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## ELECTION NOTEBOOK: This time, Yanukovich supporters prepare protests

by Zenon Zawada  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Leaders of the Party of Regions of Ukraine, the country's most popular political force, have begun telling their supporters to prepare to engage in mass demonstrations to ensure the election of their leader, Viktor Yanukovich, as president.

"In these elections, we won't allow lawlessness and, if need be, we'll go out on the streets to defend our right to a choice, our right for our voice to be heard and counted," PRU Vice-Chair Vasyl Dzharty told the Crimean organization on November 21, the party's website reported.

Mr. Yanukovich is expected to be among the two candidates who square off in the second round run-off of the presidential election scheduled for February 7.

Mr. Dzarty's comments echoed what Andrii Kliuyev, the deputy campaign chair for Mr. Yanukovich, told television viewers on the "Freedom on Inter" talk show on June 12. He insisted that Mr. Yaukovich was lawfully elected as presi-

dent in 2004: "That's a fact."

Furthermore, the Supreme Court rulings declaring the second round was falsified and creating the third round of voting were illegal, said Mr. Kliuyev, who is widely reported to have led the Yanukovich campaign's shadow staff in 2004 that directed alleged vote fraud.

"You can't fool the Ukrainian people a second time," he said. "The Ukrainian people are very wise, and if there is a new attempt to take away victory from Viktor Fedorovich Yanukovich this time around, then I think all Ukrainians will rise up and not allow this lawlessness to be executed," he said.

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Screening reporters' questions has kicked into effect during the presidential election campaign.

A campaign staffer for Mr. Yanukovich accidentally left a list of pre-screened questions following a November 19 tea-and-coffee session the presidential candidate held with Zhytomyr and Chernihiv

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## Fifth anniversary of Orange Revolution marks launch of Yushchenko campaign



Official Website of Ukraine's President

A view of the Freedom Day event at Kyiv's Ukrainian Home that served as the unofficial launch of President Viktor Yushchenko's re-election campaign.

by Zenon Zawada  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Baba Paraska scrambled outside Kyiv's Ukrainian Home (Ukrayinskyi Dim), where the unofficial launch of

President Viktor Yushchenko's presidential campaign – marketed as the Freedom Day commemoration – was about to begin on the fifth anniversary of the Orange Revolution.

"Do you have a ticket to spare?" she asked The Ukrainian Weekly's reporter, only to be eventually denied by everyone, including the event organizers.

Weeks earlier, the Orange Revolution's legendary "babusia" refused to answer reporters' questions on whom she would endorse. Now the Yushchenko campaign showed it would no longer be tolerating her straddling the fence, nor any indecisiveness from Orange veterans.

"She stood there, her path blocked by several militiamen, and cried openly at the rejection," said Peter Borisow, president of the Hollywood Trident Foundation.

The limited gathering of more than 1,500 Yushchenko supporters on November 22 was open to only the most loyal – others either abandoned the Ukrainian president at this point, such as former Justice Minister Roman Zvarych, or were pushed away, such as former Presidential Secretariat Chair Viktor Baloha.

While the commemoration was broadcast on the plasma screen just down the street at the maidan (Independence Square), the unusually warm weather could entice no more than 50 people to gather and watch it.

Most of them were Orange veterans, activists of the Coalition of Orange Revolution Participants (KUPR) and neo-Kozaks, thin on intelligible political views but eager to party.

A random passer-by would not have known that hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians had braved frigid weather just five years earlier to defend against the

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## Patriarch Filaret blesses "All Saints of Ukraine" mosaic



Pamela Jaresko

BLOOMINGDALE, Ill. – During his 10th archpastoral visit to Ukrainian Orthodox Parishes of the Kyiv Patriarchate in the United States, Patriarch Filaret blessed the new mosaic, "All Saints of Ukraine," on the facade of St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Bloomingdale, Ill., a suburb of Chicago. For the complete story on the patriarch's visit, turn to page 17.

## ANALYSIS

## Ukraine relies on IMF payments for Russian gas purchase

by Pavel Korduban  
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Ukraine finds it increasingly difficult to survive without money from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The country paid Russia for October's gas deliveries with IMF funds and the same means will be used for November's gas deliveries. However, the IMF did not disburse the fourth \$3.8-billion tranche of its \$16.4-billion loan to Ukraine in mid-November because of the government's populist policies (Eurasia Daily Monitor, November 4).

This means that Ukraine may not receive more IMF money until after the presidential elections in January and February, and consequently it is unclear where it will find the money to pay for Russian gas in early 2010. The debt-ridden Naftohaz Ukrainy state-run oil and gas behemoth ran out of money long ago. There are fears that the situation in early 2009, when gas deliveries to Europe via Ukraine were stopped for two weeks over a pricing dispute between Russia and Ukraine, may be repeated.

It was feared that Ukraine would be unable to pay even for October and the head of the European Commission (EC) – the European Union's executive arm – Jose Barroso telephoned President Viktor Yushchenko and urged him to pay for the gas. Fearing that Ukraine's failure to pay for the gas could affect gas transit to the EU, Mr. Barroso said in clear terms that European consumers should not suffer because of Ukraine. Mr. Yushchenko assured Mr. Barroso that Ukraine would pay from the \$2 billion that it received in accordance with its share in the IMF in August and September as a result of a one-off distribution of the IMF's funds (UNIAN, November 5). Ukraine transferred to Gazprom \$480 million from the IMF money on November 6, several hours before the deadline for payment (Channel 5, November 6).

Ukrainian Vice Prime Minister Hryhorii Nemyryia admitted in his November 9 interview to Channel 5 that Ukraine may find it difficult to pay for December's Russian gas deliveries in early January 2010 if the IMF does not release the fourth tranche in 2009. Mr. Nemyryia said he feared a repetition of the January 2009 crisis. He stated that Kyiv will most likely use the IMF's funds received in September in early December

to pay for November deliveries, but he admitted that it is uncertain how Ukraine would pay in January.

President Yushchenko's aide Oleksandr Shlapak shared Mr. Nemyryia's viewpoint. Also speaking to Channel 5, he said that Ukraine cannot pay for gas in December and January without the IMF's assistance.

While admitting that the payment to Gazprom due in early January may be delayed, the Yushchenko administration pretends that it does not see any link between this and transit to Europe. This means that Ukraine will blame Russia for any transit disruptions again, like in January when gas bound for transit was used by Ukrainian consumers after Russian deliveries were halted. Mr. Yushchenko's energy aide Bohdan Sokolovsky dismissed Moscow's warnings that transit to the EU may be disrupted because Ukraine has no funds to pay for gas. He said Ukraine had accumulated enough gas in underground storage facilities to last over winter and its gas transit network is fully operational. He also warned that Naftohaz Ukrainy faces fines of up to \$8 billion for buying less gas in 2009 than stipulated by contracts with Gazprom (Interfax-Ukraine, November 9).

The fines, added to a \$4 billion hole in Naftohaz's 2009 budget according to Mr. Yushchenko's estimates (Ukrayinska Pravda, November 12), would bankrupt Naftohaz. However, Mr. Yushchenko may be exaggerating Naftohaz's problems as Kommersant-Ukraine reported on November 11, citing documents of the Ukraine-Russia commission for fuel and energy, that the fines should not exceed \$1.8 billion.

Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko flatly dismissed Mr. Yushchenko's warnings about such fines. She reiterated that Russia would not fine Naftohaz and she recalled that Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin had "firmly promised" this. Mr. Putin has "not once let us down whenever we agreed on something," she noted (Interfax-Ukraine, November 14).

Gazprom Deputy CEO Aleksandr Medvedev confirmed that Gazprom would not fine Naftohaz because of the difficult financial situation in Ukraine. Nonetheless, he noted that Gazprom formally retains the right to fine Naftohaz (UNIAN, November 15).

Naftohaz may face fines not only from

(Continued on page 21)

## Senate confirms John Tefft as ambassador to Ukraine

U.S.-Ukraine Business Council

WASHINGTON – The U.S. Senate on Friday, November 20, confirmed the nomination of John F. Tefft of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Ukraine.

Ambassador Tefft was nominated by President Barack Obama on September 30. A hearing on his nomination was held on October 8 by the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee.

The new U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is expected to arrive in Kyiv between December 1 and 4.

Ambassador Tefft has been a Foreign

Service officer for 37 years. He most recently served as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Georgia in 2005-2009. Prior to that assignment he served as deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs and was responsible for U.S. relations with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. In 2003-2005 Mr. Tefft was the international affairs advisor at the National War College in Washington.

He served as the U.S. ambassador to Lithuania in 2000-2003. He was deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow in 1996-1999, and served as chargé d'affaires from November 1996 to September 1997. His other Foreign Service assignments include: Jerusalem, Budapest and Rome.

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Death toll from flu rises to 381

KYIV – The number of those who have died of flu and acute respiratory viral infections in Ukraine has increased to 381 as of November 22, the Ukrainian Health Ministry has reported. Over 1.6 million people have caught flu and respiratory illnesses in the country, and 95,361 have been hospitalized. (Ukrinform)

### Georgia's president in Ukraine

KYIV – Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili arrived on a two-day visit to Ukraine. During the visit Mr. Saakashvili met with his Ukrainian counterpart, Viktor Yushchenko, and a Ukraine-Georgia business forum was held. Speaking at a joint press conference on November 19, President Yushchenko said Ukraine supports Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity and does not recognize the breakaway republics of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. "This is a fundamental position of the Ukrainian state," he said. Mr. Yushchenko said Ukraine supports the clear observance of international law and the peaceful settlement of conflicts, in line with the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and the Council of Europe's documents regulating security policy. "Our relations with Georgia are relations with deep traditions and mutual respect. We have repeatedly said that our positions in the past and in the present are similar, and this guarantees support for the dynamic development of relations at the governmental and high levels, as well as at the level of ordinary and reliable human relations," he added. Mr. Yushchenko also said he was satisfied with Ukrainian-Georgian talks on security in the Black Sea region and the implementation of a number of energy projects. (Ukrinform)

### New Georgian Embassy opened

KYIV – Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko and Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili on November 19 participated in a ribbon-cutting ceremony for a new building of the Georgian Embassy in downtown Kyiv, located at 25 Shevchenko Blvd. Mr. Saakashvili said that he, along with Mr. Yushchenko, had laid the cornerstone for the embassy's new building four years ago. He

expressed hope that the Embassy would become not only a dear place for all Georgians, but also a symbol of Ukrainian-Georgian friendship. "Kyiv is a city of my youth, hope and dreams. But I couldn't imagine that Georgia and Ukraine would become independent and that a Georgian Embassy would be built here," he commented. (Ukrinform)

### President speaks on Freedom Day

KYIV – Only a democratic Ukraine can maintain territorial integrity and independence, President Viktor Yushchenko said in an address at celebrations in Kyiv dedicated to Freedom Day on Sunday, November 22. He emphasized that Ukraine today has freedom of speech. "August 24, 1991, and the Maidan [Maidan Nezalezhnosti, or Independence Square, the focal point of the Orange Revolution] in autumn 2004 is a great movement of the nation and people toward freedom. This movement is made up of millions of Ukrainian fates, views, hopes. For us its essence is Ukrainian, and its nature is common to all mankind," the head of state said. Mr. Yushchenko said that "over the past five years our economic movement, despite the crisis, has traveled a tremendous distance." He added, "At the beginning of my presidency our budget was \$80 billion (U.S.). This was four years ago... Today Ukraine's budget is \$300 billion." He recalled that "In 2004 Ukraine had \$8 billion of foreign investments. In four years we have reached a figure of \$38 billion." Ukraine has lately re-earned its nickname "the breadbasket of Europe," as "every year out of the last two we have exported at 20 million tons of grain," the president said. "For the first time in 18 years we see a demographic optimism," Mr. Yushchenko stated, adding that if the pace continues, the Ukrainian population will experience growth starting in 2015. (Ukrinform)

### President considers dissolving Rada

KYIV – President Viktor Yushchenko said on November 23 that early parliamentary elections may take place simultaneously with the referendum on the Constitution of Ukraine. The president's election program

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## Ukraine's Mission to U.N. hosts conference on 20th anniversary of Berlin Wall's fall

by Matthew Dubas

NEW YORK – Ukraine's Permanent Mission to the United Nations hosted a conference at the Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA) on November 9 to mark the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Ukraine's Ambassador to the United Nations Yuriy Sergeyev served as master of ceremonies, and Prof. Taras Hunczak served as moderator for the speakers.

Mr. Sergeyev welcomed members of the United Nations diplomatic corps from Poland, Hungary, Albania and the Czech Republic, and thanked the UIA and the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) for their support in hosting the event.

Mr. Sergeyev compared the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 to the subsequent fall of the Iron Curtain, and recalled the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, now two separate countries – the Czech Republic and Slovakia. He also spoke of how Ukraine has been on a pro-democratic course of development since its independence in 1991.

Prof. Hunczak rhetorically asked the audience members, "What have we learned since the fall of the Berlin Wall?"

The first speaker was Prof. Alex Motyl, a professor of political science at Rutgers University, who provided a brief synopsis of the Soviet system from the perspective of the USSR as an empire. From that perspective, he noted, the Soviet model fell quickly (approximately 70 years, 1918-1991) in comparison to other empires of the time due to the corrupt totalitarian leadership.

By 1948, Prof. Motyl said, the empire had reached its maximum expansion and was already on the decline with Tito's rebellion in the Balkans and later the Solidarity movement of the 1980s in Poland, and what he called "anti-colonial uprisings" against imperialistic political structures. Other contributing factors, Prof. Motyl said, included flaws in the totalitarian system of the Soviet model that made it difficult to maintain control and the shift of the population from peasantry to an urbanizing society.

The role of Mikhail Gorbachev was also a critical factor, Prof. Motyl underscored,



Ambassador of Ukraine to the U.N.  
Yuriy Sergeyev.

and he was responsible for "letting the genie out of the bottle" with his counter-totalitarian policies of glasnost and perestroika (perebudova in Ukrainian).

Civil society, from 1989 to the present, was slow to develop in the post-Soviet space, Prof. Motyl noted, but the East-Central European countries had a faster transition to Western standards and were assisted by Europe.

Today, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, whom Prof. Motyl described as a Russian colonizer, uses chest-beating nationalist rhetoric in an attempt at the near-impossible feat of reversing the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Martin Palous, ambassador of the Czech Republic to the United Nations, commented on the causes of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the lessons learned from the event. The "return to Europe" helped to put countries like the Czech Republic on the world stage, he said, but also complicated foreign relations with multi-polar alignments.

Prof. Thaddeus Gromada, professor emeritus of history at New Jersey City University, and a former classmate of Prof. Hunczak, recalled that he was studying in Poland in 1961 when the Berlin Wall was completed. After the fall, he noted, there



Prof. Thaddeus Gromada.

was more uncertainty than hope.

Most Americans, he said, do not appreciate the revolutions of 1989, which culminated in the wall's fall. It was the "little people from little countries that made history," he said. Poland in 1989 saw the first free election and the results stunned both the Communists and the Solidarity members. The Polish Solidarity movement had its predecessors too, in other uprisings in 1953, 1956, 1968 and others. Solidarity demonstrated the rejection of communism and the strength of people power. The fall of the Berlin Wall, Dr. Gromada said, was an international event that solidified Europe's commitment to never allow the return of "captive nations."

Ayla Bakkalli, president of the American Association of Crimean Turks/Tatars, commented on the Soviet regime's policies, which included the Holodomor of 1932-1933 and the mass deportation of the Crimean Tatars from their lands in May 1944 and the repopulation of the territory with Russians. She also highlighted the Crimean Tatar's support for Ukrainian independence and noted that in 2004, 80 percent of Crimean Tatars supported Viktor Yushchenko for president of Ukraine.

Ms. Bakkalli also announced a new



Ambassador of Poland to the U.N.  
Andrzej Towpik.

NGO for Crimean Tatars, the World Congress of Crimean Tatars. All of these developments for the Crimean Tatars would have been impossible without the fall of the Berlin Wall, she added. She said she looks forward to collaborating on projects with the Ukrainian community in the U.S., and reminded audience members that "Crimean Tatars are the only Ukrainians in Crimea."

Albania's Ambassador to the United Nations Adrian Neritani noted the path of the country after the fall of the Berlin Wall, including NATO membership and its course toward Euro-integration. He called attention to the need for secret service archives to be declassified, especially to heal the wounds of the Balkan Wars. Mr. Neritani asked, "Have we changed things as we wanted to since the fall of the Berlin Wall?" He said he saw a new "Checkpoint Charlie" has come in the form of visa restrictions.

Poland's Ambassador to the United Nations Andrzej Towpik commented on the fall of the Berlin Wall and the influence of the Solidarity movement. Mr. Towpik said that 1989 was "the point of no return" and that the December 1991 dissolution of the

(Continued on page 4)

## NEWS ANALYSIS: Electoral populism in Ukraine prevails over economic wisdom

by Pavel Korduban

Eurasia Daily Monitor

International Monetary Fund (IMF) Managing Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn on November 2 called Ukraine "a big problem" when asked about the situation in Central and Eastern Europe as the region worst hit by the global crisis.

Recent steps in the economy aimed to "buy" voters ahead of the January 17, 2010, presidential election, taken by all the branches of power without exception, have jeopardized the implementation of the IMF assistance program worth \$16.4 billion. Ukraine has already received over \$10 billion from the IMF, but it hardly qualifies for the next \$3.8 billion tranche expected in November, as it has reneged on its promises to the IMF to increase domestic gas prices and abstain from hiking pensions and wages.

A court in Kyiv on September 25 forbade the national energy regulator to increase the price of gas for heating companies by 20 percent from October 1. The court acted on a lawsuit filed by trade unions (Ukrayinski Novyny, October 1). The 20 percent price hike for households from September had been outlawed by another court in August.

Both court verdicts were hailed by Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko who, although her government promised the hikes to the IMF, is reluctant to increase

domestic gas prices as this may spoil her presidential election campaign. The IMF demanded higher prices because the status quo overburdens the budget as the state-controlled Naftohaz Ukrainy oil and gas behemoth buys gas from Russia at much higher prices than those paid to Naftohaz by domestic consumers.

Instead of increasing the prices, Ms. Tymoshenko approved their lowering in her traditional electoral stronghold of Kyiv. Kyiv Mayor Leonid Chernovetskyi announced on October 13 that the prices of heating and water supply would be lowered in November to their pre-June level. The prices were increased by 50 to 100 percent from June 1 and although initially many Kyiv residents refused to pay, they had to accept the new prices.

Mr. Chernovetskyi said that the old prices would not return until around May 2010. He stated that this was possible thanks to Naftohaz Ukrainy's consent to subsidize Kyiv. Speaking several hours before Mr. Chernovetskyi, Ms. Tymoshenko had boasted that her Cabinet reached an agreement with the Kyiv authorities to lower utility prices (Channel 5 TV, October 13).

On October 20, ironically when an IMF mission was in Ukraine to check whether the country qualifies for the next tranche, Parliament passed a bill to increase the minimum monthly wage from the equivalent of \$84 to \$109 from

January 1 and further in several stages to \$115 from December 2010. The bill was backed by all parties except, this time, Ms. Tymoshenko's. This was a compromise solution as the opposition Party of Regions, in order to please potential voters for its leader, Viktor Yanukovich, in the presidential election, insisted on more than doubling wages and pensions, threatening an open-ended blockade of Parliament. Nevertheless, even such a relatively small increase was in violation of the promises that Ukraine made to the IMF. Prime Minister Tymoshenko called on President Viktor Yushchenko to veto the law (Channel 5 TV, October 20).

A disgruntled IMF mission left Kyiv on October 24 without saying whether it would recommend that the IMF board disburse the next loan tranche as scheduled. Instead, the IMF said in its October 25 press release that the mission reached an agreement with the Ukrainian leadership on the need for "corrective actions," including a presidential veto on the bill on higher wages and pensions which, the IMF said, was "at odds with the objectives of the authorities' program."

However, President Yushchenko defied the IMF on October 30 by signing the bill into law. Explaining this decision, he said that it would be "immoral" to solve state budget problems "at the expense of the retired, poor and disabled people" (UNIAN, October 30).

Similar to Ms. Tymoshenko opposing higher domestic gas prices, Mr. Yushchenko's decision was dictated by populist considerations as he will also run in the January election. Mr. Strauss-Kahn immediately reacted to Mr. Yushchenko's decision. "I'm very worried by the president's agreement to this bill, which puts the program we had signed off track and in this situation I am afraid it would be very difficult to complete the next review of the program," he told Reuters on October 30.

Electoral populism clearly prevails over economic wisdom in Ukraine ahead of the presidential election.

Consequently, the IMF faces a difficult choice. If Ukraine does not receive the loan tranche expected in the middle of November, its national currency, which lost some 40 percent of its value in late 2008 and early 2009, will again fall, making economic recovery slower and more painful.

If the IMF turns a blind eye to Kyiv's failure to abide by its conditions, the IMF's prestige will suffer and Ukraine's finances will be further unbalanced prompting it to seek additional international loans, including from the IMF.

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

# Philanthropist Antonovych acclaimed as his foundation honors Zabuzhko, Wynar

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON – The Omelan and Tetiana Antonovych Foundation presented its awards for excellence in Ukrainian literature and scholarship to writer Oksana Zabuzhko and historian Lubomyr Wynar. And, at the foundation's annual awards ceremony held on November 20 at the Ukrainian Embassy here, it also received an award for its founder from the government of Ukraine.

It was a posthumous presentation of Ukraine's Order of Yaroslav the Wise (fifth class) to the late philanthropist Omelan Antonovych, who with his wife, Tetiana, created the foundation in Washington in 1980. President Viktor Yushchenko announced the award in January 2008, but Mr. Antonovych died during the following month, before it could be formally presented to him. Tetiana Antonovych passed away in 2001.

Ukraine's ambassador to the United States, Dr. Oleh Shamshur, completed the honor at this year's awards ceremony, and the Foundation's board of directors accepted the award in Mr. Antonovych's behalf.

Ambassador Shamshur recalled how Mr. Antonovych, a Ukrainian patriot and future philanthropist, overcame the many difficulties he encountered earlier in life, including Polish prisons and the Nazis' Sachsenhausen concentration camp, and, after immigrating to the United States, played an active role in the development of the Ukrainian community here.

Then, the ambassador noted, Mr. Antonovych and his wife launched their foundation, which has been encouraging the growth and enrichment of Ukrainian culture and scholarship with its annual awards for excellence and, most recently, in helping finance the development of academic and cultural institutions in Ukraine, including the construction of the main library of the National University of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, the renovation of Lviv's Vasyl Stefanyk Library and Artists Palace, among other projects – at a cost of some \$3 million.

His foundation, Ambassador Shamshur noted, also helped finance the activities of the Ukrainian Embassy during its initial years in Washington in the early 1990s.

As he presented the Yaroslav the Wise medals and presidential citation to the foundation's board chairman, Dr. Ihor

Voyevodka, the ambassador added: "I think that the most appropriate monument to his achievements remains his foundation."

Turning the program over to the presentation of the foundation's awards, Dr. Voyevodka noted that, including the two latest honorees, 56 laureates have been so honored for their accomplishments in furthering the knowledge of Ukrainian history, literature, religion and in other humanistic fields since the awards were initiated in 1980.

Dr. Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, who chairs the award selection committee, presented the first of the two Antonovych awards to Ms. Zabuzhko, a widely known and respected writer in Ukraine and abroad. She was cited for the originality of her book about Lesia Ukrayinka, "Notre Dame d'Ukraine: a Ukrainian in the Conflict of Mythologies" (2007), which the foundation characterized as the "culmination of her series of scholarly works on the development of the Ukrainian identity within European culture."

There are really two Oksana Zabuzhkos, Dr. Bohachevsky-Chomiak observed. One is well-known in the media and on the Internet, a participant of international conferences, whose works are translated into more than 10 foreign languages and adapted for the stage and screen, a staunch defender of her own writings and of Ukraine. The other Zabuzhko, she added, is the dedicated and erudite academic researcher, the author of major works about Ukraine's "literary trinity" – Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko and, most recently, Lesia Ukrayinka.

She also noted that Ms. Zabuzhko is one of the few who are successful not only in creating something new, but attentively and perseveringly uncovering the forgotten strata of Ukrainian life and culture buried deep in its "chornozem" (black earth) by its many past tragedies and misfortunes.

"Zabuzhko brings them to the light of day, to life, through her work and what she stands for," Dr. Bohachevsky-Chomiak said.

Accepting the award, Ms. Zabuzhko pointed out that through the years, the Antonovych laureates have been almost evenly divided between those from Ukraine and those from its diaspora – two groupings that developed differently because of their diverse environments and



Andrew Bihun

Ukrainian Ambassador Oleh Shamshur (left) presents Ukraine's Yaroslav the Wise award posthumously to Omelan Antonovych, who with his wife, Tetiana, founded the Antonovych Foundation in 1980. Accepting the award in his behalf are the foundation directors (from left): President Ihor Voyevodka, Secretary Roman Sloniewsky and Treasurer Andrew Lewicky.

"cultural infrastructures." Those in the West were not subjected to the intellectual and cultural pressures experienced in Ukraine, where true intellectuals had to pursue their work outside of established parameters, she explained.

She expressed her hope – and conviction – that these two branches of Ukraine's intellectual life will merge into one during her lifetime.

The second Antonovych Award laureate honored that evening could not make it to the ceremony. Dr. Voyevodka announced that the foundation received a letter from Dr. Wynar a few days earlier in which he thanked the foundation for the award and expressed his apologies for not being able to accept it personally. He is suffering from the flu and a high fever, he explained, and will not be able to leave Kent, Ohio, where he has been professor of history at Kent State University.

Dr. Roman Szporluk of Harvard University, a member of the selection committee, read the presentation announcement, in which the foundation said that Dr. Wynar was being honored for his work in establishing, editing and publishing *The Ukrainian Historian* for the past 45 years. The foundation called this journal the centerpiece of Dr. Wynar's many scholarly publications, an important forum for American and Ukrainian scholars.

Dr. Szporluk summarized and read excerpts from the text of Dr. Wynar's prepared acceptance remarks, which focused on the work of the Ukrainian Historical Association, the journal and their role in the evolution of Ukrainian and world historiography.

In addition to the laureate's many organizational accomplishments, among which he also listed the *Journal of Ethnic*



Yaro Bihun

Ukrainian writer Oksana Zabuzhko, who along with Ukrainian American historian Lubomyr Wynar received the Antonovych awards for excellence in Ukrainian literature and scholarship, expresses her hope that Ukrainian scholarship in Ukraine and its diaspora will merge in the near future.

Studies, the *Ethnic Forum* and the numerous scholarly conferences, Dr. Szporluk also focused on Dr. Wynar's historical research work – his biographical studies of important leaders in Ukraine's history, historical bibliography, cartography and cultural history, even in such specific areas as printing.

"His contribution to Ukrainian academic studies, its culture and to the Ukrainian Nation – as an organizer, creator of institutions and publisher, without which a nation cannot function – is immense," Dr. Szporluk underscored.

commented on the fall of communism, stating, "It happened because we wanted it to happen." Reflecting on the current situation, he indicated that more needs to be done in the course of Euro-integration, and Hungary looks to the East and West. In their course for Euro-integration, Mr. Brodi noted, NATO worked with Eastern Europe and then the European Union followed. Such is the possible course for Ukraine.

Prof. Hunczak noted the brotherhood of the post-Soviet states in moving toward democracy together and thanked all of the speakers. Mr. Sergeyev thanked the ambassadors and participants, and noted that each post-Soviet country has its own individual voice at the United Nations, as a result of the events in 1989 and the fall of the Berlin Wall.

## Ukrainian Canadian organizations seek volunteer observers for Ukraine's election

TORONTO – The Canada Ukraine Foundation, an official observer mission agency recognized by the Central Election Commission of Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, which successfully monitored several elections in Ukraine since 2004, are organizing an election observer mission for the 2010 presidential elections.

The election will take place on January 17, 2010, with an anticipated second round of voting on February 7, 2010. Application forms for interested individuals are now available online, and interested persons are invited for one of the following two observer options available:

- Option A: Team Leaders: a three-to six-week commitment for January 8-23, 2010, and/or January 25 to February 13, 2010;

- Option B: Short-term observers: must commit to a nine-day commit-

ment for either January 12-20, 2010, or from February 2-10, 2010.

Volunteers will be required to cover the cost of their travel expenses to Ukraine and their personal medical insurance. They must also ensure that they will be present in Kyiv during the required times and dates as outlined for each position, and be available for training, election observing and post-election debriefing both in Ukraine and Canada (pre-mission training dates and locations to be announced). Failure to participate in the full training schedule will disqualify the observer from participation in the program.

All applicants will be contacted to confirm that their applications have been received.

The deadline for all applications is November 30. More information and the application form are available online at [www.cufoundation.ca/EOM2010](http://www.cufoundation.ca/EOM2010).

## Ukraine's Mission...

(Continued from page 3)

Soviet Union was the culmination of the events that began in 1989.

Since 1989, Mr. Towpik continued, "European security threats have disappeared, but were replaced with other risks." There has been a push for friendly relations with all neighbors, but there is the emergence of the "other" Europe, which is caught between German and Russian influence. A lesson learned from the fall of the Berlin Wall, he said, was that "possibilities became reality," and a new European order and identity was created.

Gabor Brodi, ambassador of Hungary to the United Nations, noted how the 1956 Hungarian uprising revealed early signs of strain in the USSR. Mr. Brodi

# Banquet in Kyiv raises funds for Ukrainian Catholic University

by Marta Kolomayets

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV – The Kyiv Friends of the Ukrainian Catholic University raised close to \$115,000 at their second annual dinner and silent auction held in Ukraine's capital city on Saturday evening, November 14, continuing a spirit of benevolence and generosity begun last fall in support of the only Catholic institution of higher learning on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

"This is a minor miracle," said the Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, rector of the university, as he commended the efforts of the executive committee, headed by Dzvinka Kryshthalowych, which worked for over five months to bring together 180 guests at Kyiv's newly opened Intercontinental Hotel to fund-raise for this private university, founded by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in Lviv in 1928 and reestablished in independent Ukraine in 1994.

The Rev. Gudziak explained that the community of friends of the university continues to gain momentum outside traditional Ukrainian Greek-Catholic circles. "The movement is small, but very sincere and growing, which is an endorsement of our place in society," he added, emphasizing that the mission of the UCU is to strengthen both the moral and spiritual values of Ukrainian society.

"The event exceeded all of our expectations in terms of community support and funds raised," said the resolute Ms. Kryshthalowych. "While we had an internal fund-raising goal that was a lot higher, realistically, given the financial crisis, the swine flu quarantine and several competing events, we did not expect to do better than last year. [Last year, the event brought in under \$100,000.] Our success means that the UCU and its dynamic leader, Father Gudziak, have inspired the hearts and minds of Kyiv business and community leaders," she added.

"An informal organization, the Kyiv Friends of UCU is a mixture of young, Ukrainian professionals and Ukrainian American expats, who believe in the mission of the Ukrainian Catholic University. We have seen that the accomplishments to date merit continued support of this institution, unique not only in Ukraine, but in the entire region. Our group includes professionals who work in various fields: business, law, public relations, education, NGO management and understand that in order to change the moral fiber in Ukrainian society, there needs to be a fundamentally different approach that combines excellence in education with social responsibility and encourages active participation in the community," said Lydia Czorny Matiaszek, a founding member of the Kyiv Friends of UCU executive committee.

Other members of the committee include Wawa Baczynska, Petro Kowcz, Vasyl Myroshnychenko, Natalya Popovich, Ivanna Reed, Tamara Shevchenko, Olha Zarichynska and Marta Kolomayets.

"The success of this event was the fact that the Kyiv Friends were able to not only do fund-raising, but also to do friend-raising. This has given them a support group for life," commented Ruslan Kraplych, a guest at the event who, as the founder of the Princes Benefactors Ostrozky Charitable Foundation, is an expert on fund-raising and charitable giving in Ukraine. The venue of a silent auction is conducted in an atmosphere that is open and transparent; nobody feels any pressure to bid on anything, yet every one knows that their contribution will be a good deed, he added.

"And, it was revitalizing to get away from the political campaigns that plague

our day-to-day life," added Halyna Lemets, a businesswoman, who also supports family values and women's rights through Ukrainian Family, an international charity fund established in 1991. "I just shut the door on Kyiv's daily problems, the swine flu panic, talk of economic woes and enjoyed an evening of spiritual enrichment," she said.

It is a political atmosphere that the Ukrainian Catholic University strives for in all of its actions and endeavors. "Our university sets as its goal to promote the formation of a civil society in Ukraine," the Harvard University educated UCU rector, the Rev. Gudziak, said in a recent interview in *Den*, a Ukrainian daily newspaper. He noted that the university is one of the few that thrives in an atmosphere free of corruption, in an environment that inspires the importance of professional efficacy with spiritual growth. He explained that even the idea of establishing a business school at the university was to promote practical and moral aspects of conducting business. The school intends to train professional businesspeople how to be socially responsible citizens in their daily work.

At a two-hour cocktail reception before dinner allowed guests to view more than 70 lots that were part of a silent auction and featured art work by such Ukrainian names as Anatoliy Kryvolap, Petro Lebedynets, Maryna Skuhareva and Serhiy Yakutovych, as well as the boxing gloves of Vitaliy Klitschko and Ruslana's drum/tambourine. Those invited could also take part in a lottery, which offered such wonderful prizes as a basket of French wine, cosmetics from Mary Kay, Kryvolap posters, airline ticket upgrades and other goodie baskets.

During this time, guests also had the opportunity to chat with the patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, the Apostolic Nuncio in Ukraine Ivan Jurkovic, Ukraine's First Lady Kateryna Yushchenko, Austria's Ambassador to Ukraine Josef-Marcus Wuketich, and the Rev. Gudziak – all members of the honorary committee.

At 8 p.m. guests were invited into the Grand Ballroom, where Patriarch Husar delivered the prayer and offered his own words of encouragement. Despite his age and faltering health, the patriarch enchanted the evening's guests with his unique style, which is always sprinkled with a wry sense of humor. He talked about the right way to deliver a sermon: he mentioned that the first part should outline the problem you are addressing and the third part should offer a solution. "Make sure the distance between the first and third parts of your sermon is short," he noted. Following this recipe, he said: "The Ukrainian Catholic University needs your help. Please help it," he concluded. He was greeted by a heartfelt chorus of "Mnohaya Lita" from all of the dinner attendees.

Among UCU supporters in audience was Mrs. Yushchenko, who is also the head of the supervisory board of the Ukraine 3000 Foundation. This year, as in 2008, she delivered greetings from President Viktor Yushchenko. "I applaud the spirit of ecumenism, which always prevails here, which the Catholic University promotes," she said, adding that the need for consolidation in Ukraine is great.

She continued by reflecting on the first days of Ukraine's independence, when "we all felt that Ukraine needed only a little help and it would become a strong and independent state. But years passed, and we understand that we need deeper changes. Changes in the economy or the law will not be successful, if we do not fundamentally change our spirituality,



Hryhoriy Prystaj/UCU

**The Rev. Dr. Borys Gudziak, Patriarch Lubomyr Husar, Bishop Bohdan Dziurakh and master of ceremonies Bohdan Beniuk share a lighthearted moment after the opening prayer at the banquet.**

morality, and if each citizen fails to understand their great responsibility to society. I thank the Ukrainian Catholic University, because it was one of the first to realize the importance of moral change," she concluded.

Speaking about the rebirth of the Ukrainian Catholic University – which was closed down by the Soviets in 1944, reborn in Rome under the direction of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj in 1963 and revitalized in Lviv after Ukraine's independence in 1994 – the Rev. Gudziak told the audience that 20 years ago, the university had nothing except the blessing of Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky.

Today, it has land in the center of Lviv, worth millions, a robust student community numbering more than 1,250 students, and an experienced faculty of over 100 professors, who teach philosophy, theology, history, classics, social pedagogy and modern languages. It is now licensed and accredited by the Ukrainian state and after years of lobbying, theology is now recognized as a discipline by the Ministry of Education, a major step that eradicated the years of Soviet propaganda on religion. One of the newest institutions affiliated with the UCU is a business school which has attracted the attention of people in the business community, not only in Lviv but throughout Ukraine.

And, the Ukrainian Catholic University continues its trail-blazing ways, as it is now launching a capital campaign to raise \$25 million to build the first university campus in independent Ukraine, in the center of Lviv, surrounded by Stryisky Park which will serve as a center for humanities and social sciences, providing a stimulating intellectual, religious and social environment for students, faculty and local residents.

The Rev. Gudziak said he recognizes that the challenges are immense. But he noted that in 2008 donors from Ukraine gave three times more than they did in 2007, and that despite the severe economic challenges, 2009 will not be a drop-off in this fund-raising campaign.

During the fund-raising dinner, Sean Regan of MTC-MEI, LLC, an international management and construction company that recently won the tender to construct a new Lviv airport for Euro-2012, announced that his company is willing to help with the construction of a dormitory on the new campus for special needs students attending the university.

Other special gold sponsors at the fund-raiser included the Coca-Cola Co., Squire, Sanders & Dempsey LLP, and Winner Ford. The ITT Investment Group, Salans and Ukrsostrbank, a member of the UniCredit Group, as well as the MTC-MEI LLC company mentioned above were bronze donors for the evening event. A donation of \$15,000 was made by a Lviv-based lawyer, Andriy Kostiuk, and an anonymous donation of \$20,000 was also announced at the banquet.

Of the 70 lots, 55 were sold during the silent auction by the masters of ceremonies for the evening, Bohdan Beniuk, an acclaimed actor of the Ivan Franko Theater and Shevchenko Prize laureate and Ms. Kolomayets.

Entertainment was provided by stars of the National Taras Shevchenko Opera and Ballet Theater, Mykola Shulyak and Olha Fomichova, as well as jazz pianist Volodymyr Solianyk and jazz saxophonist Ihor Rudyi. Wrapping up the evening's entertainment was the Soloma Group, winners of the 2009 Chervona Ruta competition.



Iko Labunka

**Opera singers Mykola Shulyak and Olha Fomichova perform at the banquet.**

## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

# The Holodomor and D-Day

While the Ukrainian community worldwide was marking the solemn 76th anniversary of the Holodomor – the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 in which millions of our kinsmen were murdered – we heard news that the National D-Day Memorial Foundation plans to erect a bust of Joseph Stalin, Soviet dictator from 1928 to 1953 and mastermind of the Holodomor, at the D-Day Memorial in Bedford, Va. The bust will be the fourth in a series that includes Allied leaders – busts of Winston Churchill, Harry Truman and Franklin D. Roosevelt are already on display at the memorial – all of whom opposed Nazi Germany during World War II.

Stalin is, without a doubt, the greatest mass murderer of modern times. He is responsible for the deaths of millions in the Holodomor, the executions and persecution of millions during the Great Terror, and the imprisonment, torture and deaths of millions in the Soviet gulag. That he was a situational ally of the United States during World War II – and he was an ally of Hitler before he became his enemy – does not excuse a decision to honor him at the National D-Day Memorial, a venue that Dr. William McIntosh, president of the National D-Day Memorial Foundation, calls “a sacred place.”

Dr. McIntosh argues that Stalin was crucial to the Allies’ success on D-Day. “No one was naive, Churchill, Roosevelt, that Stalin was going to be a friend; this was a temporary arrangement,” Dr. McIntosh told Virginia’s ABC 13 News. “He’s a vital part of the story, not a nice part of the story, but one of the jobs of the foundation is to preserve the lessons and legacies of D-Day.” Presumably, among those legacies is the Soviets’ decades-long subjugation of nations in Eastern Europe, the erection of the Iron Curtain and the launch of the Cold War, also the work of U.S. ally Stalin, or “Uncle Joe” as some liked to call him.

The Stalin statue has already received funding via a private donation from an individual, according to Dr. McIntosh, who would not name the donor. The memorial’s intent, he claims, is not to portray Stalin as a hero, but rather as an ally who played a part in the timing and unfolding of D-Day. In a story published by The News and Advance of Lynchburg, Va., that is reproduced on the dday.org website, Dr. McIntosh says, “He certainly was a fact of life and a major ally during the second world war ... there’s nothing about the presentation that’s going to be flattering of Stalin.”

Flattering or not, a statue of Stalin at the National D-Day Memorial is an outrage. The memorial foundation’s plan to erect the statue demeans Stalin’s victims and dishonors the true heroes of World War II. (Interestingly, a reader poll on ABC 13’s website, where 1,623 votes were cast as of the writing of this editorial, reports that 78 percent of respondents said “no” to the question “Is it fitting to have a bust of Joseph Stalin at the National D-Day Memorial?”; 22 percent said “yes.”)

We cannot let this travesty go unchallenged. We must halt this ill-conceived and unfathomable tribute to Stalin. It is imperative that we all write to: National D-Day Memorial Foundation, P.O. Box 77, Bedford, VA 24523; e-mail dday@dday.org; fax 540-586-7200; and call 540-586-3329 or 800-351-DDAY (toll-free).

Furthermore, since the D-Day Memorial is struggling financially and looking to the U.S. government to declare it a national monument under the aegis of the National Park Service, and thereby eligible for federal funding, we must get members of the House of Representatives and Senate, as well as President Barack Obama to take a stand against putting Stalin on a pedestal at a U.S. memorial.

President Obama’s statement on Ukrainian Holodomor Remembrance Day (published in last week’s issue) noted: “Seventy-six years ago, millions of innocent Ukrainians – men, women and children – starved to death as a result of the deliberate policies of the regime of Joseph Stalin.”

Could it be that, 76 years after the murder of up to 10 million during the Holodomor, Stalin will be honored – HONORED – at a memorial just outside the U.S. capital? Inconceivable!

Dec.

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2005

## Turning the pages back...

Four years ago, on December 1, 2005, Ukraine was granted market economy status by the European Union.

“Ukraine has inspired the people all over the world for the past year,” European Council President Tony Blair said at the ninth EU-Ukraine Summit. “Everybody still watches your progress and the process of change here with a lot of respect, admiration and solidarity for you.”

EU leaders hailed President Viktor Yushchenko’s government for successfully promoting economic reforms, respect for human rights and shared values of democracy. “You can rest assured that in that progress toward a shared future, the European Union and the countries like the U.K. will be your partners,” Mr. Blair said.

Mr. Yushchenko and EU leaders signed a memorandum of understanding on cooperation in the energy sector, which was to help the Ukrainian energy market as it integrates with the European Union.

Market-economy status is a sign of greater European trust in Ukraine by ensuring that the EU used Ukrainian data for trade inquiries affecting the country. The EU uses other nations’ figures to calculate levies against Ukraine. The main obstacles for granting Ukraine market economy status, the European Commission noted, were government price controls and legislation that prevented companies from going bankrupt.

European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso said Ukraine had “come a very long way in a very short time.”

“We would like to mark 2006 with a series of concrete structural reforms,” Mr. Yushchenko said at a conference of foreign investors. “We all understand that without change Ukraine cannot move forward and that goes for both the economic and social sectors.”

Source: “EU grants Ukraine market economy status,” by Yana Sedova, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, December 4, 2005.

## REPORTER’S NOTEBOOK

BY ZENON ZAWADA

KYIV PRESS BUREAU



## The Yushchenkos and the Holodomor

The presidency of Viktor Yushchenko brought unprecedented recognition to the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, both nationally and internationally. No past Ukrainian president showed any concern for this long overdue task, and no future president is likely to, for at least the next decade.

The Yushchenkos’ motivation is rooted in the tragedies their own families experienced. The president’s grandfather Ivan died in the Holodomor, while his native village of Khoruzhivka suffered 600 casualties, of which only 40 could be identified by name, President Yushchenko said in a November 2005 speech.

First Lady of Ukraine Kateryna Klava Yushchenko said she is named after two aunts, her father’s sisters, who perished as a result of the Holodomor. Kateryna died several years after contracting an illness during the Famine, while the 3-year-old Klava disappeared from a nursery during the Famine.

“To this day, we don’t know for certain whether she died from hunger, whether she was killed for food, which happened in those times, or was taken to an orphanage, where she was raised by the state – a fate met by many children of ‘kurkuls,’” she told the *Ukrayina Moloda* newspaper in an interview published on September 18.

The Yushchenkos’ most significant tangible accomplishment in Holodomor remembrance was the establishment of the Holodomor Victims Museum-Memorial Complex, just below Glory Park on Ivan Mazepa Street in Kyiv, officially unveiled for the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor in November 2008.

The museum’s first section, its Hall of Memory, was unveiled on August 24 by President Yushchenko. It features exhibitions, books and folk artifacts of that era. The museum is led by its acting director, Viktor Didenko, a member of the Institute of National Memory, which was established in 2007 by a presidential decree as a central organ of the executive government to preserve and renew Ukraine’s historical memory, with a special emphasis on the Soviet era.

Since then, more than 4,000 monuments honoring Holodomor victims have been established under President Yushchenko’s initiative, said Volodymyr Tylishchak, the director of the historical analysis department of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, increasing the total to more than 7,100.

About 500 Soviet monuments have been demolished in the last three years under President Yushchenko’s leadership as well, he said, most of them statues of Lenin.

The institute’s most significant accomplishment was last year’s publication of the first edition of the Holodomor Victims National Memory Book – the most comprehensive collection of the government decrees related to the genocide as well as names of confirmed victims, among other evidence.

The institute is currently assisting the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) in its attempt to criminally prosecute the Holodomor.

Yet, the Yushchenko era’s most significant legacy in Holodomor remembrance is

the intangible, Mr. Tylishchak said. “The people’s fear of this horrible past is overcome,” he said. “Today more than 200,000 eyewitness accounts have been gathered on the Holodomor.”

The other main achievement is that a common Ukrainian societal view has been formed on the Holodomor, as more than 70 percent of Ukrainians view the tragedy as genocide.

Under President Yushchenko’s leadership, the Verkhovna Rada finally recognized the Holodomor as genocide with legislation approved in November 2006 by the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc, Our Ukraine bloc and Socialist Party of Ukraine.

This serves as the foundation upon which Ukrainian leaders can convince other governments and international bodies, such as the United Nations, to recognize the Holodomor as genocide.

I’ll never forget attending the last public hearing held on establishing the Holodomor Victims Museum-Memorial Complex in September 2006, which was led by the chair of the National Council on Cultural and Spiritual Issues, Dr. Mykola Zhulynskyi.

A dozen or so Red Army and Communist Party veterans attended the meeting, hoping to find any possible excuse to derail efforts to establish the complex, citing environmental concerns and aesthetic criticisms, among other complaints.

Suddenly National Deputy Petro Yushchenko, the president’s brother, took to the podium and delivered an emotional testimony, revealing that indeed it was a personal matter for him and his family.

He found out that 461 residents of their native village of Khoruzhivka in the Sumy Oblast perished fighting for the Red Army in World War II, compared to “up to 1,000 souls” who died during the two years of the Holodomor, according to a 2005 estimate he learned of. “Ours killed off more of our own, more than the fascists killed,” he said, drawing retorts of outrage from the gathered Communists.

The Yushchenkos have been widely criticized for making Holodomor recognition a centerpiece of their politics, instead of more relevant matters.

“The list of countries that recognized the Holodomor or established Taras Shevchenko monuments is not supposed to be a priority of foreign policy,” said Anatoliy Grytsenko, the president’s former defense minister, who is running in the presidential election.

The wisdom of making the Holodomor a central political platform is certainly up for debate.

The Yushchenkos’ critics argue they should address the present-day genocide. The nation’s population fell by an estimated 1.2 million people during the Yushchenko presidency, about one-third of the Holodomor’s 3.2 million deaths (that’s the latest estimate from the Institute of Demography and Social Research at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine).

Yet neither I, nor anyone, should doubt that the Yushchenkos’ concern about this genocide is genuine.

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## NEWS AND VIEWS

## "Father of Genocide Convention" on Ukraine's Famine of 1932-1933

by Lubomyr Luciuk

Only seven people came to bury him. He rests beneath a simple stone in New York's Mount Hebron cemetery, the sole clue to his historical importance is an inscription incised below his name: "Father of the Genocide Convention."

As a graduate student I was obliged to read his book, "Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress," frankly more door-stopper than page-turner. Nowadays, with advocates for "humanitarian intervention" shilling the notion of a "duty to intervene" whenever and wherever necessary to "stop genocide," Dr. Raphael Lemkin's name and words are better known.

After all, he fathered the term "genocide" by combining the root words – geno (Greek for family or race) and – cidium (Latin for killing) then doggedly lobbied the United Nations' member-states until they adopted a Convention on Genocide, on December 9, 1948, his crowning achievement.

Because of the horrors committed by Nazi Germany in the second world war, what is often forgotten, however, is that Lemkin's thinking about an international law to punish perpetrators of what he originally labeled the "crime of barbarity" came not in response to the Holocaust but following the 1915 massacres of Armenians, Greeks and Assyrians within the Ottoman Turkish empire.

Likewise overlooked were Lemkin's views on Communist crimes against humanity. In a 1953 lecture in New York City, for example, he described the "destruction of the Ukrainian nation" as the "classic example of Soviet genocide," adding insightfully: "the Ukrainian is not and never has been a Russian. His culture, his temperament, his language, his religion, are all different... to eliminate (Ukrainian) nationalism... the Ukrainian peasantry was sacrificed... a famine was necessary for the Soviet and so they got one to order... if the Soviet program succeeds completely, if the intelligentsia, the priest, and the peasant can be eliminated [then] Ukraine will be as dead as if every Ukrainian were killed, for it will have lost that part of it which has kept and developed its culture, its beliefs, its common ideas, which have guided it and

*Prof. Lubomyr Luciuk teaches political geography at the Royal Military College of Canada and edited Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine (Kashtan Press, 2008).*

given it a soul, which, in short, made it a nation... This is not simply a case of mass murder. It is a case of genocide, of the destruction, not of individuals only, but of a culture and a nation."

Yet Ukraine's declaration that the Great Famine of 1932-1933 – known as the Holodomor – was genocide has secured very little official recognition from other states. Canada is one of those few. Most have succumbed to an ongoing Holodomor-denial campaign orchestrated by the Russian Federation's barkers who insist famine occurred throughout the USSR in the 1930s, did not target Ukrainians and so can't be called genocide.

They ignore key evidence – the fact that all foodstuffs were confiscated from Soviet Ukraine even as its borders were blockaded, preventing relief supplies from getting in, or anyone from getting out. And how the Kremlin's men denied the existence of catastrophic famine conditions as Ukrainian grain was exported to the West. Millions could have been saved but were instead allowed to starve. Most victims were Ukrainians who perished on Ukrainian lands. There's no denying that.

A thirst for Siberian oil and gas explains why Germany, France and Italy have become Moscow's handmaidens, refusing to acknowledge the Holodomor and blocking Ukraine's membership in the European Union, kowtowing to Russia's geopolitical claim of having some "right" to interfere in the affairs of countries in its so-called "near abroad."

More puzzling was a January 28, 2009, pronouncement by Pinhas Avivi, deputy director-general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry: "We regard the Holodomor as a tragedy but in no case do we call it genocide... the Holocaust is the only genocide to us." Yet if only the Shoah is genocide, what happened to the Armenians, or to the Rwandans, not to mention to those many millions of Ukrainians?

This year November 28 is the date on which the Holodomor's victims will be hallowed. Thousands of postcards bearing Lemkin's image and citing his words have been mailed to ambassadors worldwide, with governments from Belgium to Botswana, from Brazil to Bhutan, being asked to acknowledge what was arguably the greatest crime against humanity to befoul 20th century European history.

There is no doubt that Lemkin knew the Famine in Soviet Ukraine was genocidal. If the world chooses to ignore what he said, then what this good man fathered – the word "genocide" – will lose all meaning, forevermore.

## COMMENTARY

## Treat Ukraine as a European democracy

by William Courtney and Denis Corboy

*Ukraine faces considerable economic challenges, but democracy is becoming stronger. The upcoming presidential elections could, however, result in more authoritarian politics, which would lessen Western support and increase its vulnerability to Russian coercion. Ukrainian ties with the European Union and America are vital, warn William Courtney and Denis Corboy.*

### Presidential elections

As Ukraine advances to likely free and fair presidential elections in early 2010, it is becoming a stronger democracy and further escaping Russia's trajectory. Ukraine should be treated as a European democracy. How the EU treats populous and strategically located Ukraine is important to the future of Europe. This reality must be faced, not mishandled as in the case of Turkey.

Democratic development in Ukraine is gradual but steady. Ukraine is reinforcing a recent record of free and fair elections and allowing open debate. TV networks are more open to opposing views than, for example, those in Russia or Italy.

The main candidates for president are running as centrists, not as pro-Russian or pro-Western extremists. Five years ago Moscow endorsed Viktor Yanukovich, a kiss of death in parts of Ukraine. He lost an election after the peaceful Orange Revolution. Now Mr. Yanukovich touts nonalignment and trade with Europe. Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko occupies center ground between Mr. Yanukovich and the vocally pro-Western president, Viktor Yushchenko. Mr. Yanukovich and Ms. Tymoshenko will likely be the top vote-getters in January's elections and face each other in a February run-off.

Despite leadership squabbling and frequent central governmental gridlock, Ukraine remains politically stable and socially tolerant. Although Mr. Yushchenko has approval ratings well under 10 percent, Ukrainians are patiently waiting and preparing for scheduled presidential elections. A comparably unpopular leader in Russia might have confronted a palace coup, as did Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev in 1991. Or in Georgia, faced peaceful street demonstrations and been forced to resign early, as did President Eduard Shevardnadze in 2003.

### Economic challenges

Beyond recovering from the severe downturn, Ukraine faces major economic challenges. Agricultural land, the richest black earth region on the continent, is not yet fully privatized. Domestic energy prices are far below international levels, incentivizing huge waste. Stifling corruption is an economic deadweight. In the 2009 Transparency International index of corruption perceptions – in which 1 is

"not corrupt" and 5, "extremely corrupt" – Ukraine registers 4.3, higher than, for example, Russia's 3.9 or Italy's 3.7.

Nonetheless, Ukraine has a basis for progress. As Anders Aslund points out in his insightful new book, "How Ukraine Became a Market Economy and Democracy," Ukrainian prices and trade are mostly free. From 2000 to 2007 GDP in current dollars grew by an average of 24 percent per year. This surge is owed largely to private enterprise, which accounts for over three-fifths of output.

Ukraine's urgent need is to restrain government spending in return for more IMF support to help it recover from the downturn. Unfortunately, the Parliament recently passed and President Yushchenko signed a fiscally irresponsible bill mandating increases in minimum wages and pensions. This step puts at risk the next tranche of a much-needed IMF loan for Ukraine.

### Democratic transition

Ukraine's democratic transition will face continued pressure. A recent 14-nation survey of Central and Eastern European countries by the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project found that Ukraine was the only country where more respondents disapproved than approved of the transition to a multiparty system and market economy. In 1991 72 percent of Ukrainians approved of the change to democracy, whereas only 30 percent now approve.

Thus, the presidential election may be a vital inflexion point for Ukraine's future. If the next president and Parliament cooperate to accelerate reform, Ukraine will become a stronger democracy and an engine of sustained economic growth. If not, Ukraine could succumb to authoritarian politics. This would make the diverse country more unstable and leave it twisting in the wind with less Western support and more vulnerable to Russian coercion.

Ukrainians are divided about joining NATO but united in wanting to be Europeans. The industrialized east has nearly 10 million ethnic Russians but they have never voted to secede or join with Russia. Most have family ties there but seem to prefer a freer Ukraine.

Ukraine is developing a promising regional support network. It sold weapons to Georgia when Russia threatened. Ukraine has become the unofficial leader of six countries negotiating with the EU on its Eastern Partnership. The others are Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia and Moldova.

Ukraine is widening the democracy gap with Russia. It is also outpacing Georgia, to which it has been linked as a reforming once-Soviet country. Backsliding on media freedom and arbitrary executive power in Georgia should cause NATO and the EU to decouple the two countries in consideration for membership.

### NATO and the EU

What does treating Ukraine as a European democracy mean in practice?

First, the EU ought to offer Ukraine a credible roadmap for eventual admission and complete promising negotiations on a meaningful free trade pact under the Association agreement. Not giving Ukraine a clear message for the future destabilizes its internal politics. In two decades its economy may be one of the largest in the EU, which is Ukraine's largest trading partner and donor.

(Continued on page 22)

## Quotable notes

"Five years ago this month, an orange sea of Ukrainians flooded the streets of Kiev [sic]. Protesting the attempt of then-President Leonid Kuchma's administrative machine to falsify election results, they demanded the right to choose their country's leader. They demonstrated to the world their desire for freedom, justice, and democracy. They brought new leadership to power but it failed to deliver most of the promises given to the people on the frozen maidan. Disillusioned and discouraged, Ukrainians are coming to the polls once again this January. ...

"Over the past five years, the people's desire to see political leaders held accountable for their wrongdoings remains unfulfilled. The promise of justice, which became the mantra of the Orange Revolution, was betrayed in its aftermath. ...

"From a once promising democratic leader in the region, Ukraine has transformed into an example of disenchantment for the democratic and civil society activists in neighboring countries. ..."

– Myroslava Gongadze, widow of slain Ukrainian journalist Heorhii Gongadze, writing in the Wall Street Journal, Opinion Europe, November 23, in an article headlined "Ukraine: A Democracy at Risk."

*William Courtney was U.S. ambassador to Kazakhstan and Georgia, and senior director of the U.S. National Security Council staff for Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia. Denis Corboy is director of the Caucasus Policy Institute at Kings College London and was European Commission ambassador to Georgia and Armenia. (This article is published by Messrs. Courtney and Corboy, and open-Democracy.net under a Creative Commons license. (It is reprinted here with permission.)*

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## Election notebook...

(Continued from page 1)

reporters in Kyiv.

The questions were discovered by STB television reporter Serhii Andrushko, who noticed some on the list were identical to those posed by reporters. Meanwhile, the response of PRU National Deputy Hanna Herman confirmed that politicians lie, even when the evidence is staring them in the face.

"Journalists ask those questions that interest them," said Ms. Herman, a member of the Verkhovna Rada's Committee on Freedom of Speech. "I'm not used to such work. You were present - we don't screen questions."

During the session, Mr. Yanukovich said of his alleged past criminal convictions: "I was questioned, but I didn't understand what I could have done."

The press staff of President Yushchenko, led by Iryna Vannykova, also has developed a reputation for ignoring, restricting and screening reporters' questions.

\*\*\*

Ukraine's political observers are already spinning their scenarios for the second-round run-off, scheduled for February 7, which is likely to involve Prime Minister Tymoshenko and opposition leader Mr. Yanukovich.

These top two contenders could reach a power-sharing agreement, said Volodymyr Fesenko, board chairman of the Penta Center for Applied Political Research in Kyiv, which is financed by Ukrainian clients. "At the finish, a conflict over who's the winner is awaiting us and there are already scenarios of how to divide power," Mr. Fesenko said back on September 4. He outlined a hypothetical scenario in which Mr. Yanukovich is declared the winner amidst doubts.

After Ms. Tymoshenko appeals in the courts, they reach a deal in which she becomes prime minister and he becomes president.

While vote-buying is the expected fraud in the first round, scheduled for January 17, judicial fraud may pose trouble for the second round, Mr. Fesenko said on November 23.

Disruption in voting or tallying is possible too, he said, as well as canceling results for fraud in various precincts and districts.

Prime Minister Tymoshenko could resort to using her control of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) and Internal Affairs Ministry (the state police) to suppress any attempt to undermine her claims to victory, said Dr. Oleh Soskin, director of the Institute of Society Transformation in Kyiv.

"Why did she save him from the burning at the stake in Germany?" he said on September 10, referring to Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Lutsenko's drunken arrest at Frankfurt airport in May.

Dr. Soskin offered another scenario on November 11, saying that it is possible neither Ms. Tymoshenko nor Mr. Yanukovich would acknowledge the other's victory, creating a power vacuum in

which President Yushchenko would claim the right to remain as president.

The Yushchenko-remaining-as-president theory has also been offered by Kostiantyn Matviyenko, an expert at the Hardarika strategic consulting corporation. He doesn't expect any compromise between the front-runners.

"Either the first-round results won't be established, thanks to many technical and legal acts which are possible in this situation, or the results of the second round won't be established," he said. "Yushchenko remains as president, because there isn't a new president, Tymoshenko remains as prime minister and Yanukovich remains the opposition leader."

\*\*\*

Prime Minister Tymoshenko thinks that joining Russian Federation President Vladimir Putin in mocking President Yushchenko will score her points with the electorate.

Mr. Putin ridiculed Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili and President Yushchenko at a joint press conference with Ms. Tymoshenko on November 20 in Yalta, after they signed a protocol at the fifth session of the economic cooperation committee of the Ukraine-Russia Intergovernmental Commission.

"The fighters recalled past days and battles they lost together," Mr. Putin said to a Russian press corps that erupted in laughter.

He recommended they eat with ties, referring to the Internet video that captured President Saakashvili chewing his own tie while speaking on the telephone. "Ties are expensive now, ... , well you understand me," the Russian prime minister said. "Yushchenko's guest will devour a tie as well."

That was Ms. Tymoshenko's cue.

"Vladimir Vladimirovich, I can certainly have dinner without a tie," Ms. Tymoshenko chimed in, giggling.

President Yushchenko wasn't amused, telling reporters four days later, "If you didn't understand the tone of the news, if that didn't degrade you, then I have nothing to add."

It's not the first time Ms. Tymoshenko joined Mr. Putin in mocking the Ukrainian president, which has become a source of bonding between the two.

Mr. Putin ridiculed President Yushchenko at a joint press conference with Ms. Tymoshenko on October 3 at the Novo-Ogarevo residence in suburban Moscow, following lengthy talks that set the framework for the 2009 natural gas agreement between the two countries.

"In my view, this looks simply funny, comical," he said of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) investigation launched against the prime minister for treason. That remark drew giggles from Ms. Tymoshenko, encouraging Mr. Putin further.

"When I first heard in the mass media that our guest today is accused of poisoning President Yushchenko... That's simply some kind of wax exhibit already! Simply funny! But likely, it would have been truly funny, if it weren't so sad."



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## COMMENTARY

**Holodomor: Metagenocide in Ukraine, its origins and why it's not over**

by Peter Borisow

**Part II**

In 1933 the United States and Europe were struggling to get out of a depression, and there was little interest in trying to come to grips with such massive slaughter, especially as the Holodomor was so far away and the Russian propaganda machine was working overtime to deflect and deny.

Even The New York Times denied there was anything amiss in Ukraine. Their reporter in Moscow, Walter Duranty, a voracious pervert whom Stalin rewarded with drugs and sex, even won a Pulitzer Prize. To this day, The New York Times infamously refuses to return Duranty's "blood-soaked" Pulitzer.

1933 was also the year President Franklin D. Roosevelt formally recognized the USSR. Persuaded by the likes of Armand Hammer (capitalist friend of Lenin; his Odesa-born father, Julius, founded the American Communist Party in 1919) and Averell Harriman (whose banking and shipping interests wanted open trade with Russia), Roosevelt knowingly turned a blind eye to the Holodomor.

Once again, the profit motive prevailed as businessmen from the United States, Britain and other European countries eagerly, greedily and without conscience traded the food seized from the starving Ukrainians as well as the gold, icons and anything else Russia plundered from Ukraine.

Then World War II broke out, and suddenly there was not just a new enemy – Germany, but the old enemy – Russia – just as suddenly became an ally. Much of the food that had been seized from starving Ukrainians during the genocide of 1932-1933 had been sold to the West, and that hard currency was used to build and arm Russia's huge military.

With the USSR's immense and well-

*Peter Borisow is the son of Ukrainians whose families were killed between 1921 and 1933 and who emigrated to the United States after World War II. He is a graduate of New York University (where he majored in history), and his career has spanned the arts as well as trade and finance. He is the president of a privately held firm specializing in analysis and management of risk in film finance. He is also the president of the Hollywood Trident Foundation, which promotes Ukraine and Ukrainians in the film industry and supports films about Ukrainian subjects.*

*Mr. Borisow is also a member of the board of directors of the Center for U.S.-Ukrainian Relations in New York. He travels frequently to Ukraine and is an advisor to the head of the Film Department at the Ministry of Culture. He is active in Holodomor recognition and education.*

*The article above is reprinted, with the author's permission from Canadian American Slavic Studies, Vol. 42, No. 3, (Fall 2008). Idyllwild, Calif.: Charles Schlacks, Publisher.*

armed forces, Stalin became a "partner" of the U.S. and Europe in the war against Hitler. Since Stalin won the war, he could write history as he wished. No one was going to suggest that he and Lazar Kaganovich be hanged together with others who were guilty of "genocide" (by then a new word had been coined to describe this kind of slaughter.)

It was not until after the war, in 1946, when Soviet defector Victor Kravchenko published "I Chose Freedom," in which he writes about the Holodomor and Stalin's many other atrocities, that anyone besides Ukrainian émigrés spoke up about it.

When the French Communist Party denounced the book as nothing but lies, Kravchenko sued them for slander in what was billed in the world press as "The Trial of the Century." Kravchenko faced down Russian propagandists and high officials, and even his ex-wife, as he marched in his 30 survivor witnesses. He won, thereby forever changing how the world looks at Stalin and Russia.

**Russia's centuries of conquest**

While the Holodomor marked the height of Russian genocide against Ukrainians, it was by no means an isolated event. Under Russian rule, Ukrainians were subjected to tyranny that went beyond traditional interpretations of genocide, to what this author terms "metagenocide"<sup>1</sup> – long-term ongoing genocide systematically targeting for destruction not just a group of people but also all that defines them as that group. The goal is not just to deny the group's right to exist, but to deny that it ever existed as a nation in the first place, to wipe it from humanity's collective memory.

Russia's metagenocide in Ukraine was pervasive, calculated, insidious and covert. It was at times incremental, at times opportunistic, but never lost sight of its ultimate goal – to eliminate, once and for all, all things Ukrainian and leave unchallenged Russia's claim that all those things were and are really Russian.

It combined the worst aspects of classic genocide with long-term intentional ethnocide. Russia's metagenocide in Ukraine targeted not only Ukrainian persons, but also the Ukrainian language, culture, history, Churches, traditions and all else that contributes to defining Ukrainians as Ukrainians and not as just another subset of Russians.

Russian destruction of the Ukrainian people systematically targeted first one segment of the Ukrainian population and then another, with the ultimate goal of eliminating them all. The killing of Ukrainians who insisted on being Ukrainians lasted throughout the 20th century and for some, into the 21st.

Before World War II, several waves of killing destroyed the bulk of the Ukrainian nation's leadership class. Ukrainian civil authority was eliminated during and after the revolution (1918-1921). The Ukrainian clergy and Churches were eliminated in the early 1930s, leaving only a handful of Moscow Patriarchate-affiliated churches controlled

by the Russian secret police.

The destruction of the intelligentsia, begun in earnest in 1929 with the destruction of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, peaked in the late 1930s as the remaining survivors were executed or exiled, with Ukraine's premier historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky being among the last to fall. The Holodomor was designed to destroy the Ukrainian peasant class, the roots of Ukrainian national identity. Ukrainian nationalist leaders abroad were also assassinated, including Symon Petliura (Paris, 1926) and Yevhen Konovalts (Rotterdam, 1938).

Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 and the subsequent obliteration of Ukraine's western border created the opportunity for Russia to extend its rule and anti-Ukrainian state terrorism into western Ukraine (until then under Polish rule). Ironically, Ukrainians were perhaps the only major nationality that got it right in World War II.

To Ukrainians, the Nazis and the Communists were equally evil – two sides of the same fascist coin. Wanting only their own freedom, Ukrainians fought both the Germans and the Russians, and paid the ultimate price when Germany was defeated but Russia was not. As a victor and partner of the Allies, Russia was allowed to take control of all of Ukraine.

Instead of peace, the end of World War II brought continued death and destruction to Ukraine and Ukrainians. In 1946 the Ukrainian Catholic Church, predominant in western Ukraine, was closed, its property was seized, its churches demolished and its clergy killed or exiled to Siberia. In 1947 Russia inflicted another massive slaughter by starvation on Ukrainians, as more than a million died when their food was once again seized and shipped out to feed Russians and their newly acquired satellite states in Eastern Europe.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which had fought both Hitler and Stalin during World War II, continued to fight Russian forces in Ukraine into the 1950s, when its leader, Gen. Roman Shukhevych, was killed in a shootout with Russian forces near Lviv. The struggle against Ukrainian nationalists abroad also continued with the assassinations of Ukrainian leaders, notably Lev Rebet (1957) and Stefan Bandera (1959), both of whom were killed in Munich by the same self-confessed KGB assassin.<sup>2</sup>

Having lost perhaps half their population to genocide, terror, slaughter and war, for a while Ukrainians were too weak to resist. Russia used this period to consolidate control over all details of everyday life in Ukraine, while implementing a broadly based program of ethnocide to de-Ukrainianize Ukraine and try yet again to make it just another part of Russia.

In the 1960s and 1970s numerous Ukrainian intellectuals, writers, artists and cultural figures were arrested and exiled to Siberia. Songwriter Volodymyr Ivasiuk was murdered in 1979 in an effort to stop a nationalist resurgence, in popular music. At the same time, the archives

were purged of much damning evidence, and crucial historical and cultural materials were transferred as Russia sought to rewrite history to suit its propaganda purposes. Once again, it all proved to be only a temporary solution.

**U.S. Commission on Famine**

In anticipation of the 50th anniversary commemorations of the Holodomor by the Ukrainian diaspora, publications began appearing about the Holodomor, including testimonies by surviving eyewitnesses. In 1984 the American historian James Mace began compiling oral histories of the Holodomor in the United States and Canada.

This led to the creation by the U.S. Congress of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine with Dr. Mace as staff director. The commission's landmark Report to Congress in 1988<sup>3</sup> concluded, "Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-33."<sup>4</sup>

In 1984, spurred by such allegations, Leonid Kravchuk, who was then senior ideologue of the Communist Party of Ukraine, began reviewing secret archival material on the Holodomor, at first seeking to dispel what he and other party leaders believed to be anti-Communist propaganda. After examining 1,500 photographs and other documents, the evidence was so overwhelming that he concluded it was all true.

He wrote, "The faces of the children killed by starvation appeared constantly before my eyes. My conscience began to bother me as I came to understand that I was a member of an organization that could rightfully be called criminal."<sup>5</sup>

The truth about the Holodomor had been suppressed so effectively and for so long that few people, not even the leaders of the CPU, which ran Ukraine, knew much about it. For over half a century no one had spoken of it. Survivors had been terrorized into silence, and those who did dare to speak out were either executed or exiled to Siberia. Those born after World War II knew virtually nothing. The greatest crime of the 20th century had become its greatest secret.

Despite strong opposition from other senior party members, in 1990 Volodymyr Ivashko, the new head of the Communist Party of Ukraine, ordered the first publication in Ukraine on the Holodomor,<sup>6</sup> that contained 350 photographs (with the "most terrifying" excluded.)<sup>7</sup> That same year Oles Yanchuk, a young Ukrainian filmmaker, received government funds to make "Famine 33," a feature-length movie about the Holodomor.<sup>8</sup>

The 1986 disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power station had already highlighted Russia's arrogance and wanton disdain for Ukrainian life. Revelations about the Holodomor made it much worse. Long-simmering resentment of Russian rule came to a head in 1990 as Ukraine, taking advantage of the decrepit state of the USSR and an impotent Mikhail Gorbachev at the helm, declared its sovereignty.

A year later, Ukraine declared its full independence. Mr. Kravchuk became its first president. The night before the referendum on independence for Ukraine, Mr.

(Continued on page 24)

1. Oxford English Dictionary (online) definition: Meta-, prefix: A1. Denoting change, transformation, permutation or substitution; A2. "with sense 'beyond, above, at a higher level'." 2. Bohdan Nahaylo, "The Ukrainian Resurgence" (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 23. 3. Report to Congress, Commission on the Ukraine Famine (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1988).

4. Ibid., p. xxiii.

5. Leonid Kravchuk, "We Have What We Have: Memories and Thoughts" (Kyiv: Stolittia, 2002), pp. 44-46. Kravchuk stated that in the 1980s he viewed some 1,500 photographs of the Holodomor and that the most horrific ones were not published in Pyrih's Holod 1932-33. In 2008, when the former president of Ukraine was asked by a reporter (Stefan Bandera, Kyiv, Ukraine) what happened to those photographs,

he replied they were in the archives. Neither the author nor anyone known to him has been able to establish which photographs Kravchuk saw or if they still exist today and, if so, where they are stored.

6. "Holod 1932-1933 na Ukraini: ochyma istorykiv, movoiu dokumentiv" [The Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine: Through the Eyes of Historians, the Language of Documents], ed. and comp. Yaroslav Pyrih (Kyiv: Polityvdav

Ukrainy, 1990).

7. Ibid. This is a fairly rare publication, as many printed copies were destroyed prior to distribution. Known surviving copies of the book contain numerous documents, but no photographs. See also footnote 5.

8. "Famine 33" [Genocide 33], Studio Fest Zemlia, Kyiv, Ukraine, 1990; producer and director: Oles Yanchuk, 35 mm feature, 90 min., b/w with some color.

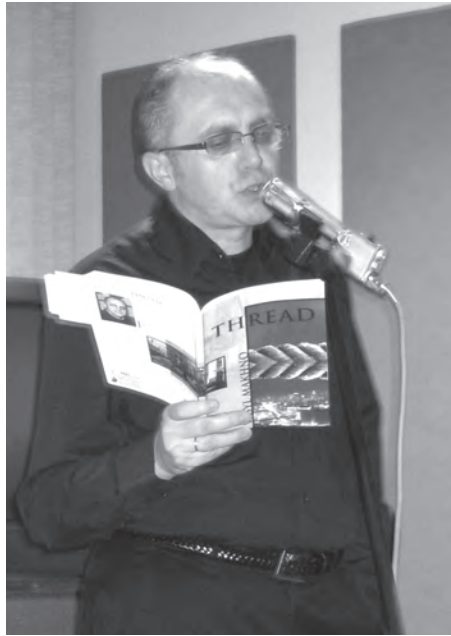
## Vasyl Makhno poetry reading held at the Shevchenko Society

NEW YORK – A recently published bilingual book of poetry by Vasyl Makhno (Ukrainian) and translator Orest Popovych (English) was presented at the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) before a packed house on October 24.

Vasyl Makhno, a Ukrainian poet who has been living in New York since 2000 and has published seven collections of poetry previously, read 10 poems from the new collection "Thread" in Ukrainian, while Dr. Popovych, the president of NTSh, read the same poems in his own English translation. Prof. Alexander Motyl, moderator of the event, commented in his introductory remarks that two entirely dissimilar people worked together to produce this marvelous collection.

Although Prof. Makhno noted that the poems in the program were not about New York, but written in New York, many of them still had images of urban landscapes of Brooklyn and Manhattan. His poetry, written in free verse, is dense, symbolic, full of philosophical musings and unexpected humor.

In the words of Askold Melnyczuk, which appear on the back cover of the book, "Makhno sweeps through the unreal city of immigrant dreams and resident nightmares and gathers it all into poems at once compassionate, witty and saturated with life." Prof. Makhno recites well



At the Shevchenko Scientific Society (from left): Vasyl Makhno, Orest Popovych and Mindl Rinkevitsch read "Brooklyn Elegy" in Ukrainian, English and Yiddish, respectively.

without any pathos.

Dr. Popovych's translations are adept and his readings are peppered with amusing anecdotes. "Popovych attentively listens not only to the words but also to the melody and the spirit of these poems," stresses Prof. Bohdan Rubchak in his introductory blurb in the book.

The last poem in the program,

"Brooklyn Elegy," was also recited by an unscheduled guest, Mindl Rinkevitsch, in her own Yiddish translation.

Dr. Vasyl Lopukh produced an engaging video-film of images pertaining to the content of the poems, with background music, and this enhanced the pleasure of listening to the spoken word.

"Thread and Selected New York

Poems" was published by Spuyten Duyvil, (New York, 2009). It may be ordered at: [http://www.amazon.com/Thread-Selected-New-York-Poems/dp/0923389792/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?ie=UTF8&s=books&qid=1256842268&sr=8-1](http://www.amazon.com/Thread-Selected-New-York-Poems/dp/0923389792/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&s=books&qid=1256842268&sr=8-1) or <http://www.spdbooks.org/Product/9780923389796/thread-and-selected-new-york-poems.aspx>.

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## Fifth anniversary...

(Continued from page 1)

usurpation of government attempted by candidate Viktor Yanukovich and his campaign staff led by Serhii Tihipko and Andrii Kliuyev.

With every passing year since the Orange Revolution began the night of November 21, 2004, the maidan crowd to celebrate the anniversary has dwindled exponentially, rendering irrelevant President Yushchenko's declared national holiday that few Ukrainians care to recognize.

By 2009, the Freedom Day commemoration on the maidan was farcical. Andrii Avramenko, a member of the Ukrainian Kozaks, belted a song he wrote "about love and the maidan" into the microphone, offering some barely comprehensible words garbled by his semi-drunkenness.

In his encore performance 20 minutes later, he attempted the Ukrainian pop classic "Chernova Ruta" (Red Rue), not having much improved his singing by then.

When asked what had changed in the last five years in Ukraine, he answered straight to the point: "Nothing."

The maidan commemoration's peak attendance was reached earlier that day, boosted not by Orange supporters or those nostalgic, but by the hundreds of Ukrainians participating in the weekly "March of the Disappointed" along the capital's main boulevard, the Khreshchatyk.

The campaign event was indeed paid for with government money, as are the daily political ads on national radio promoting President Yushchenko's draft Constitution.

In another display of abuse of "administrators," or government resources, the president awarded Order of Freedom medals to his most loyal allies who hadn't jumped ship for the Yulia Tymoshenko campaign bandwagon.

Among them were former People's Rukh of Ukraine Lviv Oblast Organization Chair Yaroslav Kendzior, Ivano-Frankivsk State Oblast Administration Chair Roman Tkach and National Deputy of Ukraine Ivan Stoiko, all of whom were evicted from the Rukh party for their loyalty to President Yushchenko.

Others awarded were Soviet-era dissidents Mykola Horbal and Vasyl Ovsienko and Atena Pashko, the widow of legendary Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil.

The most applause was reserved for Viacheslav Kyrylenko, the leader of the Za Ukrayinu! (For Ukraine!) parliamentary group and civic movement who is viewed by many observers as the top candidate to lead Ukraine's pro-Western, national-democrat movement in the future.

Among the pop music stars loyal to President Yushchenko were Mandry and its leader singer Foma, Plach Yermiyi and its lead singer Taras Chubai, Tartak and its lead singer Oleksander Polozhynskiy, Komu Vnyz and its lead singer Andrii Sereda, Our Ukraine National Deputy Oksana Bilozir, Maria Burmaka and Lviv a cappella legends Pikkardiiska Tertsya.

The event was ushered in with video footage from the Orange Revolution (with Ms. Tymoshenko and her allies noticeably absent from the excerpts) and fake snowfall that fell upon the spectators.

Among them were the president's most loyal allies – Presidential Secretariat Chair Vira Ulianchenko, Vice Prime Minister for Humanitarian Affairs Ivan Vasiunyk, Campaign Chair Ihor Tarasiuk, National Security and Defense Council First Vice-Chair Volodymyr Ohryzko, Security Service of Ukraine Chair Valentyn Nalyvaichenko, National Deputy Lilia Hryhorovych and former Defense Minister Yuri Yekhanurov.

In his remarks, President Yushchenko attempted to highlight whatever accomplishments he could claim from his presidency and to dump failures on his political enemies. He took his standard jabs at Ms. Tymoshenko, the target of intense rage, criticism and denigration throughout his presidency.

"I hope – I want to place great meaning in these words – that 'she' doesn't win," he said, hinting at the prime minister's "She" campaign advertising theme this year. "I don't know what you have in mind, but what I have in mind is that 'she' is the crisis. The crisis of morals, the crisis of spirit. That corruption, that way, that rule is supposed to be thrown to oblivion with your hands. Honestly, deservedly."

# Virsky Ukrainian dance company wows audiences in New York

by Helen Smindak

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

NEW YORK – They came, as before, the men with bold strides, breathtaking leaps and jumps and ballooning sharavary, the women with dainty footwork, endless pirouettes and swirling multicolored ribbons, painting a colorful canvas of folk life in Ukraine.

They were, like no others, the exciting performers of the celebrated, globe-trotting Virsky Ukrainian National Dance Company of Kyiv, on another tour of the United States.

Here in New York, they displayed their professional prowess in mid-November in three boroughs – at the Lehman Center for the Performing Arts in the Bronx, Queensborough Community College on the north shore of Queens, and at a community center in Brooklyn's Ukrainian/Russian enclave.

As before, they captivated their audiences.

At Queensborough College, where this writer had the pleasure of watching the production, the program moved almost without pause from the jubilant welcome dance, with its stately offering of bread and salt, through dramatic, balletic and hilarious numbers to the glorious finale – the spectacular "Hopak" dance that is the pinnacle of Ukrainian folk dance artistry.

Vibrant costumes representing various regions of Ukraine – Poltava, Hutsulshyna, Lemkivshyna and Bukovyna, worn by company members in the welcoming dance, contributed to the overall brilliance and diversity of the show. The majority of the dances were choreographed by the late Pavlo Virsky, founder of the Virsky dance company.

The lack of live orchestral music and the absence of decorative stage backgrounds that accompany Virsky appearances at home did not appear to be a detriment to the performance.

The men had a chance to strut their stuff and try to outdo one another in "Povzunets," a dance performed in a squatting position for almost the entire number – an amazing feat when one considers how difficult it is to remain motionless while squatting, much less dancing. Another hilarious number focused on six would-be "shevchyky" (cobblers) learning from a senior shoemaker how to make shoes and to acquire respect for the profession.

Still more humor emerged as two elderly Kozaks with handlebar mustaches removed their coats and engaged in some flashing sword play. Black Sea Fleet sailors on shore leave, dressed in jaunty middy blouses, dark pants and visored caps, performed high-kicking maneuvers in "Moriaky."

"Chumak Joy" brought to life the adventures of four "Chumaky," (itinerant traders) forced by poverty to find a living in another part of the country, who learn to appreciate such small joys as a new pair of boots, only



Columbia Artists

The Virsky dance company greets the audience with the traditional Ukrainian welcome of bread and salt on an embroidered ritual cloth.

to find that the sole of one boot has been worn out by their dancing.

Whatever the theme of the dance, the company's male dancers were in their prime while executing acrobatic "prysidky," performing daring feats that included touching toes in midair, doing no-hands cartwheels in rapid succession around the stage, spinning in squat position on one toe like a whirling top – or spinning upside down on the top of their heads.

In their own way, the women were equally brilliant, performing gracefully in the lyrical round dance "Verbychenka" while carrying weeping willow branches and eventually shaping themselves and the willow branches into a willow tree. In a dynamic "Kozachok," a group of women in brightly-colored pleated skirts skimmed across the stage in a series of ballet movements, looking for all the world like flowers in full bloom.

## A Kozak triumph

Drama and history merged as a multitude of Kozaks, attired in red tunics and sharavary, with tasseled black toques on their heads, marched boldly on stage bearing 10-foot long lances with metal spearheads and proceeded to display the precision and formidable art of Zaporizhian Kozak drills. Moving in synchronized formations to the beat of a drum and commands shouted by a drill sergeant, the Kozaks responded with rallying cries as they struck the blunt end of their lances to the floor simultaneously with a loud thud.

The number was one of several that prompted whistles, shouts of "bravo" and wild applause from the audience. Other dances inspired viewers (many of them no doubt recalling earlier days in amateur Ukrainian dance groups) to clap hands in unison to the beat of the music.

The blare of trembity, the long wooden horns used by Carpathian Mountain people, signalled a gathering of youths on a mountain plateau, presenting an ethnographic illustration of picturesque costumes, rites and customs of the Hutsul, Bukovyna and Zakarpattia regions of the Carpathians. Drawing special interest were the feather headdresses of Bukovynian women, the embroidered, pompom-decorated wool jackets of their male counterparts and the dancers' whimsical head bobbing.

As one folk dance buff was quick to point out at the conclusion of the program, the show was not without defects – a few costume colors were garish, as in the chartreuse sharavary worn by several male dancers in the welcome dance. Another concert-goer remarked that the accordion music accompanying a few dances recalled Soviet-era musical accompaniment.

A devoted Virsky fan countered with the argument that minor shortcomings should be taken with a grain of salt for the sake of overall enjoyment, adding that "the excitement and intensity of the program pleases us [Ukrainians]; other people are impressed with the beauty and grace of Ukrainian folk dancing."

When the entire company burst onto the stage in the high-spirited "Hopak," there were absolutely no critics – everyone was caught up in the intoxicating sights and sounds of Ukrainian folk dancing at its zenith. Intricate choreographic formations by the company, balletic movements and numerous bravura solo performances by the company's men and women wound up in a rip-roaring maelstrom of color and movement.

## Training begins at age 6

Learning to be a professional Ukrainian



Myroslav Vantukh, the Virsky dance company's general and artistic director.

dancer begins at 6 years of age at the Children's Choreographic School in Kyiv, according to Myroslav Vantukh, who is both general director and artistic director of the Virsky dance company. At 10 years of age, students take dance exams, and only the best move on to the next caliber; from 10 to 14 years of age, they continue to train rigorously, then take another series of exams.

Mr. Vantukh told me that the best students/dancers move on to the Virsky School of Dance, taking a final dance exam (audition) at 18. Typically, there are about 50 people who take the exam, but fewer than 10 are accepted into the Virsky company.

He said anyone can join the school at age 6, but they must train "with passion" if they want to dance professionally. Although some dancers start after age 6 and audition later, they can do so "only if they are in very good shape and have very strong dance skills."

(Continued on page 22)



Kozaks show their mettle in warfare rituals.



A high-flying Virsky dancer soars above the company.

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# Patriarch Filaret visits Kyiv Patriarchate parishes in the U.S.

by the Rev. Victor Poliarny

BLOOMINGDALE, Ill. – The primate of the National Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kyiv Patriarchate – His Holiness Patriarch of Kyiv and all Rus-Ukraine Filaret – on the invitation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church parishes of the Kyiv Patriarchate in the U.S.A., arrived in Chicago on Friday, October 23.

In the Metropolitan Chicago area and surrounding suburbs there are four parishes that are part of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate: St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Bloomingdale, Holy Protectress (Pokrova) in Chicago, St. Nicholas in Homewood and St. Sophia in Chicago.

The Consul General of Ukraine in Chicago, Kostiantyn Kudryk, met Patriarch Filaret and his delegation, including Archimandrite Epifany and Dr. Dmytro Stepovyk.

Upon the patriarchs's arrival at the Eaglewood Resort in Itasca, Ill., choir members from St. Andrew under the direction of Dr. Vasil Truchly greeted him with the traditional "Eis Polla Eti Despota." The president of the executive board of St. Andrew Parish, John Jaresko, in the company of several representatives of various religious and political organizations, greeted Patriarch Filaret with the traditional bread and salt.

The pastor of St. Andrew Parish and secretary of the Vicariate, the Rev. Victor Poliarny – in the name of the entire Ukrainian community and vicariate of the Kyivan Patriarchate in the U.S. and Canada – welcomed Patriarch Filaret with best wishes and asked for his blessing. The Vicariate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate unites all Ukrainian Parishes that are in canonical unity with the Kyiv Patriarchate in Ukraine.

On Saturday, October 24, Patriarch Filaret was the main celebrant at the hierarchical divine liturgy at St. Sophia Church in Chicago. During the liturgy Patriarch Filaret ordained deacon Stefan McInnes into the holy priesthood.

By Saturday afternoon, hundreds of faithful including clergy of the Orthodox and Catholic faiths, members of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, the Ukrainian American Youth Association and the Association of American Youth of

Ukrainian Descent, Ukrainian Veterans and members of various community organizations gathered at St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church to greet the patriarch. With the church's bells ringing and joyful tears in the eyes of many onlookers, the greeting began with members of St. Andrew Ukrainian School dressed in traditional Ukrainian costumes presenting flowers and asking for the patriarch's blessing.

Parish Board President Jaresko along with the pastor, the Very Rev. Poliarny, then greeted the patriarch with bread and salt and asked for the patriarch's prayers for the unity of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and for the well-being of the United States and Ukraine and their leadership. They also thanked the patriarch for agreeing to visit in order to bless the new mosaic titled "All Saints of Ukraine" on the façade of the church entrance.

In a procession led by Ukrainian American Veterans of Chicago, the crowd proceeded to the monument of the Ukrainian Genocide Foundation dedicated to the over 10 million Ukrainians starved to death in the Holodomor. The patriarch laid a ceremonial wreath at the foot of the monument and then concelebrated a requiem service to honor those who innocently lost their lives during Stalin's genocide of the Ukrainian nation.

At the conclusion of the memorial service, the patriarch visited the section of St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery that is devoted to former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Galicia Division. With members of the families and other UPA members present, Patriarch Filaret blessed each grave of these soldiers who fought for Ukraine's independence with holy water.

Patriarch Filaret then proceeded into St. Andrew Church and concelebrated a panakhida (memorial service) for the victims of the Holodomor, for all of the Ukrainian people who struggled to gain the independence of their country at the battles in Konotop, Poltava and Baturyn, and for Hetman Ivan Mazepa.

That evening, October 24, the Ivan Truchly Auditorium was packed with spectators who came to see the performance of the Canadian Bandurist Capella from Toronto which traveled to Chicago to honor Patriarch Filaret and take part in the festivities related to the blessing of the new mosaic.

The master of ceremonies, Natalia Jarowyj, opened the concert with a heartfelt greeting to the patriarch and beautifully composed remarks about the importance of the weekend's events.

Under the masterful direction of Dr. Victor Mishalow, Andriy Dmytrovych and concertmaster Yuriy Petlura, the capella performed a wide variety of religious and patriotic songs to multiple standing ovations. Following the concert, a reception for the performers and Patriarch Filaret was held in the church hall.

On Sunday, October 25, Patriarch Filaret concelebrated the hierarchical divine liturgy with Kyiv Patriarchate clergy. With Chicago media outlets present, the faithful packed the church. The



Pamela Jaresko

His Holiness Patriarch Filaret blesses the faithful in front of the newly blessed mosaic "All Saints of Ukraine" (Vsi Sviati Ukrainy) at the entrance to St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kyivan Patriarchate, Bloomingdale, Illinois.



Vesting of Patriarch Filaret during the patriarchal divine liturgy.

St. Andrew Church Choir, under the direction of Dr. Truchly, enriched the divine liturgy with the participation of many guest singers from Catholic and Orthodox churches.

At the end of liturgy, the patriarch blessed the newly completed mosaic "All Saints of Ukraine" on the façade of the church. The mosaic project – which took almost two years to complete – is unique and symbolic in its nature as an icon constructed out of mosaic pieces, rather than a religious picture. The mosaic celebrates Ukrainian saints beginning with St. Andrew the First-Called.

On Sunday afternoon a banquet was held in honor of Patriarch Filaret. Speeches by the master of ceremonies Mr. Jaresko, and the Very Rev. Poliarny focused on the joy of being able to welcome the patriarch and pray together for the good of all Ukrainians, including

those who live beyond Ukraine's borders.

There were also multiple references to the anniversary of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church of 1921 led by Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky – an anniversary of the rejection of any foreign rule of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

During the banquet, the Vodohray dance ensemble of St. Andrew Church performed a wonderfully choreographed "Pryvit" (welcome) under the direction of John Szalewa. The Surma Choir of Chicago under the direction of Zeonid Modrytskyj sang three pieces to the delight of the gathered attendees.

There were also several speakers who detailed the role of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP) in the struggle for Ukrainian independence. Consul General Kudryk read a letter from

(Continued on page 19)



The Genocide Famine Foundation Memorial Cross at St. Andrew UOC-KP.

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

says that, taking into account the results of the nationwide debate on the presidential version of the Constitution, Mr. Yushchenko will table in the Verkhovna Rada a "popular draft Constitution." The election program notes: "If in the course of 100 days the country does not receive a new Constitution, the Verkhovna Rada's powers will be stopped early, and a snap election will take place simultaneously with the referendum on adoption of the fundamental law." Mr. Yushchenko submitted his proposed amendments to the Constitution back in the spring, but national deputies have not yet examined them. That is why on August 25 the president signed a decree to put those amendments up for public debate. The decree says that the nationwide discussion must be completed by December 1. (Ukrinform)

#### EBRD helps Ukrainian banks

KYIV – The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has extended finance for a total of \$880 million (U.S.) to Ukrainian banks since the beginning of the global financial crisis, it was reported on November 19. Alexander Pavlov, EBRD's banker for financial sector projects in Ukraine, disclosed this during a plenary meeting of the Ukrainian Bank Forum, called by the Adam Smith Institute in Kyiv. He said that, starting in the fourth quarter of last year, the sums approved by the board of directors reached \$880 million as a response to the crisis in Ukraine. Since January of this year the EBRD has provided Ukrainian banks with financial support of \$600 million, the banker said. Besides that, Mr. Pavlov added, the EBRD is preserving its plans concerning the start of crediting in the hryvnia. The EBRD is ready to issue amendments to Ukrainian legislation must first be passed, the expert noted. (Ukrinform)

#### Brussels service recalls Holodomor

KYIV – A divine liturgy in memory of the victims of Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine was celebrated in Brussels at Ss. Michael and Gudula Cathedral, it was reported on November 19. Attending the service were officers of Ukraine's diplomatic institutions, members of the Ukrainian community in Belgium, representatives of international institutions and Belgians. The Famine-Genocide resulted in the deaths of up to 10 million people in Ukraine, including around 4 million children. Ukraine officially marks the Day of Memory for Victims of the Holodomor and Political Repressions on the fourth Saturday of November. (Ukrinform)

#### Over 3 million entrepreneurs

KYIV – As of November 1, a total of 3,180,630 entrepreneurs were on the lists of the state tax service, including 863,211 legal entities and 2,317,419 individual entrepreneurs. The most entrepreneurs – 352,522 – are registered in Kyiv, the press service of the State Tax Administration reported. Compared to the same period in 2008, the total number of entrepreneurs rose by 81,171. (Ukrinform)

#### OSCE mission begins monitoring

KYIV – A mission of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has started to monitor the presidential election campaign in Ukraine. Over 50 observers will represent the OSCE in Ukraine, it was reported on November 23. Another 600 short-term observers from the OSCE will arrive in the country on election day. The election

campaign in Ukraine started on October 19; election day is January 17, 2010. (Ukrinform)

#### Russia expands bill on using army abroad

MOSCOW – President Dmitry Medvedev on November 9 signed a bill expanding the legal basis for using military force abroad. The bill allows the president to send troops outside the country to fend off attacks on the Russian military, deter aggression against another state, defend Russian citizens, combat pirates and protect shipping, reported the Associated Press. The Russian Parliament endorsed the bill, which the president had submitted in September. The previous law had envisaged sending troops abroad only to fight terrorists and fulfill Russia's obligations in line with international treaties. (Associated Press, Kyiv Post)

#### Naftohaz to begin work in Egypt

KYIV – Naftohaz Ukrainy hopes to start works on full-fledged oil production in Egypt in the near future, it was reported on November 23. Recent tests testified to a high inflow of oil on the Western Desert field in Egypt. In addition, specialists of the Ukrainian company continue prospective works within the concession territory in the Alam El Shawish East in an area of 994 square kilometers, and five prospect wells have been already made. Another two wells are in the process of gadding. Naftohaz hopes that the Egypt project will help speed up a process of diversification of sources for the supply of energy carriers to Ukraine. In its turn, Egypt counts on Ukrainian technology, in particular in the nuclear sector. (Ukrinform)

#### Number of pawnshops grows

KYIV – Around 360 pawnshops have been registered in Ukraine, and their number is continuing to grow, Yulia Rozhkova, the executive director of the Ukrainian Association of Pawnshops, said on November 23, citing the Dzerkalo Tyzhnia newspaper. She said that the number of pawnshops in December 2008 was 317, while in the first three quarters of 2009 over 40 pawnshops had received financial institution status. Ms. Rozhkova said that common items pawned by customers are household and office appliances, antiques and musical instruments. (Ukrinform)

#### Kyiv land prices are down

KYIV – Since the start of the year, the price of land in Kyiv has fallen by 43.26 percent per 100 square meters, and in the suburbs the decrease was 39.75 percent. Kyiv land will reach a 50 percent drop in price after the elections, predicted the president of the Land Union of Ukraine, Andrii Koshil. He said the price drop is related to a decrease in the solvent purchase requirement. The overheated Kyiv land market will gradually resume a normal temperature, Mr. Koshil added. At the same time, according to SV Development, on November 16-22 the value of land plots under cottage construction in the Kyiv region was growing by 0.69 percent to \$3,767 (U.S.) per 100 square meters. The cost of land plots under cottage construction in other large Ukrainian cities and their suburbs was growing between 0 and 0.53 percent per 100 square meters. (Ukrinform)

#### Ship returns from NATO operation

KYIV – The Ukrainian naval vessel Ternopil has completed a combat patrol in the Mediterranean within the NATO-led Active Endeavor operation, the Defense Ministry reported on November 23. After the mission, the ship, a corvette, called at Greece's Souda Bay naval base and then headed to its base in Sevastopol. The corvette started patrolling in the Mediterranean Sea on October 15. The Ternopil first participated in Active Endeavor in 2006. (Ukrinform)

# Patriarch Filaret...

(Continued from page 17)

President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine recognizing the contribution and efforts of St. Andrew's Parish in rebuilding and strengthening the UOC-KP in Ukraine and in the United States.

Uplifting speeches by Bohdan Watral of the Selfreliance Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, Dr. Julian Kulas of the Heritage Foundation and Irene Washchuk, president of the Supporters of the Kyivan Patriarchate in Canada, gave way to resounding applause and gratitude by all present.

At the conclusion, Patriarch Filaret very clearly explained the religious situation in Ukraine and the importance of the Kyiv Patriarchate both in Ukraine and abroad. The crowd cheered and gave standing ovations both during and after the historic remarks of the patriarch.

Following the archpastoral visit to the Chicago area, Patriarch Filaret departed for Washington, where he met with government officials, senators and congress-



**Patriarch Filaret with the Canadian Bandurist Capella and its directors, Dr. Victor Mishalow and Andriy Dmytrovich.**

men. Ambassador Oleh Shamshur accompanied the patriarch to all meetings.

Ukrainian Catholic Church Metropolitan-Archbishop Stefan Soroka

invited Patriarch Filaret for a private meeting that took place at the metropolitan's residence in Philadelphia.

On Sunday, November 1, the Primate

of the UOC-KP concelebrated a hierarchical divine liturgy with Kyiv Patriarchate clergy in Holy Trinity Church in North Royalton, Ohio.



**Archbishop Oleksander, Archimandrite Epifaniy from Kyiv, Patriarch of Kyiv and All Ukraine Filaret, and the Very Rev. Victor Poliarny during the concert.**



**St. Andrew Ukrainian Dance Group Vodohray performs the "Pryvit."**

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## Ukrainian pro sports update: hockey

by Ihor Stelmach

### Gretzky steps down as Coyotes coach

Wayne Gretzky's four-year tenure as coach of the Phoenix Coyotes, a period noted for much on-ice and off-ice futility, ended suddenly on September 24 when the "Great One" announced his resignation amid the ongoing financial turmoil surrounding the franchise. Mere hours after Gretzky's announcement, Phoenix hired former Dallas Stars coach Dave Tippett as Gretzky's replacement.

Gretzky's departure had been rumored as the bankruptcy court battles between new prospective owners and the National Hockey League over the sale of the team dragged on for several months.

"This was a difficult decision that I've thought long and hard about," Gretzky said in a statement on his web site. "We all hoped there would be a resolution earlier this month [September] to the Coyotes ownership situation, but the decision is taking longer than expected."

"Since both remaining bidders have made it clear that I don't fit into their future plans, I approached general manager Don Maloney and suggested he begin looking for someone to replace me as coach. Don has worked hard and explored many options. I think he has made an excellent choice and so now it's time for me to step aside."

#### Coaching record not great

In his four seasons as coach, Gretzky's Phoenix Coyotes had a .473 winning percentage, besting only two other NHL clubs in that period: St. Louis (.471) and Los Angeles (.468). From 2005-2009, he fin-

ished with a 143-161-24 won-lost-tied record, missing the playoffs in all four campaigns. Gretzky, 48, was due an \$8.5 million salary for 2009-10, while also owning a small piece of the franchise.

Gretzky stubbornly believed professional hockey could make it in the Southwest market, an area where ice is more commonly found in a drink glass than in an arena's skating rink. Reality showed otherwise: lots of empty seats in the new Jobing.com Arena, near-negligent local television ratings and the absence of a local bidder in the auction for the franchise.

The Coyotes organization undoubtedly saw Gretzky as an icon capable of promoting and building a pro hockey market in the desert. Again, reality proved otherwise, as Gretzky never made himself much of a presence in the Phoenix sports scene, then virtually disappeared once owner Jerry Moyes filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in May.

Gretzky's Ukrainian father, Walter, said he spoke to his son that fateful September 24 and felt sorry for Wayne being caught in the middle of a financial mess.

"No matter what happens, they'll say it was all because of Wayne," Walter Gretzky told Hamilton, Ontario's CHCH News. "Everybody has to find a fall guy and they'll point their finger at Wayne even though he had nothing to do with this."

He said his son plans on spending some quality time with his family while taking a break from hockey for a while.

"As always, Wayne placed the welfare of the team ahead of his own in making this

extremely difficult decision," NHL commissioner Gary Bettman said in a statement released by the league. "While the Coyotes have not had the degree of on-ice success that always has been Wayne's objective, there can be no question he has played a vital role in the youth movement that has positioned the Coyotes for success in the future."

Bettman went on to say the league has hope Gretzky could have a key role with the Coyotes if the league's bid for the team is successful.

#### Tough times in the desert

Player reaction to their coach stepping down was surprise, if not mild shock. Most thought coach Gretzky would stick it out until the eventual resolution of the team's sale.

"I'm not angry," said captain Shane Doan in an interview with ESPN.com in late September. "We're moving on. Everyone realizes that this situation is unique. People are saying, 'Well, this should have been done, that should have been done.' It's such a unique situation where he's part of management, he's part of an ownership group, the bankruptcy court. I mean, everything is so convoluted that nobody really knows what's going on."

"Any time you have an opportunity to be associated with Wayne Gretzky in any form, it's such a unique and rare opportunity," Doan concluded. "As a coach, every year he got better and better."

The on-ice results, however, did not reinforce the above thought. Behind the bench, Gretzky showed little of the magical on-ice persona he demonstrated as a super-star player – the leading scorer in NHL history. Granted not all of the franchise's turmoil was in the coach's control – the struggles for the Coyotes in a crowded sports market were plentiful.

#### Struggles with friends and family

Gretzky's association with the club began on February 15, 2001, when Moyes' ownership group finalized the deal to purchase the franchise. In May of this year he took the team into Chapter 11 bankruptcy, beginning a long and complicated legal battle over the club's future.

Gretzky grabbed the coaching reins in 2005-2006. In his first season behind the bench, the Coyotes improved on their win total by 16 games over the prior year, going 38-39-5. On a personal level, this was a most trying year for Gretzky, as both his mother,

(Continued on page 25)

## Ukrainian Sports Federation hosts 43rd chess championship

WHIPPANY, N.J. – The 43rd chess championship of the Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S.A. and Canada (USCAK) was held on October 17 at the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey. The six participants included representatives of only two Ukrainian American sports clubs. Players included Leonid Charczenko, Bohdan Kutko, Peter Radomskyj, Stephen Stoyko (Chornomorska Sitch) and the Rev. Marijan Procyk and Nadia Procyk (Stephen Popel Chess Club).

After five rounds of round-robin tournament play, there was no clear winner. In fact three chess players were declared 2009 champions and were awarded \$150 each: Messrs. Radomskyj, Stoyko and the Rev. Procyk (Mr. Radomskyj won against Mr. Stoyko, who won against the Rev. Procyk, who won against Mr. Radomskyj). Mr. Kutko finished first (under-2000) and received \$65, and Mr. Charczenko was second (under-2000) and received \$30. Ms. Procyk was the only female competitor and

was awarded \$30.

Omelan Twardowsky, president of Chornomorska Sitch, and Myron Stebelsky, president of USCAK, addressed the participants.

The tournament was directed by the Rev. Procyk, who mentioned that Sydir Nowakiwskyj, a chess player from the Ukrainian American Sports Club Tryzub near Philadelphia, had passed away.

Thanks were extended to Chornomorska Sich for hosting this event and to USCAK for sponsoring it.

First prize in the amount of \$300 in memory of FIDE (World Chess Federation) Master Boris Baczynskyj was donated by the family.

The 2010 USCAK chess tournament is scheduled to be held in Philadelphia on the occasion of 60th anniversary of the Ukrainian American Sports Club Tryzub. For more information, readers may visit <http://uscak.blogspot.com/>.

– the Very Rev. Marijan Procyk



2009 USCAK chess champions (from left): the Rev. Marijan Procyk, Peter Radomskyj and Stephen Stoyko.

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## Chicago groups present program focusing on Ukrainian language

CHICAGO – A very successful event titled “The Evolution of Ukrainian Language” took place on October 4 at the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art in Chicago with the co-sponsorship of the Ukrainian Language Society.

The inspiration for the event was photos taken in Ukraine by Dr. Roksolana Tymiak-Lonchyna where many names of businesses, stores and advertising slogans were English names written in Cyrillic.

In addition to the exhibit of 40 enlarged, mounted photos, the program consisted of an address by well-known poet, linguist, translator and adjunct professor of Ukrainian language and literature at Columbia University Dr. Yuriy Tarnawsky, who spoke on the current “Pollution of Ukrainian Language.” This topic is of great concern to the Ukrainian community and attracted a large audience.

On the lighter side, well-known humorist Myron Kulas read his sketch in the role of Prof. Marmalyga. The dialogue “Telephone Conversation” by Mr. Kulas was read with great feeling by Rostyslaw Hrynkiw and Oleh Muzyka.

Excerpts from Mykola Kulish’s “Myna Mazaylo,” written in 1929, which deals with Russification in Ukraine were read by Natalia Marchak, Maryanna Hrynkiw and Mr. Hrynkiw.

Students of the local School of Ukrainian Studies, Julia Yurynets and Oles Buchak, also performed together with their teacher, Vera Lesyk, they read Kateryna Motrych’s “Molytva do Movy.” Ms. Lesyk also recited the poem “Mova” by Mychailo Lototsky.

A pleasant surprise at the end of the program was the presentation by Dr. Oles Strilchuk of a certificate of appreciation from the Ukrainian Congress Committee of



Dr. Bohdan Bodnaruk

Participants in the “Evolution of Ukrainian Language” event (from left): Prof. Vira Bodnaruk, Myron Kulas, Dr. Yuriy Tarnawsky, Vera Lesyk, Julia Yurynets, Oleh Muzyka, Rostyslaw Hrynkiw and Maryana Hrynkiw.

America, Illinois branch, to Prof. Vira Bodnaruk and Dr. Bohdan Bodnaruk for their 19 years of work in the Ukrainian Language Society of U.S.A.

## Spartanky sorority of Plast meets at annual conference

by Vera Chuma-Bitcon

SEA GIRT, N.J. – On September 25-26, the Plast sorority Spartanky held its annual conference at the Jersey shore in beautiful Sea Girt, N.J. A total of 40 members attended the two-day conference.

One of the first items on the agenda was the ceremony for the newest Spartanka member. On the beautiful sandy beach under the moonlight, with the sound of the surf in the background, Vera Gorloff was inducted into the kurin as a full member.

The Spartanky had been very active in Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization this year, organizing the very popular young children’s camp, a horseback riding camp, and conducting the two-day physical fitness badge requirements at the Vovcha Tropha campground for 140 teenagers.

In addition, locally the Spartanky organize seasonal activities for the Plast children and hold various positions in the Plast organization throughout the year. These same activities are all planned for next year as well.

An election took place during the conference with the following re-elected: Chrystia Kotlar, president; Marta Torielli, vice-president; Irka Doll, secretary; and Lesia Kozicky, treasurer.



The Spartanky sorority of Plast.

## Ukraine relies...

(Continued from page 2)

Gazprom, but also from RosUkrEnergo, a joint venture between Gazprom and businessman Dmytro Fitash which was banished from the Ukrainian market in January. RosUkrEnergo’s 11 billion cubic meters of gas, which had been kept in Ukraine’s underground storage, became Ukrainian property in early 2009 according to agreements between Gazprom and Naftohaz. RosUkrEnergo sued Naftohaz for \$8.26 billion in damages (Vedomosti, November 16).

Ms. Tymoshenko was to discuss gas issues with Mr. Putin at the CIS summit in Crimea on November 19. Irrespective of the outcome of their talks, it is clear that only the continuation of cooperation

with the IMF will enable Ukraine to pay for gas. “But without fruitful cooperation between Ukraine and the IMF, it would have been impossible to live through this year,” Ms. Tymoshenko admitted in her recent meeting with foreign ambassadors (Ukrayinska Pravda, November 11).

In order to receive the fourth tranche, the cabinet will have to revise its unrealistic 2010 budget bill, and increase domestic gas prices to ease pressure on Naftohaz’s budget while Parliament and President Yushchenko avoid increasing wages and pensions beyond the limits agreed with the IMF.

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

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# MV Tufty and its Ukrainian crew arrive in Thunder Bay

by William Hryb

THUNDER BAY, Ontario – What is there in common between a tufted duck and a 31,844-metric-ton bulk carrier? Both are called “Tufty” and operate on water with finesse.

The tufted duck is a medium-sized diving duck with a population of almost one million birds, breeding widely throughout temperate and northern Eurasia. Periodically, it can be found along both coasts of the United States and Canada in the winter months, expanding their traditional range because of the spread of freshwater mussels, a favorite food.

Fundamentally the duck is migratory, wintering in southern Asia and the milder south and west of Europe, forming huge flocks on open water. The tufted duck is registered as one of the species protected under the Agreement on Conservation of African-Eurasian Migratory Waterbirds.

The shipping company CanforNav Inc. of Montreal, owners of the MV Tufty, have taken a special conservation focus by using duck names for their ships, giving the company a unique trade-brand association with the water and nature.

Since 1976 the company has expanded and built a solid reputation in the international shipping industry. CanforNav Inc. has its head offices in Montreal, employing 25 experienced professionals who manage and operate more than 30 deep-sea vessels ranging from 27,000 to 37,000 metric tons deadweight.

Late this past May, the port of Thunder Bay had the opportunity to welcome a brand new ship on the horizon named after the Tufted Duck. The distinctive green hulled MV Tufty entered the harbor on a late warm afternoon with Capt. Kyril Dymomochkin of Ukraine guiding his ship

into berth at Viterra ‘C’ elevator.

Capt. Dymomochkin and his Ukrainian crew of 18 endured a 44-day voyage from the far-east, transiting the Panama Canal and St. Lawrence Seaway before arriving at the head of the Great Lakes at Thunder Bay, Ontario, on majestic Lake Superior. The crew had the opportunity to visit sites in the city of over 120,000 of which 20 percent are of Ukrainian heritage.

The 42-year old master from Odesa had the task of loading the ship’s first grain cargo of over 19,750 metric tons of Canola destined for Vera Cruz, Mexico. Capt. Dymomochkin had overseen the shipbuilding at the Shanhaiguan Shipbuilding Industry Co. Ltd. in Qinhuangdao, Hebei, China. “The keel was laid on July 15, 2008, and was delivered on March 4, 2009... I was there for several months and it was quite the experience to see the Chinese actually build the vessel,” said Capt. Dymomochkin.

The ship’s operators have been employing Ukrainian crews for several years, as their marine knowledge, experience and expertise are world-renowned in the shipping industry. Most of the MV Tufty’s crew are from the Ukrainian Black Sea ports of Odesa, Mariupol and Sevastopol. Chief Officer Artur Botya and Chief Engineer Anatoliy Vovkogon were happy to arrive at the inland port of Thunder Bay, saying, “its always a rewarding experience coming to a port that we have not seen.”

The 185-meter MV Tufty is registered in Limassol, Cyprus, and is a handy-sized bulk carrier built specifically for the restrictions of the St. Lawrence Seaway, which is celebrating its 50th anniversary. This the water highway remains a vital and important link to the heartland of North America.

CanforNav Inc. of Montreal has breathed



The bulk carrier MV Tufty on its maiden voyage.

new life into the St. Lawrence Seaway system with new ships built specifically to trade through the waterway. The distinctive moniker of duck namesakes their vessels carry will undoubtedly give the company the recognition that ducks and ships have an affinity with nature, water and

commerce for many years to come. “It is wonderful that CanforNav has been able to bring nature to the St. Lawrence Seaway... it is an exciting new direction for shipping,” said Ron Chepesiuk, author and contributing writer to the periodical Environmental Health Perspectives.



Capt. Kyril Dymomochkin and Vasyl Hryb, general manager of Lakehead Shipping Co. Ltd. in Thunder Bay, Ontario.

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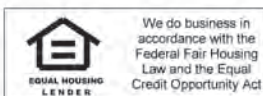
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## Virsky...

(Continued from page 11)

Mr. Vantukh, who succeeded company founder Virsky, estimated that male dancers comprise two-thirds of the company and women make up one-third. He said the majority of the dancers are in their 20s, although the age range stretches from 18 to 41.

“At home in Kyiv, the entire Virsky company consists of more than 120 people; 85 is just the touring company,” he explained.

Because each theater is different, spacing must be changed based on the theater and on audience sightlines, and rehearsals are held every day during a tour, he said. Even so, company members have days off when they can rest, go sightseeing, or shopping at outlet centers or shopping malls.

Noting that there are new works in the program, Mr. Vantukh said, “it is important to evolve with the world, while at the same time staying true to Pavlo Virsky’s vision that created the company and true to the culture and spirit of the Ukrainian people.”

## Treat Ukraine...

(Continued from page 7)

Second, NATO should make clear that Ukraine is nearly ready for admission and can join when it develops a national consensus for this. Ukraine’s military is substantially reformed and already contributes to NATO.

Third, anxieties over Crimea should not impede Ukraine’s entry into NATO or the EU. The Kremlin has artificially inflamed two situations there – the future of the Black Sea Fleet, based at Sevastopol, and disquiet of the majority ethnic Russian population. President Yushchenko’s demand that the fleet depart when its lease is up in 2017 has

not helped. The next president should seek a practical solution to the fleet, some of which is decaying or will relocate eastward. Crimea is not Abkhazia. Kyiv has taken key steps to tolerance in Crimea and should do more. U.S. and European embassies in Kyiv ought to bolster this outreach by opening consulates in Crimea.

Fourth, Europe and America should encourage the new president and Parliament to accelerate reform, especially decentralization of power. The only way Ukraine can become fully European is through comprehensive reform, however politically painful the decisions are required for this. Ukraine’s ties with Europe and America are a vital anchor to bolster confidence for such decision-making.

## Chicago's St. Nicholas School welcomes visitors to fall Open House

by Maria Kulczycky

CHICAGO – St. Nicholas Cathedral School held its first Open House early this year, in late October, to kick off an energetic enrollment drive designed to boost the number of students in the school.

Traditionally, the open house has been held at the beginning of the second semester. This year, the effort to attract new parents began earlier. In late August, the school hosted a seminar for parents, "Preparing your child for school." Parents, alumni, and students also participated in two fairs, hosting booths that provided information to families throughout the city researching school options.

The enrollment drive and Open House were supported by a broad marketing campaign, including advertisements, flyers, posters, postcards and videos on YouTube.

The October Open House, held on a weekday evening, attracted numerous prospective families, as well as a crowd of current students and parents, alumni, members of the school board and parish council, and visitors from other schools.

Teachers in each class explained their approach and class format, and displayed the many examples of science, mathematics, social studies, geography and other subjects for which students had created colorful posters and displays. In the upper grades, the application of new laptops purchased last year was demonstrated.

Because the school is located on a quiet, little-traveled street, many neighbors are not aware of its existence – or its

impressive record of success. The largest segment of the school body consists of Ukrainian-born students who are recent immigrants or students whose parents attended the school, many of them of Ukrainian heritage.

"This school is one of the best-kept secrets among elementary schools," observed Evelyn Buckley, who is seeing her third child graduate from St. Nicholas this year. "More parents need to know about it because its students are a great success story."

Ms. Buckley was told about the school by her realtor, who noticed during home showings that many families displayed photographs of children graduating from prominent universities. When she asked where they attended elementary school, the response was "St. Nicholas."

St. Nicholas students traditionally rank above their Catholic school peers on standardized tests. They win slots at the best city high schools, many with scholarships. The school is also very proud of its first place in its division for volleyball. Last year, the boys placed first. Two years ago, the girls won first place.

Classes at St. Nicholas begin with a full-day pre-kindergarten for children from the age of 3 and continue through eighth grade. Students are taught Ukrainian and have the opportunity to study Spanish and French. They also receive instruction in the Byzantine religious tradition.

Parents interested in getting more information are encouraged to call 773-384-7243 or visit the school website at [www.stnicholascathedralschool.org](http://www.stnicholascathedralschool.org).



Bishop Richard Seminack and Rector Bohdan Nalysnyk are surrounded by St. Nicholas students at the Open House.



Eighth grade teacher Daria Hankewych (center) answers visitors' queries.



Young visitors are engrossed by the books in the pre-K classroom.

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The Ukrainian National Foundation – a 501 (c) (3) organization – is the charitable arm of the Ukrainian National Association Inc., The UNF supports the Soyuzivka Heritage Center and its many programs, and organizes the Ukrainian Cultural Festival at Soyuzivka. The UNF provides support for many other Ukrainian community projects and organizations. The UNF also financially supports the newspapers The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda. The UNF annually distributes scholarships to Ukrainian American students and students in Ukraine.

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## Holodomor...

(Continued from page 9)

Yanchuk's "Famine 33," played nationwide on television. The referendum passed by over 90 percent.

### Struggle to restore the empire

In a flash, Ukrainian independence proved all the old predictions about the Russian Empire. Without Ukraine, the USSR collapsed like a house of cards. Without Ukraine there was (and is) no Russian Empire, just a "federation" unable to gain the respect it still craves from the international community. Returning Ukraine to the fold is among the highest priorities of the Russian leadership today.

Since the collapse of the USSR, Russia has re-launched intense efforts to suppress Ukrainian identity and language – "the voice of Ukraine's soul" – by directly and indirectly buying up newspapers, magazines, book publishers and bookstores, as well as radio and television stations, and even movie studios.<sup>9</sup>

Investments in Ukrainian industries and the business infrastructure (banks, insurance companies, and so on) have tied Ukrainian companies to their Russian counterparts. Politicians are routinely bought to legislate against anything that supports Ukrainian identity and for anything that brings Ukraine closer to dependence on Russia. Incredibly, until April 2008, the head of the State Committee on Archives in Ukraine was a leading member of the Communist Party, which has always denied the Holodomor.

Russia still casts a long shadow on Ukraine far beyond the media and archives. Those who cannot be persuaded to be "reasonable" still often end up dead. Some are killed in car "accidents" (Yaroslav Lesiv, 1991; Vyacheslav Chornovil, 1999; Oleksandr Yemets, 2001); some are shot (Vadym Hetman, 1998); some are killed with the old-fashioned hammer in the head (Hryhorii Vaskovych, 2002; Ivan Havdyda 2002).<sup>10</sup> Others simply disappear (Mykhailo Boichyshyn, 1998) or end up imprisoned (Yulia Tymoshenko, 2001) or poisoned (Mykhailo Ratushny, 1998; Viktor Yushchenko, 2004).

Holodomor scholar Dr. Mace died in Kyiv in 2004. Long aware that his work had earned him enemies in Russia, a week before his death he e-mailed fellow Holodomor researchers in the United States, telling them he feared for his life and warning them to be careful.<sup>11</sup>

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate, which is heavily funded by Russia, regularly organizes pro-Russian demonstrations. Russians living in Crimea (including many virulently anti-Ukrainian retired military types) are a persistent fifth column performing on command as suits Russia's needs at any given time. Other well-financed propaganda efforts are aimed at urging Ukrainians to stay away from the European Union and to fear NATO.

Every New Year, Russia precipitates a new "gas crisis" with Ukraine. It is basic political terrorism designed to create the impression, especially among Ukrainians, that ordinary life and business in Ukraine exist only at Russia's pleasure and Russia can bring it all to a halt with a flick of a switch at any time and for any reason or without reason. In 2008 Ukrainians quietly squirreled away enough reserves to get them through the winter.

When Russia turned off the tap, Ukraine had enough gas to last it into March, but there was no longer enough gas in the system to get it to southern Europe, leaving former German Chancellor and close Putin friend Gerhard Schroeder (curiously, now the highly paid chairman of Russia's Gazprom's Baltic Sea pipeline project) rather "Red"-faced.

The mysterious midnight fire at the chalet in Switzerland where Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko was reported staying on the night of December 29, 2008, (the flames seemed to erupt everywhere at the same time and the chalet burned to the ground despite rapid response by well-equipped and expert local fire fighters) reminded everyone of previous assassination attempts.<sup>12</sup>

Few Ukrainians doubt Russia will continue to use the strongest tactics against Ukrainians it can get away with at any given time. Russia's metagenocide against Ukrainians continues and will continue, using ethnocide, economic, financial and cyber terrorism, pseudo-civilian terrorist violence and ethnic cleansing. Military force and further genocide should not be ruled out if Russia should ever again think it can get away with it.

There is an old KGB saying, "If it is necessary, it can be done."<sup>13</sup> Russia is still run by the same KGB elite and is still quite comfortable with the taste of blood. Bosnia, Chechnya and Georgia stand as strong reminders that Russia's methods and goals have not changed. Russia will continue to be as ruthless as the world allows.

Despite centuries of effort and tens of millions of victims, Russia's metagenocide of Ukrainians has failed. Ukrainians have proven to be far more resilient and adept at survival than the Moscovites had anticipated way back when they decided to become an empire at Ukraine's expense. Ukrainians have adapted to the art of survival. Even their national anthem is titled, "Ukraine has not yet died." Nor will it – Ukrainians will not allow it.

### Seventy-five years later

Worldwide recognition of the Holodomor phase of Russia's metagenocide against Ukrainians will not go away. No matter how hard the Russians try, their enormously skilled and petrodollar-rich propaganda machine gets only limited results from its work to dilute and suppress efforts by diaspora Ukrainians and the Ukrainian government to educate the world about the Holodomor. Despite limited funds, incessant infighting and weak organizations, Ukrainians have done remarkably well in counteracting Russian disinformation and getting the truth about the Holodomor out to the world.

Ukrainians say, "You cannot drown the truth." No matter how you weigh it down, the ropes will rot and the chains will rust, and the truth will float to the surface and stare you in the face. You cannot escape it. The truth of the Holodomor will not be denied. "The most terrifying sights were the little children with skeleton limbs dangling from balloon-like abdomens. Starvation had wiped every trace of youth from their faces, turning them into tortured gargoyles; only in their eyes still lingered the reminder of childhood."<sup>14</sup>

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9. Peter Borisow, "The Ukrainian Film and Media Sector," Center for U.S. Ukrainian Relations, New York, March 31, 2005.

10. Havdyda was attacked by unknown assailants in 2002 and died in 2008 without regaining consciousness.

11. Mace said this to the author at a meeting in New York in 2003. The e-mail was sent to Cheryl Madden, author of several publications

on the Holodomor.

12. Brian Brady, Matthew Bell and Tony Paterson, "A Swiss chalet, a fire and a President who crossed Putin," Independent (U.K.), Sunday, Jan. 11, 2009.

13. Victor Kravchenko, "I Chose Freedom" (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 39.

14. Ibid., p. 118.



## Ukrainian pro...

(Continued from page 20)

Phyllis, and grandmother, Betty Hockin, passed away during the season. His good friend and assistant coach, Rick Tocchet, was arrested for allegedly running an illegal sports gambling ring, where Gretzky's wife, Janet, reportedly placed bets.

Season two did not carry over the progress from the prior campaign. Phoenix dropped to 15th, and last in the Western Conference in 2006-2007, never finishing higher than 12th during his four-year tenure.

As part owner (5 percent) of the team, hockey operations boss and coach, Gretzky surrounded himself with close friends, including his former player agent, Mike Barnett, who was tapped for the GM position. Barnett was fired after the 2006-2007 season. Grant Fuhr, Hall of Fame goaltender with Gretzky on the great Edmonton Oilers Cup winners, was selected to be the team's goaltending coach. Fuhr lasted until he was replaced in September of this year. Wayne's own brother, Keith, still serves as the Coyotes' director of amateur scouting.

In May 2006, upon signing a five-year contract extension, Gretzky spoke about bringing a Stanley Cup to the desert. When asked if it would take the full length of his new contract to ice a Cup champion, Gretzky laughed and replied, "It better not, or I won't be here in five years."

A few hours after Gretzky's resignation, the Phoenix Coyotes issued an official statement thanking him for his dedicated service since joining their organization: "Wayne is often credited with the rise of hockey in southern and western markets. He was proud to represent one of those very franchises, and the Coyotes were fortunate to have him. Although his time with the Coyotes has come to an end, the examples he set and the legacy he leaves will undoubtedly have a lasting impact on everyone asso-

ciated with the franchise."

As for where and when Gretzky resurfaces in the hockey world, few experts believe he'll return to Phoenix when the league gains control of the franchise. Many pucksters predict he'll sit out for a while, then possibly reappear in some capacity with Team Canada, probably well after the 2010 Olympics.

### Ukrainian utterings

- Ukrainian pro hockey fans should have noticed by now the absence of Nikolai Zherdev on NHL rinks in 2009-2010. In late summer the New York Rangers exercised their right to walk away from an arbitrator's award to Zherdev, thus making him an unrestricted free agent. Earlier, Zherdev rejected the Rangers' \$3.25 million qualifying offer. Last season, in 82 games with New York, he tallied 23 goals and 35 assists with 39 penalty minutes. He was scoreless in seven playoff contests. After all other NHL organizations passed on him, Zherdev bolted to Russia, where he inked a one-year contract with Atlant Mytishchi of the Continental Hockey League (KHL), making him the highest-paid player on the team. As of late October, Zherdev had 2G-8A-10PTS-45PIM in 14 games.

- Coming out of training camp, Darryl Sydor wasn't certain he'd have a job for the 2009-2010 NHL season. St. Louis Blues President John Davidson kept Sydor employed in pro hockey by signing the veteran defenseman to a one-year deal in late September. In an official team press release, Davidson said, "Darryl Sydor is a true professional in our game. He's a proven winner who brings valuable leadership to our blue-line and will be a positive mentor for our younger defensemen." In his 20-year career, Sydor has played for five clubs, including Los Angeles, Dallas, Columbus, Tampa Bay and Pittsburgh. Sydor is a two-time NHL All-Star and a two-time Stanley Cup Champion, hoisting the Cup with Dallas (1999) and Tampa Bay (2004).

## HarpAntics ensemble performs



MILLBURN, N.J. – The harp ensemble HarpAntics, based in Millburn, N.J., performed on Sunday, November 22, at Winchester Gardens. The harpists are students of Odarka Polanskyj Stockert. Shown in photo above (from left) are: Clara Hyun-Lee, Lynne Lapidus, Faye Fishman, Ms. Stockert, Reuben Morris, Amanda Jimenez and Bobbi Sommer. Also playing were: Stephanie Cummings, Ben Kevelson, Karla Schwedt, Ariadna Stockert and Jen Kowal. HarpAntics will perform on Saturday, December 5, at 7 p.m. in the lobby of the New Jersey Performing Arts Center (NJ PAC) in Newark before the concert of the Branford Marsalis Quartet. Ms. Stockert will perform on Sunday, December 6, at 4:30 p.m. at the Museum of Early Trades and Crafts in Madison, N.J., in a program titled "Celtic Harp for a Winter's Day." For more information readers may log on to [www.Odarka.com](http://www.Odarka.com).

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# OUT AND ABOUT

Through January 2010  
North Adams, MA Photo exhibit, "Cultural Icons," featuring Roman Iwasiwka, Brill Gallery, 845-661-3593

December 4  
Washington Christmas Party, The Washington Group, Embassy of Ukraine, 202-349-2977 or olex@ukremb.com

December 4-20  
Chicago Art exhibit, featuring works by Dmytro Dobrovolsky, Ukrainian National Museum, 312-421-8020

December 5  
New York Book presentation, "The Winding Path to Freedom" by Roman Mac, Shevchenko Scientific Society, 212-254-5130

December 5  
Philadelphia Christmas Bazaar, St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, 610-892-7315

December 5  
Baltimore Christmas Party, Dnipro Ukrainian Sports Club, 410-967-0501

December 5, 6, 12, 13  
New York Ukrainian Christmas Tree Ornaments Workshop, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110

December 6  
North Port, FL 25th anniversary liturgy and dinner, St. Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church, 941-497-3548 or rimaluk@verizon.net

December 6  
Madison, NJ Concert, "Celtic Harp for a Winter's Day," featuring Odarka Polanskyj Stockert, Museum of Early Trades and Crafts, 973-377-2982

December 6  
Whippany, NJ Christmas Bazaar, sponsored by St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, 973-476-1970

December 6  
South Bound Brook, NJ Christmas Bazaar, featuring Ukrainian foods and crafts, Ukrainian Orthodox League Convention Committee of Maplewood, St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church hall, 973-635-8124

December 6 Bandura concert, celebrating 20 years of bandura

Roseville, CA activity in California, featuring Yuriy Oliynyk and Ola Herasymenko, Valley Springs Presbyterian Church, 916-482-4706

December 6  
Passaic, NJ Parish feast, including St. Nicholas and Christmas programs and dinner, St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church, 973-779-0249

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).

## Christmas concert in Los Angeles to be presented as gift to the city

LOS ANGELES – The Ukrainian community of Los Angeles has announced that, in keeping with tradition, its Christmas concert will again be open to the community at large. Under the banner of "Tis the Season," a choral and symphonic concert will be given in celebration of God's gifts and miracles and presented to the city on Sunday, December 13.

Thanks to the dynamic leadership of the Greg Hallick, the concert will be a unique experience. It will feature special guest soloist Gloria Kay, the Los Angeles Doctors' Symphony Orchestra (Ivan Schulman, conductor), the Lithuanian Choir of St. Casimir Church (Victor Ralys, musical director), along with the Ukrainian National Choir Kobzar of Los Angeles (Mr. Hallick, musical director).

Mr. Hallick is credited with the symphonic-orchestral arrangements of all the Ukrainian carols, including "Schedryk"

(Carol of the Bells) and all English carols to be jointly performed at the concert.

The audience will be treated to traditional Christmas carols of each group, plus the beautiful melodies of Hanukkah performed by the orchestra and a performance by the United Church of Christ Bell Choir of Claremont, Calif. The combined effort of these groups is an expression of harmony and respect of each others' cultures.

The concert will take place at 5 p.m. at the prestigious Alex Theater, 216 N. Brand Blvd., Glendale, CA 91203.

Tickets are available at the box office; prices are \$25, \$35 and \$45. For phone orders, call 818-243-2539. For online purchase of tickets, go to [www.alextheatre.org](http://www.alextheatre.org). In addition, for reservations, information and ticket purchases readers may contact: Dureen Schwartzlander, 909-860-2102; Danute Giedraitis, 323-665-4082; or Vyatas Keblys, 661-290-8410.

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## Soyuzivka's Datebook

December 31 New Year's Eve



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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, December 5

**NEW YORK:** Music at the Institute will present pianist Mykola Suk, celebrating 20 years at the Ukrainian Institute of America, in a concert with cellist Andrew Smith, in an all-Beethoven program, featuring selected sonatas for piano and cello. The concert begins at 8 p.m., and will be followed by a reception at the Ukrainian Institute of America, located at 2 E. 79th St., corner of Fifth Avenue. General admission: \$30, UIA members and seniors, \$25; students, \$20. Reservations are accepted with payment only. Tickets may be obtained by sending a check payable to UIA-MATI, or by calling 212-288-8660 with a credit card.

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a presentation of a book of memoirs by Roman Mac titled "The Winding Path to Freedom: A Memoir of Life in the Ukrainian Underground" (Booksurge, 2009). The presentation will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call 212-254-5130.

Saturday-Sunday, December 5-6

**SILVER SPRING, Md.:** Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic Church will sponsor a Christmas Bazaar featuring traditional Ukrainian Christmas foods, holiday crafts and tours of its Hutsul-style church. Food will be available for purchase along with items from the gift shop and unique handmade holiday gifts. Bazaar hours: Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.; Sunday, after 11:30 a.m. divine liturgy, 1-4 p.m. The church is located at 16631 New Hampshire Ave. (nine miles north of the Beltway - I-495, between Route 198 and Ednor Road). For more information e-mail holytrinitypucc@gmail.com or call Mary Bergman, 301-439-7603.

Sunday, December 6

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. invite all to a lecture by Prof. Jaroslaw Pelenski, a foreign member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the honorary president of the Lypynsky East-European Institute, titled "Vasyl Kuchabsky (1895-1971): Military

Man, Historian, Ideologue." The lecture will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 3 p.m. Please note the unusual day and hour. For additional information call 212-254-5130.

**SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J.:** You are invited to attend a "Ukrainian Kitchen and Christmas Bazaar" to be held in the church hall of St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in South Bound Brook, N.J., at 11 a.m.-4 p.m. sponsored by the 63rd annual UOL Convention Committee of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Holy Ascension in Maplewood, N.J. The Ukrainian Kitchen will feature homemade varenyky, holubtsi and borsch to eat-in or take out. Homemade holiday cookies will be featured in our "Cookie Walk" and sold by the pound. Holiday gift baskets, crafts and gift items will be available for raffle or sale. Admission is free. For more information call 973-635-8124. This Christmas Bazaar is being held concurrently with the grand opening of the "2009 Christmas Display" at the historic Hendrick Fisher House, which is located next to the church hall at 1960 Easton Ave. Somerset County's oldest historic house is lovingly decorated in Victorian Christmas style and available for tours that day and throughout the holiday season.

Saturday, December 19

**BETHESDA, Md.:** The Taras Shevchenko School of Ukrainian Studies will host a Mykolai Show and Holiday Bazaar. Students will present "Mykolai - Superhero" at noon. Sviaty Mykolai (St. Nicholas) will then meet with each grade/age group (non-students welcome). The Heavenly Office will be open at 9:15-11:45 a.m.; please bring only one item per child (\$2 fee), clearly labeled (child's full name, grade/age). The bazaar/bake sale at 9:30 a.m.-noon will feature: torte slices, fancy cookies for your holiday cookie tray, kolachi, makivnyky, medivnyky, children's sweets, varenyky and vushka (frozen), books, CDs, gift items. Location: Westland Middle School, 5511 Massachusetts Ave., Bethesda, MD 20816. For further information visit <http://www.ukieschool.org/events.htm>, or contact Lada Onyshkevych, lada2@verizon.net or 410-730-8108.

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

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

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

Information should be sent to: [preview@ukrweekly.com](mailto: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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