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# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## UCCLA kicks off final drive to complete installation of plaques at internment sites

QUEBEC CITY – The Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association on October 2 kicked off its “Five Plaques to Go” campaign urging Canadians to pitch in and help the association complete its most recent project to recognize the unjust internment of Ukrainian Canadians and others during World War I.

The UCCLA wrapped up another successful annual conclave on October 1 in Quebec City, where the association placed the 18th and 19th of 24 memorials – these commemorating internees who spent time at Valcartier and Beauport.

On hand to help mark the solemn occasions was 15-year-old Quebecker Kim Pawliw, who read aloud a poem she dedicated to her grandmother Stephania Mielniczuk. Mrs. Mielniczuk, who died recently, was interned as a little girl at Spirit Lake, Quebec, near Val D’Or.

With these plaques now installed, five Canadian internment sites remain to be commemorated by the UCCLA: Montreal; Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario; Edgewood, British Columbia; Lethbridge, Alberta; and Halifax, Nova Scotia. The UCCLA is seeking support for its UCCLA’s “Five More to Go” campaign.

“Our goal is to have the 24 camps commemorated by 2010,” said the UCCLA’s

chairman, John Gregorovich. “This would be a remarkable legacy to the memory of the 8,579 men, women and children who were unjustly interned during this dark chapter in Canada’s past.”

“We are a project-driven group,” he added. “Every dollar raised will go towards the purchase and installation of permanent bronze plaques for the five remaining internment camp locations.”

The UCCLA has placed plaques at 19 of Canada’s 24 World War I internment camp locations, from Valcartier, Quebec, to Nanaimo, British Columbia. There is evidence that the UCCLA’s bronze trilingual plaques and statues are achieving their intended purpose of educating Canadians.

Photographer Sandra Semchuk, who attended the two unveilings, said she learned of the internment operations by reading the UCCLA’s bronze marker in Banff National Park in Alberta at the foot of Castle Mountain off Highway 1A. Since then, she has located and photographed every internment site and plaque.

The Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Foundation, the education arm of the UCCLA, gave Ms. Semchuk a grant to help finish her photography and

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## 750-year-old Lviv suffers from neglect, and abuse, of its historic landmarks



Zenon Zawada

Lviv Admirers Association Vice-President Ivan Svarnyk stands in front of a deteriorating 16th century building in Lviv’s central district that is now being used as a bottle recycling station.

by Zenon Zawada  
Kyiv Press Bureau

LVIV – For Lviv’s 750th anniversary festivities, rock concerts and abundant beer amply distracted the hundreds of

thousands of revelers swarming the city’s ancient center.

Amidst the thick crowds, 16th century buildings stood dilapidated, on their way to collapse.

Graffiti marred the walls of the 14th century Armenian Church.

Meanwhile, illegal construction was ubiquitous.

“The celebration was like a theater; it was a theatrical performance,” said Dr. Mykola Bevz, a top expert on Lviv’s architecture. “The main thing that I, and all my colleagues, would say is that the restoration work for the 750th anniversary of Lviv was not done, although this date was known for many years beforehand.”

The anniversary festivities on September 30 and October 1 revealed that an inefficient Soviet style of budgeting and planning remains entrenched in the government, officials said.

Coupled with unmitigated post-Soviet corruption, both factors are contributing to the physical deterioration of a city known throughout the world as “an architectural gem,” as it was recently referred to in The New York Times.

Ukraine’s own neglectful leadership, unable to reform its old ways, is threatening Lviv’s magnificent architectural inheritance, experts said.

“There is a very sluggish system in Kyiv,” said Liliya Onyschenko, the assistant director of Lviv’s Historical Environment Defense Administration. “Kyiv has to realize that Lviv is a special city that can be like Krakow is for Poland as its spiritual capital,” she said. “And they need to allocate funds directly, every year, regardless of whether

## Crusading journalist Politkovskaya remembered in Kyiv

by Olena Labunka and Zenon Zawada  
Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV – A journalist by profession but now a pensioner, Hanna Shapoval came to the Embassy of the Russian Federation wearing a black veil, holding a lit candle

and flowers in her hand.

She handled the murder of journalist Anna Politkovskaya, 48, as a deep, personal tragedy. “I heard about this on the radio and I couldn’t not come and express my horror,” she said.

More than 100 mourners joined Ms.

Shapoval in protest in front of the Russian Embassy on October 10 to honor Ms. Politkovskaya, the crusading Russian journalist of Ukrainian descent whose murder three days earlier shocked the world.

Ms. Politkovskaya was murdered in the elevator of her own residence in central Moscow. The gunman left his gun at the murder scene – the signal that it was an assassination.

Colleagues, co-workers and even law-enforcement authorities were convinced Ms. Politkovskaya’s murder was related to journalistic works such as “Druha Chechenska” (Second Chechen War), a book that describes the horrors of the war, exposing its absurdity, brutality and inhuman cruelty.

Organized by Ukrainian journalists and the international information agency Yevropeyska Khvylya (European Wave), protesters placed flowers and lit candles at the Embassy’s tall metal fence, holding Ms. Politkovskaya’s photo and a copy of “Druha Chechenska.”

Activists from the Citizens Opposition of Ukraine unveiled a placard that read, “Putin – Murderer” and read aloud Ms. Politkovskaya’s works, including “Why I Don’t Like Putin” from her book, “Putin’s Russia,” pub-

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Iryna Cherepynska

A mourner lights a candle at a makeshift memorial for Anna Politkovskaya, a slain journalist from Russia, at the fence of the Russian Federation Embassy in Kyiv on October 10.

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## ANALYSIS

**Ukraine in search of a regional policy**

by **Vladimir Socor**  
*Eurasia Daily Monitor*

Ukraine's independence from Russia is the single largest geopolitical gain to the free world and Ukraine's neighbors, resulting from what Russian President Vladimir Putin bemoans as "the 20th century's greatest geopolitical catastrophe."

Ukraine's independence has transformed the politics of European security generally and the international politics of Europe's East directly, shielding the region from Russia and enabling most of its countries to join NATO and the European Union without fear of Russian countermeasures.

None of this implies reducing Ukraine's role to that of a mere buffer or some other function traditionally associated with the status of an object of international relations. Ukraine had variously served as buffer, outpost, imperial periphery and battlefield during its history as a territory without statehood.

Today's geopolitical processes involving Ukraine differ qualitatively from those of the past. The Ukrainian nation is now in charge of its own state, the weightiest by far in Europe's East and aspiring to close ties with the institutional West. All this entails commensurate responsibilities for Ukraine as it considers its policies in the region.

Whether in its own name or as part of groupings – and in all cases as a partner of the EU and NATO – Ukraine can significantly contribute to the resolution of conflicts and other security challenges in the region and the development of a culture of regional cooperation. Fulfillment of this potential depends in large measure on a consistent strategic vision at the top and the capacity of institutions charged

with implementation. Neither of these assets seems commensurate with Ukraine's potential, however.

• **Moldova/Transnistria:** Undoubtedly the most serious security challenge in Ukraine's neighborhood is Russia's attempt to create a Kaliningrad-type enclave in Transnistria; and, as a maximal objective, Russian dominance of all Moldova through power-sharing between Chisinau and Russian-installed authorities in Tiraspol.

The 2005 plan for political settlement in Transnistria, credited to Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko, displays serious flaws:

a) it fails to call for the withdrawal of Russian troops, ignoring their presence altogether;

b) it stipulated OSCE-supervised "democratic" elections in Transnistria and recognition of its Supreme Soviet as a democratic representative body in October 2005, despite the obvious absence of conditions for such elections there;

c) while envisaging rapid adoption of a special status for Transnistria, it says nothing about disbanding the armed forces and pervasive security services in Transnistria; and

d) it would empower Russia, Ukraine and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), "possibly assisted by" the United States and the European Union, to arbitrate disputes over interpretation and/or implementation of Moldova-Transnistria power-sharing arrangements – a system clearly weighted in Russia's favor, and in no way balanced by the doubly restrictive codicil on "possible assistance."

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**Yushchenko's Our Ukraine considers opposition option**

by **Oleg Varfolomeyev**  
*Eurasia Daily Monitor*

The Our Ukraine bloc of six right-of-center parties, which supports President Viktor Yushchenko, has withdrawn from talks on joining the government coalition with the Party of the Regions (PRU), the Socialists and the Communists.

Roman Bezsmertnyi, the formal leader of Our Ukraine (OU), announced that it would be going into the opposition and that its ministers should quit the Cabinet of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. This decision was prompted by the protracted tug-of-war over powers between Messrs. Yushchenko and Yanukovich as well as by the refusal of the would-be partners to base a grand coalition on the Universal of National Unity that was signed by the leaders of the four parties in early August at President Yushchenko's request.

Despite OU's decision to be in the opposition, the ministers representing it are reluctant to quit Mr. Yanukovich's Cabinet. This reflects both Mr. Yushchenko's indecision and the artificial character of OU, especially its core

component, the Our Ukraine People's Union (OUPU), whose members place loyalty to Mr. Yushchenko above affiliation with the party.

Talks on a grand coalition started well before August 3, when the national unity declaration was signed, and they intensified in September, when Parliament reconvened after summer vacation. Quite soon it became clear that the PRU, which dominates the government coalition that was formed in July, does not intend to drop the Communists from the alliance. OU hoped for that, as the Communists – their main ideological adversaries – had signed the August 3 declaration with reservations, indicating that most of President Yushchenko's strategic goals were unacceptable for them, such as European Union and NATO integration and making Ukrainian the only national language not only de jure, but also de facto.

Later on, the more radical elements of OU started to suspect that the PRU was using the Communists' ideological opposition to OU only as a pretext for dragging their feet over a final agreement in order to secure more concessions from Mr. Yushchenko.

Our Ukraine eventually lost patience. Mr. Bezsmertnyi stated on October 2 that the talks would be stopped if the Universal of National Unity is not used as the foundation of the would-be grand coalition. On October 3 the OUPU coun-

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**NEWSBRIEFS****No funding for Holodomor complex**

KYIV – The draft budget for 2007 does not include any funding for the memorial complex planned in honor of the millions of victims who were killed by the Soviets during the last century, reported Channel 5 TV on September 28. In addition, practically no funds are allocated to the Institute of National Memory that was created by presidential decree last year. Human rights groups, together with the Prosvita and Memorial organizations, issued an appeal (for full text, see page 9 of this issue) alerting Ukrainians to the fact that despite promises, the government is not following through on its plans. Roman Krutysyk of the Memorial organization said that the government has taken the Institute of National Memory away from the Ministry of Culture and made it subordinate to the State Archive Committee now headed by Communist Olha Ginzburg. (Channel 5 TV)

**Sheptytsky honored for rescuing Jews**

KYIV – "I bow my head before the memory of the great Ukrainian, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky," who saved Jews during World War II, said Moshe Fishbein, a Jewish translator and poet, speaking on September 27 at the international forum "Let My People Live!" dedicated to the memories of the Jews who were killed 60 years ago at Babyn Yar. In his speech at the forum, Mr. Fishbein emphasized that we are in debt not only to the victims of Nazi terror, but also to those who rescued the Jews from death, risking their own lives. "I bow my head before those righteous, those Ukrainians who, risking their own lives, rescued Jews. I bow my head before the memory of the great Ukrainian, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, who hid Jews in his house, and among them there was Rabbi David Kahane. I bow my head before the memory of Greek-Catholic nuns who hid Jewish children. I bow my head before hundreds of Ukrainian families who rescued Jewish souls," said Mr. Fishbein. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was the head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic

Church from 1901 to 1944. His cause for beatification is making progress in Rome and the case has now been referred to the Vatican's Theological Commission. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

**Ukraine to import Central Asian gas**

KYIV – Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Boiko told journalists in Kyiv on October 6 that Ukraine will not import Russian gas for domestic consumption next year, Ukrainian media reported. Mr. Boiko specified that Ukraine in 2007 will receive at least 57.5 billion cubic meters of gas from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan through the Swiss-based Russian-Ukrainian joint venture RosUkrEnerg. Two days earlier Mr. Boiko announced that Ukraine has signed contracts on buying 42 billion cubic meters of Turkmen gas, 7 billion cubic meters of Uzbek gas and 8.5 billion cubic meters of Kazakh gas in 2007. (RFE/RL Newswire)

**Top national security official appointed**

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko has appointed Vitalii Haiduk as secretary of the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC), UNIAN reported on October 10. Mr. Haiduk, 49, was vice prime minister for the fuel and energy sector in Viktor Yanukovich's Cabinet in 2002-2003. Last month President Yushchenko issued a decree on the make-up of the NSDC, which is a constitutional body for coordinating and monitoring the activities of executive bodies in the sphere of national security and defense. (RFE/RL Newswire)

**President urged to kick out Zinchenko**

KYIV – The Our Ukraine party has appealed to President Viktor Yushchenko to cancel his recent decree appointing Oleksander Zinchenko as a presidential adviser, UNIAN reported on October 10. "Oleksander Zinchenko, while holding the post of state secretary [in 2005], disseminated dirty and ungrounded allegations, including with regard to members of our party. In the final analysis, [those allegations] created an artificial crisis in Ukraine, split the Orange [Revolution]

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**Correction**

Correction from the press office of The Ukrainian Museum: The byline on the article "The Ukrainian Museum to sponsor conference on 'Ukrainian Living Heritage'" (September 17) should read Romana Labrosse.

# The political divorce of Viktor and Yulia

by Zenon Zawada  
Kyiv Press Bureau

## CONCLUSION

*The following is the second article in a two-part series examining the political relationship between Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, which came to an end one year ago.*

KYIV – The gasoline industry is where Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko earned her first big profit, and it became the source of her first public scandal with the president.

At a May 16 press conference, Ms. Tymoshenko declared war on Russian oil executives, accusing them of conspiring to create a fuel crisis by inflating gasoline prices as high as 15 percent.

“Just when the new government came to power, this monopoly, or cartel conspiracy, raised prices for oil products in Ukraine significantly higher than what was agreed to,” she said.

To deal with the situation, Ms. Tymoshenko reached agreements with three Ukrainian refineries to set prices that offered them reasonable profitability, while also stabilizing the market.

The agreements were reached without consulting the two Russian oil companies that dominate 90 percent of Ukraine’s market – LUKoil and Tyumenskaya Nyeftnaya Kompaniya (TNK).

Displeased with Ms. Tymoshenko’s interference, the companies responded by shutting down oil production in Ukraine and ceasing oil deliveries to Ukraine’s primary refinery in Kremenchuk. The blockade lasted for a full week, disrupting supplies and causing gasoline shortages and even further price hikes.

Two days following her announcement, President Viktor Yushchenko expressed his disapproval of Ms. Tymoshenko’s handling of the situation, issuing a presidential decree blaming the Cabinet of Ministers, not Russian oil entrepreneurs, for the crisis.

“In May this year, a sharp deficit in high-octane grades of gasoline arose in the domestic market of fuel products,” the order said. “This crisis arose because the Cabinet of Ministers, in its price-setting, excessively regulated the gas and fuel market.”

The decree forbade Ms. Tymoshenko from attempting to use government mechanisms, or “excessive non-market levers,” to influence or regulate prices on Ukraine’s commodity markets, particularly gasoline.

On May 19 both Mr. Yushchenko and Ms. Tymoshenko met face-to-face with the Russian oil executives to resolve the situation.

While President Yushchenko took the approach of apologizing on behalf of his Cabinet for disrupting the gasoline market, Prime Minister Tymoshenko insisted she handled the situation properly.

Her assertions caused Mr. Yushchenko to lose his patience, according to anonymous witnesses interviewed by Dzerkalo Tyzhnia, Ukraine’s weekly analytical newspaper.

Mr. Yushchenko allegedly said he regretted appointing Ms. Tymoshenko as his prime minister and suggested she resign.

“We work as a team, therefore, discussions can only take place at the discussion stage,” the president reportedly said. “After a decision has been made, there is no place for discussion. Those who don’t agree can resign.”

Ms. Tymoshenko’s fiercely independent stance during the gasoline crisis was the first of many signals perceived by Mr. Yushchenko and his entourage as Ms. Tymoshenko’s attempt to upstage him, political analysts said.

Simultaneously, another policy conflict erupted when Ms. Tymoshenko criticized First Vice Prime Minister Anatolii Kinakh for creating a list of 29 Ukrainian firms targeted for reprivatization, insisting that no such list existed nor was one approved by the government.

Instead, the government should conduct re-privatization of questionably obtained properties on the basis of legislation that would establish criteria for repossession and subsequent auction, Ms. Tymoshenko asserted.

However Oles Doniy of the Kyiv-based Center for Political Values Research said he believes Ms. Tymoshenko publicly criticized Mr. Kinakh as part of her fight to manage the new government’s re-privatization process.

“Whoever created the list controlled it,” he said. “There was a fight to create this list because whoever had the right to cross out factories from this list theoretically obtained bribes from owners.”

Once again, the lack of a common strategy resulted in



Yulia Tymoshenko and Viktor Yushchenko in Kyiv at the time of the Orange Revolution.

the Yushchenko and Tymoshenko camps angling for power and influence against each other, said Serhii Taran of the Socio-Vymir Center for Sociological and Political Research.

With the lack of an opposition political force to unite against, they found their enemy in each other, he said.

Ms. Tymoshenko’s ally Mykola Tomenko confirmed this the morning of the Cabinet’s dismissal when he announced his resignation, stating that two separate governments were competing with each other, one led by Mr. Poroshenko and the other by Ms. Tymoshenko.

Meanwhile, Mr. Yushchenko grew increasingly concerned with Ms. Tymoshenko’s growing prominence and popularity.

Ukrainians began seeing the attractive, telegenic Ms. Tymoshenko as frequently as the president, if not more so, on the evening news. A master in handling the media, she was holding press conferences sometimes on a weekly basis, without consulting the president.

Mr. Yushchenko’s triumvirate of Petro Poroshenko, Oleksander Tretiakov and Mykola Martynenko was keeping close tabs on her and frequently warning the president of her threat.

In the view of some observers, they were justified in doing so.

“For Tymoshenko, the main goal is power, power and once more, power,” said Stepan Khmara, a former ally of Ms. Tymoshenko. “Tymoshenko is not an altruist or a patriot of Ukraine. She is a political player, with a lust for power.”

## Petro versus Yulia

The rivalry between the Yushchenko and Tymoshenko camps reached the boiling point during the summer of 2005 as they battled over Ukraine’s natural gas, experts said.

Before becoming Mr. Yushchenko’s close confidante, Mr. Poroshenko enjoyed close ties with Mr. Kuchma and Kyiv clan boss Viktor Medvedchuk.

Already a millionaire, he joined Mr. Yushchenko’s opposition at the end of 2001, serving as campaign manager for Our Ukraine during the 2002 parliamentary elections.

Though they are close, Mr. Yushchenko isn’t all that dependent on Mr. Poroshenko the way Mr. Yanukovich is dependent on Rynat Akhmetov, who is the prime source of financing behind the Party of the Regions, political experts said.

When becoming president, Mr. Yushchenko appointed Mr. Poroshenko secretary of the National Defense and Security Council.

Though Mr. Poroshenko was not a Cabinet Minister, the president gave him a free pass to maneuver throughout government and even represent Ukrainian interests abroad. In turn, Mr. Poroshenko took advantage of opportunities to challenge Ms. Tymoshenko’s authority and staged numerous attempts to overshadow her.

“Before she visited Georgia, he arrived there first,” Kyiv political insider Ivan Lozowy said. “She planned a trip to France, and he goes there first. He was the proximate and long-term cause for her removal.”

Mr. Poroshenko spent the summer months defending the president and Mr. Tretiakov against allegations

lobbed by Ms. Tymoshenko that Ukraine’s natural gas industry was mired in corruption.

On August 12, 2005, Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) chief Oleksander Turchynov ordered a search of Naftohaz headquarters to investigate the corruption.

Our Ukraine leaders perceived the move as a direct provocation against them, particularly because many of them are heavily involved in the natural gas industry, including Mr. Tretiakov and Oleksii Ivchenko.

Earlier on July 6 Mr. Yushchenko had sent a letter directly to Ms. Tymoshenko, asking her to leave Naftohaz alone and not draw it into political intrigues.

In response to Mr. Turchynov’s investigation, Mr. Poroshenko called the SBU “a danger to the security of the state,” insisting on a revamping of Ukraine’s top investigative agency.

This was Mr. Poroshenko’s declaration of war against Mr. Turchynov, who had long been Ms. Tymoshenko’s closest confidante, in the words of Radio Liberty journalist Roman Kupchinsky.

Revealing his support for Mr. Poroshenko’s actions, Mr. Yushchenko personally told Mr. Turchynov in mid-August to stop “persecuting my men” and cease corruption investigations, the former SBU chair later revealed.

In yet another attempt to supplant Ms. Tymoshenko’s authority, Mr. Poroshenko traveled to Moscow in late August to personally negotiate with Gazprom on natural gas prices and arrange a long-term supply agreement.

Though not dependent on Mr. Poroshenko, President Yushchenko remained fiercely loyal to him throughout the conflict.

“For everyone who shows him this love, Yushchenko’s immediately ready to embrace them and he’s ready to cooperate with them,” Mr. Doniy said. “He loves to bathe in the rays of glory, the people’s love for him, the love of his close people, his entourage, his allies.”

## The last straw

The Yushchenko-Tymoshenko government came crashing down September 5, 2005, when Presidential Secretariat Chair Oleksandr Zinchenko called a press conference to resign and expose the government’s corruption and infighting. He laid full blame on the Poroshenko-Martynenko-Tretiakov triumvirate that was abusing its newly acquired power for its personal gain and enrichment.

“Poroshenko, Tretiakov and company appoint their own people everywhere possible, intentionally put pressure on the independent law-enforcement system and reign freely in privatization processes,” Mr. Zinchenko said. “They think that if the government is ours, then it should work for us.”

Mr. Zinchenko painted an image in which this triumvirate monopolized their influence on Mr. Yushchenko by isolating and denying him contact with even his key advisors, keeping the detached president in an informational vacuum.

Even Minister of Foreign Affairs Borys Tarasyuk had complained that he couldn’t speak with the president for three months because of Mr. Tretiakov’s interference.

It was in this vacuum that political experts believe the triumvirate built up Mr. Yushchenko’s concern and fears over Ms. Tymoshenko’s rising influence and popularity in government.

“Using their closeness to the president, this circle tried to create an alternative to Tymoshenko to make it impossible for her to strengthen her position,” Mr. Doniy said. “Poroshenko played a key role in the process of Yushchenko’s worsening attitude toward Tymoshenko.”

Reserving the most criticism for Mr. Poroshenko, Mr. Zinchenko accused him of trying to use the National Security and Defense Council as his own personal law enforcement agency.

In a scene out of a Mexican soap opera, Mr. Poroshenko showed up unannounced, storming into the room packed with journalists with a furious, bullish glare aimed at the whistleblower.

After Mr. Zinchenko concluded his revelations, Mr. Poroshenko barreled towards the podium and denied any corruption in the Yushchenko government, noting that Mr. Zinchenko had no documentary evidence. He surmised that perhaps Mr. Zinchenko saw little chance for political advancement in the Yushchenko government, and was looking to use a scandal to launch his own political career.

“I think sociological data revealed his level of popularity and that it’s high time he took to Pora’s leadership,” Mr. Poroshenko said. “Today, we are witnessing the beginning of his campaign.”

As it turned out, Mr. Zinchenko never became a Pora

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## THE LAST INTERVIEW: Anna Politkovskaya speaks with RFE/RL

RFE/RL Russian Service

Anna Politkovskaya's last interview was with RFE/RL's Russian Service, just two days before she was gunned down in Moscow. The date of the interview, October 5, was also the birthday of Ramzan Kadyrov, Chechnya's prime minister, and it was a particularly significant birthday: now 30 years old, he is now legally eligible to be president.

Ms. Kadyrov was the target of much of Ms. Politkovskaya's most critical reporting, and in this interview Ms. Politkovskaya expresses her forthright view of a man she calls "a Stalin of our times," dreams of a day when Mr. Kadyrov will stand trial and talks about the subjects of much of her work – the victims of torture and abduction in Chechnya.

**A Moscow journalist recently wrote that Ramzan Kadyrov has switched from the role of "destroyer" to the role of "creator," and that, as far as human rights are concerned, "all that remains for us is to cry about them." What's your reaction to this statement?**

I am even not going to comment on this, because it's total nonsense. I think that the new Kadyrov is the one who gives a ride in his car to Moscow ladies

who long for more brutality. That is the only difference.

What does that mean, to "cry about human rights?" There is no need to sit and cry about human rights. One simply needs to meet not only with Kadyrov, but also with those people who have suffered as a result of Kadyrov's actions, and not just in a hypothetical way but directly – people whose relatives died, who were tortured and who were forced to flee. The majority of these people are truly admirable; I know many of them personally.

Right now I have two photographs on my desk. I am conducting an investigation about torture today in Kadyrov's prisons, today and yesterday. These are people who were abducted by the Kadyrovtsi [members of Kadyrov's personal militia] for completely inexplicable reasons and who died. They died as part of a PR campaign.

I plan to say that these people who were abducted, whose photographs are on my desk, these people – one of them is Russian, the other is Chechen – were made to look as though they were fighters who battled against the Kadyrovtsi in the village of Aleroi. It's a well-known story, one that was all over our television screens, on the radio, in the newspapers, when Kadyrov gave an

interview before television cameras from state and other channels with bodies in the background. But in fact these were people whom they had seized, had "disappeared" for some time, and were then killed.

**Some say such incidents are just a small percentage, that these are individual cases that are the price paid for improvements in the region. What is your view?**

I want to say here that there were more abductions in the first half of this year than in the first half of last year. ... And those are figures just of those people whose relatives reported abductions and whose bodies were never found. I'd like to call attention to the fact that we talk about "individual cases" only because these people aren't our loved ones – it's not my son, my brother, my husband. The photographs that I'm telling you about, these were bodies that had been horribly tortured. You can't reduce this to a small percentage – it's an enormous percentage.

Kadyrov is a Stalin of our times. This is true for the Chechen people. Many of our colleagues have gone out of their way to make us believe that this is a small percentage, that absolute evil can triumph today so that in some hypothetical future this evil can become good. This is absolutely not true.

As for the admiration felt for Kadyrov, you know, the situation is as it was under Stalin. If you [hear someone] speaking officially, publicly, openly, there is admiration. As soon as you [hear someone] speak secretly, softly, confidentially, you're told, "We hate him intensely." This split is absolute in people's souls. This is a very dangerous thing.

**Do you agree with journalists who say that the presidency of Ramzan Kadyrov is linked to the presidency of Vladimir Putin?**

I link Kadyrov's fate to the number of [people who want to take revenge on him], that's all. Of course, I don't wish death on anyone, but as far as this particular person is concerned, I think he should take serious care of his security.

Journalists who don't know this region say that he is reviving Chechen traditions. That is complete nonsense. He's destroying them. You know, I'm no supporter of the custom of the vendetta, but it did ensure some kind of stability in this region for many years. He has destroyed that too.

**Assuming Kadyrov is not killed, do you think he is likely to bring about early elections?**

He is a puppet, nothing depends on him now. I don't think he's more powerful than anyone else. He's a coward armed to the teeth and surrounded by security guards. I don't think he will become president [of Chechnya's pro-Moscow administration]. That is my strong inner belief, perhaps an intuition. It's not something rational, and nor has it been confirmed by [current President] Alu Alkhanov. ... Alu Alkhanov himself is a very weak person. That is his particular problem and the main reason for Kadyrov's increasingly draconian methods.

Personally I only have one dream for Kadyrov's birthday: I dream of him someday sitting in the dock, in a trial that meets the strictest legal standards, with all of his crimes listed and investigated.

By the way, no other newspaper writes anything about this, but criminal cases have been launched against the Kadyrovtsi and Kadyrov personally on the basis of three articles published by our newspaper. I myself am a witness in one of these cases. These cases are about abductions, including one criminal case about the abduction of two people carried out with the participation of Ramzan Akhmedovich Kadyrov.

## OSCE Parliamentary Assembly president condemns investigative journalist's murder

COPENHAGEN – The Secretary General of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Spencer Oliver, attended the funeral of slain Russian journalist Anna Politkovskaya on October 10 while the Assembly's president, Goran Lennmarker condemned her murder as a "tragedy that silenced bravery and strength."

"I utterly condemn this brutal murder. As one of Russia's most distinguished investigative journalists, she was a strong force for democracy. Her loss is felt deeply by the Parliamentary Assembly," Mr. Lennmarker said.

Mr. Oliver described today's ceremony as a "moving testimony to her courageous life."

The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly awarded Ms. Politkovskaya, an investigative journalist with the independent newspaper Novaya Gazeta, the OSCE

Prize for Journalism and Democracy in February 2003.

As Freimut Duve, then OSCE representative on freedom of the media, presented the prize in 2003, he noted that the award was started "not only as a symbol, but as an alarm clock for freedom of the media, which is one of the fundamental principles of a democracy."

Ms. Politkovskaya was the eighth recipient of the OSCE Prize for Journalism and Democracy, first awarded in 1996. In her acceptance speech, she spoke about her personal experiences as a reporter in Chechnya, and drew attention to human rights abuses in the region.

"I'm a journalist," she said. "I'm neither a politician nor a diplomat. And so I'm not polite – I say what I think. And what I think about is what I see with my own eyes. My job is simple: to look around and to write what I see."

## The 73rd remembrance of Ukraine's genocide

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

NEW YORK – On Saturday, November 18, the annual solemn commemoration of Ukraine's Famine-Genocide will take place at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City. Sponsored by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), the now traditional observance, which begins at 2 p.m. will include an ecumenical memorial service (panakhyda) concelebrated by the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, with the participation of The Dumka Choir of New York City.

Following the religious portion of the commemoration, government officials will be afforded an opportunity to offer their remarks. Invited guest speakers include the Kofi Annan, Secretary-

General of the United Nations; U.S. Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.); New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg; and, Ukraine's Ambassador to the United States Oleh Shamshur. U.S. Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) has confirmed his participation.

The UCCA has also appealed to President George W. Bush to offer a statement to mark the 73rd anniversary of Ukraine's Genocide that will be read at the commemoration.

The UCCA urges the Ukrainian American community of the greater New York metropolitan area to participate in this solemn ecumenical observance of the 73rd anniversary of the Famine-Genocide that resulted in the deaths of 7 million in Ukraine.

## Helsinki Commission reacts to Politkovskaya's murder

WASHINGTON – Helsinki Commission Chairman Sen. Sam Brownback and Co-Chairman Christopher H. Smith expressed sorrow and outrage after learning of the killing of investigative journalist Anna Politkovskaya. Ms. Politkovskaya was found dead after being shot outside of her apartment on October 7.

"The murder of Ms. Politkovskaya, clearly a contract killing, is a devastating blow to journalism and civil society in Russia – an incalculable loss," said Sen. Brownback (R-Kansas).

"This murder of one of the most prominent journalists in Russia is a chilling reminder of the fragile façade of political and social stability in Russia. I call on the Russian authorities to conduct an immediate, thorough and transparent investigation of this murder that will find not only those who carried out the attack, but also those who ordered it," added Sen. Brownback.

"Ms. Politkovskaya faced death threats in the past yet she bravely continued her calling," said Rep. Smith (R-N.J.). "Her testimony on Chechnya at a 2003 Helsinki Commission hearing reflected both her professional excellence and her deep commitment to humanitarian values. Her outstanding contribution to journalism and the cause of human rights will be deeply missed."

"Truth in journalism is a commodity with an immense price tag in today's Russia," said Commission Ranking Member Rep. Benjamin Cardin (D-Md.). "The assassination of Anna Politkovskaya places in jeopardy the life of every journalist in Russia who attempts to tell the truth about events in that country."

In 2003, Ms. Politkovskaya was awarded the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Parliamentary Assembly Prize for Journalism and Democracy for her reporting from Chechnya, where she exposed the brutal methods used by some elements of the Russian military forces against Chechen civilians.

Ms. Politkovskaya's Helsinki Commission testimony can be read at [www.osce.org](http://www.osce.org) under the "Chechnya: Current Situation and Prospects for the Future" hearing on September 16, 2003.

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The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the U.S. Helsinki Commission, is an independent agency of the U.S. government charged with monitoring compliance with the Helsinki Final Act and other commitments of the 56 participating states in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

## Crusading journalist...

(Continued from page 1)

lished in January 2004.

No Russian diplomats addressed the protest. Similar events were also held at the Russian Consulates in Lviv and Symferopol.

During Vladimir Putin's six years as Russian Federation president, 12 journalists have been murdered – the last high-profile case being that of Forbes Magazine's Moscow editor Paul Klebnikov.

Russia ranks third globally in the number of murdered journalists, behind Iraq and Algeria, according to the International Committee to Defend Journalists.

"The words 'Russia' and 'freedom of speech' are incompatible," said Kateryna Borysenko, 29, a literary critic.

Ms. Shapoval said similar murders could still take place in Ukraine, and the new government isn't much better than the one under Leonid Kuchma, Ukraine's former president who is widely suspected of playing a role in the murder of journalist Heorhii Gongadze.

But not everyone agreed.

"At least Ukraine has freedom of speech, and this protest is proof of that," said Natalya Makedon, 66, a professional yachtswoman. "We are here to show our government and the Russian government that they need to learn lessons from Gongadze's murder. This is continuing because his murder has gone unpunished."

Russian officials waited three days before making an official statement on Ms. Politkovskaya's murder.

Neither the Russian nor Chechen governments played any role in the murder, said President Putin during an October 10 press conference in Dresden, the German city where he once worked as a KGB agent.

"Yes, truly, this journalist was a sharp critic of the current government in Russia, but the level of influence she had on the nation's political life was very insignificant," Mr. Putin said.

"The murder of such a person, the horrible murder of a woman, a mother, in itself is directed against our country, against Russia and does the current government significantly more harm than her publications," he added.

Mr. Putin also assured U.S. President George W. Bush that the Russian prosecutor general would conduct an official, objective investigation.

The publishers of Novaya Gazeta, the newspaper Ms. Politkovskaya wrote for, have promised a reward of about \$1 million for information leading to an arrest.

Among its owners are former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Some of the Kyiv protesters said President Putin's Russia resembles a fascist government.

Yegor Sobolyev, a prominent Ukrainian journalist, said the murder demonstrates just how far Ukraine has progressed ahead of Russia since the Orange Revolution. Russia's democratization "can't be evolutionary," he said. "It will always be revolutionary. And revolutions in Russia have unpredictable results."

The Ukrainian government also was slow in commenting on the murder.

Not until October 11 did the Presidential Secretariat issue a statement. However, it was not directly from President Viktor Yushchenko.

"With deep sorrow, the president of Ukraine learned of this murder," said Oleksander Chalyi, a Presidential Secretariat assistant chair. "He expresses sincere condolences to the victim's family and friends, and believes that this attack upon freedom of speech should be diligently investigated and the guilty brought to justice."

Ms. Politkovskaya will always be remembered in Ukraine as an honest and brave journalist devoted to high ideals of justice, Mr. Chalyi said.

She will also be remembered for her Ukrainian roots: her father was from a village in the Chernihiv Oblast, and her maiden name was Mazepa.

She was born in New York, however, to parents who were Soviet diplomats to the United Nations.

The last time Ms. Politkovskaya had visited Ukraine was exactly two years prior to her murder. She visited Kyiv for a presentation of the Ukrainian version of "Druha Chechenska," published by Kyiv-based Diokor in 2004.

Among those attending the Kyiv protest were Ivan Andrusiak, who translated "Druha Chechenska" into Ukrainian.

He remembered Ms. Politkovskaya as a gentle, fragile woman, who was simultaneously fearless.

"She absolutely didn't fear anything, although she understood well that she could be killed at any moment," he said. "There is no journalist of such caliber in today's Ukraine."

## Clashes feared in Kyiv on UPA anniversary date

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Violence may once again mar the annual St. Mary the Protectress commemoration in Kyiv on October 14, as, once again, the Kyiv city government is doing little to prevent it.

Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) veterans regard the feast day of St. Mary the Protectress as their army's founding date in 1942 and have marched along the Khreschatyk in Kyiv for many years in commemoration of their anniversary – until the Orange Revolution that is.

Last year, thousands of pro-Russian and protesters confronted the veterans and clashed violently with their supporters.

Leaders of these groups, which include the Communist Party and the Party of Putin's Politics, returned to the Kyiv City Administration on October 11 to indicate they intend to do the same this year with their own event.

Though UPA veterans and their supporters told officials they are willing to hold their event at a different location and time, the pro-Russian forces refused to move their own event, said Ihor Mazur-Topolia, a leader in the Ukrainian National Assembly-Ukrainian Self-Defense (UNA-UNSO).

This reveals their intent on disrupting, the St. Mary the Protectress Day ceremonies, which include political speeches and a religious service celebrated by Ukrainian Orthodox priests.

"The lack of punishment for last year's criminal acts has led to this year's recruitment of soldiers by Kremlin hires with the goal of officially creating terror in Kyiv, and not even covertly," according to a statement sent by patriotic organizations to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Security Service of Ukraine and the State Committee on Nationality and Migration Issues.

"Disregarding the fact that the leaders of this mob publicly flaunt their readiness to spill blood, law enforcement organs haven't reacted to these facts in the least," said the statement released by the Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union, UNA-UNSO, OUN-UPA Soldiers Brotherhood, Youth Nationalist Congress and the National Alliance (a youth organization).

The pro-Russian forces are calling their event the 60th anniversary of the Nuremberg Trials, which prosecuted Nazi leaders.

Although the Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union submitted its request on September 13 to hold an event on behalf of the UPA veterans, the Communist Party didn't do so until October 6, just one week before the planned simultaneous event.

When asked by The Weekly why Kyiv was allowing a potential conflict to unfold, the director of the Kyiv Administration of Social-Political Issues, Valentyna Korovina, said the city government can't deny the request of organizations to hold public events, so long as they don't violate the Constitution of Ukraine.

A final attempt at compromise will be made, she said, requesting the UPA veterans and supporters to hold their event at St. Sophia Square, while the pro-Russian forces go to the Arch of Friendship Between Nations.

However, both sides are unlikely at this point to accept such a compromise and both plan to be on Independence Square as they have already announced to the public.

Last year, more than 3,000 pro-Russian protesters outnumbered the patriots and nationalists by three to one. At Independence Square, police cordoned off pro-Russian protesters on its east side, and patriotic forces to the west.

At least 3,000 UPA supporters are expected this year, arriving from other oblasts and cities, throughout the country organizers said.

To subscribe: Send \$55 (\$45 if you are a member of the UNA) to The Ukrainian Weekly, Subscription Department, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054

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<i>Sincere thanks to all contributors to The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund.</i>				
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## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### More on our partnership

Two weeks ago our editorial was devoted to the 73rd anniversary of The Ukrainian Weekly – 73 years of service to our Ukrainian community, a community we've grown up with and changed with. Our editorial of October 1 focused on our newspaper's beginnings and its *raison d'être*, and concluded that through the years The Weekly always was a partner to our community.

This week we'd like to expand on the idea behind that partnership.

The Ukrainian Weekly can best be viewed as a network that connects our community members far and wide, that lets readers in, say, North Carolina, know what their fellow Ukrainians are up to in Michigan and vice versa. We pride ourselves on our relationship with our readers and our role as an intermediary in uniting disparate and distant elements of our community, from Newark, N.J., to Quebec City. We characterize our newspaper's functioning as a partnership with our community.

Why a partnership? Because for decades this paper has worked with our community activists by providing a forum for their ideas and opinions, serving as a venue where various concerns and causes could be addressed, and galvanizing community action on issues of the day. The Weekly has been a crusader working alongside our community organizations to promote such grand projects as Ukrainian studies chairs at Harvard University, the Shevchenko monument in Washington, redress for the World War I internment of Ukrainian Canadians, a U.S. government commission on the Ukrainian Famine and international recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide. The Weekly has been our community's voice in Washington and beyond since our newspaper is read by members of Congress and other leading decision-makers, analysts and scholars.

To be sure, there are other Ukrainian community newspapers that serve our hromada. However, many of them serve a specific geographic area (newspapers in Philadelphia and Chicago come to mind). Yes, it's nice that Ukrainians in a particular city can read about their neighbors and issues close to home. But isn't it nicer to share that information with Ukrainians in other parts of North America?

And, sure, there is a lot of information available on the World Wide Web. But, you'd be hard-pressed to find online in one place everything that you find in an issue of The Ukrainian Weekly – from news of our community here in the United States to information about prominent Ukrainians in all walks of life, from analyses of current issues and commentaries to reports from Ukraine presented for our North American readers by a Ukrainian American correspondent who understands our community's needs and writes specifically for them.

The Ukrainian Weekly, at age 73, strives to continue being a good partner to all its readers and our community at large. In order to continue in that role, however, The Weekly also needs the support of its partners – after all, a partnership is based on the cooperation of both sides – in the form of subscriptions. Thus, we are announcing an anniversary subscription drive and asking our loyal subscribers, and readers who are not subscribers, to pitch in.

#### OUR SPECIAL OFFER

In hopes of extending our partnership to new readers, we are offering a special limited-time offer on new subscriptions – or gift subscriptions for new subscribers that can be purchased by current subscribers. (Why not consider a neighbor, a colleague or a family member?) To celebrate this newspaper's 73rd anniversary, for \$73 you can now purchase two subscriptions to The Ukrainian Weekly.

That's a cost of \$36.50 per year – a substantial savings over the regular annual cost of \$45 for members of the Ukrainian National Association and an even greater savings for non-members who pay \$55 per year for The Weekly.

You can take advantage of this special offer only by phoning our Subscription Department at 973-292-9800, ext. 3042. (If a representative of our administration is not immediately available to answer your call, please don't hesitate to leave a message. We will call you back.)

Won't you act to expand the scope of our partnership?

Please hurry, our special offer expires on November 15, 2006.

Oct.  
23  
1971

### Turning the pages back...

It was 35 years ago this week, on October 14 through the 17, 1971, that then-Archbishop Mstyslav, as reported by The Weekly, was unanimously elected metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. at its seventh

Synod held in Philadelphia. Archbishop Mstyslav had been acting metropolitan of the Church since the death of Metropolitan John Theodorovich on May 3. Nineteen years later, in 1990, Metropolitan Mstyslav was named Patriarch Mstyslav I, the first patriarch of Kyiv and all Rus'-Ukraine of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The 1971 Synod also elevated Bishop Mark to the rank of archbishop and named him vicar of the metropolitan, moving him from Washington to New York. Additionally, the Rev. Theodore Buggan, a third-generation Ukrainian American, was elected bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.

As part of the Synod, a set of resolutions called for a hierarchical unity of all Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in the free world and the convocation of a joint Synod of Bishops. It was agreed by a resolution to convene a Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of North and South America and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe and Australia.

Greetings were sent to the Synod by Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I of the Orthodox Church and by President Richard M. Nixon.

Source: "Archbishop Mstyslav is Named Metropolitan of Orthodox Church; Seventh Synod of the Church Convenes in Philadelphia," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 23, 1971.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### A response to Kuzio's blog

Dear Editor:

Taras Kuzio has a reputation of writing widely and frequently about events in and around Ukraine. But on the evidence of his comments about me ("Are Ukrainian politics to be taken that seriously?" October 1), his output comes at the expense of accuracy. Simply put, Mr. Kuzio gets almost all of his facts wrong in the course of a brief paragraph about me.

First, I was not on my way to Poland to an energy conference financed by Rynat Akhmetov. A search of the Internet will show there was no such conference in Poland at that time. I was on my way to meet the Speaker of the Polish Senate, the minister of defense and the secretary of state of the economy, to discuss a prospective energy diversification conference under the patronage of Presidents Viktor Yushchenko and Lech Kaczynski.

Second, I was not defending anyone before a Western journalist known for his professional reporting. I was discussing political events in Ukraine. My basic point was that President Yushchenko had steered the country toward economic growth, vigorous free media, a dynamic private sector and open political competition. I also said Mr. Akhmetov has an interest in integration into the West, as attested by his investment patterns and interest in launching an IPO of shares in his companies.

Third, Mr. Akhmetov is not financing our conference. The Warsaw energy conference will be funded by an array of corporations, including major investment banks, law firms and energy companies from Europe, Great Britain, Poland, the U.S. and Ukraine. We plan to invite Mr. Akhmetov's DTEK to be one among many corporate sponsors. Mr. Kuzio's insinuations on his website that The Orange Circle is funded by Mr. Akhmetov are equally unsubstantiated. Mr. Akhmetov's DTEK was one of a dozen corporate sponsors of an energy conference we co-organized in Houston in May. After the costs of the conference, including travel, meals, interpreters and the like, The Orange Circle received approximately \$3,000 from DTEK, an amount that pales when compared to hundreds of thousands of dollars in donations from corporate donors and from generous members of the Ukrainian diaspora.

Given all the facts Dr. Kuzio has gotten wrong, I suspect he may have overheard bits of conversation, or badly misinterpreted what was said at Baraban, a beer hall with a notoriously high decibel level.

But there's a more important point than accuracy. My conversation with Dr. Kuzio and the Western journalist was private. I am not sure Dr. Kuzio would want me to reveal any of the confidences he has uttered to me about politics and life over the course of many years of what I thought was friendship. He shouldn't worry. I respect his privacy. But he should learn to respect the private conversations of others.

Regrettably, Dr. Kuzio's recent blogging is neither news nor analysis, which happily remains the fare of the normally excellent *The Ukrainian Weekly*.

Given Dr. Kuzio's recent performances, I urge everyone to be wary of what they say to him at parties, family occasions or over a late-night Chernihivske in a Kyiv bar.

Adrian Karatnycky  
New York

The letter-writer is founder and president of *The Orange Circle Inc.*

### About supporting our own causes

Dear Editor:

I read with interest, and some consternation, Yaro Bihun's debut column "Where were you when ...?" (September 17).

It's hard to find fault with the idea of Ukrainian Americans or Canadians supporting other people's causes – and I daresay that over the years many have, if quietly and without fanfare.

However, neither can I find fault with those diligent and dedicated Ukrainian activists who, rather than marching in Selma, helping blacks register to vote or protesting the internment of Japanese Americans, chose to focus on "other" (i.e., Ukrainian) priorities.

Furthermore, I consider it utterly preposterous to suggest that the Ukrainian community "didn't seem to mind" Nelson Mandela's imprisonment or genocide in Darfur. So Ukrainian American protests at the Shevchenko monument don't end at the South African or Sudanese embassies. That's hardly an indication that the Ukrainian community approves of racism and genocide! (By the same token, South African and Sudanese protests rarely end at the Shevchenko monument.) If our community doesn't focus on Ukrainian causes, who will? And, are ours less worthy?

Nor do I agree that, just because Ukrainians were interned in Canada during World War I, Ukrainian Americans had a moral responsibility to "protest" the World War II internment of Japanese Americans. Such public "protesting" wasn't exactly commonplace before the 1960s. Besides, Canadian internment victims were too ashamed and intimidated to broadcast their experience, so it's unlikely many Ukrainian Americans knew of it. (It's only in recent decades that it's become widely known in Canada.) Even if American Ukrainians in the 1940s did know of it, between it and the devastation in Soviet Ukraine, they would hardly have been inclined to make a public spectacle of themselves, much less believe that doing so would "make a difference."

Instead, our community activists made a difference by quietly slogging away on Ukrainian priorities, refusing to squander our meager financial and precious human resources on the latest cause célèbre.

So here's a different message for them: Thank you!

Thank you for your vision, your conviction and your steadfastness. You have kept alive the memory of millions of Ukrainians whose genocide the world chose (and still prefers) to forget, so that humanity may, perhaps, one day learn from the past. During the 1960s and '70s, you were struggling to raise awareness of Soviet oppression with courage and perseverance, while the rest of the free world was "raising its consciousness" with flower power, drugs and rock 'n' roll. You have preserved our heritage and our history as a legacy for the 21st century sons and daughters of Ukraine.

I have no argument with individuals trying to be cosmopolitan and worldly, and helping other worthy causes. But I believe that if Ukrainian American and Canadian communities are to be of any practical use to other oppressed peoples, we need to offer more than bodies at rallies, sophisticated rhetoric and self-recriminations.

I can't help but wonder whether our community would have more to offer other causes if, rather than denigrating those who have dedicated themselves to building and strengthening our community's resources, more individuals rolled up their sleeves and gave them a hand.

Paulette MacQuarrie  
Coquitlam, British Columbia

## Why not? Let's talk

BY YARO BIHUN

### "Testing, testing, one, two, three ..."

At times I muse that somewhere in some dusty corner of an old KGB archive there is a recording of this standard microphone level test, in English and repeated in Ukrainian. It would be a recording of me as I entered my room in the Hotel Lybid in Kyiv in October 1989. It was my tongue-in-cheek way of acknowledging Soviet reality in the electronic presence of whoever was listening and recording me somewhere down the hall or in the building's basement.

Or maybe I was a few years late. This was the "new" Soviet Union, with Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika in full bloom. Still, much of the "old" USSR, I suspect, had not yet made it to the dustbin of history, such as the recording of hotel-room and telephone conversations, checking for forbidden literature at the Moscow international airport (where they held "for further evaluation" many Western-published Ukrainian books and periodicals from the crateful I tried to bring in), the casually dressed young men mingling around the Hotel Lybid parking lot who would break off and follow us as we went about the city, and many other measures the "security organs" felt were necessary to safeguard the Soviet way of life from foreign – and domestic – enemies, including "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" like us.

Those Kyiv episodes came to mind again when we learned from leaked classified information that the U.S. president secretly authorized the National Security Agency to monitor our phone calls and electronic mail without any court warrants. I had presumed that our government intensified foreign and domestic surveillance as part of its expanded countermeasures to what it calls the "asymmetrical" threat to our security from terrorism following the 9/11 attacks on New York and Washington. I never expected, however, that it would be based solely on a decision of the executive branch without any judicial branch involvement.

I understood the necessity of waging war against al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan and the tightening of security at our airports and other entry points, as well as intensifying our vigilance domestically against those who were planning to do our country and its people harm. Early on, however, things were said and done that made me uneasy.

On the day following the September 11, 2001, attack, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld held a short press briefing, the main thrust of which – quite out of the blue – was to caution U.S. government employees against revealing classified information and to be on the lookout for those who would and thus "frustrate our efforts to track down and deal with terrorists." If, as he admitted in response to a reporter's question, no release of classified information played a role in the 9/11 attack, why was he underscoring this point?

A possible answer came a year later when it became known that the Defense Department initiated the Total Information Awareness System for collecting, processing and sharing vast quantities of data, including personal information about U.S. citizens. Following that, I would tell my computer-savvy friends – in jest, of course – that the best way to back up their important computer files was to attach them to e-mails that included a few key words the TIA System may be focusing on; the files might be difficult to retrieve later, but they certainly would be secure. The secret NSA

program disclosures followed later.

Two months after the attack, the president issued an order that foreigners accused of terrorism would be tried by special military tribunals and that he would be the official determining who was to be considered an accused terrorist. Since then, we have had Guantanamo, indefinite detentions without what a normal American would consider due process, secret arrests, secret prisons for "high-value" terrorist suspects, "renditions," a "program" of "alternative" interrogation techniques by CIA "professionals" who are being forgiven any past transgressions of U.S. and international laws against torture.

During the recent debate in Congress and in the press over the administration's request that it legitimize the use of "alternative" interrogation techniques among other things, Tom Malinowski of Human Rights Watch suggested in the Washington Post that the president should familiarize himself with two authoritative books that describe their use in the past: Robert Conquest's "The Great Terror" and Aleksander Solzhenitsyn's "The Gulag Archipelago."

Are there other things our country is doing secretly that we, our Congress and our courts may not know about? I don't know. What's worse, I'm not sure anymore.

Hearing official statements, watching the debates in Congress and observing public reaction to much of what I see and hear suggests that our old vision of what this country stands for and its values are changing, or, more accurately, are being changed by those who, despite the flag pins in their lapels, fail to appreciate what is being lost in their preoccupation with security.

Maybe Presidential Press Secretary Ari Fleischer simply misspoke when he cautioned Americans to be careful about what they do and say in these times, when he asked about a TV comedian's questioning President George W. Bush's characterization of the terrorists who flew the planes into the buildings as "cowards," suggesting, instead, that his description would better fit those who launched cruise missiles from 2,000 miles away.

Maybe the senator from Texas, John Cornyn, also simply misspoke when he stressed during a recent debate on legislation dealing with the treatment of suspected terrorists that they should not be afforded habeas corpus and other "privileges" reserved for U.S. citizens.

And, again, maybe the president's current press secretary, Tony Snow, made a poor choice of words when he suggested that, come Election Day in November, the American people will cast their ballots not on the basis of the latest scandal in Congress but on something that's more important: "safety, security and prosperity."

Personally, I prefer political discourse without warnings about being careful about what we say, even if irreverent; I also find it "self-evident" that habeas corpus, and similar constitutional safeguards, are rights and not privileges of U.S. citizenship; and that all men, regardless of citizenship, "are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Given the choice, I hope to continue casting my ballot for "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" rather than for "safety, security and prosperity."

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## Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



### Does Ukraine need more Russian speakers?

In his Washington Post commentary of October 5, Ukraine's Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich affirmed Ukraine's commitment to Europe. Well duh!

Ukraine is in Europe, Mr. Prime Minister, and needs no affirmation from the leader of the Party of the Regions, especially one who, despite past actions, wants us to believe that supporting Russian as Ukraine's second language doesn't mean that his party is pro-Russian. Really? You could have fooled me!

Mr. Yanukovich's analogy of Spanish-speaking individuals in America's two political parties not being pro-Spanish prompted a response from University of Toronto Research Fellow Stephen Velychenko, who wrote that "his (Yanukovich's) analogy between Spanish-speaking Americans and Russian-speaking Ukrainians is ... superficial and far-fetched. The United States was never ruled by Spain or Mexico for 200 years, and there never have been nor could there have been, among Spanish speakers, a minority advocating restoration of the U.S. to the Spanish Empire."

"The problem of restoration," continued Dr. Velychenko, "is a problem today for Ukraine, which was part of the Russian Empire for 200 years. The point is that a vociferous Russian-speaking minority advocating renewed Russian rule over Ukraine compromises and discredits the majority of Ukraine's Russian-speakers who support their country's newly won independence."

Dr. Velychenko is absolutely right when it comes to Russian dominance of Ukraine. He is partially right when it comes to the U.S. Although the entire U.S. was never part of the Spanish Empire, certain territories – now Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California – were ruled by Spain, later, Mexico. And there is today a vociferous Spanish-speaking minority in America (La Raza comes to mind) that wants to return these sections to their "rightful owner," namely Mexico.

It all began with the hijacking of multiculturalism by America's radical Left during the late 1980s. The idea that we're all "Americans first" was replaced with the concept that Western Civilization (as exemplified by America) was imperialist, tyrannical and the source of the world's ills.

In his 2004 book "Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity," Samuel P. Huntington described the "new multiculturalism" as "basically an anti-Western ideology" that advances "several propositions":

"First, America is composed of many different ethnic and racial groups. Second, each of these groups has its own distinctive culture. Third, the white Anglo elite dominant in American society has suppressed these cultures and compelled or induced those belonging to other ethnic or racial groups to accept the elite's Anglo-Protestant culture. Fourth, justice, equality and the rights of minorities demand that these suppressed cultures be liberated and that governments and private institutions encourage and support their revitalization."

I enthusiastically endorse the first two propositions. I vehemently oppose the last two propositions which, in my opinion, are based on a divisive, Marxist-Leninist approach that divides the world into oppressors and the oppressed. Multiculturalism today is all about the "oppressed," i.e., blacks, Hispanics, women and whoever else our academic elite elect.

As I wrote in my 1991 book, "The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations," as well as in my 2006 book, "The Ukrainians of Chicagoland," our early immigrants arrived in the United States believing they were Rusyns, Russians, Poles, Austrians – everything but Ukrainians. Thanks to the work of early Ukrainian religious and fraternal leaders, it was here that some 40 percent of them discovered (or reconstructed) their national identity and became "Ukrainians." There was little U.S. pressure toward structural Anglo-conformity. Most European-born Ukrainians remained Ukrainian. Their children either assimilated freely and totally, or became bicultural Ukrainian Americans, Americanized members of an ethnic group, benefiting from the best of two cultures.

This is not happening with Hispanics today. Most, according to Prof. Huntington, remain mono-cultural. They have no need to Americanize because the current multiculturalist establishment deems it oppressive. Call a company or a government office and what do you get? "Dial 1 if you want English, dial 2 if you want Ukrainian?" In your dreams!

School textbooks have changed so that diverse racial, ethnic and social-class groups can experience "equality" as demonstrated by less Americanism and more ethnic profiling in textbooks. In practice, this means more Hispanic, Native-American and Afro-American stories, and fewer white ethnic stories. Ukrainians, again, need not apply.

Despite countless surveys showing that most Hispanic parents want their children fluent in English, the bilingual lobby in American education insists that proficiency in Spanish must precede mastery of English.

Prof. Huntington believes that it is the dominance among mostly Mexican immigrants of a single non-English language (a phenomenon without precedent in American history) that is leading to "the transformation of America into a bilingual, bicultural society."

The new multiculturalists have been joined by what Prof. Huntington calls "transnational" intellectuals, America-hating academics who condemn the "evil of a shared national identity" and who urge allegiance to the "worldwide community of human beings." A recent content analysis by Paul Vitz of 22 readers for third and sixth graders in California and Texas demonstrated that only five out of 670 stories and articles had a patriotic American theme.

Finally, there is dual citizenship. In his book, "The 50 Percent American: Immigration and National Identity in an Age of Terror," Stanley R. Renshone writes that some 151 countries recognize dual citizenship with the U.S. When push comes to shove, where will their loyalties lie?

America's national culture will survive because it is strong and pervasive. Ukraine's culture is fragile. After hundreds of years of foreign rule, Ukrainians need an ambitious Ukrainianization policy. A dual-language approach undermines such an effort. Ukraine's emerging national ethos is still a work in progress. It needs careful nurturing. During Soviet times, Russia's eventual dominance of Ukrainian culture began slowly, incrementally, and for most, imperceptibly. It could happen again if Mr. Yanukovich has his way.

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## FOR THE RECORD: Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk addresses the U.N.

Following are excerpts of the address by Borys Tarasyuk, Ukraine's minister of foreign affairs, at the general debate of the 61st session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 25.

...We need to unite our efforts so that the United Nations – that is, all of us together – can adequately respond to the whole spectrum of existing and future challenges in the areas of security, development and human rights.

Recent commemorations of the fifth anniversary of the heinous terrorist attack in this city, as well as growing number of terrorist acts in many parts of the world should leave no doubt that terrorism continues to remain one of the most dangerous threats of the present time.

Ukraine welcomes the recent adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and is ready to make its important contribution to its effective realization. This important step has become another strong signal that terrorism will not be tolerated. The strategy has also testified to the readiness of the international community to strengthen coordination and increase effectiveness of measures to combat this hideous phenomenon within the framework of a concrete action plan. On its part, Ukraine has recently ratified the Council of Europe Convention on Prevention of Terrorism. ...

Inability to agree on a set of commitments in the area of disarmament and non-proliferation has become one of the major setbacks of the 2005 World Summit. More than a decade ago Ukraine made a historic contribution in this area when it unilaterally renounced the third largest nuclear weapons arsenal in the world. Therefore, we call on member-states to strive for achieving progress in the areas of disarmament and non-proliferation in the U.N. and other fora for the sake of future generations.

Lately the international community has been concerned with the nuclear program of Iran. Ukraine supports the efforts of those countries who aim for Teheran's return to close and full cooperation with the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency]. The appropriate level of cooperation and transparency from Iran on this issue would help to lift concerns of the international community. Ukraine stands for the right of all nations to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. However, while realizing this right, it is necessary to fully adhere to commitments in the field of non-proliferation. ...

As the representative of Ukraine, presiding in the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development – GUAM, I would like to thank those countries which supported the inclusion into the agenda of the 61st session of the General

Assembly of the new item "Protracted conflicts in the GUAM area and their implications for international peace, security and development." It is an important step that will help to draw the attention to the need for more active and effective steps of the international community in order to achieve progress in settlement of conflicts on the territory of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova.

We, in particular, call for realization of the initiative by the president of Ukraine, Mr. Viktor Yushchenko, on Transdnistria "To settlement through democracy," a plan of peace settlement of the conflict in South Ossetia offered by the president of Georgia, and also implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council and decisions of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] on the conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh and Abkhazia.

These conflicts are among the main obstacles to full-scale democratic transformations in the region, which is among the core elements of the regional policy of Ukraine.

Having gained a new level of integration during the Kyiv Summit last May, GUAM member-states set as their main purposes strengthening the values of democracy, the rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms, deepening of European integration, achievement of

sustainable development and increase of their peoples' well-being.

Black Sea Economic Cooperation is another promising model of multilateral political and economic initiative. In 14 years of its dynamic existence, the organization has proved its value as a framework of regional cooperation. Considering that issues of energy security are among the most important for Europe today, the Black Sea-Caspian region takes on special significance for providing secure, stable mining and transportation of energy resources. Ukraine is ready to take active part in promotion of energy projects in the BSEC framework. We are also convinced that the BSEC should render effective support to the efforts of the world community directed at combating terrorism, resolving so-called "frozen conflicts" in the region and combating trans-border crime. It is necessary to coordinate BSEC activity with corresponding programs supported by the U.N., OSCE, EU [European Union] and NATO.

The Forum of the Community of Democratic Choice, held in Kyiv in December 2005, is yet another example of cooperation for strengthening European democratic values in Eastern Europe. The CDC united the states of Baltic-Black-Caspian seas area and the Balkans in their aspirations for higher democratic standards required for successful movement toward full-scale European integration.

... Strengthening of democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are imperatives of the internal and external policies of Ukraine. That is why we are proud to have been elected to the Human Rights Council. As a member of this body, Ukraine is ready to work with other states in order to bring real change in promotion of human rights worldwide.

The international community is responsible for protection of people under the threat of genocide or other violations of fundamental human rights. In two years we will mark the 60th anniversary of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. One and a half decades before its adoption and yet before the tragedy of the Holocaust, the Ukrainian people had become victims of genocide.

Deliberately organized by the Communist totalitarian regime with the purpose of destroying the vital core of the freedom-loving Ukrainian people – its peasantry, the artificial Holodomor in Ukraine of 1932-1933 led to the death of 7 million to 10 million innocent men, women and children, which constituted up to 25 percent of Ukraine's population at that time.

Having committed this inhuman crime, the Communist regime tried to conceal its scale and tragic consequences from the world community. And they succeeded for a long time. After regaining the independence of Ukraine, many new appalling and horrifying facts have been revealed. The parliaments of a number of countries took decisions recognizing the Holodomor of 1932-1933 as an act of genocide.

Ukraine calls upon the United Nations as the collective voice of the international community to contribute to the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the convention by recognizing the Holodomor as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people. Such a step would contribute toward making genocide and mass abuse of human rights impossible in the future.

The Board of Directors of the UACCNJ

and

The Parish Community of Saint John the Baptist

Ukrainian Catholic Church

in Whippany, New Jersey

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4:00 p.m. – Dedication and Grand Opening

5:00 p.m. – Cocktail Hour (Cash Bar)

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8:30 p.m. – Grand Ball

and to the

### BLESSING OF THE NEW TEMPORARY SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST CHURCH

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9:00 a.m. – Final Service at the old Church

9:30 a.m. – Procession to the new Church

10:00 a.m. – Blessing of the new temporary Church

10:30 a.m. – Pontifical Divine Liturgy

12:30 p.m. – Banquet

Tickets for Saturday only – \$100; Tickets for Sunday only – \$50;

Tickets for both events – \$125; Students – \$50

For information and reservations, please phone 973-887-3616.

*This ad was paid for by The Ukrainian National Association.*

(Continued on page 18)



## STATEMENT: On the destruction of the historical memory of the Ukrainian people

*Below is the text of a statement issued by civic human rights organizations and the Ukrainian intellectual community in Ukraine and the world in connection with the destruction of the historical memory of the Ukrainian people. The statement was released at a press conference in Kyiv on September 28; an English translation prepared by Marta Olynyk was faxed to The Ukrainian Weekly on October 9 by Bohdan Fedorak, honorary consul of Ukraine in Detroit.*

We are living in a time when each nation seeks to master its history as profoundly as possible, no matter how tragic it is. It is crucial to learn one's past without prejudice in order to step more confidently toward the future. This is perfectly understood by the wise Jewish nation, which devoutly preserves every trace of its millennial history. An example of this is the arrival in Kyiv a few days ago of hundreds of Jews from around the world to mark the 65th anniversary of the tragic events that took place in Babyn Yar. One hundred and fifty soldiers came from Israel to serve as an honor guard detail at the site of the mass burials. The president and government of Ukraine were the patrons of these actions aimed at honoring the memory of the victims of the Jewish Holocaust.

However, for the sake of objectivity, it should be recalled that at least half the victims at Babyn Yar (if not more) were Gypsies and Ukrainians, who were viciously destroyed by the Nazis. Among the victims were also entire crews of ships of the famous Dnipro Flotilla, as well as the defenders of Kyiv – soldiers and commanders of the Southwestern Front. Here is the grave of the unvanquished Olena Teliha and other Ukrainian patriots shot by the Gestapo in 1942, whose memories are for some reason not being honored on the state level.

At the same time, we express dismay at the encroachments on the holy of holies – the destruction of the memory of the Ukrainian nation. We are troubled by the fact that the disputes around the tragedy of the artificially engineered Holodomor of 1932-1933 are intensifying. Increasing in frequency are provocative statements by pro-Communist forces whose goal is to turn the commemoration of the Holodomor tragedy into a farce. After the end of the competition to decide the layout of the memorial complex in honor of the victims of Ukraine's holocaust, the Holodomor, political forces from the pro-government coalition launched a campaign to stop the construction. As a result, the draft of the 2007 state budget of Ukraine has not allocated a single penny for the building of this memorial. The state has terminated its financial support of the museum exposition "Not To Be Forgotten" (on the crimes of communism in 1917-1991) at the Memorial Society, which hosts up to 10,000 students and pupils free of charge every year.

Based on international experience and in accordance with a presidential decree, on May 31 the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine passed Resolution No. 764 "On the Creation of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory." The institute was granted appropriate status as a central organ of the state executive power with its range of posts and special responsibilities. After all, the victims of the Holodomor, Communist repressions and Hitler's genocide are scattered throughout the Ukrainian lands. The destruction of the Ukrainian ethnos lasted for centuries. Ukraine's tragedy is such that no one has yet succeeded in grasping its scale, causes or consequences. Thus, the young generation of Ukrainians is not able to fathom its nation's past, formulate a clear-cut vision of the national idea, or develop a state-building strategy that

could unite the nation on the basis of its fundamental values.

The task placed before the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory is to meticulously restore the backbone of our nation with historical consistency and objectivity.

However, the formation of its structure is being impeded by the rise to power of openly anti-Ukrainian officials of the new-old government. The institute had not even begun its work when, as a result of various officials' efforts, the budget was reduced out of existence. Furthermore, in contradiction to the above-mentioned resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, responsibility for the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory has been transferred to the officials in charge of the State Archives of Ukraine. This move, in fact, liquidates the very status of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory as the principal manager of budget funds granted by the Cabinet resolution.

This deliberate or ill-advised destruction of a state institution that was initiated by a decree of the president of Ukraine and confirmed by a resolution of the previous government prompts serious questions regarding the continuing formulation of Ukrainian state policy on the preservation of national memory.

One example of the cynical attitude toward the victims of political repressions in Ukraine is the site of the mass secret burials that took place in the 1930s and 1940s in Bykivnia Forest. According to various experts, the number of victims in Bykivnia is equal to the number of victims buried in Babyn Yar. All the data point to between 100,000 and 150,000 victims. But neither agencies of prosecutorial supervision nor state officials are showing any interest in the objective disclosure of the crimes of the past or in establishing their true scale. As Andrii Amons, the investigator from the Military Prosecutor's Office, stated in the final resolution "On the Closure of the Criminal Case," the Bykivnia burials have not been thoroughly investigated because the deadline for investigative actions has lapsed and because of lack of time – meaning, the Ukrainian government has neither the time nor the desire to deal with the excavations.

Who should take on this work throughout Ukraine, to conduct searches in the Solovky Islands, Mordovia, the camps of the former gulag – everywhere that Ukrainians were destroyed – if not the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory?

Meanwhile, in the last few months unsanctioned excavations ordered by unknown organizations in Poland are being conducted on the territory of the National Historical-Memorial Preserve "The Graves of Bykivnia."

It has been learned that individuals can hire a special team in Kyiv and, ignoring Ukrainian laws, exhume and bury whatever they want. Witnesses to this were the participants of the World Forum of Ukrainians, who visited Bykivnia on August 20. There they saw 15 new burial sites connected to the search for the remains of executed Polish officers. Here, in the presence of representatives of Poland, who after examining bones and skulls and not finding anything of interest to those who ordered these illegal exhumations, hired workers to calmly dump all these remains in sacks designed for waste and without following accepted procedures, place them in pits and cover them up with earth. What other state in the world would countenance such vandalism and mockery of the memory of innocent executed people?

Despite the fact that the territory of the

Bykivnia burials was declared a State Historical-Memorial Preserve in keeping with Resolution No. 546 of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of May 22, 2001, and which was granted national status by the decree of the president of Ukraine, this has not stopped the architects of these unsanctioned exhumations. The Specialized State Enterprise "Memorials of Ukraine" has not reacted to either the bill of indictment about these violations or the instruction issued by the Main Administration for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of the Kyiv City State Administration to put an immediate halt to the arbitrary exhumations. Furthermore, one of the initiators of the excavations, Andrzej Pszywoznik, who is the secretary of the Council for the Protection of Monuments to the Struggle and Martyrdom of Poland, is spreading inaccurate information in the Polish press that 103 burial sites containing the remains of Polish officers have been found in Bykivnia.

Even the following fact is ignored: the previous investigation designated the Bykivnia burials as a crime site and, therefore, any exhumations must be carried out after a new criminal case is reopened and in the presence of an investigator charged with conducting a forensic medical examination.

A similar attempt to conduct unsanctioned excavations took place in 2001, when symbolic graves appeared in the National Preserve at Bykivnia, complete with the crosses and symbols of a foreign state. What next?

Without denying the possibility that remains of Polish citizens who were repressed by the Stalinist regime may be found in Bykivnia Forest, the Ukrainian

side should organize an objective investigation of the circumstances surrounding their deaths and a search of burial places, relying on newly opened KGB archives and based on international agreements and European laws. Under other circumstances, the actions of the Polish side may be viewed as instigating an international conflict, an example of which was the incident at the Polish Orliata war cemetery in Lviv.

Preventing a similar situation could be possible only if the Ukrainian side on the state level were represented by the Institute of National Memory, which would prohibit illegal acts on the territory of the National Preserve at Bykivnia and direct the excavations within the legal purview of Ukraine's legislation.

The circumstances of jointly experienced tragedies, when various nations fell victim to the Soviet totalitarian regime, should lay the foundation of completely different, good-neighborly relations. The bones of our victims and foreign victims should not reside in joint graves.

**Dmytro Pavlychko**, head of the Ukrainian World Coordinating Council  
**Pavlo Movchan**, head of the All-Ukrainian Prosvita Society  
**Ivan Drach**, head of the executive of the Ukraine-World Society  
**Roman Krutsyk**, head of the Vasyl Stus Kyiv City Organization of the Memorial Society  
**Anatolii Pohribnyi**, head of the Kyiv branch of the Union of Writers of Ukraine  
**Volodymyr Serhiichuk, Ph.D.** (history), professor and head of the scholarly division of the Memorial Society

*New York Friends of the Ukrainian Catholic University*

## 750-year-old Lviv...

(Continued from page 1)

there's an anniversary, or this president or that prime minister."

For years, Lviv officials were aware of the looming 750th anniversary, an event that would have provided the ideal platform on which to base restoration efforts.

In the view of local architectural experts, it was then that city officials should have begun planning architectural restoration of key structures and monuments, particularly the centuries-old buildings that form Market Square and the blocks surrounding it.

"It was necessary to start thinking about this five years ago," Dr. Bezv said. "The main problem is we still do not have a strategy."

In Lviv's case, strategy is severely constrained by the government's system of financing, experts said, which hampers any comprehensive, well-planned approach to restoring Lviv's architecture.

Every year, Ukraine's Parliament determines how much financing it will allocate to a particular city's budget when drawing up the national budget.

Therefore, such funds can vary from year to year, and sometimes may not be available at all.

In January 2005 the Verkhovna Rada announced it would allocate \$10 million for Lviv restoration efforts, but it wasn't until September 2005 that the city received the funds, Ms. Onyschenko said.

In October, workers began fixing roofs, and performed other structural repairs. However, most of the work ceased for the harsh winter. "We lost the whole summer season and weren't able to do much work," she said.

Another problem is that Kyiv bureaucrats have retained the Soviet tradition of demanding the return of those funds that a city hasn't used by the end of the year.

Such a system prevents a city government from being able to save funds beyond a year in order to plan and execute long-term projects, such as Lviv's restoration.

As a direct result, Lviv was faced with an "avral," the Russian word referring to a large, last-minute job that had to be done quickly.

"For the anniversary of Lenin's birthday, this and that had to be done," Ms. Onyschenko said. "And it was done in such a way that everything could have fallen apart the next day, but at least it was ready for the anniversary. It was done by the same Soviet method in this instance."

Historical restoration became quick reconstruction.

Amidst the panic of the avral, Lviv's city government led by the new mayor, Andrii Sadovyi, made a conscious decision to violate local laws on planning and construction.

Specifically, Lviv's entire central district belongs to the World Heritage List of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). Any plan for restoration had to be approved by the State Department for Historical Heritage Preservation in Kyiv, according to laws dealing with a UNESCO site.

However, the construction contractors hired by the Lviv government began their work without any such preparation, quickly drawing the alarm of Opora, a citizens' activist group.

"When we began to demand that they show us how Market Square would look after reconstruction, it was revealed that there wasn't any project plan at all," said Volodymyr Viatrovych, an Opora leader.

"Beyond that, the preservation department in Kyiv prohibited reconstruction until a plan was prepared. But the work continued and the main argument was: Lviv got the money and has to use it," he said.

When attempts at negotiating a compromise failed, the young protesters of Opora chained themselves to construction equipment to prevent further activity.

City officials agreed to negotiate again, but it turned out to be a bluff. Once Opora activists removed the chains, construction started up again.

In late May, a preservation department official in Kyiv informed the city government that the construction work was illegal, an order also ignored.

Attempts to block reconstruction in the courts failed as well.

The district judge overseeing the matter merged five complaints into one and then engaged in a phone conversation with Mayor Sadovyi, said Yaryna Yarosevych, an Opora activist.

The judge would later announce she didn't view the construction work as illegal, without having listened to any witness testimony or depositions. The end result was an utter mess, critics said, and Lviv officials can only point the finger of blame at Kyiv for lack of financing or limitations.

"It seems to me that there wasn't any plan at all," Dr. Bezv said. "It was chaotic."

While the city's architectural authorities believe Market Square's classical appearance from the 18th century should have been restored, construction contractors made up their own guidelines as they went along.

Facades facing Market Square were painted with new colors they never bore before. The new street lamps were built with globe glass covers, instead of the metal boxes that the 19th century lamps had to shield light bulbs.

"There is a big glass 'pot' that can break in winter because falling ice will crack it open," said Ivan Svarnyk, the vice-president of the Lviv Admirers Association. "These lamps are nonsensical and everybody admits they don't conform to the surrounding buildings. So why buy them and waste the money?"

Developers also made the decision to broaden Ruska Street – one of Lviv's oldest and historic – to allow for more traffic, without consulting any authorities.

Ultimately, the Verkhovna Rada designated between \$20 million and \$24 million for a restoration effort that ended up becoming a shoddy reconstruction, officials said.

"Many facades were painted and much was paved, but nothing was done from start to finish," Ms. Onyschenko said. "In such a short time, no project can be fully carried out. Buildings in a critical state remain that way."



Zenon Zawada

**Construction workers perform illegal work on October 2 in Lviv's historic central district, which is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.**

Perhaps the most irresponsible decision, critics said, was to replace the classic stone-paved roads of Market Square with standard concrete plates with similar stones embedded in them.

With the aesthetic appearance of its roads ruined, restoration of Market Square to its 18th century appearance won't be possible, they said.

The concrete also prevents archeologists from performing excavations underneath the Market Square roads, where an abundance of artifacts have previously helped illuminate Lviv's history.

"They had sensational findings – Slavic dwellings from the fifth and sixth centuries," Mr. Svarnyk said.

The concrete plates will also inhibit moisture from evaporating from Lviv's underground river, experts said. Instead, it will evaporate in the surrounding buildings and ruin their exteriors.

Corruption plagues many aspects of urban planning and development in Lviv.

The city commission that is supposed to oversee and challenge any projects being carried out has been inactive, despite the fact that its members collect salaries, according to architectural experts.

"In this country, there is an absence of structures that are responsible for the preservation of historical heritage," Mr. Svarnyk said. "They are created formally, but they are stillborn. They are not functioning. They don't force anyone to pay fines, and they don't stop work."

Without an enforcement body, Lviv's achievement of the UNESCO designation in 1998 has been ignored and bears little legal value, Dr. Bezv said.

The illegal broadening of Ruska Street serves as a perfect example.

"The UNESCO designation has to be promoted," Dr. Bezv said. "The government has to set aside funds in its budgets. But nothing has been done to this day."

In fact, UNESCO conditions are violated daily by local real estate developers

and contractors.

Even during the 750th anniversary celebration, construction workers were adding a floor to a building at Staroyevreyska Street, flagrantly violating the law that forbids any additions to existing buildings within the UNESCO zone.

Mr. Sadovyi was elected Lviv's new mayor in March, three months after the City Council removed his predecessor, Liubomyr Buniak, for incompetence. Mr. Buniak was known for his outright denials that many of Lviv's buildings were in a catastrophic state.

During the campaign, in which he ran against former Mayor Vasyl Kuybida, Mr. Sadovyi promised a more efficient and responsive government.

Months later, some are disappointed while others aren't surprised that it's business as usual in the Lviv government, and little has changed.

"He said: we are an open society, we have to have dialogue, we have to understand each other, so I am listening to you very attentively, and so on," Mr. Svarnyk said. "But once a person gets into the mayor's chair, he can hardly hear the public."

Mr. Sadovyi didn't hold a press conference during the anniversary weekend when national and international reporters were present.

By the time the anniversary celebrations were over on Monday morning, the streets of central Lviv were clean of broken beer bottles and candy wrappers.

Lviv had gained its 15 minutes on television, and perhaps millions of tourist dollars. But the buildings of historic Lviv remained crumbling.

"This city is our heritage," Mr. Svarnyk said. "We got it from our ancestors and we will have to give it to our descendants. We will come and go, but the city will stay. And what it will look like will depend on us."

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## BOOK NOTES

**The injustice of internment operations**

*"Without Just Cause: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920"* by Dr. Lubomyr Y. Luciuk. Kingston: The Kashtan Press, ISBN: 1896354408. Paperback, 69 pp. \$20 (USD).

In this book, Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk examines a dark chapter in Canadian history during World War I by sharing the stories, memoirs and recollections of various people on both sides of the barbed wire. The book contains copies of original documents and photographs that help the reader to see what was on the minds of officials at the time and provide a glimpse into the lives of the internees.

In the first part of the book, Dr. Luciuk introduces the reader to the internment operation and points out that many Ukrainians were targeted due to misunderstandings about their ethnic identity because they were identified as "Austrian," "Austro-Hungarian," "Ruthenian," "Bukovynian" or "Galician."

In the second part of the book, Dr. Luciuk presents "An Agreement-in-Principle," an official document between the Canadian government and the Ukrainian Canadian community that recognizes the injustices committed during this period, but does not bind the Canadian government to reparations or the admission of guilt.

Another piece included in the book is titled "No Longer in Fear of the Barbed Wire." Written by Dr. Luciuk, it was read at the signing of the "Agreement-in-Principle" on August 24, 2005. The article was also featured in Canadian publications, including the Winnipeg Sun, the National Post and The Whig Standard. The text recognized Mary Manko, the last

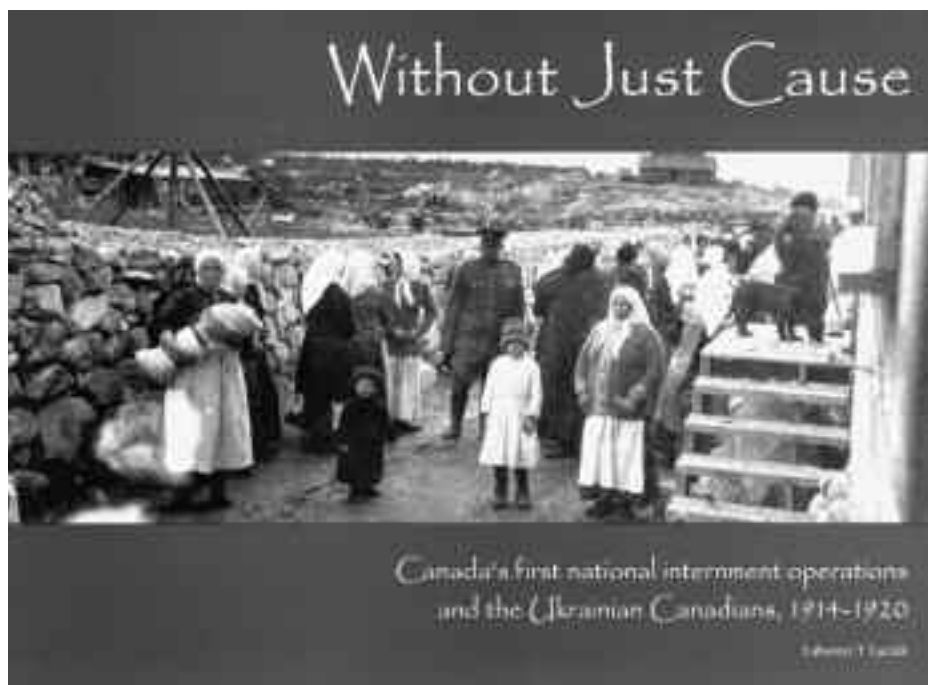
living survivor of the internment operation, and expressed the commitment to secure the memory of those who lived and died during times of intolerance.

Dr. Luciuk acknowledges the work of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, along with the Canadian government toward a final Ukrainian Canadian Reconciliation Accord. He also recognizes the initiative by Member of Parliament Peter Milliken, who was the first to call for a righting of this historic wrong in 1991, and the initiative of Inky Mark, whose Bill C331 – The Ukrainian Restitution Act continues to further that cause.

A copy of the Ukrainian Canadian Restitution Act is included in the book and it clearly states that ongoing negotiations between the Ukrainian Canadian community and the Canadian government are focused on recognition of this injustice via measures such as plaques at the places of internment, public education initiatives on the operations and the contributions made by Ukrainians to the development of Canada, and commemorative postage stamps will also be issued.

"Without Just Cause" has a detailed source list of films, books, music and teachers' guides included for those interested in pursuing more information.

The author, Dr. Luciuk, is a professor of political geography at the Royal Military College of Canada and serves as



director of research for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

Readers can obtain copies of this book

by contacting the publisher directly at: The Kashtan Press, 22 Gretna Green, Kingston, ON, K7M 3J2 (Canada).

**UCCLA kicks off...**

(Continued from page 1)

publish a book on the topic.

During its conclave, the UCCLA also pledged to continue its search for Soviet war criminals who evaded detection and currently reside in Canada. Time is running out to bring such criminals to justice, and the association vowed to redouble its efforts in locating them and bringing them to the attention of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).

Besides members of the UCCLA from across Canada, more than 50 citizens attended the unveilings in Valcartier and Beauport, including Quebec City's Michael Reshitnyk, who acted as the master of ceremonies, Anne Sadelain of Descendants of Ukrainian Canadian Internee Victims' Association, Ukrainian Canadian residents of Montreal and the Quebec City area, the youth groups Plast and SUM, representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Quebec chapter, President Andrew Hladyshevsky of the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko and others.



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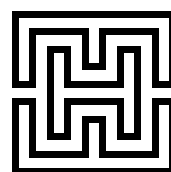
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**SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY****POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS  
IN UKRAINIAN STUDIES**

The Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc. invites applications for the Shevchenko Society Postdoctoral Fellowship for the 2007-2008 academic year. Funded by generous contributions from the Ukrainian-American community, the Shevchenko Postdoctoral Fellowship is intended to support aspiring young scholars in the US and Canada who work in the fields of Ukrainian philology and linguistics or Ukrainian literature. Other areas in Ukrainian studies, such as history and social science, may be considered under special circumstances.

The fellowship award will be up to \$35,000, commensurate to the qualification of a candidate and requires the recipient to be affiliated with an accredited North American university, preferably one with a program in Ukrainian studies, during the fellowship period. Preference will be given to individuals who will have an opportunity to teach in the Ukrainian area at their university. The award period is for one year, with the potential for renewal during the second year.

Candidates must have recently earned a PhD degree with a concentration in Ukrainian subjects. Ideal applicants should have a strong potential for developing independent research in Ukrainian philology, linguistics or Ukrainian literature and be interested in pursuing a career in Ukrainian studies at the university level.

Completed applications must be received before February 1, 2007 and include:

- 1) fellowship application form from the website [www.shevchenko.org](http://www.shevchenko.org) (click on "International Grants")
- 2) a two to three page summary of research interests and goals (see below);
- 3) curriculum vitae;
- 4) (optional) a scholarly paper written in the past two years.

Applications are accepted by e-mail at: [info@shevchenko.org](mailto:info@shevchenko.org). A reprint of a recent publication can be forwarded electronically or mailed separately to:

**Fellowship Committee,  
 Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc.,  
 63 Fourth Avenue,  
 New York, NY 10003**

The fellowship award will be announced in April, 2007 by e-mail and begin after July 1, 2007.

## Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute to welcome 12 post-doctoral scholars

by Peter T. Woloschuk

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. – The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute's (HURI's) director, Oleksandr Potebnja Professor of Ukrainian Philology Michael S. Flier has announced that 12 international post-doctoral scholars will be doing research at HURI during this academic year.

Eleven of the research fellows have received Eugene and Daymel Shklar Research Fellowships and one has been awarded a Fulbright Fellowship. The 12 come from the United States, Ukraine, Finland, Germany, Great Britain and Russia.

In making the announcement Prof. Flier said, "When I joined the institute in 1991, I became engaged in a long-standing dialogue with my colleagues about the desirability of establishing a fellowship program that would permit us to bring promising younger scholars in Ukrainian studies to Harvard to use our libraries, consult with our scholars, and exchange ideas on their work and the work of others with colleagues, students and the larger Ukrainian community. Ten years later, Eugene and Daymel Shklar made that dream possible by underwriting the Shklar Fellowship Program. The results of their generosity have been nothing short of spectacular."

"The fellows come from a wide variety of countries in Eastern and Western Europe, Asia, and North America," Prof. Flier pointed out. "The presence each semester of some five to seven young post-doctoral fellows from a variety of disciplines, including history, political science, literature, linguistics and art, has energized the institute, creating an atmosphere of excitement and discovery that has had a positive impact on the work of the fellows themselves and all those scholars at HURI who have come into contact with them. They have benefited considerably from exposure to different ways of analyzing the same phenomena. Armed with new knowledge of fact and approach, these scholars have returned to their home bases and in turn have invigorated scholarly interchange there."

"We at HURI are delighted with the success of the Shklar Fellows Program and look forward to working with another group of dynamic young scholars in Ukrainian studies again this year," Prof. Flier concluded.

The twelve post-doctoral fellows are:

- Konstantin Akinsha, a correspondent for ARTnews magazine in Budapest, Hungary. Mr. Akinsha earned his candidate of sciences degree in 1990 in art history. He will spend four months at Harvard (February-May 2007) working on the topic "The Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum: The Fate of the Dispersed Collection." He will study the history of one of the most significant private collections of West European art ever assembled in Ukraine and will trace the dispersal and destruction of that collection from the Bolshevik Revolution through the end of World War II.

- Jessica Allina-Pisano, assistant professor in the department of political science at Colgate University, who earned her Ph.D. in political science in 2003 from Yale University. During her four months at Harvard (September-December 2006), Dr. Allina-Pisano will research the topic "The Last Barbed Wire Fence in Europe: State Power and Economy in a Divided Village of Zakarpattia, 1945-2005." She will study how "policies intended primarily to secure state sovereignty reached beyond political life to drive or limit economic opportunities" by looking at the effects of state control on the access of rural peoples to the means of capital reproduction in two villages, Kisszelmenc and Nagyszelmenc, located next to each other but separated by the Ukraine-European Union border.

- Tarik C. Amar, who received his Ph.D. in history from Princeton University in 2006. Dr. Amar will spend four months at Harvard (February-May 2007) working on the topic "The Making of Soviet Lviv, 1939 to 1963." His study will address the question of the making of a distinct Soviet western Ukrainian identity by looking at how a Soviet Ukrainian Lviv was fashioned out of the prewar Polish-dominated and multi-ethnic city.

- Mark Andryczyk, an instructor in contemporary Ukrainian literature at Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, who holds a Ph.D. (2005) in Ukrainian literature from the University of Toronto. Dr. Andryczyk will spend four months at Harvard (September-December) conducting research on "A Community of Others: The Identity of the Ukrainian Intellectual in Post-Soviet Ukrainian

Prose." Dr. Andryczyk will study the depiction of the Ukrainian intellectual throughout the history of modern Ukrainian literature. As part of his work, he will look at the re-engagement of the Ukrainian intellectual in society during the Orange Revolution, the emergence of a new generation of writers and the recent new scholarship that has been published.

- Elvis Beytullayev, a junior research fellow at Wolfson College, University of Cambridge, who earned a Ph.D. in international studies at the University of Cambridge in 2006. Dr. Beytullayev will spend four months at Harvard (September-December) working on the topic "The Crimean Political Scene in the Post-Soviet Era and Its Implications for Ukraine's Relations with Turkey and Russia." Dr. Beytullayev will examine how domestic Crimean politics have affected relations between Ukraine and Russia since Ukraine's independence from the Soviet Union.

- Jerzy Macków, a professor of comparative government at the University of Regensburg. Dr. Macków earned his doctorate in 1992 at the University of Hamburg, followed by his Habilitation in 1998 at the Armed Forces University in Hamburg. He will spend four months (September-December) at Harvard researching the topic "Has the Orange Revolution Changed the Ukrainian Political System? The Democratization of Post-Communist Authoritarianism." His work will investigate whether the Orange Revolution brought about significant democratization to the authoritarianism that has been characteristic of Ukraine's government since independence. In doing so, he will focus on two questions: 1) whether in the wake of the Orange Revolution new aspects of national identity emerged that have facilitated the implementation of a democratic reform agenda in Ukraine; and 2) whether the political elite has altered its attitude to law and politics regarding the opposition in order to create a functioning constitutional state.

- Vladimir Melamed, who completed his graduate studies in modern East-Central European history at the Ukrainian Studies Institute, National Academy of Ukraine, Lviv, in 1995. Currently he is an independent scholar based in California and is a consultant for the Los Angeles Museum of the Holocaust. He will spend four months at Harvard (September-December) studying "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Interwar Eastern Galicia, 1918-1939: Ukrainian Perspective, Jewish Perspective." Mr. Melamed plans to investigate a number of aspects of Ukrainian-Jewish relations within the context of the interwar Polish state. The topics include the Lviv pogrom of November 1918; the Jewish-Polish compromise of 1925; anti-Semitism in Polish institutions of higher learning and similar topics, and the reaction to these events within Ukrainian and Jewish societies in accordance with their perceptions, stereotypes and past experience.

- Tatiana Oparina, associate professor in history at Novosibirsk Pedagogical University, where she has been on the faculty for the last 15 years. Ms. Oparina will spend four months at Harvard (February-June 2007) working on "Russian-Ukrainian Ecclesiastical Contacts and the Problem of the 'True Faith' from the End of the Time of Troubles (1613) to the Treaty of Pereiaslav (1654)." The project will investigate the views of the Moscow Patriarchate on Kyiv-style piety, Kyivan theology, the problem of "heresy" in Ukrainian texts, and divergences in canon law practices in a period when

Muscovy was becoming more closely familiar with Ukrainian religious practices and falling under their influence.

- Johannes Remy, lecturer in Russian and East European Studies at the Renvall Institute for Area and Cultural Studies at the University of Helsinki, who received his Ph.D. in history in 2000 from the same institution. Dr. Remy will come to Harvard for four months (February-May 2007) to work on the topic "Ukrainian Nationalism and Russia from the 1840s to the 1870s" which will comprise two major parts: first, the formation of Ukrainian national mythology; second, the political programs of Ukrainian activists, their positions on the Polish insurrection (1863-1864) and the government's policies in relation to the Ukrainian movement.

- Olena Rusina, a senior research associate at the Medieval History Department of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Kyiv, who received her candidate of sciences degree from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv in 1991. The recipient of a fellowship funded by Dr. Jaroslav and Nadia Mihaychuk in 2003, Ms. Rusina is currently at HURI as a Fulbright Scholar. She will spend her time researching "Trends and Contexts in Pre-Modern Pseudo-History in Post-Soviet Ukraine." Ms. Rusina hopes to fill a gap in Ukrainian scholarship by writing a book under the working title "Atlantis in the Heart of Europe: New Visions of Ukrainian Past."

- Steven Seegel, who earned his Ph.D. in history in 2005 at Brown University and for the past year has held the position of lecturer at the University of Tennessee. Dr. Seegel will come to Harvard for four months (February-May 2007) to research the topic "Cartography and the Representation of Modern Ukraine." His work looks at the strategic use of the discourse of historical/geographic science and racial/ethnolinguistic categorization to represent a modern Ukraine between the Russian and Habsburg empires, as well as the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

- Ihor Zhuk, the director of the Leopold Project and the curator of the Collection of Visual Materials at Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. He received his candidate of sciences degree in art history in 1989 from the Moscow School of Industrial and Applied Art. A longtime colleague of HURI, Mr. Zhuk will return to the institute for four months (February-May 2007) to conduct further work on the Leopold Project. During his stay at Harvard, he will draw on material housed at Harvard to assemble blocks of textual and visual data, and compile new e-documents for this complex hypertext and visual resource of valuable art objects and historically significant architecture found in Ukraine and dating from the Neolithic period to the present. Mr. Zhuk's work at Harvard will result in a thoroughly elaborated art history database of over 2,500 objects to be used as a teaching and research tool by mid-2007.

The Eugene and Daymel Shklar Research Fellowships in Ukrainian Studies bring distinguished scholars from around the world to the Ukrainian Research Institute for research on important projects concerning Ukrainian history, politics, literature, linguistics and culture.

Established in 2001, the Shklar Fellowships have created exciting scholarship and unprecedented research opportunities in Ukrainian studies in the United States. Since their inception, two

(Continued on page 21)

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# Ukraine's 2005 Europa issue wins Narbut Prize

by Inger Kuzych

The greatest number of voters this year for the Narbut Prize – reflecting Ukraine's best-designed stamp(s) of the previous year – chose their favorite not only with their eyes, but also with their stomachs. The winner was last year's Europa theme of gastronomy, and Ukraine's se-tenant depiction of its delicious beet soup – borsch.

The design on the two-stamp set depicts a colorful table spread: a bowl of the beet soup on the left (2.61 hryv value) and a covered, decorated serving dish on the right (3.52 hryv value). Spread before both dishes are the myriad ingredients that go into creating borsch. Helping to unite both stamps is the red-embroidered tablecloth, which underlies the entire scene (Figure 1).



Figure 1. The se-tenant "Gastronomy – Borsch" issue showing the popular Ukrainian beet soup and its ingredients.

In addition to the 200,000 se-tenant pairs of stamps that were printed, 15,000 booklets (each with two pairs of stamps) were also prepared. It is on the selva of the booklets that the ingredients for a typical Ukrainian borsch are listed. They are: pork, red beets, cabbage, haricot (kidney beans), potatoes, carrots, parsley, onion, lard, garlic, tomatoes, red peppers, spices, dill, salt and sour cream.

In reality, there are dozens of ways that borsch can be prepared, and meat or meat broth is not even a requirement (although it can add considerably to the flavor). The ingredient that is common to all recipes, and which imparts the characteristic color, is the red beets. Once cooked, borsch can be served hot or cold.

The designer of the gastronomy stamps is Svitlana Bondar, who based her work on a photograph by Oleksander Kostiuhenko. They will receive Narbut Prize awards and share the \$250 honorarium with a third person, Maria Heiko, who also participated in this issue by designing the Europa booklet.

## Other major vote-getters

Once again this year, a record number of votes was received in the Narbut Prize balloting. The borsch stamps were preferred by almost 12 percent of the participants in the voting. The next three issues selected were very closely bunched.

Finishing in second place with 8 percent of the vote was a release from the ongoing "Treasures of Ukrainian

Museums" series. This issue featured two of the priceless paintings from the National Museum in Lviv, flanking a label showing the façade of the museum (Figure 2). The left stamp depicts an early 14th century icon of the Archangel Michael by an unknown artist, while the portrait on the right is that of a "Dalmatian Woman" painted by Teophil Kopystynski in 1872.

In third place, garnering just under 8 percent of the ballots, was Ukraine's first commemorative stamp of 2005, which honored the Orange Revolution of November-December 2004 (Figure 3). This stamp was quickly prepared and released in January 2005 upon the inauguration of President Viktor Yushchenko.

Originally, I believed this stamp might take the Narbut Prize, but disillusion-

ment with the president, one of the heroes of the Orange Revolution, has set in over the past year or so and likely a fair number of voters deliberately chose to overlook this issue.

Fourth place was claimed by another "Treasures of Ukrainian Museums" se-tenant set of stamps, this time honoring the National Landscape Gallery of Ivan Aivazovsky in Crimea. Aivazovsky specialized in seascapes, and two of his paintings on stamps flank a photo label showing the front of the gallery and a statue of the artist (Figure 4). The left painting from 1853 is titled "Sea at Kokebel"; the other, "The Tower on the Rock Near the Bosphorus," dates from 1859. This release claimed 7.5 percent of the ballots.

## A notable issue ignored

While most of the stamp issues of 2005 received some votes in the Narbut Prize balloting, one prominent issue was distinguished by its complete lack of votes; this was the "60th Anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic War" issue.

The stamp-with-label (Figure 5) and souvenir sheet (Figure 6) that made up this release hearkened back to the old Soviet-style stamps issued in such abundance during the existence of the USSR. This issue was created as a sop to some of the octogenarians in Ukraine who still fondly recall their Soviet background and have difficulty adjusting to the current reality of a dissolved Soviet Union.

Perhaps present-day citizens have just had enough of hearing about the Great Patriotic War. This is the title the Communists pinned on World War II in order to create the pretense of a united struggle "against the Fascist invaders." In reality, many guerrilla organizations in the former Soviet republics fought against their Communist occupiers. Prominent among them was the UPA, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which fought on against the Red Army well into the 1950s.

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The Narbut Prize is sponsored by the U.S.-based Ukrainian Philatelic and Numismatic Society (UPNS); it continues to be recognized as the premier philatelic art award in Ukraine. Past winning designs and their artist creators have all been prominently featured in *Filatelia Ukrainy*, Ukraine's leading philatelic periodical.

The Heorhiy Narbut Prize honors Ukraine's outstanding graphic artist of the early 20th century. Mr. Narbut prepared the three high-value stamps (30, 40, and 50 shahy) from Ukraine's first postage stamp issue of 1918. He also designed about a dozen of Ukraine's first banknotes.

Readers wishing to examine all of last year's stamps (or the issues from any year) in full color, may do so online at

exhibitor who currently serves as the society's president. Below are the winners of the Narbut Prize since its inception.

1993A – Larysa Koren; "150th



Figure 3. The "Orange Revolution" issue showing part of the immense crowds that gathered for this week's long demonstration.

Anniversary of the Birth of Composer Mykola Lysenko."

1993B – Oleh Snarsky; "National Flag and Trident Emblem of Ukraine" (Note: there was a tie in voting in 1993).

1994 – Yuriy Lohvyn; "75th Anniversary of Ukraine's First Postage Stamps"

1995 – Serhiy Bieliaiev; "160th Anniversary of Kyiv University."

1996 – Yuriy Lohvyn; "Hetmans of Ukraine" series.



Figure 4. Another "Treasures of Ukrainian Museums" issue, this time featuring the Ivan Aivazovsky Gallery in Crimea.



Figure 5. A stamp issue honoring the "60th Anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic War" was very reminiscent of the types of stamps created in the old Soviet Union.

the Ukrainian Electronic Stamp Album ([www.ukrainian-philately.info](http://www.ukrainian-philately.info)). Click on 2005 or on any other year's issues you may wish to check out. Past Narbut Prize winners as well as runners-up may be viewed on the website of the UPNS: [www.upns.org](http://www.upns.org)

## A list of past winners

The Narbut Prize has been awarded annually since 1993 for the best-designed stamp of the previous year (Ukraine resumed stamp production only in 1992). The award was established by Dr. Inger Kuzych, well-known philatelic author, editor, and

1997 – Serhiy Bieliaiev; "150th Anniversary of the Kyiv University Astronomical Observatory" (stamp triptych).

1998 – V. Taran and O. Kharuk; "The Founding of Kyiv" (Europa souvenir sheet).

1999 – V. Taran, O. Kharuk, S. Kharuk and V. Kozachenko; "350th Anniversary of the Beginning of the Ukrainian Struggle for Freedom Under Bohdan Khmelnytsky" (souvenir sheet).

2000 – Oleksiy Shtanko; "Yaroslav the Wise" (souvenir sheet).

2001 – Kateryna Shtanko; "Wildflowers of Ukraine" (souvenir sheet).

2002 – Oleksiy Shtanko; "King Danylo" (souvenir sheet).

2003 – Mykola Kochubei; "Ukrainian Folk Costumes" (stamps and souvenir sheet).

2004 – Jaan Saar and Oksana Ternavska; "Route From the Varangians to the Greeks" (Ukraine-Estonia joint issue).

2005 – Svitlana Bondar, Oleksandr Kostiuhenko, Maria Heiko; "Gastronomy – Borsch" (Europa issue).



Figure 6. The souvenir sheet for the "60th Anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic War."



Figure 2. "The Treasures of Ukrainian Museums" issue highlighting two of the paintings from the Lviv National Museum.

## The Ukrainian Museum hosts Borys Tarasyuk and high-ranking diplomats

by Marta Baczynsky

NEW YORK – The meeting of world leaders at the United Nations during the last weeks of September once again brought happy chaos to New York City. The predictable traffic snarls and the seemingly never ending cacophony of police sirens escorting dignitaries from one place to another were somehow balanced out by the high drama emanating from the General Assembly sessions, and a rise in tourism that such an occurrence always brings about.

The business of world politics is good both for the spirit of the city and for its

economic welfare.

Although The Ukrainian Museum on East Sixth Street is located downtown and is somewhat removed from the epicenter of this bustling activity, we too partake in the excitement of the annual convention of heads of state in a very big way. Last year at this time the museum was honored by a memorable visit of Ukraine's President Viktor Yushchenko and First Lady Kateryna Yushchenko.

This year the museum was pleased to host Ukraine's Minister of Foreign Affairs Borys Tarasyuk, who arrived on Saturday, September 23, with his staff

## Bowery Poetry Club hosts Ukrainian reading

NEW YORK – The Bowery Poetry Club hosted a Ukrainian reading before a sold-out audience on Sunday, September 24. The evening of music, poetry and fiction in English and Ukrainian – held as part of the Balaklava! Eastern European Reading Series – was organized by fiction writer Irene Zabytko and Prof. Alexander Motyl of Rutgers University in New Jersey. They had previously organized an equally successful Ukrainian evening at the Cornelia Street Café in Greenwich Village in the spring.

Performers included the Svitanya Eastern European Women's Vocal Ensemble, Ukrainian-language poet Vasyl Makhno, English-language poet Dzvinia Orłowsky and fiction writer Prof. Motyl. Although the evening would not have happened without Ms. Zabytko's initiative, the PEN Award-winning fiction writer and author of several highly acclaimed novels was unable to attend.

The evening began with Ukrainian and Bulgarian songs by Susan Anderson, Kim Fedchak, Sibelan Forrester, Laura Howson, Maryka Kalyna and Christine Steele of Svitanya, accompanied by Jimmy Mora, a classical guitarist based in New York City.

One of their most memorable numbers was "Oy u Lisi," an ancient Kupalo song full of dissonant harmonies and sung in the "bilyi holos" style, which they learned from the renowned Ukrainian singer Mariana Sadowska. Svitanya also dedicated a song about displacement to the victims of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and "to the victims of displacement and war everywhere."

Svitanya's CD, "First Light," has been

played by radio stations in at least 12 countries, including Ukraine, and is available at [www.svitanya.org](http://www.svitanya.org).

Vasyl Makhno, a poet and playwright known for his love of language and wordplay, came next. He recited four poems in Ukrainian and their English-language translations (by Dr. Orest Popovych, president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society). Dr. Makhno's latest book is "38 Poems about New York and Other Things." Several of his poems have just appeared in translation in Kerala, India.

Dzvinia Orłowsky followed with a bravura performance. The Pushcart Prize-winning poet and author of "A Handful of Bees," "Edge of House," "Except for One Obscene Brushstroke" and the forthcoming "Convertible Night, Flurry of Stones" combined humor and razor-sharp observations of human nature in her poems. Ms. Orłowsky recently published a translation of Alexander Dovzhenko's novella, "The Enchanted Desna" (which readers may acquire from her at [Dzvinia.Orłowsky@verizon.net](mailto:Dzvinia.Orłowsky@verizon.net)).

Prof. Motyl completed the program with a reading from his latest work of fiction, "Who Shot Andrei Warhol," which depicts the imagined encounter between Andy Warhol and a Soviet Ukrainian journalist who comes to New York City in early 1968 to report on the impending American revolution. Prof. Motyl is a political science professor and painter, and author of "Whiskey Priest," a thriller set in post-Soviet Ukraine.

Ms. Zabytko and Prof. Motyl said they intend to continue with staging Ukrainian cultural programs in American venues in the years ahead.



Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk signs the Visitors' Book at The Ukrainian Museum as board of trustees President Olha Hnateyko looks on.

and distinguished members of Ukraine's diplomatic corps. Accompanying the minister were Ukraine's Ambassador to the United States Oleh Shamshur, Consul General of Ukraine in New York City Mykola Kyrychenko, former Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations Valeriy Kuchinsky, Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Andrii Deschytzia and Consul Andrii Olefirov.

The museum's board of trustees President Olha Hnateyko, Director Maria Shust, members of the board and museum staff assembled in front of the museum and greeted the minister and his party as they arrived in a cavalcade of gleaming black limousines.

Reading a short welcome statement Mrs. Hnateyko said that The Ukrainian Museum was honored by the minister's visit and expressed her pleasure at the presence of Ambassador Shamshur and Consul General Kyrychenko, who had visited the museum on previous occasions. A former ambassador to the U.N., Mr. Kuchinsky, was also warmly greeted by the board president. During his long tenure as ambassador, Mr. Kuchinsky and his wife, Alla, were ardent proponents and supporters of the museum.

Mrs. Hnateyko briefly spoke about the work of the museum, especially citing the upcoming exhibition "Crossroads: Modernism in Ukraine 1910-1930" scheduled to open at the museum on November 4, following its run in Chicago. This is the first major exhibition of early 20th century Ukrainian art in New York City.

Organized in Ukraine, with works from the National Art Museum of Ukraine and other museums in the country, the show came to the United States under the auspices of the Foundation for International Arts and Education in cooperation with the National Art Museum of Ukraine.

There is great importance attached to this exhibition, explained Mrs. Hnateyko, since its objective is to highlight this immensely creative and prolific period in

Ukrainian art history and introduce Ukrainian avant-garde artists and their work to American audiences. The Ukrainian Museum in New York City is looking forward to presenting this exciting exhibition. Mrs. Hnateyko pointed out that both Ambassador and Mrs. Kuchinsky were very helpful in the process of bringing this show to The Ukrainian Museum.

In view of the distinguished group of visitors, Mrs. Hnateyko also indicated that shortly the museum is looking forward to presenting another exhibition from Ukraine. The exhibit, organized from the private collection of President Yushchenko and other collectors, will feature Ukrainian religious sculpture and icons.

During the capital fund-raising campaign in the museum's promotional literature, it has always been underscored that one of the goals of the institution in its new building will be to host exhibitions from Ukraine. Since the new facility opened in 2005 this aim is being realized.

A tour of the museum's second inaugural exhibition "The Tree of Life, the Sun, the Goddess: Symbolic Motifs in Ukrainian Folk Art" was on Minister Tarasyuk's agenda. In her inimitable way, Lubow Wolynetz, the curator of the museum's folk art collection and curator of the exhibition, explained the significance of the objects on display, injecting interesting details from her repertoire of folklore and traditions. At the display of Easter breads in answer to a question by Ms. Wolynetz, the minister was heard to say that he leaves the matter of baking in the capable hands of his wife.

Minister Tarasyuk also toured the exhibition "Jacques Hnizdovsky – in Color and in Black & White," which features paintings, woodcuts and ceramics by the noted Ukrainian artist. Director Shust provided commentary and information.

Time for leisurely activities is meas-

(Continued on page 15)



Dzvinia Orłowska



Vasyl Makhno

# Actress Vera Farmiga: reaching for stardom

by Helen Smindak

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

NEW YORK – Actress Vera Farmiga has been playing diverse roles in a variety of films and television series for over 10 years. Until 2004, she was not well-known to the public or to movie critics.

Last weekend opened an important phase in her acting career – her ambition to make a studio film has come to fruition. She has the leading female role in the Martin Scorsese-directed film “The Departed,” which opened in theaters nationwide on October 6.

Like many other gifted actresses looking for demanding roles, she has concentrated on work in independent films, where she can find the original character roles she likes to portray. Unfortunately, independent films usually run for a week or two in one theater and do not draw large audiences.

Last year, Ms. Farmiga’s achievement in the movie “Down to the Bone,” a film that created a sensation at the 2004 Sundance Film Festival, brought her the L.A. Film Critics Association Best Actress Award. In addition, for her portrayal of a working-class mother of two who is a drug addict, she won the Special Jury Prize awarded at the festival, was nominated for the Independent Spirit Award (Best Actress) and named runner-

Set in the South Boston organized crime scene, the movie spotlights police force attempts to rein in the increasingly powerful Irish mafia. Billy Costigan (Leonardo DiCaprio) is a young cop looking to make a name for himself in law enforcement, Colin Sullivan (Matt Damon) is a street-smart criminal who has infiltrated the police department, and Frank Costello (Jack Nicholson) is the ruthless syndicate head to whom Sullivan reports.

Also being released this fall is the film “Breaking and Entering,” by Academy Award-winning director Anthony Minghella, in which Ms. Farmiga has a supporting role as a Romanian prostitute.

## A career-making role

Ms. Farmiga’s performance in “The Departed” may prove to be the career-making role she’s been hoping for.

Evidence of her increasing presence in the film world is the recent New York Times Magazine story, “A Film of Her Own,” featuring her film work, work methods and way of life. Penned by Lynn Hirschberg, editor at large for the magazine who writes regularly about Hollywood and film, the feature article appeared in the Sunday magazine on September 3. The lengthy story gives a sympathetic portrayal of Ms. Farmiga, her career and her ambition to work in a



Vera Farmiga as Madolyn in “The Departed.”

comedy to dialogue and drama.”

Reached by phone at her home in upstate New York, not far from Soyuzivka, the Ukrainian National Association estate in Kerhonkson, N.Y., Ms. Farmiga concurred with Ms. Hirschberg’s findings. She feels that inconsistencies do indeed exist in the film industry.

Although she had not read Ms. Hirschberg’s story (she avoids reviews and stories about herself), she said Ms. Hirschberg has written about her before. “I’m extremely grateful to Lynn for her unprecedented article; she sheds light on problems in the film industry in a way you can’t believe,” Ms. Farmiga commented.

Ms. Farmiga said she was “absolutely thrilled to work with Marty; working with him is really invigorating. Every actor’s dream is to work in a Martin Scorsese film; he’s a very passionate, direct and generous man.”

“My partners in the film were fantastic, and I truly enjoyed working with these stars. All the actors were warm and giving, and I felt very close to them,” she added, in the exuberant, eager voice that echoes her off-camera personality.

She said she had just completed her sixth film in one year, mostly independent films, leaving her quite exhausted. But, she pointed out, each film was different, with radically different characters, and each filmmaker was a first-time experience. “And my hair was a different color each time, all the colors of the rainbow,” laughed the 5-foot-6-inch actress. “My natural hair color is light brown,” she added.

## A country girl

Ms. Farmiga shuns the glamour and glitter of city life, preferring country life in rural Ulster County, where she lives in a small colonial house with her boyfriend, Renn Hawkey. In between film assignments, she raises two pet goats, mows the lawn with a tractor, and pores through scripts sent to her by her manager, Jon Rubenstein.

Once she’s found a role that intrigues her, she makes an audition video of herself acting out the character. Dressed in costume, wig and make-up appropriate to the character, she acts the role as Mr. Hawkey films a scene or two, reading lines opposite to hers.

According to Ms. Hirschberg, Ms.

Farmiga prefers this method of acquainting directors with her ability to fill a role rather than a live audition; she feels that the home video provides her with “comfortable space and a suitable environment” for her own artistic vision. (After seeing the actress in “Down to the Bone” and watching her home video for “The Departed,” Mr. Scorsese was sold – he wanted Ms. Farmiga for the role of Madolyn in his movie.)

In the 15 or so films Ms. Farmiga has made, she has appeared alongside such stars as Adrien Brody and Milla Jovovich (“Dummy,”) John Heard and the late Alan King (“Mind the Gap”), Richard Gere and Robert De Niro (“15 Minutes”), Christopher Walken (“The Opportunists”), and Denzel Washington, Meryl Streep and Liev Schreiber (“The Manchurian Candidate”).

She has been on location in Australia, Canada, France and Germany, and recently spent

several weeks in St. Petersburg, Russia, filming an independent film, “In Transit,” which takes place after World War II. Starring in the lead role, she plays a doctor who is overseeing a Russian prison camp housing German prisoners of war.

Because of her fluency in Ukrainian – she did not speak English until she was 5 – she is particularly well-suited to portray Eastern European characters and their mannerisms, speech and accents, as in “15 Minutes” and “In Transit.” She also speaks some French and Spanish, all of which is helpful in her acting endeavors.

Ms. Farmiga comes from a Ukrainian family of seven children (the offspring of Luba and Michael Farmiga), attended St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic School in Newark, N.J., was a member of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, and attended dance camps and workshops directed by the late Roma Pryma Bohachevsky. The family lived in the New Jersey town of Irvington and later in Passaic.

Speaking of Ms. Farmiga back in 2000, Ms. Pryma Bohachevsky recalled her student’s talent and diligence, noting that “she was always acting and was very expressive.”

Ms. Farmiga, on her part, said: “Ms. Bohachevsky gave me help, and encouraged me to take up acting, to follow my heart – I’m very grateful to her.”

The actress got her start in theater work in a high school melodrama, “The Vampire,” after being benched from soccer, and went on to study acting at Syracuse University.

She appeared in several stage productions as a member of the Barrow Group theater company in New York, then embarked on TV work – as a Celtic warrior in the TV series “Roar,” a star in the NBC series “UC: Undercover” and Snow White’s mother in ABC’s “Snow White.” She guest-starred in “Law and Order” and other television series. Her film work began in 1998 with the movie “Return to Paradise.”

At 33, Vera Farmiga is on her way to stardom. The blue-eyed Ukrainian American actress is striving hard to reach her goal: major roles in studio productions that will test her acting skills and virtuosity. If innate artistry, intensity and vitality are requisites for success in the film world, she will surely reach her objective.



Vera Farmiga in a scene from the new movie “The Departed.”

up for the Best Actress award presented by the National Society of Film Critics.

Her performance in “Down to the Bone,” described as “extraordinarily complex” and considered to be her best work so far, caught the attention of Mr. Scorsese and led him to choose her for “The Departed.”

The Warner Brothers film, a crime drama starring big box-office stars Leonardo DiCaprio, Matt Damon, Jack Nicholson and Mark Wahlberg and co-starring Martin Sheen and Alec Baldwin, has Ms. Farmiga playing a police psychiatrist named Madolyn who is romantically linked to two of the men (DiCaprio and Damon).

studio production.

Ms. Hirschberg reveals that Mr. Minghella believes Ms. Farmiga is “of the quality of Meryl Streep – her characters have the same sense of depth and commitment.”

In her article, Ms. Hirschberg explores the complexities of today’s film industry and the difficulties faced by many talented actresses in finding demanding roles in studio productions. She says Hollywood has stopped creating big, dramatic roles for ambitious actresses, since major studios prefer to select well-known actresses for their films, aiming specifically to “entertain a vast global audience that prefers action and broad

## The Ukrainian Museum...

(Continued from page 14)

ured in very small doses in the life of a high-ranking state official and all too soon Minister Tarasyuk’s staff members reminded him of pending obligations. At parting, the museum presented the minister with several exhibition catalogs.

In turn, as a memento of his visit, Minister Tarasyuk gave the museum a

Taras Shevchenko coin, minted and issued in 2004 by the National Bank of Ukraine. In the Visitors’ Book, in elegant script, the minister wrote that his wish is for The Ukrainian Museum to have interesting exhibitions, grateful supporters and beautiful Ukrainian works of art.

As he departed, Minister Tarasyuk cast a last look at the interior of the building and said to no one in particular, “It is a beautiful museum.”

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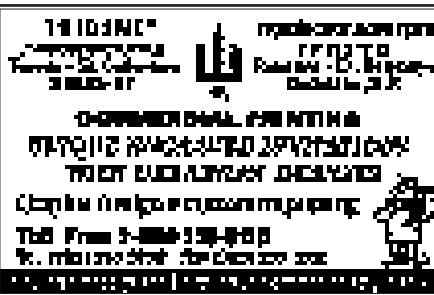
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## Yushchenko's...

(Continued from page 2)

cil accused Mr. Yanukovych of ignoring the declaration and authorized Mr. Bezsmertnyi to stop the talks if the PRU and its satellites continue to reject their conditions.

On October 4 President Yushchenko, returning from a visit to Germany, again urged the sides to base a new coalition on the declaration. This request was again flatly rejected by the Communists at a meeting among the leaders of the four parties, including Mr. Yanukovych, and later on the same day Mr. Bezsmertnyi announced that Our Ukraine was moving into the opposition to Prime Minister Yanukovych and would recall its ministers from his Cabinet.

Mr. Bezsmertnyi's statement initially was not taken seriously. Mr. Yanukovych and Socialist leader Oleksander Moroz urged a continuation of the talks, and Mr. Yanukovych dismissed Mr. Bezsmertnyi's statement as too emotional. Opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko suggested that the OU had only tried to scare Mr. Yanukovych and planned to continue the talks anyway. Mr. Yushchenko still continues to believe, judging by his recent statements, that all the bridges have not yet been burned. There are signs that Mr. Yushchenko may distance himself from the OUPU – the party that Mr. Bezsmertnyi constructed at his request in early 2005 – and continue to insist on a grand coalition. The new head of Mr. Yushchenko's Presidential Secretariat, Viktor Baloha, told a press conference on October 6 that Mr. Yushchenko may quit as OUPU honorary chairman. He also said that Mr. Yushchenko is equally distant from all political parties.

On October 6 Mr. Bezsmertnyi urged Our Ukraine representatives to quit the Cabinet. This, however, has not been met with enthusiasm by those concerned – Justice Minister Roman Zvarych, Family, Youth and Sports Minister Yurii Pavlenko, Culture Minister Ihor Likhovyi and Health Minister Yurii Poliachenko.

Only Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk – who leads OU's Rukh Party, which has probably been the least keen on continuing the coalition talks – reportedly indicated that he would quit the Cabinet because the talks failed. But Mr. Tarasyuk does not formally have to do so, as he was appointed to the Cabinet not on Our Ukraine's, but on Mr. Yushchenko's presidential quota. The other minister appointed on Mr. Yushchenko's quota – Defense Minister Anatolii Hrytsenko – made it clear that he would not resign unless President Yushchenko asked him to do so.

On October 9 Our Ukraine's press service quoted Mr. Bezsmertnyi as saying that all those who do not agree with the decision to go into the opposition to Mr. Yanukovych should quit OU. He said that all bridges have been burned, as the parties comprising OU had decided that there would be no more grand coalition talks.

It remains to be seen whether OU will start to build bridges with Ms. Tymoshenko to build a united opposition. The Ukrainian media have been circulating a rumor that President Yushchenko may appoint her secretary of the National Security and Defense Council and try to make this body a counterbalance to the Yanukovych Cabinet.

Sources: ICTV, October 2; Delo, October 3; UTI, October 4; Channel 5, October 4-9; Obkom.net.ua, Delovaya Stolitsa, October 9.

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

camp, delivered a painful blow to the international image of the state, and affected the results of the parliamentary elections in 2006," Our Ukraine said in a statement. Mr. Zinchenko stepped down on September 2, 2005, from the post of head of the presidential staff, accusing then National Security and Defense Council Secretary Petro Poroshenko as well as several other presidential aides of corruption. Mr. Zinchenko's allegations, which have not been confirmed in court, triggered the dismissal of Yulia Tymoshenko's Cabinet by President Yushchenko. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Synod ends

LVIV – A session of the Synod of Bishops of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC), which discussed the education of priests, was held in Briukhovychi, near Lviv, on September 13-20. Three metropolitans and 33 bishops, members of the Synod from Ukraine and the diaspora, participated in the session headed by Patriarch Lubomyr Husar, head of the UGCC. The bishops listened to Patriarch Lubomyr's speech about the strategy of the UGCC and reports on activities of synodal committees, work on writing the catechism of the UGCC, and preparation for the 2007 Patriarchal Sobor (assembly) dedicated to youth issues. In addition, the hierarchs considered the appointment of new leaders to sees that lack ruling hierarchs and to places where auxiliary bishops are needed. On September 19 voting for specific candidates for bishops of the UGCC was held. The hierarchs invited the pope to visit Ukraine. The next synod is planned for late September 2007 in Philadelphia, marking the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the first Greek-Catholic bishop, Soter Ortynsky, in the United States. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

### Yanukovych urges more coalition talks

KYIV – Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych said in Mykolaiv on October 5 that despite Our Ukraine's declared intention to withdraw its ministers from the government and join the opposition, his Party of the Regions insists on the need to create a broad coalition with the pro-presidential bloc, Ukrainian media reported. "I'm sure that we have not yet completed this process [of building a broader coalition] and that President [Viktor] Yushchenko, with whom we reached agreements, remains and will continue to be Our Ukraine's leader, and that the de facto representatives of Our Ukraine in the government are working in accordance with our agreements," Mr. Yanukovych said. In turn, President Yushchenko said in a press release later the same day that participants in the failed coalition talks "still have the chance to reach agreement on key issues," adding "I do not consider the negotiating process to be exhausted." Mr. Yushchenko said that a potential agreement between Our Ukraine and the ruling coalition should be based on the Universal of National Unity signed by Ukraine's major political forces in August. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Poll says Yanukovych most influential

KYIV – According to a poll conducted in late September, 44 percent of respondents said Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych is the most influential political figure in Ukraine, while 19 percent said President Viktor Yushchenko is the most influential, Interfax-Ukraine reported on October 5. Three-fourths of respondents stated that Messrs. Yanukovych and

Yushchenko pursue policies that are at variance with each other, while just 13 percent said their policies are coordinated. The poll was conducted by the Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Studies among 2,005 adult Ukrainians. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Fund to facilitate Lviv's preservation

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine and his Lithuanian and Polish counterparts, Valdas Adamkus and Lech Kaczynski, are planning to initiate the creation of a fund for facilitating the development of Lviv. The presidents signed a joint declaration at their September 30 meeting in Lviv during the celebrations of Lviv's 750th anniversary. In the document, the signatories addressed the peoples and presidents of those countries that contributed to the formation of Lviv's cultural traditions, as well as international organizations, the public, cultural activists and business representatives concerning the development and preservation of Lviv's cultural heritage and the city's architecture. The meeting participants are confident that the declaration will essentially contribute to safeguarding Lviv's uniqueness. (Ukrainian News Agency)

### Presidents want to resolve Georgia crisis

KYIV – Presidents Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine, Lech Kaczynski of Poland and Valdas Adamkus of Lithuania on October 5 released a statement on international efforts aimed at constructively resolving the Russia-Georgia crisis. "We appreciate the efforts by the OSCE chairman-in-office, Belgian Foreign Minister Karol De Gucht, Finnish Foreign Minister Erkki Tuomioja, whose country presides in the European Union, as well as by other representatives of the international community, to resolve the problem. We are convinced that their involvement can be the major factor in the settlement of conflicts in Georgia to ensure its sovereignty, security and territorial integrity," they said in a joint statement. The presidents said they were worried about the situation in Georgia and called on Russia and Georgia "to refrain from mutual accusations and to start negotiations." They added, "Every conflict can be settled through negotiations, in which we are ready to participate as mediators." (Official Website of the President of Ukraine)

### OU slams Russia's imperial policy

KYIV – The Our Ukraine parliamentary caucus on October 4 released a state-

ment condemning Russia's "imperial foreign policy" aimed at "weakening the sovereignty or territorial integrity of the Georgian state," Ukrainian media reported. Our Ukraine criticized Russia for bans on Georgian imports and "an entire range of economic sanctions" against Georgia, as well as for the holding of military exercises close to Georgia's maritime borders. "We express our solidarity with Georgia and its people at a time when Russia is taking a provocative, impulsive and emotional style in interstate relations and returning to imperial rhetoric," the statement read. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Rada cancels utilities moratorium

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on October 5 revoked the moratorium on utilities-payment hikes it had endorsed last month. The revocation was supported by 340 votes. The motion to cancel the moratorium – backed on October 5 by 249 deputies – was submitted by the Cabinet of Ministers, which argued that the implementation of the moratorium would place an onerous burden on the state budget. The opposition Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc announced that it will question the legality of the October 5 vote in the Constitutional Court. (RFE/RL Newsline)



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To: Walter Verheles, Katherine Verheles, Paul Zitko, Natalia Zitko, Tanya Zitko, Larissa Volosyena, Svetlana Kornienko, Walter Luhova, Tamara Luhova and Katherine Oleniak, whose whereabouts are unknown, and if deceased, to all the unknown distributees, heirs at law and next of kin, of Barbara Pregon, their guardians, committees, conservators or assignees, and if any of them survived the decedent but have since died or become incompetent, their successors in interest, executors, administrators, legal representatives, devisees, legatees, spouses, distributees, heirs at law, next of kin, committees, conservators, guardians or any person having any claim or interest through them by purchase, inheritance or otherwise.

A petition having been duly filed by Russell Kantor, who is domiciled at 188 Rockne Road, Yonkers, NY 10701.

YOU ARE HEREBY CITED TO SHOW CAUSE before the Surrogate's Court, Westchester County, at 140 Grand St., White Plains, New York, on November 22, 2006 at 9:30 o'clock in the fore noon of that day, why a decree should not be made in the estate of Barbara Pregon lately domiciled at 375 Marlborough Road, Yonkers, NY 10701, admitting to probate a Will dated Jan. 15, 2001, a copy of which is attached, as the Will of Barbara Pregon deceased, relating to a real and personal property, and directing that Letters Testamentary issue to Russell Kantor (State any further relief requested).

Hon. Anthony A. Scarpino, Jr.  
 Dated, Attested and Sealed September 21, 2006  
 Surrogate John W. Kelly, Chief Clerk

Stephan Wislocki, Esq. 914-347-7197  
 PO Box 129, Hawthorne, NY 10532-0129  
 29 Taylor Rd., Valhalla, NY 10595

Note: This citation is served upon you as required by law. You are not required to appear. If you fail to appear it will be assumed you do not object to the relief requested. You have a right to have an attorney appear for you.



**The Ukrainian National Association will mail  
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The UNA will be mailing Christmas greetings to Ukrainian American service people presently serving their country in many parts of the world.

The UNA wishes to solicit your help in getting names, addresses and ranks of any Ukrainian you may know who is serving in the armed forces. Help make this project successful!

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Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Rank: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Please send the information by December 2, 2006, to:  
 Ukrainian National Association, Inc.

UNA National Organizer - Oksana Trytjak  
 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280  
 Parsippany, N.J. 07054

Tel.: 973-292-9800 ext. 3071; e-mail: oksanauna@comcast.net

## Ukraine in search...

(Continued from page 2)

In March, at the European Union's insistence, Ukraine joined Moldova and the EU's Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) to implement border and customs regulations in line with EU norms on the Ukraine-Moldova border, including the Transdnistria sector. However, following the August change of government, some Ukrainian diplomats criticize the customs regime for cutting the revenues (even if illicit ones) of the port of Odesa and other entities, while the Ukrainian state railways company has rerouted some traffic that was circumventing Transdnistria.

Any erosion in the post-March customs and border regime must be avoided; if anything, that regime needs to be strengthened further. The EU regards Kyiv's position on this issue as one of the credibility tests of Kyiv's aspirations to draw closer to the EU.

• **GUAM:** Officially Kyiv has intermittently and rather fleetingly focused on the GUAM group of countries (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova) as a possible format for exercising Ukrainian regional leadership. Created in 1997 at Azerbaijan's initiative as a four-country caucus in negotiations on the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), GUAM never found a wider role and was vegetating by 2002 for want of a mission.

At that point, then-President Leonid Kuchma took the initiative of holding a GUAM summit in Ukraine, drafting a charter and other basic documents, creating a Secretariat based in Ukraine, and announcing a start to GUAM's institutionalization, with Ukraine as presiding country. The results were almost nil, again, for want of a wider plausible rationale for GUAM. Mr. Kuchma's rapprochement with the Kremlin in 2003-2004 ruled out any development of GUAM and brought the group to the verge of extinction.

The 2005 Chisinau summit, anticipated as a "GUAM Revival," led nowhere in the absence of any guiding concept or funding from member countries. Finally, the GUAM summit hosted in April by President Yushchenko in Kyiv reached back to the 2002 institutionalization scheme of forms without content. Moreover, the Ukrainian president instructed his relevant officials to introduce legislation on a GUAM free-trade zone within a few weeks. Nothing further seems to have been heard about any of these initiatives since then.

Meanwhile, GUAM continues playing a useful, if limited, role, pooling the four countries' efforts within the OSCE regarding implementation of the adapted CFE Treaty and unfreezing negotiations on the "frozen" conflicts. The group (minus Moldova) met in August to consider the possibility of creating a peace-keeping unit.

Last month, GUAM registered an unprecedented diplomatic-symbolic success at the United Nations, garnering a narrow majority in favor of including a debate on frozen conflicts and the unlawful stationing of foreign troops on three of the GUAM countries' territories. The group intends to continue such efforts at the United Nations, OSCE and other international organizations irrespective of institutionalization projects or leadership issues.

• **Community of Democratic Choice:** This group apparently ceased to exist soon after holding its inaugural summit in December 2005. In retrospect, it seems

clear that the CDC was poorly conceived in that it divided the region into approved and less-approved countries, doing so, moreover, on questionable criteria. The color revolution's end in Ukraine and the way it ended has brought a new appreciation of evolutionary political and institutional development and stability. President Yushchenko's September visit to Azerbaijan has signaled, however belatedly, the end of the exclusionary approach toward friends in the region.

• **Kosovo:** Officially Kyiv takes the position that international recognition of the independence of Kosovo (which is anticipated) could create a "precedent," triggering chain reactions by secessionist forces in other areas and because it could jeopardize political settlements in Transdnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Karabakh. Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs Borys Tarasyuk has argued along these lines for some time, most recently in his speech to the U.N. General Assembly (Interfax-Ukraine, September 22).

This view may be termed a "negative" precedent, as distinct from Moscow's and the four secessionist leaderships' view that Kosovo's independence would constitute an immediately usable, "positive" precedent or model. Both of those views posit a direct linkage between the outcome in Kosovo and outcomes in the post-Soviet conflicts and invoke formal logic to rationalize the purported linkage.

Fear of a "precedent" on Kosovo could turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy regarding the post-Soviet conflicts. The United States (which favors independence for Kosovo) and most of its allies insist that the vastly different characteristics of these conflicts rules out any linkage between Kosovo and the post-Soviet conflict. Using linkage to sound the alarm only reinforces Moscow's thesis that linkage exists.

The most effective defense against the use of a Kosovo "precedent" is building a conceptual and political firewall, declaring the Kosovo outcome in advance to be wholly irrelevant to the post-Soviet conflicts.

*The article above is reprinted from Eurasia Daily Monitor with permission from its publisher, the Jamestown Foundation, www.jamestown.org.*

## Foreign Affairs Minister...

(Continued from page 8)

With the same aim, a number of events will take place in Kyiv tomorrow to commemorate the 65th anniversary of the Babyn Yar tragedy. Mass executions by the Nazis there became among the first sad pages of the evolving tragedy of the Holocaust. In the memory of the Ukrainian people it also marks the death of tens of thousands of Soviet prisoners of war of different nationalities. This event is designed to become yet another important reminder of the lessons of history and the need to prevent any manifestations of anti-Semitism, xenophobia and intolerance.

... For over 60 years after its creation the United Nations has grown both in numbers – from 51 states up to 192 – and in quality. Our organization has gained invaluable experience in changing the world so that every person could enjoy more security, justice and dignity. However, much is yet to be achieved. I believe that it is in our power and interests to do all we can so that we would be united not only by a common past but common future as well.

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# Ukrainian activists meet with new mayor and Municipal Council of Newark

NEWARK, N.J. – During its regular meeting on September 6, the newly elected Municipal Council of Newark issued a resolution commemorating the 15th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine. This event was sponsored by Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine (AHRU). Several of its members and members of the Ukrainian community were called to the council platform to formally receive the signed and framed resolution from the City of Newark.

The ceremony took place at the end of a business session of the council during

which a good number of Newark citizens had an opportunity to speak and have their voices heard on numerous issues such as crime in the city, police brutality, sanitation problems, youth problems, housing problems, taxes, etc.

A surprising event occurred at the end of the session when Mayor Cory Booker arrived at the meeting. He is a newly elected dynamic young mayor who has promised to make major reforms in Newark. He recently hired Garry McCarthy, a crime-righting specialist from New York for this purpose.

Mayor Booker joined the Municipal Council in the presentation of the Ukrainian resolution and gave a short speech praising his Ukrainian constituents.

West Ward Councilman Ronald Rice Jr. personally read the text of the resolution before handing it over to Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president of AHRU. She, in turn, thanked the entire presidium of the meeting, gave a short presentation about

recent events in Ukraine and also offered best wishes to the crew of the NASA space shuttle Atlantis, whose crew included a Ukrainian American woman, U.S. Navy Cmdr. Heidemarie Stefanyshyn-Piper.

The evening ended on a high note with the mayor, the nine members of the Municipal Council and the public of Newark congratulating and wishing Ukraine well on this auspicious occasion.



During the presentation of a Municipal Council resolution on the 15th anniversary of Ukraine's independence (from left) are: Councilman Oscar James II, Daria Bekesewycz, Walter Bodnar, Lev Kolensky, Bozhena Olshaniwsky and Newark Mayor Cory Booker.

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## Harvard....

(Continued from page 12)

IBEX Fellowships, three Fulbright Fellowships, eight HURI Fellowships and 46 Shklar Fellowships have been awarded. In addition to conducting research, each fellow is required to present a lecture as part of HURI's weekly "Seminars in Ukrainian Studies."

\* \* \*

Founded in June 1973, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute serves as a focal point for graduate and undergraduate students, fellows and associates pursuing research in Ukrainian language, literature and history, as well as in anthropology, archaeology, art history, economics, political science, sociology, theology and other disciplines. It also organizes symposia and conferences on a variety of related topics.

Together with the Harvard University Library, its library has one of the largest collections of Ukrainian materials in the West. The institute's library contains books, maps, reference materials, periodicals, and other basic resources available for use at the Institute.

The institute's publication office publishes the Harvard Ukrainian Studies journal (founded in 1977) as well as a series of book publications, including the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature and Harvard Papers in Ukrainian Studies. A bulletin, Perspectives on Contemporary Ukraine, is also available.

HURI forms a vital component of Harvard University's vibrant international studies community and is an integral part of Harvard's National Resource Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies. It also works closely with the Center for European Studies, the Davis Center for Russian Studies the Harvard Institute for International Development, the Center for Jewish Studies and a wide range of other institutes, centers, departments, schools, and faculties with international programs.

The institute's mission includes the advancement of knowledge about Ukraine in the United States through research and teaching of the highest quality. This mission was shaped by HURI's founder, Omeljan Pritsak, the first Mykhailo S. Hrushevskyi Professor of Ukrainian History and a scholar of broad scope and erudition, who served as the institute's first director until his retirement in 1989, and by another Harvard scholar of international distinction, Ihor Sevcenko, Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Byzantine Literature and History.

With Ukraine's independence, the institute's mission has broadened to include contemporary political, social and economic issues. HURI also seeks to foster the study of the diverse religious and ethnic groups that make their home in Ukraine, to act as a bridge between Ukrainian studies and the study of Russia, Poland, Turkey, Belarus and Moldova, and to develop close and supportive relations with Ukraine's emerging cultural and academic institutions.

### *Need a back issue?*

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## The political divorce...

(Continued from page 3)

candidate, nor was he acting on behalf of Ms. Tymoshenko, as widely suspected.

Whatever his true motive might have been, the Zinchenko press conference triggered a three-day verbal war between Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Poroshenko.

After the dismissal, President Yushchenko said he spent those three days trying to hold the government together, and it was an experience he never wanted to repeat again.

He acknowledged that he was aware Mr. Poroshenko had been battling with Ms. Tymoshenko for months, even admitting to feeling like a baby-sitter when trying to deal with them.

On the eve of the government's dismissal, Mr. Yushchenko said he put forth a proposition to the warring sides in which either everyone resigned, or that only partial resignations occur – namely Mr. Poroshenko's and Mr. Turchynov's.

It was during these discussions that Mr. Yushchenko allegedly complained about Ms. Tymoshenko's need for the spotlight. "Look at Putin or Lukashenka," Mr. Yushchenko allegedly said. "They have brilliant prime ministers. No one ever sees them on television."

Though she allegedly agreed to partial resignations, Ms. Tymoshenko called a late-night meeting at her dacha that very night, according to the president. Inviting the procurator general and the minister of internal affairs, she suggested that they hold their own press conferences in the morning to reveal corruption. In the view of Mr. Khmara, this was the last straw for Mr. Yushchenko. "It appeared as a subtle strike against the president," he said.

At 12:30 p.m. on September 8, 2005, Mr. Yushchenko appeared on live, national television to announce he was dismissing Ms. Tymoshenko and most of her Cabinet of Ministers, as well as Mr. Poroshenko.

He acknowledged corruption in his government, naming as the last straw Ms. Tymoshenko's alleged attempts to steer control of the Nikopol Ferroalloy Plant from Viktor Pinchuk into the hands of his Dnipropetrovsk rival Ihor Kolomoyskyi.

Mr. Yushchenko claimed Ms. Tymoshenko wanted, in exchange, shares in 1+1, the second-highest-rated television network in Ukraine.

Just three weeks earlier, Mr. Kolomoyskyi declared his intention to buy a 40 percent stake in 1+1, however, Ms. Tymoshenko has denied she was involved in secret agreements with him or his partnership, Pryvat Group.

Mr. Yushchenko called the Nikopol scandal "a fight between two gangs" in his September 8 address.

What Mr. Yushchenko didn't reveal is that Mr. Poroshenko was also allegedly angling for a stake in a Ukrainian television network.

Russian businessmen Oleksander Abramov and Viktor Vekselberg wanted to "purchase the Inter channel and then transfer it to Mr. Yushchenko's inner circle in exchange for the Nikopol Ferroalloy Plant," Russian Communist Deputy Viktor Iliukhin alleged. Mr. Poroshenko was reportedly interested in the deal.

"I agree with the president," Ms. Tymoshenko said afterwards. "This was the gang of Pinchuk fighting the gang of Poroshenko and a Russian businessman who was linked with Poroshenko."

Ms. Tymoshenko's defenders believe that she selected Mr. Kolomoyskyi to receive shares in the Nikopol reprivatization only because he already had a 25 percent stake in the factory, which he obtained legitimately. She viewed Mr. Kolomoyskyi as a partner the government could work with.

In the view of Mr. Doniy, the Nikopol affair was merely a pretext for dismissal. President Yushchenko has always been

aware of the corruption surrounding him and it didn't faze him. "Political interests aren't so important to him; moral cleanliness is not so important nor are ties to corruption," Mr. Doniy said.

"The most important thing is whether a person directly serving Yushchenko is playing his or her own separate game ... If the game turns against Yushchenko, he immediately distances the person from him. Yushchenko only likes people who demonstrate love, flattery and kindness," he added.

Mr. Yushchenko went beyond the Nikopol scandal in his attempt to discredit Ms. Tymoshenko, accusing her of abusing her position as prime minister to erase \$1.5 billion in government debt owed by her defunct gas-trading company, Unified Energy Systems of Ukraine. He also accused her of hatching an impeachment plot.

Despite the attacks upon her credibility and character, Ms. Tymoshenko never retaliated against Mr. Yushchenko himself, reserving her biting criticism instead for the triumvirate in his entourage.

All she would say is that Mr. Yushchenko's tacks against her were identi-

cal to the techniques Mr. Kuchma had used five years ago in repressing her.

"Throughout her political life, Tymoshenko has clung to him desperately, even when all hope was lost," Mr. Lozowy said.

### Yulia's revenge

By all indications, the Our Ukraine leadership believed it had maintained the support of the Orange electorate, marching confidently toward the March 2006 parliamentary elections.

Its advertising campaign belied the bloc's hubris, frequently employing the slogan "Don't Betray the Maidan" in radio and television advertisements.

It never occurred to Our Ukraine's leadership that many Ukrainians believe it was the leaders themselves who betrayed the Orange Revolution, with their ongoing corruption scandals and Mr. Yushchenko's decision to make peace with Ukraine's businessmen, formerly known as oligarchs and criminals.

Rather than investing in advertisements, Ms. Tymoshenko took her bloc's campaign

to Ukraine's cities, traveling a total of 80,000 kilometers and speaking in front of 4.5 million people, according to her website.

Entering the elections, most polls either predicted Our Ukraine would finish neck-and-neck with the Tymoshenko Bloc, or ahead.

However, there were polls that indicated as early as September 2005 that the Tymoshenko Bloc had more than 20 percent of the electoral support, compared to about 15 percent for Our Ukraine.

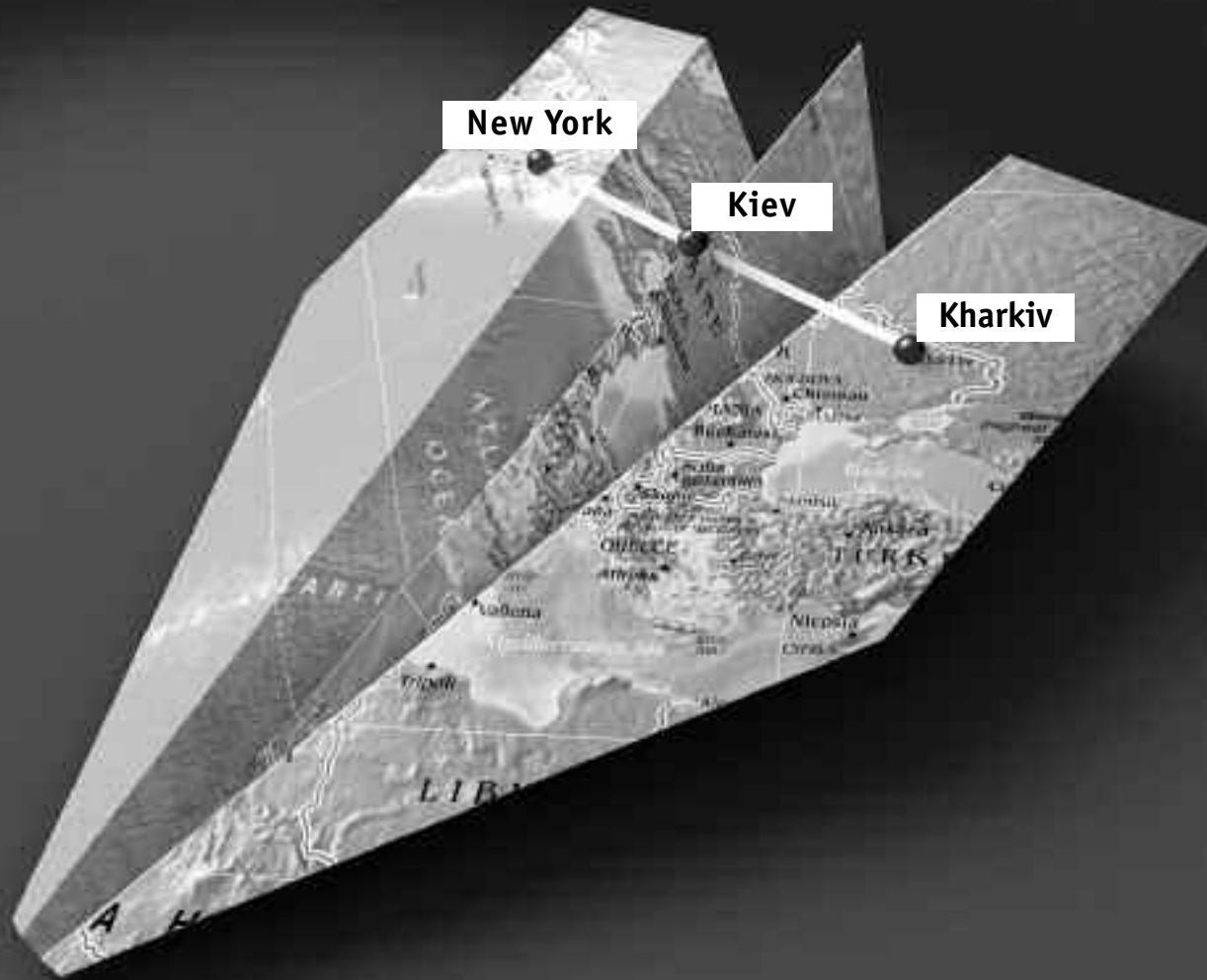
On the night of March 26, the nation's top exit poll was already able to declare that the Tymoshenko Bloc had pulled off the elections' biggest surprise.

Days later, the final results confirmed that 22 percent of the Ukrainian electorate, or 5.7 million voters, opted for Ms. Tymoshenko and her bloc, compared with the 14 percent, or 3.5 million voters, who supported Mr. Yushchenko and Our Ukraine.

The Ukrainian people had lifted the Orange Revolution's torch out of Mr.

(Continued on page 25)

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## The political divorce...

(Continued from page 23)

Yushchenko's hands and passed it on to Ms. Tymoshenko, who walked away from the political divorce as the victor.

The scenario in which Our Ukraine found itself resembled the Greek tragedy of Oedipus fleeing his worst fear.

It was their fear of Ms. Tymoshenko's rising popularity that caused Our Ukraine's leadership to fire her from government. But in trying to prevent their fear from becoming reality, they only realized it. The plan to eliminate her only strengthened her.

"Yushchenko doesn't have anything to fear from Tymoshenko anymore because the difference in ratings between them is such that she's no longer a threat," Mr. Taran said, tongue in cheek.

### Easier to slay a dragon

Humiliated by Our Ukraine's third-place finish in the March elections, President Yushchenko faced a no-win scenario.

Given that the Party of the Regions and the Tymoshenko Bloc had won the most votes, it meant that he would have to select as his next prime minister one of his two most threatening enemies – Mr. Yanukovich or Ms. Tymoshenko.

In the view of some political observers, Mr. Yushchenko immediately ruled out the option of allowing Ms. Tymoshenko to return as prime minister.

She, on the other hand, immediately called for a renewal of the Orange coalition.

Leaders of the Tymoshenko Bloc, Our Ukraine and the Socialist Party spent four months drawing up a 120-page coalition agreement.

Judging by how long and tedious the process was, Mr. Doniy said he believes it was merely a labyrinthine delaying tactic aimed at keeping Yurii Yekhanurov as prime minister for as long as possible,

while shutting Ms. Tymoshenko out.

Throughout, even Ms. Tymoshenko suspected as much.

"They wanted to complicate the situation," Mr. Doniy said. "It was immediately obvious that the negotiations were conducted in such a way so that the coalition wasn't formed. Many forces didn't want it, and it meant that they wanted a coalition in a different format. They simply didn't want Tymoshenko as prime minister."

In the view of Mr. Khmara, Ms. Tymoshenko made a mistake by immediately lobbying for Oleksander Moroz to become Verkhovna Rada chairman, even though his Socialist Party finished fourth in the parliamentary elections behind Our Ukraine.

"She provoked the incident by inflaming the immense ambitions of Moroz," he said. "There wasn't any logic to it – he had 5 percent into the elections. She fell in a trap and suffered the damage."

Once again, Mr. Poroshenko began lobbying for power, expressing his desire to lead the Verkhovna Rada as its chairman.

Some believe President Yushchenko was willing to allow Ms. Tymoshenko to return as prime minister, as long as Mr. Poroshenko was in place as the Verkhovna Rada chair to offset her influence.

Other observers said the mere suggestion was purposefully laying the groundwork for yet another government conflict and collapse.

When Ms. Tymoshenko, Mr. Moroz and Our Ukraine Political Council Chair Roman Bezsmertnyi called a June 22 press conference to announce the formation of a democratic coalition, it appeared the parties involved had agreed to allow Mr. Poroshenko to become chairman.

The night before, Our Ukraine legal advisor Roman Zvarych said Our Ukraine would nominate Mr. Poroshenko.

Meanwhile, political observers watched in disbelief, wondering why those involved

would repeat the same recipe for disaster.

Mr. Doniy believes Our Ukraine intentionally denied Mr. Moroz the Verkhovna Rada chairmanship – a position he had desperately wanted after losing it in April 1998 – in order to force him to defect to the Party of the Regions and thereby destroy the coalition.

It can even be said that Mr. Yushchenko and Our Ukraine's leadership were secretly hoping that Mr. Moroz would defect because they wanted to work alongside Mr. Yanukovich and the Party of the Regions instead, Mr. Doniy said.

"Tymoshenko wants redistribution, so she represents a war for them," he said. "The Party of the Regions and Our Ukraine are parties of peace. They want to expand further, in the same style. They want calm in order to enlarge profit, to control the situation in Ukraine and to rule in the state in which it is now. On the other hand, Tymoshenko in power represents a review of what currently exists."

If this was indeed the wish of Our Ukraine's leadership, it came true on July 6 when Mr. Moroz announced he was abandoning the democratic coalition and forming an Anti-Crisis Coalition with the Party of the Regions and the Communist Party of Ukraine. The respective leaders signed a 12-page pact in a matter of hours.

In Mr. Moroz's defection, Our Ukraine benefited by appearing as the victim of a political betrayal rather than the catalyst for a Russian-oriented government, which would have destroyed the bloc politically.

Despite a public campaign led by Ms. Tymoshenko to demand that Mr. Yushchenko dismiss the Parliament and call for new elections, Mr. Yushchenko opted for stability.

On August 3 he accepted Mr. Yanukovich as his new prime minister – a move that nevertheless began the likely disintegration of the Our Ukraine bloc and the Our Ukraine People's Union political party.

Afterwards, polls revealed that only 5 percent of the electorate support Mr. Yushchenko's politics.

While not a foregone conclusion, political experts believe it would take a miracle for Mr. Yushchenko to be re-elected president in 2009 – a battle that will likely pit Ms. Tymoshenko against Mr. Yanukovich.

For the co-pilots of the Orange Revolution, it was their difference in personalities – the moderate compromiser versus the radical reformer – that served as the bedrock for their success, as well as for their relationship's ultimate demise.

What Ms. Tymoshenko characterized as Mr. Yushchenko's political betrayal in uniting with Mr. Yanukovich, the president prided as his strength.

"Through this document, we will think more of the nation's wholeness and unity, and I am convinced that we will be thankful to God for such a position," he said referring the Universal of National Unity.

Ms. Tymoshenko offered reporters a different view.

Political betrayal is a contagious disease that spreads quickly from one politician to the next, she said. "It's unknown how it spreads, but it affects men exclusively. Women don't suffer from this disease."

In the end, the reason Mr. Kuchma dismissed Mr. Yushchenko half a decade earlier was quite similar to the motivation behind Mr. Yushchenko's firing of Ms. Tymoshenko, experts said.

The young, dynamic reformer had stepped on too many toes and had become too popular.

Once out to slay Ukraine's dragons alongside Ms. Tymoshenko, Mr. Yushchenko began to grow his own tail, observers said. "It is easier to kill a dragon, but much more difficult not to turn into one yourself," wrote one disappointed Orange Revolution activist, citing a Chinese proverb.



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## OUT AND ABOUT

October 19 New York	Film screening, "The Piano Tuner" by Kira Muratova, Ukrainian Film Club of Columbia, sy2165@columbia.edu	October 28 Toronto	SUM World Congress banquet, 60 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of SUM in the diaspora, Ukrainian Cultural Center, 416-537-2007
October 20 Winnipeg, MB	Symposium: "The Nuclear Catastrophe: Chernobyl 20 Years After," Dr. Yuri Shcherbak, University of Manitoba, 204-474-9681	October 29 Kitchener, ON	"The Sounds of Ukraine," Kyiv Chamber Choir performance, St. Mary Roman Catholic Church, 416-292-3407
October 21 Wilmington, DE	Ukrainian Orthodox League retreat, lecture and discussion: "Death: Life Beyond the Grave," Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 302-798-4455	October 29 Ottawa	Concert "...Iz Syrom Pyrohy" featuring the Akord Ukrainian Men's Choir, St. Mary Ukrainian Orthodox Church Hall, 613-728-0856
October 21 New York	Commemoration of Omeljan Pritsak, Shevchenko Scientific Society, 212-254-5130	October 30 London, ON	"The Sounds of Ukraine," Kyiv Chamber Choir performance, First St. Andrew's United Church, 416-292-3407m
October 21, 28, November 4, 11 New York	Bead-stringing (gerdany) workshop led by Olha Lesko, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110	November 1 Montreal	"The Sounds of Ukraine," Kyiv Chamber Choir performance, St. Andrew - St. Paul United Church, 416-292-3407
October 22 South Bound Brook, NJ	Fall Ukrainian Festival, sponsored by the United Ukrainian Orthodox Sisterhoods of the U.S.A., Ukrainian Cultural Center, 610-925-4772	November 2 Ottawa	"The Sounds of Ukraine," Kyiv Chamber Choir performance, Christ Church Anglican Cathedral, 416-292-3407
October 22 New Haven, CT	Benefit luncheon for The Ukrainian Museum in New York, sponsored by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 108, 203-265-2744 or 203-387-7168	November 2 Washington	Film premier, "Ex-mas Eve," written, produced and directed by Vsevelod Horodyskyj, Mazza Galleria AMC Theater, <a href="http://www.silveredgefilms.com/exmaseve.htm">www.silveredgefilms.com/exmaseve.htm</a>
October 23 Cambridge, MA	Seminar by Jeffrey Burds, "School of Hate: The German Occupation of Ukraine," Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, huri@fas.harvard.edu	November 3 Toronto	"The Sounds of Ukraine," Kyiv Chamber Choir performance, The George Weston Recital Hall, 416-292-3407
October 26 Boston	Photographic exhibit opening reception, "Gulag: Soviet Forced Labor Camps and the Struggle for Freedom," Boston University, 617-358-0922		

Entries in "Out and About" are listed free of charge. Priority is given to events advertised in The Ukrainian Weekly. However, we also welcome submissions from all our readers; please send e-mail to [staff@ukrweekly.com](mailto:staff@ukrweekly.com). Items will be published at the discretion of the editors and as space allows; photos will be considered. Please note: items will be printed a maximum of two times each.

### October 27-29, 2006

Trembita Bar Opens at 9 pm  
*Friday night, 10/27/06*

Friday Night Dinner, 6-8pm, \$16.95++  
(Choice of Shrimp Scampi, Pesto Lamb Chops or  
Chicken Roulade)

*Friday night, 10/27/06*

Pumpkin Picking, Painting & Crafts, 1-4 pm  
*Saturday, 10/28/06*

MAQUERADE PARADE for kids, 4-5 pm  
*Saturday, 10/28/06*

HAY RIDES to HAUNTED HOUSE  
in our Lviv Building 5-9 pm  
*Saturday, 10/28/06*

Scrumptious Dinner Buffet 6-8 pm, \$19.95++  
For smaller appetites- \$7.95++  
*Saturday, 10/28/06*

Saturday COSTUME ZABAVA 9:30 pm  
*Saturday, 10/28/06*

Prizes for most creative costumes-  
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## Soyuzivka's Datebook

**October 21, 2006**  
Wedding

**October 27-29, 2006**  
Halloween Weekend with children's costume parade, haunted house, costume zabava and more  
Club Suzie-Q Fall Weekend

**November 4, 2006**  
Wedding

**November 10-12, 2006**  
Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization  
"Orlykiada"

**November 19, 2006**  
Family Reunion  
Ellenville Co-op Nursery School  
Fundraising Auction

**November 22-26, 2006**  
Family Reunion

**November 23, 2006**  
Thanksgiving Feast

**November 25, 2006**  
90th Birthday Party

**December 1-3, 2006**  
Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization  
"KPS Vidprava Stanychnykh"

**December 24, 2006**  
Traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve Supper

**December 31, 2006**  
New Year's Eve Extravaganza

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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

**Saturday, October 28**

**CHICAGO:** The Ukrainian Language Society and the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art (UIMA) invite the public to an event commemorating Ivan Franko on the 150th anniversary of his birth. Included in the program will be a dramatic presentation of his works. The event will take place at the UIMA, 2320 W. Chicago Ave. For more information call 630-789-1615.

**Sunday, October 29**

**LOS ANGELES:** The Ukrainian Orthodox Pro-Cathedral of St. Vladimir will hold its Ukraine Fest 2006 on the church grounds at 4025 Melrose Ave. (between Vermont and Virgil avenues) at 11 a.m.-5 p.m. Join us and meet with your old friends, and make new friends. Do some browsing and savor the distinction and pleasures of our Ukrainian foods, snacks and beverages. Enjoy the live entertainment of Honored Ukrainian Artist Irene Orlova, instrumentalist Anatoly Mamalyga and vocalist Borys Zhaivoronok, as well as the Chervona Kalyna Dancers of Los Angeles. A special surprise from Ukraine is kobzar/bandurist and laureate of the Shevchenko Prize Vasyl Mechepa. There will also be arts and crafts, and Ukrainian music for visitors' singing and dancing pleasure. Father Vasyl Saucier will lead tours of the church with its distinctive trappings and paintings. For children, there will be a jumper, games and face-painting. For information call Father Saucier, 323-665-7604 or 323-632-3248, or Lydia J. Petrenko-Frank, 310-455-1786.

**Saturday, November 4**

**PHILADELPHIA:** The Chortopolokhy Plast sorority invite all to a "Maskarada" (costume party) and dance at the Ukrainian League of Philadelphia located

at 800 N. 23rd St. Doors open at 7 p.m. with live music provided by The Wave band. Prizes will be awarded for best original costumes. Admission: \$10. For more information call Nusia Pohorylo at 302-239-2952 or e-mail [horczak@hotmail.com](mailto:horczak@hotmail.com).

**Sunday, November 5**

**NEW YORK:** A benefit luncheon for the Ukrainian Catholic University featuring Father Borys Gudziak, Ph.D., rector, will be held at the Ukrainian National Home, 140 Second Ave. For more information call the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, 773-235-8462.

**Sunday, November 12**

**NEW YORK:** The Plast Ukrainian scouting sorority Verkhovynky invite you to a commemorative program for Nadia Svitlychna at 2 p.m. at the Shevchenko Scientific Society, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets). The program will include a slide show and film, "Pamiati Nadiyi Svitlychnoyi," from Kyiv.

**CHICAGO:** A benefit luncheon for the Ukrainian Catholic University featuring Father Borys Gudziak, Ph.D., rector, will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 2247 W. Chicago Ave. For more information call the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, 773-235-8462.

**Sunday, December 3**

**WARREN, Mich.:** A benefit luncheon for the Ukrainian Catholic University featuring Myroslav Marynovych, senior vice-rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University, will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 26601 Ryan Road. For more information call the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, 773-235-8462.

### 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. Payment must be received prior to publication.

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. Items not written in Preview format or submitted without all required information will not be published. Also, senders are asked to include the phone number of a person who may be contacted by The Weekly during daytime hours, as well as their complete mailing address.

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).

### Attention, Students!

Throughout the year Ukrainian student clubs plan and hold activities. The Ukrainian Weekly urges students to let us and the Ukrainian community know about upcoming events.

The Weekly will be happy to help you publicize them. We will also be glad to print timely news stories about events that have already taken place. Photos also will be accepted.

MAKE YOURSELF HEARD.