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## ANALYSIS: The 18-day gas war: Ukraine and Russia sign gas agreement Why was it fought? Who won? President calls deal brokered by PM a defeat

by Roman Kupchinsky

*Eurasia Daily Monitor*

January 20

A preliminary, and possibly premature, report of the 18-day Russian-Ukrainian “gas war” of January 2009 might read as follows.

This war should never have taken place. The conflict had little to do with “commercial disagreements” between Gazprom and Naftohaz Ukrainy – these were resolved by the Memorandum of Agreement signed on October 2, 2008, by Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and his Ukrainian counterpart, Yulia Tymoshenko. For unknown reasons, this agreement was never allowed to enter into force until January 19, when Mr. Putin and Ms. Tymoshenko essentially agreed to abide once again by its provisions.

The new contract between Gazprom and Naftohaz Ukrainy is for 10 years; and the price for Russian gas, or more precisely Central Asian gas sold by Gazprom to Ukraine, will be based on the generally accepted formula used throughout Europe which links the price of gas to the price of diesel fuel plus transportation costs. Ukraine will receive a 20 percent discount on this price in 2009 and will pay the full European price in 2010. Russia will continue to pay a

discounted price for the transit of gas to Europe until 2010, at which time it will begin paying European gas transit prices (Ukrayinska Pravda, January 18).

The war was instigated by Mr. Putin and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, who decided that the time was ripe to discredit Ukraine in the eyes of European leaders by launching a huge public relations and disinformation campaign to convince the EU that Ukraine was an “unreliable transit country.” By turning off the gas spigot to Europe on January 7 and blaming this on the Ukrainians, Moscow began systematically blackmailing Europe into supporting Russia’s plans to build the Nord Stream and South Stream pipelines. This argument became the central theme at press conferences by Mr. Putin and Gazprom Deputy CEO Alexander Medvedev during the gas war (see [www.gazpromukraine.com](http://www.gazpromukraine.com), the Gazprom website designed to discredit Ukraine).

One major goal of the Russian leadership during the conflict was to discredit and denigrate the freely elected, pro-Western Ukrainian leadership and provide a measure of support for the pro-Russian opposition Party of Regions of Ukraine. The greater

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[www.kmu.gov.ua](http://www.kmu.gov.ua)

Prime Ministers Yulia Tymoshenko of Ukraine and Vladimir Putin of Russia at the January 19 signing of an agreement on natural gas deliveries.

by Zenon Zawada

*Kyiv Press Bureau*

KYIV – With the Russian and Ukrainian governments reaching a natural gas agreement on January 19, observers have been assessing who gained and who lost from the weeks-long conflict that halted energy supplies to Europe amidst a financial crisis and freezing weather.

To help the public make its evaluation, President Viktor Yushchenko wasted no time declaring the deal, brokered by his nemesis Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, an “evident defeat.” Speaking at a January 20 press conference, he cited excessive prices, most notably \$360 per 1,000 cubic meters for the first quarter of 2009.

In her defense, Prime Minister Tymoshenko said the average price of \$228.80 she secured for Ukraine for 2009 is lower than what any European nation pays, including Moldova and Belarus, which both surrendered control of their pipelines to the Russian Federation.

“Unfortunately, in Ukraine the presidential election has begun a year early and, unfortunately, Yushchenko and [Viktor] Yanukovich view me as their main competitor for this election,” Prime Minister Tymoshenko said, referring to the opposition leader’s claims that her government had capitulated and was defeated.

“Therefore, everything good that the prime minister and the government does is discredited and nullified. But we need to sometimes pride ourselves on our country and its results,” she said.

On a global scale, however, both the Russians and Ukrainians were the losers in the conflict in the view of European leaders, who expressed their exhaustion with a conflict that first surfaced on New Year’s Day in 2006 and seems to spring up annually.

“The gas supplied by Russia isn’t guaranteed, and the gas supplied through

Ukraine is not guaranteed,” said Jose Manuel Barroso, the European Commission president, adding that Europe was considering ways to diversify its supply.

In the deal, Ukraine moves to a quarterly pricing structure for the natural gas it consumes, paying \$360 per 1,000 cubic meters in the first quarter, \$270 in the second, \$219 in the third and \$162 in the fourth quarter, amounting to an annual average price of \$232.20.

In exchange for the new price, which is 29 percent higher than last year’s rate of \$179.50 per 1,000 cubic meters, Ukrainian negotiators were aiming to increase the fee for gas transit across Ukraine from the current \$1.70 per meter. However, they did not succeed in securing a higher fee.

“The key element of the price of transit is the price of gas, and the faster gas prices rise, the higher transit prices should rise,” President Yushchenko said. “This element of synchronicity should be a key element.”

In response to the president’s criticism for failing to increase the transit rate, Prime Minister Tymoshenko said that, as compensation, her government had secured a \$25 (per 1,000 cubic meters) discount (to \$154) for the natural gas used as “technical fuel” to pump gas through pipelines for European customers.

Among the deal’s biggest gains was the elimination of RosUkrEnergo, the shady intermediary that has allegedly siphoned billions of dollars from the Ukrainian government, supposedly into the party coffers of Our Ukraine and the Party of Regions of Ukraine (PRU).

Ukrayinska Pravda, Ukraine’s leading Internet publication, confirmed that PRU politicians Yurii Boiko and Serhii

(Continued on page 5)

## 90th anniversary of Ukrainian Act of Union



Official Website of Ukraine’s President

KYIV – On January 22, on the occasion of the national Unity Day, President Viktor Yushchenko and other Ukrainian leaders placed flowers at monuments to Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine’s national bard, and Mykhailo Hrushevsky, president of the Ukrainian National Republic. Unity Day celebrates the Act of Union of January 22, 1919, which 90 years ago united all Ukrainian lands into the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR). President Yushchenko also opened the Museum of Ukrainian Revolution, which is located in the Teacher’s Home, formerly the building of the Central Rada, the UNR’s legislative body. Among other participants of the anniversary ceremonies held in Kyiv were Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn, National Security and Defense Council Secretary Raisa Bohatyrivna, Vice Prime Minister Ivan Vasiunyk and Kyiv Mayor Leonid Chernovetskyi, as well as other government officials and national deputies. In the photo above, the president and his entourage are seen in a procession to the Shevchenko monument.

## ANALYSIS

## Gazprom's destabilization plan for Ukraine and Southeast Europe

by Roman Kupchinsky  
Eurasia Daily Monitor  
January 16

When the tense horse-trading among the European Union, Ukraine and Russia about allowing EU monitors to observe how Russia was renewing the flow of gas to Europe and how Ukraine was transporting this gas ended on January 13, most Western observers were mildly optimistic that at long last the January 2009 gas blockade of Europe had come to an end. Few, however, took into account the fact that Gazprom was bound to a hidden agenda that dictated its moves and negotiating position.

Gazprom is not and never has been a private company. It is a state-owned monopoly, operated and controlled by the Russian government; and this does not allow it to behave as a private entity, independent of the Kremlin's foreign policy goals and the ambitions of Russia's leaders and their subservient oligarchs.

When Russia partially opened the gas valve at the Sudzha pumping station on January 13 to supply gas to Ukraine in order to satisfy the agreement with the EU, the Ukrainians refused to accept the flow. Why?

Oleh Dubyna, the head of the Ukrainian state-owned Naftohaz Ukrayny, explained that the route proposed by Gazprom would force his company to cut off supplies to the heavily populated industrial regions in eastern Ukraine. Mr. Dubyna proposed that Gazprom pump gas to the EU via two other stations, Pysarivka and Valuyky. For unexplained reasons the Ukrainians chose not to do so. Bohdan Sokolovskiy, the Ukrainian presidential energy envoy, stated that Gazprom's choice of the metering sta-

tions was "provocative" because it set a "technologically unrealistic" task for Naftohaz (Interfax, January 13).

"Naftohaz also needs Russian gas coming in at the other two import terminals in order to feed the Balkan pipeline," said Mikhaïl Korchemkin, director of the U.S.-based East European Gas Analysis consultancy. "Russia's decision to use just one metering station indicates that it wants to extend the conflict," he said (Moscow Times, January 14).

If Gazprom is successful in stopping the flow of gas to southeastern Ukraine by insisting that gas to Europe go via Sudzha, the Kremlin's strategy of provoking mass disturbances in these regions in order to precipitate a "popular" anti-Tymoshenko-Yushchenko uprising would intensify calls in these critical regions to join the Russian Federation. With the Party of Regions of Ukraine seemingly more loyal to Moscow than to Kyiv, Russia's Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and President Dmitry Medvedev apparently feel confident that such a strategy would transform Ukraine into a second, pro-Russian, Belarus-like puppet state in the Commonwealth of Independent States and give Russia control over the Ukrainian gas pipeline to Europe.

The consequences of this for the EU would be disastrous. For Gazprom, however, it would be a major coup, allowing it to abandon the costly South Stream pipeline project and, at long last, to destroy the Nabucco pipeline scheme.

It was no coincidence that on January 14 the pro-Russian Party of Regions called on the Ukrainian Parliament to impeach President Viktor Yushchenko and disband the government of Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko because of

(Continued on page 19)

## Russian-Ukrainian gas war fueled by national identity

by Taras Kuzio  
Eurasia Daily Monitor  
January 16

Western media coverage of the latest Ukrainian-Russian gas crisis has largely ignored the national identity component of the conflict, and yet this is the main factor fueling poor relations between Ukraine and Russia. Inter-elite corruption in the energy sector comes second to national identity issues.

The corrupt and opaque intermediary RosUkrEnergo is only half controlled by Gazprom. Blame for energy corruption therefore, should be distributed equally between the Russian and Ukrainian elites. Thus, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin's claim that the gas crisis is a product of

the "struggle of clans" in Ukraine is only true up to a point, as both the Ukrainian and Russian elites are enveloped in corruption (Ukrayinska Pravda, January 10). Gazprom has been at the heart of the gas intermediaries Eural Trans Gas and its replacement RosUkrEnergo. Mr. Putin's claims also ignore the consistent opposition to the use of intermediaries by Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and her Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (YTB). The October 2008 Tymoshenko-Putin memorandum signed in Moscow called for the removal of gas intermediaries. The Tymoshenko government and Naftohaz Ukrayny have blamed these intermediaries for the current crisis (Reuters, January 7).

Mr. Putin's allegations also ignore the influence of the corrupt gas lobby of the Party of Regions of Ukraine (PRU), which has had a cooperation agreement since 2005 with the Unified Russia party. Regions' gas lobby has taken over the financing of the party from oligarchs such as Renat Akhmetov, and sabotaged negotiations to establish a YTB-PRU coalition in the fall of 2008 because of Ms. Tymoshenko's opposition to the role of intermediaries.

At the heart of the gas crisis are very poor relations between Ukraine and

(Continued on page 17)

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Ukraine, Russia sign gas deal

KYIV – Naftohaz Ukrayiny and Russia's Gazprom signed a deal on natural gas deliveries on January 19 in Moscow. Signing the documents were Naftohaz CEO Oleh Dubyna and Gazprom CEO Alexei Miller. The contract covers gas deliveries for Ukraine's consumers and gas transit through Ukraine for 10 years. Russia's Prime Minister Vladimir Putin said that from now on there will be no mediator in Russian gas trading with Ukraine. Gazprom has been already ordered to restore the transit of gas to Europe and resume gas supplies to Ukraine. Ukraine's Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko assured that gas deliveries to the European Union countries would be restored as soon as this gas arrives in the Ukrainian gas transit system (GTS).

### Cabinet approves gas agreements

KYIV – The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers at a meeting on January 21 approved the agreements signed between Ukraine and Russia and the results achieved during their negotiations. The government approved the agreements after hearing a report by Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. On January 19 the national joint-stock company Naftogaz Ukrayiny and Russia's Gazprom signed contracts for the delivery of Russian gas to Ukraine and its transit to the European Union in 2009-2019. According to the agreements, the transit fee in 2009 will be \$1.70 (U.S.) per 1,000 cubic meters delivered over 100 kilometers. Naftohaz said that the purchase price for gas for Ukraine would be \$270 per 1,000 cubic meters in April-June 2009, \$219 per 1,000 cubic meters in July-September 2009, and \$162 per 1,000 cubic meters in October-December 2009. In the first quarter of this year, the gas price will be \$360 per 1,000 cubic meters. Ms. Tymoshenko said that the average annual price of natural gas for Ukraine in 2009 would be \$228.80 per 1,000 cubic meters. (Ukrinform)

### Secretariat not worried about price

KYIV – The Ukrainian economy will

withstand the new prices of gas in 2009 stipulated in the agreement signed by Naftohaz Ukrayiny and Gazprom in Moscow, the first deputy head of the Presidential Secretariat, Oleksander Shlapak, said at a briefing on January 20. He said that the government should "do all it can to retain the average weighted price for the economy within this year, rather than give a high price in the first quarter." "We were preparing for a price at around \$250 [per 1,000 cubic meters]. This price, in my opinion, is acceptable for the majority of Ukrainian enterprises," Mr. Shlapak said. He said that in 2009 the gas price for Ukrainian companies could remain unchanged at the level of 2008. He noted that, taking into account various overcharges, in 2008 industrial enterprises were obliged to buy the gas at \$350-\$400 per 1,000 cubic meters, which Ukraine received at a price of \$179.50 per 1,000 cubic meters. "I think the government can retain these prices and refrain from increasing them," Mr. Shlapak said. He said he expected gas prices to start falling in 2009 given this year's expected decrease in oil prices. (Ukrinform)

### Formula-based pricing cited as key

MOSCOW – The principal outcome of signing of the Ukraine-Russia contract on the supply of gas in 2009-2019 is the transfer to formula-based gas pricing, Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko said on January 19 after signing the gas deal for 2009-2019 between Ukraine and Russia. According to Ms. Tymoshenko, the talks were important not only because the parties agreed on settling all price and organization issues on the supply of gas and transit of Russian gas to Europe, but also because of the transition to objective gas pricing. "What is the most important [thing], which had not been done over 17 years of independence, is that we have today brought an absolutely objective basis for setting the gas price for the next years and setting the gas transit price – this is a formula-based approach. It [the approach] excludes any subjective things and entitles us to believe that there will

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## Correction

In Dr. Myron B. Kuropas' column titled "More on the Holodomor" (January 18), the first name of Jonah Goldberg was incorrectly given as Joshua. Jonah Goldberg is the author of the article "The Genocide Loophole" that appears in a "Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine" (Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, editor).

# The Holodomor 75 years later: The Khmelnytsky Oblast

by Zenon Zawada  
Kyiv Press Bureau

POLONNE, Ukraine – When the KGB pressured Petro Yaschuk in 1982 to leave the Kyiv region for his anti-Communist activity in 1982, he settled in the Polonne region of the Khmelnytsky Oblast.

Perhaps it was divine providence. Dr. Yaschuk's newfound home proved fertile ground for the nine years of Holodomor research he eventually pursued, which resulted in among the most comprehensive accounts of the three famines that terrorized Ukraine during the 20th century, "Portret Temriavy" (Portrait of Darkness).

The Polonne district of the Khmelnytsky Oblast proved an apt microcosm of the Holodomor, leaving evidence behind about the executors, who its victims were, why it was hatched and how it was executed.

"The holodomors were identically done by [Vladimir] Lenin, Joseph Stalin/Lazar Kaganovich and the post-war government of 1946-1947 through unreasonable taxation and confiscation of everything edible," said Dr. Yaschuk.

The Holodomor haunted Dr. Yaschuk ever since his grandmother, a Ternopil Oblast resident, described how starving Ukrainians were fleeing famine and political persecution.

Although his profession became medicine, Dr. Yaschuk's other talent in life was prose. When the opportunity emerged in 1990 to research and write about the Holodomor, he devoted not only his free time, but "75 percent" of his limited personal finances.

"I would have regretted it until the end of my life had I not written it," he said. "It was my obligation, conviction and compassion for this decaying Ukrainian nation, that doesn't know its right hand from its left."

After nine years of crisscrossing Ukraine and recording about 350 testimonies that represented each afflicted oblast, as well as ethnic Ukrainians in Russia, Dr. Yaschuk wrote and published the two-volume, 1,316-page "Portret Temriavy" under the academic guidance of Dr. James E. Mace.



Zenon Zawada

**Holodomor researcher and author Dr. Petro Yaschuk believes the genocide was directed against Ukraine's Christian population, including Poles and Germans.**

ume, 1,316-page "Portret Temriavy" under the academic guidance of Dr. James E. Mace.

"How did you do this without any help?" Dr. Yaschuk recalls Dr. Mace asking him. The American scholar commented, "But it hurts you. And when it hurts, you find a way."

A controversial maverick in Holodomor research, Dr. Yaschuk's conclusions often don't coincide with, and even contradict, mainstream views held by leading contemporary researchers, which has gotten him silenced and shunned at various conferences.

His main argument is that the Holodomor was not directed at ethnic Ukrainians, but its prime target was Christians, the majority of whom happened to be Ukrainians, but also included thousands of Germans and Poles who lived

in Ukraine's Polissia region at the time.

Though no Soviet documents declare the destruction of Christians as the government's goal (instead targeting "kurkuls" or "kulaks," the term for well-off peasants),

## The Holodomor in the Khmelnytsky Oblast

43,743 established casualties\*  
93,333 known survivors remaining  
835 population centers affected  
125 known mass graves

\* This official figure grossly underestimates the number of true casualties, said Dr. Petro Yaschuk, a local Holodomor researcher.

Dr. Yaschuk said that was the ultimate aim of Soviet communism, as revealed in a rare book that he obtained.

"The Red Symphony" documents the 1938 interrogation of Christian Rakovsky, believed by some to be a pseudonym for Chaim Rakover, who governed and integrated Soviet Ukraine into the USSR in the early 1920s, serving as the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

In the interrogation, which was ordered by Stalin in his purge of the Communist Party's Trotskyite wing, Rakovsky allegedly said that Christianity had to be destroyed in order for international Communism to triumph.

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## NEWS ANALYSIS: Russia-Ukraine gas crisis: looking at the big picture

by Igor Torbakov  
Eurasia Daily Monitor  
January 19

By now it should be clear that there is no quick fix for the current Europe-wide energy debacle caused by the vicious Russian-Ukrainian spat. Behind the seemingly intractable dispute over debts, gas pricing and terms of transit lies a complex post-imperial situation in which Russia and Ukraine find themselves firmly locked. Until the overall political relationship between Moscow and Kyiv is finally settled, the energy crises wreaking havoc across all of Europe are likely to recur.

The 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union left Russia and Ukraine burdened with a very tangled legacy: almost two decades on, the two countries' political and economic interests as well as the interests of the powerful Russian and Ukrainian clans remain exceptionally tightly intertwined. The current "gas crisis" is by nature multi-layered, precisely because it reflects this high degree of interconnection between the two nations.

The ongoing gas row, like the host of previous ones, has a solid structural foundation – what can be called an asymmetrical allocation of assets. The former Soviet oil-and-gas industrial complex was developed and maintained as a highly centralized enterprise integrating production, transportation and distribution of fuel into a single whole. After the Soviet Union disintegrated, Russia (as well as some Central Asian nations) was left with the major gas fields and Ukraine with the major gas transportation infrastructure, which is cen-

tral to shipping fuel on to the lucrative European market.

So the gas transit to Europe takes place under the condition of a dual (or two-sided) monopoly: Russia enjoys a "tap monopoly" controlling volumes of gas, while Ukraine possesses a "transit monopoly" controlling the transit pipes. Theoretically, a dual monopoly presupposes a high degree of interdependence, in which neither side can dictate its will to (or ultimately win over) the other. But economists have long argued that the "dual monopoly" situation is a precarious one and fraught with potential destabilization.

Indeed, on the one hand, the two sides appear destined to cooperate as alternatives simply do not exist; but on the other hand, the issue of how to divvy up the fruits of such cooperation is a perennial bone of contention. When each side seeks to maximize its own share of the profit – and this is, of course, a natural behavior of any commercial entity – the signing of contracts and then abiding by their terms are at a constant risk of being derailed. This is exactly what we have been witnessing in Russian-Ukrainian energy relations, and not just since the 2006 "gas war" but basically from day one, that is, since 1992.

One may say that, structurally, the present stalemate has been almost preordained. The particular severity of the 2009 crisis, however, is explained by the fact that this time both Moscow and Kyiv appear to be acting out of utter desperation. Blame it on the global economic crisis.

Russia's Gazprom, the giant state-run energy monopoly, is nervously watching the plummeting commodity prices. The company's bosses are well aware that in approximately six months gas prices are expected to fall from a current high of \$480 to as low as \$280 per thousand cubic meters.

For its part, Ukraine is among the coun-

(Continued on page 18)

## British newspaper says Yushchenko might have been target of arson

The following is based on excerpts from an article in *The Independent* on January 11, titled, "A Swiss chalet, a fire, and a president who crossed Putin," by Brian Brady, Matthew Bell and Tony Paterson.

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Shortly after midnight on December 29, 2008, in the Swiss Alpine resort town of Gstaad, in the village of Kalberhoni, 55 firefighters were called in to fight a blaze that destroyed a chalet. The two-story building was ablaze when they arrived and, by the time the flames abated, approaching dawn, it was a gaping wreck smoldering in the snow.

As police investigated the cause of the blaze, rumors persisted that among the eight people who fled the inferno was President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine. A local woman familiar with the chalet owned by Janos Lux said that everybody in the village knew the fire happened, but nobody knew the circumstances around it, as there had been a "diplomatic silence." "Theirs is a different world," she said of Mr. Lux and his paying guests.

One witness said, "Diplomatic vehicles arrived and they disappeared into the night." Police and fire officials confirmed that no one was injured in the

blaze, but refused to identify them.

Questions posed to the authorities about the identities of the guests are referred to the canton of Bern police in Saanen, who, in turn, explain that they are unable to reveal identities "to protect personalities," but suggest that callers contact the Embassy of Ukraine in Bern. A spokesperson at the Embassy on January 11 dismissed suggestions that Mr. Yushchenko might have been the target of an arson attack. "The president has not been in Switzerland for at least six months," he told *The Independent*.

Official records from the president's office in Kyiv reveal that Mr. Yushchenko visited Switzerland at least twice last year. He has regularly visited the country for medical examinations at Geneva University Hospital since 2005, after his dioxin poisoning during the Orange Revolution the previous year.

Presidential office records show that Mr. Yushchenko fulfilled regular duties in late December 2008 when Ukraine was locked with Russia over gas supplies. But there was a two-day gap between his appearance at a congress on Saturday, December 27, and a meeting with the chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine at lunchtime on Monday, December 29, just 12 hours after the fire.

Igor Torbakov is a senior researcher at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs in Helsinki. A trained historian, he specializes in Russian and Eurasian history and politics. He holds an M.A. in history from Moscow State University and a Ph.D. from the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

# THE GAS CRISIS: Gazprom's war has damaged Russian interests

by Pavel K. Baev

*Eurasia Daily Monitor*  
January 19

It was hardly a surprise when Prime Ministers Vladimir Putin and Yulia Tymoshenko, both dressed in black, solemnly announced an agreement to end the Russian-Ukrainian gas conflict in the wee hours of Sunday. The "war" had started as a habitual quarrel, then escalated into a total gas blockade that affected many European countries and finally evolved into a farce in which the actors seemed to be trying to outdo each other in absurdity.

In Germany on Friday, January 16, Mr. Putin received a stern message from Chancellor Angela Merkel that the time for "technicalities" was over and it was necessary to give "Jawohl" (Yes, certainly) for an answer (Kommersant, [www.gazeta.ru](http://www.gazeta.ru), January 17). It was probably the fiasco of President Dmitry Medvedev's attempt to organize a "gas summit" in Moscow on Saturday – with so few leaders in attendance that the status of the event was reduced to a conference – that demonstrated beyond doubt that political losses greatly outweighed any possible wins ([www.newsru.com](http://www.newsru.com), [www.rbc.ru](http://www.rbc.ru), January 17). A compromise was found, leaving most observers and, indeed, consumers wondering what had prevented this solution three weeks ago.

The logic of Ukraine's behavior departs rather far from common political sense and conventional business motivations, which

was probably why Russia was taken by surprise with its determination. Political squabbles aimed not so much at positioning for the forthcoming elections as at grabbing control over the deeply corrupt gas business are continuing, as the country is slipping into bankruptcy ([www.gazeta.ru](http://www.gazeta.ru), January 16; *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, January 13). Frustrated in its European aspirations, the Orange part of Ukraine's political elite, resorting to every desperate measure, now has to convince the European Union that it must come to the rescue if only because its energy security is at stake (Kommersant, January 16; [www.gazeta.ru](http://www.gazeta.ru), January 15).

Ms. Tymoshenko may have emerged as the winner after the deal with Mr. Putin, but that will hardly help her much in keeping Ukraine afloat in the troubled waters of overlapping crises, some of which are of her own making.

Russia has definitely suffered massive political damage, as Mr. Putin had to admit in Germany; but his excuse that "we have no other choice" is far from convincing (RIA-Novosti, January 16). Even after the breakdown of negotiations on December 31, 2008, it would have been possible to continue searching for a solution instead of taking a "pay-full-price" attitude; and it would have been possible to keep pumping gas despite Ukraine's provocative siphoning, perhaps mobilizing end users step by step toward a collective action.

Instead, Moscow sought to respond with added force to every trick by Kyiv, thus fall-

ing into the "escalation dominance" trap in which the actions become out of proportion with the stakes. Russia even missed the chance to demonstrate its good will to the European monitors, preferring to manipulate the supply system in such a way that Ukraine would appear inept and unwilling to cooperate (*Vremya Novostei*, January 14).

Different explanations have been advanced for this choice of the most aggressive and uncompromising course, including the deep personal animosity between Mr. Putin and Ukraine's President Viktor Yushchenko, Mr. Putin's desire to punish Ukraine for supplying weapons to Georgia, and his irrepressible hostility toward the remnants of the Orange Revolution ([www.polit.ru](http://www.polit.ru), January 13). There are few doubts in the intensely irritated Europe that the "business dispute" is in essence political, and 80 percent of Russians are of the same opinion (*Echo of Moscow*, January 11). It is remarkable, nevertheless, that Mr. Putin, who from day one took command over waging this "war," has focused entirely on the financial and technological aspects of the confrontation, complaining about "criminal sloppiness" in Ukraine.

In Mr. Putin's hands-on policy, Gazprom's interests, whether in earning extra profit from exporting gas to Ukraine or in constructing pipelines across the Baltic and Black seas in order to circumvent this transit bottleneck, are inseparable from Russia's interests. Such ultra-politicization is not necessarily that beneficial for Gazprom, which is perceived in the EU not as an overgrown energy conglomerate but as an arm of the Russian government, which should not be allowed to grasp too many sensitive assets inside the European Union. What this self-defeating "war" has demonstrated, however, is that Russia's foreign policy and energy interests could cross-purpose with those of Gazprom.

In an interview with the German ARD television channel, Mr. Putin admitted that Gazprom's contribution amounted to only 5 to 6 percent of the state budget income, while the oil business provided up to 40 per-

cent ([www.newsru.com](http://www.newsru.com), January 15). This preferential regime of taxation is justified by Gazprom's other "social obligations," including supplying the population and industry with ecologically friendly fuel at affordable prices. In fact, however, Gazprom is lobbying hard for a 25 percent increase in domestic prices, and it was only the estimates of a double-digit drop in manufacturing and spiraling costs in the public sector that convinced the government to reduce the first step to 5 percent with further increases conditional on the extent of the stagflation (Expert, December 22).

Since the fourth quarter of 2008, hardly any profits have been made in Russian industry, but Gazprom still collects sky-high revenues (even if the gas blockade has interrupted the cash flow), so nobody else stands to benefit from the deep tax cut on profits that the Cabinet approved as a key anti-crisis measure. Moreover, Gazprom has little doubt about forcing Exxon to give it half of the Sakhalin-2 project or about pushing BP out of the Kovykta project, and it is unconcerned about the impact of these hostile takeovers on the investment climate in Russia.

The devastating impact of the global economic crisis is forcing all countries to build joint defensive mechanisms and coordinate rescue policies; the last thing Russia needs in this high-risk environment is to set itself apart from its European partners as a predator that is eager to take advantage of the weak. Gazprom may have an interest in participating in a consortium that could take control over Ukraine's gas infrastructure, but Russia's interests are hardly served by pushing its most important neighbor to bankruptcy. Mr. Putin has been too passionately involved in fighting with Gazprom's enemies to notice that the Russians are not particularly moved by his victory and probably suspect that they have come out as the losers.

*The article above is reprinted from Eurasia Daily Monitor with permission from its publisher, the Jamestown Foundation, [www.jamestown.org](http://www.jamestown.org).*

## Ukrainian law bars transferring ownership of gas transit system

by Vladimir Socor

*Eurasia Daily Monitor*  
January 15

Gaining some form of control over Ukraine's state-owned gas transit system has been a constant objective of Russian policy since the 1990s. That 30-year-old system's worn-out condition, its mismanagement and the insolvency of its operator, Naftohaz Ukrayiny, are providing Gazprom with a wide opening to gain control under the guise of investing in the system's modernization. Moscow has sought to achieve its goal through a Gazprom-dominated international consortium but has not succeeded in creating such a consortium thus far, nor has it persuaded Ukraine to share the country's single most important economic asset with Russia.

In recent days, Russia and some circles in Germany reactivated the idea of a consortium to control Ukraine's gas transit system. Moscow hopes to profit from the crisis atmosphere it has itself created since January 1 by stopping gas supplies to Europe via Ukraine. Blaming Ukraine in oft-inflammatory language for the stoppage, Russia is seeking to persuade Germany and the rest of Europe that Ukraine is unqualified to handle the transit of Russian gas supplies.

Moscow's thesis, if accepted, would lead to two possible corollaries. One would be international backing for circumventing Ukraine with Gazprom's pipeline projects, such as Nord Stream and South Stream, which Gazprom lacks the means to build. The other would be international acceptance of transferring control over Ukraine's transit system from an "unreliable" Ukrainian government to a "reliable" Gazprom, under the mantle of an international consortium.

Either solution would increase Russia's strategic leverage over Europe.

Meanwhile, the Kremlin and Gazprom are nevertheless milking Naftohaz and underpaying for the use of Ukraine's transit system through the shadowy intermediary companies RosUkrEnergo and UkrGaz-Energo, which are driving Naftohaz and the transit system into bankruptcy, precluding its modernization and facilitating its ultimate de facto takeover by Gazprom under some flag of convenience. Ukraine's political system has tolerated these arrangements, indeed allowing those two companies to network with elements in the Party of Regions and around the president.

Nevertheless, the Ukrainian political system has reacted sharply whenever Moscow has attempted overtly to gain control of the gas transit system. One such attempt in 2007 prompted Ukraine to pass strong blocking legislation, which now stands in the way of Russian Prime Minister Putin's latest proposal to create a Russo-German or international consortium to operate the gas transit system on Ukrainian territory ([www.premier.gov.ru](http://www.premier.gov.ru), January 8; Interfax, January 7, 8, 11; German ARD TV, January 11; *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, January 13).

As president of Russia in 2007, Mr. Putin called for "unifying" Ukraine's gas transit system with Russia's through some common entity, which he did not publicly specify. In return he offered Ukrainian "access" to oil and gas extraction projects on Russian territory, also unspecified. The proposal was meant as a basis for negotiations ahead of a Russian-Ukrainian presidential meeting. Mr. Putin claimed that Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko and the government, headed by Viktor Yanukovich at that time, favored such a trade-off and had even initiated the proposal.

Mr. Putin's proposal on February 1, 2007, backfired instantly and powerfully

(Continued on page 15)

## FOR THE RECORD: Statement by Yushchenko on the gas crisis

*Following is the January 13 statement by President Viktor Yushchenko on the situation surrounding gas supplies to Europe. The English translation was prepared by the president's press service and released to the media by Ukraine's Consulate General in New York.*

I think it is my duty to inform you about the situation with supplies of Russian gas to European Union countries, European countries and to Ukraine, and on the problems in the process.

To open the press conference, let me state once again on behalf of the sovereign state that Ukraine was, is and will be a reliable transit partner and that it has not done anything to stop supplies of Russian gas to countries of Europe and the European Union.

I would like the following official position conveyed to citizens of the European Union, heads of states, leaders of governments: Ukraine did not take a single step to halt supplies of Russian gas to Europe. This is a principal position for us because now there is a lot of gossip, biased information and lies. It is clear that their purpose is to discredit parties that accurately and suitably carry out their duties.

Another position I would like to put emphasis on: after January 1, 2009, Ukraine never took any gas illegally. Not a

single cubic meter of Russian gas was taken illegally, beyond regulations from the system since the beginning of 2009, same as in 2008, though. But now we are talking of the events that happened after January 1.

Third, Ukraine is not a debtor in payments for Russian gas that was consumed in 2008. I emphasize that all the final payments for the gas consumed in November and prepayments for gas to be consumed in December were done by Ukraine at the end of December 2008.

Fourth: When circumstances appeared that Ukraine became a witness to Russia stopping supplies of gas to European Union countries, we initiated the question before the European Commission about inviting it as a third party in order to guarantee effective monitoring of supplies of Russian gas and its transit through the territory of Ukraine. We were sure that the presence of representatives from the European Commission would finally put an end to discussions about gas transit, conditions of the transit, reliability of the transit and reliability of the system. We have been and do remain a constructive party in the talks with Russia on the signing of an agreement on supplies of Russian gas to Ukraine and of a contract on transit of Russian gas to European countries in 2009.

# New audio book features discussion with Patriarch Lubomyr Husar

by Zenon Zawada  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church has released an audio book in which Patriarch Lubomyr Husar discusses the most relevant issues confronting the Church today, including morality in politics and society, business ethics and Ukrainian emigration.

The first public relations project of its kind for the Church, “Doroĥa do Sebe” (The Road to Oneself) seeks to disseminate its values and message through new media such as compact discs, said Yevhen

Hlibovytskyi, a Kyiv public relations professional who helped produce the book.

“Audio books aren’t done in Ukraine, and the Church turned out to be flexible enough to step out of traditional forms to communicate information,” he said. “Each of us has an easy, comfortable, accessible way to hear this, whether in an automobile riding to or from work, or at home on a computer.”

At the January 10 book presentation, Patriarch Lubomyr, who is the UGCC’s major archbishop of Kyiv and Halych and a cardinal of the Catholic Church, said Jesus

Christ himself would have used new media technology to spread God’s word, citing the passage in the gospel of Luke in which Christ got into Simon’s boat, asked him to row out and then began preaching from within the Sea of Galilee.

“He knew being several meters from the shore would help a great deal to solidify one’s voice, and in this way he was able to speak to a large number of people,” the UGCC primate said. “It can be said he used the technology of his times. It would seem to us primitive, but it was effective.”

“Doroĥa do Sebe” consists of three compact discs, recording four hours of interviews in the Ukrainian language between Patriarch Lubomyr and Mr. Hlibovytskyi and Dmytro Krykun, a journalist and media trainer. It’s not a sermon, Mr. Hlibovytskyi said, but more like a conversation.

“Each of us, sooner or later in our lives, comes to moments when we ask such questions, ‘What is good and evil? Should I stay in Ukraine or go abroad? Should I go take a job with a higher salary, but more work?’” said Mr. Hlibovytskyi, the director of the pro.mova consulting company.

The Church produced the book at a minimal, undisclosed cost, recruiting the efforts of more than 100 volunteers, which included technical staff, as well as public relations

professionals, such as Mr. Hlibovytskyi and Dmytro Krykun.

“The Church reached out to a PR company because it’s a methodology of dispatching the Church’s values,” he said. “The values are there. It’s just a matter of getting them from point A to point B.”

Presented at the Church’s annual Christmas “koliada” in Kyiv, the book was also launched to raise funds to finance the construction of the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Resurrection of Christ in Kyiv.

Under construction since 2002, the cathedral’s foundation, concrete columns and walls, and five gold domes have been established. However both the interior and exterior remain bare.

Situated on Kyiv’s Left Bank, just several hundred feet from the Dnipro River, the cathedral is projected to be the largest in Ukraine’s capital upon completion.

The book’s “main task, as a business project, is to gain money to build the cathedral,” Mr. Krykun said. “We were able to do this at a small cost, and the according return will be visible with our own eyes, in the appearance of a constructed cathedral.”

“Doroĥa do Sebe” will soon be available for purchase at parishes and shops, though officials did not yet reveal its price or other details on how to purchase the book.

## FOR THE RECORD: President Yushchenko’s letter to newly inaugurated President Obama

Following is the English-language text of Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko’s letter to newly inaugurated U.S. President Barack Obama. The letter, dated January 20, was released on the Official Website of Ukraine’s President. (It has been edited for clarity by The Ukrainian Weekly.)

Dear Mr. President:

On the day of your inauguration it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on behalf of Ukrainian nation and from me personally on assuming the office of the president of the United States.

I am deeply amazed by the scale of goals set in your election program and by the clarity of vision of how to achieve them. I sincerely wish you every success in your important state mission. I am looking forward to close and productive cooperation with your administration in a spirit of strategic partnership and friendship that unites our nations.

Fully aware of the seriousness of the tasks that the United States now faces as the leader in solving the most critical global problems of humanity, overcoming world financial crisis and withstanding contemporary security challenges, I want to assure you of Ukraine’s readiness to further take part together with our American friends in their resolution.

We are deeply proud of the progress we have reached in relations between Ukraine and the U.S.A. since our country gained independence. In last 17 years a firm foundation for Ukrainian-American bilateral ties was laid. The Ukraine-United States Charter on Strategic Partnership, signed at the end of 2008, became an embodiment of the growing positive dynamics of these relations. I would like to stress assurance that this document, which is marked by the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, and summariz-

es key priorities for Ukraine-United States cooperation, will serve as a reliable beacon for cooperation between our nations in the nearest future.

With regard to the abovementioned, I would like to propose upgrading the status of the current basic coordinative mechanism of our cooperation, the Ukraine-United States Bilateral Coordination Group, by bringing it up to the level of leadership of our two countries. Such an approach, I believe, would adequately reflect both the level of our cooperation and the importance of our mutual tasks.

The consecutive support of our country’s strategic course of gaining full-fledged membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization by the United States is highly appreciated in Ukraine. We are looking forward to maintaining fruitful cooperation with your administration in that area, particularly in support of the political signal about the prospects of Ukraine’s accession to NATO we saw at the Bucharest summit, and of the decision at the December ministerial meeting of the organization about bringing cooperation with our state to a new level, as an important steps toward Ukraine’s full-fledged membership in the alliance.

I am deeply moved by your personal attention to the subject of honoring victims of the genocide against Ukrainians – the Holodomor of 1932-1933. I believe our further cooperation in that direction would bring closer world recognition of the nature and scale of this tragedy of the Ukrainian nation and help to propagate the truth about this horrific page in Ukrainian history.

Using this opportunity, I would like to renew to you my invitation to visit Ukraine at the nearest time convenient for you. I am certain that your visit to our country would give a new powerful boost to the development of strategic partnership relations between Ukraine and the United States of America.



President Barack Obama



President Viktor Yushchenko



Public relations professional Yevhen Hlibovytskyi (left) holds a copy of the audio book, “Doroĥa do Sebe” (The Road to Oneself), in which he and Dmytro Krykun (center) interviewed Patriarch Lubomyr Husar (right).

## Ukraine and Russia...

(Continued from page 1)

Lovochkin have legal business links to RosUkrEnergo and its main shareholder, billionaire Dmytro Firtash.

At the same time, the president has had a political alliance with Mr. Firtash for the last few years.

“Those who were involved in bribery schemes are expressing their dissatisfaction with such poor provisions for Ukraine because, truly, where to get bribes now?” Ms. Tymoshenko commented, alleging the president’s and the PRU’s involvement in RosUkrEnergo. “On whose account will Firtash finance political forces in Ukraine?”

As a result of her deal, Prime Minister Tymoshenko insisted no company would replace RosUkrEnergo as an opaque intermediary.

The Ukrainian-Russian agreement is allegedly for 10 years – which observers deemed unrealistic – but details weren’t clear on those conditions except that Ukraine will pay full market prices in 2010, when natural gas prices are expected to be lower than at present.

Among the Russians’ goals in creating the natural gas crisis was to convince the Europeans, and in particular the Germans,

to invest in building the Nord Stream pipeline that would pump gas directly from Russia through the Baltic Sea to Germany.

Indeed, the Russians succeeded in backing the Europeans into a corner, said Volodymyr Fesenko, the board chairman of the Kyiv-based Penta Center for Applied Political Research.

“Either you invest more funds into gas transport routes that bypass Ukraine into Europe, or you pressure Ukraine and force it into creating a natural gas consortium,” he said of the Russian scenario. The conflict succeeded in reviving serious discussions on these energy options, Mr. Fesenko said.

Arguing that the Russian government had planned the natural gas crisis in advance, Ukrayinska Pravda said the proof lies in the fact that Gazprom has contracts with American public relations firms Ketchum and Stromberg Consulting, both subsidiaries of the world’s largest public relations holding company, Omnicom Group.

On December 12, 2008, Stromberg launched an English-language website, <http://www.gazpromukrainefacts.com>. Ketchum is officially registered with the U.S. Justice Department as a lobbyist for Gazprom.

## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

# Unity 90 years ago

This year marks the 90th anniversary of a most significant event in Ukrainian history: the Act of Union between the Western Ukrainian National Republic and the Ukrainian National Republic. The union of all Ukrainian lands, east and west – a dream of generations of Ukrainians – was ceremoniously proclaimed on January 22, 1919, at a public rally in St. Sophia Square in the center of Kyiv.

The union came exactly one year after the Central Rada, based in Kyiv, issued the Fourth Universal, an edict that was the realization of the age-old goal of Ukrainian independence. "Henceforth, the Ukrainian National Republic is an independent, free and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people, subject to no one," the Fourth Universal proclaimed to all the world. The union also came less than three months after independence was likewise proclaimed in western Ukraine on November 1, 1918.

The 1919 Act of Union consolidated all Ukrainian lands into one state. The historic merger of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic came after the Ukrainian National Rada, the representative assembly of the western republic, voted on January 4, 1919, in Stanyslaviv (present-day Ivano-Frankivsk) to unite with their countrymen in Kyiv.

The new unified Ukrainian National Republic was declared at a time of great chaos, the collapse of authority, social turmoil and war, and the independent Ukrainian state was not to survive for long. Nonetheless, for decades afterwards Ukrainians around the globe celebrated each anniversary of the "Akt Zluky," along with the anniversary of Independence Day, or "Den Nezalezhnosti," on January 22. Our commemorations – at our city halls, schools, national homes and churches – were just one way we kept the dream of an independent and united Ukraine alive.

Today, of course, Ukraine has a new Independence Day – August 24, the date in 1991 when the long-sought independence was re-established. Ukraine's Parliament soon thereafter proclaimed August 24 as a national holiday, and the new Independence Day is now celebrated by Ukrainians worldwide. Then, in 1999, President Viktor Yushchenko issued a decree announcing that January 22 also would be celebrated as a national holiday – Unity Day – to commemorate the historic 1919 Act of Union that embodied the Ukrainian nation's age-old desire for unification in one state and to note its continuing great political significance for all Ukrainians.

This year, on the 90th anniversary of that momentous act, President Yushchenko called on Ukrainian citizens to unite around national interests and Ukrainian statehood. He noted that the Ukrainian people have always aspired to unity, but, "unfortunately, this unity is not so often observed among politicians..." Today, the president said, "the state especially needs the support of all citizens and the unity of the entire society. We are strong if united."

Indeed, January 22, 1919, is a date that lives in history, and, as such, it should be a time for us all to contemplate Ukraine's arduous, yet ultimately successful, road to modern-day independence. Reflections on the struggle for Ukrainian statehood should be food for thought for Ukraine's present-day leaders. Dare we hope that, as they contemplate where Ukraine has been and where it is today, they will finally end their squabbles and work together to achieve the long-sought unity of their nation?

Jan.  
27  
2008

## Turning the pages back...

Last year, on January 28-29, 2008, during a visit to Brussels, Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko proposed that the European Union and Ukraine join a project called "White Stream" for a gas pipeline from Turkmenistan via the Caspian Sea, South Caucasus and Black Sea to Ukraine and EU territory.

Originally outlined in 2005 by Ms. Tymoshenko during her first prime ministership, White Stream was to reduce Ukraine's and the EU's dependence on Russian-delivered gas at Russia-defined prices.

Coincidentally, White Stream is the brand name of a project outlined by the London-based and Georgian-initiated Georgia-Ukraine-European Union (GUEU) White Stream Pipeline Co. It was first presented in July 2007 at the Energy Security Conference in Tbilisi, Georgia, and again in October 2007 at the Energy Security Conference of heads of state and governments in Vilnius, Lithuania.

The first stage of the GUEU White Stream pipeline would carry Azerbaijani gas from the Shah-Deniz field via Georgia's 100-kilometer Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum pipeline (from Borjomi to Supsa on the Black Sea coast) and then 650 kilometers along the seabed to Crimea for 250 kilometers over land, with two options to reach Central Europe, either by Ukrainian pipelines or continuing on the seabed for 300 kilometers in shallow waters to Romanian pipelines. The second stage would carry Turkmen gas via Azerbaijan and Georgia to Europe across the Black Sea.

The two plans dovetail with each other, but there is a lack of coordination between transport planners and gas producers.

Ms. Tymoshenko noted with concern that several pipelines that were under construction at the time would increase the EU's supply-dependence and price-dependence on Russia. To avoid dependence on Russia, Ms. Tymoshenko called for direct EU involvement in the construction of oil and gas corridors via the Caspian and Black seas directly to Europe.

Ukraine's goal, according to Ms. Tymoshenko, is to import oil and gas from Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan and provide transit for these commodities to EU territory. The trans-Black Sea pipeline would be key to cut dependence on Gazprom and its intermediaries like RosUkrEnergo, she told EU leaders. She urged them to proceed with the necessary investment decisions now, rather than waiting for "another 20 years."

Source: "Trans-Black Sea pipeline: another chance for Georgia, Ukraine and Europe," by Vladimir Socor of *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, February 10, 2008.

## COMMENTARY

# A restart of U.S.-Russia relations

by Pavel Felgenhauer  
*Eurasia Daily Monitor*

During a confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, President-elect Barack Obama's choice for secretary of state, Hillary Rodham Clinton, criticized the outgoing Bush administration for having downgraded the role of arms control and announced the new administration's intention to engage Russia in more nuclear arms control talks as well as other security and economic issues.

Sen. Clinton promised to appoint a negotiator to resume arms control talks "almost immediately" (RIA-Novosti, January 13). Her statement received cautious positive comments from the Kremlin-controlled media in Moscow as a possible attempt in the future to avoid unnecessary tension, choose areas where security interests coincide and abandon "the unipolar approach in foreign policy" (RIA-Novosti, January 14).

Moscow, in turn, is clearly eager to talk and make deals with the incoming Obama administration. Last month Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov told journalists, "We are open to having an honest dialogue on multiple urgent issues of mutual interest." Mr. Lavrov added that he hopes Secretary of State-designate Clinton will be an easier negotiating partner than the Bush foreign policy team (RIA-Novosti, December 11).

It has been suggested in a U.S. think-tank publication that the Obama administration must revive the nuclear arms control dialogue; impose a moratorium on the construction of the missile defense facilities in Central Europe that Moscow opposes; expand commercial links by bringing Russia into the World Trade Organization and removing the Jackson-Vanik Amendment trade constraints; increase NATO-Russia cooperation, such as counter-piracy operations; and show greater transparency about NATO plans ([www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/01\\_us\\_russia\\_relations\\_pifer.asp](http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/01_us_russia_relations_pifer.asp)).

Still, the optimism in Moscow about possible coming detente with Washington is guarded. Russia wants to see real progress in areas where it believes the West has trampled on its legitimate security, business and geopolitical interests. Moscow is ready in principle for a far-reaching political and

strategic compromise with the United States and the West, but the price will be high.

The Russian Defense Ministry has announced it is ready to resume military cooperation with the United States and NATO "only on questions meeting its national interests," if Washington "apologizes" for breaking off relations last August. According to Gen. Anatoly Nogovitsyn, the United States must also apologize "for putting the responsibility for the events in South Ossetia on us and accusing us of unleashing aggression against Georgia and the excessive use of force during the operation in forcing Georgia to peace, although it knew pretty well who the real aggressor was" (ITAR-TASS, January 13). Such an "apology" would legitimize the Russian invasion of Georgia last August and, by implication, Moscow's right in the future to impose its will on former Soviet republics such as Georgia and Ukraine, its so-called sphere of privileged interests.

President-elect Obama has called for active engagement of former adversaries, but can this work if the strategic intentions of the present leaders of autocracies such as Russia and Iran are basically incompatible with those of democratic Western nations? Arms control, preventing Iran from going nuclear and fighting pirates in cooperation with NATO are not the most important issues in Moscow. The political power and personal economic interests of the present corrupt Russian leadership are fundamentally different: to control the production and access to world markets of oil, natural gas, metals and other commodities from Russia and the former Soviet republics, and to use its monopoly to extract the highest possible price.

During the current conflict with Ukraine over gas supplies and transit to Europe, Russia has not only been trying to undermine Ukrainian political and economic sovereignty but is also apparently promoting an energy shortage in Europe deliberately to prevent gas prices from collapsing. At present, natural gas prices in Europe are linked to the market price of crude, and in six months they will be one-third of what they are now. This could cause the financial collapse of the badly managed and heavily indebted Russian state-controlled gas monopoly Gazprom – something that the

(Continued on page 17)

## FOR THE RECORD

# UCCA statement on the 90th anniversary of Unity Day

On January 22, 2009, Ukrainians around the world will commemorate a significant day in their nation's history – the 90th anniversary of Unity Day. After centuries of foreign domination, the Act of Union, merging the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic into a single Ukrainian state, was solemnly declared. Thus, after centuries of foreign domination, Ukrainian ethnic territories were unified into a single state. Although this period of sovereignty was short-lived, the Act of Union marked a milestone in the Ukrainian people's struggle for freedom and independence.

As a symbol of the territorial and spiritual unity of Ukraine as a sovereign state, January 22 will forever remain in the annals of history as the date of the rebirth of the Ukrainian nation and a spark that

ignited the August 24, 1991, Declaration of Independence.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) warmly greets the Ukrainian nation and all Ukrainians on this 90th anniversary of Unity Day. May we never forget the struggles and sacrifices of our forefathers in the name of freedom, and may we always remember that unity is the foundation of our independence.

Glory to Ukraine!

On behalf of the UCCA Executive Board:

**Tamara Olexy**  
president

**Marie Duplak**  
executive secretary

January 22, 2009

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Year in Review a good overview

Dear Editor:

I received the Sunday, January 11, issue of the Ukrainian Weekly a few days ago and was particularly taken with your 32-page section "2008: The Year in Review."

I have read the entire section and found that it gave a very good overview of the major events that occurred in the Ukrainian community in the United States and Canada over the past year as well as the major issues that it dealt with. I also believe that it gave a very good overview of the leaders and movers and shakers in the community, who they are and what they did.

Finally, I felt that your coverage and analysis of developments and events in Ukraine was nothing short of a tour de force. You made it easy to follow the byzantine machinations of Ukraine's ruling elite over the year and you actually succeeded in explaining their actions.

I am saving the section for future reference.

Thank you for a remarkable job.

**Peter T. Woloschuk**  
Boston

### 75th anniversary congratulations

Dear Editor:

The Ukrainian American Coordinating Council Board and I, on behalf of our membership, wish to congratulate you and the staff of The Ukrainian Weekly and the Ukrainian National Association on the occasion of The Weekly's 75th anniversary. The Ukrainian Weekly has been not only a newspaper of record that Ukrainian Americans can be proud of, but it also has provided a lively forum where readers can express themselves and debate matters of concern to the community at large.

The Ukrainian Weekly has been a vital mirror of events during years that have been profoundly important in the history of Ukraine. Furthermore, its reporting, both local and international, has helped to provide a social cohesion for generations of Ukrainian Americans and has helped to give many a sense of pride in their ethnic identity that would otherwise have been lacking.

We wish you continued success for many years to come, and we are certain that under your leadership The Ukrainian Weekly will remain the excellent publication it has become.

**Ihor Gawdiak**  
President

### Strategic partners: well, not quite...

Dear Editor:

An event of importance for Ukraine came to light in late December 2008. Covered by The Ukrainian Weekly on December 28, 2008, it was the signing in Washington of The United States – Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership.

Despite its weighty content, browsing through the text of the Charter shows that it falls short (not surprisingly) of guarantees by the U.S. to come to the aid of Ukraine in case of attack from another power.

A definitive American commitment (such as given to Poland in a bilateral treaty concluded last year) would be a momentous event for Ukraine, especially after its recent

setbacks in trying to secure connections to NATO and the European Union.

**Boris Danik**  
North Caldwell, N.J.

### Putin's fantasy: restoring USSR

Dear Editor:

In an attempt to restore Soviet Union, Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin declared a gas war on Ukraine and indirectly on the European Union after trying unsuccessfully to conquer Georgia militarily. While he thinks that this action could lead to conquest by other means of a former Soviet republic, he seems not to realize that today's Russia is not the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union existed as a parallel universe to the rest of the countries on this planet. It was an economically self-contained empire, with Russia providing raw materials and energy, satellite countries manufacturing most consumer goods, and Ukraine providing most of the military hardware. Today the satellite countries and Ukraine are out of Russia's sphere and Russia is no longer an empire.

Consumer goods must be bought abroad, since Russia never produced much of them and does not produce them now. While standing at the terminal of the trans-Siberian railroad in Vladivostok, I saw passengers disembarking with large black plastic bags. They were coming back home from Khabarovsk with consumer goods bought across the border in China. This is how Russia is supplying itself with consumer goods today.

To pay for consumer goods, Russia must generate foreign currency. And this is done by selling crude oil, gas, metals and other raw materials to the West. While sailing on the Neva River in St. Petersburg, I saw mile after mile of freight sea terminals loaded with metal ingots ready to be shipped abroad. This is how Russia pays for consumer goods that it is buying in the West. By cutting gas supplies to his customers in Europe, Mr. Putin shot himself in the foot.

Sixty percent of the Russian budget is derived from the export of crude oil and gas. With crude oil trading in the \$35 to \$40 range, down from \$145 only few months ago, and the gas pipeline to Europe shut down, I estimate that more than 50 percent of the Russian government's budget is gone. And the prime minister still has to meet his payroll on a daily basis.

Russia is no longer the Soviet Union and never will be. The sooner Prime Minister Putin realizes this, the sooner it will be better for Russia and the rest of us. It is time for him to wake up from his fantasy.

**Ihor Lysyj**  
Austin, Texas

### We welcome your opinion

The Ukrainian Weekly welcomes letters to the editor and commentaries on a variety of topics of concern to the Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian communities. Opinions expressed by columnists, commentators and letter-writers are their own and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of either The Weekly editorial staff or its publisher, The Ukrainian National Association.

Letters should be typed and signed (anonymous letters are not published). Letters are accepted also via e-mail at [staff@ukrweekly.com](mailto:staff@ukrweekly.com). The daytime phone number and address of the letter-writer must be given for verification purposes. Please note that a daytime phone number is essential in order for editors to contact letter-writers regarding clarifications or questions.

Please note: THE LENGTH OF LETTERS CANNOT EXCEED 500 WORDS.

# CROSSCURRENTS

by Andrew Sorokowski

## Euro-remont and Ukraine

My mother-in-law's kitchen in Lviv needs a "Euro-remont" – that is, a renovation that will bring it up to European standards. That might include German plumbing, French cabinets, a Dutch gas range, or an Italian refrigerator. Never mind that the kitchen is in a building designed by Viennese architects when Lviv was part of Austria and that later additions were made under pre-war Poland. Everything in Ukraine, we are assured, from its political system and its economy down to my mother-in-law's kitchen, needs a Euro-remont.

The first problem with this "Drang nach Westen" is that "Europe" can mean different things. To proponents of Ukraine's European Choice, such as President Viktor Yushchenko, it means "European values" – such lofty political ideals as democracy, human rights, civil society and the rule of law. Economically, it implies a free market. Culturally, it signifies the great Western tradition, artistic and intellectual freedom, autonomous universities and a free press. In short, it means everything that Russia and the USSR was not. In this view, Europe is not being contrasted with the great Asian civilizations of China and India. Rather, it is the antithesis of everything primitive, ignorant and barbaric – that is, everything Russian and Soviet.

Yet, Europe also gave the world such dubious political inventions as fascism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, such economic notions as state socialism and state-controlled corporatism, and such cultural phenomena as censorship, propaganda and kitsch.

For some of us who grew up in the post-war diaspora, "Europe" had a different meaning. It signified a cultivated way of life and an appreciation for aesthetics. It also carried a sense of honor and dignity and an exacting standard of personal conduct, of manners and comportment. It meant, in short, everything that crass, vulgar, ignorant America (as we unfairly perceived it) was not.

Was Ukraine Europe? Few of our immigrants measured up to the stereotypical image of the European. Ukrainians were overwhelmingly country folk or semi-urbanized villagers. The European cultural type was, first of all, urban. But this view of Europeans was already filtered through the wire-rimmed spectacles of a disaffected American intelligentsia. There was, and is, another Europe – the traditional Europe of village and parish, of family and folk tradition. Ukrainians fit right in.

The second problem with the current European orientation is the assumption that at some point Ukraine ceased being part of Europe. For most of the country, that is thought to have happened in 1917-1921, or perhaps much earlier; for western Ukraine, in 1939-1945. Then, as we know, Ukraine was taken over by the followers of a band of conspirators who had spent years in places like London, Paris, Zurich and Vienna, spinning out an ideology originated by a couple of Germans shocked by working-class conditions in England and inspired by the French Revolution and German philosophy. Between then and 1991, Ukraine was subjected to such un-European phenomena as dictatorship, political terror, nationalization of industry, workers' and peasants' councils, one-party rule, secret

police, militarism and ideological control. Such things never happened in Europe.

Of course, it is contemporary Europe to which Ukraine aspires. But what is that? Is it a Europe of civic freedom and equality, or a Europe where Muslim headscarves are banned and Holocaust deniers are jailed? Is it a Europe of free trade, or of welfare-state socialism? Is it a continent rich with a multiplicity of cultures and traditions, or an exhausted civilization feeding off its dwindling cultural capital?

In short, "Europe" can mean so many contradictory things that there is no way to tell for sure whether Ukraine ever was or was not a part of it. Thus, the slogan of a "European choice" is practically meaningless. One can just as readily conclude that any Ukrainian choice is European by definition.

The third problem with the notion of a "return to Europe" is that it may actually entail a contradiction of what Ukrainians imagine Europe to be. One of the pathologies of a dying civilization is that it renounces its own heritage. Thus, for example, the French Revolution assaulted not only monarchy, aristocracy and the Church, but Christianity itself. Marxism attacked the very bourgeoisie that had created modern Europe and its values. World War I is often seen as Europe's collective suicide, making way for two political systems that sought to destroy bourgeois liberalism. The assault was not only political and economic, but also cultural, as both fascism and communism attempted to replace traditional Christianity. Over half a century later, the drafters of a European Constitution proposed to avoid all references to the Christian heritage. No one knows what Europe stands for today, aside from vague platitudes about tolerance and equality. Its philosophical torpor is reflected by its demographic decline: with no purpose or idea to live for, a society loses the will to replicate itself. The religious and demographic impetus of Islam merely fills the vacuum.

Is this the Europe to which our Ukrainian Euro-enthusiasts aspire? One wonders how the good burghers of Lviv will react when Brussels starts regulating every detail of their lives, prescribing the wording on food packaging, dictating abortion laws or demanding legal recognition of same-sex unions.

But isn't Ukraine already European? The Byzantine heritage is as European as its Roman predecessor. Why should today's "Western Europe" – actually, Central and Northern – define what is truly European? In some ways, it resembles the stump of a burnt-out redwood, on the edges of which new trees will someday arise. For it is Europe's periphery – countries like Ireland, Spain, Poland and Greece – that may bear the promise of its revival. They may take the European tradition in an entirely different direction. And that is where Ukraine can find its role.

Of course, the first challenge for Ukraine – as for my mother-in-law's apartment – is to meet current European standards. But the more interesting and, in the long run, the more important challenge, is not how to rejoin Europe, but how to redefine it.

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# REFLECTIONS: The heritage generation

by Alexis Buryk

Roughly 4,000 miles, one century and three generations exist between me and the country of my paternal great-grandparents, who migrated from Galicia (Halychyna) to the East Coast of America beginning in 1910.

My father has spent a great portion of his adult life mapping out the roots of our family, making connections, and attempting to suture the splintering caused by time and distance. My first sense of heritage came from him and the stories he told me of our family, stories of opportunities and loss, of opposition and pride.

Ukraine has always been a nation on the edge, literally a "border land," and like the land from which our ancestors came, we Americans of Ukrainians descent find ourselves having to redefine ourselves and our identity; we often feel divided and indefinite, swallowed by the culture of our surroundings.

My generation is perhaps even more splintered than my father's generation, because we are the product and enactors of the global era, permanently influenced by the drawbacks and benefits of constant communication and technology. As we struggle to define ourselves individually in this modern era, our family histories certainly play a part. But what of our "Ukrainian-ness," if any, do we choose to hold as our own?

Before my two recent trips to Ukraine, Ukrainian culture seemed to me an echo of a secret language my father taught me, which his father knew but rarely spoke, which his grandfather never had the chance to teach him, since working as a coal miner literally broke the man's back when my grandfather was a child.

Ukraine was "kutia" at Christmas, the blessing of baskets at Easter, audio cassettes with strange letters on them that my father would play on long drives up to similarly strange places, like the festivals in New York state at Soyuzivka in Kerhonkson, Verkhovyna in Glen Spey and "SUM" in Ellenville.

Sometimes, when the festivals were in full swing, I felt as though I were privy to a glimpse of something huge, something far bigger than the individual roots of my family and the parentheses of my father's

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stories. At other times, when hardly anyone attended events held in large echoing halls, I felt as though I had managed blessed isolation from some obscure culture that was simply out of touch.

Whether booming or not, the festivals were a different world, removed completely from my American life, my day-to-day existence, the fullest part of myself; yet I was unquestionably drawn to them, and searched with different degrees of success to understand myself as connected to this other world I witnessed.

When my plane touched down in Ukraine in the summer of 2006, I felt instantly the essential thread connecting me to Ukraine and previous generations. I felt through me the desires of my father to piece together our family story, the hours of physical labor my grandfather endured to provide for him a comfortable life, and the courage of his own mother and father who made the critical passage. Then, beyond them, somewhere buried in the hills, I was viewing for the first time a multitude of others, the greater number of ancestors, some named and some unnamed, but all at one time living and breathing individuals whose blood pulsed in me as we touched down and I set foot in Ukraine.

We are certainly different creatures, the children of those who left. During my second trip this past July, I was able to more keenly observe how we are different from Ukrainians living in Ukraine today, and how we, the diaspora, differ from each other, depending on where our ancestors settled and from what wave of migration they came. All diaspora Ukrainians know something of the country's problems through the lens of their own family's exodus, and no part of our trip, no matter how trivial, was devoid of the simple fact that we were there to mend something, to gain something back that had never been lost by us. Those who left were the ones who had felt the loss; we were the ones who were born into the absence, into the complicated space of remembrance and forgetting, of tradition and assimilation.

One July night in Lviv I found myself spending time with three other Ukrainian Americans. We pass around a bottle of horilka, listen to Gogol Bordello and talk about "Suzy-Q" with levity, but someone begins to talk about the differences between the waves of immigration to the States, and we're suddenly serious, rapt with attention to the subject, the matter of our families.

The room is mixed; I and another are the descendants of first wavers, people who had been dirt poor when they arrived



The author (right) and one of her Ukrainian Catholic University students at the festival of Ivan Kupalo, English Summer School in the Carpathian Mountains, July 2006.



The author and her extended Ukrainian family at the home of her cousin Michael in Lviv, July 2008

in the States regardless of their status in Ukraine, people who had to work until they bled in order to pave the way for their children, and their children's children, and their children's children's children – us. The other two are progeny of people forced out of Ukraine by the troubles of World War II. One of them begins to talk about how this wave was different than the others, because it was composed of those people who did not have the choice to leave.

I sense in him and in some of the other students who are descended from more recent waves of immigration a greater sense of urgency, a more raw and immediate understanding of precisely what was

lost in the move across the ocean.

But beyond any differences, between those of Ukrainian descent and today's Ukrainians in Ukraine, between the descendants of various waves of migration, there is our desire for Ukraine to survive and thrive in a way that is unique to her, in a way that respects her beautifully fragile-yet-resilient nature.

Many in my generation have little more than heritage and stories to connect them, but on some level this is more than enough. Heritage fuels our curiosity and, more importantly, a desire to bridge the gaps, to mend broken ties and to understand more fully modern Ukrainians, and the Ukrainian in us.



Ukrainian Summer School students at Shevchenkivskyi Hai, outside of Lviv, July 2008.



Traditional Ukrainian blouses at the marketplace in Lviv's city center, July 2006.



# Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute accepting applications

by Peter T. Woloschuk

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. – The Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute (HUSI) has begun taking applications for its 39th annual session in the summer of 2009 which will run from Monday, June 22, through Friday, August 7. The Summer Institute's program – unique to North America – offers an intensive seven-week curriculum of accredited university instruction in Ukrainian studies. The program, offered every summer since 1971, is run jointly by the Harvard University Summer School and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI).

Intensive Ukrainian language training is a major element of the program. Courses this summer will include: Beginning Ukrainian taught by Alla Parkhomenko, British Council, Ukraine; Intermediate Ukrainian taught by Yuri I. Shevchuk, lecturer, department of Slavic languages, Columbia University; and Advanced Ukrainian, taught by Volodymyr Dibrova, preceptor, department of Slavic languages and literatures, Harvard University.

HUSI's language courses are proficiency-based and are aimed at developing communications skills in a variety of real-life situations. An entry test will determine placement. The language program relies on Harvard's extensive language resources, including a library of recorded material, video films and programs, access to Ukrainian radio and TV news and other programs, regular language labs, and extracurricular activities aimed at creating a near-immersion language environment.

In addition to language training, HUSI offers a number of academic courses in the field of Ukrainian studies. This summer, internationally noted expert on Soviet history and the Ukrainian Holodomor Andrea Graziosi of the University of Naples, Italy, "Federico II"

will teach a course on "Soviet Ukrainian History, 1914-1991" and Tamara Hundorova of the Institute of Literature at the National Academy of sciences of Ukraine will lecture on "Ukrainian Literature and Popular Culture." Michael S. Flier, HURI director and Oleksandr Potebnja Professor of Ukrainian Philology at Harvard University, will return to teach "Ukraine as Linguistic Battleground."

Students enrolled in the program can take advantage of Harvard's many research and instructional facilities, including the largest Ucrainica library collection outside of Eastern Europe, various museums and the language resource center. Over the years participants have included undergraduate and graduate students and professionals from North and South America, Asia, Africa, Australia and Europe including Ukraine.

In speaking of HUSI's 2009 program, Dr. Flier noted: "As in years past, students have the opportunity to come to Harvard in the summer to immerse themselves in this unique, intensive Ukrainian experience. We offer a range of Ukrainian language courses and a considerable number of special events to supplement the institute's academic offerings. Through these events, HUSI participants will gain a valuable broad perspective on current Ukrainian history and culture. The program for 2009 will include guest lectures by prominent faculty and visiting scholars and cultural presentations, such as screenings of contemporary Ukrainian films and musical and literary events."

HUSI was launched in 1971 by Prof. Omeljan Pritsak, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute's co-founder, to maintain and strengthen a solid foundation of Ukrainian studies in the West and to open the course offerings of the institute to college students who were not enrolled at Harvard University. For the first 20 years HUSI students were primarily a mix of "heritage students" – children and grand-

children of the Ukrainian diaspora – and students who were studying Ukrainian language, culture or history as part of their own academic pursuits and enrichment.

In the last decade an increasing number of graduate students specializing in east European studies have enrolled at HUSI to add a Ukrainian element to their graduate course of studies.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the declaration of Ukraine's independence, students from Ukraine itself have been able to attend, adding a third component to the mix. The program has benefited immensely from their presence and interaction with the summer academic community.

As a result, HUSI's mission has expanded and, while still supporting Ukrainian studies in the West, it is also serving to break down the barriers isolating Ukrainian studies in Ukraine from the rest of the world. And this has benefited the advancement of true scholarship on both sides. Many American and Ukrainian HUSI students have become life-long contacts and academic collaborators. Ukrainian HUSI alumni often go on to greater academic achievement or reform in their home country.

For example, the director of Lviv National University's Center for Master's Program Development in Sociology and Cultural Studies, Iryna Starovoyt, is a HUSI alumna, and many of the center's faculty are also HUSI alumni. The center supports some of the most sophisticated and up-to-date graduate education and research in Ukraine, and is instituting a reformed doctoral curriculum that will serve as a model for other academic departments and institutions in Ukraine.

In its 39-year history HUSI has welcomed more than 2,000 students and boasts some outstanding alumni, including Kateryna Yushchenko, the First Lady of Ukraine; the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak,

rector of Ukrainian Catholic University; Timothy Snyder, professor of history at Yale University; Frederigo Argentieri, professor of history at John Cabot University in Rome who was instrumental in getting Robert Conquest's "Harvest of Sorrow" published in Italian; and Kazuo Nakai, a prominent specialist in Ukrainian studies at the University of Tokyo, Japan.

To apply, students must be 19 years old or have completed one year of college. They must submit the HUSI application, as well as the Harvard Summer School registration form, and the non-refundable \$50 registration fee to: Tamara Nary, Programs Administrator, Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute, 34 Kirkland St., Cambridge, MA, 02138.

Full tuition for the Harvard Summer School is \$4,950. However, HUSI is subsidized by both the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and the Ukrainian Studies Fund and offers its program for a reduced fee of \$2,970 for eight units of credit. Room and board for Harvard's summer session is \$4,250 with a pre-payment of \$950 due at the time of application.

Students with a demonstrated financial need may qualify for further fee reductions but must apply by Friday, March 6, for consideration. Admission is based on the applicant's academic record, a letter or recommendation and an essay. International students requesting visas must submit their completed materials by Friday, March 6, as well. The final deadline for all other students' applications is Friday, May 22.

For more information and application materials, readers may visit the HURI website, [www.huri.harvard.edu](http://www.huri.harvard.edu). With questions e-mail [huri@harvard.edu/husi.html](mailto:huri@harvard.edu/husi.html), write to HUSI, 34 Kirkland St., Cambridge, MA, 02138, or call HURI at 617-495-4053.

## Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute concludes busy fall semester

by Peter T. Woloschuk

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. – The Fall 2008 academic semester at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI) was one of the busiest in recent memory. During the four-month semester, HURI sponsored a major international conference commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor in Ukraine, and hosted seven seminars given by visiting scholars, six roundtable discussions featuring various experts sponsored by the Ukraine Study Group (USG), the Zenovia Sochor Parry Memorial Lecture, two book launches, a world premier of excerpts of a new opera, "Red Earth" (Hunger), and the New England premier of a new documentary film on the survivors of the Holodomor, "The Living" (Zhyvi).

HURI also supported six distinguished scholars from around the world for the semester, enabling them to do wide-ranging research on important projects concerning Ukrainian history, politics, literature, linguistics and culture.

Five of the scholars were recipients of the Eugene and Daymel Shklar Research Fellowships in Ukrainian Studies. These annual fellowships, awarded for the sixth year and funded through the generous gift of the Eugene and Daymel Shklar Foundation of California, enable HURI to bring distinguished scholars from around the world to Harvard. In addition to conducting research, each fellow is required to present a formal lecture as part of HURI's weekly Seminars in Ukrainian Studies.

The scholars' research focused on a

variety of historical, cultural and political topics: the Kozak Hetmanate, Byzantine imagery in medieval Kyiv, the historical shaping of Carpathian identity, energy issues, and how texts written in Kyiv from 1800 to the 1930s were generated and shaped to reflect the respective historic legacies and cultural identities of the city's Ukrainians, Russians, Poles and Jews.

In addition, HURI, in conjunction with Harvard's Weatherhead Center for International Politics, granted a year-long research fellowship to Leonid Polyakov, former vice-minister of defense of Ukraine (February 2005 to January 2008), who currently is a consultant to the Verkhovna Rada Committee on National Security and Defense.

Mr. Polyakov is working on the topic "The Role of the Ethos, Institutions and Policy in Strengthening the National Security of Independent Ukraine." His study attempts to look at various influences (national, Soviet and foreign) that have played a key role in shaping Ukraine's national security. He argues that "the lack of a coherent, sustainable, constructive ethos prevents security and defense structures from working as effective institutions capable of developing and implementing policies that secure national interests."

The Ukraine Study Group's activities included a roundtable discussion on Ukraine's ongoing political crisis and looked at the underlying reasons for it. The session was moderated by Dr. Lubomyr Hajda, the institute's associate director; Mr. Polyakov and Oleh Kotsiuba, a graduate student in Ukrainian literature

led the discussion.

Mie Nakachi, post-doctoral fellow at Harvard's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies looked at "Khrushchev as Social Engineer: The Ukrainian Origin of Soviet Population Policy after World War II." Christopher Mick, RCUK Academic Fellow, department of history, University of Warwick, England, looked at perceptions of "Lviv, November 1918: War and Remembrance" from both the Polish and Ukrainian perspectives.

Serhiy Bukovsky, director, and Victoria Bodnar, producer, of the new documentary film highlighting survivors of the 1932-1933 Holodomor "The Living" (Zhyvi), met with the group the day after the New England premier of their film, giving insights into the production of the film and discussing the current state of Ukrainian and Russian filmmaking in Ukraine.

Pavlo Hrytsenko, director of the Institute of the Ukrainian Language at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, looked at "The Ideas of George Shevelov in the Context of Contemporary Scholarship in Ukrainian and Slavic Philology." Andriy Shevchenko, member of the Ukrainian Parliament, first vice-chair of the parliamentary Committee on Freedom of the Press, television journalist and Yale World Fellow at Yale University, reviewed media events in Ukraine since 2004 in a presentation titled "Can You Keep the Orange Fresh? Hopes and Crises in Ukraine since the Orange Revolution."

One highlight of the semester's Seminars in Ukrainian Studies series was a lecture presented by Prof. Frank Sysyn,

director of the Peter Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS), University of Alberta. His presentation looked at the ideas of fatherland and nation in "Istoria Rusov": The Interface of Early Modern and Modern Ukrainian Political Culture." The work was widely circulated in manuscript in left bank and central Ukrainian lands and among the Ukrainian and Kozak nobility and intelligentsia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and reflected attitudes of Ukrainian separateness and particularity.

Following Prof. Sysyn's presentation, HURI hosted a joint book launch for two recent publications of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press: the ninth volume of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's "History of Rus'-Ukraine," and Paulina Lewin's "Ukrainian Drama and Theater in the 17th and 18th Centuries."

Speaking about the new ninth volume of Hrushevsky's work, Prof. Serhii Plokhii, Mykhailo S. Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History at Harvard, pointed out that the volume was published just days before the noted historian and political leader was arrested by the Soviet government. "The volume was groundbreaking in its approach," Dr. Plokhii pointed out, "because it took a look at all of the surviving primary source material dealing with Bohdan Khmelnytsky's treaty with Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich at Pereiaslav in 1654 and found that the accepted picture was actually based on a report from the

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# NEWS AND VIEWS: Loudly into the light of day

by Alex Kuzma

It is not often that I find myself agreeing wholeheartedly with Dr. Myron Kuropas, but when it comes to his call to continue the struggle for universal recognition of the Holodomor, ("Quietly into the night," December, 7, 2008), there should be no question: the Ukrainian American community needs to persevere. This struggle has been a long and frustrating one. The survivors are dying out, and the Russian government is hoping to "run out the clock" on our ability to effectively publicize the long-buried truth about Ukraine's greatest national tragedy.

There are members of my own family and activists in the Ukrainian community who will always be ardent patriots and defenders of Ukraine who have told me that they feel that the Holodomor has "played itself out," that our community needs to "get over it" and "move on." In some ways, this sentiment is driven by the erroneous conclusion that our community has exhausted all possible remedies. We have tried Congressional hearings, marches in New York, memorial services in giant cathedrals, pickets of The New York Times and demands for revoking Walter Duranty's tainted Pulitzer, scholarly conferences and research studies at Harvard and Columbia and, to a degree, all of these have been effective in raising public awareness of the Famine. But we seem to have hit a glass ceiling beyond which we have not been able to break through.

When scholars and media commentators speak about genocide or ethnic cleansing, when they expound on the relevance or uni-

*Alexander Kuzma is a non-profit fundraiser, human rights attorney and community activist in Connecticut.*

versality of the Holocaust, they speak of Armenia, Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, Darfur. There seems to be an unspoken rule that the Holodomor is either excluded from the conversation or, if it is mentioned at all, it is fair game for denial, obfuscation and ideological spin.

The question is: What more can we do? Or what can we do differently to achieve further breakthroughs in this struggle for recognition?

Clearly, the answer lies in our ability to draw effective analogies with other acts of genocide. But I think it also depends our willingness to work creatively in building coalitions with other oppressed ethnic groups and our ability to bring cognitive dissonance to a loud and feverish pitch. The key to this struggle is solidarity.

During the Cold War era, Ukrainians often made common cause with Baltic nations, exiled Cubans, Poles, Jewish dissidents, Czechs and Hungarians who sought to bring attention to human rights abuses and their own struggles for freedom. Tyranny did not end with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Today, there are any number of places around the world where terror and hunger are being used as a weapon to destroy (in whole or in part) entire groups of people based on their ethnicity, religion or class. (This is the classic definition of genocide formulated by the man who coined the term, Raphael Lemkin.) Ukraine's colossal tragedy has direct relevance to dozens of human rights struggles and smaller scale holocausts unfolding today.

The primary reason the world must not forget or ignore the Holodomor is that, like the Holocaust, it can be repeated. Catastrophes of this magnitude require perpetual study and vigilance to make sure that they are not visited on other vulnerable

nations, even on a smaller scale. Death by hunger is always horrific, whether it afflicts 10 million people or 100,000 or one. But if the deaths of 10 million can be ignored or deliberately covered up through obtuse rhetoric and sophistry, this can only encourage other petty tyrants to gamble on Hitler's presumption that "no one will remember the Armenians." Should Vladimir Putin and his lackeys succeed in covering up the Holodomor, they would embolden other upstart monsters to entertain equally grandiose criminal ambitions.

Dr. Kuropas suggests that we follow the example of the Armenian community that has continued to fight for recognition of its tragedy despite fierce resistance from the Turks since 1915. A more effective frame of reference might be the Jewish community that not only fought for recognition of the Holocaust, but also linked arms with the Civil Rights marchers in Alabama and Mississippi during the anti-segregation struggle, and later advocated for U.S. intervention in Bosnia and Kosovo to protect Muslims from Serb atrocities. Although the Serb atrocities and the lynching of blacks claimed far fewer victims than the death camps at Auschwitz or Buchenwald, Jewish activists recognized that the Holocaust left them with a moral imperative to resist other forms of violence, bigotry and oppression. In the process, they made the lessons of the Holocaust relevant to contemporary human rights struggles and won the respect of non-Jews for their cause.

As we plan the next steps in our campaign for Holodomor recognition, Ukrainian American leaders would do well to reach out to other human rights groups that are trying to gain recognition for other genocidal tragedies unfolding today. In Darfur, the Sudanese government and its Janjaweed militia – a primitive horseback equivalent of the Nazi Einsatzgruppen – have murdered, raped and starved over 200,000 non-Muslim inhabitants, and forced millions to take refuge in Chad. Many international leaders and celebrities have already acknowledged this as an act of genocide, even though the numbers pale in comparison to the Holodomor.

In the coming months, there will be scores if not hundreds of rallies around the country and on college campuses to protest the horrors of Darfur. Ukrainian American students and community leaders, including clergy should offer their remarks on these occasions. Although the plight of Darfur has been the cause celebre of many liberal groups and churches, conservative Ukrainians should have no objection to appearing or speaking at such rallies, since the primary sponsors of the Sudanese death squads are the Chinese communists.

Similarly, we should reach out to the Bosnian, Cambodian, and Tibetan communities and invite them to be part of our Holodomor commemorations. Last spring one of the most eloquent speakers at the Famine observances at the Connecticut State Capitol was a young Bosnian woman, Leyla Besamanovic, who described the mass slaughter of over 100,000 Bosnian men and boys by the Serbian military. Srebrenica has become a household word in a way that Holodomor has not.

There are those who might say that Ukraine has too much of its own history to expose and publicize to worry about the plight of other nationalities. But Ukraine is in a stronger position today than it was two centuries ago when Shevchenko overcame his despair and loneliness in exile to remind his countrymen "I chuzhoho nachaites." Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lesia Ukrainka and other "founding fathers" and mothers of the Ukrainian independence movement found room in their vision to make common cause with the Kazakhs, Chechens, Czechs and other oppressed nationalities of their day. As exotic as these

other nations may have seemed, Shevchenko understood that Ukraine's quest for freedom and recognition could only take place within the context of a worldwide struggle against tyranny in all its forms.

Why should we expect non-Ukrainians to care about the Holodomor – a 75-year old tragedy when Ukrainians care little if at all about other horrific tragedies that are unfolding before our eyes today? If we cannot show our compassion for the victims of current tragedies that we can still prevent or bring to an end, our commitment to Holodomor recognition may be seen as little more than a kind of abstract, morbid fetish divorced from any meaningful love for our living fellow man. The more we treat our campaign as an isolated act of remembrance, the easier it will be for the media to ignore or relegate the Holodomor to the dustbin of "old news." The more we show the relevance of the Famine to current events and impending global threats, the more the world community will have to pay attention.

Some might object that the Holodomor was far more massive in scale and more profound in its impact than the slaughter of a million Armenians or a million Cambodians, much less a few hundred thousand Rwandan Tutsis or minority Sudanese. We might worry that we would dilute our message by linking our experience to theirs. I would argue that the reverse is true: By acknowledging Darfur, Cambodia and Srebrenica as acts of genocide, we will beg the question: Why should the world recognize these acts of genocide while ignoring a far greater tragedy?

The point is that no genocide unfolds overnight. The collectivization campaign that led to the Holodomor required extensive planning, a systematic approach, trial runs and careful execution. Without global opposition, today's mini-genocide can easily escalate into tomorrow's massive killing machine. The process must be stopped in its infant stages.

In this way, we can mutually re-enforce each other's message. The Save Darfur Coalition can cite the Holodomor as an example of the extremes to which man-made famine and massacres can lead. By drawing parallels to Stalin who blocked humanitarian shipments to starving Ukrainians in the 1930s we can add our voices condemning the barbarity of the rulers of Myanmar, Zimbabwe and North Korea who would rather see their people starve than relinquish their power. There is no better way to honor the memory of the Holodomor victims than to use their example to prevent new tragedies.

As we bring the discussion of the Holodomor into a broader geopolitical context, we also need to remind the world of Russia's capacity for committing new outrages. The Holodomor matters if for no other reason than the ghost of Stalin has made a roaring comeback.

While America has been preoccupied with Iraq and Afghanistan, Mr. Putin and his strategists have spent the past eight years grooming a new generation of Stalin's admirers and apologists. Their cookie-cutter youth movement "Nashi" is a force to be reckoned with. More than a hip or watered down version of the Soviet "Pioneers," it has clearly been designed as a breeding ground for young nationalists (read: imperialists) eager to restore Russia's old "glory."

We can imagine the world's reaction if in less than a decade, millions of young Germans suddenly began expressing unabashed admiration for Hitler, denying the Holocaust and openly advocating the seizure of ethnically German communities in Poland and the Czech Republic. What would we think if this kind of "national pride" movement was sanctioned and pro-

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# Winnipeg's Oseredok hosts symposium on the Holodomor

by Roman Yereniuk

WINNIPEG, Manitoba – The Winnipeg Symposium on the Holodomor, held on November 8, 2008, featured eight major speakers representing six different universities in Canada and Ukraine. All the papers provided much information, including some original research, on the theme of the Holodomor. The eight papers were divided into four sessions dealing with various aspects of the Holodomor, including general historical background, the problem of numbers, the issue with Mennonites, art depictions of the Holodomor and research in Canadian newspapers. The symposium also provided an opportunity for much discussion between presenters and those present.

Dr. Liudmyla Hrynevych, senior scholar at the Institute of the History of Ukraine, at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (NASU) in Kyiv, presented the first paper, titled "Holodomor 1932-1933 in Time and Space: A Chronology of Genocide." The paper provided arguments for a structural approach to researching the history of collectivization and the Famine of 1932-1933, taking into consideration socio-economic, political, ideological and national perspectives.

She emphasized that the Famine was caused by large-scale political and socio-economic experimentation by the Stalin regime, specifically the confiscation of food from the peasants and their blockade within the boundaries of the Famine disaster areas.

She provided a hypothesis concerning the possible connection between the Holodomor and strategic military plans of the Soviet leadership, in particular with respect to the military preparedness of the USSR for a future war consisting not only of the problem of military-industrial modernization, but also the issue of "political readiness on the home front." The latter was achieved by developing a suitable political propaganda effort among the population and preventive "purges" of disloyal and thus dangerous elements. The obvious disloyalty of the Ukrainian peasantry prompted Joseph Stalin to use the Famine as an instrument for the physical liquidation of a potential "fifth column," Dr. Hrynevych said.

Dr. Youngok Kang-Bohr, lecturer at the University of Winnipeg, spoke on the topic "Collectivization and the Great Famine of 1932-1933." Dr. Kang-Bohr provided data on the whole-scale collectivization of the agricultural sector in the late 1920s to enhance the grain productivity in its efforts at financing the industrialization drive. The forced grain procurement and collectivization policies encountered fierce resistance by farmers who were content with individual farming. These people were then branded as "kulaks" (or well-to-do farmer) and the subsequent hunt for kulaks as a class resulted in death and imprisonment of millions of people. During the turmoil in the countryside, the Great Famine broke out in 1932-1933 which took further millions of lives, the scholar noted.

She further examined the Soviet collectivization policies and their consequences for the Great Famine and its spread, and discussed different schools of thought in regard to the causes of the Famine. The speaker concluded that the Soviet leadership certainly utilized its policies to break Ukrainian nationalism and the resistance of the peasantry.

The next paper was presented by Dr. John-Paul Himka, a professor of Ukrainian and East European history at the University of Alberta (Edmont) and the director of the Research Program on Religion and Culture of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. Dr. Himka's paper was titled "The

Problem of Numbers: Victims of the Ukrainian Famine 1932-1933." He insisted on the need to seek an approximate truth about the number of victims of the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine and argued against inflating the numbers for political purposes.

Dr. Himka brought demographic information from a conference in Kyiv in October 2008 that suggested there were between 2.6 million and 4.6 million deaths only in Ukraine. The paper further reviewed the best current demographic estimates of the number of victims and explained why some earlier estimates were faulty. Finally, Dr. Himka suggested ways to work toward a better understanding of the number of victims.

The paper "At the Bottom of the Food Chain: Survival Tactics of Mennonite Women in Ukraine during the Holodomor (1932-1933)" was presented by Dr. Colin Neufeldt, assistant professor of History at Concordia University College in Edmonton. He provided information on the growing body of literature dealing with the 1932-1933 Holodomor, from the position of ethnic minorities living in Ukraine, including Mennonites.

From his research, he presented substantial information about Mennonite women who faced enormous challenges as a result of ethnic hostility, as well as religious, class and sexual discrimination. Dr. Neufeldt also identified numerous challenges and explored survival strategies of Mennonite women to cope with the issue of the Famine and exile to Siberia.

Dr. Denis Hlynka, professor of instructional technology and curriculum theory in the Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning at the University of Manitoba, presented the paper "Music, Propaganda and the Holodomor." This paper examined the other side that is the cover-up of the Famine, specifically as illustrated in three works of classical music: The Bright Stream (1936) by Shostakovich, the Symphony No. 12 of 1932 ("Collective Farm Symphony") by Myaskovsky, and Khachaturian's "Gayne Ballet" (1942).

Special emphasis was placed on the Shostakovich ballet, "The Bright Stream," which was set on a collective farm in 1932, and was commissioned by Joseph Stalin to combat "rumors" of the man-made Famine.

Dr. Hlynka concluded that the arts – music, literature, drama, visual arts – are more than a creative outlet and were used for strategic propaganda purposes. The paper explored the disjunction between a historical event and the telling of the story through music, deliberately informed by a political Stalinist hegemony. He clearly showed that even music needs to be read between the lines.

The next paper on the arts was presented by Dr. Daria Darewych, lecturer at York University and an art historian. Her paper, "Representations of Holodomor in Ukrainian Art beyond Ukraine," admitted that of the prominent visual artists of the Ukrainian cultural renaissance of the 1920s who were active in 1932-1933, no surviving images of the Famine-Genocide have surfaced. It appears that no eyewitness depictions of this tragedy of incomprehensible proportions by known artists survived through the years of terror in Ukraine.

The paper also discussed a selection of paintings, drawings and sculptural monuments that were created by artists living outside the boundaries of Soviet Ukraine.

Starting with the art that was created at that time, Dr. Darewych examined the works of Kasimir Malevich and his images of peasants created in Soviet Russia, as well as the work of Kateryna Antonovych in Czechoslovakia and Victor Cymbal in Argentina. Thirty years later, when the



Dr. Daria Darewych speaks on artists' representations of the Holodomor.

Ukrainian community in the free world commemorated the anniversary of the Holodomor, a few of the artists who had survived the Famine, like Mykhajlo Dmytrenko in the United States and Petro Sydorenko in Canada, responded through art. Ukrainian artists who felt compelled to represent the Holodomor but who had not witnessed the Famine include Canada's William Kurelek, as well as Bohdan Pevny and Yuri Solovij in the United States.

In the 1980s, the 50th anniversary of the Famine prompted a number of artists in the west to create images and evocations, some of which were commissioned by Ukrainian communities in France and Canada. The first famine monument in the world, created by Montreal artist Ludmila Temerty, was erected in Edmonton and the second, created by Roman Kowal, was erected in Winnipeg. Dr. Darewych pointed out. Further anniversaries have elicited post-modern interpretations from younger artists like Lydia Bodnar-Balahutrak in the U.S. and Olexander Wlasenko in Canada. The most memorable of the representations have transcended the apocalyptic subject matter and raised the images to the level of the spiritual and universal. All these examples of art on the theme of the Holodomor were presented visually by the speaker using a power-point format.

The final two papers dealt with the analysis of Canadian newspapers of 1932-1933 that reflected the reality of the Holodomor. The paper, "The 1932-1933 Famine in

Ukraine: The Perspective from Edmonton" was presented by Dr. Serhiy Cipko, Coordinator of the Ukrainian Diaspora Studies Initiative at the Kule Ukrainian Canadian Studies Centre, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. This paper discussed how the Famine was covered in the press of one of Canada's major cities, Edmonton, of that time.

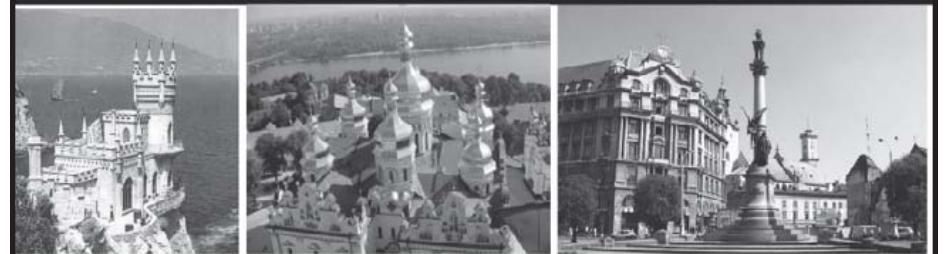
The discussion centred primarily on the coverage in the daily newspaper, the Edmonton Journal. Reports in another daily, the Edmonton Bulletin, and in the Western Catholic, a periodical published by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Edmonton, also were discussed. The Ukrainian-language weekly, Ukrainski Visti, also published in Edmonton, carried many reports about the Famine in Ukraine. Dr. Cipko retold and illustrated many of the lead stories in these papers as they pertained to Ukrainian Canadian and Canadian reactions to the Holodomor.

The last paper was delivered by Dr. Roman Yereniuk, acting director of the center for Ukrainian Canadian Studies at the University of Manitoba and associate professor at St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg. His paper, "The Holodomor in Ukrainian Religious Press of Canada," surveyed two Ukrainian religious newspapers in Canada: Visnyk-Herald (the organ of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada) and Ukrainski Visti-Ukrainian News (published by the Ukrainian Catholic

(Continued on page 22)

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# Ukrainian pro soccer update

by Ihor Stelmach

## Shevchenko and Chelsea: not a soccer match

### A look back at the first season

In a May 2007 off-the-cuff conversation, Andriy Shevchenko freely admitted he would like to play soccer in the United States before his career comes to an end. At the time, the 30-year-old, signed away from AC Milan by Chelsea for some 30 million British pounds a year earlier, reflected upon his so-so performance during his initial season at Stamford Bridge.

Shevchenko spoke with Sports Illustrated.com, saying: "Soccer is growing in the U.S. and I would like to be part of that. I played there last summer (2006) against the Major League Soccer All-Stars and I saw that it is definitely improving."

In assessing his personal play for Chelsea immediately after his club's FA Cup final win over Manchester United (a match Shevchenko missed due to a groin injury), the Ukrainian super-star striker expressed some satisfaction with his form for the Blues.

"It [2006-2007] wasn't a great season, but it hasn't been the worst," he stated in a conversation with BBC Sport Football. He went on to get a few things off his chest, expressing some inner thoughts from his player's perspective:

"People always expect a lot from me. I wasn't well in the first four months, partly because of fatigue from the World Cup and partly because of the injury I was carrying.

"But then I had a good stretch in the middle of the season. In the end, despite everything, I ended up with 14 goals and 11 or 12 assists, and that's not a bad season.

"I know people wanted 30 goals a season, but the reality is that it can't happen every season. With all the problems I had. I don't think I did that badly."

Shevchenko further commented on the offensive positioning the coaching staff implemented as part of its attacking strategy. Positioning him deeper than normal in the attacking zone meant less chances to score goals. He suffered while the team seemed to benefit.

"I didn't play in my position this year (2006)," he added in his interview with BBC Sport Football. "I wasn't the key of the attack." I was playing further behind, away from goal, which is different from how I played at Milan, and maybe that's why [teammate] Didier Drogba scored so many goals this year."

"We made a good partnership with me setting him up some of the time. At Milan I played in my natural role. Here I had to adapt to be something else and I did it so I could help the team," he said.

Looking ahead to the 2007-2008 season, Shevchenko made his health issues a top consideration. "The main priority for me is feeling well next season."

### Year two: second chance

In the fall of 2007 Shevchenko had a second opportunity to exhibit his worth at Chelsea before the club started to seriously look at unloading a player they paid 30 million pounds to obtain a scant 18 months prior.

The first months of the 2007-2008 campaign saw Chelsea go 14 games without a loss in all competitions, but the 31-year-old Ukrainian striker was not able to force his way into new coach Avram Grant's rejuvenated line-up. In an early December 2007 match, Shevchenko once more had to watch from the sidelines as his Chelsea squad defeated West Ham United, 1-0.

Having grown extremely frustrated with the icy relationship that had existed between

him and previous coach Jose Mourinho, Shevchenko hoped the Portuguese's departure and Grant's arrival would mean more playing time. Mourinho's practice was to use Shevchenko quite sparingly, preferring a more defense-based, conservative attacking strategy from the forward line. At the outset, it appeared new coach Grant fancied forwards Didier Drogba and Salomon Kalou ahead of Shevchenko, admittedly with some success.

It was no secret the Ukrainian began entertaining thoughts of looking elsewhere for regular first-team status.

However, because of previous commitments with Ivory Coast's African Nations Cup, both Drogba and Kalou were set to miss up to five weeks of European action in January-February 2008. Playing without these two strikers would present Shevchenko with a huge chance to assure coach Grant and his good friend and Chelsea owner Roman Abramovich that he was still worthy of that enormous transfer fee paid for him.

"Everybody needs to respect Shevchenko," said Chelsea's new coach, Grant, in a chat with Telegraph.co.uk's Steve Wilson. "He is one of the best strikers in the history of football. He belongs on our team. At the moment he is not playing, but that does not mean he will not in the future. Sometimes you feel one player is ready to play and another is not. When you come to a big club and you have so many big strikers, sometimes there are big names that don't play for a period of time."

As of early December 2007 Shevchenko had started only four matches and rumors had begun to circulate about a possible return to his former club AC Milan. Although it was presumed Chelsea was prepared to suffer a big loss in any transfer back of Shevchenko, the proposed asking price of 10 million pounds initially was too prohibitive for the Serie A squad and rival clubs Inter Milan and Juventus.

There were also reports of some interest from Dynamo Kyiv in bringing back its native son to where he first impressed the soccer world with his scoring skills. Reports also suggested Andriy's American wife, Kristen, had voiced her opinion on a prospective move, preferring a return to the United States for her family and a career-closing Major League Soccer job for her husband.

Major League Soccer's New York Red Bulls and New England Revolution, both big market teams with cash to spend, would not be averse to a big name acquisition to rival David Beckham's arrival at the Los Angeles Galaxy. There was no doubt there could be lucrative offers from the States as each MLS franchise is permitted one player exempt from the league's salary cap.

Through all of this speculation, Shevchenko was still hoping to make an impact in Chelsea, playing out the rest of his pricy contract, earning his British pounds on the field, and earning the English public's respect and admiration.

The first step in achieving these goals was to take advantage of his African teammates' absences and grab a starting position on the attacking line. The opportunity would be afforded him as the club stayed committed to its roster.

"One of the reasons I have not rushed to make a decision on signing during the African Nations Cup is we have good strikers in Shevchenko and Claudio Pizarro," said Grant in his interview with the Telegraph's Wilson. "They are on the squad because they will be useful during that period – but not just then. I want him to be use-

ful every month as well."

### Too soon to judge

Amid relentless criticism of Shevchenko's first-year performance, coupled with the outrageously expensive transfer fee paid for his services, there were some hopeful and positive commentaries about the former European Footballer of the Year. A few experts predicted he would do well at Stamford Bridge. Several pleaded for more patience with owner Abramovich's "golden" boy. The old saying, "form is temporary, class is permanent," may apply to Shevchenko, Chelsea's most expensive acquisition.

There are two main criticisms made against the Ukrainian on a regular basis, both of which are imperfect at best, totally wrong at worst. First, there is the argument of age – that he is too old, having hit 30. Most soccer players play well into their mid-30s. As proof experts point to Swede Henrik Larsson and Chelsea legend Gianfranco Zola, who arrived at 30 and became one of the most effective and best-loved players in Blues' history.

The age issue occasionally offers up a double standard in the soccer press, as Sheva is deemed too old at 30, while David Beckham was being criticized for wasting away his great talent by going to play in the U.S. at the age of 31.

Second, there is the argument that Shevchenko cannot keep up with the pace of play in the Premier League. Again, let's not be too quick to judge. It takes any player a certain period of time to adjust to playing in England's top league, especially after playing so many years in Italy. The game Shevchenko played so brilliantly in Milan is radically different from the one being played in Chelsea. The AC Milan experience in Serie A has a slower, more technical and methodical pace, while the English Premiership is faster, more explosive and physical. Perhaps the real problem at hand is the Ukrainian striker's relationships with his owner and coaches. Russian billionaire Abramovich never hid his desire to have Sheva at Chelsea. This was a mission from the second he gained ownership of the club. Mourinho, coach at the time of Shevchenko's transfer, never hinted at any desire to have the Ukrainian on his squad. The result: Shevchenko stuck in a tug of war between an over-zealous owner and a resentful coach. Shevchenko, being Abramovich's man, was benched and publicly hung out to dry several times.

Heading into 2007-2008 Shevchenko needed to be given the requisite time to adapt to the English game by coach Mourinho, the critical British press and the Chelsea faithful. This, unfortunately, did not happen. Mourinho ended up leaving merely a month into the season, while the press and fandom never gave Sheva a chance.

### Second teamer due to injuries

In March 2008, while his old team AC Milan prepared to take on Arsenal and his present team, Chelsea, got ready to play Olympiakos in the Champions League, where was Sheva? Why, in Griffin Park, Brentford, finishing up 90 minutes for the Chelsea reserves in League 2 action. He captained the second team, going down 2-1 to the Reading reserves.

Shevchenko was actually playing a rehab match after a back injury. Reports were not too positive regarding his performance or attitude. Reserve team coach Brendan Rogers commented that it is hard for senior

players to come in and show a great attitude because of where they normally play.

His 2007-2008 season was again interrupted by injury, and Sheva continued to perform unimpressively when active. Mainly due to more injuries, he infrequently appeared on the first team the rest of the season. As the hurts mounted, so did frustration with himself and the club. A March 4 2008, quote from Shevchenko appeared on a Graham Fisher's blog: "My game was getting much better and then again, another injury. I understand this is life, but it's important to be involved in the team. I try to help the team, and give my contribution." Rumors about an exit from Chelsea continued.

### Missing Milan

Feeling unsettled playing for Chelsea in England, Shevchenko did not discourage any talk of a 2008 summer return to his old AC Milan club, claiming he missed living in Italy. He agreed his two-year stint with Chelsea was an offensively impotent period of his career. Responding to speculation of a move back to his old club, he told Telegraph.co.uk's Sandy MacCaskill in April 2008: "There is a lot of talk about my return, but I'm not authorized to say anything more than my links to Milan have always been great."

There was no doubt he would be hailed as a returning hero back in Milan by the organization and supporters alike. After all, most have not forgotten he won the Serie A title and the Champions League during his seven years at the San Siro, making lots of friends in the process. Shevchenko has remained close with Milan President Silvio Berlusconi, who does not hide his fondness to have the talented Ukrainian back.

After falling short in both the Serie A and the Champions League, AC Milan was out to upgrade its roster, concentrating on the offensive attack. And, the club had never found a suitable replacement for the departed Ukrainian striker.

Many experts in European soccer believed it was time for Shevchenko to leave Chelsea for greener pastures. There were reports of such possibilities as AS Roma, especially after Milan's interest seemed to wane. Then, in June 2008 came a report from the publication El Mundo Deportivo claiming Shevchenko could be on his way to Barcelona.

Also, Luis Felipe Scolari's arrival as new Chelsea coach did not appear to propose a more comfortable situation for Shevchenko. The Portuguese Scolari has been connected with several new potential forwards including Robinho and Deco. If more new strikers are acquired, some would have to depart.

Then, in mid-July there was talk of Shevchenko joining UC Sampdoria on loan as soon as the Genoa club was able to make fiscal sense of his salary demands, according to several Italian media reports.

Chelsea's new coach Scolari chose not to play Shevchenko in the club's first Premier League match of the current season (August 16, 2008). This provided Milan still another impetus in attempting to reacquire its super Ukrainian striker.

### Sheva goes home

In late August 2008 came the news that Shevchenko, now 31, had finalized his move back to Milan from Chelsea by passing his medical examination. The physical was the last step in making his oft-rumored return finally official.

(Continued on page 17)

# SPORTSLINE

## Boxing

• Vitali Klitschko (36-2, 35 KO), the WBC heavyweight champion, will defend his title against mandatory challenger Juan Carlos Gomez (44-1, 35 KO) of Cuba on March 21 in Stuttgart, Germany.

• Vitali Klitschko was awarded the "Comeback of the Decade" designation by the World Boxing Council after he reclaimed the title on October 11, 2008, with a TKO against Samuel Peter.

## Soccer

• Ukraine's U-17 junior soccer team defeated Russia 2-1 in the final match on January 19 and won the fifth international soccer tournament in Minsk, Belarus. Filip Budkovsky scored the two goals for Ukraine and was named the best forward of the tournament. Italy won third place with a 2-1 win against Belarus.

• FC Shakhtar Donetsk is creating its own line of tracksuits with the team's emblem and colors (black and orange). The suits are available in men's and women's sizes, and are made of a cotton/polyester blend. Prices will vary between 225 hrv and 345 hrv (7.7 hrv = \$1 U.S.)

• Dynamo Kyiv was ranked 17th among the world's leading soccer clubs, as determined by the International Federation of

Football History and Statistics on January 8. Shakhtar Donetsk was ranked 28th, and Metalist Kharkiv finished in 89th place.

• Ihor Surkis, Dynamo Kyiv's president, was appointed a member of the FIFA Committee for Club Football, as reported by Ukrinform on December 31, 2008. FIFA Secretary General Jerome Valcke congratulated Surkis on his appointment.

• Anatoliy Tymoshchuk and Artem Milevsky were voted among the best soccer players of the former Soviet Union by Ukrainian and Russian magazines. Goalkeeper Andriy Pyatov, who plays for Shakhtar Donetsk, won the nomination for best goalkeeper for Ukraine. Other awards were won by striker Jackson Coelho (FC Metalist Karkiv), midfielder Dario Srna (FC Shakhtar Donetsk) and forward Ismael Bangoura (FC Dynamo Kyiv).

• The Football Federation of Ukraine and the Futsal Association of Ukraine received a congratulatory letter from UEFA President Michel Platini for the team's semifinal performance at the European youth championship in St. Petersburg, Russia, in December 2008.

## Skiing

Kharkiv hosted two styles of European Cup ski races, both classic and sprint, on January 16. Among the 80 participants were

athletes from Austria, Belarus, Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine.

## Biathlon

• The National Olympic Committee of Ukraine reported on January 8 that Ukraine's women's biathlon team finished in second place in the 4x6-kilometer relay during the World Cup in Oberhof, Germany. Ukraine's team is ranked third place overall.

• Vita Semerenko, 22, won the bronze medal at the IBU Biathlon World Cup on December 22, 2008, in Hochfilzen, Austria. Semerenko did not miss a shot and this was her best finish at the World Cup.

## Chess

Vasyl Ivanchuk defeated Hungary's Peter Leko 3.5:2.5 in a rapid chess tournament held in Mukachiv, Ukraine, on January 5.

## Figure skating

The pair of Ukraine's Olena Savchenko and Poland's Robin Szolkowy won first place at the open figure skating championship on December 23, 2008, in Germany. Second place went to Ukrainian pair Tetiana Volosozhar and Stanislav Morozov.

## Arm wrestling

Andriy Pushkar, a student from Ternopil National Economic University, won the 110 kg division at the 30th World Arm-Wrestling

Championships in Kelowna, British Columbia, on December 22, 2008.

## Hockey

Ukraine's National Hockey Team finished in second place at the Polissia Cup International Hockey Tournament in Belarus on December 22, 2008. Belarus defeated Ukraine 7-2 and won the cup for the third time.

## In the headlines

• Yuriy Zabolotny, 53, a hammer-throw champion, was killed in his home on January 17 in Lviv. The suspect, who remains at large, is known to law enforcement officials as a 57-year-old career criminal with 20 years served for robberies and drugs. In December 2008, the suspect attacked the Zluzhzhia School with knives, and in November he attacked the Yavoriv District Hospital, demanding psychotropic drugs from the personnel.

• Serhiy Lebid, a long-distance runner, was the first Ukrainian athlete named by the European Athletics Association as the best athlete of December 2008. Lebid, who collected one-third of the votes cast, won his eighth title at the European Cross Country Championship.

## The 18-day gas war...

(Continued from page 1)

gamble was an attempt by Russia to cut off gas supplies to the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine by attempting to manipulate the "re-opening of gas supplies to Europe," using the Potemkin-village ploy of opening only one gas entry station to Ukraine. Had the Ukrainian government agreed to this, it would have been forced to stop supplying gas to the highly industrialized and heavily pro-Russian eastern and southern regions of the country, thereby leaving itself open to mass discontent (see Eurasia Daily Monitor article on page 2 of this issue).

Mr. Putin's outlandishly abusive statements about the Ukrainian leadership throughout the conflict were not overlooked by the European Union. His off-the-cuff derogatory remarks calling Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko a "thief" (Kommersant, October 2, 2008) and his liberal use of disinformation did more to bury the Russian public relations effort than anything else. Mr. Putin showed himself to be a vindictive and arrogant leader, which forced the EU to unite in its response to the crisis.

The war finally compelled the EU to do what its critics have been urging the organization to do for years: to speak to Moscow with one voice and not allow itself to be outmaneuvered by the Kremlin-Gazprom ("Kremlingaz") team. In the early stages of the war, the EU made one large mistake: it agreed with Kremlingaz's version that the dispute was merely "commercial." Once Gazprom's spokesmen took to the microphones in London and Brussels and Mr. Putin began his "Ukrainophobic" libel campaign, it became abundantly clear that commerce had little to do with the dispute.

In a last-ditch effort, Kremlingaz believed that by calling a summit of gas-consuming countries in Moscow on January 18, it could once again impose its version of events and continue playing the Europeans off one against the other. This time the EU told its

members not to attend and that the EU commission would handle all the talks with Kremlingaz. This stance, along with powerful reprimands of Russian behavior by German Chancellor Angela Merkel and other European leaders, made the Russians not only lose face but realize that their game plan was a losing one. Messrs. Putin and Medvedev had suffered a major blow. Not only did Kremlingaz lose almost \$2 billion in revenue (Vedomosti, January 19), Gazprom's highly touted reputation as a "reliable supplier" vanished in 18 days.

The war once again showed that the Ukrainian leadership had dismally failed to take any steps to improve the country's enormous energy inefficiency. Moreover, its standard backroom deals with Kremlingaz on gas prices were bizarre and opaque. The Ukrainian leadership had always insisted on buying gas at a set price not linked to the

fluctuations of oil prices or to the laws of supply and demand. When Ms. Tymoshenko agreed to sign a gas contract based on real prices on January 19, the shock for Ukraine's oligarchs must have been overwhelming. Their subsidized profiteering had come to an end.

The only winner in the war was RosUkrEnerg (RUE), the Swiss middleman firm created by Mr. Putin and former Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma in 2004. The January 19 contract removed RUE as the intermediary, but this will not lead to its demise. After years of swearing that RUE was absolutely clean, the Kremlin suddenly began denouncing its own creation as a "corrupt" entity, despite the fact that Gazprom owned 50 percent of the company. In fact, by early 2008 Gazprom, the 50 percent owner of RUE, knew that Turkmenistan would begin sell-

ing its gas at European prices in 2009 and this would destroy RUE's profit margin for resale of the gas to its European clients. As a result there was no reason to maintain RUE as a middleman.

In anticipation of this, RUE began buying up lucrative Ukrainian domestic gas distribution companies in 2008. On January 11 RUE co-owner Dmytro Firtash told Vedomosti that RUE controlled 75 percent of Ukraine's highly lucrative domestic gas distribution network, which would make up for the loss of its sales to the EU. Thus, the sun kept shining on RUE and it should be able to thrive for years if the Ukrainian and Russian authorities allow it to.

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## The Holodomor...

(Continued from page 3)

"Christianity controlling the individual is capable of annulling the revolutionary projection of the neutral Soviet or atheist state," he stated.

The evidence of Christian destruction is overwhelming, Dr. Yaschuk said, pointing out that the Polonne district had 35 church buildings before 1935. Only one church remains today, while two stand empty.

Soviet documents reveal the punishment for anyone professing the Christian faith or possessing a Bible – 10 years' incarceration or immediate execution, he said.

The Holodomor ended up being among the tools the Soviets employed to destroy Christians.

At the same time, "Portret Temriav" documents how all of the Polonne district's Jews survived the Holodomor, while more than 15,000 Ukrainians, Poles and Germans perished (all people of the Christian faith).

Even the agrarian Jews survived, as survivors from the village of Novo Labun testi-

fied the Jews and Christians were segregated into separate kolhosps in 1932. The Jewish kolhosp (collective farm) survived, while the others all perished, Dr. Yaschuk said.

"At the helm of the repressions stood Communists of various nationalities and Jews, who had a majority in the government structures, a majority in the party and a majority in the repressive organs," he said. "There's no avoiding that."

For such controversial content, Dr. Yaschuk said a covert campaign has been waged to censor his book.

When 500 copies of "Portret Temriav" were shipped to a Kyiv bookstore in 1999, most of the copies were bought in a single day by a single person, promptly eliminating a quarter of the 2,000 circulating copies, which were published by the late Marian Kots, a retired New York banker and Holodomor activist.

When officials at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich posted its contents on a website in the early 2000s, both in German and Ukrainian, they received an anonymous phone call.

"If you don't remove the book from the Internet, we will remove your life," the

voice said in Russian. Meanwhile, the Kyiv designer responsible for the book's layout also received a telephoned death threat.

A passionate evangelical Christian, Dr. Yaschuk said those who executed the Holodomor, regardless of ethnicity, strayed from the word of God, as revealed in the New Testament.

Interestingly enough, he gained much information, as well as photographs, from nearly 50 Soviet families that re-settled to the village of Poninka in the Polonne district, where he has served as a physician for 26 years.

The family members of former gulag directors and Soviet prosecutors were suicidal, mentally unstable and suffered birth defects, Dr. Yaschuk said.

Not a professional historian, Dr. Yaschuk said his intent in publishing "Portret Temriav" was to uncover the goal, aim and mechanics of the three artificially hatched famines through documents and testimonies.

"The truth is most important," he said, adding that he'd like to publish more copies with the help of a sponsor, and possibly translate his work into English.

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

be no debates and escalations in the future," she explained. According to the Ukrainian prime minister, it is also important that solution to the gas quarrel will help focus attention on all other spheres of relations, since "the gas theme has always dragged on us and prevented us from moving forward." She underscored, "I think this is really a historical moment – we get 10 years of calm and predictable behavior in the system of gas supply to Europe and Ukraine." (Ukrinform)

### Ukraine will save \$5 billion

MOSCOW – The new contract on gas deliveries to Ukraine will enable Ukraine to save some \$5 billion (U.S.), said Ukraine's Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. She thanked her Russian counterpart, Vladimir Putin, for giving Ukraine special conditions on the gas price in 2009 with a 20 percent discount. "This gives Ukraine another reserve year to work for energy efficiency, a diversification system, ...an absolutely different attitude toward the consumption of energy sources," she commented. The Ukrainian prime minister has also reported that an average European price will be used for Ukraine; at the same time the price will be "much lower" than the global one, Mr. Tymoshenko said, explaining that the gas price for Ukraine will be dependent on global prices for oil. Ms. Tymoshenko also said that Ukrainian consumers will pay a fixed average price for the year. (Ukrinform)

### EU sees lessons in gas war

BRUSSELS – The Czech Presidency of the European Union issued a statement on January 20 in which it welcomed the resumption of Russian gas deliveries to Europe through the territory of Ukraine. "We expect Russia and Ukraine to honor their commitments so that full flow of natural gas is not disrupted again. The resumption of deliveries is a result of a sustained political pressure of the Czech Presidency and the European Commission, who acted with full support of EU member-states. It was reached thanks to a clear and united position of the European Union," the document reads. The Czech Presidency noted that this bilateral dispute harmed the confidence placed on the two countries; to rebuild European consumers' confidence is now a challenge for both Russia and Ukraine. Due to the dispute, the statement says, situation in many member-states and candidate countries reached a critical stage. Furthermore, the statement notes, the European Union managed to endure the crisis thanks to mutual solidarity and the flexible reaction of the market and of industry. However, the EU needs to support all measures that would protect EU citizens from becoming hostages of future disputes between third countries. The Czech Presidency statement noted that energy security is one of its key priorities for the EU. It has now become obvious that the main tasks of the European Union include reinforcing transparency in gas supplies, creation of reserves, improvement of the system of solidarity support among member-states, improvement of interconnections among the energy networks of the European Union, and diversifying the energy supply sources and transit systems. (Ukrinform)

### MFA cites Kremlin pressure

KYIV – The Kremlin, is openly pressuring Ukraine as a result of its independent foreign and domestic policies, reads a statement released on January 20 by the press service of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). The ministry says that one example of this pressure is

Russia's "planned gas attack" on Ukraine with the goal of destabilizing its domestic situation and disrupting its gas transit system. "Even after failing to realize their plans in respect to their 'strategic partner' and making European partners agitate against Ukraine, the Russian authorities still cannot end an information attack on Ukraine," reads the statement. Moreover, the MFA pointed to statements by Russian Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin in which he "repeatedly comments on the domestic situation in Ukraine neglectfully." (Ukrinform)

### Verkhovna Rada suspends NBU chair

KYIV – The Verkhovna Rada on January 15 removed Volodymyr Stelmakh, the chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine (NBU), from office while an interim investigation commission reviews the NBU's activity amid the financial slowdown. The commission's powers have been extended for six more months. The Parliament decided to one again appeal to President Viktor Yushchenko that Mr. Stelmakh be dismissed and that the Verkhovna Rada be presented a new candidate for NBU chair. After the commission's first report, the Verkhovna Rada had moved a no confidence motion against the NBU chair and board of directors, demanding Mr. Stelmakh's resignation. Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko was among the first to demand the NBU chair's dismissal, as she blamed the bank's management for the hryvnia's collapse. In early December 2008 she accused the NBU of abuse in the monetary sector and refinancing. (Ukrinform)

### Fourteen coal miners injured

KYIV – Fourteen coalminers were injured in a methane explosion on January 19 at the Rosiya coalmine owned by the Selidovuhillia state enterprise in the Donetsk Oblast, reported the regional office of the State Committee for Industrial Safety, Labor Protection and Mining Supervision. According to a committee dispatcher, the blast was triggered by a short circuit at the coalmine. (Ukrinform)

### Ukraine seeks to join OECD

KYIV – Ukraine's Minister of the Economy Bohdan Danylyshyn held the first session of the coordination council on the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the ministry's press service reported on January 10. Mr. Danylyshyn said full membership in this organization, known as "club of prosperous countries," meets the interests of the Ukrainian government and is the principal aim of the activities of the coordination council. In 2008 work toward OECD membership was intensified. Mr. Danylyshyn said that Ukraine gained permanent observer status in the OECD State Management Committee and in the working group on small and medium business development; Ukrainian delegations of leading ministries made a range of visits to the organization's headquarters, held negotiations and participated in forums and seminars. The economy minister underscored that the Ukrainian government has determined that one of the priority tasks for 2009-2012 is "development of Ukraine's cooperation with the OECD in order to gain full membership in this organization." The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development includes 30 industrially developed countries producing over 60 percent of the world's goods and services. (Ukrinform)

### 10,000 exceed terms of stay

KYIV – The State Border Guard Service reported on January 14 that over

(Continued on page 15)

## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 14)

10,000 foreigners have exceeded the terms of their passport registration in Ukraine. The majority of violators appeared to be citizens of the European Union. Due to improvement of the border control system at checkpoints, Ukrainian border guards automatically reveal all foreigners who exceed the terms of their stay in Ukraine. The State Border Guard Service reported that in the western regions of Ukraine close to 500 Polish Roman Catholic priests have parishes, although, according to information from Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, only 34 Polish priests are registered in Ukraine in compliance with the Procedure for Drawing up Permission for Job Placement in Ukraine. On a request from the Polish Embassy in Ukraine and religious organizations, the State Border Guard Service made a decision this year to permit Polish citizens to enter Ukraine in the period between the New Year and January 15 without taking into consideration the exceeded terms of their stay. In turn, the Polish Embassy promised to better inform its counterparts about the procedures and terms of entering Ukraine. However, since January 15, the registration of passport documents and control over the terms of foreigners' stay in Ukraine will be carried out according to the established procedure. The State Border Guard Service pointed out that violators may face a fine of up to 680 hrv; in addition, they could be banned from entering Ukraine for a period of five years. (Ukrinform)

### Ukraine's population: 46.162 M

KYIV – The population of Ukraine as of December 1, 2008, was 46.162 million people, according to the State Statistics Committee. The urban population was 31,592,542 people, while the rural population was 14,570,263. The average population for the country during the period of January–November 2008 was 46,267.735. (Ukrinform)

### Increase in births noted

KYIV – The number of babies born in Ukraine in 2008 grew by 36,745 year-over-year, according to the Medical Statistics Center at the Ukraine's Ministry of Health. A total of 472,657 children were born in 2007 and 509,402 babies in 2008, according to the ministry's press service. The highest birthrate was registered in the Donetsk Oblast (44,134 babies in 2008, as compared to 40,560 in 2007), the Kyiv Oblast (31,885 in 2008; 28,445 in 2007) and in the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast (37,373 in 2008; 34,502 in 2007). The lowest birthrate was registered in Sevastopol (4,152 in 2008, as compared to 3,994 in 2007), the Zhytomyr Oblast

(14,657 in 2008; 14,252 in 2007), and the Kirovohrad Oblast (10,487 in 2008; 10,076 in 2007). (Ukrinform)

### Ukraine's economic freedom decreases

WASHINGTON – The level of economic freedom significantly worsened in Ukraine last year, according to the annual report released in Washington by the Heritage Foundation, a public policy institute, and The Wall Street Journal, the world's leading business publication. Experts conducted an analysis of 179 economies around the world. Following a thorough study of the Ukrainian economy, U.S. experts concluded that "Ukraine's economic freedom score is 48.8, making its economy the 152nd freest in the 2009 index." This score is 2.2 points lower than last year, reflecting the deteriorating economic freedom in seven areas. Ukraine is ranked 42nd out of 43 countries in the European region, and its overall score is lower than the world average, according to the report. The report also says that, as an important exporter of minerals and grain, Ukraine has managed impressive levels of economic growth averaging about 7 percent over the past five years. Apart from that, the authors of the survey believe that sustaining those levels in a time of global economic slowdown will require significant structural reform. In one such positive step, Ukraine became a member of the World Trade Organization in May 2008, completing a 14-year accession process. In comparison to other countries that have been moving toward a more market-oriented economy, Ukraine lags in price liberalization and the efficiency of its business environment. The report also noted the following: the country's regulatory framework remains burdensome; while foreign investment is officially welcome, corruption and bureaucracy deter many investors; the judiciary does not always enforce contracts fairly and is tarnished by corruption, which also plagues the civil service. Bureaucratic inefficiency makes many commercial operations difficult. (Ukrinform)

### Visits of foreign tourists up 25 percent

KYIV – Visits of foreign tourists to Ukraine increased by 25 percent to 28.9 million persons in 2008 as compared to 2007. According to the State Border Guard Service, the increase was largely a result of business trips, among which the largest number were registered from Russia, Belarus, Moldova, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Romania and Slovakia. At the same time, the outflow of tourists from Ukraine dropped by 10 percent to 15.4 million persons in 2008. The decrease was due to a reduction in the number of visits to Belarus, Poland, Cyprus, Armenia and Russia. (Ukrinform)

## Ukrainian law bars...

(Continued from page 4)

in Ukraine. Opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko initiated and the Verkhovna Rada adopted a law just days later, on February 6, that prohibits any form of a legal change of ownership of Naftohaz Ukrayiny's assets. It rules out any deals that would involve the sale, transfer, merger, concession, lease, collateralization, entry into joint venture, joint or trust management, mortgaging, or any change in the status of ownership or control of Ukraine's gas transit system and other Naftohaz assets. The law also stipulates that Naftohaz may not be declared bankrupt, an ultimate safeguard against Russian debt collection through the takeover of assets. The law would only allow transfer of Naftohaz assets hypothetically to an entity that would be 100 percent Ukrainian state-owned.

The 2007 law expanded on previous legislation and closed all avenues for parting with these Ukrainian assets. Kyiv's proponents of such transactions were forced on the defensive by Mr. Putin's crude indiscretion and Ms. Tymoshenko's initiative. The political atmosphere made it impossible even for Gazprom-friendly deputies to stop the passage of the law. It garnered 430 votes, with none opposed, in the 450-seat Verkhovna Rada ([www.kremlin.ru](http://www.kremlin.ru), February 1, 2007; Interfax-Ukraine, UNIAN, February 3-6, 2007; European Daily Monitor, February 7, 2007).

That law gave Ukraine breathing space to involve the European Union (not just Gazprom with a German fig leaf) in the needed modernization of Ukraine's gas transit system, in the EU's own interest. The EU and Ukraine equally failed, however, to use that breathing space.

The context in January 2009 is markedly different. Russia has created a supply crisis preparatory to reactivating the consortium scheme and has not even asked for Ukraine's opinion. Instead, Moscow assails Ukraine as "thieving" and "criminal," and accuses Washington

of orchestrating Ukraine's behavior. Meanwhile the United States is hobbled by its interregnum. All parties are forced to consider Moscow's proposal under time pressure in mid-winter and amid a deepening economic recession.

Germany is the primary target audience of Mr. Putin's proposal. Klaus Mangold, chairman of the powerful East Commission of German Business (Ostausschuss der Deutschen Wirtschaft, representing companies with interests in Russia) has endorsed Mr. Putin's proposal in principle. Economy Minister Michael Glos (Christian Social Union), a long-time believer in Russia's "reliability" as an energy supplier, regards the proposal as "worth considering" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, January 14).

These initial reactions stop short of addressing the decisive point: Would the proposed consortium be dominated by Gazprom or be genuinely European? As some German commentators note, the issue is a vital one for the EU and can only be addressed successfully with the EU's direct participation (Financial Times Deutschland, January 14).

The European Commission plans to hold a donors' meeting in Brussels in March on financing the modernization of Ukraine's gas transit system and internationalizing operational control. The consortium issue will probably come up for consideration there. In that context, the EU is expected to ask Ukraine to change the 2007 law, which provides safeguards against Gazprom. That step would be worth taking to enable genuine European oversight, investment, modernization and part-ownership of Ukraine's gas transit system, as opposed to placing Gazprom in the driver's seat.

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## Harvard...

(Continued from page 9)

Muscovite envoy and plenipotentiary Vasiliy Buturlin who was trying to aggrandize himself and to paint the event in the best possible light from the Muscovite point of view."

Dr. Plokhii continued, "The work was only accomplished because Hrushevsky made a decision to return to Kyiv from Vienna to try to continue his historical research in spite of the dangers involved and, in doing so he performed an invaluable service for the study of Ukrainian history."

HURI's director, Oleksandr Potebnja Professor of Ukrainian Philology Michael S. Flier, spoke about Lewin's book and pointed out that it was the fruit of decades of painstaking research. "Prof. Lewin is a leading authority on East Slavic literature and the theater of the Baroque period," he

said. "She was a senior lecturer at Warsaw University, associate professor at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, and research associate of the Institute for Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences and she spent almost four decades working in the field of 17th and 18th century Ukrainian literature, becoming one of the foremost experts in the world."

"The book is a 'summa' of Prof. Lewin's intellectual and scholarly work. She is the first modern scholar to examine theater in pre-modern Ukraine and her work is the only one to appear in English. It looks at the Ukrainian theatrical tradition of the time which was composed of serious, mainly religious, drama and comedic intermedia and concentrates on the original ways that it made use of, elaborated and transformed models of the western European Renaissance and Baroque," Dr. Flier noted.

## Russian-Ukrainian...

(Continued from page 2)

Russia that worsened following Russia's unsuccessful, high-profile intervention in the 2004 Ukrainian presidential elections. Russia has continued to intervene in Ukraine's domestic affairs by issuing passports and developing a new policy of "Russian cards" for Ukrainians. The cards would be issued to Ukrainian citizens on the basis of their allegiance to Russian culture and language, and would enable them to enter Russia without visas and have the same rights as Russian citizens, including access to free education (Ukrayinska Pravda, December 3, 2008).

The implicit threat of such brazen intervention can be seen in the claim by a deputy head of the Presidential Secretariat, Roman Besmertnyi, that the gas crisis was planned by Russia to mobilize eastern Ukraine against President Viktor Yushchenko (Ukrayinska Pravda, January 12).

To disguise the utter failure of Russia's intervention and its abject lack of understanding of Ukrainian domestic politics and nation-building, Moscow has continually held to a neo-Soviet version of the Orange Revolution, namely, that it was not the product of legitimate popular protest against electoral fraud and a decade of Leonid Kuchma's rule but was the outcome of an American conspiracy.

Mr. Yushchenko's election, therefore, was illegitimate because, in Russian eyes, he was imposed on the country by the "political technology" imported from the United States that had been developed earlier in Serbia's Bulldozer and Georgia's Rose revolutions. Mr. Yushchenko's policies of seeking NATO membership, obtaining international recognition of the 1933 Famine-Genocide, refusing to extend the Black Sea Fleet lease and "Ukrainization" have only served to confirm to Russia that he is acting in variance with the wishes of the Ukrainian "narod," or people.

Russia's view of Ukraine is built on deep-seated Russian conceptions of the "artificiality" of Ukraine. In the 1990s the Russian media portrayed Ukraine as a country artificially kept independent by corrupt elites, while the narod sought to re-unite with Russia. Russian leaders, therefore, continually raised the specter of Ukraine joining the Russian-Belarusian union.

A Novosti commentary (March 31, 2008) on the eve of the Bucharest summit of NATO claimed, "In fact, present-day Ukraine is an artificial heir to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, with borders appointed at the arbitrary will and volition of Soviet rulers." At the April 2008 NATO-Russia Council, Mr. Putin said to U.S. President George W. Bush, "But

George, don't you understand that Ukraine is not a state." Mr. Putin claimed that most of Ukraine's territory was a Russian gift in the 1950s and that, if Ukraine joined NATO, Russia would detach eastern Ukraine and Crimea, which would end Ukraine's existence as a state (Zerkalo Nedeli, April 24, 2008). In reality, the only region transferred from Russia to Ukraine was the Crimea in 1954, while numerous Ukrainian territories were transferred to Russia in the 1920s.

Russian attitudes to the Orange Revolution, President Yushchenko and Ukraine better explain the level of vitriol in the annual gas crisis. During a press conference at his residence in Novo-Ogaryovo on January 8, Prime Minister Putin said, "The Ukrainian leadership is unable to organize a normal, transparent functioning economy based on market principals." He went even further, alleging that, "we are witnessing a political collapse in Ukraine." In effect, Mr. Putin placed Mr. Yushchenko in the same "illegitimate" category as Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili, with whom the Russian leadership has refused to deal since the 2008 Georgian-Russian war (Russia Today, January 8).

Another national identity aspect to the gas crisis relates to Moscow's unwillingness to accept the post-Soviet status quo. Russia recognized Ukraine's borders and its inheritance of the gas pipelines de jure, but has never accepted them de facto. It is galling to Moscow that Ukrainian pipelines control 80 percent of Russia's gas exports which are central to Russia's policies to revive its great-power status (Ukrayinska Pravda, January 10).

It is in this area that Russia's inability to understand Ukrainian domestic politics is again evident. Russia will never find a politician in Ukraine who would be "pro-Russian" enough, while no Ukrainian Parliament will ever vote to privatize the pipelines. In February 2007 Ms. Tymoshenko mobilized 420 parliamentary votes, including those of most PRU deputies, to prevent privatization. Ms. Tymoshenko has supported a strong line during the crisis and demanded reciprocity from Russia, permitting EU observers into Ukraine only if Moscow allowed them to enter Russia (Ukrayinska Pravda, January 9).

A deputy head of the Presidential Secretariat, Andriy Honcharuk, called for a toning down of Russian rhetoric and a "dialogue among equals" (Ukrayinska Pravda, January 12). As the failed Belarusian-Russian union shows, Mr. Honcharuk was whistling in the wind.

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## A restart...

(Continued from page 6)

Kremlin seems ready to avoid at any cost, including deliberately provoking a partial gas blockade of Europe in hope that the energy shortage might lead to the undoing of its long-term oil-like export contracts (see European Daily Monitor, January 12, 13, 14; The New York Times, January 14).

Sen. Clinton has announced that the new administration was troubled by Moscow's use of gas supplies as a political weapon and its attempts to put together an international OPEC-type gas cartel to control prices (RIA-Novosti, January 13). Is she, however, ready to compromise on these core issues to engage Russia on other points?

Using some armed incident as a pretext, Russian tanks might move deeper into Georgia in the coming summer to establish Moscow's effective control over the territory that is at present the only channel for bypassing Russia to bring Caspian and Central Asian gas and oil to Europe. This central issue directly involves the survival of the Gazprom monopoly and Mr. Putin's regime. In such a situation will the Obama administration do better than the Bush team did when it tried its best to engage Mr. Putin?

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## Shevchenko...

(Continued from page 12)

"I'm so very happy to be here," he told the Italian club's official website. "At this special moment, I want to send a message to the Chelsea fans who have always made me feel their support: a heartfelt thank you for that."

Though he scored only nine goals in 47 games with Chelsea, Shevchenko said: "I will always look back with fond memories of my time at this really great club, and I would also like to express my gratitude to Roman Abramovich for all his help and encouragement."

AC Milan Vice-President Adriano Galliani was quick to demonstrate his pleasure at seeing Shevchenko return to the San Siro. He pointed out that his return was not solely the doing of club owner Berlusconi. "This is a family, and we're all happy," Galliani said. "It's not true that only Silvio Berlusconi insisted that Andriy return, I've put my weight behind the cause, too, and

I'm happy that in the end we've succeeded in bringing him home."

Galliani added, "We have managed to bring home a player who has scored the most goals in our shirt in the last 50 years."

"For me, it's like winning the Champions League," Shevchenko told Italy's ANSA news agency. "There were complications, but now everything is resolved and I'm really happy."

\*\*\*

Shevchenko started his pro career with Dynamo Kyiv, where he won five league titles and two national cups with the club between 1994-1999. He then played seven successful seasons with Milan, helping the Rossoneri clinch the 2002-2003 Champions League and 2003-2004 Serie A title. He was named European Footballer of the Year in 2004. However, he missed a penalty shot that gave Liverpool the 2004-2005 Champions League final.

The 2008-2009 Serie A season, which kicked off on August 31, 2008, continues. Stay tuned.

### Regional Vice President Ukraine/Belarus/Moldova – Kyiv, Ukraine

Eurasia Foundation (EF), a US-based public charitable organization with its missions to foster civil society development in the Eurasia region, and the founder of the EF Network, is accepting applications for Regional Vice President (RVP) for Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova, based in Kyiv, Ukraine.

The RVP oversees the work of all EF programs in Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. The EF program in Ukraine is administered through the Ukrainian based East Europe Foundation (EEF), a member of the EF network. The RVP is also seconded to the EEF as its President and reports to the Board of Directors of EEF in that capacity.

The RVP leads the strategic programming for the region, serves as the chief representative and key decision maker of EF/EEF and broadly represents the interests of EF/EEF with donors and partners, including its key donor, the US government, international institutions, European governments and multinational and Ukrainian corporations. Key components of this assignment are to implement the strategic objectives, provide leadership and motivation of employees and enthusiasm among key stakeholders, including day-to-day operations of EEF-Ukraine, transformation of the EF representative office in Moldova into an independent local foundation, EEF-Moldova, and oversight of EF programs in Belarus. In all of these endeavors, the RVP works in close consultation with EF senior management in Washington DC and the EEF board of directors.

Requirements: Previous working experience in the Eurasia region; program management experience; fluency in written and spoken English as well as high degree of proficiency in Russian or Ukrainian. Minimum ten years professional experience in business, nonprofit, academic or government sectors required. Master's degree or equivalent is required, preferably in the area of international development, public policy, economics, or business management. All qualified candidates welcome to apply. Please send resume and cover letter referencing "Regional Vice President" to resumes@eurasia.org. For more information about the position please see www.eurasia.org.

## NOTES ON PEOPLE

### Named VP for research at George Washington U.

WASHINGTON – George Washington University President Steven Knapp has announced that Dr. Leo M. Chalupa, a prominent neuroscience researcher and professor, will become GW's vice-president for research. Beginning April 1, Dr. Chalupa will serve as the university's chief research officer, charged with leading GW into the top tier of the nation's research institutions.

"Dr. Chalupa is an accomplished scientist and administrator who brings a wealth of experience and strategic vision to this important new position," said Dr. Knapp. "He has the skills and insight needed to work across the university's many disciplines, building our research infrastructure and advancing GW's reputation as an internationally recognized research institution. I am grateful to Dr. Vincent Chiappinelli and the faculty committee he chaired for conducting the extensive international search that led to this outstanding appointment."

One of Dr. Chalupa's primary responsibilities will be to increase collaboration between the academic and medical areas of the university, which will help to strengthen the development of research across all disciplines. He also will focus on enhancing research initiatives at GW's Virginia Campus in Ashburn, Va., which is fast becoming a magnet for cutting-edge research in the Northern Virginia technology corridor.

Dr. Chalupa has had a long and notable career in academia, spanning more than 30 years in the fields of psychology, neurophysiology and ophthalmology. He is currently a distinguished professor of neurobiology and ophthalmology, as well as the chair of neurobiology, physiology, and behavior in the College of Biological Sciences at the University of California, Davis.

As the principal investigator for three grants from the National Institutes of Health, Dr. Chalupa is involved with research on the retina, visual pathways and development of vision. He has co-written three books in the field of visual neuroscience and authored or co-authored



GWU / Jessica McConnell  
**Dr. Leo Chalupa**

nearly 150 journal articles.

Dr. Chalupa also brings extensive experience as an administrator, having served as the director of UC Davis Center for Neuroscience and interim dean of the College of Biological Sciences. In addition to his work with NIH, Dr. Chalupa has secured grants from the National Science Foundation, North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Guggenheim Foundation, among many others.

"I am delighted to have been selected for this position. The George Washington University is well situated to be one of the nation's leading research universities. It is home to a wide variety of innovative scientists and professors, whose expertise spans fields from the economy to transportation safety and security to medical research. This expertise, in the setting of the nation's capital, is invaluable," said Dr. Chalupa.

"With two decades of experience reviewing federal and non-federal grants, Dr. Chalupa has developed a keen sense of how the academic and federal government research communities function. This, along with his proven management skills and extensive grant administration work, will lead GW's research arm to a new level of distinction," said Donald R. Lehman, executive vice president for academic affairs and George Gamow Professor of Theoretical Physics at GW.

In addition to his work at the University of California, Dr. Chalupa is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a member of the Society for Neuroscience, Sigma Xi honorary society, and the American Physiological Society. He also has been a Guggenheim Fellow. Dr. Chalupa graduated from Queens College with a bachelor's degree in physiological psychology, earned his doctorate in neu-

ropsychology at the City University of New York, and served a post-doctoral fellowship at the Brain Research Institute at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Dr. Chalupa graduated from St. George Ukrainian Catholic School and Stuyvesant High School, both in New York City. He spent summers at camp at the Ukrainian Gold Cross in Lehigh, Pa., and was a member of the student organization Zarevo.

### Russia-Ukraine gas crisis...

(Continued from page 3)

tries hardest hit by the world economic meltdown. The country's currency is in a free fall as the steel and chemical industries, the bulwarks of Ukraine's economy, have almost ground to a standstill due to the drastic drop in demand.

Under the current circumstances, Gazprom is interested in escalating the gas price, seeking to earn top dollar from Ukraine while it is still possible, while Naftohaz, Gazprom's Ukrainian counterpart, appears to be in no position to pay it. In the dual monopoly situation, the pricing dispute inevitably leads to a perfect deadlock: one side cuts off the gas while the other shuts down the transit pipe. This happened many times before; the only difference is that now Moscow and Kyiv are acting with particular abandon, being engaged in what appears to be a "struggle to the death."

The very viciousness of this struggle brings us to the second layer of the continuing crisis, namely politics. The Russian-Ukrainian relationship is still going through the painful phase of post-imperial readjustment. The Kremlin views Ukraine as a key strategic region where Moscow, as President Dmitry Medvedev famously put it, has "privileged interests." The question of where Ukraine's geopolitical loyalty lies is of paramount importance to the Kremlin strategists. Following the 2004 political upheaval in Kyiv dubbed the Orange Revolution, the pro-Western course of the Ukrainian leadership, which seeks to integrate the country into Euro-Atlantic institutions, is seen in Moscow as inimical to Russia's "national interests, particularly now when the geopolitical competition with the West appears to be on the rise."

Gas trade is one of the principal tools that Russia uses to increase its leverage on the Ukrainian leadership, seeking to change the country's geopolitical direction. Being perfectly aware of its massive financial losses (every day of the shutoff costs it around \$200 million), the Kremlin seems to have dug in its heels as it seeks to achieve three major goals.

First, Moscow is trying to make good use of the bitter split within the Orange camp between President Viktor Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, including over the strategy of how to deal with the Russia-Ukraine energy ties, in order to topple Ukraine's pro-Western leadership and help install politicians in Kyiv who will be more attentive to Russia's strategic interests. Second, seeking to take advantage of Ukraine's apparent insolvency, Russia wants to establish its control over the country's prized asset, the energy transportation infrastructure. Russia is attempting to obtain a sizeable piece of the action through buying up stock (in case the currently state-owned Ukrainian gas transit network is privatized in the future), or through a long-term lease, or by participating in an international consortium that would be set up to manage the network.

All these suggestions have already been aired in Moscow, and any of them would deprive Kyiv of its "transit monopoly" and thus of significant leverage with Russia.

The third objective of Russia's "gas gambit" is to portray Ukraine as an absolutely unworthy partner for Europe and an extremely unreliable transit country. This, the Kremlin strategists believe, will help boost the prospects of the alternative transit routes, such as Nord Stream and South Stream, which are specifically designed to bypass Ukraine. When Kyiv's stranglehold on transit is broken, Ukraine will be at the Kremlin's mercy, both economically and politically.

For its part, Ukraine, given the sorry disarray among its political elites, doesn't seem to have any coherent strategy in the current crisis. Kyiv, it would seem, is simply going to prove that in the dual monopoly situation the side that formally is an owner of the product (gas) still cannot win over the side that exercises a full control over transit. The Ukrainians appear to be prepared to bleed Gazprom white (and to incur terrible damage to their country's image as a reliable energy supplier), hoping that the mounting losses will force the Kremlin to budge and make concessions.

But there is yet another, third, layer in the unedifying Russian-Ukrainian gas saga, and that is corruption, which is, incidentally, also dual or two-sided. For years the billions of dollars worth of gas trade between Russia and Ukraine has been carried out through shady intermediaries, the infamous Swiss-based RosUkrEnergo being just the latest incarnation of these middleman companies.

Corruption in the gas sphere has its own two-pronged function. First, it helps the high energy officials within Gazprom and Naftohaz to milk their respective companies and line their own pockets quite handsomely. Second, corruption feeds the secret slush funds that are used to manipulate Ukraine's domestic politics. There is no doubt that the wrangling over who will control the opaque middleman company, which, without any apparent reason, stands right in the center of Russian-Ukrainian energy relations, plays no small role in the current stalemate.

The bottom line in this whole story is this: Russia's and Ukraine's European partners are in serious trouble. Even if the European representatives manage to force Moscow and Kyiv to restore the flow of fuel to Europe, a permanent solution to the problem of the gas supply via Ukraine is still not in sight. The European Union will enjoy uninterrupted energy shipments only when Russia and Ukraine fully normalize their relations and the gas trade is completely decoupled from geopolitics – in a word, when the post-imperial situation morphs into a relationship between two democratically governed and friendly neighboring states.

The article above is reprinted from *Eurasia Daily Monitor* with permission from its publisher, the Jamestown Foundation, [www.jamestown.org](http://www.jamestown.org).

*З нагоди уродин  
Бажамо  
Бадюї Олі  
здоров'я, радості  
та многих літ*

*Юрко, Оксана,  
Арета та Аремій Третьяки*

### Gazprom's destabilization...

(Continued from page 2)

their handling of the gas conflict.

Gazprom's policy of selectively renewing the flow of gas to Europe and blaming Ukraine for delays is aimed at making the leadership in Romania, Bulgaria and Moldova mistrust the Ukrainian authorities. At the same time, it is intended to provoke civil disturbances in these states in order not only to win the PR war against Ukraine but also to generate popular suspicion about the decision of these former Warsaw Pact states to join NATO. The message the Kremlin wants to convey to these countries is: NATO cannot supply you with gas, so why join this organization. It is in your best interest to stick to Russia, a reliable supplier of gas.

The recent Bulgarian riots are a case in point. Demonstrators in that country revolted not only against corruption in

their homeland but also over the Russian gas blockade. ([www.kyivpost.com/world/33290](http://www.kyivpost.com/world/33290)).

Will the protests succeed in creating a pro-Russian wave of public opinion as the Kremlin hopes? Hardly. But the managers of Gazprom and their masters in the Kremlin appear to have set a firm course to reintegrate not only the former USSR, but the Warsaw Pact as well. The only means they have at their disposition is the gas weapon – a powerful tool as the past two weeks have proven.

On February 15 Mr. Medvedev said Gazprom had declared "force majeure" on its gas exports to Europe and warned that it would unleash its "entire legal arsenal" against Ukraine.

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### Loudly into...

(Continued from page 10)

moted by the German government? The world would scream bloody murder. Yet this is exactly what is happening in the soul of Mr. Putin's Russia today, and it's time for the world to take notice.

This is no time for "Holodomor fatigue." Russia's aggression against Georgia and its direct threat against Ukraine's sovereignty in Crimea have caught the attention of the foreign policy establishment. The more we tie the Holodomor to the revival of Stalinism in Russia and the renewed threat of Russian expansionism in Europe, the harder it will be to ignore. There should be no illusion: World leaders who cling to a political ideology that starved 10 million people to death would have no compunction about freezing millions of Western Europeans to death if they felt it served their political interests.

The Holodomor is the ultimate reminder of the level of monstrosity Stalin's unrepentant heirs may be capable of. If history is prophecy, and the Russians want to embrace their murderous history with an attitude of "My country, right or wrong," then we are all in deep trouble.

The Holodomor should be dead-center in the calculations and in the consciousness of Western leaders. In the months to come, as the Obama administration pursues a policy of "soft power" and vigorous diplomacy, the Ukrainian American community can play a vital role in urging the president, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and members of Congress to visit Ukraine as soon as possible, to restore our neglected partnership with Ukraine, and to recognize the Holodomor as a talisman against Russia's worst excesses.

This is no time to go quietly into the night. Now more than ever, the Ukrainian diaspora needs to move loudly and boldly into the clear light of day.

### The Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America Philadelphia Chapter cordially invites you to attend the

## 55th Annual Engineers' Banquet and Ball with Presentation of Debutantes

Saturday, February 7, 2009

at the

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Banquet at 7:00 PM

Ball and Presentation of Debutantes at 9:00 PM

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Masters of Ceremonies: Bohdan Pecheniak, Taisa Hewka

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Dr. Larysa Zaika at 215-635-7134

Send mail, reservations and payments to:

Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America

c/o Dr. Larysa Zaika

40 Johns Road

Cheltenham, PA 19012

Please make checks or money orders payable to

"Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America"

For room reservations, please call the Park Hyatt Hotel

215-893-1234 or 800-233-1234

Please refer to the Ukrainian Engineers' Ball for special room rates



Areta Bojko



Sofia Zacharczuk



Victoria Chareczko



Kyra Woloszczuk



Christina Fat



Zoriana Strockyj



Alexandra Fylypovych



Andrijka Keller



Emily Knihnicky



Marianna Kozak



Larissa Nysch

## COMMUNITY CHRONICLE

### UAV Post 17 participates in Ukrainian Armed Forces Day



NEW YORK – The representative of the Ministry of Defense and military advisor to Ukraine's Permanent Mission to the United Nations, Maj. Gen. Leonid Holopatiuk, extended an invitation to the Ukrainian American Veterans and their national commander, Brig. Gen. Leonid Kondratiuk, to attend a reception in honor of Ukraine's Armed Forces on December 5, 2008, in the ornate conference hall of the mission. Present at the reception were UAV Post 17 Adjutant Zenko Halkowycz and post members Wolodymyr Stepaniak and Roman Kokolsky. Brig. Gen. Kondratiuk met Ukraine's ambassador to the United Nations, Yuriy Sergeyev, as well as Gen. Holopatiuk's adjutant, Col. Olexander Uholnikov. During the reception Brig. Gen. Kondratiuk met many accredited officers from most of the nations represented at the United Nations and spoke with Gen. Holopatiuk, who expressed interest in the UAV and its activities. Mr. Halkowycz presented Gen. Holopatiuk with the UAV convention journal. Seen in the photo above (from left) are Messrs. Halkowycz, Kondratiuk and Holopatiuk, Ambassador Sergeyev, and Messrs. Stepaniak and Kokolsky.

– Zenko Halkowycz

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### Two new members inducted into UAV Post 30 of Freehold, N.J.



TOMS RIVER, N.J. – St. Stephen's Ukrainian Catholic Church hall was the site on December 20, 2008, of an induction ceremony of two parishioners and veterans of the U.S. Armed Forces – John Dzera and Peter Yurkowski – into Ukrainian American Veterans Post 30. The ceremony was conducted by Past National Commander Anna Krawczuk with Post Commander Bernard Krawczuk as aide de camp. Both Mr. Dzera and Mr. Yurkowski were also presented with certificates of appreciation for their service during the Korean War era that were awarded to all UAV members at the 61st UAV National Convention in September 2008. Seen in the photo above (from left) are: Mr. Krawczuk, Mr. Yurkowski, Mr. Dzera, Mrs. Krawczuk, Pastor Ivan Turyk, Jurij Jacus, Stan Jakubowycz and Michael Krawczuk. UAV Post 30 of Freehold, N.J., is named in honor of Maj. Myron Diduryk. The post was founded in October 1990. The post charter was formally presented and the installation of its first officers was conducted on November 13, 1990. Maj. Diduryk, killed in Vietnam on April 24, 1970, was selected as the post's patron. UAV Post 30 unites American veterans of Ukrainian heritage in Monmouth and Ocean counties and is recruiting new members. For more information readers may call 732-888-0494, e-mail [uav.post30@att.net](mailto:uav.post30@att.net) or write to: UAV Post 30, PO Box 172, Holmdel, NJ 07733-0172.

– Bernard W. Krawczuk

### Ukrainian Homestead continues Christmas tradition of caroling



LEHIGHTON, Pa. – One of the principal goals of the Ukrainian Homestead in Lehigh, Pa., which is owned by the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, is to preserve, promote and protect the Ukrainian heritage. As in recent years at Christmastime, a group of members performed traditional caroling at many Ukrainian American homes in the environs of Lehigh and Bethlehem, Pa., and at the home of U.S. Rep. Tim Holden in St. Clair, Pa. Especially satisfying for the Ukrainian Homestead carolers was to respond to the Rev. Evhen Moniuk's invitation to carol at St. Vladimir Ukrainian Catholic Church in Palmerton, Pa., where, after church services, the parishioners and their guests were treated to a cappella renditions of traditional Ukrainian carols. The appreciation of the audience was obvious as the carolers (seen above) were rewarded with enthusiastic applause.

– Orest Hanas

## COMMUNITY CHRONICLE

### Passaic schoolchildren honor their pastor



PASSAIC, N.J. – The students of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic School in Passaic, N.J., honored their pastor, the Rev. Andriy Dudkevych (right) on November 26, 2008, by celebrating his feast day. The children performed a medley of songs and presented the Rev. Dudkevych with an assortment of beautiful handcrafted cards. The school also presented the Rev. Dudkevych with an icon of the Holy Trinity along with flowers and a gift basket. After some thoughtful words of gratitude and appreciation, the pastor gave each student a picture of St. Marta as well as some sweet treats to enjoy. Above, the schoolchildren are seen at the assembly.

– Lydia Loukachouk



### Heide Stefanyshyn-Piper hosted by Ukrainians of Houston

by Vasyl Dijak

GALVESTON, Texas – Astronaut Heide Stefanyshyn-Piper, who recently completed her second shuttle mission, was the special guest on August 23, 2008, at an event sponsored by the Ukrainian School of Houston and the Ukrainian American Cultural Club of Houston.

The 16-day mission of the orbiter Endeavor to the International Space Station (ISS) was designated as STS-126. Launched on November 14, 2008, Endeavor landed at Edwards Air Force Base in California on November 30 due to poor weather at Florida's Kennedy Space Center. The eight crewmembers delivered a reusable logistics module that held supplies and equipment, including additional crew quarters, additional exercise equipment, equipment for the regenerative life support system and spare hardware. The STS-126 mission will allow the ISS to accommodate twice the crew currently living there.

Capt. Heide Stefanyshyn-Piper (U.S. Navy) was the first female lead space-walker on STS-126 and spent close to 14 hours on two extra-vehicular activities (designated EVA1 and EVA3) outside of the shuttle. Despite an incident during which a leaking grease gun led to an untethered tool bag floating away into space, the mission was a success. The

Solar Alpha Rotary Joint (SARJ), which was critical to orient the large solar panels on the ISS, was repaired.

At the event hosted by the Ukrainian School of Houston and the Ukrainian American Cultural Club of Houston at a luxury high rise in Galveston, Texas, guests enjoyed a summer evening overlooking the Gulf of Mexico as Capt. Stefanyshyn-Piper made a presentation of her previous mission (STS-115) in 2006.

Especially impressive were the pictures of the two EVAs during which Capt. Stefanyshyn-Piper spent over 13 hours outside the shuttle with fellow astronaut Joe Tanner to install the 17.5 ton, 45-foot-long P3/P4 integrated truss and deploy the solar arrays, among other assignments. As the shuttle passed over Ukraine, the Ukrainian American astronaut had the opportunity to take a stunning picture of Kyiv from more than 200 miles above the Earth.

The program culminated in the presentation to the Ukrainian School of Houston of its school medallion, which flew aboard STS-115. Capt. Stefanyshyn-Piper then signed copies of a book following her career, written in Ukrainian by Anatoliy Gorokhovskiy of Chicago, whose publication the Ukrainian American Cultural Club of Houston had supported with a donation.



Olia Palmer (left), president of the Ukrainian American Cultural Club of Houston, and Vasyl Dijak, director of the Ukrainian School of Houston, with Heide Stefanyshyn-Piper, who is holding the school medallion that she took into space in 2006.



NASA's Heide Stefanyshyn-Piper addresses Houston's Ukrainian community.

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

(Continued from page 24)

### Sunday, February 8

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society, Washington, D.C., Branch, presents a lecture by Dr. Volodymyr Mezentsev, research fellow, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, associate leader of the Canada-Ukraine archaeological expedition in Baturyn, titled "Prelude to Poltava: The Latest Archeological Discoveries at Baturyn and the Commemoration of the 300th Anniversary of the Baturyn Tragedy" (in English, with visual presentation). The lecture is at 1:30 p.m. at the Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family, 4250 Harewood Road NE, Washington DC 20017. Admission is free; contributions will be accepted. For further information call Andrew Sorokowski, 301-230-2149.

### Saturday, February 14

**CHICAGO:** The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA),

Illinois Chapter, requests the honor of your company at the traditional banquet and ball with presentation of the 2009 debutantes in the Grand Ballroom of the Palmer House Hilton Hotel. Cocktails are at 6 p.m. and dinner is at 7 p.m.; evening attire is requested. Participation is limited to guests age 17 and over. Only guests with a prepaid ticket may view the presentation of debutantes. Tickets for the banquet and ball are \$150 per person; \$40 per person for the ball only. All proceeds from this year's ball will be donated to the Foundation of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America. A special room rate of \$149 has been arranged for those interested in staying at the Palmer House Hilton during the UMANA debutante ball. In order to obtain the discounted rate, reservations must be made before January 30. Please mention the "Ukrainian Medical Association" when making your reservations; telephone, 312-726-7500. For information call Katia Hrynewycz, 312-282-7017, or e-mail UMANADEB2009@aol.com.

## COMMUNITY CHRONICLE

# South Texas Ukrainians hold community "Sviata Vecheria"



Carolers Markian and Becky Kunasz, Chrystia Wynnyk-Wilson, and Mira Hnatyshyn-Hudson.

by Steve Sokolyk

NEW BRAUNFELS, Texas – Once again San Antonio/Austin Ukrainians showed they know how to party – this time at the eighth annual Sviata Vecheria (Holy Supper) on Saturday, January 3.

Once again all gathered at the home of Steve and Beth Sokolyk, the living room furniture having been temporarily replaced by chairs and folding tables, which were covered in white tablecloths with embroidered runners. The Christmas tree and garland greeted guests, and festivity was in the air.

The afternoon event began around 1 p.m. as people arrived with their homemade dishes (augmented by purchased varenyky). A total of 46 adults attended. Mood music was provided by Larry Peters on accordion. The buffet was set up in the kitchen, where Marion Kostuik and her daughter Tracy Cruz ran the show.

Before food was served, there was a moment of silence in memory of the victims of the Holodomor, followed by the Lord's Prayer and a rousing rendition of "Boh Predvichnyi." The feast with various traditional dishes was wonderful, thanks to our "staff" of chefs.

Between 15 and 20 children attended,

including Katia and Nastia from Zhytomyr, two newly adopted members of the Potts family. The kids romped around upstairs, where alternative foods were available for the less adventurous.

After dinner there was a toast featuring Ukrainian horilka, followed by the now traditional Arkan around the tables with Mr. Sokolyk and Ukrainian-by-marriage Carlos Cruz. (Next year we'll be getting Carlos to do some prysidky.)

Chrystia Wynnyk-Wilson prepared leaflets with song lyrics, and all participated in an impromptu a capella sing-along of favorite Ukrainian Christmas carols, or "koliady." We hope this too will become a tradition.

New friends were made and some very good singers were discovered this year. It was especially heartening to greet out-of-town visitors, including the Kostuiks from Manitoba and Ed Wizniak from the Washington, D.C., area. This little community event has grown and developed over the years, mostly by word of mouth.

If readers would like to join this group of Ukrainians, or if they know of a Ukrainian in the South Texas area, please contact Mr. Sokolyk by e-mailing [ssokolyk@aol.com](mailto:ssokolyk@aol.com), or calling 830-606-5810.



Steve Sokolyk (center) leads the singing of "Boh Predvichnyi." Also in the photo are Tracy Kostuik-Cruz and Greg Antonichuk (right), Markian Kunasz, Mira Hnatyshyn Hudson, Danylo Rudakevych and Stephanie Dowbusz (group on left).

## Winnipeg's Oseredok...

(Continued from page 11)

Church of Canada) for articles, editorials, reprinted stories, letters and general news about the Holodomor of 1932-1933.

The two newspapers carried some 300 such stories for the two-year period. Interesting among them were three epistles from the ruling bishops of the two churches, numerous editorials, articles from Halychyna (then under Polish rule), calls for prayers and demonstrations, and copied reports from some 38 newspapers located in over 20 countries, including mainly Germany, Poland, the U.S. and Great Britain.

All the newspaper articles provide a very vivid picture of the unfolding of the Holodomor crises and depicted the various elements of the tragedy. These included the process of collectivization and the opposition to it; the problems with agriculture and the collection of grain; the wanderings of the peasants throughout the countryside and cities; details on the starvation and deaths, including cannibalism;

search for and attempts at gaining freedom at border crossings into Poland and Romania; western journalists' reports of the Famine; Soviet brutality, imprisonment and shootings of the peasants; and the exile of Ukrainians to Siberia.

The newspapers also provided information about organizations that protested against the Famine on the International, European and Canadian scenes. Taken together the two newspapers provided more than was anticipated on the theme of the Ukrainian Holodomor and should be considered a major resource on the topic, Dr. Yereniuk noted.

The one-day symposium was most successful in bringing together scholars and the community members to analyze, discuss and internalize the great tragedy of 1932-1933. The Symposium was held at Oseredok, the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center, against the backdrop of the major Holodomor art show featuring work by Mr. Wlasenko. The symposium was the first project of a series of commemorations of the Holodomor held during a two-week period in Winnipeg.

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<p><b>UKRAINE</b></p>	<p><b>HUTSUL FESTIVAL TOUR</b> via Lufthansa German Airlines from Newark <b>Tour Director: Kvitka Semanyshyn</b> 12 Day All Inclusive Tour tw \$3750 This year, the Hutsul Festival is in Vyzhnytsia and brings together the finest dancers, entertainers and craft makers from the region. In addition to the Carpathian Venture, this tour includes Kyiv and Lviv! Only ONE departure: Aug 21-Sep 01, 2009</p>
<p><b>UKRAINE</b></p>	<p><b>BEST OF UKRAINE</b> via Lufthansa German Airlines from Newark 14 Day All inclusive Tour tw from \$4150 A lovely combination of Kyiv, Odesa, Crimea, and Lviv with extensive sightseeing of Yalta, Bakchysaray, Sevastopol and Chersoneses. Departures: Jul 22 and Sep 09, 2009</p>
<p><b>ROMANIA</b></p>	<p><b>OPERA TOUR</b> via Lufthansa German Airlines from Newark 12 Day All inclusive Tour tw \$3600 <b>Tour Director: Marijka Helbig</b> Featuring Georg Enescu Inter Music Festival in Bucharest Opera: MANON LESCAUT Concert: Royal Philharmonic Orchestra (w. Joshua Bell, violinist). plus Sighisoara, Gura Humorului, Sighetu Marmatiel + 4 days in Budapest Margaret Island, a beautiful spa resort. Departure: Sep 09-20, 2009</p>

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## OUT AND ABOUT

January 25 through September 6  
New York  
Art exhibit, "A Generous Vision: A Major Gift of Works by Mychajlo Moroz," The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110

January 27  
New York  
Literary evening with Viktor Neborak, "The Flying Head and Other Poems," Columbia University, 212-854-4697

January 27  
Washington  
Panel discussion, "U.S. Policy Toward the South Caucasus: Challenges of Energy and Geopolitics," The Heritage Foundation, Allison Auditorium, [www.heritage.org/press/events/ev12709a.cfm](http://www.heritage.org/press/events/ev12709a.cfm)

January 28  
Yonkers, NY  
Teacher's workshop led by Ruth Griffith, "The Unknown Genocide - Ukrainian Holodomor of 1932-1933," Yonkers Education and Cultural Arts Center, 914-965-6467

January 29  
Washington  
Poetry readings by Viktor Neborak, "The Flying Head and Other Poems," Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, 202-691-4100

January 29  
Washington  
Musical program, "Carol of the Bells," Arlington Sister City - Ivano Frankivsk Committee, Embassy of Ukraine, [chrystia@arlingtonsisitercity.org](mailto:chrystia@arlingtonsisitercity.org) or [www.arlingtonsisitercity.org](http://www.arlingtonsisitercity.org)

January 30  
Washington  
Lecture by Henry E. Hale, "Democracy, Autocracy and Revolution in the Former Soviet Union," Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, 202-691-4000

January 31  
New Britain, CT  
Malanka, featuring music by Zolota Bulava and Hrim, St. George's Hall, 860-738-2303

January 31  
Whippany, NJ  
Presentation of debutantes, featuring music by Tempo, Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization - Newark Branch, Hanover Marriott, 908-647-0758

January 31  
New York  
Memorial concert for Alexander Slobodyanik, Merkin Concert Hall at Kaufman Center,

212-501-3330

January 31  
North Port, FL  
Zabava and silent auction for scholarship fund-raiser, Ukrainian American Club of Southwest Florida, St. Andrew's Religious and Cultural Center, 941-613-5923

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

### *Memorial concert to pay tribute to Alexander Slobodyanik*

NEW YORK – On Saturday, January 31, Robert Sherman will host a special performance in honor of one of the world's finest Romantic piano virtuosos, Alexander Slobodyanik, who died in August 2008 at the age of 66. Renowned pianist and conductor Vladimir Feltsman has engaged a cast of top performing pianists for this special tribute at Merkin Concert Hall.

Mr. Feltsman will be joined by Slobodyanik's longtime friends and colleagues Eteri Anjaparidze, Sergei Babayan, Alexander Korsantia, Susan Starr and Alexander Toradze in a program of solo works by Bach, Haydn, Schubert, Schumann and Chopin. Slobodyanik's son, Alex, also a world-renowned performer, will be making a special appearance in this event dedicated to the memory of his father.

An eminent master pianist, the late Mr.

Slobodyanik was a protégé of Sviatoslav Richter, a student of legendary Profs. Henrich Neuhaus and Vera Gornostayeva, and a discovery of the great impresario Sol Hurok. The Ukrainian-born pianist earned stardom in the former Soviet Union with his fiery virtuosity and emotional interpretations of Romantic composers, and was in constant demand as a concert pianist and teacher since moving to the United States in 1989.

His career spanned five decades and brought him unparalleled accolades in the world of classical music. For more information about the pianist readers may log on to [www.slobodyanik.com](http://www.slobodyanik.com).

Admission to the Memorial Concert in Tribute to Pianist Alexander Slobodyanik is free. For reserved seating, call the Merkin Hall Box Office at 212-501-3330. The concert hall is located at 129 W. 67th St.

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January 25 – September 6, 2009



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



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212.228.0110 • e-mail: info@ukrainianmuseum.org  
web site: www.ukrainianmuseum.org

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

**Saturday, January 31**

**NEW YORK:** A Memorial Concert in Tribute to Pianist Alexander Slobodyanik, world-renowned Ukrainian concert pianist, will be presented at Merkin Concert Hall at Kaufman Center, located at 129 W. 67th St., at 8 pm. Friends and colleagues of Mr. Slobodyanik, all accomplished pianists, who will perform include: Vladimir Feltsman, Eteri Andjaparidze, Sergei Babayan, Alexander Korsantia, Susan Starr, Alexander Toradze and the late pianist's son Alex Slobodyanik. Admission is free. For information contact Merkin Hall Box Office, 212-501-3330, or log on to www.slobodyanik.com or www.merkin-concerthall.org.

**Monday, February 2**

**CAMBRIDGE, Mass.:** The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute will host a lecture by Paul Josephson, professor and chair of history at Colby College. His lecture, "Science and Stalinism on the Soviet 'Periphery': Physics in Ukraine, 1928-1953," will be held at 4 p.m. in Room S-050 (Concourse Level), CGIS Building South, 1730 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02138. This event is free and open to

the public. For more information call 617-495-4053 or e-mail huri@fas.harvard.edu.

**Saturday, February 7**

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a lecture by Dr. Volodymyr Mezentsev of Toronto University titled "On the 300th Anniversary of the Baturyn Tragedy: Archeological Discoveries in Baturyn in the Year 2008." The lecture will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call 212-254-5130.

**NEW YORK:** Music at the Institute (MATI) presents the Auryng String Quartet of Germany at 8 p.m. at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 E. 79th St. The program features Beethoven's String Quartet Op. 18, No. 1; Bartok's String Quartet No. 1; and Brahms' String Quartet Op. 51, No.2. General admission (including reception): \$30; \$25 for members and senior citizens; \$20 for students. For further information call 212-288-8660.

(Continued on page 21)

### PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

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.

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

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