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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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

Vol. LXXVIII No.7 THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2010 \$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Yanukovych claims victory, Tymoshenko refuses to concede



Presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovych at the Kyiv headquarters of the Party of Regions of Ukraine on the day of the presidential election runoff.

CEC to declare winner by February 17

by Zenon Zawada *Kyiv Press Bureau*

KYIV – What was unimaginable following the Orange Revolution is now reality.

Viktor Yanukovych, the humiliated loser of the 2004 elections, claimed victory against his contender, Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, in the February 7 runoff of the presidential vote, earning 48.95 percent against her 45.47 percent. Another 4.36 percent of Ukrainians cast their vote against both candidates.

Ms. Tymoshenko refused to concede defeat as her campaign alleged mass fraud and filed court appeals. The Central Election Commission (CEC) will declare an official winner by February 17 – a ruling expected to be appealed by the Tymoshenko campaign.

Yet, the international community and Ukraine's political establishment have recognized the victory of Mr. Yanukovych, who indicated he had no interest in working with Ms. Tymoshenko as prime minister.

"The people are tried of waiting, which is why I officially turn to the prime minister and call upon her to resign and go into opposition," Mr. Yanukovych said on February 10, also calling upon the current de facto parliamentary coalition to cease its activity "so that I can begin negotiations with the various factions on forming the new government."

The elections proved remarkably calm and orderly, observers said, following a turbulent run-up in which campaigners raided government offices and approved last-min-

(Continued on page 4)



Presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko emerges from the voting booth.

Obama congratulates Yanukovych on election

As this issue of The Ukrainian Weekly was being completed on Thursday afternoon, February 11, the White House Office of the Press Secretary e-mailed the following "Readout of the President's call with President-elect Yanukovych of Ukraine." That day President Barack Obama made a congratulatory phone call to Viktor Yanukovych

It should be noted that the results of the presidential election in Ukraine have yet to be officially declared by the Central Election Commission. That is to happen by February 17. Until that time, the results are considered to be preliminary.

Following is the full text of the White House release.

President Obama called Victor [sic] Yanukovych of Ukraine today to congratulate him on his election and wish him success in carrying out his mandate. The President commended the Ukrainian people on the conduct of

(Continued on page 4)

Chicago's Ukrainian museums connect with educators

CHICAGO – On January 13, following over a year of preparation, Chicago's Ukrainian National Museum and the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art presented an educator workshop in cooperation with the University of Chicago's Center for International Studies (CIS), the Center for East European and Russian/Eurasian Studies (CEERES), the Chicago Cultural Alliance (CCA) and the Ukrainian Genocide Famine Foundation.

Judging by teacher and administrator evaluations, the effort was a smashing success. The overall rating by 65 percent of the workshop participants was "most effective," while 32 percent rated it "very effective." Most of the attending 45 teachers and administrators are involved with International Baccalaureate Program for Gifted and Talented Students in the Chicago public school system. Other participants were teachers in Chicago public schools that have a relationship with schools in Ukraine through the Chicago/ Kyiv Sister City Program.

Special kudos belong to Andrew Graan and Jamie Bender of the University of Chicago, who spent many hours working with Ukrainian educators in the preparation of the workshop.



Dr. Myron Kuropas answers questions from educators regarding the Holodomor and his curriculum guide.

The day began with registration and coffee, followed by short opening remarks by representatives from CIS, CEERES and CCA.

Dr. Myron B. Kuropas followed with a short history of Ukraine, with special emphasis on the Holodomor.

Motria Melnyk introduced Ukraine's culture, customs and traditions in special-

ly prepared comparative lesson guides titled "Countries and Cultures Around the World" aimed at helping teachers cultivate an atmosphere of inquiry and appreciation for all cultures in their classrooms. She also presented two short videos that she produced, "Holodomor, 1932-1933,"

(Continued on page 17)

ANALYSIS

Yanukovych faces uphill struggle despite win in presidential election

by Pavel Korduban

Eurasia Daily Monitor

As expected, opposition leader Viktor Yanukovych has won the February 7 presidential election runoff. Unlike in 2004, when Mr. Yanukovych lost a controversial poll to Viktor Yushchenko and his supporters were accused of large-scale election fraud, this time international observers said the election was free and fair.

However, Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko has not recognized her defeat. If Mr. Yanukovych fails to form a new coalition in Parliament on the spur of the moment in order to oust Ms. Tymoshenko from the government, Ukraine will face several months of uncertainty and probably early parliamentary polls.

This election showed once again that the country remains deeply divided: while 16 western and central regions voted for Ms. Tymoshenko, the 10 more densely populated eastern and southern regions were behind Mr. Yanukovych.

Mr. Yanukovych won the January 17 first round by a margin of over 10 percent, and opinion polls predicted about the same result for the runoff. However, exit polls produced the average margin of 4.5 percent, and the official vote count by the Central Election Commission (CEC) showed that Mr. Yanukovych scored 49 percent against Ms. Tymoshenko's 45.5 percent, so the margin is only 3.5 percent.

The fact that Mr. Yanukovych won so unconvincingly gives Ms. Tymoshenko hope that if the election were invalidated in several constituencies where, as her team claims, irregularities were reported, it should be possible to dispute the general outcome, said Tymoshenko allies (UNIAN, February 8). Ms. Tymoshenko told her team at a late-night meeting on February 8 that she would "never recognize Mr. Yanukovych's legitimacy after such an election," Ukrayinska Pravda reported on February 9, citing its source in her party.

Ms. Tymoshenko likely is playing for time, seeking to remain prime minister as long as possible in order to keep her fragile coalition in Parliament. She will hardly stand any chance in the courts. In 2004, Ukrainian courts ruled that the runoff was rigged as thousands of protesters against election fraud took to the streets, and the international community did not recognize the runoff result. The situation is different now. However, court disputes will likely slow down the post-election transi-

Ms. Tymoshenko's right-hand man, First Vice Prime Minister Oleksander Turchynov, was not ready to say early on February 8 whether Ms. Tymoshenko's supporters would stage any protests (Ukrayinska Pravda, February 8). European and Commonwealth of Independent States observers were unanimous in their verdict: despite some irregularities, the election was generally free and fair. Observers from the parliamentary assemblies of the Council of Europe and NATO called on Mr. Yanukovych and Ms. Tymoshenko to accept the outcome of the election. The European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs Catherine Ashton and European Parliament President Jerzy Buzek praised the election as democratic (Interfax, UNIAN, February 8).

Speaking after the announcement of the exit poll results, Mr. Yanukovych said

he expected Ms. Tymoshenko to resign (Inter TV, February 7). She does not have to, according to the Constitution, but there are signs that a new pro-Yanukovych majority is in the making in the Verkhovna Rada and consequently a vote of no confidence in Prime Minister Tymoshenko may be on the agenda of the Parliament quite soon. Mr. Yanukovych said he has not yet decided who should become the next prime minister. Observers name four candidates: the former Finance Minister Mykola Azarov; the businessman from Donetsk and crony of steel tycoon Rinat Akhmetov, Borys Kolesnykov; the former Fuel and Energy Minister Yury Boiko (all from Mr. Yanukovych's party); and outgoing President Yushchenko's ally Yurii Yekhanurov, who served as prime minister in 2005-2006.

Mr. Yekhanurov was named as a candidate by Taras Chornovil, a former aide to Mr. Yanukovych (Ukraina TV, February 8). He could be a compromise candidate if Mr. Yanukovych managed to form a new coalition with Yushchenko's Our Ukraine. However, Mr. Kolesnykov, who played a key role in the Yanukovych campaign as a deputy head of his headquarters, dismissed this as a rumor. One business daily reported that Mr. Azarov would most probably be nominated to replace Ms. Tymoshenko (Delo, February 9). Mr. Azarov had said more than a week before the election that he would be a candidate for the post of prime minister (UNIAN, January 27).

If Ms. Tymoshenko does not resign voluntarily, uprooting her may become a difficult task for Mr. Yanukovych. Unlike before the constitutional amendments that came into force in 2006, it is now up to Parliament and not the president to choose the prime minister. But Yanukovych's Party of Regions of Ukraine (PRU) was in a minority before the election. In theory, it could form a new majority together with the Communists, the centrist bloc of Rada Chair Volodymyr Lytvyn and Our

However, it would be hard to reconcile the communists with nationalists from the OU. Oleksander Holub, one of the leaders of the Communists, ruled out a coalition with nationalists for his party (UNIAN, February 9). OU national deputies made it clear that they would not hurry to join the PRU either (Ukrayinska Pravda, UNIAN, February 9).

Early parliamentary elections could be an option for Mr. Yanukovych, but in order to call them he would need to prove that there is no coalition in Parliament. This may be hard for him to do. While Ms. Tymoshenko de facto has not controlled a majority in Parliament since 2008, de jure her majority coalition exists. Moreover, if Mr. Yanukovych decides to call for early elections, a victory for his party and its allies would be far from certain, given his unconvincing victory on February 7. Even if the courts throw out Ms. Tymoshenko's appeals, Mr. Yanukovych will still have to brace himself for weeks if not months of difficult talks with potential allies.

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NEWSBRIEFS

Yanukovych wins with 48.95% of vote

KYIV - With 100 percent of electronic returns counted, 48.95 percent of Ukrainians voted for Party of Regions of Ukraine leader Viktor Yanukovych in the second round of the presidential election, while 45.47 percent backed Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, the Central Election Commission announced on February 10. Mr. Yanukovych had 12,481,268 votes, while Ms. Tymoshenko had 11,593,340. Some 4.36 percent voted against both presidential candidates. (Ukrinform)

U.S. Department of State comments

WASHINGTON - The presidential election reflects another step in the consolidation of Ukraine's democracy, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs Philip J. Crowley said in a statement on February 10. "The United States commends the Ukrainian people on the conduct of the February 7 second round of presidential election," Mr. Crowley said. He emphasized that international observers had assessed the electoral framework positively and constructively in their preliminary conclusions. "The election provided a choice among candidates in a calm atmosphere followed freely by the media," Mr. Crowley underscored. He also noted the high turnout of voters. (Ukrinform)

Yanukovych sees consolidation

KYIV - Presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovych on February 8 addressed his campaign office after the results of six exit polls were released showing him ahead of Yulia Tymoshenko. "We have made the first step towards unification of the country and his is very important. ... We have suggested changes and the Ukrainian people have backed us," he said. Mr. Yanukovych emphasized that he, as the president of Ukraine, would do his best so that "people feel themselves comfortably and calmly in a stable country," while poverty, irresponsibility and corruption are defeated. He promised to name a candidate for the post of prime minister before the presidential inauguration. (Ukrinform)

Tymoshenko to challenge results

KYIV - Lawmakers from the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (YTB) said she intends to mount a legal challenge to the results of the weekend presidential runoff that handed a narrow victory to rival Viktor Yanukovych. YTB National Deputy Serhii Sobolev told Parliament on February 9 that the vote "displayed a cynical violation of Ukrainian law by Yanukovych's team, pressure on the electors and a broad arsenal of falsification by the Party of Regions." The Ukrainian news agency UNIAN quoted YTB National Deputy Oleh Liashko as saying that "at least 1 million ballots were rigged during the presidential runoff in Donetsk and Luhansk regions and Crimea" - regions in the east of the country that are Yanukovych strongholds. Olena Shustik, deputy chair of the YTB faction, said that the decision was made late on February 8 to contest the results and to request a recount. Ms. Tymoshenko herself has not made any public statements since the results were announced. She was quoted by Ukrayinska Pravda as telling a party meeting on February 8 that she "will never recognize" Mr. Yanukovych's victory. Before the election, she had called on supporters to take to the streets in case of electoral fraud. Some Tymoshenko supporters say they do not back a challenge to the results, however. Vice Prime Minister Mykola Tomenko, a close Tymoshenko ally, told Channel 5 TV, "We need to admit defeat, and go into the opposition." (Ukrinform)

Tymoshenko campaign demands recount

KYIV - Oleksander Turchynov, Yulia Tymoshenko's campaign manager, on February 10 claimed her campaign office had already received the first documents with "legally proved" election fraud in favor of Viktor Yanukovych. Mr. Turchynov underlined that vote count irregularities at polling stations in the Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk regions were systemic and massive and "significantly affected the election returns and doubt about the voting outcome." He said that the Tymoshenko campaign office has handed over these papers to the Central Election Commission,

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

FOUNDED 1933

An English-language newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a non-profit association, at 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054. Yearly subscription rate: \$55; for UNA members — \$45.

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

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

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

Postmaster, send address changes to: 2200 Route 10 P.O. Box 280

Editors: Matthew Dubas Zenon Zawada (Kyiv)

Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz

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

The Ukrainian Weekly, February 14, 2010, No. 7, Vol. LXXVIII Copyright © 2010 The Ukrainian Weekly

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COMMENTARY: Ukraine's election offers hope, opportunity for progress

by Alcee L. Hastings

Even before Viktor Yanukovich's February 7 win in the Ukrainian presidential election, there seemed to have been an early declaration of victory – not from either of the two remaining candidates – but from Moscow.

Sure, voters trounced President Viktor Yushchenko out of office January 17, barely five years after winning an election aimed at reorienting Ukraine toward the West. And sure, the symbolism behind the Kremlin's sending of an ambassador to Kyiv before January's ballots were even counted was lost on no one.

But viewing the Ukrainian election through an old Cold War prism – a zero-sum game where if Russia wins, America loses – is precisely that: old thinking. That perspective fails to give credit to the true victors of this winter's election – the independent Ukrainian people, who held remarkably fair and democratic elections.

Clean elections are vital for Ukraine to have a chance at achieving the political stability it so badly needs to tackle a wide variety of problems, not the least of which includes a stagnant economy.

To many people of Western democracies, this may seem odd, but the fact these election results (both rounds) were not preordained is a success in itself. The fact voters did not know who would win is a new and rare concept in this part of the world and puts Ukraine in stark contrast with its neighbors. Moreover, it is hard to imagine most post-Soviet countries removing an incumbent president, as Ukrainian voters did.

As a longtime official election observer, I've seen enough shams to know that elections alone do not make a democracy. But even in Ukraine, where my fellow international observers from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe called the vote of "high quality," electoral challenges remain.

Congressman Alcee L. Hastings (D-Fla.) co-chairs the U.S. Helsinki Commission and is deputy head of the election observation mission in Ukraine.

As the next Ukrainian president,
Viktor Yanukovych now faces
the challenge of
managing relations with a
Russia that all
too often views
Ukraine as part of
its sphere of
influence.

Last-minute changes to the election law and last-minute court decisions contributed to election day confusion and I witnessed several cases of people being denied the vote. In short, these laws need fixing. Still, this election has been better than any I've witnessed in Ukraine in the last five years and could well serve as a model for others in the region.

Five years ago, the world was enamored with the Orange Revolution, which brought millions of Ukrainians into the streets to peacefully protest election fraud, corruption and lack of rule of law. Since then, Ukraine has developed an open and pluralistic political system and media freedoms have expanded

Unfortunately, Ukraine has also witnessed poor governance, destructive infighting and political instability – in part due to no clear delineation of powers between the roles of prime minister and president – leading to policy paralysis. Corruption remains widespread and the rule of law, including an independent judiciary, remains weak. The energy sector badly needs reform and greater transparency. Moreover, Ukraine has been

especially hard-hit by the global financial crisis, and while it has received assistance from the International Monetary Fund, the incessant internal in-fighting has kept it from fulfilling its requirements and hindered its ability to achieve greater economic stability. Unfulfilled promises of the Orange Revolution led to disappointment and cynicism in Ukraine, as well as frustration among Ukraine's supporters in the United States and Europe.

To view the Russia-leaning Yanukovych defeat of the more Europe-oriented Prime Minister Yuliya Tymoshenko as a victory for Moscow is an over-simplification of Ukraine's politics. Such analysis fails to recognize the candidates and citizens who clearly value having a positive relationship with Russia - as well as with the European Union and the United States. Both frontrunners prudently sought to improve relations with Russia, but none would cede Ukraine back to a bygone era. As the next Ukrainian president, Mr. Yanukovych now faces the challenge of managing relations with a Russia that all too often views Ukraine as part of its sphere of influence.

He will need to resolutely further economic reforms, tackle corruption and an underdeveloped judiciary and stabilize a fractious political system. Nothing would be more important to strengthen Ukraine's independence, especially its energy independence, reduce its vulnerability to outside

pressures and move closer to its stated Euro-Atlantic aspirations.

The United States has a solid record of standing with the Ukrainian people over the decades in support of their struggle for freedom and democracy. Now is certainly not the time to give up on them. Ukraine matters. It is crucial that we remain engaged with this strategically important country, a lynchpin to the security of Europe and a proven partner to the United States.

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IN THE PRESS

Ukraine's democratic election

Did Ukraine's presidential election reverse its 'color revolution'?" editorial, The Washington Post, February 9:

"The fact that Mr. [Viktor] Yanukovych, the apparent winner of the runoff, was Mr. [Vladimir[Putin's candidate in 2004 while Ms. [Yulia] Tymoshenko was a leader of the Orange coalition has produced understandable but false reports of the [Orange] revolution's demise. In fact Mr. Yanukovych, who draws most of his support from Ukraine's eastern provinces, learned a lesson in 2004; he now identifies himself with the country's big industrialists, rather than Mr. Putin. . . .

"In the longer term, Mr. Yanukovych will show whether he is committed to liberal democracy. Will he respect the media, which are populated by free-wheeling Russian television hosts who were driven out of Moscow? Will he fight pervasive corruption and try to strengthen institutions such as the courts? Will future elections remain free?

"If Mr. Yanukovych passes those tests, Ukraine will remain a sovereign European country – and Mr. Putin's authoritarian project will be doomed. That's why it's vital that the United States and other Western governments not turn their backs on Ukraine. The Orange Revolution lives on, for now – but it will need plenty of support and nurturing in the next few years."

"Re-Introducing Viktor Yanukovych," by Adrian Karatnycky, The Wall Street Journal, February 7:

"..., the signals emanating from Mr. [Viktor] Yanukovych's closest aides, as well as key leaders from the Our Ukraine coalition with whom I met last week in Kyiv, suggest the new president and the government he will try to bring into office will likely represent a broad-based mix of long-time Regions party officials, and competent financial and economic technocrats and market reformers – including some from the former Yushchenko team. For instance, there is a good chance that banker Serhiy Tyhypko [Sergey Tigipko - ed.], who finished a strong

third in the presidential race, will be offered the prime minister's post rather than Mr. Yanukovych's longtime ally and campaign director, Mykola Azarov, who is also under serious consideration. The odds of a broadbased coalition are reinforced by the modesty of Mr. Yanukovych's victory, clear-cut though it was

"All this means that, should the political coalition under discussion take root, Ukraine will at last achieve an interval of political stability and economic policy consensus. Ironically, that means Mr. Yanukovych's presidency may move further toward fulfilling the promises of the Orange Revolution than the fractious rule of Yushchenko-Tymoshenko ever did."

"Ukraine's democratic evolution, on hold for now," column by Anne Applebaum, The Washington Post, February 9:

"...Sunday's election of Viktor Yanukovych as president of Ukraine does not represent the counterrevolution – or at least not yet. ...

"Ukrainians are not an illogical people: The only real advantage of democracy is that it enables people to throw out leaders they don't like. When the various 'Orange' coalitions failed to deliver the expected reforms, Ukrainians took full advantage of their voting power in order to throw them out. Anyone else would do the same.

"The test now, of course, is whether Yanukovych will respect those who elected him, and ensure that democratic elections continue into the future. His success will be easy to measure: If he is evicted from office in due course, as all politicians eventually are, then he has respected the spirit of the Orange Revolution. If he tries to stay on past his term through falsifying votes, intimidating the opposition and killing journalists, as his eastern neighbors have been known to do, then we will know that the counterrevolution has come to power. And it is by these terms that we should judge him. ..."

OSCE: Ukraine's presidential election meets most international commitments

KYIV – Ukraine's run-off presidential election confirmed the international election observation mission's assessment that the electoral process met most Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and Council of Europe commitments.

In a statement issued on February 8, the observers noted that the election had consolidated progress achieved since 2004. But they also concluded that the lack of mutual trust between the candidates and the deficient legal framework were at the root of the problems observed and constitute an immediate challenge for the new leadership. The professional, transparent and honest voting and counting should serve as a solid foundation for a peaceful transition of power.

"Yesterday's vote was an impressive display of democratic elections. For everyone in Ukraine, this election was a victory. It is now time for the country's political leaders to listen to the people's verdict and make sure that the transition of power is peaceful and constructive," said João Soares, president of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and special coordinator of the OSCE short-term observers.

"Some say the Orange Revolution has failed. I say no. Thanks to the Orange Revolution, democratic elections in Ukraine are now a reality," said Matyas Eörsi, head

of the delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

"The pessimistic scenarios put forward before election day were proven wrong by the overwhelmingly efficient and non-partisan manner in which election commissions performed yesterday and by the high turnout. Ukraine is setting a pattern of democratic elections. The Ukrainian people, who have shown their commitment to a democratic electoral process, now deserve a peaceful transition of power," said Assen Agov, head of the delegation of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

"Any functioning democracy needs not only to focus on the election day itself. What it also needs is a wider legal framework guaranteeing the transparency of the political process, including the financing of political parties and candidates," said Pawel Kowal, head of the delegation of the European Parliament.

"This has been a well-administered and truly competitive election offering voters a clear choice. It will now be crucial to establish unambiguous rules and close the gaps in the law well in advance of any new election in order to avoid the uncertainties that marked this election," said Heidi Tagliavini, head of the election observation mission of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR).

Yanukovych claims...

(Continued from page 1)

ute changes to election law that had the potential to create election day chaos.

"Pessimistic scenarios voiced before the elections were dispelled by the exceptionally efficient and unsurpassed work of elections commissions on election day and the high voter turnout," said Bulgarian Assen Agov, the chair of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly delegation.

Upon taking office, Mr. Yanukovych would become the first Ukrainian president elected without a 50-percent majority in a runoff. Also, he won fewer oblasts than Ms. Tymoshenko, largely because the bulk of eastern and southern Ukrainians reside in densely populated cities with more than a million people.

Mr. Yanukovych earned 12.5 million votes and nine oblasts, drawing the most support in his native Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. Ms. Tymoshenko won 11.6 million voters and 16 oblasts, earning the most votes in the three Halychyna oblasts. She also won the overseas electorate.

Nationwide voter turnout was 69 percent in the second round, compared to 67 percent in the first round. The gap between the two candidates amounted to 887,928 votes, the CEC reported on February 10 with 100 percent of ballots counted.

Mr. Yanukovych has a legitimacy gap that he will need to overcome when forming a coalition government, political

experts said.

"Such results mean that Yanukovych didn't get agreement from the Ukrainian people to give the Russian language official status, to transfer our natural gas transit system to Russia, to create a free economic zone with the Russian Federation and to stop the process of Ukraine integrating with NATO and the European Union," said Dr. Oleh Soskin, director of the Institute of Society Transformation in Kyiv. "He didn't get carte blanche from the majority of Ukrainian citizens to conduct geopolitical and geo-economic changes in Ukraine."

The first obstacle faced by the Party of Regions of Ukraine, led by Mr. Yanukovych, involves defeating the avalanche of court appeals being filed by the Tymoshenko campaign.

On February 10, Party of Regions deputies declared they already gained 17 court rulings in their favor, but the Tymoshenko campaign promised more battles.

Recount demanded

The Tymoshenko team demanded a recount in the oblasts where the government organs are monopolized by the Party of Regions, particularly Donetsk and Luhansk, as well as the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

"We submitted documents today to the Central Election Commission with the demand to recount the votes in more than 900 election commissions," Oleksander Turchynov, the right-hand man to Ms. Tymoshenko, said on February 10. "We



U.S. Federal Judge Bohdan Futey (right) discusses the elections with the thirdplace winner in the January 17 first round, Sergey Tigipko.

Quotable notes

"The [election] results clearly show that if it weren't for the call by [President Viktor] Yushchenko and [former Foreign Affairs Minister Arseniy] Yatsenyuk, who speak to the Orange electorate, to vote 'against all,' [Yulia] Tymoshenko probably would have won."

– Political science scholar Oleksiy Haran of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, as quoted in a February 8 story by Gregory Feifer of RFE/RL.

"'It's not the people who vote that count. It's the people who count the votes.' This adage, attributed to Joseph Stalin, makes these last-minute changes [to the presidential election law] appear quite menacing. That [President Viktor] Yushchenko, who nearly lost the election in 2004 due to fraud on the part of the Yanukovych team, is willing to support his former nemesis in weakening the insurance mechanisms that were set down in the original election law to prevent fraud, speaks volumes as to what legacy he has chosen to leave behind."

– Irena Chalupa, director of RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service, writing in her February 6 commentary titled "An Epitaph for the Orange Revolution?"

"Some say the Orange Revolution has failed – I say no. Thanks to the Orange Revolution, democratic elections in Ukraine are now a reality."

– Matyas Eorsi, head of the election observer delegation in Ukraine from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, as quoted in the February 8 issue of The New York Times in a story by Clifford J. Levy.



Party of Regions Deputy Chair Borys Kolesnikov said Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko will be removed if she doesn't resign voluntarily.

are prepared to offer this concrete proof of vote falsification to international observers, journalists, the public, and to submit it to the courts."

As an example, Mr. Turchynov cited the campaign's recount at a polling station in the Crimean city of Kerch which determined that the Yanukovych campaign had inflated the vote by 8 percent.

Andrii Senchenko, leader of the Tymoshenko campaign in Crimea, alleged that the State Registry of Voters distributed additional voter lists within two days of the runoff and that the lists included voters missing from original registers.

As much as 30 percent of the lists consisted of names not on the originals, he said, creating an avenue for fraud. He estimated as many as 200,000 votes were falsified on Mr. Yanukovych's behalf in Crimea.

Serhii Vlasenko, a lawyer with the Tymoshenko Bloc, estimated that the Yanukovych campaign systemically falsified 10 to 12 percent of its vote, or 1.25 million to 1.5 million votes.

In exchange for allowing recounts in Yanukovych-controlled oblasts, he offered his rivals the chance to recount any votes in central and western Ukraine.

"The issue is Donetsk and Luhansk, where falsifications occurred with the help of organs compiling the state register," he said. "State registers are compiled by local government organs, which are entirely controlled by the Party of Regions in Donechyna and Luhanschyna."

Yet, the Tymoshenko campaign also claimed mass fraud in Dnipropetrovsk, where the prime minister was born and where she has a relatively strong campaign staff, unlike the weak presence in the Donbas. Local leaders called for cancelling the entire oblast's results.

"At more than half the city's polling stations, the Regions provided mass transit for voters on mini-buses," said a February 10 press release from the Tymoshenko campaign headquarters in Dnipropetrovsk. "Facts and evidence



Tymoshenko campaign chairman Oleksander Turchynov declared that mass fraud conducted by the Party of Regions marred the February 7 vote.

were collected that campaigning for Yanukovych was conducted during these trips. Moreover people who wanted to ride to polling stations and vote for Tymoshenko weren't allowed onto the mini-buses."

More than 40 voters cast their ballots at a student hospital polling station where only 10 voters were on the register the morning of election day. More than 200 complaints were filed in Dnipropetrovsk regarding such additions to voter registries, which allegedly occurred without a majority vote by the commissions.

The complaints were delivered to Dnipropetrovsk's six district election commissions by 11 p.m. on February 8, the Tymoshenko campaign reported. However, only one commission accepted the appeals, while the other five were closed, in violation of the law requiring them to remain open until midnight that day.

The Tymoshenko Bloc also planned to file complaints regarding the CEC's last-minute resolution on the morning of election day that allowed only two local commissioners to accompany a mobile ballot box for home voting rather than three.

Such changes raised doubt about the validity of the estimated 1.5 million ballots cast by home voters, the Tymoshenko campaign stated.

The Tymoshenko campaign's claims of vote fraud are indeed valid, reported Kyiv-based veteran political observers. The Party of Regions has an extensive history of vote fraud in the oblasts where it dominates local government, they said.

The vote can't be considered legitimate without a thorough review of the ballots and protocols in Crimea and the Kharkiv, Luhansk, Donetsk oblasts, Dr. Soskin said.

"The number of people who 'don't support anyone,' and the number of damaged ballots didn't change during the entire voting, which truly raises suspicion," he said. "There can't be a similar portrait [of voting against all and of dam-

(Continued on page 5)

Obama congratulates...

(Continued from page 1)

their February 7 vote. This peaceful expression of the political will of Ukrainian voters is another positive step in strengthening democracy in Ukraine. They agreed on the importance of continuing cooperation on nuclear non-proliferation. They also wished each other's athletes success in the Vancouver Olympic Games.

The strategic partnership between the United States and Ukraine is based on shared interests and values. These include expanding democracy and prosperity, protecting security and territorial integrity, strengthening the rule of law, promoting non-proliferation, and supporting reform in Ukraine's economic and energy sectors. The United States looks forward to working with President-elect Yanukovych and continuing to strengthen our cooperation with Ukraine's government and its Parliamentary leaders.

Yanukovych claims...

(Continued from page 4)

aged ballots] in all the oblasts. Violations are particularly credible in remote villages and small places, where a 'feudal' control by an oligarchy is observed. Reviews are necessary to legitimize the election results," Dr. Soskin added.

International observers

The Tymoshenko campaign might have had early success overturning the election results if not for the verdict delivered by both international and Ukrainian election observers, most of whom assessed the elections to be free and fair without any systemic violations that significantly influenced the final vote count.

Any doubts, particularly those harbored by foreign observers and journalists, were extinguished by a press conference called at 3 p.m. on February 8 in Kyiv by representatives of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the European Parliament, the Council of Europe and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Their clear message was they didn't see any basis for appealing the election's validity, declaring them an impressive display of democratic elections, which set a model for post-Soviet countries.

Joao Soares of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly urged Ukraine's leaders to "listen to the people's verdict and make sure that a transition of power is peaceful and constructive," a statement that came as close as possible to recommending that Ms. Tymoshenko concede defeat without actually saving so

The vote count was overwhelmingly positive and transparency was greatly enhanced by the large presence of domestic and international observers, he said.

Last-minute changes to election law didn't affect the vote but such attempts are unacceptable nevertheless, he said.

Government resources were abused and business interests continue to intertwine with political interests, Mr. Soares said. The CEC, dominated by the Party of Regions, operated in a non-partisan manner, he said. The quality of voter lists was improved, but still needs work.

"Some say the Orange Revolution has failed, but I say, 'No!" said Matyas Eorsi, leader of the observing team from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. "Thanks to the Orange Revolution, democratic elections in Ukraine are now a reality. Both candidates must accept the democratic nature of this election and so should all Ukrainians."

Ukraine's largest election monitoring organizations, the Committee of Voters of Ukraine and Opora, also found no basis to question the final results, reporting no massive or systemic falsifications. The CVU is funded by the Charles Mott Foundation, while Opora is financed by the National Democratic Institute.

Only the two Ukrainian diaspora election-monitoring groups, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) and the Canada Ukraine Foundation (which functioned in association with the Ukrainian Canadian Congress), withheld their endorsement of the elections.

The only observing official bold enough to express his doubts about the February 7 vote was U.S. Federal Judge Bohdan Futey, whose statements to the Gazeta.ua news website were broadcast by the national media.

[Editor's note: Andrew Futey, the son of Judge Futey, served as a consultant to the Tymoshenko campaign.]

Meanwhile, the Canada Ukraine Foundation on February 9 released a statement that said "there was an adequate attempt to meet internationally accepted standards for free and fair elections" in the oblasts under its observation, but withheld

an outright endorsement of the runoff.

It's entirely possible that the Party of Regions falsified enough votes to tip the scales in this election, said Ivan Lozowy, president of the Institute of Statehood and Democracy in Kyiv.

The Donetsk Oblast is Ukraine's most populous, and Mr. Yanukovych's 90 percent result there translated into 2.7 million votes. Therefore, a falsification of 18 to 20 percent could amount to more than half a million votes.

"The chances of Tymoshenko proving that there should be a new round of voting are far-fetched – not because the falsifications aren't there, because I believe they occurred," Mr. Lozowy said. "But it would take a serious, concerted effort consisting of videotapes, documentation and other evidence to place the elections under very serious doubt."

The Tymoshenko campaign should have been prepared to offer immediately video and documentary evidence to the public and international observers, he said. Instead the campaign declared its first reports of fraud only on February 9 – two days after election day, when observers had already approved the elections and public opinion was formed that Mr. Yanukovych was the victor.

The Tymoshenko campaign in Donbas was led by Natalia Koroliova, a 34-year-old Donbas entrepreneur and national deputy who has little experience in political campaigns and minimal influence in a bureaucracy controlled by the Party of Regions, he said.

"Donetsk is a tough nut to crack," Mr. Lozowy said. "They didn't do the necessary groundwork and weren't prepared. Tymoshenko could have launched a local television station during the last two years, for instance. But she's not a systemic manager. She makes last-minute decisions typical of a charismatic manager and it doesn't work, as we've seen."

Bringing in hundreds of Georgian election observers, who were unfamiliar with election rules and laws, to the Donbas region was a perfect example of her last-minute strategizing and inability to plot even months in advance, Mr. Lozowy said.

Tymoshenko silent

But what was most uncharacteristic of Ms. Tymoshenko was her decision to refrain from giving any press conference for at least four days after the vote.

Her last public statement on the election consisted of comments that spanned no longer than eight minutes before hundreds of reporters gathered at the campaign's press center on the night of elections.

After postponing press conferences several times and not appearing in public for three days, Prime Minister Tymoshenko



Democratic elections in Ukraine are a new reality in Ukraine thanks to the Orange Revolution, said Matyas Eorsi, a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.



Yulia Tymoshenko waves to photographers on election day.

addressed her weekly Cabinet of Ministers meeting on February 11 without mentioning the elections or giving a press conference.

Her silence fueled speculation among political observers.

"What Will Tymoshenko Do?" asked the headline on the Dyelo daily newspaper.

She's planning her post-election strategy, said Volodymyr Fesenko, board chairman of the Penta Center for Applied Politics in Kyiv. "It's not the silence of lambs," he said. "The lioness is preparing to leap."

Ms. Tymoshenko isn't being silent – she's preparing her speech to the public declaring mass falsifications, said Liudmyla Denysova, the minister of labor and social policy.

The Tymoshenko campaign is contesting the vote for several reasons, among them the need to save face before its electorate, Mr. Fesenko said. It's also aiming to postpone Mr. Yanukovych's inauguration as much as possible, in hope of eventually overturning the vote in the courts, he said. In the meantime, the Tymoshenko Bloc will work to prevent a new coalition government from being formed.

The Tymoshenko campaign is also working to create doubt among the electorate and the international community over the election's legitimacy, Mr. Fesenko added.

Indeed, organizations such as the OSCE have very lax standards when approving elections, said Mr. Lozowy, who served as an OSCE election observer. "They go to places like Kyrgyzstan and it's no comparison," he said. "They also remember what Ukraine was like under [former President Leonid] Kuchma. If you don't have thugs beating voters or tanks rolling in, it's democratic in their context. Their point of view is

to keep encouraging countries."

Mr. Agov of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly observation team noted in his February 8 remarks to the press, "Hope that progress [was] achieved is now irreversible."

Yet those most familiar with Mr. Yanukovych and his entourage, who live in Ukraine and interact with them, aren't convinced that the progress achieved with these elections is irreversible.

"The 110 percent defeat is the moment Yanukovych is inaugurated," Mr. Lozowy said. "Anything to forestall or reverse that is worth pursuing because that's total disaster. It's five years in the wilderness, in which the Donetsk crowd tightens the screws and takes more control of society, business and the political machine to ensure the next elections aren't free."

Victory speech

Mr. Yanukovych immediately offered a hint of what his presidency would be like when delivering his brief victory speech the night of election day in the Russian language. And his fellow Party of Regions cohorts dropped their own hints in the following days.

Without the final results confirmed, Mykhailo Okhendovskyi, a CEC member loyal to the Party of Regions, declared Mr. Yanukovych the winner three days afterwards and suggested that Ms. Tymoshenko resign. (The majority of CEC commissioners are loyal to the Party of Regions.)

Party of Regions Deputy Chair Hanna Herman declared that only the most qualified candidates would be considered for posts in the Yanukovych government, yet Ukrainian media published reports that most of the same Party of Regions officials who served in prior governments are likely to return.

In standard Regions style, Mr. Kolesnikov threatened to toss Ms. Tymoshenko from her post if she didn't resign.

"If she wants to have a political future, she should voluntarily resign," the megamillionaire said in an interview with the Segodnya newspaper, owned by his close associate Rinat Akhmetov. "If she doesn't go, then she'll be removed. That can happen in the nearest future."

Investigative journalist Serhii Leschenko reported that his attempt to photograph mega-millionaire oligarch Vasyl Khmelnytskyi entering the Party of Regions headquarters on February 10 drew shouts from camouflaged security guards, telling him he was forbidden to take pictures.

They dismissed Ms. Leschenko's explanation that he was on a public street and had every right to photograph, and then demanded that he erase the photos he shot. The guards released him when he began informing his editors of their unlawful demands, Mr. Leschenko reported.



Canada Ukraine Foundation Chief of Mission Bohdan Onyschuk described the February 7 elections as an "adequate attempt to meet internationally accepted standards."

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

The Orange Revolution and 2010

The 2010 presidential election proved the Orange Revolution was a dazzling success, but this election could just as well demonstrate it was a disastrous failure.

Raids of government offices and last-minute changes to the election law threatened to throw the vote into chaos. Yet Ukrainians responded with exceptional calm and commitment to ensuring a fair vote, international observers declared. "The pessimistic scenarios put before election day were proven wrong," said Assen Agov, leader of the NATO election monitoring team.

No violent incidents or evidence of systemic fraud affected the results, international observers reported. Ukrainian democracy is a model for other post-Soviet countries, they said. "Some say the Orange Revolution has failed, but I say, 'No!" said Matyas Eorsi, leader of the Council of Europe's team. "Thanks to the Orange Revolution, democratic elections in Ukraine are now a reality."

Mr. Eorsi's optimism is appreciated, yet it's worth waiting before popping the champagne corks. Indeed, the election results have yet to be officially declared by Ukraine's Central Election Commission, and the campaign of Yulia Tymoshenko has announced that it has evidence of mass falsifications.

It took three days for her campaign to make that announcement, and by then the global press was all but declaring Viktor Yanukovych's victory. The Tymoshenko team poured out further claims the next day, declaring it was seeking to appeal the results reported by more than 900 election commissions in four oblasts dominated by the Party of Regions. Ms. Tymoshenko has yet to call a press conference to declare the massive fraud, indicating she's carefully plotting her moves. She's in a very awkward position. The international community was on her side in 2004; now, things may be different.

Any attempts to claim wide-scale fraud, and possibly overturn the vote, will go against public opinion, which was molded both domestically and globally on the afternoon of February 8. That's when the leaders of the OSCE, Council of Europe, European Parliament and NATO election observation missions gave their collective stamp of approval to the election at a well-attended Kyiv press conference.

The Tymoshenko campaign will need to offer ample and significant evidence in order for its claims to be taken seriously and have any merit.

Much will hang in the balance at the Supreme Court of Ukraine, which is led by Vasyl Onopenko, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine, which belongs to the Tymoshenko Bloc. Mr. Onopenko has the authority to overturn the election results. But will he do so if the evidence is inadequate?

That will be the ultimate test of whether the Orange Revolution was a success. Besides fair elections, Ukraine needs courts that interpret the law independent of personal, political or business interests. Mr. Onopenko will play a critical role in determining whether Ukraine passes or fails.

The other test involves the ability of Ukraine's institutions to withstand the expected onslaught of Donbas business interests should Mr. Yanukovych and the Party of Regions take power. There's no reason to think this group of charming fellows will fulfill even half of their outrageous campaign promises, such as canceling taxes on small- and middle-sized businesses and tapping only the most qualified candidates to serve as ministers. The legitimate concern among many political observers is that Mr. Yanukovych could devote his presidency to ensuring that the Party of Regions dominates Ukrainian politics and that the 2015 vote isn't nearly as close.

In this sense, the Orange Revolution was a disaster.

In 2005 Viktor Yushchenko was thrust into an unprecedented moment in Ukrainian history in which he was given a full mandate by the Ukrainian people to radically reform society for the better and provide the chance for a middle class to emerge. "Whatever one sows, that will he also reap," the Bible tells us. Mr. Yanukovych's emergence as president of Ukraine can be seen as the outcome of the ruinous conflicts between President Yushchenko and his erstwhile ally Prime Minister Tymoshenko, both of whom failed to live up to the Orange Revolution's promises.

The former partners don't lose much, as they are able to retire to their lives of wealth and comfort in their opulent mansions, tucked behind iron gates manned by security guards. But the long-suffering Ukrainian people, who risked their lives in 2004-2005 for these two personalities, don't deserve the potentially grim fate that awaits them.

"Yanukovych was able to become president only thanks to the Orange Revolution," noted political scientist Oleksii Holobutskyi. Democracy is messy indeed.

Feb. **15** 2007

Turning the pages back...

Three years ago, on February 15, 2007, President Viktor Yushchenko's legal advisor, Ihor Pukshyn, announced that the Presidential Secretariat would ask the Constitutional Court to clarify whether the president can dismiss the Cabinet. Mr.

Pukshyn argued that the Cabinet is accountable to both Parliament and the president, which would mean that the president, and not only Parliament, can dismiss the Cabinet.

The constitutional amendments of 2004, which went into effect in 2006, left to the president only the right to ask Parliament to vote no confidence in the Cabinet, First Deputy Minister of the Cabinet of Minsters Olena Lukash noted. The final word was in the hands of Parliament, which was dominated by supporters of Prime Minister

COMMENTARY

Ukraine's semi-presidential cul de sac

by Andreas Umland

At the beginning of November 2009, the Pew Research Center published the results of its recent survey of attitudes toward democracy in post-Soviet countries. The findings on Ukraine were sobering as they showed considerable Ukrainian disappointment at the democratic path of development that had been resoundingly reasserted in 2004, during the Orange Revolution.

The popularity of democracy had fallen in Ukraine by 42 percent between 1991 and 2009 – the sharpest fall in all the post-Soviet countries where surveys had been carried out. The 30 percent who still supported democracy in 2009 was the lowest figure of the countries in the study (see: "End of Communism Cheered, But Now with More Reservations. The Pulse of Europe 2009: 20 Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall," Pew Global Attitudes Project, November 2, 2009, http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=267).

A factor contributing to the Ukrainians' growing discontent with their political system has been rarely acknowledged in both Ukraine and the West: semi-presidentialism – the political system in place, in Kyiv, since the Orange Revolution. At the height of the uprising, a political compromise between pro- and anti-Orange groupings was arrived at in a short period of time. It led to a hasty constitutional reform implemented at the end of 2004 and coming into force on January 1, 2006.

As a result, a division of executive power between the president and the prime minister became set in concrete, rather than just nominal, as it had been under President Leonid Kuchma. However, this now properly semi-presidential form of government is problematic for societies in transition, not least for Eastern European countries, as has been amply demonstrated in comparative research (see for example: "Semi-Presidentialism in Central and Eastern Europe," edited by Robert Elgie and Sophia Moestrup. Manchester University Press 2008).

Ukrainian attitudes to democracy and the international reputations of their politicians have been negatively affected by the destructive repercussions of that system, i.e., the conflict inherent in the divided executive. The new balance of power between the state's two rulers, and the parliamentary-presidential system that came into force in January 2006 were important, if not the chief, determinants

Andreas Umland is general editor of the book series "Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society" (www.ibidem-verlag.de/spps.html). His articles have appeared in such publications as The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, Moscow Times, Kyiv Post and The Ukrainian Weekly. of the prolonged standoffs between President Viktor Yushchenko and Prime Ministers Viktor Yanukovych or Yulia Tymoshenko.

The failure to understand these problems and the nature of the political crisis has not only distorted Ukrainian attitudes toward their young democracy in recent years, but also the opinion of foreign commentators, not familiar with recent political research. Semi-presidentialism's effects on this post-totalitarian state has even compelled some people to question the suitability of democracy for Ukraine or even of Ukrainians for democracy.

While Ukraine's current semi-presidency is, as such, relatively democratic, governmental prerogatives within this system are fractured. Ever since the fall of the semi-presidential Weimar Republic in 1930-1933, comparative studies have shown that a divided executive is, especially in transition countries, ineffectual. But outside the narrow circle of international political analysts, this issue is rarely recognized as being a problem of Ukraine not specific to this post-Soviet country.

As a result of such misunderstandings, dissatisfaction with Ukraine's government at home and abroad has bred fatalism. The strange political spectacles in Kyiv during the past few years are seen as reflecting the political immaturity of the Ukrainian elite or even of the whole population.

What needs to be remembered, however, is that from 1991 to 2004 Ukraine carried out one of the most impressive democratizations in recent European history, and done so in the teeth of tremendous difficulties. Seen in comparative perspective and properly contextualized, Ukraine's performance was, in fact, remarkable.

It was only in 1998, for instance, that the Germans, for the first time in their history, removed via popular vote their ruler, Chancellor Helmuth Kohl, from power. (In 1969 Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger also stood down after Bundestagswahlen, yet his party CDU/ CSU had, unlike 1998, actually won these elections.) The Ukrainians, already in 1994, had kicked out, by a popular vote, their ruler and first post-Soviet president, Leonid Kravchuk, who had been elected in 1991. In doing so, they met early on a criterion used by political scientists in determining the maturity of a democracy. Since then, Ukrainians have two more times rejected incumbents in presidential elections: Mr. Yanukovych (who had been prime minister since 2002) in December 2004, and Mr. Yushchenko (as president standing for a second term) in January

This illustrates that Ukraine is – for all the mess in its politics – today a democratic country. The West should pay more attention to this young nation-state, as well as help Ukrainians to restructure and consolidate their current political system.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A letter-writer responds to critics

Dear Editor:

It seems that I offended a couple of Canadian readers (letters, November 22, 2009) by referring to my experience with Canadian medicine, which consisted of one tiny paragraph in a letter denouncing "Obamacare" (September 27, 2009). As both letter-writers challenged me to respond to their letters, I am doing so, albeit belatedly.

Greg Rak issued a strong legal challenge to me, basing his questions on the assumption that it was my arm that was broken and that the incident was a serious crime that needed to be reported to the highest Canadian authorities. I invite Mr. Rak to reread my letter. I never said it was my arm that was broken and I never said it was a "crime." We were in Montreal for a hockey tournament about 15 years ago and it was one of my son's 10-year-old teammates whom my husband accompanied to the ER. The boy was treated for pain (emergency service was provided), but his arm was not set until extra money was paid. No one considered this a crime, just the consequences of socialized medicine - underpaid doctors and understaffed ERs. We considered this experience an annoyance, not a crime. I would never release this doctor's name even if I could remember it. I truly believe your government as well as ours has more serious things to investigate.

As for Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, he too should reread my letter. I never said anyone "insisted" on a bribe; that is Dr. Luciuk's word. Again I would report only a serious crime to any government. If the boy's life had been in danger, there is no doubt that action would have been taken on our part. Also, I do not appreciate the implication that I concocted this incident to score political points. I do not lie. Dr. Luciuk is very proud that life expectancy in Canada is higher than in the U.S. I would like to inform him that it is well-known that life expectancy involves a lot of factors (see The New England Journal of Medicine). Only 10 percent is dependent on health care; the rest depends on human behavior, genetic predisposition and social circumstances. I feel we in the U.S. are doing quite well considering all the illegal immigrants that our health care system services. We also have the shortest wait time in the world, so I am definitely taking my chances here.

It was not irresponsible of me to relate one unfortunate incident. I never said "all" Canadian doctors "insist" on bribes or that "all" Canadian medicine is inferior. That would indeed have been irresponsible. However, I am now offended that both authors implied that the incident did not happen since I did not report it as a crime. Hurling insults at me does not accomplish anything. I think my Canadian friends overreacted.

Lydia Kossak Kernitsky D.M.D. Colts Neck, N.J.

More about visiting Ukraine

Dear Editor:

This letter is in response to Orysia Duplak Buchan's letter about her experience in Ukraine (January 32), and her reaction to Zenon Zawada's "Survival tips for election observers in Ukraine" (January 3).

I have visited Ukraine almost every year since 1991 and have had some positive but also some negative experiences. It is very

difficult for someone who visits Ukraine once or twice to observe everything, especially when most of the time is spent with relatives and friends.

Mr. Zawada mentioned blackouts, heating failures and muggings. Although we personally did not experience any of these, we have heard from others who have. However, one year we were without any water for a day in Lviv and were told that this is nothing unusual. As far as muggings, I agree with Ms. Buchan that this is something one might experience anywhere while traveling, but it is wise to be careful, as Mr. Zawada suggested.

In Lviv, the atmosphere is very different from that in Kyiv. We always feel at home in Lviv, Ukrainian is spoken everywhere around us, especially by students around schools and universities. Unfortunately, not enough is done to restore some of the beautiful, historical buildings in Lviv, and also to provide better conditions for tourists (i.e., public toilets, visitor stands, brochures, etc.), although there is some progress here.

Kyiv is something else. Every time we visit Kyiv, we are constantly irritated. Newsstands don't display Ukrainian newspapers, most restaurants have menus written in Russian, and the Russian language is the language everywhere you go.

A couple of years ago we enjoyed a cruise on the Dnipro River down to Crimea, with stops along the way. The captain of the ship (although Ukrainian) spoke in Russian, and so did the whole crew. There were Russian, German, Spanish and English tour guides throughout the journey, but no Ukrainian guide – although our group consisted of about 20 Ukrainians. Upon my return, I wrote to the minister of culture and tourism about this and he finally responded (about six months later) promising to correct the problem.

The Hyatt hotel in Kyiv stands out as a sore thumb, as it does not harmonize with the architecture of the city. Also, it is not a hotel for us tourists, but for rich oligarchs and wealthy businessmen from the West.

Anyone who has been in Kyiv recently during the cold, snowy weather, has had to wade through snow and ice, since there was no clean-up whatsoever. People slipped and fell, broke their arms and legs, and no one cared. The mayor of the capital was vacationing in Africa at the time.

Also, it is a disgrace that Kyiv, a beautiful historical city, is so neglected. Whoever has the money can get permission to build anywhere in the city, whether it fits in with the existing architecture or not, and whether it is safe or not.

In my observations I do have to mention the presidential election. What does it say about our people in Ukraine that in the first round they voted for Viktor Yanukovych (35 percent) and Yulia Tymoshenko (25 percent), and President Viktor Yushchenko (the only real Ukrainian among these candidates) received only 5 percent of the votes? What is Ukraine's future should Mr. Yanukovych win?

It is nice to visit Ukraine for several weeks, meet relatives and go sightseeing, but to see what the reality is takes much more time.

Oksana Kuzyszyn Fords, N.J.

We welcome your opinion

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

Double Exposure

by Khristina Lew

Flowers everywhere

In 1998 I traveled to Ukraine for three months to work on a voter education program. On March 29 – election day – as Ukrainians voted in a new Parliament, my cousin Kvitka Cisyk lost her battle with breast cancer.

I had visited her in her apartment overlooking a snowy Central Park in New York before I left. She had thrown open her large closet and pulled out clothing for me. "I want you to look good in Ukraine," she had said. She assured me we would see each other when I returned to the States in April. I came home for her memorial service.

I was in Lviv observing the elections when Kvitka passed away. Twelve years – and four elections – later I returned to Lviv to honor Kvitka's memory with the unveiling of a memorial plaque on the street where my father, Wasyl Lew, was born.

Kvitka was many things to many people, but her legacy is Ukrainian song. At a 2008 concert held in her memory in Kyiv, the singer Nina Matvienko whispered the following to me back stage: "In the dark times there was no Ukrainian song. And then we heard Kvitka, who preserved that song for us when we couldn't have it... My own daughter told me that Kvitka was the most important singer of Ukrainian song. I realized then I was nothing compared to her."

On January 22, on Hlyboka Street in Lviv's center, some 50 people, including Deputy Mayor Vasyl Kosiv and former Soviet dissident and poet Ihor Kalynets, braved temperatures hovering around freezing to watch the unveiling of a plaque in Kvitka's honor.

No. 8 Hlyboka Street was the home of our grandparents, Sophia and Wasyl Lew. My father was born there in 1940, and his older sister, Ivanna Cisyk – Kvitka's mother – stayed there when she was in Lviv.

The memorial plaque reads: "In this building until 1944 lived the famous Lew family, into which in 1953 was born the well-known American singer of Ukrainian descent Kvitka Cisyk." It was blessed by the parish priest of Kvitka's Ukrainian cousin, Marta Cisyk-Kachmar.

The installation of the plaque was initiated by the Ukrainian-born producer Aleksander Guttmacher, who since 2007 has worked tirelessly to introduce Kvitka to new audiences. He began by hosting evenings of Kvitka's music for new immigrants in the New York area. These evenings, with performances by singers and musicians from Ukraine, culminated in a March 2008 concert at The Ukrainian Museum in New York attended by Kvitka's husband, Ed Rakowicz, and their son, Eddie.

Mr. Guttmacher also produced the October 2008 memorial concert in Kyiv, which was attended by First Lady Kateryna Yushchenko and Minister of Culture and Tourism Vasyl Vovkun. Additional concerts were held in Odesa and Lviv, and a fourth concert is scheduled for February 22 in Ivano-Frankivsk.

He also plans to launch a festival of Ukrainian music in Kvitka's name, and is currently arranging for a street in Lviv to be named in her honor.

Mr. Guttmacher, who never met Kvitka, says that one needs only to hear her sing "Cheremshyna" to understand what drives him to promote her so tirelessly.

Kvitka's music has a way of opening people's hearts. After the unveiling of the memorial plaque, a young man named Yevhen Bulavin invited all those assembled for coffee and pastries at his cafe, Shtuka. Just because he liked her song.



Family of Kvitka Cisyk gather at No. 8 Hlyboka St.: (from left) Chrystyna Kharmatiy, Khristina Lew, Marta Cisyk-Kachmar and Maria Cisyk.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Ukraine's "Untouchables"

by Illya M. Labunka

Every political campaign, especially on the national level, sooner or later becomes a target of comic relief.

Anyone who has followed Ukrainian politics over the last couple of years would, more likely than not, agree that the banality of the situation has become "fair game" for political satire and parody.

One entity that has declared "open season" on Ukraine's national political elite is the Ukraine-based TRK Ukraina (TPK Україна) television network.

In the autumn of 2009 this TV network produced a political sitcom titled "Nedotorkani" (The Untouchables, or The Politically Immune), an allusion to the as-of-yet unrevoked immunity from prosecution of Ukraine's legislators and high-level politicians. Directed by Valentyn Opalev, the eight-episode series was originally scheduled for nationwide broadcast in October 2009. Unfortunately, the satirical TV series has yet to be broadcast on national television.

All attempts to assess the reasoning behind the decision to indefinitely shelve the series indefinitely have proven futile. A search on the parent TV network's website provided no evidence of such a production's existence. Additional Internet surfing offered fragmentary and ambiguous phrases (in Russian) suggesting that, "information on the subject 'Nedotorkani' is unavailable"...probably for good reason.

Fortunately for interested viewers, the video-sharing website YouTube began featuring all eight episodes of the series as early as October of last year. The opening credits of the pilot episode features a depiction of Ilya Repin's famous painting "Reply of the Zaporozhian Kozaks to Sultan Mehmed IV of the Ottoman Empire," with the faces of Ukraine's contemporary political leaders masterfully superimposed over the historic images portrayed in the artwork. The creative forces behind this spectacle clearly intended to demonstrate and parody the "sharovarschyna" of today's political scene in Ukraine - two Ukrainians, three

Each episode is split into thirds, with each third of an episode running approximately eight minutes for a total of 24 to 26 minutes per episode. The final third of each episode is followed by a disclaimer stating that all persons and actions are fictitious and any similarity to real events is purely coincidental.

The ensemble of the "Nedotorkani" series consists of a very well cast group of talented actors, most of whom are not (yet) household names in Ukraine. The cast is led by actor Harik Bircha, a veteran of the TV comedy circuit league-oriented program known as "KBH," which features affiliate shows in Russia, Ukraine and other post-Soviet republics.

Mr. Bircha ably portrays a character known as Andriy Viktorovych, the "guarantor" of the Constitution. The guarantor is seen as someone preoccupied mainly with his antiques collection and apiary, while simultaneously engaged in a sincere but someone hapless effort to eradicate corruption wherever possible. This

political leader also has a familiar knack for flexing his wrists and elbows like an accountant or bank clerk.

Inna Prykhodko, a 21-year-old graduate of the Kyiv National University of Culture and the Arts, is featured as Julia Volodymyrivna Crazy in the leading female role of the series. Along with a now-famous braid, Ms. Prykhodko enhances her excellent performance through appropriate attire and subtle facial expressions coupled with a distinct voice and dialect.

Ms. Prykhodko first gained national prominence in May 2009 as a contestant on the "Ukraine Has Talent" television show broadcast on the STB (CTB) network. Due to the overwhelming success of her portrayal of the Julia Volodymyrivna Crazy character, Ms. Prykhodko was offered the opportunity to reprise her popular role on the TRK Ukraina network in the "Nedotorkani" series.

Another veteran of the "KBH" comedy circuit program by the name of Kostiantyn Roshkulets assumes the role of Fedir Viktorovych, a Joe the Plumber type of character who, despite his working-class roots and rough-around-the-edges demeanor, manages to become a prominent national political figure, albeit still a buffoon in the end. Mr. Roshkulets delivers a solid performance with an entertaining focus on physical mannerisms and verbal expressions.

The head of the legislative branch of government is a character by the name of Mytvyn, who as a Slick Willy type of fellow featuring a white, precisioned coiffure, seems more concerned with catching the next soccer game than deliberating mundane legislation. Vyacheslav Vasyliuk garners high praise for his performance.

Featuring a recognizable lisp, the country's top law enforcement officer goes by the name of Obtsenko and is portrayed true-to-form by Andriy Bohdanovych.

Olena Bondareva-Repina provides the viewer with a tour-de-force performance of an outspoken, loudmouth politician known as Inna Hermanivna Bohuslavska.

An effective amalgamation of two well-known nationalist-oriented politicians is entertainingly personified by the embroidered shirt-wearing Tyahnyshkil character portrayed by Yaroslav Chornenkyi.

Ihor Portnyanko delivers a truly comedic and accurate portrayal of a clueless, "spaced out" politician by the name of Kosmovetskyi, who, among numerous oddities, enjoys singing Ukrainian traditional folk songs in public while on the job.

The portrayal of Communist political leader Kommunenko is one of the few weaker performances of the entire series.

In this season of intense political campaigning and high drama, "Nedotorkani" seems to offer the open-minded viewer some respite from the, quite frankly, depressing political situation in Ukraine.

Ukraine's "not ready for prime time players" can be viewed by Googling the word "недоторкані" in the Cyrillic alphabet or by logging on to http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e7bg306NQnw

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FOR THE RECORD

UABA reacts to article in The Washington Post

On January 6, The Washington Post published an article by John Pancake headlined "In Ukraine, movement to honor members of WWII underground sets off debate." While the article began by acknowledging that the Ukrainian underground fought both Hitler and Stalin, it proceeded to expand on "a national debate" that was "set off" by the movement for recognition of "those earlier nationalists."

It continued, at length, that "Many say the underground collaborated with the Nazis, killed thousands of Jews and perpetrated a campaign of ethnic cleansing against Poles."

"The effort to recognize the insurgents," Mr. Pancake wrote, "also is taking place against the backdrop of centuries of persecution of Jews in Ukraine, where pogroms were common." Bogdan [sic] Khmelnytsky is then alleged to have "presided over the killings of tens of thousands of Jews..."

The article quotes Prof. Peter J. Potichnyj of McMaster University in Ontario, as a former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The article also quotes John-Paul Himka of the University of Alberta: "He [Prof. Himka] estimates that UPA fighters killed several thousands Jews, 'but perhaps the number was much higher.'"

Mr. Pancake concludes by quoting Yaakov Bleich, the chief rabbi of Ukraine: "The Ukrainian insurgents fought alongside the fascists."

This isn't the first time that Mr. Pancake uncritically introduced some inexcusable errors that fundamentally distort the historical record. On December 27, 2009, The Washington Post published in its Travel section an extensive article about Kyiv, written by Mr. Pancake, headlined "Visiting Kiev [sic], the capitaol of Ukraine and a cradle of Russian culture." That article was subsequently reprinted in New Jersey's Star-Ledger, and possibly in other newspapers. While largely positive in substance and tone, in that earlier article Mr. Pancake dutifully recited the ritual catechism of Russian "historians" that Kyiv is the mother of "Russian" cities, and that Russian culture traces its origins to Kyiv.

We reprint for our readers, Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike, the response of the Ukrainian American Bar Association to The Post's article about the Ukrainian insurgency during the second world war. The author of the letter, Victor Rud, said "It is hoped that this will serve as a convenient summary of Ukraine's decision not to compromise principle, and to battle tyranny whatever its form."

Dear Sir / Madam:

As an organization of practicing attorneys and jurists, we have over many years encountered the unchallenged acceptance of Soviet (and now Russian) disinformation campaigns concerning Ukraine. John Pancake's article about the Ukrainian underground during World War II (January 6, 2010) unwittingly, but no less unfortunately, lends credibility to those

The issue is not merely historical accuracy. Russia re-catalyzed the disinformation campaigns after Ukraine declared independence and, even more, after Ukraine struck firmly on a democratic path and integration with the rest of Europe in the wake of the Orange

A recent Washington Post article lends credibility to Soviet (and now Russian) disinformation campaigns concerning Ukraine.

Revolution five years ago. The trajectory of that path may be reversing, in which case the implications for the security of the rest of Europe and the United States will be profound. As stated by Sherman Garnett of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: "Whether Russianled integration on the territory of the former USSR will pose a serious, long-term military challenge to the West, depends in large part on the role that Ukraine plays or is compelled to play."

Although the article begins by recognizing Ukrainian opposition to both Hitler and Stalin, it references the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and concludes by quoting Rabbi Yaakov Bleich's allegation that "The Ukrainian insurgents fought alongside the fascists. And maybe their intentions were good, but I will say that the road to hell is paved with good intentions." By ending on such a note, The Post necessarily accedes to the consequent imagery of the UPA as an ally of Hitler, seemingly roaming the countryside with no purpose other than to indiscriminately kill Poles and Jews.

The labeling of the UPA as "fascist" has repeatedly been shown to be a Sovietera fabrication, but the accusation is still leveled today by those who are not aware of the fabrication, or those intent on compromising a democratic Ukraine that is independent of Russian rule. The falsification was documented, yet again, with the declassification of KGB archives in Ukraine by President Viktor Yushchenko. A recent study, "The Jewish Card in Russian Special Operations Against Ukraine," was presented by Moses Fishbein at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, on June 24-27, 2009 (available on the website http://www. vaadua.org/VaadENG/News%20 eng-2009/fishbeyn2.htm), which concluded as follows:

"Russia's special services are seeking to destabilize the situation in Ukraine, undermine its sovereignty and independence, create a negative image of this country, block its integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures, and turn Ukraine into a dependent and manipulated satellite. In their special operations against Ukraine they attribute exceptional importance to the 'Jewish card.'"

A voluminous historical record establishes that the UPA uncompromisingly battled Nazi Germany. Simultaneously and against impossible odds, the UPA battled against Hitler's erstwhile co-conspirator, Stalin, well into the 1950s. The declared position of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, whose military arm was the UPA, was clear: "The OUN is resolutely fighting against both interna-

(Continued on page 24)

NEWS ANALYSIS

The "reset" at one year: the view from Moscow

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

by Brian Whitmore RFE/RL

Vladimir Putin was in favor of Barack Obama's reconfigured missile defense plan before he was against it.

When the new U.S. president announced in September 2009 that he was scrapping plans to install an advanced radar in the Czech Republic and defensive missiles in Poland in favor of a new approach relying on sea-based interceptors in southern Europe, the Russian prime minister hailed the move as "correct and brave."

But just months later, Mr. Putin caused more than a little bit of head-scratching in Washington when he abruptly reversed course in December 2009 and slammed Mr. Obama's new approach, saying it would fundamentally disrupt the balance of power in Europe and force Russia to develop new offensive weapons in response.

That on-again, off-again quality has characterized much of Russia's relations with the United States in the year since U.S. Vice-President Joe Biden announced at the Munich Security Conference that it was time to "press the reset button" in Russian-American relations.

That fateful phrase, uttered one year ago, was followed by a jokey presentation of a plastic red-and-yellow "reset" button by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to her Russian counterpart, Sergei Lavrov. But substantive changes resulted as well, including a marked improvement in the rhetoric, tone and atmosphere between Washington and Moscow. But while the barbs, bluster and confrontation that marked much of the past decade have subsided, they have yet to be replaced by a true spirit of cooperation.

Untrustworthy competitor

Analysts say this is partially because a significant portion of the current Russian elite, most notably the security service veterans surrounding Mr. Putin, continue to view the United States as a competitor that cannot be trusted.

"The main problem, of course, is very serious differences in strategic objectives between the United States and Russia," says Moscow-based defense analyst Pavel Felgenhauer. "There is a gap in objectives and a gap in ideology, which makes cooperation uneasy and very limited."

Fyodor Lukyanov, editor-in-chief of the influential Moscow-based journal Russia in Global Affairs, says the problem runs even deeper. Two decades after the end of the Cold War, the two former superpower rivals still don't really know how to deal with each other.

"There is a clear desire to improve relations, which had reached a dead end before Obama took office," Mr. Lukyanov says. "But what do Russia and America want from each other in today's world? This is not clear."

The idea behind President Obama's reset with Russia was to shift the focus away from contentious issues like NATO expansion and missile defense and concentrate instead on areas where interests overlap, like arms control, the war in Afghanistan and preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons.

A year down the road, however, the record is mixed. A new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (START) was supposed to be completed by the end of 2009 when the existing Cold War-era pact expired. But negotiations have dragged on longer than expected and analysts say a new treaty could still be months away.

The United States sought, and received, permission from Moscow to transport military hardware to Afghanistan across Russian territory. But the implementation of this agreement has been spotty.

Mixed signals

Russia has also sent mixed signals about supporting Washington's drive to impose tough sanctions on Iran in order to curb Tehran's nuclear ambitions. In late September 2009, President Dmitry Medvedev indicated support for the U.S. policy, saying "in some cases, sanctions are inevitable." But weeks later, Mr. Lavrov appeared to retreat, saying "sanctions and threats of pressure in the current situation, we are convinced, would be counterproductive."

Mr. Lukyanov says many in the Russian elite think the United States is asking for a lot from Russia and offering little in return.

"There is just a desire on the part of the United States to solve problems that are important to them, and to get Russia's support for this," he says. "This, so far, hasn't worked."

The United States has stopped pressing hard for NATO membership for Georgia and Ukraine, a serious point of conflict during the administration of George W. Bush. President Obama and other administration officials, however, have stressed repeatedly that the alliance's door is open and Moscow will not have a veto over this decision.

Russia, however, wants the United States to agree to grant it a sphere of influence in the former Soviet space as part of a new "security architecture" for Europe something the administration has said it will not agree to.

Mr. Felgenhauer says Russia is seeking something similar in the former Soviet space to the tacit deal Moscow got at the Yalta conference in February 1945 as World War II was winding down, when they won a free hand in Eastern Europe.

"Some kind of agreement is seen as possible in Russia, but the terms are unacceptable in the West," Mr. Felgenhauer says. "Russia is thinking in terms of a new Yalta and carving up Eurasia."

What form relations?

One effect the reset has had in Russia is to spark, for the first time in nearly a decade, a debate about what form Russia's relations with the United States and the West should take.

In a recent article published in Mr. Lukyanov's journal, for example, Yevgeny Savostyanov, a former Kremlin deputy chief of staff, wrote that "there are no insurmountable obstacles against building a full-scale partnership" between Washington and Moscow.

'Recent developments in the world make it necessary to focus on a dramatic revision of Russian-U.S. relations on a scope not seen before," Mr. Savostyanov wrote. "Russia, the world's largest country, with immense resources, and the U.S., the richest, most powerful and advanced country in the world, have no imminent contradic-

Mr. Lukyanov says a debate is going on inside the elite, but says views advocating an alliance with Washington are "marginal" at this point.

"A minority thinks Russia needs to form an alliance with the United States," he says. "And there are some who think Russia needs to take advantage of this moment, when America appears to not know what it wants."

For the time being, analysts say the predominant opinion in the foreign policy elite is that the Untied States has been weakened by a combination of the economic crisis and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan – and that Russia should push Russia wants the United States to agree to grant it a sphere of influence in the former Soviet space as part of a new "security architecture" for Europe -something the Obama administration has said it will not agree to.

its advantage.

"Russia sees the West and the United States as its main enemy – politically, ideologically, economically and militarily. That is how it is seen from Russia, but not from the West," Mr. Felgenhauer says. "These are very serious differences that cannot be overcome just by brandishing small yellow boxes with red buttons."

U.S.-China relations

That, of course, can change. And one area strategists in Moscow are keeping a close eye on is how the United States' rela-

tionship with China develops. If the Russia-U.S. reset was the theme of last year's Munich conference, this year's gathering was to open with a speech by the Chinese foreign minister, Yang Jiechi, and was expected to highlight Beijing's growing influence.

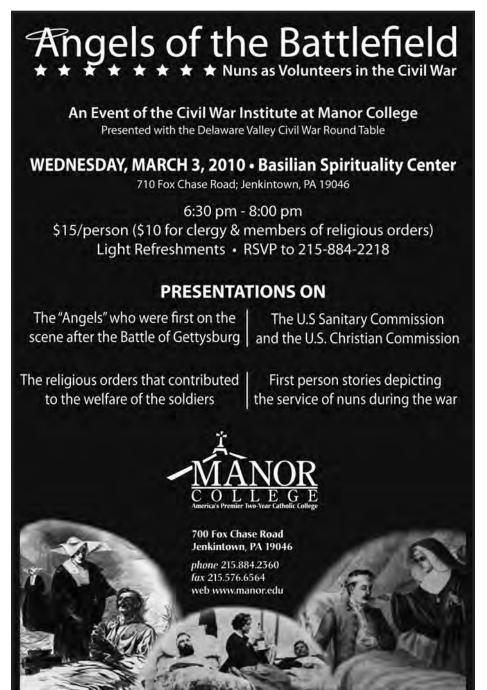
As with Russia, Mr. Obama initially reached out to China in hopes of persuading Beijing to support sanctions on Iran, agree to curbs on greenhouse-gas emissions and revalue its currency, which Washington believes is kept at an artificially low level to boost exports.

Now Mr. Obama is taking a tougher line with China, and Mr. Lukyanov says Moscow is watching very closely.

"An interesting period is starting in which the United States is trying to demonstrate to China that America remains a powerful world leader," Mr. Lukyanov says. "The result of this attempt will seriously influence Russian American rela-

"If China holds its ground and demonstrate political strength vis-à-vis the United States, then this will strengthen the position of those in Russia who believe that the period of American dominance is over and Russia must act accordingly." Mr. Lukyanov explains. "But if it goes the other way, then the belief that you need to take American strength into account will grow."

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Plokhy's new book, "Yalta: The Price of Peace," launched at Harvard

by Peter T. Woloschuk

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. – The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI) on February 4 co-hosted the launch of Dr. Serhii M. Plokhy's latest book, "Yalta: The Price of Peace." The event was co-sponsored by Harvard University's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and will be featured on C-Span's Book TV on Sunday, February 14, at 7 p.m.

The release of the book by Viking Press in New York City was specifically timed to coincide with the 65th anniversary of the Yalta Conference, which played a major role in dividing the post-World War II world and launched a new chapter in Ukrainian history.

More than 75 members of Harvard and the greater Boston Ukrainian community were present for the two-hour launch and Dr. Plokhy's explanation of the salient points of his work and its genesis. The session was chaired by Kelly O'Neill, assistant professor of history and faculty associate of the Davis Center. Terry Martin, and program director of the Cold War Studies Project at the Davis Center and acting director of the Davis Center and professor of Russian studies, commented on the book and also reacted to the presentation by Dr. Plokhy.

Dr. Plokhy, who is the Mykhailo S. Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History at Harvard, stressed the importance for his work of previously inaccessible Soviet materials and emphasized the true impact of Yalta on post-war Poland, and, most importantly, post-war Soviet Ukraine.

In discussing the book, Prof. Martin said, "Yalta: The Price of Peace" is a scholarly work that is both readable and interesting, and will become the definitive work on the topic."

The launch was followed by a similar event at Columbia University's Harriman Center (Averell Harriman was the U.S. ambassador to the USSR at the time of the Yalta Conference) on Friday, February 5, which was co-sponsored by the university's Ukrainian Studies program.

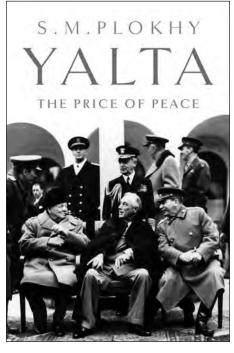
Viking Press characterizes the book "as an authoritative, original and vividly-written narrative history that offers telling lessons for the future. It makes the point that, however skillful the diplomat and however promising the outcome (and the Yalta Conference was, at the time, perceived by many as a great accomplishment), democratic leaders must be prepared to pay a price for their close involvement with those who do not share their values."

"Yalta" also received strong endorsements from Pulitzer Prize-winning authors John Meachem, Anne Applebaum and Robert Dallek, as well as from former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski and the author of one of the best-selling books on the second world war, Antony Beevor. Mr. Dallek best expressed the sentiments of the others when he stated: "Yalta is a wonderful work of scholarship: brilliantly researched and judiciously argued. A distinguished work of history, it should, once and for all, put to rest the many myths about the conference."

To date the book has also received two starred reviews, one in the Publisher's Weekly and the other in the BookList. Both reviewers pointed to the author's sophisticated use of the new Soviet sources and engrossing nature of the narrative.

For 65 years, opinion has been bitterly divided on whether U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill failed at Yalta. In America, the conservatives who hated Roosevelt's New Deal accused him of sell-





Dr. Serhii M. Plokhy and his new book.

ing out to the Soviet dictator. Was he too sick? Did he give away too much in exchange for Stalin's promise to join the war against Japan? Had he played his hand differently, could Poland have escaped Soviet domination? Both Left and Right have argued that Yalta paved the way to the Cold War.

In this groundbreaking book, Dr. Plokhy gives the first comprehensive reassessment of the Yalta Conference since the end of the Cold War. Combing through archives in the United States and the United Kingdom, he found new documents recording Roosevelt's exchanges with his advisors, and obtained British internal memos and minutes of Cabinet meetings. He is the first historian of Yalta to have made use of previously inaccessible Soviet documents that became available after the collapse of the Soviet Union. He also drew extensively from published and unpublished diaries of secondary players, including Churchill's doctor and Roosevelt's daughter, to bring all of the characters to life.

In discussing the book, Prof. Plokhy answered the following questions in an extensive interview about his work and its significance for Ukrainian history.

"Yalta" has been issued by one of the leading trade publishers in the world and deals with one of the turning points in the world history. How does your research relate to the history of Ukraine?

The topic of my research and writing was a major world event that featured some of the best-known political figures of the modern era. Thus, the significance of the topic was global, but it is only by studying the particular geopolitical and historical context of the decisions made by world leaders that one can understand events of global importance. As a historian of Ukraine, I paid special attention to those aspects of the Yalta Conference that were directly related to Ukrainian history. I considered it my task, on the one hand, to bring as many elements of world history into the Ukrainian historical narrative as possible and, on the other, to incorporate the Ukrainian story into European and world history.

It appears that the impact of the Yalta Conference on the history of Ukraine has not received enough attention to date. Why is this so?

For decades, scholars of Ukrainian history have preferred to stay away from the Yalta Conference, considering it not exactly a "Ukrainian topic" and thereby leaving the field to American, British, Russian and Polish scholars. It is hard to understand the reason for this. After all, the conference took place in a city that was part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from 1954 and in which the majority of the population voted for Ukrainian independence in 1991, and where Ukrainian political and business leaders now hold annual meetings with Western counterparts like President Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

However, irrespective of the location of the conference, it was as important to Ukraine as to the United States, Britain or Poland. It was at Yalta that the western borders of Ukraine, and, by extension, the future eastern borders of the European Union were decided by the Big Three. It was Yalta that gave Ukraine Lviv and took away Peremyshl. And, it has been argued that by incorporating Lviv into Ukraine, Stalin actually sowed the seeds for the dissolution of the Soviet Union which occurred

(Continued on page 22)

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Dr. Serhii M. Plokhy speaks at the launch of his new book, "Yalta: The Price of Peace."

MUSICAL PROFILE: The Zuk Piano Duo, Luba and Ireneus Zuk

by Alexandra Hawryluk

MONTREAL – If the moment of silence between the last note and the beginning of applause at a Zuk Piano Duo concert is a measure longer than usual, it is because the audience is still caught up in the enthralling music they have just heard. Usually it is only after an ovation, several curtain calls, an ever-increasing number of bouquets decking the stage, a couple of encores and more applause that a Zuk Piano Duo concert is really over. And the reaction of the audience at Luba and Ireneus Zuks' latest concert at McGill University's Pollack Concert Hall on Monday, February 1, was no exception.

The warm response of the audience and a concert program that combines the classical repertoire for two pianos with the music of contemporary Canadian and Ukrainian composers have become the Zuk Piano Duo's hallmark.

Wherever Luba and Ireneus Zuk have performed, in the United States, Europe (tours in 1982, 1984, 1986, 1987) or in the Far East, their program included the works of Ukrainian Canadian composers George Fiala and Gary Kulesha, Ukraine's Lesia Dychko, as well as those of Canadians David Keane, Bengt Hambraeus and Clermont Pépin (who along with Luba and Ireneus Zuk, was Lubka Kolessa's student.) When the Composers' Union of Ukraine invited the Zuk Piano Duo to perform at the 1991 International Music Festival in Kyiv, they surprised the Ukrainian audience with a very well received all-Canadian concert.

New Ukrainian music, particularly the work of Ihor Bilohrud, Myroslaw Skoryk, Yevhen Stankovych, Hennadiy Liashenko and Viktor Kosenko, is a constant, strong component of the duo's concert and research programs. In an effort to expose larger audiences to contemporary Ukrainian music the duo appeared at the Vesnivka Choir Series "New Music from Ukraine" (Toronto, 2002), at the Music at the Grazhda summer series at the Music and Art Center of Green County, in upstate New York (2004), and at no less than seven international music festivals in Ukraine.

Invited to perform first at the 1988 Conference of European Piano Teachers' Association (EPTA) in London, then at the 2000 EPTA conference in Budapest, and then once again at the association's 2002 conference in Belgium, the Zuk Piano Duo presented a brilliant showcase of Ukrainian and Canadian music.

But it's not just their promotion of these particular composers that has taken the Zuks to the top of their profession. It's their mastery of technique, their astonishing interpretive powers, as well as their discernment – their ability to understand how the work of the contemporary Ukrainian or Canadian composers fits into the cultural context of world music – that account for the esteem in which they are held.

It was this insight paired with their wonderful musical gifts that took the Zuk Piano Duo in June 2004 to the International Piano Festival of Great Pianists held at University of Aveiro in Portugal – a highly prestigious and unique occasion. There, for an audience of musicians, they premiered Stankovych's "Ancient Dances of Vekhovyna" and Fiala's Piano Sonata No.1 along with Pépin's "Ronde Villageoise."

In the fall of 2005, at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture of China and under the auspices of Foreign Affairs Canada, the Zuk Piano Duo toured seven cities in China. To their surprise, their Chinese audiences – especially the music students – gave them a most warm and resounding welcome. A few years back it would have been unthinkable to have Ukrainian-born Canadians playing to sell-out crowds in Beijing. That's no mean measure of success.



Alexandra Hawryluk

The Zuk Piano Duo in concert on February 1 at Pollack Concert Hall, McGill University, Montreal.

Teaching and conference presentations

Concert appearances, however, constitute only one part of the Zuk Piano Duo's three-tiered careers. Both pianists teach: Dr. Luba Zuk at McGill University's Schulich School of Music in Montreal and Dr. Ireneus Zuk at the School of Music at Queen's University, in Kingston, Ontario. In addition to regular classes, they give master classes and special lecture-recital presentations at music conferences.

In October 2004, at the 26th European Conference of EPTA in Rome, Dr Ireneus Zuk gave a lecture-recital on "Viktor Kosenko: Composer-Pianist," and in 2002 at the 24th International Piano Conference in Belgium he talked about "Exploration of Sonority in the Works for Piano Duo by 20th Century Canadian Composers."

When EPTA met for its international conference in Graz, Austria, in 2003, Luba and Ireneus Zuk gave a special presentation called "Austria and Ukraine: Historical and Contemporary Ties and Influences." At the World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies convened in Berlin in 2005, the topic of the Zuks' lecture-recital was "Ukrainian Music and Western Europe – The Last Decade: Composition, Performance and Education."

Jurors at international competitions

The rest of their calendar is filled up with adjudicating at Canadian and international music competitions and state examinations. Luba Zuk, as advisory board member of the Debut Young Artists Concerts (Canada) and piano professor at McGill, and Ireneus Zuk, as director of the School of Music at Queen's University and as president of Canadian Music Festival Adjudicators Association, have been jury members for several years now at the largest, most diverse, annual musical competition - the IBLA Grand Prize International Piano Competition, which takes place in the picturesque Sicilian town of Ragusa-Ibla. Not too long ago, they were invited to join the jury of the Helena Sá e Costa International Piano Competition in Aveiro, Portugal.

On top of that, Ireneus Zuk serves on the juries of the Horowitz Competition for Young Pianists in Kyiv, the Eckhardt-Grammaté Competition of Contemporary Music in Canada, the Klasinc Competition in Slovenia, Les Rencontres des Jeunes in Belgium and the Thousand Islands International Piano Competition in the U.S. At the invitation of Ukraine's Ministry of Culture, he has also been the chair of the State Examinations Commission at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory in Kyiv.

Dr. Luba Zuk, invited by Ukraine's Ministry of Culture, has served as chair of the State Examinations Commission at the Antonina Nezhdanova State Music Academy in Odesa, the Sergei Prokofieff Conservatory in Donetsk and the Mykola Lysenko Music Academy in Lviv. And, in Febrary 2008, McGill University inaugurated an annual Luba Zuk Piano Festival in honor of the pianist's pedagogical work at the McGill Conservatory.

Recognition and honors

So it's not surprising that their high

professionalism and commitment to contemporary composers has earned this sister and brother duo the respect of their colleagues in Ukraine and Canada.

In 1999 Ukraine bestowed on each of them the high distinction of the Merited Artist of Ukraine. Here in Canada, The Ukrainian Canadian Congress awarded both pianists the Taras Shevchenko Medal. Radio Canada International has included the Zuk Piano Duo in its Anthology of Canadian Music, and broadcasters like Canada's CBC, Austrian National Radio, Polish Radio and Ukrainian State Radio all have transmitted Zuk concerts.

And that's proof, as The Canadian Encyclopaedia (2007) states, that it's "the duo's clean, precise, and well-balanced performance" and its "personal, warm and passionate style" that have won the hearts of music lovers everywhere.

Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus seeks new artistic director and conductor

DETROIT – After two years at its artistic helm, Adrian Bryttan has stepped down as artistic director and conductor of the internationally renowned Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus (UBC). This was due to increased demands of Maestro Bryttan's professional commitments as a violinist and conductor across the United States, Europe and Ukraine.

Over the course of his term as artistic director and conductor, Mr. Bryttan has introduced innovative compositions to the extensive repertoire of the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus. These included world premieres of works based on the music of Alexander Koshetz, and Mr. Bryttan's own transcriptions for bandura of several international composers, including music from the film "Memoirs of a Geisha" by composer John Williams. Mr. Bryttan was also the creator of a unique approach incorporating expressive visual elements with slides and projections for future UBC performances.

While expressing regret at having to depart, Mr. Bryttan affirmed: "The UBC has great potential and, therefore, an obli-

gation to advance the appreciation of Ukrainian culture and artistry among our communities as well as the widest possible audience. In this I wish them the success they deserve."

UBC President Anatoli Murha stated, "We truly appreciated the time we had with Adrian Bryttan and wish him continued success in his future endeavors."

The UBC has formed a Conductor Search Committee, which is headed by the UBC's assistant conductor, Ihor Kusznir. Mr. Kusznir explained: "It is our intent to have a new conductor in place and working with the membership on or before April 1, 2010. The search committee will identify candidates, interview them and make recommendations to the membership of the UBC for final decision."

According to the by-laws of the UBC, the active membership must vote for the conductor. Mr. Kusznir added, "Finding a new conductor is priority No. 1 so that we can continue our ambassadorial mission."

For more information and latest developments, readers may log on to www. bandura.org.

The past reaches into the future: Yara's 20 years and counting

by Olena Jennings

NEW YORK – Landmark pieces from Yara's 20 years of artistic activity were presented in the romantic elegance of the Ukrainian Institute of America on January 22-24. New and old faces came to celebrate with poetry, dance, music, cuisine, art and film. The event's diversity was symbolic of Yara's Arts Group's creative spirit. The journey consisted of performances from various phases of Yara's existence.

Friday night's gathering was intimate. Guests were guided through the various rooms of the Ukrainian Institute, initially by Inka Juslin's dancing. Ms. Juslin has participated in other Yara-sponsored performances in the Fifth Avenue mansion and has become skilled at interpreting the rooms through the shaping of her body. Then guests were led by Virlana Tkacz, whose vision and dedication began Yara Arts Group and serve as its guiding light.

The poets interpreted their previous experiences with Yara in texts through image and form. For example one of Wanda Phipps's poems was based on the composition of a Pavlo Tychyna poem translated for Yara's first production, "A Light from the East." Christine Turczyn opened the night with a poem that transformed music and dance into words and another poem that addressed the tenuous line between loss and gain, "everything we need arrives," and unknowingly addressed Yara's brushes with fate and the manner in which shows come together through pieces of text and people encountered almost magically though not without constant work and exploration.

The centerpiece of the evening was a "duma" performed in the piano room on the bandura by Julian Kytasty and portrayed in dance by Katja Kolcio and Nicole Stanton. Finally, the guests found themselves back in the same room to listen to Askold Melnyczyk read a personal essay about his literary encounters with Norman Mailer and his forays into the world of writing. His experience began with recitations of Taras Shevchenko's poetry performed standing on kitchen chairs.

On Saturday night, Yara invited its actors, musicians and other collaborators from past shows. Notable moments included readings of Tychyna poems from "Light from the East" and Japanese poems from "Forest Song" read in English and Ukrainian translations. With their powerful harmonies, the Buryat songs from "Virtual Souls," "Flight of the White Bird" and "Circle" were a highlight of the evening according to many. They were sung by Yara artists Cecilia Arana, Akiko Hiroshima, Allison Hiroto, Eleanor Lipat and Meredith

Wright, who also read some traditional Siberian poetry.

One of the pieces presented was a performance of "Symptoms of Poetry" by Oksana Zabuzhko from one of the workshops that Yara conducted at the Harvard Ukrainian Summer School. The poem makes the confession, "I know I will die a difficult death - / like anyone who knows the precise music of her own body/ Who knows how to easily thread it through the eye of fear." Then the place of poetry is located. The idea that the writing and recitation of poetry make a person sensitive to her world was an integral part of the evening as Yara showcased pieces from various cultures, including Mongolian, Japanese, Ukrainian, Siberian, Kyrgyz and, most recently, East African.

The show culminated with a performance by the band Debutante Hour, which enlivens folk material with the distinct sound of the accordion. In addition to spicing up traditional Ukrainian songs, they write their own quirky lyrics filled with vaudevillian images.

On both nights, the Ukrainian Institute was embellished with art inspired by Yara.

Andrea Odezynska's "Three Kyrgyz Songs" was filmed during her travels to Kyrgyzstan. Margaret Morton's photographs were a direct representation of her entrance into Kyrgyz culture. She connected with the Kyrgyz actors both as photographer during the Kyrgyz shows at LaMaMA E.T.C. and on Yara's adventures abroad. Andrea Wenglowskyj's video was inspired by her own birth into Ukrainian culture and drew on a poem by early 20th century poet Vasyl Yeroshenko.

Roman Hrab's installation was stunning in its simple representation of Ludmyla Taran's "India Ink." It created a pleasant puzzle as guests connected an empty hat to the poem's definition of a reclining body through the sheen of a spot of ink. The reception room was lined with Peter Hrycyk's photographs representing Serhiy Zhadan's poem "Honey." He presented a series of striking images that were seemingly desultory in their relation, but reflected the nature of the poem.

Other works featured in the exhibition included Shu Kubo's Japanese paper cutting "Wheat Harvest," inspired by a traditional midwinter incantation from "Koliada: Twelve Dishes." Makoto Takeuchi's photographs of Watoku Ueno's productions "Sundown" and "After the Rain," and Peter Ihnat's photographs from "Song Tree" with Mariana Sadovska and Gogol Bordello. Marko Shuhan's paintings and Anya Farion's sculpture also created vivid impressions.



Consul Bohdan Movchan of Ukraine presents the Order of Princess Olha to Virlana Tkacz (center) and Yara Arts Group.

A highlight of the night was the presentation of the Ukrainian state award the Order of Princess Olga by Consul Bohdan Movchan of Ukraine to Ms. Tkacz for the work that Yara has done with Ukrainian translation and culture.

Present during the award ceremony were Sean Eden and Shona Tucker, who worked in Kyiv on a performance based on Les Kurbas's life. Shigeko Suga traveled to Ukraine several times to participate in the performance and choreography of Yara shows. In Kharkiv, she participated in "Blind Sight" about the poet Yeroshenko and in Lviv, she participated in "Forest Song." Ms. Arana sang with Nina Matviyenko in Kyiv in 1995. Tom Lee performed in a piece presented at a theater festival in Kyiv in 1996. Akiko Hiroshima sang Ivan Kupalo songs in Ukraine in 2002. Wanda Phipps has been an avid translator of Ukrainian poetry since 1989. In order to emphasize the collaborative nature of this work, Ms. Tkacz decided to accept the award on behalf of everyone at Yara.

To celebrate the evening and the award, culinary artist Olesia Lew created a cuisine from the Silk Road to the Carpathians, beginning with a toast of "shypshynivka," vodka infused with rose hips. There was great reason to toast!

The next 20 years promise to both build on the past and explore new territory. Saturday evening began with the song "Before the World Began," which Yara arts sang with Ms. Matviyenko in the piece "Waterfall/Reflections." Yara's April piece will bring together Ms. Matviyenko and her daughter Tonia, together with Siberian and Kyrgyz artists. The piece will examine what traditional art and life has to say to future generations.



Katja Kolcio and Nicole Stanton dance as Julian Kytasty plays a "duma" on the bandura.



Askold Melnyczuk reads his personal essay.



Meredith Wright, Akiko Hiroshima and Allison Hiroto sing Buryat songs.

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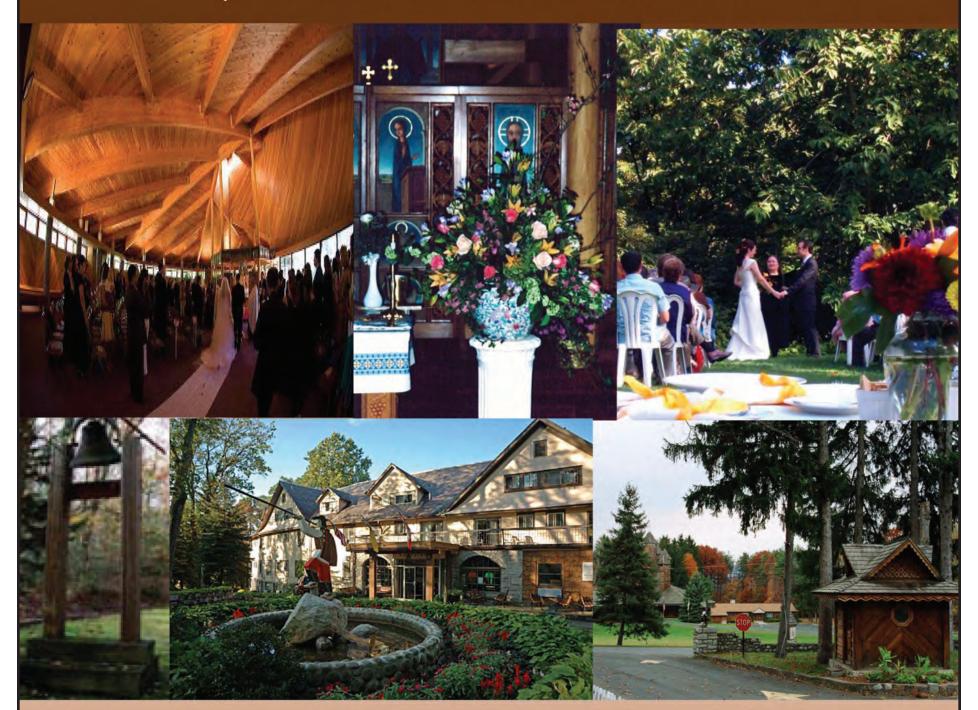


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Local sports club assisting Ukraine's Druzhba 78 team

Academy, which is based at the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, is seeking help for the Druzhba 78 Peewee Hockey Team from Ukraine.

"Druzhba" means friendship in Ukrainian and it is on this theme that Ivan Pravilov put together a group of 10-yearold boys in 1988 to learn the sport of ice hockey. All boys on his team were born in 1978, hence the team's name.

Mr. Pravilov was a national-level soccer player, but had developed an interest in the artistry, speed and excitement of ice hockey. He trained his youngsters with a traditional and effective Eastern European discipline. The emphasis was on skating and cooperation, as well as creative and rigorous dry land training. He discouraged body checking and the undisciplined individualistic play so prevalent in North America.

The skill level of his Druzhba team resulted in numerous tournament victo-

WHIPPANY, N.J. - Lys Sports ries in North America. Three former members of his team, including Dainius Zubrus of the New Jersey Devils, currently play in the National Hockey League, and at least three others play at the minor professional level in the United States and Canada.

> The current Druzhba 78 team has been in North America since November 2009 and is competing this month in the World Peewee Hockey Championships in Quebec.

> Lys Sports Academy, a chartered nonprofit sports organization, has taken on the task of purchasing new hockey jerseys and defraying the cost of transporting these young players to Quebec. Lys has collected half of the amount needed, but at least \$1,400 more is needed.

> Checks/money orders may be made payable to Lys SA, and mailed to: Lys Sports Academy, FBO Druzhba 78, 60 N. Jefferson Road, Whippany, NJ 07927. Inquiries may be directed to 973-713-6956.



The Druzhba 78 team with coach Ivan Pravilov (left) and Alexander Ovechkin (back row, left) and several other representatives of the Washington Capitals during Druzhba's visit to the Capitals' practice on December 22, 2009.

Chicago's...

(Continued from page 1)

which can be used as a student resource when studying the Holodomor, as well as "Welcome to Ukraine," an introduction to Ukraine, its cities and culture.

In an original presentation titled "Using Art to Teach Culture and History," Marta Kozbur reviewed her "Ukrainian Art Lesson Plans" packet, concentrating on art presentations that can be used to teach about Ukraine, especially the Holodomor.

A "treasure hunt" was next. Educators were presented with a museum layout and questions referencing various museum exhibits. Questions were to be answered during a museum tour conducted by museum curator Maria Klimchak and Mykola Mischenko. Of special interest to participants was the "Holodomor Room" featuring newspaper accounts of the Famine-Genocide in Ukraine. The actual "lucky pen" used by President Woodrow Wilson to sign the "Ruthenian/Ukrainian Day" proclamation of April 21, 1917, was also part of the treasure hunt.

Two educators completed all of the questions correctly and were rewarded with exquisite Ukrainian Easter eggs. A traditional Ukrainian luncheon, coordinated by Oksana Hulyk, completed the morning's activities.

Following the complimentary luncheon, participants walked around the corner to the Ukrainian Institute of

Modern Art, where Luba Markewycz led a tour and presented lessons focusing on Holodomor art completed by students she coached in Ukraine.

Participants received packets containing the updated Holodomor curriculum guide for educators prepared by Dr. Kuropas; Ms. Melnyk's "Countries and Cultures Around the World" teacher's guide, which included integrated literary activities related to "Enough" and "The Mitten," a Ukrainian folktale; a teacher's curriculum guide titled "Ukrainian Art Lesson Plans" prepared by Ms. Kozbur; a copy of "Our Daily Bread," the catalogue prepared for the UNM Holodomor exhibit of October 24, 2008; a map of Europe highlighting Ukraine; a CD of "Harvest of Despair," compliments of the Ukrainian Genocide Famine Foundation; and information about student field trips to the two Ukrainian

Educators were especially appreciative of the materials, variously rating them as "fantastic," "ready to use," "great resource materials," "very practical," "very useful" and "high quality." Participants also said they were also impressed with the presenting team -"knowledgeable," "captivating," "enthusiastic," "very relevant," "amazing," "useful" and "easy to understand" were just some of the comments.

The primary goal of the workshop was achieved when educators promised to share the day's events and materials with



One of the educators in the Holodomor Room at the Ukrainian National Museum.

other educators, and to use them to teach about Ukraine and the Holodomor.

Also worthy of mention are those dedicated Ukrainian community activists who attended the many planning meetings, participated in the discussions and offered their suggestions. Among them were Lydia Tkaczuk, who scheduled the gatherings and kept everyone on task; Orysia Cardosso, president of the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art; Larissa Matusiak; Nicholas Kotcherha; and Lesia W. Kuropas, who spent the day photographing all the events. Michael V. Kuropas prepared and e-mailed the photos to the appropriate venues.



Motria Melnyk discusses "Enough," a children's book about the Holodomor.



At the educators' workshop (from left) are: Rebeccah Sanders, Chicago Cultural Alliance; Jamie Bender, the University of Chicago Center for International Studies; and Andrew Graan, the University of Chicago Center for East European and Russian/Eurasian Studies. They all played a major role in the development of the workshop.

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NEWSBRIEFS

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(Continued from page 2)

demanding a re-count at more than 900 polling stations. "We are ready to demonstrate particular proofs of vote-rigging to international observers, journalists and the people, and submit them to the court," Mr. Turchynov underscored. (Ukrinform)

Yanukovych supporters guard courts

KYIV – The Party of Regions activists,

whose candidate, Viktor Yanukovych, won the Ukrainian presidential election, have provided a constant guard near the Supreme Administrative Court of Ukraine and the Kyiv Administrative Court of Appeals, which are responsible for settling election disputes. The guard is set 'to prevent provocations and conflicts on the part of the opponents," the Party of Regions Kyiv office said in a statement. Mass rallies in support of Mr. Yanukovych are taking place in Kyiv only near the Central Election Commission headquarters, it was reported on February 10. Almost 4,000 additional Yanukovych supporters arrived that day in Kyiv for rallies. (Ukrinform)

Medvedev offers congratulations

KYIV - Russian President Dmitry Medvedev on February 9 weighed in on Ukraine's presidential election, doing so more cautiously than his predecessor, Vladimir Putin, after the abortive 2004 runoff between Viktor Yanukovych and Viktor Yushchenko. In a statement, Mr. Medvedev congratulated Mr. Yanukovych "on the conclusion of the election campaign, which was highly rated by international observers, and on the success achieved in the presidential elections," according to Reuters. (RFE/RL)

Yanukovych urges Tymoshenko to resign

KYIV - Presidential election frontrunner Viktor Yanukovych has called on Yulia Tymoshenko to resign as soon as official election returns are released. In a statement on February 10, Mr. Yanukovych said: "So, I hereby officially address the prime minister and call on her to resign office and move to the opposition. I urge the current coalition members to announce dissolution of the current coalition, so that I could start talks with other political parties on the formation of a new government." According to Mr. Yanukovych, in order re-organize the government it is essential to create a new governing coalition in the Verkhovna Rada, pursuant to the Constitution. This is a hard negotiation process, but we can not wait any longer, he said, adding that the people are tired of waiting. Mr. Yanukovych reminded his political opponents that democratic leaders always accept the expression of the people's will. "Our country does not need another political crisis. People voted for a change of government. I ask the prime minister to make the right decision and move to the opposition," he said, adding that this will demonstrate to the world that Ukraine is in fact a democratic country. (Ukrinform)

CVU: no reason for vote challenge

KYIV - The Committee of Voters of Ukraine has not registered massive fraud that could distort the presidential election returns, the CVU said in a February 8 statement. The committee said that the election runoff was "more tight and tense" than the first round. "The electoral framework was characterized by a high level of conflict in the work of commissions, contradictory and mutually exclusive decisions of the Central Election Commission (CEC) and courts, and conscious provocations on behalf of the candidates' campaign offices intended to break the electoral framework or delay the tally," read the statement. At the same time, however, the CVU had registered no massive and systemic vote-rigging that could modify or distort the vote. According to the committee, the largest and most systemic phenomenon was the application of technologies aimed at mobilizing candidates' electors: arrangement of mass delivery of voters to polling stations; inclusion of voters on electoral lists based on decisions of precinct election commissions; and attempts by electors or commission members to vote for other people. "However, these technologies were used in various regions by the campaign offices of both candidates that is proved by equal voter turnout in the eastern and western regions," the CVU said. "Election returns at polling stations and on the whole can be appealed only if there are sufficient and reasoned proofs," the CVU noted. (Ukrinform)

KYIV - "No matter who becomes the

legitimacy will be so low that he or she will have no potential for active and radical reforms, especially for revanchism or war against somebody else's voters," the director of the Situations Modeling Agency, Oleksii Holobutskyi, said on February 9. "If Viktor Yanukovych becomes president, the country can expect a complete reboot of the political system," he said. "The system of political coordinates in Ukraine will have to be built again." Mr. Holobutskyi also said that the result of the run off election would be challenged in courts: "Amendments to election laws passed two days before election day and the level of violations throughout Ukraine help speak about the positive prospect of challenging the election returns in courts." The expert also predicted that, "If Yanukovych becomes president, Donbas voters will be one of the first disappointed. Within three or four months, Yanukovych's approval rating may fall to 15-20 percent. This means that protest moods could become active in Ukraine before this summer," he said. (Ukrinform)

Marynovych on "Ukraine fatigue"

LVIV - Speaking with an RFE/RL correspondent on the eve of Ukrainian presidential runoff, scholar Myroslav Marynovych of the Ukrainian Catholic University, said there's no real choice in the election. "This historical moment is very shameful for Ukraine," he said, "because there's a clear difference between the speed of society's inner development and the slowness of the political elite's development." Mr. Marynovych was a Soviet-era dissident who spent years as a political prisoner and later led students to Kyiv to take part in the Orange Revolution. He said people across Ukraine have come to understand their country's problems – and, crucially, how democracy should work - while their leaders have fanned antagonisms between eastern and western Ukraine for their own advantage. Mr. Marynovych says ordinary Ukrainians are ready for a dramatic, grassroots change. Real reform will be difficult without outside support, and Western interest in Ukraine, he fears, is dwindling. "What I'm most afraid of is that the West will say, 'We don't understand what's going on there,' and 'we're not interested in understanding it. Let Russia take care of that country.' " What Ukraine needs, Mr. Marynovych said, is a new Marshall Plan to give Ukrainians the opportunity to reform their country, and less reason to leave their children for migrant work in the West. (RFE/RL)

Yanukovych on Ukraine's interests

KYIV - The apparent winner of Ukraine's presidential election and Party of Regions leader Viktor Yanukovych said in a February 9 interview with CNN that any decisions he makes as president will be in the national interest of Ukraine, not Russia. He said he would not do the bidding of Russia while he is president of Ukraine, and added he is not a Kremlin stooge. His policy, Mr. Yanukovych said, "would be a policy based on mutual interest and good relations with both Russia and the European Union." He said, "I will do everything to revive relations with Russia and make them mutually beneficial so that they meet the interests of the Ukrainian and the Russian people," adding, "I will also build the mutually beneficial relationship with Europe." He said that his priority with Russia would be to focus on stable energy supplies. With the European Union, Mr. Yanukovych said, he wants to take steps toward a free trade agreement and bring European standards of living to Ukraine. (CNN)

(Continued on page 19)

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 18) Ukraine's Olympians depart for Vancouver

KYIV - A send-off ceremony for Ukraine's Olympic delegation to the 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver, British Columbia, took place at the Ukrainian House on February 3. President Viktor Yushchenko addressed the ceremony, saying that Ukraine will be represented in Vancouver by athletes who have been pursuing this goal through many years of training. "We will be applauding

your every success. You worked hard and today you have a real chance to win," he said. The president emphasized that the Olympics are important not only to athletes, but also to the entire nation. "I wish you many victories, since we have good traditions," he noted, recalling Ukraine's sports achievements at the Beijing Olympics when the squad ranked 11th in an unofficial standing worldwide. The Ukrainian national team comprises 53 athletes (including six reserve athletes) who will compete in eight events between February 12 and 28. (Ukrinform)

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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у слідуючих церквах:

середа, 17 лютого 2010 р.

- в церкві св. Тройці в Дрогобичі, Україна;
- в церкві св. Івана Хрестителя в Синевидську Вижнім, Україна;
- в катедрі св. Юра у Львові, Україна;

четвер, 18 лютого 2010 р.

в церкві св. Юра в Ню-Йорку о год. 9:30 ранку;

понеділок, 22 лютого 2010 р.

в церкві св. Духа в South Deerfield, MA о год. 9:00 ранку;

- Ярослав з дружиною Аллою

внучка - Адріана сестра - Марія Кручай



Ділимось сумною вісткою, що у середу, 10-го лютого 2010 р. в Нюарку, Ню-Джерзі несподівано відійшов у вічність



Роман Ярослав Пиндус

народжений 3 жовтня 1956 р.

Член і колишній виховник пластової станиці у Нюарку, Братчик і гніздовий таборів на Вовчій Тропі, Член пластового Загону Червона Калина, член УНСоюзу, Член Управи спортивного товариства Чорноморська Січ, Секретар Української Спортової Централі Америки і Канади

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СВ. П.

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Він народився 7 вересня 1928 р. в Сокалі в Україні.

У 1948 році він поселився у США,

був вояком в Американській Армії і воював в Корейській війні.

Здобув вищу освіту в Ню-Йоркському Університеті (BS і PhD).

На протязі 40 років він працював науковцем в оборонній і зокрема ракетній індустрії та здобув кілька патентів, серед них щось, що називається "Bohachevsky Function, used as a benchmark test for optimization algorithms.

Заупокійна Служба Божа відбулася 10 лютого 2010 р. о 10:30 ранку у церкві Nativity of Blessed Virgin Mary, 80 Livingston Avenue, New Brunswick, NJ 08861.

Після Служби Божої поховання на цвинтарі св. Андрія в Савт Баунд Бруку, Н. Дж.

Замість квітів на могилу пропонуємо пожертви на Ukrainian Museum and Library of Stamford, 161 Glenbrook Rd., Stamford, СТ 06902 (перша адреса Ігоря в Америці).

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Ukrainian pro sports update

by Ihor Stelmach

Vitali Klitschko: pugilist and patriot

The Klitschko clan

Vitali Klitschko, the World Boxing Council's heavyweight champion, is not your typical Sonny Liston, George Foreman or Mike Tyson-like boxer. Klitschko speaks four languages fluently, earned a doctorate in sports sciences and works tirelessly to improve the lives of his people in his childhood home of Kyiv. His private foundation has already raised millions of dollars and is his life's mission statement.

Vitali lives with his wife, Natalie, and three children, Egor-Daniel, Elizabeth-Victoria and Max in Bel-Air, Calif. He cherishes his relationship with his younger brother, Wladimir, who is one inch shorter (6'6"), basically the same weight (255 lbs.) and currently holds the other three world heavyweight titles. There is no doubt Wladimir, 33, is Vitali's best friend.

Any talk about the two brothers matching up for a unification bout goes nowhere fast – Vitali acknowledges he could never get in the ring with his "little" brother for two very important reasons. Firstly, his mother, back in Kyiv, would never permit it, and, secondly, Wladimir would make for a most dangerous opponent.

Many boxing pundits refer to the sport's heavyweight division as, in fact, the "Klitschko Division." After all, the two Ukrainians own four of the five divisional titles – a boon for the sport of boxing in Europe and especially Germany, where Klitschko fights garner phenomenal television ratings while selling out major soccer stadiums. On the flipside, the Klitschko brothers are mere blips on the American radar screen, where boxing fans recount the battles of Ali-Frazier-Foreman, followed by Tyson-Holyfield and the like.

Rebounding from Lewis loss

The biggest bang heard from the Klitschko clan was Vitali's pugnacious engagement with champion Lennox Lewis at Los Angeles' Staples Center on June 21, 2003. Leading by two rounds on

all three judges' cards after six rounds, Klitschko was deemed a tough-luck loser when the ring physician inspected a deep cut over his left eye and declared the fight to be over.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Sixty-three stitches and six and a half years later, there is no scar, but plenty of scarred recollections of what may have been from a heavyweight bout which produced the type of hype comparable to Tyson's biting of Evander Holyfield's ear in 1997.

Klitschko claims the cut over his eye never affected his vision and that his corner people had it under control by the sixth round. He further claims that the ring physician was called to his corner by the referee to examine a cut on his lip, not his left eye. In conversations over the years, Klitschko has publicly admitted the cut looked ghastly. Indeed, accounts of the Klitschko-Lewis fight claimed the Ukrainian champion's wife, Natalie, sat at ringside next to Sylvester Stallone of "Rocky" fame. Commenting on Klitschko's left eye area, Stallone allegedly said that it was bloodier than the movie.

Since that time, Klitschko has done more than his share to bring some attention to boxing's heavyweight division. In 2009 alone, he successfully defended his WBC title on three separate occasions, defeating Juan Carlos Gomez by TKO in March, besting Chris Arreola with another TKO in September, and winning a unanimous decision over previously unbeaten Kevin Johnson in mid-December. The Ukrainian champion certainly has a compelling story and a captivating personality.

A teen in Kyiv

Vitali Klitschko was born in Belovodsk, Kyrgyzstan, the son of a Soviet air force colonel and a schoolteacher. The family relocated to Kyiv in 1985. When Vitali was 14, the Chornobyl nuclear accident occurred some 100 miles north of Kyiv. In past conversations, he recalled his father, being a military officer and thus privy to the seriousness of the

disaster, communicating with his family about potential health hazards. The Klitschko boys were regularly instructed not to open their mouths, to breathe through their noses, to wash their hands frequently and to stay inside their house.

The Chornobyl disaster occured on April 26, 1986; five days later came the traditional Soviet celebration of May Day. Masses of Ukrainian children marched through the streets of Kyiv, despite potential health risks because of the contaminated atmosphere. In published accounts, Klitschko remembered it was expected for all youngsters to attend May Day festivities. Four years later one of his completely healthy friends suddenly took ill and passed away within a week. The cause of death was leukemia and it was directly linked to the radiation from the nuclear accident.

Vitali has joked publicly that when he and his brother are out together they regularly get teased about their abnormally large size. He has occasionally joked that the Klitschko boys grew so big as a direct result of Chornobyl's radiation — an attempt at black humor. On a more serious note, the boys' father, now 62, has been diagnosed with cancer.

Boxing role models

Vitali Klitschko and his family maintain homes in two other countries, living part time in Hamburg, Germany, site of many of his fights, and some of the year in Kyiv, in addition to California. His three children were all born in the United States and are American citizens. Four-year-old Max was born a few days after the death of former German heavyweight champion Max Schmeling, a noted friend of Vitali's. Klitschko honored the boxing legend by naming his son for him.

Schmeling inspired Klitschko to fight in Los Angeles' Staples Center Arena for the third time – more than any other boxer. Klitschko never forgot Schmeling's conviction that if you want to be a real world champion in boxing, you really need to fight in the United States to get true recognition.

There was also a bit of Tyson influence n the Klitschko boxing legacy. In the mideighties, "Iron" Mike Tyson was a boxing superstar. At age 15, Vitali Klitschko would search for a television set so he and friends could watch Tyson's fights. In those years professional boxing did not exist in the Soviet Union – sports were of the so-called amateur state, culminating with the Olympics. When Tyson defeated Trevor Berbick, to win the heavyweight title at age 20, aspiring young boxers like Klitschko could dream of the day when they would duplicate Tyson's feat. A tall, lanky teenager declared that some day he would win his own heavyweight title belt.



Vitali Klitschko in 2008.

Champion at last

On April 24, 2004, an eighth-round TKO victory over South African Corrie Sanders got him that precious belt. Not too long after the Sanders bout, Klitschko returned to Kyiv and looked up those very friends he watched television with 18 years earlier. Klitschko treated them to dinner at a Kyiv restaurant, where he proudly displayed the same title belt Tyson had once won.

After three more bouts following the Lewis debacle, Klitschko was sidelined for almost four years due to rotator cuff surgery. He finally regained his title on October 11, 2008, in Berlin with another eighth-round technical knockout of Samuel Peter. He's owned the title ever since then.

Today, the Klitschko brothers own four of the five major heavyweight belts in what boxing experts describe as a "sea of alphabet soup sanctioning" organizations. Vitali has the WBC crown, while Wladimir owns the International Boxing Federation, International Boxing Organization and World Boxing Organization title belts. Briton David Haye holds the World Boxing Association's crown. Both Vitali and Wladimir dream of holding all five title belts at the same time.

Vitali is not for predictions – he lets his near-perfect record speak for itself. After all, he is a boxer who has never been knocked down, has never taken a standing count and whose 39-2 record includes 37 knockouts. Before each fight he always promises that the bout won't go the full 12 rounds.

That's about as cocky as this self-confident Ukrainian boxer gets. Let's not forget the man loves to play chess, ran for mayor of Kyiv in 2006 and was honored by the United Nations for his humanitarian work in his native country.

Vitali Klitschko is widely known as a world champion pugilist, a loyal patriot, an aspiring politician and a generous philanthropist.

Turning the pages...

 $(Continued\ from\ page\ 6)$

Viktor Yanukovych.

Reacting to the president's appeal to the Constitutional Court, Mr. Yanukovych told journalists on February 16, 2007, "If lawsuits against certain presidential decrees were a reason for the presidential indignation, I think this is all emotional." The decrees in question were "the presidential illegal orders regarding several regional administration heads," Mr. Pukshyn said.

Included in the lawsuit was Arsen Avakov, chairman of the Kharkiv Oblast Administration, who received a vote of no confidence by the Kharkiv Oblast Council but remained as chairman. Mr. Yushchenko appointed Mr. Avakov as chairman immediately after the Orange Revolution. Mr. Yanukovych's allies controlled the Kharkiv mayoral office and the oblast council since 2006, and he petitioned Mr. Yushchenko to dismiss Mr. Avakov, but the petition was ignored.

The Cabinet contended that President Yushchenko violated the law by not firing Mr. Avakov, but the Presidential Secretariat said no legal violation had occurred.

The legal maneuvering by the president and the prime minister were the result of each disputing the other's powers

Oles Doniy, head of the Kyiv-based think-tank Center for the Study of Political Values, warned that the lawsuit could de-legitimize the Constitutional Court in the eyes of the general public, as the court's integrity might be publicly questioned by both sides. "If the Presidential Secretariat prepares this request... it means that it for some reason hopes for a positive result," he said. "Consequently, suspicions arise regarding financial or administrative influence on CC judges."

Constitutional Court Chief Justice Ivan Dombrovsky said on February 15, 2007, that he did not rule out his resignation if top officials and the mass media put excessive pressure on the court. He said he would not trade his moral integrity "even for a million dollars."

Source: "Ukrainian president, prime minister sue each other," by Pavel Korduban (Eurasia Daily Monitor), The Ukrainian Weekly, February 25, 2007.

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Plokhy's new book...

(Continued from page 10)

some 50 years later.

Ukraine was arguably the greatest victim of the second world war when it comes to population loss. It was also the main beneficiary of the post-war territorial settlement in Europe, and it is impossible to grasp this paradox without examining what happened at Yalta in February 1945. It was also at Yalta that the Western leaders agreed to support the admission of Ukraine and Belarus to the United Nations, laying the foundations for Kyiv's international career long before Ukraine gained its independence in 1991.

Why does Yalta continue to be viewed as a largely negative factor in the history of Ukraine?

Other decisions of the Yalta Conference proved devastating to many Ukrainians, both east and west.

The "easterners" fell victim to the infamous Yalta decisions on the exchange of prisoners of war, which delivered tens of thousands of Ukrainians into the hands of Stalin and his NKVD, while forcing others

who managed to stay in the West to live for years in uncertainty, fearing that they and their families would be kidnapped and shipped "back to the USSR."

When it comes to the "westerners," as I show in my book, Stalin's decision to abolish the Ukrainian Catholic Church came in the aftermath of the Yalta Conference, during the visit to Moscow of President Roosevelt's special envoy. His task, ironically enough, was to convince Stalin to tolerate the Catholic Church in Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe. Stalin took this request as a signal that he could do whatever he wanted on territories recognized as Soviet at Yalta. The Ukrainian Catholic Church became one more victim of the decisions reached at the conference.

Five years ago the Ukrainian Institute of America pooled its resources with the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library to organize a photo exhibit devoted to the Yalta Conference. However, the historians of Ukraine prefer to stay away from this topic, despite growing interest in the history of the conference and its consequences among the Ukrainian reading public. Why?

I am certainly not the first to realize the

importance of the Yalta Conference for the history of Ukraine. Recently, Marta Dyczok in the West and Serhii Yurchenko in Ukraine have broken the implicit taboo on the topic, engaging different aspects of the Ukrainian story as related to the decisions of the conference. I consider my book a contribution to this new historical literature, which manifests a change in perspective on what is and what is not a legitimate topic for a historian of Ukraine. Until now, however, there has been no comprehensive attempt to write a history of the Yalta Conference from the "Ukrainian perspective," as Krystyna Kersten did so well for the Poles in her 1990 book, "Yalta from the Polish Perspective."

Why is this so?

The answer is obvious. Ukraine was both a beneficiary and a victim of the Yalta decisions, and it is not always easy to go beyond conventional wisdom and start asking uncomfortable questions. This is true for Ukrainian history and it is equally true for world history in general. I learned that while working on this book.

Since Ukraine both benefited and suffered from the decisions reached at Yalta, the Ukrainian perspective on the confer-

ence is potentially among the most balanced and comprehensive. World scholarship can benefit from it, and my task as a researcher and writer was to realize this potential for all who read English.

What do you think is new in your approach to the history of the conference, which has been studied by generations of Western scholars?

What I attempted to do was to cut through layers of Cold War mythology, which flourished on the both sides of the Iron Curtain, by taking advantage of new sources (many of which became available only after the disintegration of the USSR); to put the conference, its participants and their decisions into the context of the time in which those decisions were made. I tried to be as objective as possible in presenting the positions, intentions and goals of the three major actors at Yalta without, of course, treating their positions as morally equal. This approach gave me a key that helped unlock many previously closed shelves of the history of the conference, as well as of the histo-

It will be up to the reader to decide how successful I have been. For my part, I have tried to make the reader's task as easy as possible by presenting the results of my research in a style accessible to the general public.

Before coming to Harvard in the summer of 2007, Prof. Plokhy, 51, taught at the University of Alberta, where he was a professor of history and associate director of the Peter Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research. He spent 10 years at the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) working on the Hrushevskyi Project, co-editing three of the four volumes currently published of Hrushevskyi's collected works. He also previously taught at Harvard as a visiting professor in the fall of 2005 and the spring of 2003.

Prof. Plokhy hails from Zaporizhia, but was born in Nizhni Novgorod on the Volga River in Russia. He was a student of the history faculty at Dnipropetrovsk University and received his B.A. in history and social sciences in 1980. He earned his M.A. in Moscow in 1982 at Patrice Lumumba University and his Ph.D. in history in 1990 at Kyiv University.

His is married, has a son and a daughter and resides in Arlington, Mass.

ANNUAL MEETING UNA BRANCH 47 Saturday, February 21, 2010

The meeting of UNA Branch 47, Olha Basarab Society, will be held on Sunday, February 21, 2010, after Sunday's Mass at the church hall of St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Church, Union Boulevard and Kenmore Avenue, Bethlehem, PA. The agenda will include branch elections and selection of a delegate for the 37th UNA Convention to be held in May of this year. For additional information please call: 610-867-4052.

ANNUAL MEETING UNA BRANCH 133 Saturday, February 27, 2010

Please be advised that the Annual Meeting of UNA Branch 133 "Bohdan Chmelnycky Society" Newark, NJ, will be held at 3:00 PM at the branch office, located at 1027 Falls Terrace, Union, NJ. Current business will be discussed along with the election of delegates for the 37th Convention. For further information call Michael Bohdan 908-964-8831 (home) or 908-247-5841 (cell).

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Races begin at approximately 9:30 AM

Dinner and Awards Ceremony Hunter Ski Lodge Time: 6:30 pm

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NOTES ON PEOPLE

Buchai honored by financial advisers

HOUSTON – Gregory Buchai recently attended Focus09, a leading financial services industry conference hosted by LPL Financial, the nation's No. 1 independent broker/dealer.

Held in San Diego on August 16-19, 2009, it was one of the industry's largest gatherings of independent financial advisors to date, and remains the industry's premier sales and education event. Approximately 5,000 attendees from around the country assembled for the opportunity to learn new strategies and skills, expand knowledge in numerous product areas and network with peers and industry experts.

They also heard from influential speakers who addressed current events and financial industry trends. The speakers included George W. Bush, 43rd president of the United States; Richard Ketchum, CEO of FINRA; and Ron Insana, CNBC senior analyst.

Mr. Buchai, an honorary consul of

Ukraine and a Ukrainian community activist from the Houston area, was selected as a Five-Star: Best In Client Satisfaction Wealth Manager for 2009 by Texas Monthly magazine.

Texas Monthly formed a partnership with Crescendo Business Services, an independent research firm, to identify the "best in client satisfaction" wealth managers serving the Houston area. In January, Crescendo surveyed, by mail and phone, 95,000 high-net-worth residents in the Houston area and subscribers of Texas Monthly. An additional 5,700 surveys were sent to leaders of financial service industry companies.

On the surveys, recipients were asked to select only wealth managers whom they knew through personal experience, and to evaluate them based upon nine criteria: customer service, integrity, knowledge/expertise, communication, value for fee charged, meeting of financial objectives, post-sale-service, quality of recommendations and overall satisfaction

Wealth managers were reviewed by a blue-ribbon panel comprising knowledgeable individuals from within the



Gregory Buchai with former President George W. Bush at the Focus09 conference.

financial services industry.

The resulting list of 2009 Five-Star Wealth Managers represents those wealth managers in the Houston area who scored

highest in client satisfaction. These wealth managers represent less than 2 percent of the wealth managers in the area

Holinaty promoted to colonel in Army

MANCHESTER, N.J. – Frank L. Holinaty was promoted to colonel in the U.S. Army during a ceremony held recently in Baghdad, Iraz.

Son of Nikolaus and Marion Holinaty of Manchester, N.J., and a recipient of the U.S. Army ROTC scholarship, he was commissioned in 1987 with the rank of second lieutenant upon graduation magna cum laude from Rider University.

He participated in operation Just Cause in Panama in 1989 and spent a year in the Persian Gulf during operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. For his meritorious service in support of military operations against a hostile force, he was awarded the Bronze Star Medal.

His next assignment was as a team commander searching for missing Americans from World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars. He led search teams to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Korea and Japan.

Subsequently, he obtained a master's

degree in business management from Troy State University. 1st Lt. Holinaty next attended the United States Army Command and General Staff College, graduating in June 2001. Deployment to Saudi Arabia followed the graduation. After his return to Fort Leavenworth, Kan., he deployed again to Baghdad, where he is serving his second tour.

On October 1, 2009, while celebrating his 22nd anniversary on active duty, Maj. Gen. Richard J. Rowe, Jr. awarded Lt. Col. Holinaty the rank of colonel. Present at the ceremony was Frank's son, Elex Holinaty, who joined the U.S. Army three years ago

Currently serving in Iraq as a specialist with the Military Police, Elex Holinaty was recently wounded by a roadside bomb. He has fully recovered and is back on active duty.

Col. Holinaty is presently assigned as a trainer/adviser to the government of Iraq. He serves as the director of finance and contracting, Iraq training and advisory mission. The Ministry of Interior is the largest employer and oversees the second largest budget within the Iraqi government.



Col. Frank L. Holinaty (left) receives his promotion from Maj. Gen. Richard J. Rowe. Looking on is Col. Holinaty's son, Spc. Elex Holinaty.

"Notes on People" is a feature geared toward reporting on the achievements of members of the Ukrainian National Association and the Ukrainian community. All submissions should be concise due to space limitations and must include the person's UNA branch number (if applicable). Items will be published as soon as possible after their receipt.



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Hockey and figure-skating fund-raiser to benefit CCRDF and UACCNJ

WHIPPANY, N.J. – In a reprise of their 2008 match-up, the New Jersey Devils Alumni and the New York Ukrainian Kozaks will play a benefit hockey game, presented by the Children of Chornobyl Relief and Development Fund in conjunction with the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, on Saturday, February 27, at the Richard J. Codey Arena in West Orange, N.J.

In addition, two Ukrainian figure skating champions will perform at the fund-raising event. Natasha Popova, 16, is the 2009 gold medal winner in the National Figure Skating Championship of Ukraine. Born in Symferopol, Ukraine, she emigrated with her family to San Francisco and then to Canberra, Australia. Six years ago Natasha moved to Canada, where she has continued ice skating.

She has won more than 40 medals and trophies at figure skating competitions and is a recipient of the Ukrainian Figure Skating Federation Scholarship. She is coached in New Jersey by Viktor Petrenko and Galina Zmievskaya. Mr. Petrenko, the 1992 Olympic Champion for the Unified Team, currently lives in New Jersey, tours professionally and coaches figure skating.

Alina Milevskaya, 14, a native of Kyiv, is the 2009-2010 gold medalist of the

Junior Championship of Ukraine. She currently trains in Cromwell, Conn., under the coaching staff of Dmitry Palamarchuk and Matthew Gates. Mr. Palamarchuk was a Ukrainian pairs figure skater who previously competed with Julia Obertas, Tatiana Chuvaeva and Alexandra Tetenko. The team of Palamarchuk and Obertas twice won the Junior Grand Prix final.

The fun on the afternoon of February 27 begins at 12:30 p.m. with an open skate at the Codey Arena for all ticketholders. Ms. Popova and Ms. Milevskaya will perform at 2 p.m. Next, the puck drops for the rematch between the Devils Alumni and the Kozaks. These two teams previously faced off in a fund-raiser game in 2008.

Ticketholders will also be able to meet the Devils mascot, the New Jersey Devil, bid during a silent auction on autographed memorabilia from their favorite athletes and purchase commemorative pucks.

Tickets to the event are on sale through the website at www.hockeyfundraiser.org (PayPal is accepted for online ticket orders). Tickets are \$50 for gold seating, which includes a meet and greet with all players and skaters; \$25 for silver reserved seating; and \$20 for bronze general admission seats.

Net proceeds will benefit the Children

of Chornobyl Relief and Development Fund and the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, which are based in Whippany. All auction proceeds will benefit the Eugene Kinasewich Fund, which provides financial assistance to needy and worthy students from Ukraine, Canada, the United States and elsewhere.

For more information, readers may call 973-867-8855 or log on to www.uaccnj.org.

UABA reacts...

(Continued from page 8)

tionalist and fascist national-socialist programs and political concepts, for they are the tools of imperialist policies of conquest. Thus, we are opposed both to Russian-Bolshevik communism and to German National Socialism"

The image created by many of the statements in Mr. Pancake's article should be assessed against the following: Writing in the January 27, 1945, issue of The Saturday Evening Post, Edgar Snow wrote about World War II: "The whole titanic struggle, which some are so apt to dismiss as 'the Russian glory,' was first of all a Ukrainian war. No fewer than 10 million people had been lost to Ukraine since 1941. ... No single European country suffered deeper wounds to its cities, its industry and its humanity." Decades later, with all the evidence in, the University of London's Norman Davies, the world's pre-eminent historian of Europe, confirmed that the country most savaged by Nazi Germany was Ukraine. More Ukrainian civilians were killed than the total military deaths of the United States, Canada, the British Commonwealth, France, Germany, Japan and Italy combined. An additional more than 2 million Ukrainians were deported as slave laborers to Germany.

Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, was history's largest military operation, with more than 3.2 million German Hungarian, Romanian, Italian, Finnish, Spanish and Slovakian forces (compare D-Day with a total of 132,000 Allied troops). Ukraine was both the prize and the crucible. Hitler told Carl Burckhardt, the League of Nations high commissioner, "I need the [sic] Ukraine, so that nobody can ever starve us out again, as they did in the last war." Following Moscow's 1932-33 man-made famine in Ukraine that scythed millions of innocents out of existence, Hitler planned a repeat, as set forth in a report of the German Economic Armament Staff, dated December 2, 1941. In the same month, Walther Funk, the German minister of the economy and president of the Reichsbank. declared in Prague that Ukraine, "this promised colonial land," had become accessible to "European" exploitation.

As a result, Ukraine was one of the few countries in all of Nazi-occupied Europe to be ruled directly from Berlin. It had no Nazi or fascist party like the Iron Guard in Romania, the Arrow Cross Party in Hungary, or the smaller but no less fanatic fascist parties in Belgium, Norway, Denmark and Holland, Ukraine had no puppet government as did Quisling's Norway or Petain's Vichy France. To the very contrary, upon Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Ukrainians promptly (June 30) declared an independent government, refusing to ally with Hitler. The Germans considered this to be a coup d'état, and reacted instantly, arresting the Ukrainian leadership, which was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. An Einsatzkommando C/5 Order stated: "It has been established with certainty that the Bandera Movement [OUN] is preparing an uprising in the Reichscommissariat, whose ultimate objective is to create an independent Ukraine. All functionaries of the Bandera Movement are to be immediately arrested

and, after a thorough interrogation, secretly liquidated as pillagers." In the ensuing period of Nazi occupation, Ukrainians, whether or not members of the insurgency, were tortured, massacred and condemned to Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Treblinka, Sobibor, Belsen and Dachau. There, the Nazis refused to identify them as Ukrainians, but only as Russians or Poles.

That in the midst of this carnage there were instances of collaboration and anti-Semitism (meaning invidious actions based merely on a person's identification as a Jew or a Pole and not because one was an enemy combatant) is tragic, but it was not unique to Ukraine. Such instances, however, did not reflect the UPA's own purpose or conduct. Indeed, Jews became members of the UPA, some as officers.

To attribute the kind of behavior that the article does to the UPA, whether sourced on "eyewitness" reports or otherwise, is a matter that should be examined with more than the usual diligence, and not only because of the demonstrable disinformation. One particularly effective tactic of Stalin's NKVD units was masquerading as the UPA and committing the very atrocities against Jews and Poles that the article lays at the feet of the UPA. Such NKVD tactics were even more extensively implemented against the local Ukrainian population to alienate the sole source of UPA support. This was a repeat of tactics employed by Leon Trotsky as head of the Red Army in Russia's conquest of Ukraine in 1918-1920.

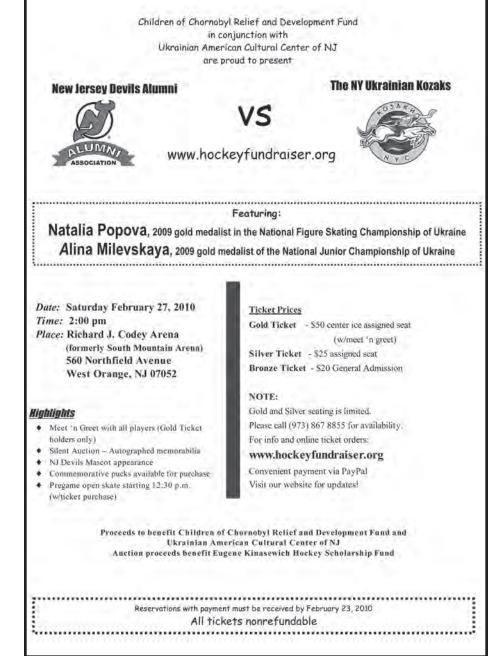
One may ask: "Doesn't Moscow have anything better to do?" No, it does not. The dissolution of the USSR is bemoaned as "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe" of the 20th century, Stalin is being rehabilitated as an "efficient manager," and a wholesale rewriting of Soviet-era history in Russian schools is well under way. Ukraine remains as the linchpin to the process, just as it was both in the formation of the USSR and also in its fall. Zbigniew Brzezinski noted that "It cannot be stressed strongly enough that without Ukraine, Russia ceased to be an empire, but with Ukraine suborned and then subordinated, Russia automatically becomes an empire." This has been a constant. "If we lose Ukraine," said Lenin, "we lose our head." On August 11, 1932, Stalin wrote to his executioner in Ukraine, Lazar Kaganovich: "Things in Ukraine are terrible... If we don't make an effort to improve the situation in Ukraine, we may lose Ukraine... Give yourself the task of transforming Ukraine into truly a fortress of the USSR... Without these and similar measures... I repeat - we can lose Ukraine." In the ensuing months of 1932-1933, millions of Ukrainians were murdered in history's first man-made famine.

Regrettably, given The Post's stature and apparent credibility, Mr. Pancake's article – despite "good intentions" – will be cited in predictable quarters with satisfaction. We accordingly urge that both Mr. Pancake and The Washington Post revisit this issue.

Sincerely yours,

Victor Rud
Chairman
Foreign Affairs and Human Rights
Committee
Ukrainian American Bar Association





OUT AND ABOUT

February 18 Discussion, "Ukraine's Presidential Election, Round 2," Washington and pianist Oksana Skidan, Embassy of Ukraine, Harvard University, 617-495-4053 202-364-3888 Cambridge, MA Presentation by Natalka Husar and Janice Kulyk-Kinofest NYC, The Ukrainian Museum, February 19 February 25-28 New York Keefer, "Blood in the Borshch," The Ukrainian http://www.kinofestnyc.com/index.html New York Museum, 212-228-0110 February 27 Hockey fund-raiser to benefit the Children of Chornobyl Relief and Development Fund and the February 20 Kaktus Kolomiyka Zabava, featuring music by West Orange, NJ Phoenix, AZ Svitanok, Ukrainian National Women's League of Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, America, Country Inn and Suites, 480-991-4656 featuring the N.J. Devil Alumni versus N.Y. or chrystia@cox.net Ukrainian Kozaks, Richard J. Codey Arena, 973-867-8855 or www.hockeyfundraiser.org February 20 Wild West Ukie Fest, featuring the Zorianka "Perogy" Night Family Dinner, St. Vladimir the Great Ukrainian Dance Ensemble of Edmonton, Ukrainian February 27 Phoenix, AZ National Women's League of America, Pinnacle High Ottawa Council and the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, School Auditorium, 480-991-4656 St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Shrine, or chrystia@cox.net 613-830-7787 Seminar by Volodymyr Dibrova, "Gogol's 'Taras February 20 through Gerdany (beaded necklaces) workshop, March 1 March 13 The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110 Cambridge, MA Bulba': The Novel, the Film, the Ideology," Harvard New York or edu@ukrainianmuseum.org University, 617-495-4053 February 21 Concert, "Ukraine Rain," featuring Julian Kytasty, March 2 Lecture by Oksana Kis, "Beauty Will Save the World: Manifestations of Normative Femininities in New York poet Bob Holman, and the Radio Banduristan Song New York and Dance Ensemble, Bowery Poetry Club, Yulia Tymoshenko's Political Images," Columbia 212-614-0505 University, 212-854-4697 or ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu February 22 Seminar by Robert Kusnierz, "Ukraine During the Taras Shevchenko Concert, Ukrainian Canadian Cambridge, MA Holodomor-Famine and Great Terror in Light of March 7 Congress - Ottawa Branch, Assumption of the Polish Diplomatic Intelligence Documents of the Ottawa 1930s," Harvard University, 617-495-4053 Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Orthodox hall, 613-728-0856 February 24 Discussion, "Ukraine's Presidential Race: Outcomes March 7-31 New York and Prospects," Columbia University, 212-854-4697 Art exhibit, "Across the Universe," featuring work by Pat Zalisko, Art League of Daytona Beach, or ukrainianstudies@columbia.edu Daytona Beach, FL 386-258-3856 February 25 Lecture by Taras Prokhasko, "FM Galicia," Ronald Entries in "Out and About" are listed free of charge. Priority is given to Reagan Building and International Trade Center, Washington 202-691-4000 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. February 25 Concert, featuring baritone Oleksandr Pushniak

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UKELODEON

FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

Bethlehem Peace Light shared Plast members beautify with community in Syracuse



Adrian Temnycky (left) with the Bethlehem Peace Light in St. John Church.

by Adrian Temnycky

SYRACUSE, N.Y. – On Sunday, December 13, 2009, local Plast members gathered with parishioners at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church for the 11 a.m. liturgy and to hold a ceremony with the Bethlehem Peace Light.

The president of the U.S. Plast National Command, Petro Stawnychy, had traveled from New Jersey on December 6 to transfer the flame to the Syracuse community. Marko and Adrian Temnycky received the Peace Light in a lantern, which remained lit in the church until mid-January.

After the liturgy, Plast members gathered at the altar and sang the Plast version of "Our Father." The Rev. Robert Batcho and the Rev. Deacon Bohdan Hedz talked about

Adrian Temnycky is a seventh grader at Christian Brothers Academy in Syracuse, N.Y.

the significance of the Peace Light and offered special prayers during the ceremony. To conclude the ceremony, plastuny sang a special song about the Bethlehem Peace Light written by Solomiya Keyvan of Ukraine while Yurko and Ivanka Temnycky provided accompaniment on guitars.

Plast members donated special white candles with blue ribbons for the event. Parishioners could buy the candles to bring the Peace Light home to their families during the Christmas season. The Plast group donated all the money from the candles sold to the church.

The joyful event was appreciated by the Ukrainian community in Syracuse. It was a great way to start the Christmas season by spreading a little peace through songs and a candle. The local event was coordinated by senior Plast member Roma Temnycky, a member of the Spartanky sorority who is very active in the Syracuse community.



Syracuse Plast scouts and community members hold lit candles.

Syracuse church grounds



SYRACUSE, N.Y. – On a cold late fall afternoon, December 6, 2009, the older Plast scouts (yunaky) volunteered to clean the grounds around St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church and rectory in Syracuse, N.Y. The scouts picked up trash, raked leaves and gathered weeds to beautify the area around the church and rectory just in time for Christmas and before any major snowstorms. The Rev. Robert Batcho and Deacon Bohdan Hedz worked alongside the Plast scouts. The clean-up was organized by senior Plast member Roma Temnycky, a member of the Spartanky sorority, who commented: "The scouts were enthusiastic about doing a good deed for their church and did a great job!"

Mishanyna

This month's Mishanyna is the fourth and last installment in our series focusing on the 50 states of the U.S. Find the names of the 12 states listed below in the Mishanyna grid.

RHODE ISLAND **TEXAS** WASHINGTON SOUTH CAROLINA WEST VIRGINIA UTAH SOUTH DAKOTA **VERMONT** WISCONSIN **TENNESSEE VIRGINA** WYOMING

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Ukrainian ornaments on the White House Christmas tree

by Olesia Fedynsky

ROCKY RIVER, Ohio – I never dreamed I would be walking through the White House. And not only was I there in the White House, but on the main Christmas tree in the Blue Room I saw the ornaments I had made a few weeks before.

Early in November 2009, I had received a box in the mail with five blank ornaments and some mod podge along with an invitation from the Obamas to decorate them

I went to the Ukrainian Museum-Archives in Cleveland to look for some ideas and found some albums full of Christmas cards. Flipping through the pages, I picked out a few favorites and took them home to copy.

Once the pictures were copied, I knew what to put on the ornaments. The five were decorated to celebrate the following themes: Ukrainian dance, the folktale "The Mitten," the famous "Carol of the Bells," Ukrainian traditions and Ukrainian Christmas. Next it was time to start designing them.

I put a "vinok" on each one, to make them more Ukrainian. For a few nights, my mom and I sat at the table, hard at work cutting and past-

Olesia Fedynsky, 15, is a freshman at Rocky River High School in the Cleveland area.

ing the pictures onto the ornaments. Finally, all five were done.

Once I finished, we took many, many pictures, packed them up and sent them to Washington without knowing what would become of them. A few weeks later, I followed my ornaments and took a trip to Washington with my family. We toured the beautiful city and on December 14, 2009, at 8:30 a.m., our self-guided White House tour began.

We walked around those majestic halls and made our way to the Blue Room and saw the huge Christmas tree with its 800 ornaments. We began scrutinizing the tree, looking for the Ukrainian ornaments we had crafted in our home in Cleveland. And then, we found one! It was the Ukrainian traditions ornament, and in the perfect spot – right in the middle and at eye level. We looked for a little bit more, and then my dad pointed out another one, this time "The Mitten." We were all so excited!

After walking around the White House a bit more, we decided it was time to finish our tour and start our drive home. We felt our day was complete after finding two ornaments on the White House Christmas tree. I will never forget the day I got to tour the White House to see my ornaments.



Olesia Fedynsky and her mother in front of the White House Christmas tree.



Ornaments by Olesia Fedynsky that were sent to the White House.

Korinya ensemble presents Ukrainian marionette show

GARDINER, N.Y. – On December 13, 2009, the Korinya Ukrainian Folk Band charmed the audience at the library in Gardiner, N.Y., with a marionette performance titled "Baba Liuba and the Spider."

This production, adapted by Halyna Shepko from traditional Ukrainian tales, tells the story of an elderly woman who lives alone and has a close connection with plants and animals, much to the suspicion of the other villagers. Spider Spiridon decides to make a surprise for Baba Liuba on Christmas Eve as a thank-you for all the kindness she shows to the world around her, and this act of kindness helps to reconnect the community.

After the marionette production, the Korinya kids played Ukrainian carols for the audience with Roxolyana Shepko,15, on violin, Alexandra Hamilton,11, on viola, Zoya Shepko,13, on cello, Stefan Shepko,12, on sopilka and Zorian Shepko, 4, on telenka.

The traditional Christmas wheat dish of kutia was given to all to share after the show and the kids made baby Spiridon spiders with the audi-



The Korinya Ukrainian Folk Band.

ence to take home.

Korinya has performed at La MaMa and the Ukrainian Institute of America with the Yara Arts Group, at Toronto's Ukrainian Festival, Soyuzivka's Ukrainian Cultural Festival and many other festivals. They will be playing and demonstrating Ukrainian village dance at the Dance Flurry Festival in Saratoga, N.Y., in the Hilton Broadway ballroom on Sunday, February 14, at 12:45-1:45 p.m. (For information see http://www.danceflurry.org/festival/

schedule.html.)

Korinya has a fanpage on Facebook at http://www.facebook.com/pages/Korinya-Ukrainian-Folk-Band/93048907529?ref=s. The ensemble may be contacted by phone at 845-255-5936.

Attention Debutante Ball Organizers!



As in the past,
The Ukrainian Weekly
will publish a special section
devoted to the Ukrainian
community's debutantes.
The 2010 debutante ball section
will be published on March 21.
The deadline for submission of
stories and photos is March 8.



Self Reliance (NJ) Federal Credit Union Clifton-Passaic

will hold its

ANNUAL MEETING

On Sunday, February 28, 2010, at 1:00 PM

At the Ukrainian Center 240 Hope Avenue, Passaic, NJ 07055

Board of Directors

Being Ukrainian means:

- ☐ "Malanka" in January.
 - ☐ Deb in February.
- ☐ Two Easters in springtime.
- "Zlet" and "Sviato Vesny" in May.
- ☐ Soyuzivka's Ukrainian Cultural Festival in July.
 - ☐ "Uke Week" at Wildwood in August.
 - ☐ Back to Ukrainian school in September.
 - 🗅 "Morskyi Bal" in New Jersey in November.
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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Friday-Sunday, February 19-21

NEW YORK: Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 64 invites the public to an exhibit of paintings by Volodymyr Voroniuk titled "Landscapes of Ukraine." The exhibit will open on Friday at 7 p.m. with an introduction by Jaroslawa Gerulak. A discussion will take place on Sunday at 2 p.m. featuring Mr. Voroniuk, who will discuss his artistic life path. Admission is free; donations are voluntary. The exhibit will take place at the UNWLA Art Gallery, 203 Second Ave. (fourth floor). For information call 212-260-4490, log on to www.unwla.org or www.vtkachenko.com/ukrartlitclub, or e-mail ukrartlitclub@yahoo.com.

Saturday, February 20

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a lecture by Prof. Viacheslav Briukhovetsky titled "The Mystery of Viktor Petrov (Domontovych)." Dr. Briukhovetsky is the honorary president of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy. The lecture will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call 212-254-5130.

Saturday, February 27

WEST ORANGE, N.J.: The Children of Chornobyl Relief and Development Fund and the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey present the Devils Alumni vs. the New York Ukrainian Kozaks hockey fund-raiser game at 2 p.m. at the Richard J. Codey Arena on Northfield Avenue in West Orange, N.J. The fun begins with an open skate for all ticket holders at 12:30 p.m. Natasha Popova, the 2009 gold medalist at the National Figure Skating Championship of Ukraine, and Alina Milevskaya, the 2009 gold medalist of the Junior Championship of Ukraine will perform before the game. Meet the Devils' mascot, the New Jersey Devil, bid on autographed memorabilia from your favorite athletes and purchase commemorative pucks. Tickets are \$50 for gold seating, which includes a meet and greet with all players; \$25 for silver reserved seating; and \$20 for bronze general admission seats. PayPal is accepted for online ticket orders. For more information call 973-867-8855 or visit the website at www.hockeyfundraiser.org. Auction proceeds will benefit the Eugene Kinasewich Fund, which provides financial assistance to needy and worthy students from Ukraine, Canada, the United States and elsewhere.

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 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.

Li/

The Ukrainian Institute of America and the KRAYANY Society of Hartford, CT present

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director@ukrainianinstitute.org

Tickets: \$25 members; seniors and students \$20