderful Ukrainian people with great hearts." She immediately got a raise, and hadn't even started working yet!

Thirty years later, after five decades' experience on five continents as solo pianist, vocal coach, accompanist and teacher, Ms. Cybriwsky is now planning to establish her own Cybriwsky International Center for Music and Transformation. In her high school yearbook, her entry for "My favorite quote" cited Herman Hesse's "Narziss und Goldmund": "There are many paths to knowledge but the path of the mind is not the only one."

"Know thyself." Ms. Cybriwsky believes a spiritual connection must exist in every true artist: "Why do angels love human music so much? Because that's how they can even begin to understand what the drama of being human is all about." How extraordinarily fortunate and privileged musicians are to have this gift in their lives!

"Whoever plays like she does... is most certainly connected to a higher source," are the most moving words of recognition she has ever received. They were spoken by her father.

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NOTES ON PEOPLE

Officer retiring from U.S. Army

SUN CITY, Ariz. – Lt. Col. Ihor Petrenko will officially retire from the U.S. Army on August 1, after 23 years of distinguished service to the nation. He has held multiple command and staff officer positions during his tenure as a military officer.

Lt. Col. Petrenko was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Armor Branch upon graduation from Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, Ariz., in 1986. He served as an armor officer until 1993, when he applied for and was accepted into the Army's Aviation Program.

Graduating from the Initial Entry Rotary Wing and Fixed Wing Qualification Courses in 1994, he attended the Military Intelligence Special Electronic Mission Aircraft Course (SEMA). He is a rated senior Army aviator in both helicopter and fixed wing airplanes. From 1995 until his retirement, Lt. Col. Petrenko served as an Army aviator specializing in military intelligence operations.

Lt. Col. Petrenko has served in numerous deployments, including: Operation Joint Guardian, Operation Northern



Lt. Col. Ihor Petrenko

Watch and Operation Iraqi Freedom. His many assignments include Korea; Fort Polk, La.; Fort Hood, Texas; Fort Rucker, Ala.; Fort Huachuca, Ariz.; Vicenza, Italy; Wiesbaden, Germany; the Pentagon; Turkey and Iraq.

He plans to retire and reside in the Washington, D.C., area.

Music teacher's school has recital

PARAMUS, N.J. – On the evening of June 3 the Manning School of Music, under the directorship of Melissa Manning (née Ulita Olshaniwsky), hosted a recital for its students at the New Jersey Steinway Piano Gallery salon in Paramus, N.J.

Of the 17 students who performed, 14 were Ms. Manning's students, ranging in age from 5 to 18, while the other three were students of Dora Homann (née Olshaniwsky) of Sparta, N.J. Each student performed on a nine-foot Steinway concert grand piano and received a red rose and certificate of accomplishment.

The school's founder, Ms. Manning, has been an active musical educator in the New York and northern New Jersey area for the past 30 years, particularly in the Nyack, N.Y., area. A native of Newark, N.J., she began her piano studies at the Ukrainian Music Institute in New York under the tutelage of Daria Karanowycz. She then continued to study piano under Jane Carlson at the pre-college division of the Julliard School in New York.

Ms. Manning also studied at the Manhattan School of Music in New York and Montclair State University in Montclair, N.J., where she majored in piano. Concurrently, she used her talent on the piano to impress judges at a myriad of beauty and scholarship pageants. Her renditions of pieces by Frederic Chopin and Sergei Rachmaninoff helped her earn the titles Miss Soyuzivka, Miss Nardona Volya and Miss New York.

Ms. Manning is a gifted performer who has toured with the Metropolitan USO to every Veterans Administration hospital in the state of New York, for which the veterans presented her with an award. She is also the organist and the choir director at the Ho-Ho-Kus Community Church in Ho-Ho-Kus, N.J. In addition to teaching and performing, Ms. Manning runs a program called "Opera Night," through which she sponsors and runs performances at local restaurants.

Ms. Manning has also directed productions of "Kiss Me, Kate," "My Favorite Year," "How to Succeed in Business," "Footloose," "Into the Woods" and "The Sound of Music." However, her love remains playing the piano, as both a soloist and accompanist for vocal performances.



Teachers Melissa Manning (second from right) and Dora Homann (right) at the recital of the Manning School of Music.

Artist's works to be on exhibit

JEWETT, N.Y. – Beginning July 4 through September 6, the Ukrainian Cultural Center "Grazhda" in Jewett, N.Y., a part of the St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church complex, will host the 34th annual Grazhda Art Exhibition. One of the 66 artists featured in this group exhibit will be Taras Schumylyowych of Tannersville, N.Y.

Mr. Schumylyowych has showed his work throughout the Catskill region, including prior exhibitions at the Grazhda and at the Twilight Park Clubhouse in Haines Falls, N.Y.

This year at the Grazhda, he will display two tempera works: "Ukrainian Pysanka" and "Fall." The first piece is a rendering of a floral-themed Ukrainian Easter egg on a cream background, the second is a rural autumnal landscape, which aptly captures the spirit of the season.



"Ukrainian Pysanka" by Taras Schumylyowych

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The best people...

(Continued from page 7)

Lukianenko, Yevhen Sverstiuk – and others imprisoned for a cause.

How reprehensible that today, Ukraine's freedom fighters are pilloried with the full might of Russia's government assisted by "useful idiots" – Stalin's moniker for Soviet apologists and appeasers in the West.

Make no mistake, the katsetnytky – from Bereza to the gulag – are in the best of democratic traditions: "liberty, equality, fraternity"; Give me liberty or give me death"; "zdobudesh ukrayinsku derzhavu abo umresh v borotbi za neyi (you will deliver a free Ukrainian state or die fighting for it). When the fight is just, its defenders are heroes. My mother used to say that in battles for freedom often the best people were in jail.

Unfamiliar with the historic battleground of Ukraine and deferential to Russia, global decision-makers from 1919 to the appeasement politics of today – just look at the tortuous road of Ukraine's attempts at membership in NATO or EU – have spawned horrific consequences for individuals and global peace.

Around the time portrayed by "Bereza Kartuzka," my cousin Bohdan Bashuk, 18, was captured for being my father's nephew. He was tortured then dragged half dead through the village as a warning: Banderivtsi bandits will be exterminated! Publicly hanged. For what crime? My mother was beaten by the Gestapo and incarcerated for failing to disclose my father's whereabouts. She had no idea where he was hiding! I was virtually orphaned; brought up by grandparents. Entire villages were ethnically cleansed, forcibly removed to northern Poland, displaced to Soviet Ukraine or exiled to Siberia. Many were simply shot. From 1919 to 1991's independence, the human toll in Ukraine is about 20 million dead. And, not to be forgotten, is the human and material cost of the Cold War.

Is it over yet? Alas, not quite. Russification is advancing in Ukraine. The government of Viktor Yanukovich eliminates references from its website about the most heinous of the Kremlin's crimes against humanity – the starvation of some 10 million Ukrainians, while Moscow makes it a criminal offence to talk about its wicked crimes. Russia's Black Sea Fleet has dug in. Ukraine's media are under siege. Lending support, "useful idiots" – or are they paid provo-

cateurs? – crow about missteps by freedom fighters and the political incorrectness of calling Communist atrocities what they are. Does anyone have a problem in calling the Nazis murderers?

But back to the film. After the War, the Bereza brotherhood went on to create vibrant communities around the world. My father became an organizer. Among his notable achievements is The World League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners realized with, among others, two Winnipeg "katsetnyky," Dr. Michael Marunchak and the Rev. Semen Izyk; the Taras Shevchenko monument in Winnipeg the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, which dispenses millions in annual funding to worthy projects including a grant to Bereza Kartuzka. He organized credit unions, youth groups and some 40 branches of the League of Ukrainians in Canada, from sea to sea, in cities as well as remote prairie and mining towns. He loved his people and brought them hope: the fight for independence is never a lost cause. Some day, he knew, they or their descendants would see Ukraine free.

This was the mantra of the young Bereza prisoners. And when you see the film you will realize, as I did, that today's struggles in Ukraine are but steps on an

ongoing continuum pointed at self-determination, a universal human right. See it, and you will be energized to get on with whatever it takes to assist this struggling democracy in this quest.

Oksana Bashuk Hepburn, a columnist, is a former director with the Canadian Human Rights Commission. She is preparing a publication about Petro Bashuk and seeking stories or material. Please contact her via-email oksanabh@sympatico.ca or call collect, 819-771-0723.

"Bereza Kartuzka" recently won first prize, a Platinum Remi Award, at the 43rd Worldfest Houston International Film Festival, Political/International issues category. To order Breza Kartuzka or contribute to the making of "Genocide Revealed" English version of ("Holod 1932-1933") readers may write to: MML Inc., 2330 Beaconsfield Ave., Montreal, QC H4A 2G8, Canada. (Tax receipts available.)

Oksana Bashuk Hepburn may be contacted at oksanabh@sympatico.ca.

Ukrainian opposition...

(Continued from page 2)

by Ukrainian political experts to the media and by Western reporters based in Kyiv. Prof. Oleksander Paliy of the Diplomatic Academy feels like many Ukrainians, that the U.S. has sold out Ukraine's democracy for the uranium given up by Mr. Yanukovich in April. Two other political experts, Volodymyr Fesenko and Vadym Karasiov, told the Segodnya newspaper on July 4 that Secretary Clinton's mild criticism was intended to not push Mr. Yanukovich further into Russia's orbit.

The U.S. has always been far stronger in its support than the European Union of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Of the four U.S. presidents during Ukraine's two decades of independence, the two who gave Ukraine the strongest support were Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush.

The Obama administration's excessive focus on Russia at the expense of Ukraine is perilously similar to the Russia-first policy pursued in the early 1990s by the first President George Bush, who became famous in July 1991 when he told the Ukrainian Parliament to not seek independence. The speech was dubbed "Chicken Kiev" and took place a month before Ukraine declared independence from the USSR.

Following Secretary Clinton's visit, the Ukrainian opposition believes that President Barack Obama is increasingly following in the footsteps of Republican Party realists who dominated the first Bush administration in the early 1990s.

The article above is reprinted from the Jamestown Foundation Blog published by the Jamestown Foundation, www.jamestown.org.



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OUT AND ABOUT

July 12-24 Dickinson, ND	North Dakota Ukrainian Arts Workshop, Dickinson State University, 701-290-8711 or 701-575-2216	July 27 Cambridge, MA	Film presentation with Yuri Shevchuk, "Ukraine: A View from the World," Harvard University, 617-495-4053
July 13 Cambridge, MA	Film presentation with Yuri Shevchuk, "Donbas and its Mentality," Harvard University, 617-495-4053	July 28 Winnipeg	Concert, featuring Haydamaky and Zrada, West End Cultural Center, 204-783-6918 or www.wecc.ca
July 16 Ellenville, NY	Western pub night, Ukrainian American Youth Association resort, 845-647-7230	July 29 Cambridge, MA	Lecture with Michael Flier, "Ukrainian Spellcheck," Harvard University, 617-495-4053
July 17 Jewett, NY	Concert with Natalia Khoma and Volodymyr Vynnytsky, Grazhda Concert Hall, 518-989-6479 or www.grazhdamusicalandart.org	July 30-August 1 Ellenville, NY	Workers Reunion Weekend, featuring a golf tournament, pub night and dance, Ukrainian American Youth Association resort, 845-647-7230
July 17-18 Johnson City, NY	Ukrainian Days Festival, St. John Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 607-729-1729	July 30-August 1 Dauphin, MB	Canada's National Ukrainian Festival, Selo Ukraina, 877-474-2683
July 19 Stratford, ON	Music Festival, featuring performance by the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus, Stratford Summer Music Festival, www.stratfordsummermusic.ca	July 31 Jewett, NY	Benefit concert celebrating the 200th anniversary of Frederick Chopin's birth, featuring Volodymyr Vynnytsky, Grazhda Concert Hall, 518-989-6479
July 21-25 Dickinson, ND	Ukrainian Festival, Ukrainian Cultural Institute and Dickinson State University, 701-483-1486 or www.ukrainianculturalinstitute.org	July 31 Morristown, NJ	Ukrainian Orthodox League Convention Banquet and Ball, featuring music by Hrim, Hyatt Regency Hotel, 973-635-8124 or tickets@uolnj.org
July 22 Cambridge, MA	Book presentation with Volodymyr Dibrova, "True Stories: A New Book Presentation," Harvard University, 617-495-4053	July 31-August 2 Edmonton, AB	Ukrainian Pavilion - annual Edmonton Heritage Festival, William Hawrelak Park, 780-474-5386 or stankobylko@telus.net
July 23-24 Ellenville, NY	Seafood pub night, featuring music by Zuki and Mike, Ukrainian American Youth Association resort, 845-647-7230	August 2-4 Jewett, NY	Traditional ritual baking course, taught by Lubow Wolynetz, Grazhda Music and Art Center of Greene County, 212-533-6519 or 518-989-6479
July 26-30 Jewett, NY	Ukrainian Folk Art Courses, pysanka writing with Sofika Zielyk and embroidery with Lubow Wolynetz, Grazhda Music and Art Center of Greene County, 212-533-6419 or 518-989-6218	August 2-6 Jewett, NY	Gerdany (beading) class, taught by Anastasia Berezovsky, Grazhda Music and Art Center of Greene County, 212-533-6519 or 518-989-6479
July 26-August 6 Jewett, NY	Ukrainian folk singing course, with Anna Bachynsky, Grazhda Music and Art Center of Greene County, 718-271-9387 or 518-989-6218	<i>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.</i>	

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FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

Hartford UAYA branch holds traditional Kupalo festivities

by Christina Jancew Iwanik

GLASTONBURY, Conn. – On June 22, one day after the Summer Solstice, members of the Ukrainian American Youth Association branch in Hartford, Conn., ended their educational season at J.B. Williams Park in nearby Glastonbury, where they celebrated the traditional feast of Ivan Kupalo (feast of St. John the Baptist). The youths learned about the pagan and Christian traditions of Kupalo and of the mystical “tsvit paporoti” (fern flower).

Head counselor Anna Pokora led

the evening with a short tale for the youths about the evil “Baba Yaga” and a wandering Kozak.

Later, the girls made individual wreaths and the boys made a traditional Maryna figure. Towards the evening hours, the girls threw their wreaths onto the water while the boys went in to retrieve them. They also sang and danced around the Maryna before throwing it also into the water.

In the late hours they searched for the tsvit paporoti that, according to legend, blooms only once a year



Christina Jancew Iwanik

During the Kupalo festivities, boys attempt to retrieve wreaths thrown onto the water by the girls.



Hartford members of the Ukrainian American Youth Association: the girls wearing their wreaths and the boys with the Maryna figure they created.

on the evening of Kupalo festivities. Unfortunately, no one found the rare flower.

After the Kupalo festivities, the youths and parents feasted on pot-

luck dishes graciously provided by members. Congratulations were offered for the Hartford branch's participation in the recent UAYA “Zlet” gathering in Ellenville, N.Y.

Plast youths mark Feast Day of St. George



HARTSDALE, N.Y. – The New York City branch of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization and the Yonkers Plast Group held their annual “Sviato Yuriya” – Feast Day of St. George, the patron saint of Plast – for “novatstvo” (Plast members age 6-11) in Hartsdale, N.Y., on Sunday, June 6. Over 45 children and counselors (seen in the group photo above) participated in the day's program, which included games, competitions and a bonfire. Merit badges were also awarded during an afternoon ceremony. Attending this daylong event was Rostyk Slabicky, head of worldwide novatstvo, who spoke to everyone at the closing ceremony. He thanked the counselors for their dedication and efforts throughout the year and the parents for their support and trust. The day's program was organized and run by Dianna Shmerykowsky, Marko Pawliczko and Roman Juzeniw.

Student writing competition is announced

EDMONTON, Alberta – The Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Foundation (UCCLF) on July 3 launched its third annual student writing competition.

“The foundation has already doled out \$2,000 since 2008, the inaugural year of the competitions which marked the 75th anniversary of Ukraine's Famine-Genocide – the Holodomor. We are once again encouraging students to actively engage in and do research on a civil liberties theme and to commemorate victims of genocide,” said Andriy Harasymiw, scholarships director for the foundation.

Two separate awards are being offered. Valued at \$500, the High School Civil Liberties Award will go

(Continued on page 23)

New Jersey student selected for young leaders conference

PRINCETON, N.J. – Christina Czuczuk of Hamilton Township, N.J., represented the state of New Jersey at the National Young Leaders State Conference (NYLSC) in Princeton on March 18-21.

Christina, a rising seventh grade student at Emily C. Reynolds Middle School in Hamilton, N.J., was nominated for the program by Lynn Sichel, her Advanced Learning Program for Students teacher. Ms. Sichel cited her nomination as being in recognition of an “outstanding individual, achieving academic excellence and strong leadership potential.”

Christina has been on the honor roll since 2004, when she was a student at Alexander Elementary School. In addition, she won the Outstanding Achievement in Physical Science award at the Mercer County Engineering and Science Fair this year.

Christina is also a student at the School of Ukrainian Studies in



Christina Czuczuk

Trenton, N.J., where she will begin the eighth grade in the fall, as well as a parishioner at St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church in Trenton.

The theme of this year’s NYLSC was “Courageous Leadership.”

Over the four days of the program, Christina, along with the other participants, acquired skills and learned the tools to effective leadership, in the hopes that they “will change how they view their role as leaders in their communities.”

Student writing...

(Continued from page 22)

to a Canadian student age 13-18 who submits a research essay of up to 1,500 words based on a Holodomor theme. The winning essay will be determined by a selection committee derived from the Ukrainian Canadian community. Judging will be based solely on the quality of essay content. The submission deadline is October 29.

The Civil Liberties Opinion-Editorial Award will go to a high school or post-secondary student whose Holodomor-based opinion-editorial appears in print in a major Canadian newspaper prior to the November 30 deadline. The value of this award has been set at \$1,000. However, this amount is subject to change in the event that an op-ed from more than one student appears in a major Canadian newspaper.

“We’re very pleased with the quality of applications we have received through the first two years of the competitions,” noted Mr. Harasymiw. “The foundation looks forward to receiving many high-quality submissions in the upcoming months.”

More detailed information, along with application forms, may be obtained by e-mailing the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Foundation at UCCLF@hotmail.com.

Mishanyna

Summer is a good time to enjoy the outdoors and go on a picnic with your friends and family. In this month’s Mishanyna grid, find the capitalized words from UKELODEON’S list of things you might see while out on a picnic.

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------|---------------|
| APPLES | fruit SALAD | NAPKINS |
| ANTS | a game of CATCH | picnic BASKET |
| CARROTS | iced TEA | BLANKET |
| COOKIES | KITE | SANDWICHES |
| FRISBEE | LEMONADE | WATERMELON |

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

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1933 - 2010

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

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Wednesday, July 21-
Sunday, July 25

DICKINSON, N.D.: The 25th annual Ukrainian Festival will take place in Dickinson and Belfield, N.D. The festival begins with a Ukrainian Menu Supper on Wednesday at 5 p.m. at the Pavilion, continues with a Ukrainian Arts Workshop on Thursday in Dickinson, and features an all-day Chernobyl Symposium on Friday at Dickinson State University. The Saturday program includes a liturgy celebrated by Archbishop Antony of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., a luncheon, concert, buffet dinner and dance. On Sunday, liturgies will be celebrated at two Ukrainian Catholic churches. For information contact the Ukrainian Cultural Institute, 701-483-1486 or uci@ndsupernet.com; or log on to www.ukrainianculturalinstitute.org.

Friday-Sunday, July 23-25

KERHONKSON, N.Y.: The annual exhibit of art by Edward, Yuriy and Yarema Kozak will take place at the Soyuzivka Heritage Center. Paintings will be displayed and available for purchase in the library of the Main House. For more information call 586-360-7364.

Sunday, August 22

HORSHAM, Pa.: The Ukrainian American Sport Center – Tryzub will host the 19th annual Ukrainian Independence Day Folk Festival at Tryzubivka, County Line and Lower State roads, Horsham, Pa.19044. Doors will open at noon. The festival stage show will begin at 1:30 p.m. with headliners: Syzokryli Ukrainian Dance Ensemble (New York); violinist Innesa Tymochko Dekajlo (Lviv); Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble (Philadelphia); the Svitanok Band (New York); and the Svitanya Eastern European Women's Vocal Ensemble (Philadelphia). A “zabava” (dance) to the music of Svitanok will follow the stage show, at 4:30 p.m. Delicious Ukrainian foods and baked goods, picnic fare and cool refreshments will be plentiful. Vendors are welcome. An arts and crafts bazaar and a children's fun area will be open all day. Admission: \$15; students, \$10; children under 15, free. There is plenty of free parking. For further information call 267-664-3857 or log on to www.tryzub.org. The sponsor is a 501(c) (3) tax-exempt non-profit charitable organization; proceeds benefit youth soccer and cultural and community programs.

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.

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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