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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## Pro-democracy "Friendship Train" encounters antagonism, roadblocks

by Andrew Nynka  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – A procession of approximately 50 cars – dubbed the "Friendship Train" – drove throughout Ukraine's southern and eastern regions hoping to "spread a spirit of democracy and freedom" to places that their organizers said have seen little of either, though the group has encountered a number of antagonistic roadblocks and setbacks.

With their cars covered in presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko's trademark orange campaign color, organizers of the procession – who spoke with The Ukrainian Weekly via mobile phone during their trip – said the goal was not political.

"We are not supporting any one specific candidate," claimed Vasyl Khudariavets, one of several people who worked to arrange the approximately 2,300-mile trip.

Mr. Khudariavets was among the thousands who camped out in the tent city on Ukraine's Independence Square in the aftermath of the November 21 run-off election. He said his time there inspired him and other organizers of the Friendship Train to plan their trip.

The group has shown video footage and pictures of the demonstrations that took place throughout Kyiv last month to Ukrainians in areas considered to favor

Mr. Yanukovich.

"We wanted to help carry the democratic spirit throughout Ukraine," said Mr. Khudariavets, 34, a native of Lviv. "This is not a political action. We found there were many other people who also wanted to help us carry this spirit to regions of Ukraine that we thought needed to know about this."

The procession, which left Kyiv on December 14, stopped in the industrial city of Zaporizhia on December 20 and passed through the city of Dnipropetrovsk the following day, before driving toward Ukraine's Donbas region, Mr. Yanukovich's largely Russian-speaking political bastion.

But the procession encountered several roadblocks put up by Mr. Yanukovich's supporters. On December 19 organizers cancelled their visit to the Crimean city of Sevastopol, fearing incidents with more than 200 of Mr. Yanukovich's supporters who blocked the city's main square in the morning.

Local media reported that Mr. Yanukovich's supporters damaged several cars decorated with Mr. Yushchenko's orange campaign color on December 19 in Sevastopol. One woman was slightly injured when a pro-Yanukovich crowd threw bottles and attempted to overturn a vehicle.

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## Presidential contenders square off in lively debate on national TV

by Andrew Nynka  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and Our Ukraine party leader Viktor Yushchenko squared off in a lively exchange on national television in what was widely hailed by members of both camps as a landmark presidential debate. Mr. Yanukovich repeatedly asked that the two candidates work together after the election, while Mr. Yushchenko directly accused his rival of stealing some 3 million votes in the run-off election.

In a starkly different format from the last debate, which took place on November 15 and did not allow the two candidates to interact, both Messrs. Yushchenko and Yanukovich spoke directly to one another, posing and answering each other's questions during the 104-minute nationally televised event on December 20.

"You're a religious person, right?" Mr. Yushchenko asked his rival.

"Thou shalt not steal ... And then you stole 3 million votes ... Perhaps the Supreme Court is lying and you are telling the truth?" he asked, referring to the Ukrainian Supreme Court's decision to annul the results of the falsified November 21 run-off election on December 3. It was a theme that Mr. Yushchenko returned to frequently during the debate.

"Viktor Fedorovich, one must not steal," Mr. Yushchenko said toward the end

of the debate. "You must not steal things. You must not steal factories. You must not steal votes. And when 3 million votes are stolen – and you know very well that in Donetsk after 8 p.m., when the election finished half a million votes were stolen."

On the other hand, Mr. Yanukovich asked his opponent repeatedly to join him in some form of political compromise regardless of the outcome of the looming Ukrainian run-off election, which is scheduled December 26. Mr. Yanukovich was not clear on what he had in mind, though he repeated the phrase "let us do this together" throughout the event.

"If you win, I will recognize [your victory], if I win – you will," the prime minister said. "And then, you and I will work together to form a normal government of national accord," said Mr. Yanukovich, according to a transcript provided by the UNIAN news agency.

But Mr. Yushchenko, wearing his trademark orange tie and pocket handkerchief, cast Mr. Yanukovich's proposals aside, saying the prime minister was not answering his questions and was instead trying to avoid giving concrete answers to specific questions. "I asked you a question, and you tell me about the weather," he said.

Mr. Yanukovich continued to say that the solution to Ukraine's political crisis would be found in some sort of unity government, and he depicted Mr. Yushchenko's policies as threatening to divide the country.

Addressing his rival using the patronymic, Mr. Yanukovich said, "I can say with confidence, Viktor Andriyovich, that if you win and you become the president of Ukraine you will become the president of a part of Ukraine. I do not want this – I want us to unite Ukraine. This is my goal."

In response, Mr. Yushchenko said, "Let's recall that Ukraine has been united since the period of St. Volodymyr. It lived united through the times of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Mazepa, Skoropadsky. Let's consider the unity of Ukraine, its integrity, to be sacred, which must be appreciated by every politician. That is why I'm confident that the value of Ukraine is in its unity, and its territorial integrity cannot be broken up today."

As he has done since he lost the support of Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma after the run-off vote, Mr. Yanukovich cast himself as the opposition candidate and said that he and his campaign team have "become witnesses that the power represented by Leonid Kuchma, together with representatives of the so-called 'orange putsch,' adopted illegal positions that were aimed against the Ukrainian nation and against the voters, who, with this decision, were, in fact, deprived of their right to vote in the second round."

Mr. Yanukovich referred to illegalities

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## Time names Viktor Yushchenko among 'People Who Mattered'

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Ukrainian presidential candidate and leader of the "Orange Revolution" Viktor Yushchenko has been named by Time magazine as one of the "People Who Mattered 2004."

The newsmagazine's citation reads: "Even more than his rousing words, it was the disfigured face of Ukraine's opposition candidate – caused by dioxin poisoning – that spoke volumes about the high stakes of that country's presidential race. Yushchenko, here in his Kiev [sic] office, also survived rigged elections, standing up to authoritarian powers with the help of demonstrations by supporters. With a new vote scheduled for the day after Christmas, he may soon become the face of a more democratic Ukraine."

The photo accompanying the text above was of Mr. Yushchenko standing in his office. The photo by Yuri Kozyrev spanned two pages in the magazine.

Time magazine named 16 people (or groups of people), plus one horse, as "People Who Mattered." Mr. Yushchenko was sixth on the list, following Nancy Reagan and her son Ron; Thomas Kean and Lee Hamilton, chair and vice-chair, respectively, of the 9/11 Commission; Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry; San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom; and Eliot Spitzer, New York state's attorney general.

The biggest distinction, Person of the Year, went to President George W. Bush, whose portrait appears on the cover of Time's December 27, 2004/January 3, 2005, issue.



Efrem Lukatsky

Presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko addresses a rally in Kyiv on September 18, upon returning from Vienna, where he was treated for poisoning. "You will not poison us. You do not have enough bullets and KamAZ trucks. You cannot break us," he stated.



## ANALYSIS

## The next step in Ukraine: meeting the governance challenge

by Christopher Walker  
RFE/RL Newswire

The peaceful, civic response to the flawed second round of Ukraine's presidential election has been an impressive testament to the democratic determination of the Ukrainian people. Should Viktor Yushchenko ultimately prevail in the repeat of the run-off election on December 26, as polls indicate, it will open a new chapter in Ukraine's post-independence politics.

To a large degree, however, the truly difficult work will begin after the "third round," when Ukrainians will need to translate the past weeks' "people power" into meaningful institutional reform and more responsive, democratic governance. Ukraine's legacy of unresponsive and corrupt governance will pose a considerable reform challenge for the government that follows 10 years of outgoing President Leonid Kuchma's leadership.

Some of the first, critical steps, dealing with election reform, have already been taken. The members of the Central Election Commission were dismissed after the Supreme Court ruled that the November 21 ballot was fraudulent, and the new commission's composition will feature more balanced membership.

In advance of the December 26 repeat of the second round, Parliament amended

*Christopher Walker, director of studies at Freedom House, is co-editor of Freedom House's survey of democratic governance, "Countries at the Crossroads." He served as an election observer of second-round voting on November 21 in Ukraine's presidential election.*

the election law to address two of its most glaring deficiencies. First, the total number of absentee voter certificates permitted will be reduced from 4 percent of total eligible ballots to 0.5 percent. Second, mobile ("at home") voting will be circumscribed to prevent the sort of extensive abuses that occurred during the first and second rounds. These reform measures and others, if implemented and followed, should have a salutary impact on the December 26 ballot, as well as on the administration of future elections.

But beyond these immediate steps relating to the election process, there are several key institutions to keep in mind, whose development is essential and which should serve as a barometer of Ukraine's democratic progress in the post-election period.

Ukrainian news media, which suffered under systematic intimidation and manipulation during the Kuchma years, is one such institution. The system of "temnyky," theme directives that instructed editors on news coverage, was emblematic of the non-transparent and controlling environment in which media were forced to operate.

Ukraine's judiciary is another key institution. Beset by corruption and heavy influence from the executive, Ukraine's courts have in the past not met a standard that would enable the country to advance toward the West. Legal procedures more often have been used as a tool to protect the government's interests rather than that of its citizens.

The shape and capacity of Ukraine's political opposition will also be important. The absence of a credible, responsi-

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## Yushchenko is convinced he was poisoned by authorities

by Ron Synovitz

RFE/RL Belarus and Ukraine Report

Viktor Yushchenko said he wants Ukraine's procurator general to determine the truth about how he was poisoned.

But the 50-year-old opposition candidate for president said that the investigation, which was reopened on December 19 should be delayed until after a repeat of Ukraine's presidential election on December 26. Mr. Yushchenko said he doesn't want the findings to influence the election.

"I am convinced that this [poisoning] is the work of those in power. Absolutely convinced," Mr. Yushchenko said. "Time is now needed for the investigation. A lot of the circumstances are already known. I think that if the procurator general's office acts according to Ukraine's laws, both the country and the world at large will soon know who did this."

Mr. Yushchenko was speaking late on December 12 after returning to Kyiv from Vienna, where doctors confirmed that his blood contains about 1,000 times the normal amount of dioxin.

On December 13, Ukraine's Parliament reopened its own investigation into the matter.

Mr. Yushchenko said the evidence of dioxin poisoning has made it essential that investigations be continued.

"I think what was said at the clinic, I mean establishing that poisoning in fact took place, changes the case," Mr. Yushchenko said. "I therefore welcome the step taken by the procurator-general."

The Austrian physicians say it is impossible for them to determine exactly when Mr. Yushchenko ingested the poison. But one of those physicians, Dr. Michael Zimpfer, said on December 12 that he suspects dioxin was put into something Mr. Yushchenko ate.

"It would be quite easy in fact to administer this amount [of dioxin] in a soup that contains cream because of the issue of fat solubility," Dr. Zimpfer said. "As relates to the circumstances regarding a criminal investigation, this doesn't fall within our purview. We have made a final diagnosis, as well as an additional diagnosis that we suspect a cause triggered by a third party. There is the suspicion of third-party [outside] involvement."

Mr. Yushchenko and his American-born wife, Kateryna (née Chumachenko), have said in recent weeks that he began to feel ill a few hours after he ate dinner with the chief of the Security Service of Ukraine, Igor Smeshko, and his deputy, Volodymyr Satsiuk.

The dinner was served at Mr. Satsiuk's countryside cottage in early September. The menu included at least one creamy dairy product – a dish of fermented mare's milk called "koumiss." It also included sushi, crayfish, rye bread, watermelon, sweet cakes, wine, cognac, and home-distilled vodka.

Mr. Yushchenko has told journalists that he developed a headache several hours after eating the dinner and was struck by a severe

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## NEWSBRIEFS

### Peacekeepers headed to Syria

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma has signed a decree on sending some 200 peacekeepers to the United Nations Disengagement Force separating Syrian and Israeli forces in the Golan Heights in Syria, Ukrainian news agencies reported on December 18. The decree still requires the approval of the Verkhovna Rada. Since 1992 Ukraine has participated in a dozen international peacekeeping operations around the world. Ukraine's largest military contingent – some 1,600 troops – has been in Iraq since August 2003. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Rada approves new chairman of NBU

KYIV – Lawmakers in the Verkhovna Rada voted on December 16 to appoint Volodymyr Stelmakh as National Bank of Ukraine chairman, Interfax and RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service reported. Mr. Stelmakh, 65, served in the position in 2000-2002. He was replaced by Serhii Tyhypko, who resigned last month to pursue a more active role in politics. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Agriculture minister resigns

KYIV – Agriculture Minister Viktor Slauta has tendered his resignation, Interfax and korrespondent.net reported on December 16. Mr. Slauta had been combining his work as a Cabinet minister with serving in the Parliament. Mr. Slauta has served in the position since January. Before his election to the Verkhovna Rada from a district in the Donetsk Oblast, he served as a deputy to then Donetsk Oblast Chairman Viktor Yanukovich. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Top SBU official is dismissed

KYIV – Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma has issued a decree dismissing Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) First Deputy Chairman Volodymyr Satsiuk, the Ukrainska Pravda website and the opposition Channel 5 reported on December 15. According to the website, Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn announced the information about Mr. Satsiuk at a meeting with judges in Kyiv. Mr. Satsiuk had been combining his positions in the SBU and as a legislator in the Verkhovna Rada, which is illegal. According to Mr. Lytvyn, the decree was backdated so that a Kyiv court decision on December 14 requiring Mr. Satsiuk to be relieved of his parliamentary post would not have to be implemented. Opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko dined with Mr. Satsiuk and the latter's SBU superior, Ihor Smeshko, at Mr. Satsiuk's summer house around the time that Mr. Yushchenko contends he was poisoned. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Rada to probe sacking of SBU deputy

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on December 21 set up an ad hoc commission to investigate the circumstances under which President Leonid Kuchma recently dismissed Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) Deputy Director Volodymyr Satsiuk, Interfax reported. Media reports have suggested that presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko, who is suffering from dioxin poisoning, might have ingested poison at Mr. Satsiuk's dacha on September 5, where he met with Mr. Satsiuk and SBU chief Ihor Smeshko for dinner. "If the president wanted to prevent the [illegal] combining of positions [by Satsiuk, who was simultaneously a legislator], that's one thing," said National Deputy Vasyl Havrylyuk, head of the newly created commission. "But if Satsiuk was involved in Yushchenko's poisoning, then the reason behind his dismissal might be different. We need to sort this out." Some experts have claimed that Mr. Yushchenko's symptoms developed too soon to have been the result of poisoning on September 5. Mr. Yushchenko told journalists in Kharkiv on December 17 that he has no proof that he was poisoned during a dinner with Messrs. Smeshko and Satsiuk. "I would not like to say that I'm now making direct accusations [or have] direct suspicions about the involvement of these people in my poisoning," he said. "I can only say what I've already said from the Verkhovna Rada rostrum: It was doubtless a political assassination [attempt]. ... I'm not mentioning any names, I'm only saying that I was poisoned by the authorities." (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Two oblast chairmen resign

KYIV – The chairmen of the Lviv and Kharkiv oblasts have resigned, Interfax and UNIAN reported on December 15. Lviv Oblast Chairman Oleksander Sendeha told reporters in Lviv that he sent a letter of resignation to President Leonid Kuchma following a meeting with the Lviv Oblast legislative assembly the previous day. Mr. Sendeha said many baseless criticisms were lodged against him at the meeting and he does not want his name "soiled," according to Interfax. Kharkiv Oblast Chairman Yevgenii Kushnariov told reporters in Kharkiv on December 15 that he is resigning in order to participate actively in the presidential campaign for Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. He also announced his intention to leave the National Democratic Party and create a new party. According to Mr. Kushnariov, the National Democratic Party has split, with one side supporting Mr. Yanukovich and the other Mr. Yushchenko, according to UNIAN. (RFE/RL Newswire)

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## OSCE observer mission is largest ever

KYIV – The OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) has extended its election observation mission in Ukraine to follow the repeat of the second round of the presidential election scheduled for December 26. Over 1,000 observers will follow election day proceedings, making this the largest OSCE/ODIHR mission ever.

"After the flawed elections of November 21, amendments were made to the electoral legislation and administration to reduce the potential for electoral violations. This is important. However, it is the commitment to democracy of all those involved in the electoral process countrywide that will determine the significance of these changes," said Ambassador Geert-Hinrich Ahrens, head of the OSCE/ODIHR mission.

"To meet the challenge of holding an election within the time given, the election administration will require the full support of the state authorities. The media also have a crucial role to play in ensuring that voters throughout the country have access to impartial information," Ambassador Ahrens added.

The observation mission originally deployed for the first two rounds of voting on October 31 and November 21 con-

sisted of 12 international experts, 45 long-term observers, and some 600 short-term observers. Having been expanded for the repeat vote, the mission now has 25 international experts and 55 long-term observers who will be joined by more than 1,000 short-term observers prior to election day.

As in the first two rounds, the mission will continue to monitor the electoral process to assess compliance with commitments to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), other international standards for democratic elections and national legislation. It will analyze the election campaign, respect for fundamental freedoms, the media, the legislative framework, the election administration and the resolution of election-related disputes. On election day, short-term observers will follow voting procedures, counting of the ballots and the tabulation of results at all levels.

The OSCE/ODIHR mission, together with four parliamentary delegations, will issue a statement of preliminary findings and conclusions on the day after the election. A comprehensive final report on the election will be released approximately six weeks after the completion of the electoral process.

## Wrzesnewskyj travels to Ukraine, again

by Christopher Guly

OTTAWA – As Ukrainians prepared to vote in a presidential election for the third time in as many months, Canadian Liberal Member of Parliament Borys Wrzesnewskyj was getting ready to make his sixth visit to Ukraine since August.

This time the 44-year-old grandson of Ukrainian immigrants hoped the so-called Orange Revolution – or "Orange

Uprising" as he calls it – which has swept across his ancestral homeland and made opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko a globally recognized hero for freedom, would lead to a lasting democracy in that country.

Mr. Wrzesnewskyj (Etobicoke Center, Ontario) is among 500 Canadians who will serve as official observers when Ukrainians vote in the second presiden-

(Continued on page 21)

## Australia's Ukrainians also headed for Ukraine

ESSENDON, Australia – Thirteen members of the Ukrainian Australian community this week traveled to Ukraine to be a part of the election monitoring process for the December 26 presidential election.

The chairman of the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations (AFUO), Stefan Romaniw, said that the delegation represents a great example of

how strongly many of Australia's Ukrainians feel about ensuring a free and fair democracy prospers in Ukraine.

"It's a measure of commitment that these people are paying their own way to get to Ukraine to monitor the election process and help ensure that freedom and democracy really does come to Ukraine,"

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## AFUO leader meets with minister

MELBOURNE – Minister for Multicultural Affairs Peter McGauran and the chairman of the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations (AFUO), Stefan Romaniw, met on Friday, December 17, in Melbourne to discuss the current situation in Ukraine in relation to the presidential election, Australia's involvement in the monitoring process and the activities of Australia's Ukrainian community.

The minister congratulated the community for its activity and offered his support and thanks to the community for its work in highlighting Ukraine's struggle in seeking democracy. Mr. Romaniw thanked the minister and his staff for their support in contacting the minister for foreign affairs in seeking a stronger position by the Australia government in the monitoring process.

Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer on December 16 announced \$30,000 funding to support two monitoring agencies in Ukraine and upgraded the

status of Australia's presence by sending Australia's ambassador to Ukraine, Leslie Rowe, to represent the government. Mr. Romaniw said the AFUO supports this position and considers them as being positive steps.

Previously, the AFUO had protested to the foreign minister that the designation of one election monitor from the Australian government (an officer from the Foreign Affairs Department at Australia's Embassy in Moscow) was not sufficient to demonstrate Australia's commitment to democracy in Ukraine.

Minister McGauran wished the AFUO delegation traveling to Ukraine as monitors a safe journey and commended them for their commitment.

Issues of community development, immigration and foreign affairs were also discussed during the meeting. The minister indicated his support for the Ukrainian Australian community and said he looked forward to working with it in the future.

## ELECTION WATCH

### Opposition fears 'counterrevolution'

KYIV – National Deputy Mykola Tomenko, a member of opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko's election staff, suggested to journalists on December 21 that presidential rival Viktor Yanukovich, who is on leave from his post as prime minister, is preparing two scenarios aimed at undermining the December 26 presidential vote, Interfax reported. "Yanukovich's team has two scenarios today: a legal and a counterrevolutionary one," Mr. Tomenko said. "Under the legal scenario, Yanukovich's staff will question the constitutionality of the Supreme Court's ruling [ordering a repeat vote] and will insist that the [December 8] amendments to the law on presidential elections led to several violations [during the vote]. The second scenario provides for the use of policemen and army servicemen by

Yanukovich's team to influence the voting procedure and prepare a counterrevolution." Mr. Tomenko also said the pro-Yushchenko camp will resume rallies on Independence Square in Kyiv on December 22, one month after they began in the wake of the fraudulent November 21 vote. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Yushchenko on relations with Russia

KYIV – Our Ukraine bloc leader and presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko said on Ukrainian Radio on December 21 that cooperation with Russia is of strategic interest for Ukraine, Interfax reported. Mr. Yushchenko was commenting on Russian President Vladimir Putin's statement earlier the same day that the latter sees "no problem" in cooperating with Mr. Yushchenko if he is elected president of Ukraine. "We will always have a

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## UNA'ers do their part for free election

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – As the people of Ukraine prepare to vote in the repeat of the presidential run-off election, two executive officers of the Ukrainian National Association are off to Ukraine to serve as election monitors.

UNA President Stefan Kaczaraj of New Jersey and UNA Director for Canada Al Kachkowski of Saskatchewan will be in Ukraine among the thousands of election monitors being sent from various parts of the world to observe the December 26 election. Mr. Kaczaraj is traveling to Ukraine at his own expense; Mr. Kachkowski is a member of the delegation being sent from Canada.

In addition, the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Association decided to donate \$5,000 in support of young election observers who will be traveling to Ukraine as part of the group organized by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

The funds will be distributed to 10 young activists who are members of the UNA and active in Ukrainian community life. The money, \$500 each, will be used to help defray the costs of their airfare to Ukraine.

In a letter to the UCCA, UNA Treasurer Roma Lisovich noted "the colossal effort of the UCCA in the organization of election observers for the next round of elections" and the involvement of youth in "protest actions, demonstrations and fund-raising efforts" as well as their readiness to serve as election observers in Ukraine.

Ms. Lisovich underscored: "We commend them for their ardent passion and their efforts in ensuring that the democratic process in Ukraine is upheld. We are especially proud that many of these young activists are also UNA members. ... We are proud of our young people and commend them for their commitment and support of Ukraine in its fight for democracy."

## Roman Woronowycz leaves The Ukrainian Weekly



Jeffrey Wills

**Roman Woronowycz against the backdrop of the throngs gathered in Lviv for the visit of Pope John Paul II in June 2001.**

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Roman Woronowycz, an editor at The Ukrainian Weekly since June 1992, has left the newspaper for a new position as head of public information for the U.S. Agency for International Development regional office for

Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. He began his new job, which is based in Kyiv, on December 6.

Mr. Woronowycz had served as The Weekly's Kyiv Press Bureau chief since August 1997. Prior to that he was a staff writer/editor at The Ukrainian Weekly's home office in Parsippany, N.J., and was the paper's Kyiv correspondent from December 1993 through June 1994 and August 1996 through July 1997. He covered the Atlanta Olympic Games for The Weekly in 1996.

During his time at the Kyiv Press Bureau he covered many epochal events in Ukraine, including presidential and parliamentary elections, the 2001 papal visit and the 10th anniversary of Ukraine's independence.

In his new position Mr. Woronowycz is responsible for disseminating information to the press and coordinating public relations activities highlighting USAID programs in three countries, which includes projects on democracy, civil society and mass media development; economic growth; and health matters, including the fight against tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS.

Editor Andrew Nynka of The Weekly staff has been temporarily assigned to the Kyiv Press Bureau. He will remain there through mid-January.



# OBITUARY: Leader of underground Ukrainian Church, Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk



Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk in a 1988 photo.

by Ika Koznarska Casanova

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk of the Eparchy of Kolomyia-Chernivtsi passed away on Sunday, December 12, at the age of 79. Bishop Vasylyk was an underground priest for four decades for the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC), which was formally dissolved in Ukraine in 1946 and annexed by force to the Russian Orthodox Church. As a member of the Eastern Rite Ukrainian Catholic Church he, like committed others of his religious brethren, remained faithful to Rome despite harsh suffering and persecution.

As one of the bishops of the underground UGCC, Bishop Vasylyk came out into the open in 1987 and,

having achieved a measure of visibility, was able to attract international attention, especially that of the press, to the plight of the Church. Bishop Vasylyk played an active role in the many actions working toward the legalization of the UGCC during the Soviet period.

Bishop Vasylyk was born on August 8, 1926, in the village of Boryslavets, near Peremyshl. He studied at the gymnasium (high school) in Peremyshl (1942-1943), and began his preparation for the priesthood at the seminary in Peremyshl. With the closing of the seminary in November of 1945, he, together with his family, was deported to the village of Barysh in the Ternopil region.

That same year he was in Lviv, where he was involved with helping the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. He was arrested on April 1, 1947, and sentenced, to a 10-year prison term for “the betrayal of the fatherland” and for engaging in “anti-Soviet propaganda.” He served his sentence in various prisons and camps in 1947-1955, among them: Lonski Prison, Lviv; Cheliabinsk in the southern Urals; Ufa, Tatarstan (1949); Dzhzhkzhkhan, Kazakh SSR (1950); Spaskiv Camp, Kazakh SSR (1951-1952); Olzheras Camp, Kemerovo western Siberia (1953); and Omsk Russia (1953-1955).

He was ordained a deacon on January 1, 1950, at the prison camp in Dzhzhkzhkhan by Bishop Hobikova-Makovsk. Repeatedly punished for his pastoral work in the camps, the future bishop was released in 1955 and sent into exile in the village of Novoaleksandrivka in the Krasnoyarsk region, where he found work on a farm.

He was able to return to Ukraine only in June of 1956. Undeterred in his pastoral work, he was ordained a priest in Lviv on November 11, 1956, by Bishop Mykola Charnetskyi.

In 1956-1959 he was engaged in active underground pastoral work in villages in Halychyna and Zakarpattia, giving catechism lessons, celebrating liturgy and administering the Sacraments – all the while forced to avoid detection and arrest. His luck ran out in 1959 when he was arrested for a second time in Ivano-Frankivsk, after having celebrating a

religious service in the village of Nadorozhna. After repeated lengthy and difficult interrogations, he was sentenced to five years of imprisonment for “inciting interconfessional tensions” and for possession of an undetermined amount of “anti-Soviet literature of a religious character.” An offer of having the charges against him dropped was proffered during the interrogation, contingent upon his joining the Russian Orthodox Church. He rejected the deal.

Father Vasylyk served his term in a camp in Mordovia, where he met the future Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slypyj, the Lithuanian priest Alfonsas Svarinskas, and many other Lithuanian, Polish and Latvian priests who were serving sentences there.

Upon his release in 1964, as he could not receive a permit to reside in any Ukrainian city or town, he travelled from village to village. His pastoral ministry in the neighboring villages of Schwarwechko, near the Polish border, included organizing an underground theological seminary and a cloistered community.

Three years later, in 1967, he was again confronted by the authorities, with the result that his identity card and his residence permit were taken away; he referred to his itinerant status, as a “free man.” He was on the move, cautiously continuing his pastoral ministry until 1974, when he obtained a permit to reside in the region of Buchach, in the village of Borich, where his mother lived.

That year, on May 1, 1974, he was consecrated a bishop by Bishop Yosafat Fedoryk, OSBM. Upon learning of the consecration a year later, the authorities interrogated Bishops Vasylyk and Fedoryk. A harsh public campaign was launched against Bishop Vasylyk, and subsequently against the first priests he had ordained, the brothers Mykola and Hryhorii Simkailo.

On August 4, 1987, for the first time since 1946, 23 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests, headed by Bishop Vasylyk, and 150 laypeople, signed an official petition addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Pope John Paul II, respectively, asking the Soviet authorities to legalize the Ukrainian Catholic Church and calling on the pope to give his full support to the UGCC in the Soviet Union.

The reaction of the authorities, as noted in the article titled “The Adventures of An Outlaw Bishop,” by Tommaso Ricci (30 Days, May 1989), was to launch an anonymous letter campaign against the petitioners, which was publicly circulated.

On July 16-17, 1988, Bishop Vasylyk, with five other priests, publicly celebrated the Millennium of the

(Continued on page 20)

## Eugene Harasymiw, UCCLA activist, dies

EDMONTON – Eugene Harasymiw, a leader within the Ukrainian community who was active in the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA), passed away on October 2, at the age of 63.

As Edmonton representative of the UCCLA, Mr. Harasymiw was actively involved in the campaign of such UCCLA issues as seeking a made-in-Canada solution to the prosecution of war criminals in that country, and government recognition and redress for the internment of Ukrainian Canadians during World War I.

Peter Goldring, member of Parliament, who worked on behalf of these issues, paid tribute to Mr. Harasymiw in the House of Commons on October 14. In his commemorative statement. Mr. Goldring referred to Mr. Harasymiw as a “devoted family man and a steadfast proponent of civil rights and liberties.”

In a eulogy delivered at the funeral, fellow UCCLA activist Taras Podilsky noted: “Yevhen’s [Mr. Harasymiw’s] activism began in the 1980s when he volunteered to join the UCCLA in response to the Federal government’s creation of the Deshesne Commission. Yevhen was determined that any Canadian who was accused of war crimes would not fall victim to injustice.

In the months preceding his demise, Mr. Harasymiw was involved with writing a book on Canada’s war crimes policy. The UCCLA has set up a trust in Mr. Harasymiw’s memory to ensure that the work-in-progress be completed and published.

Mr. Harasymiw is survived by his wife, Natalie; two sons, Adrian and Andriy; a brother, Bohdan, with his wife Elaine; nephew, Peter; niece, Theodora; as well as numerous other relatives and close friends.

Funeral services were held on October 8, at St. John Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral. Interment was at St. Stephen’s Cemetery.

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## And what about the economy? Presidential candidates blame each other

by Andrew Nynka  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – With each candidate in Ukraine's presidential race blaming the other for what they say is a slumping economy, a number of the country's non-governmental organizations and economic specialists have said that political turmoil here will slow the growing economy.

Presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich, who is on leave from his post as prime minister, announced last week that street protests led by members of Viktor Yushchenko's Our Ukraine political bloc, that had helped stall national government and stop Mr. Yanukovich's inauguration as Ukraine's next president, would negatively affect Ukraine's 2005 budget.

Speaking to students at Mykolaiv State University on December 15, Mr. Yanukovich said next year's budget could lose as much as 3 billion to 4 billion hrv (approximately \$600 million-\$800 million). "But we have a chance to earn this money with the current economic dynamics. We believe that the effects of the crisis will be overcome by mid-2005," he said.

However, Mr. Yushchenko asked his rival during the presidential debate on December 20 why a draft budget for 2005 submitted by the current prime minister, included the largest deficit in seven years when the country's gross domestic product (GDP) was estimated to grow by 12 percent in 2004. "Is this professionalism? What kind of a paradox is this?" he asked Mr. Yanukovich.

Mr. Yushchenko also said several weeks ago that a large pension payout by the Ukrainian government was a campaign tactic that will hurt the Ukrainian economy in the long run, unless other measures are put in place to counter the move.

Andriy Blinov, deputy director and senior economist at the International Center for Policy Studies in Kyiv, said during a press conference on December 20 that the political situation in the country had affected the country's economy.

"Developments in Ukraine are evolving according to a risky scenario, a politi-

cal crisis, and have forced economists at the International Center for Policy Studies to revise their forecast for the country's economic development in 2004-2006," said Mr. Blinov, a specialist in monetary, financial and government economic policies, as well as a specialist in privatization, investment climate and economic forecasts.

A colleague of Mr. Blinov's at the center also painted a negative picture. "The nationwide political strike, calls for separatism that are impacting negatively on domestic production chains and the state budget, and the inadequate functioning of government bodies are likely to cause a sharp decline in economic growth," said Oksana Remiga, an economist with ICPS and a specialist in strategic planning and regional and fiscal policies.

But the ICPS noted on its website that "statements about economic recession [are] premature."

"Most enterprises are continuing to work in a normal mode, and no sharp decline in export-import operations has been registered yet. A noticeable decline in budget revenues and slipping confidence in domestic banks are causing the most serious concern at this time," the website notes.

"The short-term political crisis is unlikely to bring any radical changes to the positive economic trends Ukraine has been registering for five consecutive years," Mr. Blinov said during the press conference. He also noted that the political situation in Ukraine had dropped the center's forecast of Ukraine's GDP by 0.5 percent from 12.5 percent to 12 percent for 2004.

Ukraine's GDP grew by 9.9 percent in November alone, and 12.4 percent in the period from January to November, the country's State Statistics Committee announced on December 15.

However, Petro Poroshenko, a member of Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine political bloc and the head of the Verkhovna Rada's Budget Committee, said Ukraine's GDP could grow by 8-9 percent in 2005 if a new government revises its approaches to economic management and stops restraining growth.

Acting Prime Minister Mykola Azarov

announced in the second week of December that the government had decreased its forecast for GDP growth in 2005 from 8.6 percent to 6.5 percent.

And while the country's GDP was dropping, its inflation has been on the rise, Mr. Azarov said. He estimated that the rate for 2004 would reach at least 10.5 percent.

Mr. Poroshenko said the increase in inflation rested squarely with the government. "The current pace of inflation was caused by the amateurish policy of the incumbent government and will remain for 3 to 4 months at a minimum," he said.

Before leaving for a campaign trip to eastern Ukraine, Mr. Yushchenko announced that, in order to bolster the economy, he was in favor of restructuring Ukraine's regional free-trade zones. "Our work is to revise the work and effectiveness of economic zones and create real terms of competitiveness for businesses operating in these zones," he said during a press conference in Kyiv.

Mr. Yanukovich echoed this point while vacationing in Odesa earlier in the month. "As far as I am concerned, I am in favor of [greater] economic autonomy for our regions," he told Interfax.

But other sectors of the Ukrainian government have also said the economic situation in the country is under control and would not suffer because of the political situation.

The acting chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, Arsenii Yatseniuk, told journalists on December 14 that his bank is ready to implement "adequate and effective measures" to stabilize the situa-

tion "in case of the next aggravation of the political situation in the country."

Mr. Yanukovich said his government would overcome any negative effects to the economy because the government he heads created a "rather strong mechanism" to handle such situations. "We managed to survive this blow to the economy," he said.

Speaking to the All-Ukrainian Forum of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs in Kharkiv on Friday, December 17, Mr. Yushchenko stressed that his administration counts among its main tasks the reduction of taxes and the adoption of a new tax code.

Mr. Yushchenko said that taxation of corporate income in Ukraine currently exceeds 65 percent, while a common limit in many other countries is closer to 40 percent. This fact, the presidential candidate said, is a reason that so much of Ukraine's economy works in the shadows.

"That's where the nature of shadow economy originates," said Mr. Yushchenko, who also noted that, under the current system, corporate taxation in Ukraine is characterized by high rates and a narrow tax base. "What should we aim for? Low taxes and a broad base," he said, answering himself.

But changing the tax code would require "colossal trust between authorities and business," the one-time chief of the national bank said. He added that foremost among his policies, if he were elected president, would be to eliminate special preferences given to businesses by government bodies.

## "Orange Revolution" as viewed by an academician from Lviv

by Dr. Orest Popovych

NEW YORK – He used to have serious doubts about the state of patriotism of today's youth in Ukraine, but his mind was changed suddenly by the tens of thousands of students and other young people who made up the avant-garde and

the core of the Orange Revolution that has swept Ukraine in recent weeks, admitted Dr. Oleh Romaniv in his address to the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) here on December 15.

The guest speaker from Lviv was welcomed by NTSh Vice-President Dr. Orest Popovych, who introduced Dr. Romaniv as president of NTSh in Ukraine, secretary-general of the World Council of NTSh, professor, member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and above all, a true Ukrainian patriot.

Tackling his announced theme "Ukraine Today: The Renaissance of a European Nation," the academician from Lviv described the reaction to the falsified results of the November 21 Ukrainian election in his city, which has received almost no publicity, compared to the demonstrations in Kyiv. An estimated crowd of 300,000, including some 30,000 students, took to the streets.

Approximately 100,000 demonstrators at a time, most of them young people, circulated from western Ukraine to the massive protest gathering in Independence Square in Kyiv, where the combined participation reached the order of two million, according to Dr. Romaniv. In what developed into an unprecedented historic pilgrimage, people from all regions of Ukraine intermingled in Kyiv for a period of 17 days. This peaceful Orange Revolution, said Dr. Romaniv, was brilliantly organized; it was a political carnival that often assumed the characteristics of a youth festival, complete with rock and hip-hop music, making young people feel right at home.

(Continued on page 14)

**UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION**  
**УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ НАРОДНИЙ СОЮЗ**

**Highlights from the UNA's 110-year history**  
*A special yearlong feature focusing on the history of the Ukrainian National Association.*

Delegates to the Ukrainian National Association's 34th Convention held on May 19, 1998, traveled to Canada for the conclave, which was held in Toronto for the first time in the fraternal organization's history. Toronto was described by UNA President Ulana Diachuk in her report to the convention as "a vibrant cen-

(Continued on page 19)



## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### “A people longing to be free”

As this issue of the paper goes to press on December 23, during an abbreviated holiday week, all eyes are on Ukraine, which is set to vote on Sunday, December 26 (the date of this issue), in the rerun of the presidential election's run-off.

Over 12,000 election monitors have descended upon Ukraine from abroad to watch what is now being referred to as “the third round” of the presidential vote, among them 1,300 short-term observers of the International Election Observation Mission, a joint undertaking of the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as the parliamentary assemblies of the Council of Europe and NATO, and the European Parliament (and that's in addition to the 55 long-term observers who have been in the country since mid-September).

A large force of observers has been sent also by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, with the UCCA securing accreditation for some 2,000 monitors from the United States and other countries. Most of these volunteers are paying their own way. Why? Because they believe in the cause: democracy for Ukraine. And, because they can do something tangible to promote it. It must also be noted that there is some personal risk involved, as there continues to be concern about possible violence on and around election day. Thus, our election volunteers must be praised for their generosity, dedication, selflessness, and bravery.

Speaking of promoting democracy, we had an opportunity to watch the “Washington Journal” program on C-SPAN on December 22, featuring two members of a congressional delegation that had just returned from Ukraine, Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio) and Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.). These two extraordinary members of Congress demonstrated yet again what true friends the people of Ukraine and Ukrainian Americans have in the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus.

“We can be proud that we are on the side of a free election,” Mr. Rohrabacher stated on C-SPAN, adding that “all people who believe in democracy and freedom” should support those who share that belief around the world. In response to a caller who asked about the millions of U.S. dollars allegedly spent to help the candidacy of the opposition's presidential contender, he stated unequivocally that the U.S. has not used its funds to influence the election, “but to make sure it's a free election. That isn't trying to influence the outcome of the election – there is nothing for us to apologize about.”

A disturbing trend emerged in some of the questions as a couple of callers asked who is financing the protesters in Ukraine and questioned the protesters' motivation. It is a theme that has begun emerging also in other media sources – a theme that seeks to downplay the depth of the people's feelings in Ukraine and that reveals a bias against the people of Ukraine, as if they are somehow less worthy and, therefore, less likely to want freedom and justice, and a better tomorrow for themselves and their children – all those things that we as jaded Americans take for granted.

The truth, however, is eloquently simple. As Congresswoman Kaptur put it, what is happening today in Ukraine is a concrete example of “a people longing to be free.” It is our sincere hope that this longing, this hope, will be fulfilled on December 26.

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### Turning the pages back...

Five years ago, on December 28, 1999, Acting Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk said Ukraine's integration into European structures and its close cooperation with the United States and the Russian Federation would be the main directions of Kyiv's foreign policy in the year 2000.

“Our foreign policy will be focused on three main directions: integration into the European Union and development of cooperation with both the United States and Russia,” Mr. Tarasyuk told journalists at a news briefing, presenting a review of the Foreign Affairs Ministry's activity in 1999 and prospects for the coming year.

Mr. Tarasyuk, whose appointment as foreign affairs minister in the new Ukrainian government headed by Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko was still unclear, said the year's results had proven that Ukrainian foreign policy was stable and effective.

“(We) have confirmed the European choice of our country,” Mr. Tarasyuk said. “This path was supported by the Ukrainian people during the presidential elections when Leonid Kuchma was re-elected to a second term in the office.” Integration into the European Union is the “Ukrainian strategic target,” according to Mr. Tarasyuk. He said Ukraine was striving to achieve associate membership in the union and added that the recently adopted EU strategy for Ukraine was the key step toward that status.

The European Union adopted a strategy on December 10, 1999, for developing relations with Ukraine for the next four years. The strategy stopped far short of mapping out EU membership for Kyiv; it merely acknowledged Ukraine's European aspirations, welcomed its “pro-European choice” and outlined the basis for cooperation between Kyiv and the EU. European Union leaders declined to say what prospects Ukraine had of becoming part of the EU's enlargement plans, which then included the three Baltic states and seven other Eastern European countries.

Despite the EU's cautious approach, Mr. Tarasyuk said he believed Ukraine had a good chance to attain associate membership in the European Union next year.

Source : “Ukraine to focus on European Union, U.S. and Russia in 2000,” by Pavel Polityuk, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, January 2, 2000, Vol. LXVIII, No. 1.

## FOR THE RECORD

### Writer Yuri Andrukhovych's address to European Parliament

*Below is an English translation of an invited speech delivered by Yuri Andrukhovych to the European Parliament on Wednesday, December 15, in Strasbourg. (The translation is by Michael Naydan.)*

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen:

I first and foremost venture to bring to your attention an entirely personal vision. The hero of one of my novels, Stanislav Perfetsky, when he delivers a lecture before a no less worthy audience than the one here, roughly says the following: “My task is not one of the easiest, and not without grounds I am abundantly fearful that I will be unable to manage to deal with it as one should. And the fact of the matter isn't that I don't have anything to say. It's quite the opposite – I have so much to say about everything, that the allotted time for listening to me today wouldn't even be enough, and not even would, I venture to assure you, the remaining days and nights allotted by Providence for the human race.” But all the same, in following the hero of my novel, I will try at least to outline something for you.

The drama that is occurring today in Ukraine in no way fits into any of the political science models prepared beforehand for it. The situation is not a clash of Ukrainian-language Ukrainians against Russian-language ones; even more so not the opposition of the “pro-European” West of our country vs. a “pro-Russian” East; and not the settling of scores of certain financial groups or clans with others. To be fair, I should note that all these conflicts are partially present, they are, what they call, “in play,” but it is not they that define the essential make-up of what is happening.

First and foremost, a universal historical drama is taking place. It is a clash between a society, which, in considerable and its additionally most active, most conscious, most enlightened part, wants democracy, prosperity and a nation of laws, against a power that with all its strength is trying to save an authoritarian, neo-totalitarian form of government, so successfully and so cynically embodied in reality by all the successor Soviet Communist regimes in all of the post-Soviet territories (with the exception of the Baltic countries).

Thus, the question can be posed as the following bottom line: Is democracy possible at all? Thus, if you try to distill this problem to its most profound essence: Is it possible to break this vicious circle? Is it possible to save a “cursed land?” Is the embodiment of human expectations possible? Is the victory of good over evil possible?

Everything else – that, which is on the surface, but less essential – comprises the political machinations, the play on the linguistic, religious differences and the differences in mentality in Ukrainian society, the “hand of Moscow,” the Russian geopolitical “Yanukovych project,” the essence of which in its alternative, openly formulated by the highest state officials of our large Northeastern neighbor is: “Either a split, or civil war.” Despite the elegance of the formulation I believe in the fact that we will not give the authors of this project either the former or the latter satisfaction.

There is so much disinformation (in less “parliamentary” talk we can call it lies), so many scare tactics, physical threats, moral torture, as well as other dioxins, so much has been dropped on Ukrainian society before and during this election campaign – this is an unprecedented dramatic experience, that is worthy of a separate “Book of Memory” tens of thousands of pages long, in which forever there will be fixed each citizen's actions, each gesture invisible to the world

of countless “little Ukrainians,” who, similar to the “little Hungarians” in 1956, the “little Czechs” of 1968, or the “little Poles” of 1980 rose up in defense of their own dignity.

In 2004 a miracle occurred in Ukraine: its society, which over the course of an entire decade seemed to be feeble, passive and disunited, suddenly mustered up a collective, non-violent and wonderful feat. The “little” Ukrainians turned out to be considerably bigger than their – and not just their – authorities thought they were. They counterposed their creative poetics against banal geopolitics.

The orange poetics is a quite dynamic argument against the “zone of grayness,” into which for over a decade Ukraine's incompetent and dislikable leaders have striven to drag Ukraine. For them it has been about a dreary country, deprived of its own face, invisible to the world. They “constructed” it as a figure, in conformity with their own gray faces and secret needs. In his aesthetic validations it is not for nothing that Mr. [Leonid] Kuchma admits that he doesn't like the color orange because it is “not Ukrainian.” Perhaps Mr. Kuchma really turned out to be “un-Ukrainian.” Orange became the color of the breakthrough of all imaginable blockades – the color of human ignition in people. Over the course of 17 days of active resistance on Independence Square in Kyiv it turned out to be the victory of the people over all the technical means at the disposal of the authorities.

This is also the victory of Europe as an ethical system of values. My Polish friend Andrzej Stasiuk writes about it in a marvelous essay as follows: “Great things are happening in the East. Ukraine has lifted itself up from its knees. In these last, cold and snowy days of November the heart of Europe is beating right there, in Kyiv, on the Square of – appropriately called – Independence. It is right there in Kyiv that the battle for basic European values is being honed, that in the West those values are understood as something, comprehensible in and of themselves, something granted once and for always.” Andrzej Stasiuk titled his essay “Europe, You Have Become Bigger.”

Europe has become bigger by the sum of the Ukrainian regions where Victor Yushchenko won. After the 26th of December – and I really truly believe this – it will become bigger by all of Ukraine. Those Ukrainians who vote for Yushchenko are really voting for freedom, a country of laws and tolerance, without thinking in the least about the fact that these values are European – it is enough for them that these are their values and for the sake of them they are prepared to stand not only days and nights in the December cold or to walk with flowers in their hands up to the special forces units armed with loaded weapons. It is in these people that I see what one can underscore as the European future of Ukraine. And that future has already begun.

But since that meaningful word the “future” has resounded, what can we expect right now? To say it more simply: What can “we” expect from “you”? First and foremost, honored ladies and gentlemen, the distinct refutation of what for an entire decade the propaganda machine of Mr. Kuchma has been drilling into us: that no one is waiting for us in Europe. A refutation of what Mr. [Viktor] Yanukovych has built his entire campaign on: that in Europe no one likes us and scorns us, that we are alien to Europe.

Honored ladies and gentlemen, I am convinced that Kuchma and Yanukovych have been telling us a lie. I – just a writer

(Continued on page 22)



## PERSPECTIVES

BY ANDREW FEDYNSKY



### Orange: the color for all seasons

About the time the old Soviet apologist Vladimir Pozner was on ABC's "Night Line" explaining how Russians see Ukraine the way Americans view Texas, and that Russia, therefore, has "a legitimate interest" in swaying the Ukrainian election, Viktor Yushchenko was on his way to a Vienna hospital which soon confirmed that he had been poisoned during the presidential campaign. Well, Mr. Pozner is not the first Russian to argue that Ukraine is part of Russia, and Viktor Yushchenko is not the first Ukrainian leader to be targeted for assassination. The two phenomena are sadly related.

As Mr. Pozner and many others point out, Ukrainians and Russians go way back. Russians maintain their nation began in Kiev [sic] more than 1,000 years ago. Ukrainian history also starts with Kyiv. Indeed, engravings of ancient Kyivan rulers adorn Ukrainian currency; 11th century buildings grace the Ukrainian capital.

The Ukrainian and Russian versions of history, of course, are no more mutually exclusive than are French claims to the heritage of Charlemagne or German ones to Karl der Grosse. Indeed, this 8th century ruler of the Franks was the same person. Over time, West Francia became modern-day France and East Francia the modern state of Germany. Though they claim a common national hero, anyone who's sampled French cheese or German sausage will tell you the two peoples are not the same.

This year, both Russia and Ukraine held presidential elections. Both were fundamentally flawed, yet the responses of the respective peoples appear to reflect profound differences in national character. Provoked by a manipulated media, election fraud and creeping authoritarianism, the Russian people accepted their plight as they always have, without resistance or complaint. Similarly provoked by an election that was crudely stolen, the Ukrainian population rose up spontaneously and stayed in the frozen streets of their capital and dozens of other cities and towns until they took it back.

Looking toward national proclivities is an unsure business, hearkening back as it does to a collective unconscious formed in the mysterious era when people believed in gods and demons, fairies and nymphs. Still, by looking at the superstitions, prejudices, stereotypes and even perhaps, national culinary preferences, we can dredge some murky insights into why one nation stoically accepts the status quo while a neighbor rises up in righteous indignation.

Writing in his brilliant book about Russian culture, "The Icon and the Axe," James Billington – now the Librarian of Congress – points to the dense forests of the north as a formative environment for the Russian national character. There, the very landscape forced people to subordinate themselves to group interests, first to clear the land of trees and then to work together on communal farms (the "mir"). Could a communal mindset, explain why Russians seem more apt to engage in group-think and accept authority?

Ukrainians, in contrast to Russians, were people of the steppes. Game and fish abounded; fabulously fertile land was there for the taking. All a farmer had to do was scatter seed and then in the fall harvest bounties of grain, vegetables and fruit. There was no need to live communally and no interest in doing so. To protect themselves, Ukrainians established a stronghold – the Sich – amidst the rapids of the Dniipro River.

A mobile force of Kozaks patrolled the steppes, ever on the alert against enemies.

In 1648, an obscure Kozak captain, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, set out to redress a personal wrong. To his astonishment, an army of farmer-warriors rose up from their fields and villages. It became a revolution. Can we see shadows of that era – this time peaceful ones – in the spontaneous uprising of young people who gathered in Kyiv's Independence Square when the nation was threatened by the November election fraud?

The year 2004, ironically, is the 350th anniversary of the Treaty at Pereiaslav, which Hetman Khmelnytsky and Tsar Aleksei subsequently struck in the midst of Ukraine's war with Poland. Ever since, Russian nationalists have been nostalgically harkening back to Kyivan Rus', promoting the agreement as the "Reunion of two Fraternal Peoples." Vladimir Putin has certainly trumpeted the Pereiaslav Treaty, making it the theme of his policy toward Ukraine: for him, Ukraine is part of Russia; Russia has legitimate interests there; everyone else should butt out. Like earlier Russian rulers, Mr. Putin found willing collaborators among Ukraine's governing elite to not only frustrate the will of the electorate in the 2004 presidential campaign, but to also work to reverse the 1991 independence referendum.

Only the Ukrainian people didn't buy into it. So that's where coercion and assassination came into play. Ukrainian history is littered with the bodies of those who tried to lead their people to independence only to fall victim to the empire's obsession with a mystical unity that prevailed under Kyiv a thousand years ago.

Poisoned by dioxin, Mr. Yushchenko asks people to look at his once-handsome, now-ravaged face, and invites them to see in its devastation the tragic ruin of his country's history. Instinctively, people understand. Even if they don't know the story of rebel leader Ivan Gonta and the Russian regiment that seized him in 1768 to turn him over to tortures and dismemberment that went on for days, they understand. They may not know how Symon Petliura was shot on a street in Paris in 1926, how Mykola Skrypnyk and Mykola Khvylioviy were forced into suicide in 1933, how a bomb in Rotterdam ripped through Yevhen Konovalets in 1938, how Stepan Bandera was killed by a vapor gun at the door to his apartment in Munich in 1959, but they understand: assassination of Ukrainian leaders who aspired toward independence has been routine.

Poor Viktor Yushchenko. In his campaign, he promised people Europe and it proved to be a winning message. That's why someone tried to kill him and, failing that, organized a fraudulent election. And that spawned a revolution. In the process, Mr. Yushchenko became a man of destiny. Now his life is no longer his own. It belongs to the millions who look to him to validate the idealism that brought them into the streets on behalf of freedom. It's been magic, but soon the mundane task of building democracy and prosperity will have to begin. That's when the friends of freedom everywhere will have to reach out their hand to help. Who knows? Ukraine's success might well gather into a wave so mighty, that it crashes against the hardened walls of the Kremlin itself. If Mr. Putin's smart, he'll get himself an orange tie and wear it every day.

Andrew Fedynsky's e-mail address is: fedynsky@stratos.net.

## Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



### The Orange re-birthing

The Orange Revolution has taken over my life. Like most Ukrainian Americans, I'm watching and waiting, fearing the worst, hoping for the best.

During these unprecedented times in our Ukraine, I've been on an emotional roller-coaster. Feelings change from hour to hour, day to day. I read everything I can, listen to and watch the news, and call family and friends in Ukraine.

My emotions run the gamut. There is angry disgust at the unholy trio of Putin, Kuchma and Yanukovich for their appalling behavior and criminal indifference to the will of the people. At the same time I am immensely proud of Ukraine's students, who led the revolution and refused to back down in the face of what appeared to be overwhelming odds.

I look at the before and after photos of Viktor Yushchenko and feel compassion and sorrow for the physical and psychological pain he is suffering in his quest to pull Ukraine out of Moscow's craven clutch.

I have also experienced deep disappointment, especially with Patrick Buchanan, a forthright defender of John Demjanjuk, and now an unwitting apologist for Vladimir Putin. A confirmed isolationist, Mr. Buchanan has charged the United States with meddling in Ukraine's affairs, providing ammunition, thereby, for the Mr. Yanukovich forces who argue that a Yushchenko victory means a CIA takeover of Ukraine. In a recent column, Mr. Buchanan accused the United States of "imperial arrogance and blind stupidity" for supporting the Orange Revolution and repeats a canard that appeared in the Guardian, a left-wing British gazette, that Pora is an illegitimate student group established and financed by Washington.

Writes Mr. Buchanan: "Our most critical relationship on earth is with the world's other great nuclear power, Russia, a nation suffering depopulation, loss of empire, break-up of its country and a terror war. That relationship is far more important to us than who rules in Ukraine." Mr. Buchanan feeling sorry for Russia? If I didn't know better, I could swear that those comments were penned by the editorial staff of The New York Times, and not a long-time conservative I've admired for years. Shame on you, Mr. Buchanan. You've been seduced by the superficialities of the 1970s when "détente" was "the hope of the world." Remember? We were led to believe that we had common interests with the Russians, that both they and we were superpowers with governments that wanted to live in peace and security. It was rubbish then; it's rubbish now.

I don't get it. Bush-bashers in our community have been screaming that President George W. Bush is ignoring Ukraine and that a "Chicken Kiev" II is happening before our eyes. One Ukrainian American activist, a long-time Washington hand with an obviously exaggerated opinion of the significance of our community in American political affairs, even called me and demanded that, as head of Ukrainian Americans for Bush/Cheney, I had a moral obligation to openly condemn the Bush administration for its "ignorance." I refused, of course, and he hung up in anger.

Now we discover that the Bush administration has been quietly funneling millions of dollars to various institutions in Ukraine to promote democracy. As reported by the

Associated Press, moreover, Secretary of State Colin Powell rejected Russian charges of Western political manipulation in Ukraine's electoral process and suggested that Moscow was acting in bad faith by retaining military forces in George and Moldova. The AP wrote: "As for the state of democracy inside Russia, Mr. Powell said the United States is bothered by developments 'affecting freedom of the press and the rule of law.' United States officials have been particularly concerned about the absence of independent television news outlets in Russia."

Reflecting, no doubt, the beliefs of the Bush administration, House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-III) declared that "in order for democracy to flourish, citizens must be able to exercise their votes freely, fairly and without intimidation. Hopefully, Ukraine's election [on December 26] won't experience the rampant voting problems, reports of fraud, and allegations of campaign corruption that marred last month's contest. Ukrainians have the right to be heard and their votes accurately counted at the ballot box."

Will the Bush administration get any credit for its deft handling of the situation in Ukraine? Probably not.

The most uplifting emotion for me, however, is the realization that the Orange Revolution was much more than "a political rally, part rock concert, part fireworks display." Writing in the Wall Street Journal, Adrian Karatnycky described it as a "religious experience" as well. "On weekends," wrote Mr. Karatnycky, "religious leaders held liturgies, prayer services for Orthodox Christians (whose adherents represent more than 60 percent of the population) Eastern Rite Catholics (10 percent) Protestants, evangelicals, Jews and Muslims." Patriarch Filaret of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate and Patriarch Lubomyr Husar – who described the Kuchma regime as "an immoral regime which has deprived the Ukrainian people of their legitimate rights and dignity" – and various Protestant and Jewish religious and community leaders were part of Ukraine's re-birthing process. The one exception was the Russian Orthodox Church, the largest religious denomination in Ukraine, which blatantly campaigned for the election of Viktor Yanukovich. Small wonder that so many Ukrainians still view the Russian Church in Ukraine as Vladimir Putin's Trojan Horse.

Many weeks ago, our pastor told us about the thousands of Ukrainian Catholics who were mobilized by Patriarch Husar to hold prayer vigils 24 hours a day for a fair election in Ukraine. Father Alex Kuzma asked us to pray and fast as well, and for his part, celebrated a liturgy for the people of Ukraine every night for weeks. Other parishes throughout the United States prayed as well, I'm sure, and it looks like all our prayers were answered. With God's help, we have overcome. Ukraine is free at last.

In this season of peace and good will towards men, what better gift can our people have received than this: a free, sovereign and independent Ukraine. A very blessed Christmas, dear reader, to you and yours.

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



## NEWS AND VIEWS

**CIUS election monitoring project in Ukraine makes an impact**

by Bohdan Klid

EDMONTON – When the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) undertook the Ukraine Transparency and Election Monitoring Project (UTEMP) it was not clear what kind of an impact it would have in Ukraine, or if it would succeed in raising the awareness of Canadians about the upcoming presidential election there.

UTEMP was officially launched on September 10 of this year when Borys Wrzesnewskyj, a member of Parliament and Toronto businessman, visited CIUS to present a \$250,000 check on behalf of his family's charitable foundation called *Dopomoha Ukraini – Aid to Ukraine*. James Jacuta headed the project for CIUS, while the non-governmental organization Community Energy Foundation was CIUS's partner in Ukraine.

UTEMP sent 26 people – a good number of them high-profile Canadians – to Ukraine under the auspices of the project. Some, such as Gordon Ashworth, the former national campaign director for the Liberal Party of Canada, were involved in designing and delivering seminars on election laws, policies and procedures for local election officials and scrutineers.

Training sessions were held in Kyiv, but also in regional centers like Sumy, Luhansk, Kharkiv, Poltava and Kirovohrad. To complement the training seminars, project staff also designed an informative website, and printed and distributed an Election Newsletter for observers and others.

UTEMP was involved with training over 1,000 local Ukrainian observers. This was useful and needed, as docu-

mented in a letter dated September 20 by Yaroslav Davydovych of Ukraine's Central Election Commission.

However, direct monitoring of the election process by Canadian UTEMP observers turned out to be of crucial importance, especially on the second round of voting on November 21. Several of them made long-term commitments in Ukraine from September on, spending most of their time in regional centers outside of Kyiv. As the election campaign unfolded, they documented many electoral law violations. Eventually, the Supreme Court of Ukraine ruled on December 3 that the run-off election on November 21, was invalid.

Of particular importance were the observer missions of Canadian members of Parliament supported by UTEMP, which included Bernard Bigras (Montreal Rosemont – Bloc Quebecois), Peter Goldring (Edmonton East – Conservative), David Kilgour (Edmonton Mill Woods-Beaumont – Liberal), Judy Wasylcia-Leis (Winnipeg North – New Democrat) and Mr. Wrzesnewskyj (Etobicoke Center – Liberal).

Another UTEMP-sponsored parliamentarian who went to Ukraine as an observer was Sen. David Smith. On the eve of the November 21 vote, he, Mr. Wrzesnewskyj and Mr. Kilgour co-wrote the article "Don't stuff Ukraine's ballot boxes," published in the National Post newspaper – distributed nationwide – in which they highlighted cases of election fraud and abuse.

The Canadian government's swift and decisive announcement not to recognize the officially announced results of the November 21 vote was in part due to the

reports of the parliamentarians who witnessed serious electoral law infractions leading up to and during the run-off vote itself.

UTEMP also focused part of its activities and resources on informing the Canadian media about the presidential election in Ukraine, especially the irregularities. The project's media director, John Mraz, penned the sensational article "In the shadow land of lies," that appeared in the November 18, 2004 issue of *The Globe and Mail*. The article was based on a clandestine meeting with officers of Kharkiv's Ministry of Internal Affairs, in which they described electoral law violations leading up to and during the first round of voting perpetrated by government authorities in support of their anointed candidate, Viktor Yanukovich.

In cities across Canada, local newspapers also carried articles on the election. In Edmonton, many articles appeared in the *Edmonton Journal*, which either featured or mentioned the activities of Canadians in Ukraine and the UTEMP project.

The Orange Revolution in Ukraine, which was triggered by the massive electoral fraud perpetrated by pro-Yanukovich officials, intensified the spotlight of the world's media on Ukraine. Canadian MPs Wrzesnewskyj and Goldring were featured several times in national TV broadcasts by both the CBC and CTV networks from Kyiv. A one-page interview with the UTEMP project director, Mr. Jacuta, headlined "A 'Grotesquely Corrupted' Result," was published in the December 6, issue of the widely read *Maclean's* magazine. The CBC Radio program "The Current" fea-



**James Dmytro Jacuta, director of the Ukraine Transparency and Election Monitoring Project.**

ured an extensive interview with Toronto businessman Jack Rabinovitch, founder of the prestigious Giller Prize in Canadian literature, who also went to Ukraine as an observer under the auspices of UTEMP.

Although events are still unfolding, it is not too soon to conclude that the UTEMP project made a solid contribution to the international monitoring effort. More importantly, its role in raising the awareness of Canadians to what was taking place in Ukraine was substantial, and spanned the entire country by way of the broadcast and print media.

**Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine marks 25th anniversary, continues its work**

by Walter Bodnar

Twenty-five years ago, in May 1979, Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine (AHRU), was established. Seven trustees – William Bahrey, Walter Bodnar, Michael Chaikivsky, Daniel Marchishin, Ihor Olshaniwsky, John Oryniak and Ewgen Perejma – met in attorney Ted Romankow's office and signed the articles of incorporation, making the organization legal and valid, on December 4, 1980.

The articles of incorporation, among other things, stated that: "The purposes for which this incorporation is formed are to establish a human rights organization capable of recognizing human rights problems in USSR in general and in the Ukrainian SSR in particular, identifying and assisting the efforts of the Kyiv-based Ukrainian Public Group to Promote and Implement the Helsinki Accords and to identify the aspirations of and to assist in the achievement of human rights for all persons and communities in Ukraine."

This was a tall order and an ambitious plan. For the past 25 years AHRU has fulfilled its promise.

Since then, much water has flowed from the Dnipro into the Black Sea. There have been cataclysmic global events such as the Chernobyl disaster, the fall of the Berlin wall and, ultimately, the fall of the "evil empire." Out of that seismic convulsion, Ukraine surfaced as an independent nation. Perhaps the rebirth of its independence came too easily, and Ukraine was not prepared for it.

There were no battles, no heroes and no

myths created about Ukraine's final struggle for independence. In fact, the vacillating government of Ukraine in place during the Moscow "putsch" in 1991 was not sure if it would join new independence activists or continue to support the old Soviet guard. Lists of individuals to be arrested were prepared in advance – just in case the "putsch" failed and the Soviet Union continued to exist as before. A small group of dissidents and human rights activists became fragmented and weakened, and ultimately fell short of imbuing the population of Ukraine with ideals of freedom, democracy and respect for human rights.

After that propitious event in 1991, a number of individuals advised AHRU to dissolve – stating that all of the human rights problems in Ukraine would now be solved. We wished it were true. In our naivete and euphoria, we rejoiced for Ukraine, but the legacy of the 74 years of Soviet domination lingered on.

Today, after 13 years of independence, Ukraine still is beleaguered by a multitude of seemingly insurmountable problems, such as denial of human rights, lack of freedom of the press, persecution and murders of members of the press, government media control, corruption, a stagnant economy and unemployment of major proportions – causing large segments of the population to seek employment abroad, trafficking of women and children to foreign slave markets, and the spread of AIDS.

There are other problems: a lack of meaningful U.S. support in the political and economic arenas, as well as a lack of European support, seriously flawed elections and intimidation of voters, attempted assassination of political opponents, and continuation of Russification through

print and broadcast media. Russia's President Vladimir Putin was allowed to invest large sums of money (\$600 million) in the presidential election campaign in Ukraine, and his visits to Ukraine were used to support Viktor Yanukovich.

AHRU reached its peak of activity in the 1980s – the period of its most intensive and productive activism. Due to attrition of membership and a lessening of financial support, the volume of its work has diminished, however, its sense of purpose has not. The most recent events in Ukraine prove that there is much work to be done in Ukraine and violations of human rights in Ukraine continue.

Human Rights Ombudsperson Nina Karpachova reported recently that approximately 12,000 people in 2002 were subjected to torture and suffered ill-treatment in the prisons of Ukraine. AHRU has received numerous appeals for help from individuals in Ukraine who have been beaten, falsely arrested, denied due process of law, and persecuted by police and procurators, instead of being protected by them.

In the face of this reality, AHRU vows to continue its work whenever and wherever it is needed. As in the past, AHRU will continue writing letters in the defense of the mistreated and will appeal to people of good will to assist in this endeavor.

\* \* \*

Prior to the October 31, presidential election in Ukraine, U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Herbst warned numerous representatives of Ukraine's government to stop their violations in the election campaign. This information was conveyed to Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president of

AHRU. in a telephone call on November 5 from Jim Heller, human rights officer at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv.

Mr. Heller reported that Ambassador Herbst was grateful to receive a letter from an American constituent (Ms. Olshaniwsky, president of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine) dated October 24, which pointed out violations of human rights in the presidential campaign in Ukraine, prompting him to take action. Mr. Heller also related that most of the Pora students were released from prisons with the exception of several in Chernihiv.

The AHRU letter stated: "We are alarmed and extremely upset about the turn of events in Ukraine – especially occurrences on October 22, that could only be categorized by the name 'Black Friday.' The attacks by the police on students from the group Pora in western, southern and eastern Ukraine, an explosive device thrown into the office of Prosvita in Lviv, amassing of armed forces in Kyiv, appear as acts of aggression and persecution of civilians by police whose job is to protect the people of Ukraine." In her letter to Ambassador Herbst, Ms. Olshaniwsky also pointed out torture in prisons of Ukraine and intimidation and coercion of voters to vote for the establishment candidate Viktor Yanukovich.

Similar letters were also sent by AHRU to: presidents (Ukraine and U.S.), the secretary general of the U.N., ambassadors, consuls, political candidates and U.S. senators and representatives. Since the "Orange Revolution" started in Ukraine, AHRU wrote a series of other letters pertaining to current events in Kyiv and the necessity and advisability of U.S. involvement in the mediating process.

*Walter Bodnar is a leading activist of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine.*



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Has Yushchenko sabotaged himself?

Dear Editor:

I always thought that there was a lot of truth in the popular joke which states that a camel is actually a horse designed by a committee. I am certain many of us know from our own experiences that whenever a large group of opposing thinkers get together for a discussion, at the end of it, in order to break a prolonged stalemate, the parties involved will come up with a compromise that "satisfies" both sides and does not "offend" anyone. Of course, some time later the vast majority will admit that the compromise brought more complications than solution. Thus, the horse becomes the camel; it does not really run, but it moves, and one can still ride it, well, sort of.

I think a similar, "horse to camel," compromise was reached in Ukraine just a few days ago when Viktor Yushchenko began shaking hands with the "godfathers" of political genocide in Ukraine and even signed with them a pact of so-called political reforms. Indeed, many of us who were hoping to gallop the mustang of change into the Ukrainian government's rotten pigsty found that the "Orange Smarty Jones" has stalled right in the middle.

Unfortunately, the opposition began compromise negotiations with the regime; it began shaking hands with murderers of journalists and jailers of protesting students, it began smiling for the cameras together with European mediators on one side, and a criminal from Dnipropetrovsk (Leonid Kuchma) and one from Donbas (Viktor Yanukovich) on the other side. Not exactly a pretty picture one would hang on the wall.

But why such pessimism, one might ask? Was not there a good bill passed making fraudulent elections much harder to stage? Yes, that is true, but at what cost was this "great victory" achieved? And what did the opposition gain at the end? One of the demands was to fire the whole government, this demand was not met, the only person who has left the office thus far is Procurator General Hennadii Vasiliev. The rest of the gang is still there, at their old, now un-blockaded warm offices.

Moreover, the important governmental positions will, from now on, have to be approved by the majority in the quasi-democratic Parliament which, as recently as a few days ago, wanted to recall its own vote to dismiss Mr. Kuchma's government. So much for their "decisiveness." That makes Ukraine's future ministers more faithful to the dominant majority party in the Rada rather than to the president and the people of the country. This is a dangerously irresponsible move, especially considering the fact that Mr. Yanukovich's party, Party of the Regions, is still very sizeable at 61 deputies, combine that with the 59 Communist deputies and 33 deputies of the Social Democratic Party – United – the party of ex-President Leonid Kravchuk, gives a total of well above the number of pro-Yushchenko's and pro-Tymoshenko deputies together.

Furthermore, these deputies just increased their term, through the same political compromise, from four years to five. If this is not a Pyrrhic victory, then we must all be blind! Perhaps that is why the European Commission for Democracy through Law, also known as the Venice Commission, was rather critical of this "deal" that vests "supreme executive powers" with the Cabinet of Ministers appointed by the very same shady and largely corrupted Parliament.

And that is the true story of the young and promising orange-colored thorough-

bred that was fed on the choice grass of popular support and high aspirations of justice and law, and than ran all the way to become ... a feeble pony?

Mr. Yushchenko will probably still win the December 26 election, providing that honest elections take place, but the real question remains. Is he going to be able to govern effectively and bring about real changem in this, democracy-vs.-totalitarianism, EU-vs.-Russia-torn country or has he already sabotaged his own future presidency?

Alex Kozhushchenko  
Wilmington, Del.

### Jews in Ukraine not monolithic entity

Dear Editor:

We know that we are not alone in adding our voices to that expressed in the recent letter of distinguished young historian John-Paul Himka in which he takes offense at the most recent shameless generalization Myron Kuropas levels at the Jewish community in Ukraine ("Jews for Yanukovich," October 31). Like any other group, the Jews in Ukraine are most certainly not some vast monolithic entity.

On December 9 of this year, Viktor Yushchenko accepted an invitation to Kyiv's Central Synagogue, where he lit the first Menorah candle, and he and his wife received a standing ovation. Many in the crowd wore orange scarves, orange ribbons or Yushchenko "TAK" campaign buttons. According to the Canadian Jewish News ([http://www.cjnews.com/view\\_article.asp?id=5135](http://www.cjnews.com/view_article.asp?id=5135)), Yushchenko praised the Jewish people and likened their struggle for independence to Ukraine's struggle. He also noted that Ukraine "should respect the diversity of our world with different voices" and added that, when president, he will "always support different nationalities living in Ukraine."

The Canadian Jewish News reported that "Many Jewish voters had said they supported Yanukovich because they feared the anti-Semitism associated with some nationalist groups that are members of Yushchenko's coalition," but Eduard Dolinsky, executive director of the United Jewish Community of Ukraine umbrella organization noted that "This visit demonstrated Yushchenko's human and political position and his respect toward the Jewish community."

This is not the first time that Mr. Yushchenko has received praise regarding his attitude towards Jews in Ukraine. In May of 2000 Jewish organizations, led by Chief Rabbi of Ukraine Yakov Bleich, hosted then Prime Minister Yushchenko on Capitol Hill and, at a ceremony in the U.S. House of Representatives, awarded him a beautiful silver chalice for his attitude towards Ukraine's Jews. Mr. Yushchenko said on that occasion. "You will not find anti-Semitism at the state level in Ukraine. I am committed to fighting anti-Semitism in our country" (National Committee for Soviet Jewry, newsletter, May 5-9, 2000).

In his December 12 column titled "Go orange!" Dr. Kuropas champions the cause of Viktor Yushchenko and Ukraine's youth for their initiative, but in his earlier column he does not note, as does the Canadian Jewish News, that Jewish Ukrainians were also among the demonstrators for Mr. Yushchenko in Kyiv. Moreover, he apparently does not realize that such columns as he has written about Jewish-Ukrainian relations can harm not only his own reputation but that of the Ukrainian National Association, as well as relations between the Jewish community

and the Ukrainian people, and the cause of freedom and justice in Ukraine that Mr. Yushchenko is working so courageously to advance. As Ukrainians say, "Hanba!"

Natalie and Ihor Gawdiak  
Columbia, Md.

### Let's support people of Ukraine

Dear Editor:

Democracy does not come easy for Ukraine after three generations of Soviet Russian subjugation. Communism still exists in Russia and has again shown its ugly head in Ukraine as well. However, the events of the past weeks clearly demonstrate that the Ukrainian majority wants a Western form of government and rejects the fraudulent, demeaning, inhumane practices of Russia's form of governing.

Russian President Vladimir Putin has repeated his call for the crisis in Ukraine to be resolved without international intervention and that the dispute should be settled without outside interference. Look who's talking! Russia has been interfering in Ukraine's destiny for centuries. The end is near – let's support the Ukrainian people who simply want to be free and independent.

Long live Ukraine!

Paul S. Ewasko  
Glenburn Township, Pa.

### Putin's intentions quite transparent

Dear Editor:

In 1991 Ukraine declared its independence and proved its "good will" by giving up the world's third largest nuclear arsenal. This apparently was inadequate for Comrade Vladimir Putin, a hard-line Stalinist whose objective is to recreate a new, albeit smaller Soviet Union – with "spheres of influence" of the past.

One can clearly see what Mr. Putin has done, and is doing in Russia today. He obviously has no intention of democratizing Russia, now, or in the future. As a former Russian general, T. Lebed, stated before his tragic helicopter accident and death "Russia is, was, and always will be an empire."

Russia is an enormous country with an elaborate nuclear arsenal – clearly it needs no "spheres of political or military influence" for its safety. Thus, when it attempts to "rig elections" forcefully and even to assassinate outspoken candidates and journalists, this is no longer "Ukraine's problem – but a worldwide concern."

Few remember the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939. This was not merely a non-aggression alliance – it was a 10-year accord by means of which Stalin supplied the Nazis with goods and war material during the Allied blockade of Germany. Some recent archives even claim that Stalin and Hitler may have actually met in Lviv personally to seal their accords and secret protocols.

After partitioning Poland and executing 15,000 Polish officers in Katyn Forest, Stalin nevertheless cut a deal with President Harry S. Truman – exempting the Soviet Union of all past crimes against humanity while damning the Nazis "for following orders."

And yet, to date, all Soviets charged with past war crimes have been exonerated because they did, in fact, follow the orders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. What a contradiction of terms!

And our diaspora wants an acknowledgment of the Holodomor? From America maybe, eventually; but from Russia – never!

Andrew M. Senkowsky  
Van Etten, N.Y.

### Kuzio too hasty in critique of deal

Dear Editor:

The usually astute Taras Kuzio may have been too hasty in his sharp critique of the compromise agreement accepted by Viktor Yushchenko in negotiations with Leonid Kuchma, facilitated by European Union emissaries. If Mr. Yushchenko was "trapped," as Dr. Kuzio suggested, the question is: Trapped by whom? By the presidents of Poland and Lithuania? Not likely. Certainly not by Mr. Kuchma, who earlier this year floated somewhat similar (but far less favorable to the opposition) proposals.

A more plausible explanation, favored by cooler heads, goes as follows.

Part I: If no agreement had been reached, the government could arbitrarily falsify the results of the upcoming December 26 re-run election, as it did in the run-off on November 21, even if the job would be more difficult this time. Condemned again by international observers, the fate of the run-off would again land on the Supreme Court's shaky scales. Could the opposition again master the people power of 500,000 for two weeks in a January freeze? And how would the court decide that time? Wouldn't another statement or even bloodshed be among possible outcomes?

Part II. The compromise agreement will not make a president-elect powerless. He will have full powers before the constitutional change takes effect in September or December 2005 (depending on future provincial reforms) – enough time for a substantial clean-up.

When the modified form of government takes effect, the president will largely control the Foreign Affairs and Defense ministries and the intelligence service, and appoint oblast chairmen. He will also have veto power. The Rada would need a two-thirds vote for an override.

Finally, future constitutional changes are also possible – with the elements of uncertainty weighted in favor of Mr. Yushchenko (if he is elected).

As for the December 26 election itself, with the electoral reform in place, the opposition has greatly improved its chances of winning by official protocol, even though Viktor Yanukovich may still spring some surprises. Mr. Kuchma, humbled but not humiliated by the agreement, is apparently resigned to sulking at his dacha and saying he is no longer for Mr. Yanukovich. The smart money (including the oligarchs' component) is now riding on Mr. Yushchenko.

As for Mr. Yushchenko's "poor negotiating skills," as asserted by Dr. Kuzio and others, such an assessment reminds one of Monday-morning quarterbacking. Mr. Yushchenko probably got the best deal he could without risking violence at some point, with an uncertain outcome. The Internal Affairs Ministry troops guarding the president's offices stayed loyal to the regime. (This is the single remnant of the ex-Soviet KGB, the tool of mass terror that must be disbanded ASAP.) And, lest it be forgotten, the opposition camp itself had long favored a balanced parliamentary system to replace the present one with its vast presidential power that invites autocratic ambitions and corruption, as it did for President Kuchma.

Boris Danik  
North Caldwell, N.J.



# Klitschko brothers make no secret of their political preferences in Ukraine

by Stephen Bandera

KYIV – The crowd of over 100,000 Ukrainians went wild when Vladimir Klitschko took the stage in Kyiv's Independence Square. It was the third day of the "Orange Revolution," a nationwide protest movement against rigged presidential elections in Ukraine.

Mr. Klitschko was wearing a bright orange scarf and tie to show his support for Viktor Yushchenko, the front-running candidate who fell victim to widespread falsification and violations during the November 21 run-off election against the pro-government candidate, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

"Just as in sports, political battles are fought according to clearly defined rules. If an athlete breaks those rules, then he is disqualified and the results are annulled," Mr. Klitschko told the crowd.

He went on to refer to Mr. Yushchenko as "President Yushchenko" and the crowd went wild. Official election results had announced the other candidate was president. Mr. Klitschko's appearance provided a significant moral boost to protesters many of whom braved the cold to pitch more than



On stage at Kyiv's Independence Square during the Orange Revolution: presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko with boxing champion Vladimir Klitschko and award-winning singer Ruslana.

## Entertainment industry professionals speak out for free election in Ukraine

HOLLYWOOD, Calif. – Academy Award-winning actor Jack Palance, Academy Award-winning director Robert Wise, television star David Duchovny and RKO Studios President Paul Speaker are among the 130 names gathered on a petition calling for a free election in Ukraine and supporting the pro-democratic demonstrations that have thronged Kyiv following serious irregularities that surfaced in the presidential run-off election of November 21.

The Hollywood Trident Foundation (HTF), formed under Mr. Palance's leadership to facilitate contact among professionals working in the entertainment industry who are interested in Ukrainian affairs, initiated the petition. The foundation is a non-profit 501 (c) (3) organization registered with the Internal Revenue Service. The petition has been sent to Ukraine to be shared with demonstrators still on the streets of Kyiv, as well as with others through the local news media.

The HTF petition calls on "all foreign governments, especially Russia, to respect Ukrainian sovereignty and to immediately stop interfering in the Ukrainian elections." It also calls "for a fraud-free re-run of the second-round elections to allow the people of Ukraine to make their choice fairly and honestly ... and for a fair, transparent and fully internationally monitored re-run election on December 26."

The petition reads as follows.

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Let Freedom Ring in Ukraine for the New Year!

We, the members of the media and entertainment industry in Hollywood and around the world, hereby express our solidarity with our fellow professionals in Ukraine who support the democratic electoral process.

We are moved by the hundreds of thousands of people who braved the freezing cold both day and night for more than two weeks to demand fair and honest elections. We salute and support each and every person who raised a voice for freedom and democracy in Ukraine.

We especially commend the courage

of those professionals who work in Ukrainian television, radio and media who refused to mouth further propaganda and who took a stand on behalf of freedom of speech and freedom of the press and who, with great courage, supported the ideals that are so important to a free society and the creative process. We also commend our fellow artists in Ukraine in the recording, sports and performing arts fields who suffered prolonged hunger and freezing cold to stand up for democracy and to entertain and support the pro-democracy demonstrators.

We call on our brothers and sisters in the media industry worldwide to recognize that the pro-democracy movement in Ukraine is embraced by the vast majority of people living in Ukraine, whether they speak Ukrainian or Russian, whether they are Orthodox, Catholic or Jewish, and whether they live in Eastern or Western Ukraine. The Ukrainian nation is united in its desire for freedom and democracy.

We call on all foreign governments, especially Russia, to respect Ukrainian sovereignty and to immediately stop interfering in the Ukrainian elections. We call on all governments and all people of good faith throughout the world to support the independent democratic process in Ukraine.

We call for a fraud free re-run of the second round of elections to allow the people of Ukraine to make their choice in a fair and honest process. We call on all governments to refute all attempts to subvert the democratic process through the use of delay tactics and legalistic maneuvers. Freedom delayed is freedom denied.

We call for a fair, transparent and fully internationally monitored re-run election on December 26, 2004.

Let freedom and democracy for all Ukrainians be our gift to the world this holiday season.

**Jack Palance**, chairman of the Hollywood Trident Foundation  
**Elaine Palance**, producer  
**Peter Borisow**, president of the Hollywood Trident Foundation  
 (Followed by the names of 127 signatories).

300 tents on the capital city's main street.

The heavyweight boxer joined Mr. Yushchenko on stage later that evening when the candidate appealed to the police and army to join the demonstration and defy orders to put an end to the protests.

Kyiv resident Oleh Vitvitsky, an avid Klitschko fan and protester who has not been at home for two weeks since the protests began, was surprised to see Mr. Klitschko appear before the protesters.

"I don't think Ukrainians expected the Klitschkos to get in the middle of these politics," Mr. Vitvitsky said, "Everyone knows that the brothers run businesses in Ukraine, and if Yanukovich wins, they might face obstacles."

The city was buzzing with the news that Mr. Klitschko appeared at the pro-Yushchenko rally. "Which one?" an elderly woman asked a man who had just shared the news. "I don't know, I think the younger one," the man replied.

World boxing champion Vitalii, who is five years older than his brother, also wanted to come to Ukraine, but was too busy preparing for his December 11 fight

against Danny Williams in Las Vegas.

He did appear in television ads supporting Mr. Yushchenko in the last week of the campaign, and local newspapers reported that the elder Klitschko would step into the ring against Mr. Williams wearing orange and Mr. Yushchenko's campaign logo.

"I want to express my support to those defending their civil rights and freedom of choice and who are now on the streets of Ukraine participating in protest against falsification and supporting Viktor Yushchenko, who is the true president of Ukraine," reads an interview with Vitalii Klitschko on the Klitschko brothers' website, "I watch closely the events in Ukraine, and will only say this – my heart and my soul are with you ... I am confident that a victory in (the upcoming) fight will give you motivation to continue your struggle."

In an effort to help the protesters' cause, the Klitschkos enlisted the help of sports and music stars in Germany and the United States, who recorded messages of support to the Ukrainian people. The list includes Sting, Chris de Burg, Joe Cocker, Boris Becker and Franz Beckenbauer.

Beyond boxing and the ongoing bout for democracy, the Klitschkos are known for their humanitarian activities. They both hold Ph.Ds in sports sciences and philosophy, speak four languages and co-authored the best-seller "Our Fitness" in Germany. They established a special foundation, Sports – XXI Century, to promote healthy lifestyles and support athletic programs for young people and are official UNESCO spokesmen for the United Nations' "Education for Children in Need" program. In Ukraine, they are also involved in campaigns against drug use and for AIDS awareness, using their super-star status to deliver messages of social responsibility.

The two young men were born in the far east of the former USSR. Their parents, Wladimir, a retired colonel of the air force and helicopter pilot, and Nadezhda, traveled with their two sons across the Soviet Union before settling in Kyiv in 1985.

But there is no doubt that the two brothers consider themselves to be Ukrainian. And their supporters have no doubts either.

"They proved that they are true Ukrainians and have strengthened my faith in our ultimate victory," Mr. Vitvitsky, the young protester, said.

## Ukrainian Institute of America to honor Klitschko brothers

PRNewswire

NEW YORK – The Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA) will honor Vitalii and Vladimir Klitschko with its 2004 "Persons of the Year" Award, the Institute announced on December 13. The official awards ceremony, with the Klitschkos in attendance, will be held in early 2005 in New York City, at a date to be announced.

The decision to honor the boxing brothers was an obvious choice, according to Walter Nazarewicz, UIA president. "Not only are Vitalii and Vladimir world-class athletes and champions in the boxing ring, they are passionate advocates for the rights of Ukrainian citizens to a fair and free election," Mr. Nazarewicz said.

"They work tirelessly with charities to help those less fortunate than them. This year, we would like to salute the two brothers who have contributed to Ukraine's international renown not only in the world of professional sports but also through their philanthropic and civic-minded endeavors," he added.

Vitalii Klitschko retained his World Boxing Council heavyweight title by defeating Danny Williams in Las Vegas on December 11. Vladimir Klitschko won Olympic gold for Ukraine in Atlanta in 1996.

Besides their athletic achievements, the Klitschko brothers have become goodwill ambassadors for Ukraine. Publicly proud of their Ukrainian heritage, the brothers – who hold Ph.D. degrees – are active in a variety of charitable endeavors in Ukraine, and are spokespersons for UNESCO (German Commission).

They were honored by UNESCO in 2002 as "Heroes For Kids" for their dedication to helping children in need worldwide.

Previous UIA Person of the Year award recipients include Oscar award winner Jack Palance, U.S. Gen. Nicholas Krawciw and international financier George Soros.

Founded in New York in 1948, the Ukrainian Institute of America is a non-profit organization dedicated to showcasing Ukrainian culture and achievements.



## Hartford rally draws hundreds in support of Orange Revolution in Ukraine

by Natalie Korsheniuk Pollock

HARTFORD, Conn. – On Saturday, December 11, a crowd of about 200 demonstrators gathered on the steps of the Connecticut State Capitol and called for fair and free elections in Ukraine. Despite a thick fog and cold mist, the enthusiastic throng waved Ukrainian flags and bright orange scarves and banners to show their support of the pro-Western presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko. The rally attracted a diverse crowd of participants, mostly from the Greater Hartford area, but also including supporters from as far away as New Haven, New Britain, Oxford, Colchester, Danbury and Bridgeport.

The keynote speaker was Dr. Lawrence DeNardis, former five-time congressman from the 5th District, as well as president emeritus and tenured professor at the University of New Haven. Dr. DeNardis served as an election monitor in Kherson and spoke passionately about the fraudulent tactics he witnessed in the days leading up to the November 21 vote. He said, “Any notion of freedom of speech or assembly was non-existent in what was supposed to be a free country.”

Other speakers included State Sen. John Fonfara of Hartford, State Sen. Jonathan Harris of West Hartford, and Dr. Elona Vaisnys of Yale University, a member of the Lithuanian National Executive

Committee. Sen. Harris told the crowd how inspired he was to see young people leading the non-violent reform movement in Ukraine, and he assured the crowd that it would be much more difficult now for the Kuchma-Yanukovich-Putin gang to derail the December 26 election.

Quoting the chant from the 1968 Democratic Convention, Sen. Harris told the crowd: “The whole world is watching!” He and Sen. Fonfara pledged that the State Capitol will be flying the Ukrainian flag on December 26 to show Connecticut’s solidarity with the people of Ukraine as they go to the polls.

The rally was organized under the auspices of the Council of Ukrainian American Organizations of Greater Hartford. It attracted extensive press coverage from the Hartford Courant, with a front-page photograph and article in the Sunday local section, and reports on each of the state’s ABC, CBS and NBC news stations (Channels 8, 3 and 30, respectively).

Alex Kuzma, a Ukrainian American activist and master of ceremonies for the rally, was quoted as saying, “Today is a day when all Americans and people of all nationalities can rejoice in the renaissance of freedom in Ukraine. We are here to tell our friends in Kyiv’s Independence Square that we stand with them, and we want them to know how very proud we are of their passionate commitment to the



Schoolchildren from the Ukrainian studies school at St. Michael’s Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hartford gather on the steps of the Connecticut State Capitol to demand democracy for Ukraine.

deepest human values that unite us all.”

The demonstrators waved Ukrainian flags, placards and banners that read: “Yes, Yushchenko!”; “Stay strong, Ukraine!” and “Hey, Putin! Keep your KGB nose out of Ukraine” – a reference to Russian President Vladimir Putin who has been sharply criticized for his interference in the Ukrainian elections. Many schoolchildren from the Ukrainian studies school at St. Michael’s Ukrainian

Catholic Church in Hartford joined their parents and grandparents at the rally soon after classes ended.

The rally ended with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem. Among the key organizers were Irene Oleksiak, Natalie Korsheniuk Pollock, Myron Kolinsky, Mr. Kuzma, Ihor Rudko and Ivan Kebalo, with logistical support provided by Rostyk and Ulana Slabickyj, Moki Kokoris and Ihor Stasiuk.

## Selfreliance Ukrainian American Credit Union plays key role in Chicago actions

by Theodora Turula

CHICAGO – “Together we are many – we cannot be defeated” is the rallying cry of the “Orange Revolution,” the movement to further democracy in Ukraine. It could just as easily be the motto of Ukrainian American credit unions, which believe that working together, we can support relatives and friends in Ukraine achieve their dream of a free nation, and help our Ukrainian diaspora community to prosper.

On Saturday, December 4, the Decision 2004 Committee of Chicago, chaired by Dr. Yuri Melnyk, organized a rally in Pioneer Court, adjacent to the Tribune Tower, in support of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine. Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union played an integral part in preparations for this event. The credit union provided space at its facility for organizers to prepare for the rally and buses to transport Ukrainian Village residents, young and old, to Pioneer Court.

Selfreliance Ukrainian American FCU cancelled fees for wire transfers to Ukraine so members can more easily send funds to their families. Two accounts were opened at Selfreliance Ukrainian American FCU at the Chicago office for contributions that are being channeled to Ukraine in support of the Orange Revolution. As of December 14, over \$356,000 has been contributed to accounts Nos. 104040 and 104015; of this amount \$285,000 has been transferred to Ukraine as humanitarian aid through Our Ukraine. A detailed report of all contributors to and disbursements from these accounts will be prepared. Ukrainian credit unions in the U.S. and Canada are actively supporting the democratic efforts and should be contacted individually to determine how each institution can transfer money to the effort in Ukraine.

Students of the local “Ridna Shkola” and other schools of Ukrainian studies participated in the rally, marching with signs and energetically chanting the campaign slogan and the last name of the reform candidate for president, Viktor Yushchenko.

Selfreliance Ukrainian American FCU

President Bohdan Watral chaired the Chicago gathering, assuring the attendees that “Working together, united, Ukraine will succeed in its quest for freedom. It will continue to flourish as a country with equality, liberty and freedom for all and serve as a beacon of democracy for all of Central Europe.”

Dr. Yuri Melnyk, one of the chief organizers of the rally, delivered an impassioned call to all freedom-loving people to support the actions of the people of Ukraine in their efforts toward greater democracy. The rally was attended by a number of Chicago politicians, and was the subject of newscasts and articles by all the major Chicago area print and broadcast outlets that evening and the following day. Selfreliance posted information on the rally and information about the situation in Ukraine on its sister website: UkrainianChicago.Com.

The Ukrainian National Association of Savings and Credit Unions appealed to the residents of Kyiv to help by providing accommodations for credit union members participating in the rally in Kyiv, realizing it is important to make certain that the voice of the people is heard and that their votes count. Selfreliance’s sister website, UkrainianChicago.Com also provided information for wire transfers whereby Ukrainian citizens can provide financial support to the movement in their own country.

A declaration of support from UNASCU’s administration is also posted on the UNASCU website. President Petro Kozinets called on the Supreme Court of Ukraine to invalidate the results of the second round of elections, stating that although credit unions, as financial institutions, have traditionally maintained neutrality in political issues, the current situation, with serious and indisputable doubts raised as to the validity of the electoral process, could lead to destabilization of the financial sector, of which credit unions are an integral part. UNASCU has 133 member-credit unions representing all regions of Ukraine, with 300,000 members and over 200 million UAH (nearly \$40 million U.S.) in assets.



Congressman Luis Gutierrez addresses crowd flanked by organizers Dr. Yuri Melnyk and Bohdan Watral.



A view of the throng of demonstrators in Chicago.



## UKRAINE'S ORANGE REVOLUTION BEGETS ORANGE WAVE IN THE DIASPORA



SAN DIEGO – A rally for free and fair elections in Ukraine was held on Friday, November 26, in front of Superior Court in downtown San Diego. Over 100 protesters came from all over San Diego County and Los Angeles to show their support of democracy in Ukraine. The rally was covered by all the local television stations.

– Vera Skop



YONKERS, N.Y. – On Sunday, December 5, the Yonkers SUM Krylati men's soccer team donned new orange uniforms in a show of support for the Orange Revolution in Ukraine. The game was a Round of 16 New York State Cup match against Brooklyn-based FIAO Torretta of the Italian-American Soccer League. The game was played in Yonkers, N.Y., and Krylati won 3-0 to the delight of the home fans. The Yonkers SUM Krylati men's soccer team participates in the Eastern District Soccer League and currently leads the first division with a record of five wins and one loss.

– Mark Howansky

## Family among 30 observers from Britain

by Tony Leliw

LONDON – A man who was one of the driving forces behind demonstrations in London calling for fair elections is heading for Ukraine this week.

Bohdan Ciapryna, a 56-year-old semi-retired surgeon, is taking his family to the Odesa region to act as independent, impartial election observers in Ukraine's crucial presidential re-run on December 26.

His wife, Iryna, 52, a teacher, and their children, Natalia, 23, Christina, 22, and Myron, 19 – all medical students will be packing their bags.

Only their youngest, Stepan will be unable to go because of his age. "He is extremely disappointed because his 18th birthday is in February," said his sister Natalia.

The family will be part of a group of more than 30 people from Britain flying out this week to serve as election monitors whose duties will include watching the ballot papers being counted and making sure that people don't vote more than once.

Mr. Ciapryna, who is financing the trip himself, said there were no guarantees for their security, although they would be

going under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"We might encounter some verbal abuse from people who are strongly supportive of their candidate," he said, adding that his main fear was that the criminal element might be used on its own population – to intimidate them not to vote.

A former member of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, but now on the SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) committee, Mr. Ciapryna, said it was heartening that there was a strong youthful element represented in the party. His daughter Natalia heads the London branch of SUM.

People expected to travel from Britain will include not just diaspora Ukrainians, but Poles, some English and a West Indian.

Mr. Ciapryna, who is originally from Vermont, but came to England as a student 32 years ago, called the elections a defining moment in Ukraine's history, saying that quite a few of his friends from New York and Chicago were also going.

"They are part of my generation – people I grew up with," he noted.

## Pro-democracy...

(Continued from page 1)

Participants in the tour have included approximately 180 artists, musicians, journalists and political activists. Damian Kolodiy, a Ukrainian American from New Jersey who was traveling with Mr. Khudariavets, said on December 21 that the group was stopped on the outskirts of Donetsk, considered hostile territory by the group and a political stronghold of the prime minister.

Various Ukrainian media reports confirmed that the group had made it to the outskirts of Donetsk, but would not travel to the city center, where several thousand of Mr. Yanukovich's supporters had gathered to burn life-sized effigies of Viktor Yushchenko, Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

The Interfax news agency later confirmed that a rally of some 5,000 Yanukovich supporters burned full-size dolls made to represent the three members of Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada in the town's central square. The news agency also said that another group of 4,000 Yanukovich supporters gathered in a separate square near the town's Youth Palace.

"We can't let the orange horde into Donetsk," one Yanukovich backer, Andriy Koloiko, told the Associated Press on December 22.

Mr. Kolodiy, 27, speaking by mobile phone from the western fringe of Donetsk on December 21, said he could see around him a number of cars draped in Mr. Yanukovich's blue and white campaign colors. "They're not aggressive," he said. "They're just riding next to us – kind of guiding us."

Mr. Kolodiy, who rode with Mr. Khudariavets in a yellow Romanian-made Dacha, sat in the passenger seat while 26-year-old Silver Meikar drove. Mr. Meikar told The Weekly he was a member of the Estonian Parliament but lost his membership when he chose not to return to his country. The Estonian said he also stayed with protesters in the tent city in the Ukrainian capital after he first arrived in Ukraine as an election monitor for the October 31 and November 21 elections.

The AP reported that, in a letter to Mr. Yanukovich, organizers of the road show urged Mr. Yanukovich "to influence his supporters to grant us free passage to the city and refrain from aggression," said

Olha Hodovanets, a member of the procession.

"We need protection to go to Donetsk, and we are negotiating about that with law enforcement agencies," Natalia Shyvalova, a journalist traveling with the procession, told the Associated Press on December 20. Two days later the group had not received an answer to its letter but decided to proceed toward the city nonetheless.

"We were concerned that they would be more aggressive because of our arrival," Ms. Hodovanets, a journalist with Ukraine's Channel 5 television, said about the incident.

However, the group was stopped a little more than a mile from the city limits by some 250 cars adorned with Mr. Yanukovich's blue and white campaign colors. With the Yanukovich cars honking their horns and his adherents shouting at their opponents, Mr. Yushchenko's procession decided to skip a trip to the center of town.

The trip, which has been largely financed by Ukrainian small businesses sympathetic to the cause, headed instead for the town of Kharkiv, where they hoped to find a warmer reception. In one instance, according to Mr. Khudariavets, the group – whose membership seemed to grow by the day – was fed for free in Kherson by a man named Oleh Zaichenko.

"It was 3:30 in the morning and this man fed nearly 200 of us," Mr. Khudariavets said.

But the reception was colder in other towns. In Odesa the procession encountered Yanukovich supporters who spit at them and threw eggs at their cars. Mr. Kolodiy said the group waited for approximately four hours before police arrived to open a corridor so the group pass safely and continue the trip.

"They were very aggressive," Mr. Kolodiy said. "There was some pushing and shoving, but over all there was no violence." In leaving Donetsk, the group was pelted with eggs and rocks, and had to stop a number of times to change flat tires, the result of nails being thrown onto the road, Mr. Kolodiy said.

By the afternoon of December 22, the group was in the center of Kharkiv, where the Friendship Train arrived to a varied, though peaceful, reception.

"Driving in was a mixture of fingers and waves, but there are a lot of supporters for Yushchenko here," Mr. Kolodiy said. "I saw more waves than fingers."

## FOR THE RECORD: Statement by Rep. Andrews

Following is the text of a December 17 statement on developments in Ukraine by Rep. Robert E. Andrews (D-N.J.)

After weeks of unrest, the citizens of Ukraine have emerged victorious in their call for justice. Recent developments have been both promising and severely disturbing, as the Ukrainian Supreme Court annulled the results of the flawed presidential election held last month, and the suspected poisoning of opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko was confirmed. I praise the Ukrainian court for its decisiveness in favor of democracy, and look forward to a peaceful and fair election being held on December 26, 2004. In addition, I call upon the authorities in Ukraine to ensure that a thorough investigation is conducted to determine the details of Mr. Yushchenko's poisoning.

This election has tested both the Ukrainian people and their political system, and it has been proven that, without ques-

tion, this former Soviet republic has embraced the ideals of democracy. In calling for their civic rights to be respected and upheld, the citizens of Ukraine have ensured that their voices will be heard, and that they alone shall determine the fate of their nation. I am hopeful that each and every eligible citizen in Ukraine will embrace their right to vote on December 26, and ensure that the will of the people is done.

In addition to ensuring that a free and fair election is held later this month, it is also imperative that the details of Mr. Yushchenko's poisoning be exposed, and those responsible be brought to justice. Democracy must never be undermined by coercion or violence, and a precedent must be set now to ensure that the political system in Ukraine, and throughout the world, is never again manipulated in this manner.

Again, I offer my congratulations and support to the people of Ukraine. Their defense of democracy has been an inspiration to us all.



## Presidential contenders...

(Continued from page 1)

several times throughout the debate. He said that, in reforming the election law to limit the number of absentee voter certificates, politicians who supported the measure – passed recently by the Verkhovna Rada and signed by President Leonid Kuchma – had adopted measures he called unconstitutional.

The two candidates sparred over the issue of the absentee certificates, seen by many international monitoring organizations as the basis for much of the falsification in the previous round of voting.

Mr. Yanukovich said the new law, which limits the number of people who can vote using the country's home voting system to only the most severely handicapped, would work to the benefit of Mr. Yushchenko.

"We have to change the injustice in the law on presidential elections so that our people – invalids and veterans who were hurt by this new law – are able to vote. I do worry about this issue," said Mr. Yanukovich, who went over his allotted time limit seven times throughout the debate.

Mr. Yushchenko responded by saying that the old system cost his side more than a million votes. "Viktor Fedorovich, do you really believe that in Mykolaiv Oblast 35 percent of voters voted at home? No! It was a public theft of votes," said Mr. Yushchenko, 50, his tone growing stern as he spoke.

"Dear friends, they tried to steal our future," Mr. Yushchenko said during the five minutes allotted for opening remarks. "And, most importantly, this is why, thanks to the Parliament, thanks to the Supreme Court, we won a political and legal decision and put an end to these falsifications." In the end, "I can say that the truth triumphed," he added.

In what many analysts and political experts said was Mr. Yushchenko's strongest moment, the one-time National Bank of Ukraine chairman leader seemed to speak to Ukrainians who fear that he is a radical Ukrainian nationalist.

"Nobody will close a single Russian-language school. Nobody will divide Ukrainians into three minds, as it was said on the banners hung in Kyiv and across Ukraine by the pro-government forces. Crimea will always belong to Crimeans and to Ukraine, rather than to any single ethnic group. Viktor Fedorovich, nobody will fence Luhansk and Donetsk off with barbed wire. You are a serious person. Don't repeat these myths," Mr. Yushchenko said.

"It hurts me today when someone somewhere says ... that Ukraine should be a federation, or that a southeastern republic should be created," Mr. Yushchenko said

during his closing remarks. "I am calling on all politicians to keep one thing sacred: Let no ideas of splitting Ukraine, no ideas of any federalization, be considered now."

Mr. Yushchenko raised the issue of pensions, saying that his administration would ensure that retirees continue to receive pension money at the current level and asked his opponent whether the move to increase pension payouts a month before the October 31 election was a tactic used by the prime minister to help his campaign.

Mr. Yanukovich, 54, responded, his arms dangling at his sides throughout much of the debate: "I say with confidence that my government has fulfilled its task, and tangibly increased the level at which people are living their lives during these two years. In 2003, as well as in 2004, we increased salaries, pensions, grants-in-aid, and you know that the social orientation of my government allowed me to enjoy this huge support in the Ukrainian society, which we received in the second round. I've said, and will continue to say, that the government will pay the rate that was announced."

When the debate moved from economic themes toward the role of Ukraine's reigning political elite, Mr. Yushchenko said corruption had hampered the country's progress.

"The main problem for the development of Ukraine is the criminal power of [Leonid] Kuchma, [Viktor] Medvedchuk, [Viktor] Yanukovich. There is enough evidence of this thesis," Mr. Yushchenko said.

"We have enough opportunities to have the most modern European market here. Why are investors afraid? They are afraid of the criminal power. I stress, I speak about the power – not about the opposition, and not about the people – the criminal power. Today, they invest into Russia \$3 billion, and \$7 billion into Poland, and hardly \$600 million into us."

Mr. Yanukovich – at points during the debate appearing apologetic while at others unyielding in his actions as the current head of government – conceded that corruption is a large problem in Ukraine. "I cannot disagree with Viktor Andriyovich that very often it happened that a group of organized people worked for itself, often forgetting about the Ukrainian nation. But, nevertheless, we built our economics with common efforts," Mr. Yanukovich said in Russian. [Mr. Yanukovich switched between Ukrainian and Russian throughout the debate; Mr. Yushchenko spoke in Ukrainian.]

"Are you ready today to look into the eyes of the people and beg their forgive-

ness for calling them 'goats,' and later 'orange rats'?" Mr. Yushchenko asked. "Whether it concerns half a million people or if the matter concerns 10 million people, these are all Ukrainians you insulted. Why do you denigrate them?" asked Mr. Yushchenko, standing behind a clear glass lectern but jabbing his right index finger toward Mr. Yanukovich.

"I'd like to say that I beg for pardon if I emotionally hurt or insulted anybody. And if I said something, I beg your pardon," Mr. Yanukovich said, though earlier in the debate he referred to the moment when he called Mr. Yushchenko and his supporters "goats." He explained in Ukrainian that the Bible refers to a goat as a traitor and he meant to use this reference when he used the word "goats."

Mr. Yanukovich explained that he spent a portion of his time in preparing for the debate in church praying before an icon, a description he turned to several times during the event, saying that he was an honest man and he apologized if his terminology was interpreted as derogatory.

"I have made an offer to Mr. Yushchenko – I hope he will think about it – to join our efforts and make sure that the election campaign is peaceful, and to see the New Year in peace. I would also like to apologize to you all for any incorrectness there has been during my election campaign. I hope there will be no feeling of anger lingering after the election, and that our society will come out reinvigorated after this, and that we see the New Year with our families and children," said the prime minister, who has been on a sabbatical from his government post during the course of the run-off campaign.

Mr. Yanukovich first raised the issue of campaign finance, asking his rival if he was willing to limit the amount of money being channeled into Ukraine from Western countries to support pro-democracy movements here. Some politicians in Ukraine have speculated recently that this money was used illicitly to support Mr. Yushchenko, though The New York Times reported on December 22 that Russia outsourced Western nations in Ukraine.

"Do you agree that we should adopt a bill that would regulate the interference of foreign non-governmental organizations into our internal affairs?" Mr. Yanukovich asked.

Mr. Yushchenko, raising his hands before Mr. Yanukovich and the television cameras, said: "These hands never stole anything. I never took things that did not belong to me. I know that in this life we have to pay for sins. I was not convicted, my life is honest," said Mr. Yushchenko

in what appeared to be a veiled reference to Mr. Yanukovich's two previous criminal convictions.

With only seven minutes left on his time clock, Yurii Melnychuk, the debate moderator and a television journalist with the state-owned UT-1 TV channel, had to warn Mr. Yanukovich that he was near his allotted time limit.

Though the campaign has grown increasingly contentious throughout the country, both sides pressed for a peaceful resolution and both candidates agreed that if there were to be any disputes in the aftermath of the December 26 vote they should seek a resolution by legal means.

According to RFE/RL, nearly half of Ukraine's 48 million citizens tuned in to the UT-1 Ukrainian national television channel to watch the debate. Other stations such as the popular Channel 5 also covered the event and carried several hours of post-debate commentary.

Viktor Nedozenko, a noted Ukrainian political scientist, said the event set a new trend in Ukrainian campaigns as an example of excellent political debate.

The mood in Kyiv after the event was subdued, though many people said it appeared Mr. Yushchenko had won the debate. Members of both parties, however, claimed victory for their candidate. And while there were moments when the dialogue grew heated, the two candidates shook hands when it ended and maintained a controlled tone for much of the session.

Valerii Konovaliuk, a member of the Verkhovna Rada and Mr. Yanukovich's Party of the Regions, the controlling political party in the Donbas, said the level of the debate was extremely high.

Petro Poroshenko, a member of Ukraine's Parliament and Mr. Yushchenko's Our Ukraine bloc, agreed. "Tonight Ukraine saw real debates. There were questions, and there were answers. Ukrainian citizens in the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts were finally able to see the faces of both candidates," said Mr. Poroshenko, who watched the debates on a large screen at Mr. Yushchenko's campaign headquarters together with a number of other prominent supporters.

Mr. Konovaliuk, switching between the Russian and Ukrainian languages, said the debate would not change the political map in Ukraine. "The country will remain split into two colors," he said on Ukraine's Channel 5 TV following the debate.

People in America also got to watch the two candidates square off. On December 22, C-SPAN aired the debate in its entirety with simultaneous translation.

## CALL TO ACTION: Christmas trees should celebrate Julian Christmas also

by Olena Turkalo

For many years, Ukrainians in the New York area who celebrate the Julian Calendar Christmas in January have been disappointed by the absence of the famed Rockefeller Center Christmas Tree. Why is it removed prior to the arrival of Christmas?

Ukrainians are not alone in their celebration and observance of Christmas on January 7. Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbians, Belarusians, Armenians and Russians all celebrate in January as well. The Rockefeller Center tree is the very symbol of Christmas for all New Yorkers. It should remain proudly standing and happily illuminated for Christians from all Eastern European heritages just as it does on December 25. And this year it is especially important and precious to Ukrainians living outside Ukraine, observing the current

struggle for democratic justice in Ukraine.

Just this past week a historic decision was made in New York. An e-mail campaign generated by this writer brought many thoughtful, supportive and heartfelt letters to the Property Management Offices of Rockefeller Center.

On December 17, the effort was rewarded with a note from Peter Dillon, director of marketing at Rockefeller Center Tishman Speyer Properties: "Due to your inquiry, along with several others, we are making arrangements to extend the tree's presence through the end of the day on January 7. We consider the tree at Rockefeller Center to be the world's tree and we are happy to try and accommodate as many perspectives and beliefs as we can."

In honor of this decision, many of us will be meeting for a peaceful celebratory candlelight gathering on Friday, January 7, at 7 p.m., at the Rockefeller Center Christmas tree. People of all cultures are welcome to join together to celebrate and acknowledge Christmas.

January 7 is Christmas and many Ukrainians will be celebrating with their families in their homes. "In respect to current events in Ukraine, perhaps you would be willing to celebrate with us outdoors instead!" one supporter said.

The response to the campaign was so moving that we were inspired to bring that spirit to the tree that we worked hard to keep standing. The majority of participation came from non-Ukrainian friends, which is truly telling. It clearly shows that people care about Ukraine, and that this is not merely the voices of an ethnic minority group speaking.

Please join us in thanks by creating a lasting impression on the management of Rockefeller Center, as well as all New Yorkers. Christmas exists in January. We would like this to be a decision that stays firm for all future Christmases. (Please bring your own candles.)

The New York City campaign has now gone from a local effort to a national one. The White House tree joyfully symbolizes and supports the holiday season in

the Washington area and the absence of the tree is felt by many thousands of people. But it is also a national tree.

Wouldn't it be genuinely appreciated by hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people nationwide, that the White House acknowledges its Eastern European population by keeping the White House tree illuminated in celebration of Christmas on January 7?

Readers are asked to send letters to President and Mrs. George W. Bush requesting that the White House tree be left standing annually through the end of Christmas on January 7. The tree is currently scheduled to be dismantled on January 2.

The White House supports countries struggling for democracy. Your assistance in support of Ukraine is appreciated. This is a choir of voices from all walks of life, of all ages, from all ethnic and religious backgrounds – all are invited and encouraged to participate. Please send your letters to one or both of these two e-mail addresses: [president@whitehouse.gov](mailto:president@whitehouse.gov) and [firstlady@whitehouse.gov](mailto:firstlady@whitehouse.gov).

Olena Turkalo, a designer by profession, is a first-generation Ukrainian American and a native New Yorker.



## FOR THE RECORD: Orest Deychakiwsky comments on Ukraine's election

*Following are excerpts of remarks by Orest Deychakiwsky, staff advisor to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, delivered on November 30 at a forum on Ukraine's election sponsored by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.*

When Martins Zvaners contacted me to invite me to this forum a few weeks ago, little did I, or I suspect most of us, think that the subsequent events would turn out to be as dramatic, momentous and, indeed, historic as has been the case, and how they would garner the world's attention. ... I returned from Kyiv last Tuesday night [November 23]. ...

... You've seen the numerous expressions of concern by senior U.S. officials and many other governments, international institutions, NGOs both within and outside Ukraine, including the Ukrainian American community, and the international media. ... Only the CIS observers, who never met an election in the CIS they didn't like, gave these elections the thumbs up. Their conclusions might be aptly labelled as "eyes wide shut."...

The bottom line is that the elections were stolen. The independent and respected Committee for Voters of Ukraine (CVU) asserted that at least 2.8 million ballots were rigged in favor of [Viktor] Yanukovich. Violations are too numerous to enumerate.

They were extensive and they were flagrant, and what happened in Donetsk in terms of "getting out the vote" and the positive vote for the "right" candidate was reminiscent of the electoral zealotry of Soviet times. My colleague from the Commission Ron McNamara and I were in Kirovohrad, in the center of Ukraine – on the dividing line between the northern and western oblasts that voted for Viktor Yushchenko and the eastern and southern regions that went for Mr. Yanukovich.

On election day and night, we were in the infamous Territorial Electoral Commission (TEC 100), where problems were legion during the first round on October 31. Unfortunately, we weren't disappointed. While at some polling stations, the voting process was orderly and normal, at others it was highly problematic. Pro-Yushchenko polling station commissioners had been thrown off the commissions, but many were pushing back. The local court was crowded with those dismissed seeking reinstatement. We hurried to the court where we spoke with people, some crying, who recounted their frustration and disbelief at this injustice. (We heard from some of them, as from so many others in Ukraine – "we just want to live in an honest, decent country"). We met with some of the judges who were reinstating these people as polling commission members, clearly displaying courage in doing so given the

possible consequences.

These mass expulsions contributed to an air of confusion throughout the afternoon and into the night. Some polling station chairmen were not allowing polling station commissioners back on even after they had been reinstated. In one case, we accompanied a woman whose case my colleague Mr. McNamara had heard back to her polling station, where the reception towards her was cold, and I strongly suspect the only reason they let her back in was because there were international observers present. Another polling station we observed had only opened up at 4:10 p.m. as eight out of the 18 members of the polling station commission simply failed to show up to open the station in the morning, thus potentially disenfranchising hundreds of student voters at the technical university. The other polling station workers finally had to break into the safe in order to obtain the ballot papers and other materials so that the voters – mostly students – could exercise their right to vote. (You also saw "hanger-ons" and heads of PECs not even knowing who they were representing).

At the count we attended, a pro-Yushchenko observer was forced to leave right before the count commenced. I spoke with this woman and it became clear that the reasons for her being thrown out were specious at best. Others had been thrown out earlier in the week. Despite this, the counting process seemed to go relatively smoothly, and Mr. Yushchenko emerged victorious with 1,221 votes to Mr. Yanukovich's 725. Or so we thought.

After our return to Kyiv the next day, we learned that the Territorial Election Commission had reported that in that particular precinct, Mr. Yanukovich "won" by 1,670 to Mr. Yushchenko's 276. A reversal of the count, with a vengeance! At the polling station where my colleague Ron observed the count in Kirovohrad and where Mr. Yushchenko won by nearly a three-to-one margin, there were 312 unmarked ballots missing, which meant that the results were not accepted. And this is just the tip of the iceberg in Kirovohrad alone.

Group voting with the notorious absentee voter certificates organized by state-owned and some private companies, was one of the major violations that significantly altered the results (nearly 5 percent, according to OSCE), or, something which has gotten less attention, the high numbers of people who participated in mobile voting (i.e., voting at their homes or hospitals), which is ripe for fraud, in certain oblasts compared to the first round. And, of course, pressure on state employees to produce the right results or vote the right way.

In the East, voter turnout in the second round increased by 9 percent. For example, in Donetsk Oblast there was 96.65 percent turn out compared to 78 in the first round (and 96 percent voting for Mr. Yanukovich). But in Western Ukraine, the turn out grew only by 1.5 percent. In some precincts in Donetsk, turnout reportedly exceeded 100 percent. This would point to ballot box stuffing, which used to be a widespread technique in Communist times in order to reach very high voter turn out. ...

Ukraine's democracy, for all of its obvious flaws as illustrated by these elections, and its civil society is further developed than any other in the CIS. It is no accident that the Putins and Lukashenkas of the world are watching this election carefully (And, by the way, the chutzpah of the Russians when they accuse the U.S. and Europe of interfering in these elections and subsequent developments is something to behold. Just imagine the outcry if President George W. Bush would have visited Ukraine several times and actively supported one of the candidates, pumping hundreds of millions, or if Mr. Bush would have twice congratulated a candidate even before he was pronounced the official winner in Ukraine).

I should add that the democratic movements in Belarus, Russia, and the CIS are also watching developments intently, as which way Ukraine goes will shape Russian and CIS moves towards democracy. (For example, Belarusian democrats have been demonstrating in support of the Orange Revolution and some who had been in Kyiv were detained and roughed up at the Ukrainian-Belarusian border).

I think the following quote by Zbigniew Brzezinski sums it up perfectly and more articulately than I can: "The Ukrainian struggle for democracy is the struggle for the future of Russia. If Ukrainian democracy prevails, Russia has no choice but to go that way and be a democracy. If Ukrainian democracy fails, Russian imperial ambitions are reawakened and there is a temptation of an alternative future which is imperial and authoritarian."

Clearly, what is happening in Ukraine has very important geo-political implications. Russia would like to separate Ukraine from the West and make it co-dependent, possibly with a view towards an eventual restoration of empire. It's also about oil and gas pipeline politics, with its intersection of geo-politics and money. However, there are also many Russians who are very uncomfortable with their government's heavy-handed involvement in the Ukrainian elections, including some in their independent press.

But I think that for the average

Ukrainian, including those on the front lines protesting, it's not principally, if at all, about geo-politics; not about Russia vs. West. It's about corruption versus reform, democracy versus authoritarianism, trust versus lies, a brighter future versus prolonging the status quo. It's not about the sometimes oversimplified East-West divisions in Ukraine. There have been few public protests on behalf of Mr. Yanukovich and some of his supporters seem to get co-opted when they came to Kyiv to demonstrate for their man. (Reports of Messrs. Yushchenko and Yanukovich supporters in Kyiv intermingling, and even embracing and kissing each other). Rallies in support of Mr. Yushchenko have not been limited to western and central Ukraine – they are also being held in cities in eastern Ukraine.

And even though Mr. Yanukovich won resoundingly in some of the eastern oblasts (and would have even despite the falsifications), one wonders what the results would have been if you would have had the UT 1, 1+1 and Inter TV and other channels reporting objectively during the electoral campaign. ...

Or if you wouldn't have had the use of "administrative resources" and pressure and intimidation on behalf of Mr. Yanukovich.

Or if you didn't have a campaign of so-called black PR – vicious lies designed to portray Mr. Yushchenko as a radical nationalist American stooge;

Or if his poisoning wouldn't have prevented him from losing valuable time campaigning.

Indeed, the authorities' campaign to divide, and not unite, represents one of the lowest of the many low points in the campaign.

Countless people, from the members of the Ukrainian national and local governments, to the military and members of the security forces; to the Ukrainian diplomats in the Embassy here in Washington demanding that the elections reflect the will of the people; to the journalists – both independent and now increasingly those working for the state channels who broke state-imposed censorship; to the protesters old and young alike braving the cold; to the ordinary, and yet very extraordinary women in Kirovohrad fighting for their rights, all are displaying remarkable courage and determination. They are taking risks, because there are no guarantees of how things will come out. ...

But there is one thing that I believe is beyond dispute: the people of Ukraine are determined to achieve their rights in a peaceful manner and to live in a democratic, free and independent country. It's an idea whose time has come!

### "Orange Revolution" ...

(Continued from page 5)

The authorities, who had expected their falsification of the election results to be accepted with the usual docility, were positively shocked by this massive display of people power in action, continued Dr. Romaniv. They were used to a Ukraine inhabited by the species homo Sovieticus, devoid of national spirit and civil society, where democratic mechanism existed as a mere formality. Instead, they were confronted by children who grew up during the 13 years of Ukraine's independence, becoming young adults unimpaired by the fear and restraints that used to hobble their parents' generation, in other words, they were de-Sovietized. Now, thanks to their initiative, Ukraine is

being hailed world-wide as a unique society whose people know what they want. Indeed Ukraine has become a European nation.

Dr. Romaniv said he was impressed also by the transformation of the people as well as the business community of Kyiv and vicinity who embraced the democratic revolution by offering their assistance and hospitality to the demonstrators, providing food, clothing, shelter and moral support.

Dr. Romaniv warned, however, that the Orange Revolution in Ukraine still faces some formidable opponents: 1) the Party of Regions, which represents the interests of the economic elites of eastern Ukraine; 2) the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine, which is run by Viktor Medvedchuk, head of President Leonid Kuchma's administra-

tion; 3) the Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, which issued calendars displaying a picture of Viktor Yanukovich among its saints; 4) the Communists, who oppose any idea of Ukrainian nationhood; 5) Russia, which counteracts any movement of Ukraine toward democracy or Euro-Atlantic integration.

Very positive in the recent Ukrainian crisis, in Dr. Romaniv's view, was the direct involvement of the European Union and the more subtle influence of the U.S., the latter exercised through the timely and firm pronouncements by Sen. Richard Lugar and Secretary of State Colin Powell.

A renaissance of the Ukrainian nation has taken place and it represents a fantastic development, regardless of what happens next, opined the speaker from Lviv.

In case of the expected victory by Viktor Yushchenko in the repeat of the run-off election on December 26, Ukraine will have gained a charismatic leader, assisted by some very capable people of European orientation, such as Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleksander Zinchenko and Mykola Tomenko, among others, said Dr. Romaniv.

Finally, NTSh, which historically has always stood in the forefront of the defense of Ukrainian language and culture, must play a more assertive role in the aftermath of the present democratic revolution, as many scholarly institutions in Ukraine, starting with the National Academy of Sciences, are in dire need of reform, concluded Dr. Romaniv.

The lively discussion that ensued was chaired by Prof. Vasyl Makhno.



## Rep. Marcy Kaptur's Ukraine journal: plant liberty where it seeks to root

by Rep. Marcy Kaptur

### December 17: a ring and the promise of youth

EN ROUTE TO EUROPE – Finishing up last-minute details before leaving for Ukraine as part of a six-member delegation of members of the U.S. Congress, I came across a small, shiny box that I had set aside on my desk in Washington. Inside the box was a finger ring with a most unusual azure-blue polished stone that I had received earlier this year from Mikhail Volynets, now one of the new, younger members of the Ukrainian Parliament.

Mikhail had told me that the ring had come from his mining region and that it possessed special healing powers. He gave it to me as a token of friendship. I decided to wear the ring on this trip for good luck and to remind me of the enormity of the struggle that ordinary people like Mikhail face in transforming the politics of their country.

Mikhail was first elected earlier this year from the rough and tumble coal mining region of Donetsk, notorious for its corruption. He has been arrested many times and beaten, and the lives of his family threatened. The presidential candidate from the ruling party, Viktor Yanukovich, hails from this same tough mining region, where recent elections results appear to have been especially corrupted.

I had befriended Mikhail on my many trips to Ukraine before he was elected. I gained admiration for him as I learned how he has spent the last two decades of his life in a most dangerous pursuit – organizing the first independent trade union in the mines of Ukraine, the Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine.

Miners in Ukraine often go to work for no pay. The conditions under which they work are prehistoric. Hundreds die in explosions and mine collapses each year. I asked Mikhail once if he wasn't afraid of being killed for his efforts to organize the union and to engage in politics in that region in particular. He told me after working in the underground mines for so many years, he had lost the fear of death. Safety practices are non-existent and catastrophes occur on a regular basis. As I watched him become more and more tense and burdened with the danger and scope of the task he is about, I gave him some motherly advice and asked him to promise me he would take better care of his personal health.

When he visited Congress this year, he came to thank me and let me know he really had listened to me. He looked so much better. Some of the stress lines had softened. He had begun to do breathing exercises to help calm his nerves. He was so grateful to me, but I know I am even more grateful to him for reminding me what youthful courage and self-sacrifice mean.

The momentum of the opposition party in Ukraine is with the young. They crowded into the streets of Kyiv. They blazed a trail on e-mail. They are building a new future for Ukraine and this election cycle has been a transformational moment for them.

As I think about what is ahead, one e-mail I received from a young man in Ukraine keeps inspiring me. It was sent by e-mail at the height of the demonstrations in Kyiv's main square:

Dearest Mercy!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

We love you!!!!!! We love USA!!!!!!

### December 18: the poisoning – probing the truth

VIENNA – The alleged poisoning with dioxin of Ukraine's leading opposition presidential candidate, Viktor Yushchenko, has brought worldwide attention to this breadbasket nation tucked neatly below Russia's heavy underbelly. Press reports are stating that Mr. Yushchenko's blood levels contained 100,000 units of dioxin per gram of blood fat, one of the two highest levels ever recorded in a human. This incident follows on many other politically motivated acts of violence in Ukraine. From nations of the world, Ukraine ranks among the highest for assassinations of its parliamentarians, nearly two dozen since its independence 12 years ago.

In 2000, independent investigative journalist Heorhii Gongadze was beheaded, apparently for his probing efforts to reveal corruption in Ukraine's hierarchy. Ukraine's alleged illegal Kolchuha radar shipments to Saddam Hussein's Iraq caused serious rifts in its relationship with the U.S.

Our delegation visited the Rudolfinerhaus clinic, where the dioxin studies on Yushchenko were performed. We wished to learn more about how the results were verified and ascertain the nature of his condition and the likely causes. Doctors at Rudolfinerhaus confirmed Mr. Yushchenko had been poisoned with dioxin. Dr. Michael Zimpfer, president of the privately run hospital, said there was "no doubt" Mr. Yushchenko's disease was "caused by a case of poisoning."

Dr. Zimpfer explained though dioxin is not an ordinary household chemical, it can be ordered by any lab. They can ship it to a customer. It contains up to 100 ingredients. Certain chemical blueprints may lead the investigators back to the original producer.

He stated that dioxin, however, may have been used because until recently it could not be detected in the human body. Members of the delegation suggested perhaps those seeking to harm Mr. Yushchenko may only have wanted to severely harm him, or to disfigure him in that his handsome appearance was popularly received. Or they may have believed the large dosage administered to him would result in death with an undetectable cause, not knowing scientific procedures had been developed to track dioxin poisoning. Two years ago tracing methodologies were developed using blood samples. Dioxin adheres to body fat, and there is fat content in the blood that makes it detectable.

A lethal dose in rats is 30 micrograms/kilogram. Dioxin has a seven-year half-life in the human body. It interferes with the lipid metabolism and increases the risk of arteriosclerosis. It is not considered to be carcinogenic. Dr. Zimpfer expressed gratitude for offers of assistance from around the world, including the Poison Control Center in Washington.

Dr. Zimpfer said Mr. Yushchenko first came to see him on September 10 in terrible pain with internal esophageal and stomach lacerations. He stayed eight days at Rudolfinerhaus during that first visit and then returned to the campaign trail, but

*Marcy Kaptur is an 11-term member of Congress from northern Ohio. A Ukrainian American whose maternal great-grandparents are buried in Ukraine, Rep. Kaptur has traveled extensively in Ukraine since 1973. Kaptur drafted the Rada-Congress Agreement and created the Anastasia Fund – named after her mother – a foundation for underprivileged Ukrainians.*

checked back into the hospital 12 days later with severe back pain. At the time, doctors inserted a tube into his upper spine to administer pain-killing drugs.

On his first admission, he complained of becoming very ill after about two hours after ingesting food on September 5 stating his first symptom was headache, nausea and internal pain, later experiencing tremendous pain in his back. Mr. Yushchenko had had dinner with the deputy director of the Security Service of Ukraine, who recently has been stripped of his parliamentary immunity and is the subject of an investigation. When Dr. Zimpfer could not find the cause of the illness early in September, he and Mr. Yushchenko's wife suggested the cause may not be know to civil medicine. They began looking for potential biological or chemical causes and involved the Vienna Forensic Institute.

During the weeks after initial examination in September, Dr. Zimpfer noticed in news reports that severe facial lesions, chloracne, began to appear on Mr. Yushchenko's face. Later examination showed the lesions all over his body. He called Mr. Yushchenko and urged him to come back to the hospital for further examination. More scans were taken and the blood samples sent to Amsterdam where dioxin confirmation was first made. Three separate labs have now confirmed dioxin.

### December 19: from independence to liberty

KYIV – We spent the day in the capital of Ukraine, meeting with high-level government officials, including President Leonid Kuchma, but first with U.S. Ambassador John Herbst, a career diplomat and a very fine one at that. Indeed, during Ukraine's difficult transition to democracy, the United States has sent a long list of excellent ambassadors.

Thousands of election observers will converge on Ukraine, and also from within the country, to prevent the abuses that characterized the marred election, particularly manipulation of mobile voting stations and absentee voting. Parliament has passed legislation to avoid these pitfalls, but the election observers will still be critical in assuring a free and fair vote.

Ambassador Herbst said the presence of hundreds of thousands of demonstrators had helped stave off military intervention and loss of life during the political crisis. There were also countless phone calls to President Kuchma and high-ranking officials in the military and the interior. The ambassador also described for us the types of intimidation that were used against voters. For example, some Russian Orthodox churches told their members they would be denied communion for two months if they voted for Mr. Yushchenko.

President Kuchma spent over an hour with our delegation. It was a very open and positive meeting. We prevailed on him to do everything in his power to assure a fair revote and thanked him for accepting the decision of the Supreme Court to nullify the vote. He admitted the decision had eased a crisis and we spent a great deal of time discussing progress Ukraine has made over this past decade of independence in civic life, economic growth, seeking accession to NATO, and openness to assembly and free speech.

I extended an invitation to the president to visit Toledo, Cleveland and Detroit to deliver major addresses on Ukraine's transition to a functioning republic. Members complimented the president on adhering to the Constitution's stipulation to serve only two terms. Mr. Kuchma expressed interest in setting up a foundation to encourage young Ukrainians to study but to remain in Ukraine, as there continues to be a serious brain drain.

I raised with him the issue of property land reform and the need to implement legislation and systems to create a functioning real property system. He admitted Ukraine had a long way to go on this, and that he had vetoed bills that were inadequate. He said the agricultural land titling remains an unfinished task and he urged the Verkhovna Rada's reform efforts in this task. Mr. Kuchma also urged the delegation not to see Ukraine through the prism of Russia, but that is a remark frequently made to U.S. visitors.

As we made our way back from President Kuchma's summer home on the outskirts of the capital (his office in the center of Kyiv was still inaccessible due to the demonstrators), I pondered how much Ukraine has changed in my lifetime. When I first drove into the nation in 1973, I had the road to myself, except for military vehicles. Today, though far from an open society, Ukraine is making major strides toward developing liberty's institutions.

I also thought about the inspirational effect this episode in Ukrainian history has had on young people. There is enormous fervor among the young people. Their free assembly is allowed in many regions of the nation.

All our efforts to plant liberty where it seeks to root – efforts in the Ukrainian American community, in communities throughout the world, and certainly within the nation itself – have at long last begun to bear fruit.



Rep. Marcy Kaptur (standing) and some of her fellow congressional delegation members with students in Kyiv's tent city.



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## Kyiv Chamber Choir to be featured on radio

TORONTO – Platinum Concerts International has announced that the November 5 concert featuring the Kyiv Chamber Choir and Conductor Mykola Hobdych – with special Canadian guests Elmer Iseler Singers and Conductor Lydia Adams – will be broadcast on the CBC Radio II Network program “Choral Concerts” on Sunday, January 9, 2005, at 8:10-10 a.m. on 94.1 FM in the Toronto market.

This concert features a celebration of Ukrainian classical choral music – both sacred and folk – written over the centuries and performed by two of the best choirs in the world, who sang together and alone.

Works performed by the Kyiv Chamber Choir were written by Ukrainian composers such as Dyletsky, Zubytzky, Turchaninov, Stepurko and Stankovych.

The Elmer Iseler Singers performed works by fine Canadian composers, including Willan, Somers, Raminsh and Hurko.

## Yushchenko is convinced...

(Continued from page 2)

stomach ache about 12 hours later. Ukrainian security officials and government authorities have denied any involvement.

Mr. Yushchenko's political opponents have suggested he simply ate a bad plate of sushi that was washed down with too much cognac. But Mr. Yushchenko has rejected that notion, saying the dinner did not include any spoiled food.

Ukrainian physicians initially thought Mr. Yushchenko was suffering from a flu or from exhaustion. Four days after his symptoms emerged, Mr. Yushchenko was transferred for the first of three visits to the Rudolfinerhaus medical clinic in Vienna.

Dr. Zimpfer said on December 12 that doctors failed to recognize the cause of Mr. Yushchenko's illness during his earlier visits to Vienna because the tell-tale sign of dioxin poisoning – the yellowish-colored acne – didn't break out on his skin until later.

“It has not been observed anywhere else beforehand because the oral way of ingestion elicited a complete different picture at the very onset,” Dr. Zimpfer explained.

Marc Siegel, an associate professor at New York University's School of Medicine who specializes in internal medicine, told RFE/RL that confirmation of dioxin in Mr. Yushchenko's blood leaves no doubt that Mr. Yushchenko was intentionally poisoned.

“Why is it that they weren't able to kill him if he was poisoned?” Dr. Siegel said. “The answer is that a person's response to dioxin is actually somewhat unpredictable. Some people metabolize it faster than others. Some people metabolize it better than others. So they may have made enough of it thinking that they were actually going to kill him with this. And yet, his personal metabolism was able to get rid of enough of it so that he survived.”

Dr. Siegel said that Mr. Yushchenko's skin disfigurement, stomach illness and other current health problems are likely to disappear with time and proper treatment. But Dr. Siegel said that prolonged exposure to dioxin raises larger concerns about Mr. Yushchenko's future health.

“What may happen is, unfortunately, there seems to be evidence that prolonged dioxin exposure increases your risk for cancer,” Dr. Siegel said. The New York physician also said that Mr. Yushchenko could be debilitated for long periods as a result of his continued use of prescription pain medication.

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## The next step...

(Continued from page 2)

ble, and accountable opposition voice will neither advance the success of a new government's program, nor serve the country's overall democratic maturation process. Candidate Mr. Yushchenko has indicated that he would not be a vindictive victor. In fact, during the weeks of protest and election-related tumult, Mr. Yushchenko has worked assiduously to send reassuring messages to all corners of Ukraine and to expand his political coalition. This sort of inclusive politics would stand in stark contrast to the divisive and exclusive politics that has been the hallmark of the Kuchma era.

There should be no doubt that parts of the old guard who will form the political opposition under a Yushchenko presidency will seek to operate according to old practices. Nevertheless, a fundamentally magnanimous leadership posture, which enables responsible political opposition, would be a very welcome development in Ukraine.

Given the duress under which news media, the judiciary and political opposition have been operating, embedding reform will be a tough challenge. But there are signs of promise on which further reforms can be built.

Since the November 21 ballot, the beginnings of a transformation have already been set in motion in the Ukrainian media. The civic engagement that followed the flawed vote paved the way for Ukraine's media to report more freely and in an unbiased manner. Television news broadcasts, including on 1+1, Inter and UT-1, which regularly denied access to the political opposition, used the civic action as a basis to begin to report on issues in a more open and dramatically different manner. During the campaign, only Channel 5, a pro-opposition channel, consistently offered coverage of the Yushchenko campaign and the protests in the aftermath of the November 21 vote.

The judiciary has also seized the opportunity and asserted its independence. It was on the basis of the Ukrainian Supreme Court's invalidation of the second-round results that a repeat of the flawed election was enabled. These decisions are admittedly only a first step, but the court's action – if it becomes the rule rather than the exception – can lay the groundwork for a new legal landscape based on the rule of law.

Of course, positive developments in the media and judicial spheres and the existence of a responsible political opposition, should they emerge, would also help make headway against a scourge that plagues Ukraine: entrenched, pervasive corruption.

So what are the prospects for a positive scenario to emerge in Ukraine after the political euphoria ends?

Recent experience in other countries, while not exact replicas of the Ukrainian case, can help inform the reform challenges Ukraine will confront.

In Georgia, on the heels of a deeply flawed election in November 2003, "people power" opened the door for the removal from power of former President Eduard Shevardnadze. In the year since President Mikhail Saakashvili has come to power, he has sought to maintain the political momentum from a year ago. His reform program has made some real forward progress, including essential efforts to tackle Georgia's massive corruption problem.

But his government's methods are not without its critics. Mr. Saakashvili, who has faced virtually no political opposition, has been accused of cutting corners in the implementation of his reform program. This has included, for example,

questions about the manner of collection of fines from officials accused of corruption or embezzlement during the Shevardnadze era.

(In a number of these instances, these former officials have paid substantial fines as part of the resolution of their cases. More than \$50 million is believed to have been collected in this fashion. This enforcement method has raised questions about the soundness of a process by which lump-sum contributions paid by a suspect can be transferred to the Georgian treasury, or if criminal charges can actually be dropped on the basis of this sort of payment.)

Georgian media, which faced considerable obstacles during the Shevardnadze period, are apparently facing pressure under a Saakashvili administration as well.

Serbs used flawed elections in September 2000 as a basis for protesting the results and ultimately jettisoning former President Slobodan Milosevic from office. Confronting a corrupt system of governance and a raw, post-conflict environment, the post-Milosevic government that took office in January 2001 sought to implement an ambitious reform program. In the last four years, some steps have been taken to consolidate democratic practice, but many Serbs still perceive their democratic progress as falling far short of expectations. A high level of corruption is among the biggest sticking points.

In Slovakia, parliamentary elections in September 1998 enabled opposition democratic forces to defeat the HZDS party of former President Vladimir Meciar and open the door to re-engagement with Europe and the trans-Atlantic community. Slovakia's poor image abroad and lackluster governance at home were hallmarks of the corrupt and insular Mr. Meciar regime. The coalition government that followed President Meciar was dealt a difficult hand, facing, among other challenges, a system of widespread cronyism and corruption.

Today, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that at the time of the pivotal 1998 elections, Mr. Meciar had taken Slovakia off course, leaving it behind the other Visegrad countries in its aspirations for membership in NATO and the European Union (EU).

Over the past five years, under new leadership Slovakia's reform efforts have paid real dividends. Independent media and civil society have played an important role in this transformation, which has resulted in a reorientation of the country's politics, a consolidation of its key institutions, and membership both in NATO and the EU.

Slovakia's speedier democratic advancement has undoubtedly benefited

from its relationship with NATO and the EU, something that should be kept in mind as international policy-makers look to help the consolidation Ukraine's democracy.

Of course, in Ukraine the first priority is the holding of free, fair, and lawfully administered elections on December 26.

Should the favored Mr. Yushchenko win, the euphoria of successful democratic change will give way to the reality of governing. Then, the biggest challenge for Ukraine's incoming leadership may be management of high expectations, as has been the case in other such political transitions.

Keeping the momentum that has gained strength during the remarkable multi-phased election process will not be

easy. The incoming government should look to fashion a focused and manageable reform agenda, in which the Ukrainian people can see concrete successes in the near to medium term.

In a speech delivered in Brussels on December 8, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell observed, "We know that democracy depends on certain attitudes and institutions that don't arise overnight." Ukraine in these short weeks has come a long way toward changing attitudes at home, and abroad, about its dedication to democracy. Positively changing its institutions will take similarly firm dedication and patience from the Ukrainian people, and steadfast support from abroad, in order for Ukraine to consolidate its place as a normal, European state.



With deep sorrow we announce that on Wednesday, December 8, 2004, our beloved mother, grandmother and aunt

## HERMINA KERDA

entered into eternal rest.

Born on August 8, 1917, in Yaroslav, Ukraine.

She was a long time resident of Maplewood, N.J., and a member of St. John's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Newark, N.J.

Viewing was held at the Demaine Funeral Home in Alexandria, VA., on Sunday, December 12, 2004.

Funeral services were held on Tuesday, December 14, 2004, with Divine Liturgy at the Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family, Washington, D.C., followed by burial at Cedar Hill Cemetery in Suitland, MD.

Surviving are:

Son	Stephen with wife Nusia Woch
Granddaughter	Nusia
Nieces and Nephew	Anna Jarowyj with family Mary Owad Myron Owad

In lieu of flowers, the family requests that donations be sent to:  
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## ELECTION WATCH

(Continued from page 3)

strategic policy and political strategy for Russia," Mr. Yushchenko said. He also stressed that "our priority is integration into Europe." Asked what his first foreign trip would be if he were elected president, Mr. Yushchenko said he would go to Moscow. President Putin campaigned openly for Yushchenko rival Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich in the run-up to the first two rounds of the presidential vote. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### **Pora unblocks presidential administration**

KYIV – The radical youth organization Pora (It's Time) unblocked the main entrance to the offices of the presidential administration in Kyiv on December 22, removing a barricade of motor vehicles and a cordon of young people that has been in place for the past month, Interfax reported. Pora has left a picket in place in front of the building, however. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### **Ukraine to see 12,000 observers**

KYIV – Ukraine's Central Election Commission has registered 12,271 foreign election monitors for the December 26 repeat of the flawed late-November presidential run-off, Interfax reported on December 22. That number includes observers from the Commonwealth of Independent States. (RFE/RL Monitors)

### **Rada rejects home voting amendment**

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on December 21 rejected amendments to the presidential-election law allowing all categories of disabled persons to vote from home in the December 26 presidential ballot, Interfax reported. The proposal

fell 18 votes short of the 226 votes required for approval. On December 8, in a move intended to overcome the political crisis over the flawed November run-off, the Parliament amended the presidential-election law by limiting right to vote from home only to the disabled persons of "the first category." Presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko and his supporters claimed that home voting and absentee voter certificates were the main tool for manipulating the last election results by the camp of his rival, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### **Yanukovich endorses Russian language**

KYIV – Viktor Yanukovich reiterated in Odesa on December 18 that he would like to grant Russian official-language status in Ukraine if he is elected president, Interfax reported. Yanukovich also spoke against separatist calls in some eastern regions that surfaced following the November 21 presidential run-off. Mr. Yanukovich said those calls appeared to be a reaction to "the lawlessness that people felt following second-round voting." He added, "As far as I am concerned, I am in favor of [greater] economic autonomy for our regions." (RFE/RL Newswire)

### **Yushchenko favors plebiscite on NATO**

KYIV – Answering a question about whether Ukraine under his potential presidency would apply for NATO membership, Viktor Yushchenko told journalists in Kharkiv on December 17 that a decision on the country's military alignment cannot be made without a nationwide referendum, Interfax reported. Mr. Yushchenko stressed that the country's top priorities in foreign policy are obtain-

ing market-economy status, World Trade Organization membership and associate membership in the European Union. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### **Yanukovich: supporters will come to Kyiv**

KYIV – Speaking to reporters in Kyiv on December 16, Viktor Yanukovich warned that "a real danger exists that after December 26 Ukraine may be on the brink of a full-scale crisis," Reuters reported. The previous day, he told supporters in a speech in the city of Kherson that his supporters might challenge rival candidate Viktor Yushchenko's backers for control of the streets of Kyiv after December 26, the Los Angeles Times reported. According to the daily, Mr. Yanukovich made similar remarks at campaign stops in Mykolaiv and Sevastopol this week. In Mykolaiv, he said, "As far as I understand, this process cannot be stopped. I hope that it's peaceful." (RFE/RL Newswire)

### **Yushchenko cites possible destabilization**

KYIV – Viktor Yushchenko on December 16 condemned Viktor Yanukovich's remarks that his followers will come to Kyiv on December 26 as "unconstructive," Interfax reported. "This is an attempt by the former prime minister to destabilize civil peace and the political situation in Ukraine," Mr. Yushchenko said. The Our Ukraine leader also called on Mr. Yanukovich to "calm down" and "accept his fate." He added, "If he simply wants revenge, empty and aimless, he is sure to give birth to ideas of separatism and federalization." (RFE/RL Newswire)

### **Yushchenko enemies offered bribe**

NEW YORK – Top political consultant Dick Morris, who worked on the campaign of Viktor Yushchenko, revealed that he was offered a bribe from supporters of Mr. Yushchenko's Kremlin-backed opponent, Viktor Yanukovich, reported the Newsmax website on December 16. "I got an e-mail on Friday from a former Republican congressman who said he was passing on an offer from Yanukovich to pay me \$1 million in cash to switch sides," Mr. Morris told ABC Radio Network host Sean Hannity. "And the e-mail said this would just be a down payment." The attempt to get Mr. Morris to defect was just the latest attempt to undermine Mr. Yushchenko's support. "When he began to move ahead in the polls by 10 or 15 points, the authorities tried to kill him," Mr. Morris said, noting that the poisoning was, in fact, the second attempt to murder his client during the campaign. "First they tried to run him off the road while he was driving," Mr. Morris told Mr. Hannity. "His car was totaled but he walked away." The former White House political consultant said that when he first signed on to the Yushchenko campaign he was warned, "If you go to Kyiv to work for this guy, there is no risk of assassination – you will be killed." (Newsmax)

### **Yanukovich team seeks probe of U.S. role**

KYIV – Representatives of presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich have submitted a complaint to Ukraine's Central Election Commission requesting an investigation into allegations that the U.S. government financed Ukrainian opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko's campaign, UNIAN reported on December 15, quoting Nestor Shufrych, Mr. Yanukovich's representative to the commission. "The United States' meddling in Ukraine's internal affairs is obvious," Mr. Yanukovich told the Associated Press in a December 13 interview. "It is appearing as the financing of Yushchenko's campaign."

Meanwhile, Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko called for the creation of a parliamentary commission to look into "U.S. financing of the election campaign of one of the candidates for president – Yushchenko," ITAR-TASS's Kyiv correspondent reported. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### **Rep. Paul demands an accounting**

WASHINGTON – Rep. Ron Paul (R-Texas) is demanding an accounting of U.S. funds that were sent to Ukraine and benefited presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko. Speaking at a hearing of the International Relations Committee of the House of Representatives on December 7, Rep. Paul said: "We do not know exactly how many millions – or tens of millions – of dollars the United States government spent on the presidential election in Ukraine. We do know that much of that money was targeted to assist one particular candidate, and that through a series of cut-out non-governmental organizations – both American and Ukrainian – millions of dollars ended up in support of the presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko. He added: "it is none of our business who the Ukrainian people select to be their president. And, if they feel the vote was not fair, it is up to them to work it out." Rep. Paul named the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Poland-America-Ukraine Cooperation Initiative (PAUCI) as groups that sent funds which benefited Mr. Yushchenko to such entities as the Ukraine-based International Center for Policy Studies, the Western Ukrainian Regional Training Center and the Center for Political and Law Reforms. Rep. Paul went on to say: "I believe Congress and the American taxpayers have a right to know. I believe we urgently need an investigation by the Government Accounting Office into how much U.S. government money was spent in Ukraine and exactly how it was spent." (House of Representatives)

### **Rep. Towns wants investigation**

WASHINGTON – Rep. Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.) on December 14 requested an investigation into an estimated \$65 million in U.S. funds that he says were used to influence the outcome of Ukraine's presidential election and in support of the "Orange Revolution" through allocations to organizations that had a known preference for Viktor Yushchenko. "Information in the public domain indicates that a significant portion of the reportedly \$65 million spent during the past two years, for such programs in Ukraine, may have been given to organizations with a known partisan agenda in support of one of the presidential candidates," Rep. Towns wrote in a letter to Andrew Natsios, administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development. The congressman further asked for a complete accounting of the funds sent by USAID to Ukraine, as well as a list of the funds' recipients and the projects they supported. Rep. Towns cited such groups funded by USAID as the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, which he said is associated with Mr. Yushchenko by virtue of his wife's role in the organization as a co-founder and former member of the board of directors. News of Rep. Towns' letter was circulated by PRNewswire, with the notation: "This material is distributed by DBC Public Relations Experts on behalf of Viktor F. Yanukovich, candidate for the office of president of Ukraine. Additional information is on file with the Department of Justice, Washington, District of Columbia. Source: Viktor F. Yanukovich candidate for the office of president of Ukraine." (PRNewswire)



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## Columbia U. and Harriman Institute offer Ukrainian courses during spring semester

NEW YORK – Columbia University and the Harriman Institute will offer courses in Ukrainian literature and language in the spring 2005 semester, which begins on January 18. Descriptions of the courses are as follows (please note that dates and times are subject to change).

Literature and Identities in Post-Soviet Ukraine (W4100) is an advanced undergraduate seminar that considers how various identities (national, ethnic, territorial, reli-

gious, class and gender) are reflected in contemporary Ukrainian literature, as well as whether or not works of literature influence the formation of identities in post-Soviet Ukraine. Major literary trends in post-Soviet Ukraine and the most representative texts of the past decade from writers such as Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych and Mykola Ryabchuk will be examined. The course will be taught on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 4:10-5:25 p.m. in 709 Hamilton Hall. The

instructor will be Dr. Maria Rewakowicz (Ph.D., University of Toronto), Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies Neporany Fellow; Harriman Institute; and visiting professor, department of Slavic languages, Columbia University.

• Elementary Ukrainian I (W1102) is a course for undergraduate and graduate students with little or no knowledge of

Ukrainian. Basic grammar structures are introduced and reinforced with equal emphasis on developing oral and written communication skills. Special attention is paid to acquiring and using common vocabulary. By the end of the course, students are expected to conduct short conversations

(Continued on page 27)

## Penn State offers web-based Ukrainian course

UNIVERSITY PARK, Pa. – The Pennsylvania State University is offering a web-based course in Ukrainian culture, UKR 100, for the spring 2005 semester. The 15-lesson, three-credit course will be taught by Roman Ivashkiv of Lviv. To date, the course already has an enrollment of 55 students.

As noted in the introductory notes to the course, "Ukrainian culture is a subject that until recently was largely ignored in the world. Ukrainians were thought to be 'just like Russians,' their language was considered by many a mere dialect of Russian, and their country was frequently perceived as a region of Russia. After 1991, Ukrainians received an opportunity to openly tell the world their version of Ukrainian history, to assert their uniqueness and their difference, and to reclaim a lot of their cultural achievements that for a long time were either denied or portrayed as 'Soviet.'"

The course will acquaint students with Ukrainian history and culture from the origins of the Kyivan Rus' in the Middle Ages to the present. The course will examine the many facets that make up culture: history, politics, language, literature, folklore, religion, music and art. It will place Ukrainian culture in the broader context of the Slavic nations and peoples. Lectures and readings will all be in English.

The course meets the general education humanities requirements (GH) and the inter-

cultural/international competency requirements (GI), or can be used as an "other cultures" course. It is suggested that prospective enrollees contact their advisers if there are questions about how this course can be used in one's particular program of study.

There are no specific classes that have to be taken before enrolling in UKR 100. The course is done completely online. Traditional exams have been replaced by a creative final project. Enrollees should feel comfortable navigating on the Internet. They should also be self-starters who feel confident about reading to learn and be comfortable working independently.

By taking an online course, students can learn beyond the traditional borders of the classroom, and as part of a wider and more diverse audience. Except for two chatroom discussions, there are no preset meeting times.

The online course will utilize Penn State's ANGEL system, and a combination of text, web links, images and PDF files as its class "lecture." Students will communicate with the professor and fellow classmates through chat, e-mail and threaded discussions within ANGEL.

Additional information on the course structure, as well as on the specific technological requirements and computer configuration, and registration information are found on the following website: <http://www.la.psu.edu/courses/ukr/UKR100public.html>.

## Highlights...

(Continued from page 5)

ter of the Ukrainian Canadian community, a city where over 120,000 Canadians of Ukrainian descent reside."

Among the many greetings sent to the delegates of the 34th Convention was one from a national deputy of Ukraine, Hennadii Udovenko, who was elected president of the 52nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Mr. Udovenko, a former ambassador of Ukraine to the United Nations, wrote: "The 100-year-long history of this organization, whose membership extends to 29 states of the United States of America and to all provinces of Canada, is a tremendous source for your pride and confidence. Having been in service for such a long

time, the Ukrainian National Association has explicitly demonstrated its strength, viability and, what is even more important, its ability to swiftly reach out to help those in need. Through all these years, it has cherished the Ukrainian national idea and has been genuinely supportive of and highly instrumental for the processes leading to democratic changes in Ukraine."

Mr. Udovenko concluded his message by expressing his hope that the UNA "will continue to prosper for the benefit of the Ukrainian community worldwide."

Source: Minutes and Reports of the 34th Convention of the Ukrainian National Association, Toronto (1998). The border used for this special feature is reproduced from a UNA membership certificate dated 1942.

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**Leader of underground...**

(Continued from page 4)

Christianity of Kyivan Rus' with a pontifical liturgy in Zarvanytsia, where despite a drenching rain, more than 10,000 people were in attendance and stayed on to pray throughout the night. As noted in 30 Days, the event had a historical dimension, given that it had been nearly half a century that "Ukrainian Catholics were able to show the strength of their Church to the authorities and to the public."

The response of central political authorities to the illegal gathering of "unregistered believers" was the issuance, on July 28, 1988, of two decrees by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, that resulted in the suppression of liturgy and public devotions of Ukrainian Catholics, and severe sanctions meted out against the clergy.

In 1987-1989 Bishop Vasylyk played an active role in the many actions working toward the legalization of the UGCC. He was a leading member of a group of representatives of the underground Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy who were sent to Moscow on two official trips. During this time period Bishop Vasylyk also ordained priests for the West, some of whom are now serving in the United States in the Stamford Eparchy.

Bishop Vasylyk served as auxiliary bishop in Ivano-Frankivsk in 1989-1993 and as bishop of the newly formed Eparchy of Kolomyia-Chernivtsi in 1993-2001.

Funeral services were held December 12 and 13 at the Cathedral of Christ's Resurrection in Ivano-Frankivsk, with Bishop Sofron Mudryi of Ivano-Frankivsk and Bishop Iryney Bilyk of Buchach as concelebrants. On December 14, with the transfer of the bishop's casket to Kolomyia, services were held in the Church of St. Michael the Archangel, with Bishop

Volodymyr Vyytyshyn, bishop co-adjutor of the Kolomyia-Chernivtsi Eparchy, concelebrating with numerous clergy.

A hierarchial liturgy for the deceased was held at the church on December 15, with Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, primate of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, as the principal celebrant. Also taking part were Bishop Ivan Yurkovych, the apostolic nuncio to Ukraine, bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine, over 250 priests and numerous laymen of the UGCC.

Also present were Mykhailo Vyshyvaniuk, head of the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast Administration, Vasyl Brus, head of the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast Council, as well as raion and city representatives.

In his homily Cardinal Husar, in referring to significance of the life and work of Bishop Vasylyk, offered an expression of public acknowledgment and gratitude, noting that it would behoove those present to honor the memory of Bishop Vasylyk not only in reflecting on the past but also on the future.

"Today we should resolve that his [Bishop Vasylyk's] memory live on not only in our hearts, but in our deeds. And if we keep to our resolve, then the memory of Bishop Vasylyk will be truly honored and perpetuated as befits that of a truly great man, a faithful son of his Church and his nation."

Also addressing the congregation was Bishop Yurkovych, who conveyed condolences from Pope John Paul II in a message expressing the pontiff's deep-felt respect and recognition for the life and work of the deceased. Addressing the gathering from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate was Patriarch Filaret's representative, Bishop Ivan Boychuk.

At the conclusion of the service, a funeral procession proceeded along the streets of Kolomyia to the new cathedral, currently under construction, for interment in the cathedral crypt.



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## Wrzesnewskyj...

(Continued from page 3)

tial run-off election on December 26.

On December 16, Canadian Liberal Prime Minister Paul Martin announced that former Prime Minister John Turner, also a Liberal, would head the Canadian mission – the country's "largest-ever contingent of independent electoral observers," according to a news release issued by the Prime Minister's Office.

The Canadian contingent – the first international mission organized by the Canada Corps at a cost of more than \$3.5 million (about \$2.8 million U.S.) – consists of 112 observers assigned to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, said France Bureau, a spokeswoman for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), which oversees Canada Corps.

The remaining 388 Canadian observers report to Mr. Turner and are attached to Ukraine's Central Electoral Commission.

CANADEM, the CIDA-funded, Ottawa-based international peace and security organization that put out the call for election observers, reported that more than 3,000 Canadians expressed interest in volunteering their time over the Christmas weekend.

Meanwhile, the Winnipeg-based Ukrainian Canadian Congress selected over 300 out of 1,100 applicants to serve as accredited election observers along with 200 Ukrainian Canadians living in Ukraine.

As for the Canadian mission's Parliament Hill contingent, Ms. Bureau said that Ontario Liberal Sen. Jerry Grafstein would participate.

Mr. Wrzesnewskyj said that at least five of his colleagues from the House of Commons would join him in Ukraine. They include: fellow Liberals David Kilgour, who represents the federal riding of Edmonton-Beaumont and happens to be Mr. Turner's brother-in-law, and Andrew Telegdi (Kitchener-Waterloo,

Ontario); Conservatives Peter Goldring (Edmonton East) and Joy Smith (Kildonan-St. Paul, Manitoba); and Hamilton Center MP David Christopherson of the left-of-center New Democratic Party.

Taras Zalusky, chief of staff to Fisheries and Oceans Minister Geoff Regan, would also serve as "chief of staff" for the Canadian delegation, said Mr. Wrzesnewskyj.

Prior to departing on a charter flight from Montreal to Kyiv on December 21, observers from across Canada met in Ottawa and were briefed by the Center for Intercultural Learning, which is part of the Canadian Foreign Service Institute.

Undoubtedly, they would all benefit by talking with Mr. Wrzesnewskyj, who has already witnessed the rampant corruption at work in Ukraine's electoral system this fall.

"You name it, you saw it," he said in an interview prior to leaving for Ukraine.

"You have to remember this is a criminal and corrupt regime that's enriched itself to the tune of billions of dollars. This [election] is it – the end game."

He explained that he had videotape from the first round of the presidential election on October 31 that shows the Central Election Commission announcing on television the results from Luhansk – an administrative territory in eastern Ukraine that's considered under the control of Kremlin-backed candidate Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich – before the votes had even been counted.

"The territorial electoral commission was telling the poll commissioners what numbers to fill in so they would match what was being announced through the Central Election Commission."

Mr. Wrzesnewskyj said he had been "naively optimistic" the situation would improve when he returned as a monitor for the November 21 run-off election. But it didn't, as illustrated by his November 25 House of Commons motion, which cited "a concerted, sys-

temic and massive fraud" and which received the unanimous consent of the House.

Mr. Wrzesnewskyj said that, while exit polls showed that Mr. Yushchenko was the clear winner, pro-Yanukovich supporters resorted to myriad intimidation tactics – from posting dead people on voters' lists to offering the heads of territorial electoral commissions \$4,000 in bribes and threatening voters.

In Luhansk a student was expelled from university the day after being seen entering the Yushchenko campaign headquarters.

In Odesa more than 1,600 students living in residence were warned that if "a single vote appeared for Yushchenko" in their polling station, they would "end up on the street." As Mr. Wrzesnewskyj noted: "When the ballot boxes were opened, 100 percent of the votes were for Yanukovich."

In one incident, a "BMW with tinted windows" almost ran a car carrying Canadian observers off the road.

Still, the nearly 1,000 Canadians travelling to Ukraine this week for what could be the final Yushchenko-Yanukovich electoral showdown can

expect to be mainly welcomed with open arms, said Mr. Wrzesnewskyj, whose family charitable foundation (Dopomoha Ukraini – Aid to Ukraine), this year contributed \$250,000 (about \$203,000 U.S.) to fund the Edmonton-based Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies' Ukraine Transparency and Election Monitoring Project (UTEMP).

"The amount of good will towards Canada is just phenomenal," he said. He explained that much attention was paid to Ukrainian TV coverage of his Commons motion and many Ukrainians were encouraged by the concern raised in September by Andrew Robinson, Canada's ambassador to Ukraine, that the country hold a "free and fair" election.

Mr. Wrzesnewskyj said he believes that Ukrainians would be impressed by the size of the Canadian observer mission – the largest from any country – and the fact that a former prime minister would head it.

"When I'd go out into crowds and someone would say, 'There's a Canadian parliamentarian,' I'd get swarmed by people saying 'Please pass on a thank you to the people of Canada' or [they] would start chanting 'Ca-na-da.'"

## Australia's Ukrainians...

(Continued from page 3)

Mr. Romaniw said.

"After the first election was clearly rigged and then thrown out by the Supreme Court, Ukrainians all over the world have been fund-raising, campaigning and helping to ensure that this second vote is allowed to proceed in a fair and free manner, and is not rigged for a second time."

Mr. Romaniw said that a victory for the forces of democracy on December 26 would represent the final victory of democracy over communism in Ukraine.

"This election is as important as it represents the last chance for Ukrainians to throw off the shackles of decades of Communist and oligarch dictatorship. The chance to establish and entrench a vibrant and thriving democracy is now on Ukraine's doorstep and it can't be simply passed by."

Mr. Romaniw also warned against complacency in Western nations, saying that those who rigged and forged their way through the last election are still in Ukraine and ready to do it all over again. "Democracy won't just fall into Ukraine's lap; it is going to have to be fought for. That is what the hundreds of thousands of people who are still rallying in Independence Square, Kyiv, understand, and that is what should be realized in the West."

"The commitment from the Canadian, U.S.A., Australian and European governments to send observers and fund non-governmental organizations to monitor

the election is a great help and a great boost to the morale of all of those in Ukraine and around the world who believe that democracy can come to Ukraine," Mr. Romaniw noted. "It will also go a long way to ensuring that corruption and vote rigging does not plague the second election on December 26."

Most of the Australian Ukrainian delegation was to leave Australia on Wednesday, December 22.



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## Msgr. Michael Poloway honored as Pittsburgh's Ukrainian of the Year



Msgr. Michael Poloway is flanked by Pittsburgh City Council President Gene Ricciardi and Ukrainian Technological Society President Debra A. Walenchok.

### Writer Andrukhovych's...

(Continued from page 6)

– have my own particular hopes. I want to distinctly hear from Europe that Kuchma, Yanukovych and their spinmasters are wrong, that Europe is waiting for us, that it cannot endure without us, that Europe will not continue to be in all its fullness without Ukraine.

My fantasies, honored European parliamentarians, have no boundaries. I have a thousand projects for cultural partnership and a thousand friends throughout all of Europe, with whom we can realize these projects. We will make – I expect,

with your help – countless steps toward mutual rapprochement, to denounce that “quarantine line” that divides one Europe from the other.

“My Europe” – that is the title of Andrzej Stasiuk's and my joint poetographic book. In conclusion, allow me one more poetographic metaphor. It floats out right away when you look over geographic maps. The maps all demonstrate one and the same thing to us: in Ukraine there is not a single drop of water that does not belong to the Atlantic basin. This means that with all its arteries and capillaries it is stitched right to Europe.

PITTSBURGH – The Rev. Mitred Archpriest Msgr. Michael Poloway was honored as the Ukrainian of the Year by the Ukrainian Technological Society at its 35th annual dinner-dance on Saturday, November 20, at the Pittsburgh Athletic Association in the Oakland area of Pittsburgh.

Members and guests were welcomed by President Debra A. Walenchok, who also recognized former Ukrainian of the Year Award recipients and former presidents of the society, who were in attendance.

Michael Komichak, director of the Ukrainian Radio Program in Pittsburgh and society member, made the nomination of the Rev. Poloway, after which the award plaque, calligraphed in Ukrainian and English by Kathryn Boykowycz, was presented by President Walenchok and Secretary Irene K. Grimm. The Ukrainian text was read by executive board member Michael Korchynsky, while Mrs. Grimm read the English text.

Msgr. Michael Poloway was honored for his 50 years as a priest in the Ukrainian Catholic Church; his 37 years as pastor of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church in Pittsburgh, from which he had just retired on June 30; and his service of 29 years as dean of the Central Deanery of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of St. Josaphat in Parma, Ohio.

As well, he was recognized for his founding in 1974 and hosting of the radio program, “Christ Among Us,” a program of liturgical music and homilies for shut-ins each Sunday; for organizing and participating in many ecumenical religious observances important to the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community; and for continuous support of the participation of the Western Pennsylvania Council of the League of Ukrainian Catholics in the

Pittsburgh Folk Festival.

Gene Ricciardi, president of the City Council of Pittsburgh, personally read a proclamation of the City Council proclaiming November 2 as “Msgr. Michael Poloway Day” in Pittsburgh and recognizing him as the Ukrainian of the Year. Proclamations were also received from the offices of Thomas Murphy, mayor of Pittsburgh, and Dan Onorato, county executive of Allegheny County.

In his acceptance remarks, the Rev. Poloway thanked the society for selecting him as the Ukrainian of the Year, and especially thanked his brother priests in both the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches for their support and friendship over the years, as well as the parishioners of St. John the Baptist Church.

The Rt. Rev. George Hnatko, protopresbyter of the Pittsburgh Deanery of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., himself the recipient of the Ukrainian of the Year Award in 1975, brought special greetings to the Rev. Poloway from Metropolitan-Archbishop Constantine and offered the invocation.

After dinner, the Rev. Archpriest Canon Philip Bumber offered the benediction.

As dancing to the music of the Vitaliy Shcherbyak band began, many continued to congratulate the Rev. Poloway, who is still serving the Lord by celebrating holy divine liturgy in the Parma area.

In recognition of the Rev. Poloway as the Ukrainian of the Year, the Rev. Canon Michael Krupka, the current pastor at St. John the Baptist Church, who is continuing the “Christ Among Us” radio program, played archival audiotape of the very first program prepared by the Rev. Poloway, at the usual program time on WPIT radio on Sunday, November 21.

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## Rochesterians honor "Mirko" Pylyshenko for 50 years of service to the community



Wolodymyr "Mirko" Pylyshenko

ROCHESTER, N.Y. – The Ukrainian American Sports Club Poltava of Rochester, N.Y., sponsored its annual dinner-dance with an added special feature: a tribute to Wolodymyr Pylyshenko, or "Mirko" as he is known by many, for half a century of service to the Ukrainian community.

Representatives and delegates from the Rochester Ukrainian American community and diverse organizations gathered to bestow various awards and commendations on a very active and deserving member of their "hromada."

Mr. Pylyshenko, who was honored on May 1 as the Rochester area's Ukrainian of the Year, has been continually involved in the local community, supporting numerous Ukrainian American initiatives. His contributions in the field of education, Plast, art, religion, youth programs and the credit union movement have generated value-added benefits for the community at large.

He was one of the founding members of the Irondequoit Poltava Sister Cities Program. Currently, he is a volunteer member of the board of directors at the Irondequoit Public Library and the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union. He has been instrumental in facilitating the weekly "Ukrainian Hour TV Program" on ICAT cable.

In addition, he has been an officer of the World Council of Credit Unions; a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Shevchenko Scientific Society, a founding member and first president of the local organization of Ukrainian American businesspersons and professionals, a board member of both St. Mary's Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, and a volunteer for organizations as diverse as the Western Monroe Historical Society, The Ukrainian Museum, the Ukrainian Rukh Organization and the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

A faculty member of the State University of New York at Brockport, during the Cold War era he promoted and hosted many Ukrainian folk ensembles, artists, film-makers and writers from Ukraine.

He has also served as a fund-raiser and supporting member of the following organizations and institutions: the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, Ukrainian Studies Fund, Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund and United Ukrainian American Relief Committee.

After a dinner prepared by the Sisterhood of St. Mary's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the tributes to Prof. Pylyshenko began.

Local government officials, including Monroe County Clerk Cheryl Dinolfo, Assistant County Clerk Justin Roy and Town of Irondequoit Board Member Lydia Dzus, presented official proclamations honoring Prof. Pylyshenko for his continued service and community involvement.

President Michael Kohut and Manager Walter Sukhenko of the Ukrainian American Sports Club Poltava presented a plaque and a certificate of recognition in appreciation for all the volunteer work, financial support and mentoring he has contributed over the past half-century.

Anne Kornylo, president of the Irondequoit Sister Cities Program took the podium to "roast" Prof. Pylyshenko by comparing him to some famous, as well as some infamous, personalities, which had the attendees as well as the guest of honor chuckling. She also presented him with a certificate of appreciation.

Church Council President Nick Andrijenko and Pastor Ihor Krekovetsky of St. Mary's Church lauded the honoree for all of his numerous good deeds on behalf of the parish.

Tamara Denysenko, CEO of the Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, delivered a heartfelt presentation that centered on Prof. Pylyshenko's volunteerism and the effects it had not only on the Ukrainian community at large, but on the Ukrainian Credit Union membership.

Slavka Chomik, president of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Saturday School, delivered a thank you gift to Prof. Pylyshenko for all his years of staunch support.

The Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization was represented by many dignitaries, among them Nestor Kolcio and Hryhory Kostyniuk. They informed guests about some surprising facts about the honoree's life.

Prof. Pylyshenko's daughters, Orysia and Katya, composed a poem that painted a historic trail of his many accomplishments, as well as some of the hardships in his life. It was a well-written tribute with a touch of humor.

There were numerous letters of best wishes read throughout the evening including: messages from the faculty at the State University of New York at Brockport, Merited Ukrainian Author Ivan Drach, Brockport College and others.

Natalya Shulga from the Rochester Ukrainian Group (RUG) made a presentation to honor Prof. Pylyshenko for his continuous dedication and hard work in the community. Oleg Pawluk presented the honoree with a spontaneous surprise of good health – a huge garlic clove that according to legend, would keep him in great health and free from bad spirits.

After the award presentations and speeches concluded, there was a dance featuring the New Dimension Band.

Later in the year, on October 24 at the 110th anniversary celebration of the Ukrainian National Association in Rochester, Oksana Trytjak, speaking on behalf of the UNA General Assembly, praised Prof. Pylyshenko, among other local UNA'ers, as a perennial activist and supporter of the UNA. For many years Prof. Pylyshenko has been president of Branch 66, the Plast chapter of the UNA in Rochester.

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## "Lisovi Mavky" sorority of Plast holds annual meeting at Soyuzivka



"Lisovi Mavky" gathered outside Soyuzivka's Kyiv Villa.

by Halyna Kuzyszyn-Holubec

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – A sea of green "kyptars" descended on the Soyuzivka estate on September 10-12. Over 50 members of the Plast sorority "Lisovi Mavky" (Forest Nymphs) spent their annual meeting, or "rada," weekend at the UNA estate planning activities and agendas, welcoming new members and reacquainting.

The Lisovi Mavky sorority is rapidly

growing in numbers. The young adult branch initiated many new recruits, including two from Ukraine, while the senior branch (which renewed its activities and Plast status just a few years ago) worked on plans to promote further activities with young Plast members within their respective cities.

Ukrainian folklore and traditions are the basis of the Lisovi Mavky sorority.

(Continued on page 25)

## UNA estate is venue for conference of senior sorority of "Spartanky"



Members of the "Spartanky" sorority during their conference at Soyuzivka.

by Lida Chernichenko

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – On Friday and Saturday, September 24-25 the senior Plast sorority of "Spartanky" held their annual conference at Soyuzivka. Over 30 members attended.

The start of the conference was a delicious dinner prepared by Chef Andriy Sonevytsky, followed by a talent/hobby night. Who knew that our members had so many varied talents and hobbies? Included were displays/demonstrations of Ukrainian embroidery, pysanky, soaps, cocktails, cookies, house plans, restoration of artwork, jewelry, jokes, singing, piano playing, accordion playing, Pilates and knitting.

Saturday began with breakfast and a presentation of slides by Irene Bihun, a member of Spartanky who just returned

from spending a year in Ukraine. A walk across the terrain of Soyuzivka followed, lead by Walter Nalywayko, Soyuzivka's recreation director.

It was then time for the formal discussions of plans and projects for the upcoming year.

Spartanky take an active part throughout the year in activities planned by Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization's branches in New York, and Philadelphia as well as in the towns of Newark and Passaic in New Jersey. Every summer the group runs a weeklong preparatory camp for the youngest plastuny.

During the year sorority members plan events and activities for both "novatstvo" and "yunatstvo." The goal is to continue to organize and lead scouting activities for Plast youths in our various locations.



## Members of Plast's "Hrebli" sorority meet at biennial conference at Soyuzivka

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – Members of the Ti Scho Hrebli Rvut ("Hrebli") sorority of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization from various cities in the United States and Canada gathered here at the Ukrainian National Association's Soyuzivka resort on October 11-12 for their biennial conference.

The conference included a meeting of the sorority's units for seniors and a get-together for its contingent of young adults ("starshi plastunky"). Members heard reports from the sorority's leadership and its branches in New York City, New Jersey (centered in the Morris County area), Buffalo, N.Y., and Ukraine.

A special focus of attention was the report regarding Plast's 2004 Sviato Yuriya camporee held in East Chatham, N.Y., under the leadership of the Hrebli sorority and their partners in the project, the Chornomorski Khvyli sorority. The camporee was one of the most successful held in recent years judging by the number of Plast youths age 11-18 and their counselors who traveled from near and far to participate, noted Lesia Lebed, a co-commander of Sviato Yuriya 2004.

During the conference the sorority accepted 15 new members from the

United States, Canada and Ukraine. The sorority also has members in Australia.

Among the projects discussed was compilation of materials related to the upcoming 80th anniversary of the Hrebli sorority, which was founded in Ukraine, and organization of a jubilee celebration. Halyna Kutko was tapped to head the anniversary preparations.

The members also discussed aid for Plast projects in Ukraine, such as the Sokil camp and a monument to Plast members who died in the struggle for Ukraine's independence, as well as the development of the sorority in that country.

The senior sorority elected a new leadership headed by Marta Kuzmowycz. The executive board also includes Roma Hadzewycz and Ms. Lebed, vice-presidents; Oksana Bachynska, secretary; Marta Salyk-Jacuszko, treasurer; Olenka Yurchuk, editor; and Dora Horbachevsky and Malyna Dziuba, archivists.

The next biennial joint conference of younger and senior members of the Ti Scho Hrebli Rvut sorority has been slated for the fall of 2006 at Soyuzivka. The weekend conference will spotlight the sorority's 80th anniversary.



"Ti Scho Hrebli Rvut" sorority members at Soyuzivka.

For information about the sorority, interested persons may send an e-mail message to Ms. Kuzmowycz at [mkuzmowycz@aol.com](mailto:mkuzmowycz@aol.com).

### "Lisovi Mavky"...

(Continued from page 24)

The name Lisovi Mavky is based on the neo-romantic work of Lesia Ukrainka titled "Lisova Pisnya" (Forest Song). The lead character in Forest Song – the Mavka – was the protectress of the woods, whose loving soul earned her respect among all forest life.

It is by her example that the sorority members conduct themselves and their activities. With the slogan: "Mayu v sertsy te scho ne vmyraye" (I hold in my heart that which will never die), the Lisovi Mavky sororities use the Mavka as an example, and hold dear her love of nature and exceptional character.

Many of the sorority members are active in the U.S. National Plast Command and are counselors at numerous Plast camps and in their local Plast branches, where they lead groups of young Plast members.

One of the key objectives of the Mavky sorority is working with young people and organizing events that highlight Ukrainian culture and folklore. In recent years, this has included staging Ivan Kupalo festivities at summer camps, publishing an issue of the Plast children's magazine Hotuys (with plans to produce more issues) and organizing events like Andriyivskyi Vechir (St. Andrew's Eve).

Both branches of the Lisovi Mavky Plast sorority enjoy a tight camaraderie, enthusiasm for the Plast organization and its goals, as well as a long tradition of promoting Ukrainian culture. For the history of the Lisovi Mavky sorority, as well as member information please visit <http://www.geocities.com/lisovimavky/home.html>.

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

### Prosecutor resurrects case against Yulia

MOSCOW – Chief Military Prosecutor Aleksandr Savenkov told journalists on December 8 that his agency has sent documents to Interpol headquarters in Lyon, France, to support his case against Yulia Tymoshenko, a Ukrainian opposition leader, whom he is accusing of financial crimes, RTR and rbk.com reported. He has accused Ms. Tymoshenko, who was vice prime minister and head of Unified Energy Systems in Ukraine in the 1990s, of involvement in the payment of bribes to Defense Ministry officials to facilitate the signing at overvalued prices of contracts with Ukrainian companies. In September Mr. Savenkov's office opened a legal case against Ms. Tymoshenko and sent her file to Interpol. On December 8 RTR and NTV reported that an electronic dossier on Ms. Tymoshenko was posted on Interpol's website. The dossier was reportedly removed the same day "for lack of sufficient proof." (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Russians predict disintegration of OSCE ...

MOSCOW – Mikhail Margelov, the chairman of the Federation Council's International Relations Committee, told gazeta.ru on December 8 that he is satisfied with the position taken by Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov at the recent foreign ministers' conference of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) held in Sofia, Bulgaria. "The OSCE is the most senseless organization in Europe. Since the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, the OSCE has transformed into a trough for loafers and international officials," Mr. Margelov said. Writing in Izvestia on December 8, commentator Nina Ratiani said: "The lack of a concluding political declaration and the disagreement between Russia and the West over Moldova and

Ukraine is testimony to the likely disintegration of the OSCE." (RFE/RL Newsline)

### ...but not resumption of Cold War

MOSCOW – According to Mikhail Margelov of the Federation Council's International Relations Committee, a new Cold War between Russia and the United States will not develop, Komsomolskaya Pravda reported on December 9. "We have a market economy and we are allies against international terrorism. To be in disagreement does not mean to be hostile," he said. Eurasia party head Aleksandr Dugin also told Komsomolskaya Pravda that "Russia should increase its strength as the United States will be a friend only of a [country] like the Soviet Union." Deputy Duma Speaker Sergei Baburin said: "Our relations with the United States cannot be called friendly, but they are developing. Neither Iraq, nor Ukraine will lead us into a new Cold War." Sergei Belkovskii, the director of the National Strategy Institute, said: "We are not moving toward a new Cold War. The vast majority of the Russian elite has accounts in U.S. banks and property abroad, which could be damaged in the case of a Cold War." (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Court reinstates former prosecutor

KYIV – Kyiv's Pecherskyi District Court on December 9 ordered the reinstatement of former Procurator General Sviatoslav Piskun, Channel 5 reported. The court reportedly concluded that Mr. Piskun, who recently appealed his 2003 dismissal, may take up the prosecutor's post "immediately." Meanwhile, a spokesman for the Procurator General's Office, Serhii Rudenko, told Interfax that President Leonid Kuchma has not notified his office as to whether he signed current Procurator-General Hennadii Vasyliiev's resignation. Mr. Kuchma told legislators in the Verkhovna Rada on December 8 that he had accepted Mr. Vasyliiev's resignation. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### NATO postpones talks with Kyiv

BRUSSELS – NATO on December 8 called off a planned meeting between its foreign ministers and their Ukrainian counterpart to distance itself from a government accused of election fraud, Reuters reported. The event had been scheduled for December 9. "NATO values its relationship with Ukraine. It does not support any candidate, but it values free and fair elections," NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer told journalists. "We know from all observers that these elections were not free and fair." A NATO source reportedly told Reuters that the alliance will invite the foreign minister of "a new and legitimate government" in Kyiv to Brussels as soon as possible and that it does not want to be seen as legitimizing the existing government. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Ukraine, Russia conduct gas talks

ASHGABAT – Turkmen President Saparmurat Niyazov met with Yuri Boiko, head of the state-run Ukrainian oil and gas company Naftohaz Ukrainy, and Aleksandr Ryazanov and Yuriy Komarov, deputy chairmen of state-run Russian gas company Gazprom, in Ashgabat on December 12, Turkmen TV reported. The report indicated that price negotiations are continuing on 2005 purchases of Turkmen gas. Earlier reports suggested that Turkmenistan hopes to raise the purchase price from the current \$44 per 1,000 cubic meters to \$60. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Naftohaz head details Turkmen talks

MOSCOW – Yuri Boiko, chairman of Ukrainian oil and gas company Naftohaz Ukrainy, told Russia's Kommersant-Daily on December 21 that if Turkmenistan raises the price of natural gas to \$60 per 1,000 cubic meters, Naftohaz might look for other suppliers. "If Turkmenistan sells the same fuel at the same station to Gazprom for \$44 and to Naftohaz for \$60, why should we

overpay by 36 percent?" Mr. Boiko asked. Queried about Naftohaz's plans should Turkmenistan insist on the higher price, Mr. Boiko said, "We'll buy [gas] from Gazprom or someone else at an acceptable price." He also noted that "Gazprom supports our price position in Turkmenistan, since a price increase will lead to a rise in the transit price and the gas will become uncompetitive." Meanwhile, Gazprom Deputy Chairman Aleksandr Ryazanov told Kommersant-Daily, "Taking into account our expenses, we can permit ourselves to purchase Turkmen gas at a price of \$25 per 1,000 cubic meters." Both Mr. Boiko and Mr. Ryazanov noted that talks are ongoing, but little time remains before the end of the year. Turkmen negotiators recently suggested that they would like to raise the current price of \$44 per 1,000 cubic meters, paid half in cash and half in kind, to \$60 for shipments in 2005. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Bishop approves of ban on human cloning

KYIV – By the Ukrainian Parliament's decision to forbid human cloning in the country, the state "protected human dignity and God's law," according to Bishop Stanislaw Shyrokoriadiuk, auxiliary bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Kyiv-Zhytomyr. In his comments on December 14, the bishop called the decision "essentially Christian" and "pro-Church." The bishop explained that the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine followed the Verkhovna Rada's consideration of this issue with great attention, concern and prayer, and expected that society would understand why the Church is against human cloning. Two-hundred fifty-three national deputies voted on December 14 to prohibit reproductive human cloning in the country. The law also prohibits import and export on the territory of Ukraine of cloned human embryos. Persons guilty of violation of this law will bear civil, administrative and criminal responsibility under Ukrainian law. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

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# University of Illinois and NUKMA establish partnership in public health

CHICAGO – Back on August 31, Dr. Susan Scrimshaw, Ph.D., dean of the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) School of Health, and Dr. Daniel Hryhorczuk, professor and director of the Great Lakes Centers at UIC SPH, participated in the inauguration of Ukraine's first master's program in Public Health at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy (NUKMA).

Dean Scrimshaw, past president of the American Association of Schools of Public Health, delivered a welcome address from UIC and joined the dais next to Dr. Viacheslav Briukhovetsky, president of NUKMA, and Volodymyr Lytvyn, chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament. Dr. Hryhorczuk participated in the ceremony as a visiting faculty member of the new NUKMA School of Public Health.

UIC was invited to assist NUKMA in the development of this program by Dr. Briukhovetsky when he visited UIC last year. UIC and NUKMA had signed a

memorandum of understanding between their universities for faculty and student exchange.

Dr. Hryhorczuk and Dr. Scrimshaw, together with Dr. Irena Griga, the dean of the NUKMA program in public health, were successful in obtaining a highly competitive grant from the Association Liaison Office for University Cooperation in Development in support of this partnership. The partnership was strongly supported by the USAID Mission in Ukraine.

The new public health program has two Ukrainian partners, NUKMA and the Kyiv Institute of Post-Graduate Medicine, and two foreign partners, UIC as the U.S. partner and the University of Maastricht in the Netherlands as the European partner.

During their visit, Dr. Scrimshaw delivered a lecture on "Behavior and Health," and Dr. Hryhorczuk delivered lectures on "Epidemiologic Study Design." The ALO grant will support additional faculty and student exchanges between these schools over

the next 18 months. The new UIC-NUKMA partnership in public health provides new opportunities for training the next generation of public health leaders in Ukraine.

As Ambassador Herbst indicated to a

joint U.S.-Ukrainian audience at a reception at the Mariinskyi Palace on September 1, "These academic partnership programs have the full support of the U.S. government."



Dr. Viacheslav Briukhovetsky (left) with Dr. Susan Scrimshaw and Dr. Daniel Hryhorczuk.

## Columbia...

(Continued from page 19)

concerning daily life, read simple factual texts and write routine messages. The course will be taught on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 5:40-6:55 p.m. in 716A Hamilton Hall. The instructor will be Dr. Yuri Shevchuk (Ph.D., Kyiv State University), lecturer of Ukrainian language and culture, department of Slavic languages, Columbia University.

• Intermediate Ukrainian I (W1202) is a course for undergraduate and graduate students that begins with a review of grammar fundamentals and common vocabulary and that places emphasis on further development of students' communicative skills (oral and written). Course materials introduce students to

functional and stylistic differences in modern Ukrainian, including distinctions between Kyiv and Lviv literary variants. By the end of the course, students will be able to use all major time frames and converse effectively in most formal and informal settings. The course will be taught on Mondays and Wednesdays at 6:10-7:25 p.m. in 406 Hamilton Hall. The instructor is Dr. Shevchuk.

• Advanced Ukrainian I (W3002) is a course for undergraduate and graduate students who wish to develop their mastery of Ukrainian. Further study of grammar includes patterns of word formation, participles, gerunds and declension of numerals. Original texts and other materials are drawn from classical and contemporary Ukrainian literature, press, electronic media and film to familiarize students with varying linguis-

tic features. The course will enable students to discuss both general and special interest topics, hypothesize and support opinions, and conduct independent field research in the Ukrainian language. Classes are taught largely in Ukrainian. The course will be taught on Mondays and Wednesdays at 4:10-5:25 p.m. in 716A Hamilton Hall. The instructor is Dr. Shevchuk.

Many of these courses are open, not only to Columbia students, but also to students from other universities in the New York metropolitan area, as well as to individuals interested in non-credit continuing studies. Undergraduate and graduate stu-

dents from New York University can register directly with their school for Ukrainian language classes at Columbia, while Ph.D. candidates and master's degree students from universities which are part of the Columbia University Consortium (e.g., NYU, CUNY, The New School University) can register for non-language courses by obtaining appropriate approval from both their home school and Columbia.

For further information, please contact Diana Howansky, Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University, by phone at (212) 854-4697, or by e-mail at [ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu](mailto:ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu).

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# Soyuzivka's Datebook

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|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>December 31, 2004</b><br>New Year's Eve Celebration and Zabava with Fata Morgana                                           | <b>February 4-6, 2005</b><br>Church of Annunciation Family Weekend, Flushing N.Y. |
| <b>January 1, 2005</b><br>New Year's Day Brunch, 10 a.m.-1 p.m., \$14 per person                                              | <b>February 11-13, 2005</b><br>Valentine's Day Weekend                            |
| <b>January 6, 2005</b><br>Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve Dinner, 6 p.m., \$25 per person<br>Overnight Packages Available | <b>February 19-20, 2005</b><br>Family Winter Weekend and Ski Trip                 |
| <b>January 8, 2005</b><br>UNA Employee Christmas Party                                                                        | <b>March 5-6, 2005</b><br>Plast Kurin "Khmelnynchenky" Annual Winter Rada         |



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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Friday, January 7, 2005

**PARMA, Ohio:** St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, on the occasion of celebrating Christmas according to the Julian Calendar, will sponsor its 17th annual Christmas radio program for sick and shut-in parishioners. The entire divine liturgy, celebrated by the cathedral's clergy and with responses by both the Ukrainian and English cathedral choirs, will be broadcast live at 9-11 a.m. over Radio Station WERE1300 AM. Great Complines and Matins will be celebrated in the cathedral on Christmas Eve, Thursday, January 6. St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral is located on 5913 State Road; the parish office may be contacted by calling (440) 886-3223.

Saturday, January 22, 2005

**CARTERET, N.J.:** The St. Demetrius Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church are co-sponsoring a New Year's Eve dance or, Malanka, which will be held at the St. Demetrius Community Center, 681 Roosevelt Ave. Music will be by Fata Morgana. Tickets, at \$40, include admission, choice of sirloin beef or stuffed capon dinner, beer, wine, soda, midnight hors d'oeuvres and a champagne toast. There will also be a cash bar. St. Demetrius Center is located just blocks off of Exit 12, N.J. Turnpike. There is a Holiday Inn right off the exit for accommodations. Doors will open at 6 p.m.; dinner will be served at 7 p.m., with music starting at 8 p.m. For table and ticket reservations, call Peter Prociuk, (732) 541-5452. Tickets will not be sold at the door.

Deadline for ticket sales is January 15, 2005.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Saturday, February 5, 2005

**LOS ANGELES:** The California Association to Aid Ukraine invites you to plan a weekend get away in sunny, southern California in February. CAAU will host the annual Ball and Presentation of Debutantes on Saturday, February 5, 2005, at the Hilton Hotel, in Glendale, Calif. All proceeds are designated for the support of the "Wheelchairs for Ukraine" program. The formal affair includes cocktail hour, silent auction, dinner and dancing to the music of Vorony. Tickets: \$95, adults; \$85, students. Mail your check for tickets to CAAU, c/o Marta Mykytyn-Hill, 1219 Via Arroyo, Ventura, CA 93003. Lodging is available at the hotel, subject to availability; call (818) 956-5466 for reservations (please refer to group "CAAU"). With other inquiries call Luba Keske, (818) 884-3836, or Shannon Micevych, (818) 774-9378.

Sunday, April 17, 2005

**NEW YORK:** A luncheon is being planned to celebrate the life and achievements of Lydia Krushelnysky, former actress, drama teacher and director of the New York-based Ukrainian Stage Ensemble. The event, to be held on the 40th anniversary of the ensemble's founding, will take place at The Pierre, New York's landmark hotel on Central Park and Fifth Avenue. Save the date! For additional information contact Marta Kebalo, (718) 291-4166.

### PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:

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

To have an event listed in Preview of Events please send information, in English, written in Preview format, i.e., in a brief paragraph that includes the date, place, type of event, sponsor, admission, full names of persons and/or organizations involved, and a phone number to be published for readers who may require additional information. Items should be no more than 100 words long; all submissions are subject to editing.

Preview items must be received no later than one week before the desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Items will be published only once, unless otherwise indicated. Please include payment of \$20 for each time the item is to appear and indicate date(s) of issue(s) in which the item is to be published. Also, please include the phone number of a person who may be contacted by The Weekly during daytime hours. Information should be sent to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

Items may be e-mailed to [preview@ukrweekly.com](mailto:preview@ukrweekly.com).



The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA)-Illinois Chapter jointly with the Ukrainian Ski Association (USA) and the Dunwoodie Travel Bureau cordially invite its member and families, associates, and friends to attend the 2005 Spring Scientific Conference and Ski Vacation to be held at the Club Med Crested Butte Ski Resort in Colorado, from Saturday, March 26th through Saturday, April 2nd, 2005. For more information please visit: [www.UMANA.org](http://www.UMANA.org)

