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## Holodomor is remembered at Embassy of Ukraine in U.S.

by Yaro Bihun

WASHINGTON — The millions of victims of the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine were remembered and honored here at the Holodomor victims commemoration at the Embassy of Ukraine November 27.

More than 100 members of the Ukrainian American community, Embassy staff and their families joined together to pay their respects to those who fell victim to this genocidal crime of the Stalin era.

The commemoration, which began in the Embassy building with a panakhyda, or requiem service, led by the clergy of the Ukrainian churches of Greater Washington and included remarks by the Ukrainian ambassador and representatives of the leading Ukrainian American organizations of the capital area, concluded with a candlelight vigil in the Embassy courtyard.

Ambassador Olexander Motsyk spoke about the importance of remembering this crime of the Stalin regime.

"This monstrous, unparalleled tragedy in the history of the Ukrainian people which took the lives of almost a quarter of the population of Ukraine cannot be forgotten," the ambassador said. "The Holodomor can neither be denied nor concealed."

He said that Ukraine will do everything "to ensure that the truth about the Holodomor will be revealed to the smallest detail and that every victim of this crime will be counted and commemorated according to the Christian tradition."

"That is our sacred obligation," he stressed.

Ambassador Motsyk thanked the Ukrainian American community for its devoted efforts in this cause and their American friends for their understand-

ing and sharing in the Ukrainian people's suffering,

"I firmly believe that in the near future a monument to the victims of the Holodomor will be erected also in the capital of the United States and that it will become yet another symbol of the perseverance of the Ukrainian people," he stated.

Also addressing the commemoration were Michael Sawkiw, director of the Ukrainian National Information Service of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; Ihor Gawdiak, president of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council; and Andrew Bihun, president of The Washington Group, an association of Ukrainian American professionals.

The commemoration concluded when all present exited the Embassy building and paid their last respects to the victims of the Holodomor by each lighting a small candle and placing it in the form of a cross in the Embassy courtyard and with the traditional moment of silence.



Ambassador Olexander Mostyk (right) and his wife, Natalia, join in a moment of silence and prayer at the Ukrainian Embassy's courtyard in memory of the millions who died in the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine.

## Two separate ceremonies in Kyiv remember Holodomor



Zenon Zawada

Ukrainian youths hold a banner reading "'Holodomor Genocide, we didn't forget, we remember,'" at the November 27 commemoration in Kyiv organized by the citizens committee of 30 civic and cultural leaders.

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — The Ukrainian government commemorated the Holodomor of 1932-1933 with far less substance and ceremony than in prior years. The November 27

events revealed that society remains deeply divided between those who recognize the Famine as genocide against Ukrainians, and Russophile Ukrainians who don't.

Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich

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## Wikileaks and Ukraine: Holodomor, shady business deals and Gaddafi

by Zenon Zawada

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — The Russian government led by Prime Minister Vladimir Putin blackmailed Azerbaijan's government to stop it from recognizing the Holodomor as genocide, documents released on Wikileaks on November 28 revealed. Other post-Soviet states received similar warnings too.

Azerbaijan's President Ilham Aliyev "received a letter from [Russian] President [Dmitry] Medvedev telling him that if Azerbaijan supported the designation of the Bolshevik artificial famine in Ukraine as 'genocide' at the United Nations, 'then you can forget about seeing Nagorno-Karabakh ever again,'" the cable stated, referring to the region in Azerbaijan where Armenians want independence.

The source of the claim was U.S.

Ambassador to Kyrgyzstan Tatiana Gfoeller, who attended a lunch briefing in Bishkek in October 2008 with Prince Andrew of the United Kingdom, who repeated the account as told to him by Mr. Aliyev.

"Prince Andrew added that every single other regional president had told him of receiving similar 'directive' letters from Medvedev except for [Kyrgyz President Kurmanbek] Bakiyev," the leaked cable stated. "He asked the ambassador if Bakiyev had received something similar as well. The ambassador answered that she was not aware of any such letter."

In response to the newly leaked information, Mr. Aliyev said the Wikileaks exposure "is an open provocation, which has as its goal ruining relations between Azerbaijan and neighboring states and creating mis-

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## ANALYSIS

## NATO's Lisbon summit and Russia: Crown jewels for chicken feed?

by Eerik-Niiles Kross  
Eurasia Daily Monitor

The fictional character George Smiley was fond of saying that bargaining with the Russians tends to result in giving away the crown jewels in return for chicken feed. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about what is currently being bargained away by the West to Russia. The West seems willing to negotiate on its security organizations' independent decision-making ability in return for Russian tactical cooperation on Afghanistan. The only thing that is in dispute is the degree to which Russia will have a future say in European Union and NATO decisions.

The Russian National Security Concept, signed by then President Vladimir Putin in January 2000, brought into play Russia's current world view and doctrine. Moscow's goal is the transformation of a U.S.-centric (unipolar) world into a multipolar model, in which one of the more important centers of power is a Russia that is respected by all and has complete hegemony in its "sphere of privileged interests."

One of the main threats to Russia, according to that concept, was "the danger of a weakening of Russia's political, economic and military influence in the world" and "eastward expansion of NATO." The term "sphere of privileged interests" was later added to the mainstream Russian foreign policy narrative by the modernizer President Dmitry Medvedev (<http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html>).

On August 31, 2008, Mr. Medvedev outlined five principles guiding his foreign policy in the wake of the recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states, noting that, "Protecting the lives and dignity of our citizens, wherever they may be, is an unquestionable priority for our country. Our foreign policy decisions will be based on this need. We will also protect the interests of our business community abroad. It should be clear to all that we will respond to any aggressive acts committed against us. Finally, as is the case of other countries, there are regions in which Russia has privileged interests. These regions are home to countries with which we share special historical relations and are bound together as friends and good neighbors" (<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/russia/privileged-interests.htm>).

This sphere of interests comprises several of Russia's neighboring countries and a large part of Eastern Europe. It also includes some who are already NATO members. Mr. Medvedev subsequently said, "...Our neighbors are without any doubt states that are traditionally close to us and they represent the traditional sphere of interests of the Russian Federation. And the Russian Federation is for them exactly the same sort of traditional sphere of interest... It is not even a matter of belonging to this or that organization, this or that bloc, but rather the common history and genetic connectedness of our economies and the very close kinship of our souls" (Transcript of the Meeting with the Participants in the International Club Valdai with President Dmitry Medvedev, September 12, 2008, [http://www.sras.org/transcript\\_of\\_the\\_valdai\\_club\\_meeting\\_2008](http://www.sras.org/transcript_of_the_valdai_club_meeting_2008)).

According to this logic, the pillars of a unipolar world are, in particular, NATO and the EU. However, even the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), or those international

organizations where Russia does not have a vote or control over decisions, form the foundations of this unipolar world. As such, they stand in the way of Russia becoming a great power. Expansion of NATO is a direct provocation that opposes Russia's legitimate interests of being a dominant power.

In his speech at the Munich security conference in February 2007, President Putin pronounced the end of the unipolar world. He said "I am convinced that we have entered that decisive moment, where we have to seriously reconsider the global security architecture." From that point, Russia advanced from the realm of thought to enter the realm of deeds. Mr. Putin issued a decree with which Russia renounced all of its obligations under the Conventional Forces Europe [CFE] treaty.

In other words, Mr. Putin abandoned the system of military balance that had been in place since 1990. This included Russia's obligation to notify its neighbors of, for example, such things as a military build-up by Russia on their borders. He demonstrated that Russia, as a great power, was already creating a new security arrangement.

Moscow's next step was to demonstrate that it can directly influence NATO's decision-making and halt NATO's enlargement. In Munich on February 10, 2007, Mr. Putin declared, "NATO expansion does not have any relation with the modernization of the alliance itself or with ensuring security in Europe. On the contrary, it represents a serious provocation that reduces the level of mutual trust."

Moscow started a skilful and persistent campaign of swaying some NATO member-countries willing to be swayed, notably Germany and France, to torpedo extending Membership Action Plans (MAP) to Georgia and Ukraine at the NATO summit in Bucharest in April 2008. Ukraine and Georgia were promised eventual membership at some indeterminate future date although the MAP itself was denied because of opposition by Germany and France. This occurred despite personal pleas by the U.S. president and U.S. diplomatic pressure to proffer the MAP.

At the post-summit press conference, Mr. Putin openly sneered, saying, "Besides, if the discussion on your expansion issues developed differently yesterday, today's [Afghanistan] transit agreement would not likely be signed." For the first time in its history, a NATO decision was made that suited the Russian president more than his U.S. counterpart.

The ability to halt NATO expansion is hardly enough for Russia. Its objective is to neutralize NATO as an independent center of power. In June 2008, following NATO's Bucharest summit, President Medvedev introduced the idea of new security architecture for Europe ([http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2008/06/05/2203\\_type82912type82914type84779\\_202153.shtml](http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2008/06/05/2203_type82912type82914type84779_202153.shtml), June 5, 2008).

Meeting with a large group of German political and civic leaders, Mr. Medvedev asserted that the days of the Euro-Atlantic security system (read: NATO) were numbered and he stated directly that if there were any future expansion of NATO, Russia would terminate all cooperation with the West. Apparently, what is needed is a new global security arrangement and "a unified Euro-Atlantic space from

(Continued on page 20)

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Independence referendum's anniversary

KYIV – On December 1 Ukraine celebrated the 19th anniversary of the referendum on independence and its first presidential election since the declaration of independence. The referendum was announced on August 24, 1991, and approved on October 11 that same year. Only one question was raised at the referendum, which took place on December 1, 1991: "Do you confirm the Act of Independence of Ukraine?" A total of 90.32 percent of the electorate voted "yes." In the first presidential election, Leonid Kravchuk won with 61.59 percent of the vote. (Ukrinform)

### OU demands explanation from Russia

KYIV – National deputies from the Our Ukraine Party have sent a letter to the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Ukraine regarding the elimination of the Federal National and Cultural Autonomy of Ukrainians in Russia. Deputies called on the Foreign Affairs Ministry to hand a note of protest to Russian Ambassador to Ukraine Mikhail Zurabov and demand relevant explanations, the party's press service reported on November 26. "The ban on the activity of the Federal National and Cultural Autonomy of Ukrainians is an obvious confirmation of serious and systemic violations by Russia of the rights of those of its citizens who are Ukrainians to maintain their own language and culture," reads the letter by deputies to Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko. According to the letter, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation ruled legal a decision to satisfy a suit by the Russian Justice Ministry to liquidate the Federal National and Cultural Autonomy of Ukrainians in Russia. The Our Ukraine party stated that while Ukraine was expanding the study and use of the Russian language, the Russian Federation was "eliminating the remains of the national and cultural societies of Ukrainians in Russia." In addition, representatives of Our Ukraine called on the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry to address relevant OSCE structures and inform them about a decision taken by Russia "that seriously violates the rights of the Ukrainian national minority." (Interfax-Ukraine)

### Ukraine restores work with Russia in CIS

KYIV – Ukraine has fully restored work with Russia within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Ukraine's Prime Minister Mykola Azarov said at a November 29 meeting with Sergey Mironov, Chairman of the Council of Federation of Russia's Federal Assembly. He noted that Russia remains the largest trade partner for Ukraine. "In our relationship there are, as always happens, some problems, but they are solved normally, without undue politicization," Mr. Azarov emphasized adding that "this shows that we are determined to solve them, instead of doing politics of that." In turn, Mr. Mironov stressed the need to intensify bilateral contacts at the interregional level. Earlier, during a meeting with Mr. Mironov, President Viktor Yanukovich of Ukraine said he plans to visit Moscow on December 10 as part of the CIS summit. The president expressed hope that during the visit he will meet his Russian counterpart, Dmitry Medvedev. (Ukrinform)

### Ukraine, Russia to be strategic partners

KYIV – President Viktor Yanukovich of Ukraine said the high level of interstate relations established between Ukraine and Russia in recent years has created conditions for rapid development of the countries, and stated that the two sides have already begun drafting a document on a strategic partnership. Mr. Yanukovich made his comments on November 29 while speaking with Sergey Mironov, chairman of the Council of Federation of the Russian Federal Assembly. "The preparation of a document on strategic partnership, which has now begun, of course, will highlight that our special relationship requires specific mechanisms for implementing these decisions," Mr. Yanukovich said. He noted the success of the November 26 meeting of the fourth Russian-Ukrainian Interstate Commission, which, in his opinion, once again confirmed that "the current level of relations between Ukraine and Russia in the literal sense of the word creates conditions for further strengthening of our joint actions in many areas." The president added, "The governments of

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## Nationwide tax protests continue, even as president vetoes tax code



Official Website of Ukraine's President

President Viktor Yanukovich during his November 27 visit to the tent city sent up by tax protesters on Kyiv's Independence Square.

by Zenon Zawada  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Nationwide tax protests by Ukraine's small-business men extended into their third consecutive week, even after President Viktor Yanukovich vetoed the controversial tax code approved by Parliament on November 18.

Unsatisfied with the president's amendment proposals, protest leaders demanded a complete rewrite of the tax code with the participation of small business men, a process they said should take at least six months if done properly.

"Such serious documents aren't done in a day, or two or three," said Volodymyr Dorosh, director of the information center of the central headquarters of the Ukrainian Entrepreneurship Rescue.

"We recommend drafting a solid document during the first three or four months of the next year which would form the development of the country's entrepreneurship – and remove from the shadows 40 percent of business, as estimated by experts – with the government gaining significant budget revenue as a result," he said.

Yet the government wasn't much interested in this offer. The Verkhovna Rada on December 2 approved a new version of the tax code that includes the president's recommended amendments. Mr. Yanukovich is likely to sign the new tax

code in the coming days, observers said.

The entrepreneurs were disappointed, issuing a statement on their website, <http://mistovoli.org>.

"Today 268 deputies of the Verkhovna Rada set a record for speed-reading and button-pressing – they voted and approved 25 pages of proposals from Yanukovich in just a few minutes," the statement said. "This is a serious claim for a Guinness world record, which leads us to ask: Why bother keeping so many marionettes in the Rada that vote according to what two or three people from Bankova Street [the Presidential Administration] tell them? How much money could be saved for the Pension Fund and budget?"

As the basis for the new legislation, the Yanukovich administration relied on a memorandum between a government working group and small business, signed by seven entrepreneurs.

The Ukrainian Entrepreneurship Rescue claimed these businessmen had little involvement in the protests and didn't represent even a small minority of the business organizations involved.

"The signatures on this shameful agreement are people largely unknown to the entrepreneurs, who were even too ashamed to write the names of the organizations they represent," the Rescue state-

(Continued on page 19)

## Saving Zaruddia: A historian's fight to defend her native village

by Zenon Zawada  
Kyiv Press Bureau

Following is the second part in a series examining the efforts of Dr. Hanna Kapustian, a professor of history at Mykhailo Ostrohradskyi Kremenchuk National University, to defend her native village of Zaruddia against corporate pressures that seek to raze it.

BONDARI, Ukraine – In Ukraine, three types of people run for local political office, said Mykhailo Pohrebinskyi, a veteran political observer who advised former President Leonid Kuchma and now President Viktor Yanukovich.

They are businessmen, lobbyists of businessmen and civic activists, he said. The third type "aren't entirely sane people," he added, rather derisively.

Yet Dr. Hanna Kapustian, 57, belongs to the third category, having decided to run for a seat on the Kremenchuk District Council in the October 31 local elections to enhance her ability to defend local villages against attempts to buy them out and raze them. The District Council decides critical land issues.

Moreover a seat would give Dr. Kapustian the ability to gain information more easily, as well as a forum to voice protest against the plans of Ferrexpo – a publicly traded company controlled by billionaire Kostiantyn Zhevago – to dig for iron ore and ruin tens of thousands of acres of Poltava chornozem.

For her mission, she teamed up with Yurii Petrenko, 49, a resident of the neighboring village of Ostaptsi, who forsook a re-election bid to the Kremenchuk District Council to run instead for chair of the Bondari village council, a position held by his cousin Leonid Zayichenko.

For much of the time since Ukraine re-established independence in 1991, Mr. Zayichenko has chaired the Bondari Village Council, which serves as the governing organ for seven neighboring villages. These smaller villages don't have their own councils and rely on the decisions made in the central village of Bondari.

Mr. Zayichenko spent most of this time allegedly enriching himself at the expense of the villagers, and striking backroom deals with representatives of Ferrexpo, who are anxious to drill for iron ore in Bondari, Mr. Petrenko and Dr. Kapustian said.

When asked by The Weekly about their claims, Mr. Zayichenko referred to them with one word, "Fantastyka!"

(Fantasy)." He said the village ultimately has no say in whether the land is acquired and dug up.

"It will be decided on a state level. One person won't decide. Maybe she would want it that way," he said, referring to Dr. Kapustian. "I've here for 50 years, and for 50 years they've babbled about resettlement. No one knows what will happen. They can fantasize all they want."

Like many Ukrainians politicians, Mr. Zayichenko held onto political office for so long by switching to whatever party was in power.

He was a member of For A Single Ukraine under former President Kuchma, painted himself orange when Viktor Yushchenko was elected president in 2004 and joined the Party of Regions when President Yanukovich took office in February.

Each Bondari election was plagued by abuses and falsifications, even in 2006, alleged Dr. Kapustian and Mr. Petrenko. Mr. Zayichenko's ruling clan of government employees and reliable relatives conducted the elections with impudence, as if no one had a right to challenge their way of doing things, they said.

"They treat everyone else as if they're beneath them, not worthy of respect," Mr. Petrenko said.

Yet Dr. Kapustian and Mr. Petrenko decided that Mr. Zayichenko had gone too far during his latest term in office, attempting at least twice to strike secret deals with Ferrexpo representatives without informing the local population.

A soy farmer in the village of Ostaptsi, Mr. Petrenko has been a member of the Agrarian Party of Ukraine, among several parties that attempted to harness the political strength of Ukraine's rural population without much success.

Intense competition for the rural electorate – which involved the Peasants Party of Ukraine and the Village Rebirth Party – split the slim vote and was not able to achieve results on the oblast level, let alone nationally. Such parties gained a presence only on district and village councils.

Inevitably Ukraine's smaller parties fall prey to oligarchs, looking for their own personal political vehicle. Such was the fate of the Agrarian Party, which was taken over in September by Viktor Slauta, a Donbas native and Party of Regions loyalist who now serves as the vice prime minister for the agricultural-industrial

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## Quotable notes

"This week, many Americans are recalling the events of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine six years ago. For Americans, the Orange Revolution was fundamentally a symbol of hope – hope that Ukraine was turning toward democracy and a society where law was the rule. Like the earlier Rose Revolution in Georgia, the peaceful protests on the Maidan showed to the citizens of my country a Ukrainian civil society that wanted to turn against corruption and electoral manipulation and build a nation of laws and good governance.

"Politicians, historians and analysts will debate the history of the Orange Revolution and its aftermath. I believe most Ukrainians recognize that much remains to be done. My point today is to reiterate that American policy remains unchanged – our hopes for Ukraine remain as consistent and strong today as they were six years ago. Building democracy and rule of law are at the core of our approach to this country, or as I sometimes say, the overarching umbrella over everything we do here. Indeed, I would argue that those goals of American policy have been fundamentally unchanged throughout the almost 20 years of Ukraine's independence. ...

"So this is why America cares about democracy in Ukraine, this is why all of us at the American Embassy work so hard to achieve these policy goals. This is why we devoted so much time and so many of our resources to monitoring the recent local elections, and why we are working to support true reform in this country. We are determined to support Ukrainians in their continuing efforts to secure for themselves and future generations the freedoms that so inspired the brave Ukrainians on those cold days and nights back in 2004 on 'Maidan Nezalezhnosti' and throughout the country."

– U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John Tefft, writing on November on the U.S. Embassy Kyiv Blog (see <http://usembassykyiv.wordpress.com/>).



Zenon Zawada

Yurii Petrenko (right), candidate for the Bondari City Council chair, teamed up with Dr. Hanna Kapustian (left), candidate for the Kremenchuk District Council, to fight attempts to raze their villages.



## U.S. ambassador highlights successes, challenges of judicial reform in Ukraine

Embassy of the United States

KYIV – U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine John F. Tefft addressed leading Ukrainian policy-makers and international experts at the opening of the Roundtable on Judicial Reform in Ukraine and International Standards for Judicial Independence, conducted by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Ukraine Rule of Law Project on October 26-27 in Kyiv.

Ambassador Tefft pledged continued U.S. government support for judicial reform in Ukraine and emphasized that it is in the United States' and Ukraine's interests to bring Ukrainian judicial reform legislation into line with European and international standards.

More than 100 top Ukrainian judges, government officials and civil society representatives, together with Ukrainian and international experts, reviewed progress and challenges that remain with the "Law on the Judiciary and Status of Judges."

During the roundtable, participants discussed expert analyses of the law, including the recently released Venice Commission Joint Opinion.

Based on the two days of discussion, participants drafted proposals on the next steps for judicial reform in Ukraine, making recommendations to amend the law according to the Venice Commission's opinion and international standards.

"The United States is deeply committed to Ukraine's democratic and economic development. We recognize the importance of strengthening the rule of law in this process," said Ambassador Tefft. "The U.S. government stands ready to continue its support of Ukrainian-led efforts at open and transparent judicial reform, building on past successes and the promises of Ukrainian leadership on this critically important issue," he said.

A highlight of the roundtable was the assessment of the law shared by two prominent U.S. judges, William Duffey of the U.S. Federal District Court and Bohdan Futey of the U.S. Federal Court of Claims, and attorney Mary Noel Pepys, a judicial reform expert, in which they presented ways to improve the law to strengthen judicial independence and reduce the politicization of the judiciary.

USAID's Ukraine Rule of Law Project initiated the roundtable in cooperation with High Qualifications Commission of Judges of Ukraine, State Judicial Administration of Ukraine and Academy of Judges of Ukraine.

The American people, through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), have provided economic and humanitarian assistance worldwide for nearly 50 years. In Ukraine, USAID's assistance focuses on three areas: Health and Social Transition, Economic Growth and Democracy and Governance. Since 1992, USAID has provided \$1.7 billion in technical and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine.

USAID's Ukraine Rule of Law Project was launched in April 2006 to promote the rule of law in Ukraine. The project focuses on increasing the transparency and

accountability of the judicial system, raising public awareness of the judicial system and increasing public confidence in the judiciary.



Ambassador Tefft shakes hands with U.S. Court of Federal Claims Judge Bohdan Futey, who participated in the Judicial Reform Roundtable in Kyiv.

## Ukraine's law on the judiciary and the status of judges

Following is a summary of comments by Judge Bohdan A. Futey of the U.S. Federal Court of Claims on the "The Law on the Judiciary and the Status of Judges of Ukraine" delivered at the Roundtable on Judicial Reform in Ukraine and International Standards for Judicial Independence, conducted by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Ukraine Rule of Law Project on October 26-27 in Kyiv.

Ukraine adopted its Constitution on June 28, 1996.

This document exclusively tasks the court system with the administration of justice, according to Article 124, and judicial proceedings are to be held before the Constitutional Court of Ukraine and the courts of general jurisdiction.

The Constitution in Chapter XV provided for a five-year transitional period to establish the judiciary system outlined in the Constitution. Under these provisions, the Supreme Court of Ukraine was to begin to exercise its authority in accordance with the current laws in force, while a system of courts was set up that would meet the requirements of Article 125. This period was to last no longer than five years.

Many of the provisions of the Constitution, however, were not put into effect by the end of that five-year window. This has necessitated a series of successive laws in order to set up the judiciary, including the small law on the judiciary in 2001. The latest, the "Law of Ukraine on the Judiciary and the Status of Judges," No.2453-VI, was adopted by the Verkhovna Rada on July 7 of this year and signed into law by the president on July 27.

Article 6 of the Constitution of Ukraine declares the separation of powers concept. The principle of checks and balances sets up a system of balances under which the different branches watch each other and keep each other in check. The Constitution in Article 8 recognizes the importance of the rule of law and declares this principle to be "recognized and effective" in Ukraine. For the rule of law to be upheld, there must be a strong and independent judiciary. This judiciary, furthermore, must be one that exists in a system of separate powers.

A strong judiciary must be co-equal with the other branches of government. This means that the judiciary – and each individual judge – must act as co-equal with and independent from the other branches of government.

The judiciary will remain weak if it is merely theoretically co-equal with and independent from the other branches; it must also be practically independent. The new law contains some improvements that will help the judiciary become independent. Positive and progressive provisions of the Law to ensure judicial independence are as follows;

- Selection process of judges: It is very positive that the candidate for a judicial position will be tested under video surveillance and within the anonymous testing system (Article 70). This will help to avoid the improper attempts to bypass testing or change the results.

- Facilitating the report of threats to judiciary independence: This provision, if properly implemented, can effectively minimize undue influence on judges and strengthen their independence (Article 47).

- Automatic/random case assignment: Under the new law, the cases will be distributed randomly between the judges by the automatic system. This will enhance judges' independence and help to avoid assignment of certain cases to a particular judge who has shown favoritism towards a party or parties.

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### The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: October

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	Yarko Krupa	San Jose, CA		Merle and Bonnie
	George and Irene Nestor	Nanty Glo, PA		Jurkiewicz
	Ihor Vitkovitsky	Silver Spring MD		Khristina Lew and
	Olena Wawryshyn	Toronto, ON		Adrian Gawdiak
\$20.00	Adrian Babiak	Silver Spring, MD		Alexander Malychy
	Roman Hrab	Boonton, NJ		Mikolaya and Mark
	Irene Saikevych	Talent, OR		Nynka
	Roman and Mary	Amsterdam, NY		George Olesnicki
	Semczuk			Nicholas Prisak
	Jaroslaw Semkiw	Boiling Springs, PA		Larissa Raphael
	Stefan Zwarycz	Kenosha, WI		
\$15.00	Bohdan Bejger	Buffalo, NY		
	M. Borkowsky	Yonkers, NY		
	Walter Gerent	North Port, FL		

**TOTAL: \$2,120.00**

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*The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund is the only fund dedicated exclusively to supporting the work of this publication.*





# THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

## UNA's Christmas card project is ongoing fund-raiser

by Oksana Trytjak  
UNA National Organizer

Christmastime is often the only time of the year that we communicate with old friends and family members. Sending personal greetings during the holidays is a wonderful way to reconnect and to share the Christmas spirit.

The Ukrainian National Association has supported a Christmas card project since 1996. The project promotes Ukrainian artists whose art reflects their Ukrainian roots and traditions. These artists promote their Ukrainian heritage through their religious art, using a variety of genres, including: oil, watercolor, tempera, computer graphics, gouache, woodcut, ceramic, mixed media and pen, pencil and ink.

This year, again, the UNA will be publishing approximately 150,000 cards and mailing them to the community in the hope that the community will support this project. The cards will be mailed before Thanksgiving.

The project is a fund-raiser geared mainly towards supporting programs at the Soyuzivka Heritage Center, where Ukrainian culture is promoted and where the young and old can meet in a magnificent Ukrainian setting. Soyuzivka serves the community, but community members need to support it both financially and by participating in its events in order to ensure its future.



By supporting this project through the Ukrainian National Foundation (UNF) – the charitable arm of the Ukrainian National Association – you are supporting an organization that has been working in and for the community since 1894. The UNF is a registered 501 (c) (3) non-profit foundation, making all donations tax-exempt as permitted by law.

In the spirit of Christmas we wish you and your family happiness, peace, prosperity and good health for the New Year.



### To The Weekly Contributors:

We greatly appreciate the materials – feature articles, news stories, press clippings, letters to the editor, etc. – we receive from our readers. In order to facilitate preparation of The Ukrainian Weekly, we ask that the guidelines listed below be followed.

- Persons who submit any materials must provide a complete mailing address and daytime phone number where they may be reached if any additional information is required.
- News stories should be sent in not later than 10 days after the occurrence of a given event.
- Photographs (originals only, no photocopies or computer printouts) submitted for publication must be accompanied by captions. Photos will be returned only when so requested and accompanied by a stamped, addressed envelope.
- Full names (i.e., no initials) and their correct English spellings must be provided.
- Newspaper and magazine clippings must be accompanied by the name of the publication and the date of the edition.
- Information about upcoming events must be received one week before the date of The Weekly edition in which the information is to be published.
- Unsolicited materials submitted for publication will be returned only when so requested and accompanied by a stamped, addressed envelope.

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## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### Tax protests and civil society

Ukraine's tax protests of the winter of 2010 offer hope for the country's future, amidst a very grim political situation. They demonstrated that Ukrainian society has matured significantly since the Orange Revolution of 2004.

Back then, Ukrainians placed enormous – almost childlike – faith in the political myth of Viktor Yushchenko and his political team. They came out on the maidan, lifted him to the presidency, and then returned to the comfort of their homes with the expectation that he would solve the nation's problems. He did nothing of the sort, decimating his political career in the process. Ukrainians' faith in the political system was devastated as well. As evidenced in this year's elections, apathy swelled as more Ukrainians chose to vote "Don't support anyone," or stayed at home. Or they simply traded their votes for cash, which was embarrassingly exposed in the world media.

But the tax protesters demonstrated that they've learned how to deal with the nation's oligarchy in new ways. Ridding themselves of the illusion they can elect someone to represent their interests within the system, they're now adapted to the dealing with system as one big monolith that requires constant pressuring.

The lessons of 2004 have been learned, and among the biggest is "Have no leader." As explained by leading civic activist Igor Lutsenko, "When there aren't any leaders, there's no one to be bought, nothing to be sold and no one to betray." Decisions are reached by working groups, which designate tasks and disappear once they're accomplished.

Another lesson is "No negotiations." The Ukrainian Entrepreneurship Rescue made three demands: veto the tax code, dismiss the government of Prime Minister Mykola Azarov – who famously said that small businesses contribute little to national and local budgets – and hold parliamentary elections in March 2011. With the latter two unlikely to be fulfilled, the first demand remains on the table – but it implies re-writing the tax code with the input of Ukraine's small-business community.

"No politicians" became a slogan too. Five years ago, Ukrainians stood star-struck when politicians took to the maidan stage. This year, they were tossing them off the stage. When President Viktor Yanukovich and his prime minister paid an unexpected visit to the "Misto Voli" tent city, they were greeted with political debate and sharp questions rather than sheepishness and adulation.

Not a single flag of a political party was present on the maidan throughout the three weeks of protests. The new maidan had specific goals to achieve, rather than blindly following a politician or party. Opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko showed she can still mesmerize the crowds when demonstrating her support for the protests, but its leaders were effective in keeping her at arm's length from their movement and its main objectives.

The new maidan was determined to not allow any regional or linguistic differences to be exploited. On November 29 the protest leaders read aloud the Ukrainian People's Unification Act: "We, the citizens of Ukraine, declare our personal responsibility for the fate of Ukraine. We affirm that we will continue to build the state regardless of language, nationality, region of residency. The state begins with every single person."

Yet many advantages became disadvantages that the Presidential Administration was ready to exploit. It took advantage of the lack of a strong leadership by selecting separate groups of entrepreneurs to negotiate with. So while the leaders of the Ukrainian Entrepreneurship Rescue insisted that no one was authorized to make deals with the government, the administration got signatures in support of a memorandum between the president's working group and the small-business community.

The president issued his veto based on that memorandum, and the Parliament offered its votes in support of an amended tax code, which the president is likely to sign. Afterwards a National Coordinating Council was called on the maidan to determine the next moves.

As our Kyiv Press Bureau filed its news story, fireworks filled the air as a Party of Regions deputy ordered a celebration of the new tax legislation. Police were swarming the maidan and issuing warnings to vacate. The opposition *Batkivshchyna* party was offering national deputies to defend against any police action.

Indeed, after 19 years of independence, and after the mistakes of the Orange Revolution, Ukrainian civil society has finally begun sprouting. That's not bad after centuries of slavery under tsarist Russia and decades under Soviet communism.

"Thank God that the active stratum of the population – its small-business men – understood that politics is not only voting and elections, but it's also a constant struggle for your rights," said Oleksii Holobutskyi, the deputy director of the Agency for Modeling Situations in Kyiv. Amen to that!

Dec.  
6  
2009

### Turning the pages back...

Last year, on November 30, 2009, John Demjanjuk's second trial on Nazi war crimes charges began in Munich, Germany.

The 89-year-old retired U.S. autoworker from Ohio was charged with complicity in the deaths of 27,900 Jews at the Sobibor death camp in Nazi-occupied Poland. A 10-page indictment was read, in which prosecutors alleged that Mr. Demjanjuk played "an active role in the Nazi's machinery of destruction and of being a willing follower of Hitler's racist ideology."

Mr. Demjanjuk's attorney, Ulrich Busch, filed a motion on December 1, 2009, for the case to be thrown out because of the illegal deportation rather than extradition of

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## COMMENTARY

### Documenting a tragedy

by David Marples

This week, Ukrainians worldwide are commemorating the 78th anniversary of the beginning of the Great Famine of 1932-1933, known as the Holodomor (death by hunger).

In the period 2005-2009, when Viktor Yushchenko was president of Ukraine, several archival collections on the Famine-Holodomor of 1932-1933 were made available to researchers, which supplemented earlier information gathered mainly from eyewitness reports. Perhaps the most important of these were reports from the Soviet secret police files (then called the OGPU, and since 1934 known as the NKVD).

With the demise of the Yushchenko government in the 2010 presidential elections, the authorities have done a U-turn on the Famine question. The SBU has a new leadership, files are no longer freely disseminated, and the new president, Viktor Yanukovich, has denied that the Famine was an act of genocide. On the contrary, President Yanukovich appears to adhere to the Russian perspective that famines were a general phenomenon across the Soviet grain-growing regions in 1932, including the Volga region, Ukraine, the North Caucasus, and even Belarus.

It is true that famine was widespread in the spring and summer of 1932, but many events that took place later in the year, and in the brutal year of 1933 were unique to Ukraine and the North Caucasus, particularly the Kuban region, which was composed of about 60 percent Ukrainians. And this is evident from the OGPU documents released over the past two decades.

It is well-known that the great upheaval of collectivization and the removal of richer ("kulak") families had a devastating impact on Soviet farms. The subsequent imposition of grain quotas by Stalin's regime was to ensure that deliveries were transported to the towns or the Far East before the families could feed themselves.

A widespread drought in 1931 exacerbated the situation, but it did not lead directly to Famine. In theory, farms can feed themselves. But they were not allowed to. Not only grain was confiscated from Ukrainian villages, but also seed grain, and subsequently meat, potatoes and other crops as a penalty for failing to meet grain deliveries.

Lazar Kaganovich devised the idea of a "blackboard" [Editor's note: "chorna doshka," also called a blacklist in other sources] for those villages in the North Caucasus that failed to meet quotas. They were then isolated, trading ended, and no one was allowed to enter or leave. The blackboard was soon extended to the Ukrainian SSR.

Stalin, together with his associates Viacheslav Molotov and Kaganovich, railed against Ukrainian party and government leaders (Stanislav Kosior and Vlas Chubar) for their weakness and failure to take more ruthless measures. Though Ukraine's grain quota was twice reduced, it was still well beyond farmers' capacity to meet. Therefore, the Soviet leadership took several measures calculated to transform a severe situation into a catastrophe.

First, Ukrainian leaders were bypassed. Instead, in November 1932, Molotov led a commission to Ukraine and Kaganovich to

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the North Caucasus to impose order. In January 1933, Stalin sent a personal emissary, Pavel Postyshev, with full authority in Ukraine as well as Vsevolod Balytsky, who took over the republican OGPU. While Postyshev used the army and local activists to take "hidden" supplies from the villages, cordoning off and starving villages that failed to meet quotas, Balytsky instituted mass repressions from early 1933 onward on the grounds that a mass uprising of Ukrainian nationalists had been planned for the spring of 1933 with the aid of outside forces from Poland.

The consequences were not merely mass starvation, but wholesale arrests, deportations and executions that did not occur elsewhere in the USSR.

In January 1933, the OGPU reported 436 "terrorist acts" in Ukraine during the grain procurement campaign. About 38,000 arrests had been made, and 391 "anti-Soviet, kulak, counter-revolutionary groups" had been uncovered. Over 6,600 arrests had been made on collective farms, mostly composed of the farms' leadership. Over 8,000 had been dispatched to concentration camps.

By mid-February 1933, the situation had escalated. The OGPU set up a "shock-operational group" in 200 districts of Ukraine and at railways stations and border crossings. It sent word to Stalin that "we are clashing with a single, carefully elaborated plan for an organized armed uprising in Ukraine by the spring of 1933, with the goal of removing Soviet power" and setting up an independent, capitalist, Ukrainian state. Needless to say, these groups had to be eradicated and thousands were subsequently deported.

No serious evidence of a planned uprising has ever emerged. Stalin was afraid of "losing Ukraine," as he wrote to Kaganovich, and saw plots and plotters everywhere. Balytsky chose to feed his fertile imagination.

The repression of Ukraine's villages led to a mass exodus of men-folk, while those remaining behind simply starved. In February 1933 alone, about 85,000 peasants had fled the Ukrainian countryside. The vast majority were detained at the border and returned to their villages, or else arrested and sent to labor camps. Border crossings from North Caucasus to Ukraine, and from Ukraine into Belarus and Russia were closed. The OGPU noted that these had been escape routes in 1932 and were not about to make the same mistake again. It urged the rooting out of those peasants who had managed to get laboring jobs in the cities.

The OGPU documented the starvation in turgid accounts that nonetheless allow the reader some insights into the situation. Though some reports attribute starvation to failure to work sufficient hours or poor collective farm construction, others acknowledge that even those who had worked hard were starving.

One report from Kyiv region in late February 1933 – based on 40 percent of the districts – noted that over 210,000 people were starving and an additional 12,800 had already died. In the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, the regional authorities proposed on February 28 to set up nurseries to feed 70,000 children, 50,000 pre-school-age children and 300,000 adults.

The scale of the tragedy, in what had been the most productive grain-growing republic of both the Russian Empire and the 1920s USSR, is hard to fathom. The Italian consul in Kharkiv (which remained Ukraine's capital until 1934) reported that some 40 to 50 percent of peasants had

(Continued on page 26)



## FOR THE RECORD: UCCA president's speech at St. Patrick's Holodomor commemoration

Following is the text of the speech delivered by Tamara Olexy, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, on November 20 at the Holodomor commemoration at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Today we gather here at St. Patrick's Cathedral to honor the memory of the millions of men, women and children – the innocent victims of Ukraine's Famine Genocide – who lost their lives to the agonies of starvation 77 years ago.

Imagine if you will:

A village in Ukraine's countryside in 1932-1933, where a government sanctioned mass collectivization policy is in progress.

A totalitarian Soviet regime, headed by Joseph Stalin, imposes unreachable grain quotas, systematically confiscates all foodstuffs from each and every home, and then seals Ukraine's borders to the world – trapping the helpless people within a starving nation with no hope for escape.

The regime will stop at nothing to crush the nationally conscious Ukrainian peasantry and rob them of their aspirations of freedom.

Within days, the fields and streets are littered with the bodies of the dead and the dying. The results are staggering – at the height of the Famine, Ukrainians are dying at the rate of 25,000 per day, 1,000 per hour, 17 per minute. In a mere 18 months, 10 million innocent victims succumb to starvation, 3 million of them – children.

Such was the magnitude of human loss that occurred in Ukraine between 1932-1933, and ironically it was the last place on Earth one would have expected famine. Famous for its fertile black soil and known for centuries as the "breadbasket of Europe," Ukraine, a nation of plenty, was transformed almost overnight into a mass graveyard. The famine was not caused by a poor harvest, drought or other natural disaster; rather, it was a premeditated, savage example of man's inhumanity towards man – a sanctioned and deliberate government policy of murder – which resulted in the loss of nearly a quarter of Ukraine's rural population, the backbone of the nation.

As Fedir Soshenko testified in 1954 before a hearing of the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression: "at the beginning of 1933, when hunger set in, the people began to leave their homes in despair. They boarded trains... to go into the wide world and thus escape the imminent death by starvation. Their corpses filled the railway stations and city streets throughout Ukraine... The

dead were not buried for as long as two or three weeks, for there was hardly anybody alive to bury them. Those who survived were the next candidates for the world beyond. They looked like horrible specters with swollen faces and legs. One-fourth of the entire population... perished from the artificially created famine."

Such a godless act is a crime beyond most people's comprehension. In fact, for decades the Soviet regime consistently and blatantly denied the Famine's occurrence. Survivors were terrorized into silence. While most Western governments were aware of the horrors of the Famine raging in Ukraine, they found it politically more expedient to maintain their silence. Others in the West, like The New York Times correspondent Walter Duranty, willingly offered their services as Soviet mouthpieces and worked to convince the West that there was no famine. Such denials and lies are part of this horrific tragedy. Thankfully, however, there were those who would not be intimidated and bravely exposed the truth about the Holodomor. These brave journalists, such as Gareth Jones and Malcolm Muggeridge, should serve to remind us all, that we, the Ukrainian American community, must never remain silent.

This year's commemoration has special significance, as today we host the "Svichka Molinnia," this candle of prayer and remembrance, which stands before us. The candle – which began its journey in Ukraine and will travel throughout 33 countries around the world – is not only a symbol of the millions of innocent victims, but it also serves as our symbolic source of strength to shed light on the truth about the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933.

Thus, during this 77th anniversary year, let us vow here today, within this magnificent cathedral, to keep the flame of remembrance alive. It is our duty as citizens of this great democracy, as members of this generation and those to come, to spread the truth to the world about the Holodomor, so that such heinous crimes are never repeated.

To the courageous survivors, several of whom are here with us today: we honor you and thank the Lord that you were able to escape the fate that befell millions of our brethren.

To the innocent victims of the 1932-1933 Genocide in Ukraine: we honor you, we pray for you, and we will remember you – always.

May you rest in peace. Vichnaya pamiat!

ious innovative art movements that emanated from their ex-patriate days in Paris. It should give Ukrainians everywhere a sense of pride.

Some art book publishers do not reach a very high quality in their reproductions, but the quality here is a feast for the eyes. Lay readers and students of art and art history will also enjoy its research and the well-thought-out indices and appendices, which are not always found in works that aim to elucidate the history of art. In a time when we like to build monuments and statues commemorating the past, this book is one of the best possible monuments to an outstanding historic legacy.

**Natalie Mason Gawdiak**  
Columbia, Md.



## The things we do...

by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

### Some new, yet old, wedding traditions

For any aspect of personal and family milestones, we, as Ukrainians, are fortunate to have such a wealth of rituals and traditions to choose from. Weddings certainly fall into this category. The upcoming exhibition at The Ukrainian Museum in New York will showcase this. "Ukrainian Wedding Textiles and Traditions" opens in early December. (See <http://www.ukrainian-museum.org/>.)

In general, few traditions are practical, relevant or politically correct anymore. Some are completely inappropriate. Time, place and circumstance have changed over the centuries. And yet, so many lovely, quaint or downright strange rituals have remained, and we are happy to include them. Human beings want rituals – without them, that special milestone would be just another day.

Every so often, I am asked about specific traditions, and how someone would apply them to a contemporary wedding. A few years ago, friends of a bride wanted to do something for her at the reception – sing a special song or perform a ritual. They asked me to find something for them. I did, but never heard back if the song was sung.

Because it is a lovely and special song, both in melody and lyrics, I'm sharing it with Weekly readers, and maybe it will find a home at other weddings.

It begins: "Vzhe by-m bula yikhala, vzhe by-m bula ishla..." [I would have left already, but...]. The verses continue (paraphrased, and in different versions): I have not yet bowed to or thanked my Mama for waking me up every morning. You will not be doing that any more... Thank you, Tato [father], for letting the boys come to visit me in the house, or for letting me come home late, or for building me a house. You will not be doing that any more... Thank you, sister, for teaching me how to braid my braid... Thank you, brother, for teaching me to dance... Thanks to the water well, the garden, the kalyna, the threshold, the gate, the topolia [poplar], and on and on.

There are many variants to the verses. Finally, there is a great thank-you from the bride to the neighbors, for gossiping about her whatever they wanted. "You won't be doing that any more." the song, says.

One variant of this song appears on the Pisni.org website: <http://www.pisni.org.ua/songs/225550.html>

As noted on Pisni.org, this song is sung by the bride's female friends as the starosta (the elder) asks for the parents' blessing for the bride for the third time (everything is done in triplicate). They continue singing this as the couple leaves for the church, for the groom's house and greets guests.

This song, with the bowing, could be performed during the reception, with new relevant verses added for a particular bride.

Here is the beginning of the Ukrainian text:

Йшла, вже би-м була їхала, вже би-м була йшла,

Та ще свій матінці не вклонилася.

Клянюсь тобі, мамо,

Що будила мене рано, -

Більше не будеш, не будеш.

Вже би-м була їхала, вже би-м була

йшла,

Та ще свому татові не вклонилася.

Клянюсь тобі, тату,

Що пускав вночі до хати,.

Більше не будеш, не будеш...

Another ritual being introduced on this side of the ocean is the singing of songs with the lyrics "hirko" [it is bitter]. Our newer immigrants have brought these wedding songs to our attention. The clinking of glasses with a fork or spoon to make the couple kiss is not a Ukrainian tradition, but some people think it is. The Irish, or Italians, or whoever believed that the clinking noise kept away the evil spirits. Nowadays, instead of the clinking, the couple asks the guests to sing a particular song or do some skit, after which the couple kiss.

At Ukrainians weddings, the command is much more direct. The guests start singing: "Hirka, hirka, hirkaya voda, nai sia potsiluye para moloda" (The water is bitter, bitter, bitter. To sweeten it, let the wedding couple kiss.) There are very many verses and variations on this theme, not only for the couple itself to kiss, but for the bridal party, the parents of the couple, the "kumy" (godparents), and even the cooks (the father of the bride is exhorted to kiss the cook), or the in-laws amongst themselves or other relatives. The verses can be pretty and poetic, or silly, or even humorously insulting (if that's possible). But everyone sings, and has a great time participating.

One ritual that I witnessed at a few weddings in Ukraine is what the original "daruvannia" or presentation is. That has been lost here. Wedding guests, either individually or as a couple or whole family, walk up to the head table and stand before the couple. They recite or sing a greeting and wishes, and then present them with their gift. One such poetic song (<http://www.pisni.org.ua/songs/1153622.html>) is a greeting from the brother of the bride to his sister, her new husband, and to the band. "Brother-in-law, I am giving you a pile of money, love my beautiful sister. Sister, love our husband, you will not find a better one anywhere in the world. Thank you, musicians, for playing so well, thank you from father, and from mother..."

In Ukrainian the words are:

Даю тобі, шваг্রে,  
Та й грошей копицю,  
Люби мою сестру –  
Гарну молодіцю.

Люби, моя сестро,  
Чоловіка свого,  
Бо ти на цім світі  
Не знайдеш кращого.

Дякую музикам,  
Що ви файно грали,  
Дякую від тата,  
Дякую від мами...

To Those who decry the lack of "new" traditions, I say: we don't really need them, because we have so many old ones that just need to be revived.

Orysia Tracz may be contacted at [orysia.tracz@gmail.com](mailto:orysia.tracz@gmail.com).

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

### A commendation to book publisher

Dear Editor:

The Rodovid Publishing house should be commended for the publication of the wonderful new art book, "Ukrainian Artists in Paris: 1900-1939." Ukrainians in the diaspora should purchase this book for their families and see to it that this amazing art reference find its way into as many libraries and colleges as possible.

There is much in Ukrainian history of the past century that is depressing, but this volume shines a light on the amazing creativity of Ukrainian artists and the var-



## Two separate...

(Continued from page 1)

and Prime Minister Mykola Azarov led a delegation in attending a simple morning prayer at Kyiv's Holodomor Victims Memorial led by Metropolitan Volodymyr, the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate.

In his official statement released on the commemoration's eve, Mr. Yanukovich referred to the Holodomor as "Armageddon," not as genocide, toeing the line set by the Russian Federation government, which spent the last five years fighting desperately to prevent that designation on an international level.

"I deeply honor the innocent murdered by the Holodomor," the statement said. "Even today the tragedy of 1932-1933 is hard to comprehend. It was a true Armageddon, when people lost their humanity from hunger. Afterwards this national calamity, which engulfed millions of innocents, isn't liable to oblivion." (The full text of his remarks appears on page 9.)

The government organized its separate commemoration only after a citizens committee of 30 civic and cultural leaders organized a ceremony that afternoon at the same location, attended by former Presidents Leonid Kravchuk and Viktor Yushchenko, opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko and several thousand ethnically conscious Ukrainians.

The committee invited the Yanukovich administration to its event, which bore the slogan, "Holodomor Genocide – 32-33." Naturally the government declined, having adopted the Kremlin policy that the

Holodomor wasn't genocide.

The Yanukovich administration abandoned the national "Light a Candle" tradition initiated by the Yushchenko government, which instead was performed at the unofficial ceremony at which glass candles were distributed and placed at the memorial and on St. Michael's Square, the site of the first Holodomor monument in the nation's capital.

Ukrainian Catholic Church Major Archbishop and Cardinal Lubomyr Husar of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and Patriarch Filaret of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate, led the "panakhyda," which was also attended by Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders. Pro-Western politicians and diaspora leaders also attended.

Holodomor survivor Volodymyr Tkachuk of the Vinnytsia Oblast described how, as an 8-year-old boy, he witnessed another boy entering a neighboring home and not leaving. Adults entering the home later reported finding blood and pieces of meat strewn about.

Among those joining the president's commemoration were former Kyiv Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko, as well as members of the president's citizens humanitarian council, among them Dmytro Stus, son of former Soviet political prisoner Vasyl Stus, and Borys Oliynyk, the Soviet-era literary icon.

The Ukrainian intelligentsia was disappointed to see Mr. Stus among the president's entourage, but not surprised to see Lviv native and internationally renowned actor Bohdan Stupka, who has starred in numerous Russocentric films that distort



Zenon Zawada

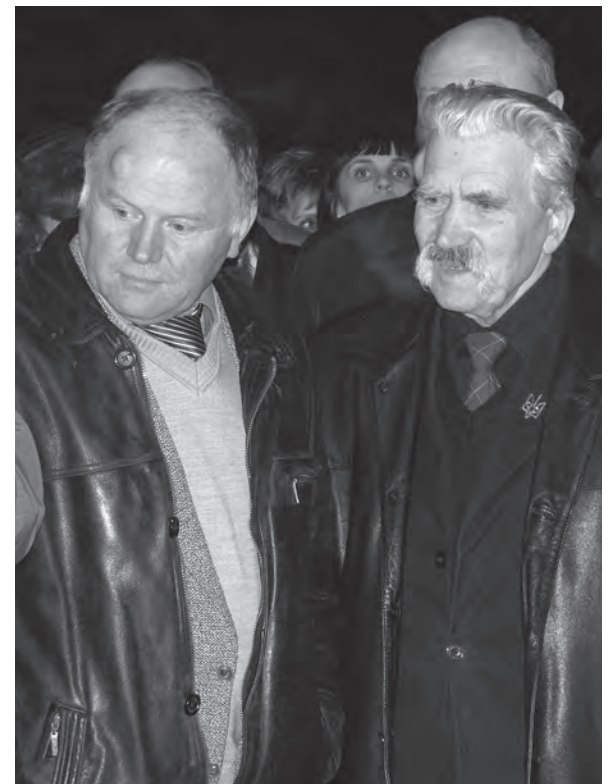
Ukrainian Catholic Church Major Archbishop and Cardinal Lubomyr Husar (left) of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and Patriarch Filaret of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate lead a "panakhyda," or memorial service, at the November 27 commemoration in Kyiv organized by the citizens committee of civic and cultural leaders.

Ukrainian history, including the 2009 Russian production of "Taras Bulba."

It was also unclear why Soviet dissident Stepan Khmara attended the president's ceremony instead of the afternoon event, organized by patriotic Ukrainians. Mr. Khmara has been a fierce and consistent critic of the Yanukovich administration.

Meanwhile Ukraine's television networks didn't initiate a national minute of silence at 4 p.m., or called for lit candles to be placed in windows. (They did hype the May 9 Victory Day celebration and heavily promoted the St. George Ribbon, the orange-and-black ribbon re-invented by the Kremlin as the symbol of victory.)

None of these networks displayed a black ribbon or symbol of mourning next to their logos, as was done in prior years. The pro-Western 5 Kanal (Channel 5) changed its logo from blue to black, while music networks M1 and OTV displayed a candle, ear of wheat or symbolic cross.



Vasyl Marochko (left), newly elected chair of the Holodomor Researchers Association, and former Soviet political prisoner Lev Lukianenko, the association's former chair, attend the November 27 commemoration of the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 organized in Kyiv by the citizens committee of civic and cultural leaders.



A mourner lights a candle placed at the Holodomor Victims Memorial in Kyiv on November 27.

## Experts say bilingualism in Ukraine would be costly

Ukrinform

KYIV – Introduction of a second official language will lead to serious economic losses, experts believe. This issue was discussed at a press conference in Kyiv organized by the all-Ukrainian public organization Don't Be Indifferent, which was dedicated to the analysis of bill No. 1015-3, submitted to the Verkhovna Rada by National Deputies Oleksander Yefremov, Petro Symonenko and Serhii Hrynevetsky.

"This bill is nothing but a document that legislatively proposes to fix bilingualism in the country," the lawyer of the organization Don't Be Indifferent, Yuriy Fartushnyi, noted. According to him, much was said about the threat of this bill to the Ukrainian language, culture, Ukrainian traditions and customs, but not much attention was paid to the economic component of the bill.

Studying this issue, according to Mr. Fartushnyi, experts proved the expense of introducing bilingualism. One of the experts, Anatolii Bondarenko, noted that the matter concerns not just bill No.

1015-3, "but any other bill that introduces another official language in Ukraine, in our case the Russian language."

He explained, "Introduction of a second official language leads to serious economic losses in three directions. The first direction includes losses of budgetary funds for implementation of this project." Mr. Bondarenko noted that the authors of the project were "insincere" when they said that there would be no additional expenses.

"Actually, there will be such expenses, and rather serious ones. First, it is the language of documents, acts, translations and the records management. This could amount to 5 percent of the budgetary funds that are spent annually for activities of the executive authorities. In those regions, where there are no less than 10 percent of the Russian-speaking citizens, it is no less than 70 million hrv a year," the expert said.

In addition, to ensure bilingualism in judicial proceedings, an additional 60 million hrv a year will be necessary; for rearrangement of geographic signs [inscriptions on signs in the Russian lan-

guage] – about 30 million hrv; for printing ballots for national elections and related political advertising products – about 29 million hrv.

"On the whole, if we take only the main items of expenses from the budget, the total amount for introduction of a second official language will make up about 250 million hrv a year," Mr. Bondarenko summed up.

The second direction, according to the expert, that will cause damage to the state is the loss of the markets, primarily, publication of books, including those for the educational purposes; advertising and translation of films.

According to Mr. Bondarenko, the Ukrainian market of publishing educational literature stands to lose about 150 million hrv a year; the advertising market could lose about 390 million hrv a year; and abolition of film dubbing would lead to losses by Ukrainian companies working in this market of about 300 million hrv a year.

"If we total the figures from all those directions, the losses that can be estimated now would be over 1 billion hrv," the

expert underscored.

An expert of the initiative Film Translation, Andrii Harasym, said, that about \$4 million (U.S.) annually comes to Ukraine from distributor companies on orders for dubbing films in the Ukrainian or Russian languages.

"If a bill is adopted that actually abolishes a condition that dubbing is mandatory on Ukrainian territory, I think that a scenario is quite possible when dubbing will be brought from Russia," he forecast. The expert also noted that the reduction of orders for dubbing would lead to unemployment for hundreds of actors and sound control supervisors. He warns that due to "smuggling of Russian dubbing," the dubbing school could be completely destroyed in Ukraine.

On November 19 the chairman of the Verkhovna Rada's Committee on Culture and Spirituality, Volodymyr Yavorivsky, stated that the committee decided to return the bill "On the Languages in Ukraine" to its authors without its consideration at the Parliament's plenary session.



# Ukrainians around the globe remember the Holodomor



Official Website of Ukraine's President

**President Viktor Yanukovich at the statue called "The Bitter Memory of Childhood" that is part of the Holodomor memorial museum in Kyiv.**

## UKRAINE

KYIV – President Viktor Yanukovich and Prime Minister Mykola Azarov participated in ceremonies on Holodomor Victims Remembrance Day in Ukraine on November 27.

As reported by the presidential press service, the event took place on the grounds of the National Museum in Memory of Victims of Famines in Ukraine. Participating in the ceremony were national deputies, Cabinet members, members of the clergy and the public.

Messrs. Yanukovich and Azarov and Metropolitan Volodymyr of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate placed symbolic compositions of candles, kalyna and wheat before the statue named "The Bitter Memory of Childhood." The president also visited the museum's Hall of Memory, where he lit a candle of memory and perused the National Book of Memory.

The "Day of Remembrance of Victims of Famines and Political Repressions," as it is officially called in accordance with the presidential decree of November 26, 1998, is held annually in Ukraine on the fourth Saturday of November. (Ukrinform)

## HUNGARY

BUDAPEST – A wreath-laying ceremony before the Candle of Memory, a memorial to victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, was held on November 27 in Budapest's Petofi Square.

In attendance were the chair of the national organization of Ukrainians in Hungary, Jaroslawa Hortiani, the chairmen of 15 local organizations of the country's Ukrainians and Ukraine's ambassador to the Republic of Hungary, Yurii Mushka.

As reported by Ukrinform's correspondent in Hungary, Ms. Hortiani and Ambassador Mushka noted the importance of commemorating the millions of victims of Stalin's regime. Participants in the memorial event lighted candles in memory of those who died in the Famine 77 years ago.

Other memorial events planned in Budapest include readings of works on the Holodomor and a memorial concert of the vocal quartet Kolo and bandura player Violetta Dutchak from Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine.

All these activities are organized by the Ukrainian community in Hungary under the auspices of the International Institute of Education, Culture and Relations with the Diaspora of the Lviv Polytechnic National University.

As part of commemorative events, another memorial to the victims of the Holodomor will be opened in the city of Chomor. (Ukrinform)

## RUSSIA

MOSCOW – The staff of the Embassy of Ukraine in Moscow, members of the Ukrainian diaspora and civil society organizations commemorated the victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 on November 27.

During the ceremony, Ukraine's Ambassador to Russia Volodymyr Yelchenko noted that for many years this tragedy had been covered up, "and only after Ukraine gained its independence did it become possible to reveal this terrible chapter in our history."

The ambassador recalled that not only Ukrainians, but also Russians, Kazakhs, Belarusians and other nationalities suffered from the Famine during those years.

Mr. Yelchenko emphasized that in recent years, thanks to the efforts of the Ukrainian diplomatic corps and the Ukrainian diaspora, the truth about the Famine was brought to many parts of the world. Today, on the Day of Remembrance of Victims of Famines and Political Repressions, this tragedy is remembered at all Ukrainian embassies abroad with participation of the Ukrainian diaspora.

Participants of the ceremony observed a moment of silence in memory of the Holodomor's victims. On the territory of the Embassy, the Ukrainian flag was at half-staff and memorial lamps were burning.

A requiem for the victims of the Holodomor was offered in Moscow at the Cathedral of the Savior on the Sands. (Ukrinform)

## GERMANY

BERLIN – The Ukrainian community in Germany paid tribute to the victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 on November 27 with memorial events in Berlin and Munich.

The Central Union of Ukrainians in Germany called on everyone to join commemorative events in Berlin. Representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora and all those who are not indifferent to the fate of millions of innocent victims of the Stalin regime lit candles of memory.

Events dedicated to the 77th anniversary of the Holodomor were to take place also in Munich at the local parish of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, where candles were to be lit, a minute of silence observed and a prayer offered to commemorate the millions of Ukrainians killed in the Famine. (Ukrinform)

## FOR THE RECORD: Remarks by President Viktor Yanukovich

Following is the text of President Viktor Yanukovich's address to the Ukrainian nation on Holodomor Victims' Remembrance Day, as posted on the Official Website of Ukraine's President.

I bow to the memory of those innocently killed by the Holodomor.

Even now, the tragedy of 1932-1933 is difficult to comprehend. It was a real Armageddon, when people were losing their human essence because of hunger.

Therefore, this national tragedy that has devoured millions of innocent people is not subject to oblivion.

Much has been and is being done since Ukraine claimed independence to perpetuate the memory of those killed by the Holodomor. Memorial signs, monuments and even entire memorials are established.

The most touching are monuments and memorials built by folk custom, with community money. This is an old Ukrainian tradition. By the way, long before any government decisions, the first such memorial cross was consecrated on August 12, 1990, not far from Lubny, near the Mharsk monastery, with full observation of the Orthodox ritual, in the presence of tens of thousands of people from all over Ukraine and from abroad.

At the same place, according to the Cossack [Kozak] tradition, the Mound of Mourning was placed and the Great Viche Bell put over the Kyiv-Kharkiv road, near the Mharsk monastery, in the presence of thousands of people. Since

then, memorial services are being held there annually. This memorial is now known worldwide.

It had happened, I repeat it, before any government decisions. Then the state took over the matter. And that is to its honor.

However, when these sad commemorations have begun to resemble a conveyor, when at numerous gatherings and roundtables some so-called "scientists" have begun throwing around with ease the numbers of those who died of starvation – 3 million, 5 million, 7 million and even more – it became a blasphemy. After all, even one person's death is an uncompensated loss not only for the family, but also for the cosmos. So how can one throw around millions at the abacus as though it is something insignificant? It is an unforgivable sin.

We must finally adhere to the principle: "As of today, on the basis of documents and testimonies of witnesses, the proven number is so much. The search continues and the horrible figure is being specified based on it."

In these mournful days we would not like to turn to critical analysis, but we must speak the truth and only the truth in order to not devalue the sacrament of universal grief with hasty calculations.

Let us all together once again bow to the memory of innocent victims of the Holodomor and pledge to do everything to ensure that such horror never threatens Ukraine again!

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## NEWS AND VIEWS

# The Holodomor: Genocide in Ukraine, 1932-1933

Following is the text of a speech delivered at the Holodomor commemoration organized by the Ukrainian Genocide Famine Foundation U.S.A. at St. Joseph Ukrainian Catholic Church in Chicago on September 19

by Olya Soroka

Holodomor. It's not a play on another well-known similar sounding word. Its meaning is uniquely Ukrainian, as is the experience that gave origin to the word. The word "Holodomor" is a literal combination of two Ukrainian words: "holod," meaning starvation, and "moryty," meaning to kill. Holodomor – to kill by starvation – defines a horrific tragedy in the history of mankind: the genocide committed against the Ukrainian people by the Soviet regime in 1932-1933 as authorized by its leader Joseph Stalin.<sup>1</sup>

Early estimates of the death toll resulting from the Holodomor – people who died "before their time" were "conservative" according to renowned historian James Mace, author of the groundbreaking review of this historical event "Famine and the Nationalism in Soviet Ukraine." Current estimates based upon an analysis of recently revealed Soviet census data suggest, "that no fewer than 10 million men, women and children perished"<sup>2</sup> – 10 million people who died from forced starvation during a period of abundant harvest in their homeland, a country known as the Breadbasket of Europe.

Apologists of totalitarian dictators would have you believe that what occurred in Ukraine in the years of 1932-1933 was a famine of large proportion due to a drought. And for decades, information about the Holodomor was repressed and denied by the Soviet regime, despite eyewitness accounts by Western diplomats and journalists.

In fact, the unusually large number of deaths from starvation in Ukraine was reported by a number of foreign journalists, while others, most notably Walter Duranty of The New York Times accepted the rhetoric and supported the Soviet lie that the number of deaths were minimal and due to a natural catastrophe.<sup>3</sup>

Proof of the truth about the Holodomor is well-documented and analyzed by renowned Sovietologist Robert Conquest in his work "The Harvest of Sorrow" a work intensely powerful and compelling, despite the fact that it preceded the fall of USSR and subsequent opening of sealed historical archives exposing the gruesome facts about the Holodomor and the lies of Stalin and his murderous regime. The facts about what occurred in Ukraine in 1932-1933 confirm the execution of a Stalin-endorsed, Soviet-planned purposeful and ruthless policy for the liquidation of the farming class – the primary base of the Ukrainian nation and the core of resistance to Soviet rule.

During the Holodomor, the Soviet

*Olya Soroka, a first-generation Ukrainian American, grew up in the Ukrainian community of Chicago. Her father, the late Mychaylo Soroka, was a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army. The family of her late mother Maria Holowchenko Soroka lived through the horror of the Holodomor of 1932-33 and her maternal grandfather was sentenced to Siberia for resisting Stalin's regime. Ms. Soroka is an active member and counselor of the American Ukrainian American Youth Association.*

regime also moved to eliminate the intelligentsia of Ukraine, who attempted to maintain the principle of Ukrainian independence. Writers, scholars, artists and clergy were arrested, imprisoned, tortured, executed or sent to Siberia, never to be heard from again.

Farmers and the intelligentsia defined a large segment of the Ukrainian population, both well-known for their nationalism and independence, that was deliberately targeted during this genocide by the Soviet regime's efforts crush resistance to Soviet policies, break the will of the people, eliminate its Christian essence, and force Ukraine and its people into submission.

There was no natural catastrophe in Ukraine during these years. Soviet records confirm that the grain harvest was sufficient to support the entire population of the country and still maintain a reserve. Excessive quotas of grain were ordered by the Soviet regime for collection, and in some rural regions grain supplies to the last seed and foods in the home were confiscated under a resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council for People's Commissars of the USSR.<sup>4</sup>

Excessive amounts of grain were forcibly exported from Ukraine and, while its people were starving to death, Stalin subsequently sold the grain to the West in order to fund his ambitious industrialization and military build-up plans. The U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine notes that Stalin refused international assistance to the reported "famine" victims and implemented a blockade to prevent Ukrainians from crossing the border to find food. To further inflict famine, an internal passport system restricting travel within Ukraine was enacted to prohibit Ukrainian farmers from traveling to the cities to seek food.

One struggles to read the eyewitness accounts of the cruel horror of the genocide – bodies piled in mass graves, mothers helplessly watching their children slowly die, cannibalism, despair. One struggles to comprehend how any regime could commit such atrocities against a nation. Genocide, its denial and the subsequent uncovering of the truth, has happened throughout history. And unless the truth is told, recorded, taught as part of accurate historical fact and passed on through generations, an atrocity of this magnitude may merely fade from memory. Continued denial of the genocide will allow human nature to refuse to believe that a genocide such as the one experienced by the Ukrainian people could have really happened; and another nation might suffer such a torturous tragedy.

But we must never forget. We must honor the memory of those who died at the hands of the Soviet totalitarian regime and we must increase awareness and knowledge about the Holodomor throughout the world so that no other nation has to suffer genocide.

The Holodomor was a secretive and taboo topic for decades. Parts of western Ukraine that were under Polish rule during the genocide did not even know about the suffering of their countrymen to the east. This genocide was horrific, and today it continues to have major consequences for Ukraine. It induced a substantial reduction in the population, traumatized the farming class into submission to communism, increased passivity toward totalitarianism, and crippled the development of Ukraine as a nation for decades.

The continued denial of the genocide by Russian and Ukrainian authorities wipes out an important part of Ukraine's history. And, having lost its historic past for the umpteenth time, Ukraine became incapable of executing its design for a future as an independent nation.



Olya Soroka speaks about the Holodomor at St. Joseph Ukrainian Catholic Church in Chicago.

The impact is seen today in Ukraine's inability to govern its own country effectively while allowing the influence of Russia to creep into an "independent" Ukrainian government yet again. Ukrainians lived and continue to live in fear of being Ukrainian, of speaking their native language and remembering their heroes and dead. It was this fear of existing as a nation that paralyzed the Ukrainian people.

The fear of being Ukrainian is seen today in the ruling circles of Ukraine. It is robbing the country of its identity, piece by piece, every day by continuing the policy of Russification – attempting to add Russian as an official language, refusing to relinquish Moscow's control of Ukraine's sacred Percherska Lavra monastery in Kyiv and making every effort to prevent Ukraine's move toward the West and the European Union; all in an attempt to eliminate Ukraine as a distinct nation. The ruling circles are preoccupied with the accumulation of personal power and wealth. For these rulers, democracy, rule of law, Ukrainian culture and identity do not matter.

Under President Viktor Yushchenko, in 2006 the Parliament of Ukraine adopted the law "On the Holodomor in Ukraine of 1932-33" categorizing the Stalin-imposed artificial Famine in Ukraine as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people. Thus far, 15 countries, including the United States of America, have recognized the 1932-1933 Holodomor as genocide against the Ukrainian people, and six countries recognize it as an act of deliberate famine.

Despite this international recognition and volumes of factual evidence from their own archives, the current leaders of Russia and Ukraine continue to refuse to admit that there was a Ukrainian genocide. Although the Soviet Union no longer exists and from it arose a new and independent Russian state, why do the Russians lack objectivity about the facts? Vladimir Putin is rebuilding Stalin's reputation by focusing on his presumed accomplishments and minimizing his historic crimes and misdeeds. Putin, under the guise of "fraternal" concern, is also arguing that all of the noise about a genocide is merely an attempt to create a political rift between Russia and Ukraine. His tactics, supported by the Russian-leaning

Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich, are intended to fuel controversy about the Holodomor and continue to divide eastern Ukraine (which has been more Russified) and western Ukraine (strong followers of the EU and the West).

Putin's core issue is that he is struggling with the same problem Stalin and his predecessors in tsarist Russia had – an unsubmitive, patriotic, Christian, freedom-loving Ukrainian people.

Ukraine is a nation of amazing perseverance, vitality, rich culture, Christian heritage with a fervent passion for freedom. Ukraine and the Ukrainian people will move beyond their past genocidal tragedy and subservient legacy and become vital, respected members of Europe.

Today, as Ukraine struggles with the historical past, and hopes to empower its independent future, it is our moral obligation as members of a civilized humanity to support Ukraine to move past the effects of the genocide and progress into a new chapter as a strong and wholly independent nation.

We must hold accountable the guilty perpetrators and expose them to the world. Their crimes must be acknowledged and tried by the world.

We must answer the call of the millions of dead for the truth, the millions who have been forgotten and not mourned; we must be the vessel through which their story is heard. We must restore the portion of Ukraine's history that is the Holodomor, so that a nation that has suffered so greatly can move forward and implement its own design for the future and once again take its rightful place in the free world.

We must never forget the atrocity. We must never ignore the lies. We must forever remember the souls of the 10 million victims. To those who suffered and those who were murdered in the Holodomor we pledge: We will never forget.

May God bless the innocent Ukrainians murdered in the Holodomor genocide, and may He grant them eternal peace. And may God bless America, the home to many Ukrainian descendants, and the leader of the free world, so that we can continue with strength and perseverance to seek truth, to support independent nations, to crush oppression and to empower the will of free people.

Slava Ukrayini!

<sup>1</sup> James Mace, "Famine and Nationalism in Soviet Ukraine", Problems of Communism (Washington, DC) May – June 1984, p.38

<sup>2</sup> Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko, "The Time of Stalin: A Portrait of Tyranny" (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1981) p. 65

<sup>3</sup> Jaroslav Bilocerowycz, "Focusing on the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33", Problems of Communism (July-August 1989) p.138

<sup>4</sup> "On the Intensification of Grain Procurement", Resolution of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, (November 18, 1932)



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## Saving Zaruddia...

(Continued from page 3)

complex.

Led by an oligarch, the Agrarian Party lost any chance of challenging the Ukrainian oligarchy that has done next to nothing to support Ukrainian farmers. Yet, on the local level, Mr. Petrenko campaigned to show he had a different vision for the villages, seeing them as more than a gutted wasteland.

With a voice like Sylvester Stallone's, Mr. Petrenko also shares the actor's dark hair, sunken eyes and long face. He wore a tan corduroy cap on his bald head.

He speaks the Ukrainian language, sings Ukrainian folk songs and, more importantly, has dedicated his life to growing soy, sunflowers and grain on his 74 acres of "chornozem" (black earth) in Ostaptsi, an enterprise that would be ruined if Ferrexpo has its way.

Among his election platforms was building a church in his native Ostaptsi or even central Bondari, whose residents haven't had any place to listen to the Gospel and pray for many decades, or as long as anyone could remember.

Mr. Petrenko knew he could count on the votes of his native Ostaptsi and Dr. Kapustian's native Zaruddia. The other villages needed convincing, however. Two weeks before the vote, the pair headed to a Sunday outdoor market at Bondari, where Dr. Kapustian was heckled by Valentyna Oleshko, a supporter of Mr. Zayichenko.

Ms. Oleshko's attitude reflected the passive, almost self-defeating way many locals approach the conflict – she doesn't like the idea of abandoning her native Bondari, but doesn't feel she can do anything to stop it. Moreover, she's afraid of going against Mr. Zayichenko, in Dr. Kapustian's view.

"Why are you yelling at me?" Dr. Kapustian asked. "I'm not promising anything. Everything I did was done without a deputy's mandate."

She tried communicating further: "Why are you so active with me now, but not when you have to defend yourself, and the people? You could direct this energy in a different direction."

"And you think we'll get our way? We won't get our way all the same," Ms. Oleshko responded, lowering her head as if she were ashamed.

### Authoritarian regions

The next weekend, Dr. Kapustian and Mr. Petrenko returned to the same market, in front of a rundown "Budynok Kultury" (Culture Building) to do some more campaigning. Their campaign budgets amounted to a few hundred dollars.

With such limited funds, Mr. Petrenko afforded himself color brochures from the Agrarian Party of Ukraine, while Dr. Kapustian handed out simple black-and-white copies with the sparse funding she received from her party, the Front for Change led by Arseniy Yatsenyuk.

She admitted to The Ukrainian Weekly that she wasn't particularly passionate or inspired by the party, but chose it as an alternative to all the other pro-Western forces that had largely disappointed the Ukrainian public.

Both were perfectly comfortable campaigning among the villagers. Mr. Petrenko discussed the potato crop with a voter, while Dr. Kapustian repeated her informal campaign slogan, "No promises. Only what I've done," referring to her success in providing natural gas service to several villages.

After an hour of mingling, Dr. Kapustian bumped into the secretary of the territorial election commission (TEC), Liudmyla Zayichenko, who also happens



**Yuriy Matiukha, Party of Regions candidate for the Kremenchuk District Council, at an October 25 political meeting in the village of Bondari.**

to be the daughter of the Village Council chair.

When asked about a political meet-and-greet for Monday, October 25, that they hoped to speak at, Ms. Zayichenko informed Dr. Kapustian that they neglected to inform the TEC of their interest in participating.

Dr. Kapustian suggested they write statements and submit them immediately. When entering the TEC – based in the Village Council building adjacent to the market – they were informed by Ms. Zayichenko that they couldn't register, and only the Party of Regions would be represented.

Dr. Kapustian correctly noted that this was a direct violation of the election law, which is supposed to guarantee equal participation of all parties in public campaign events organized by election commissions.

Throughout Ukraine, opposition candidates had a difficult time defending their electoral rights.

Violations ranged from egregious cases – such as Kamianets-Podilskyi City Council Chair (Mayor) Anatolii Nesteruk getting arrested during the campaign and being denied his constitutional right to run for office – to simple incidents like the one confronting Dr. Kapustian and Mr. Petrenko.

As in all of Ukraine, they had to play by the rules of an election law that was stacked against the opposition. Election commissions – both territorial and district – were dominated by the coalition parties in power, particularly the Party of Regions. Their decisions, no matter how outrageous or illegal, couldn't be easily overturned.

Opposition candidates found it particularly rough in Ukraine's rural regions, which are largely overlooked by all those involved in the elections, including the media, international observers and the political parties themselves.

Dr. Kapustian lacked even the most basic support from the Front for Change, such as transportation, legal staff and an election day observer. She hired two campaigners at \$12.50 each to develop her fliers and distribute them. Mr. Petrenko had one election day observer, but also lacked lawyers and campaigners.

Making things even tougher is the fact that Ukrainians villagers are largely apolitical, often inadequately educated or ignorant of the political process, enabling those in charge of the election process to get away with egregious violations. As a result, opposition candidates have little help to rely on, besides their own dogged efforts.

Ms. Zayichenko offered various reasons and excuses to exclude Dr.



**Viktor Shkurat, Party of Regions candidate for the Poltava Oblast Council, tells the villagers of Bondari that he would make providing plumbing a top priority if elected. He made no mention of plans to raze the village.**

Kapustian and Mr. Petrenko from the Monday meeting, claiming it was too late to submit a statement. Yet, Mr. Petrenko said he had already notified her of his interest verbally, and the law doesn't require a written statement.

It seemed as though she was trying to say anything that would dissuade them, yet nothing did. The TEC chair, veterinarian Serhii Babii, sat by indifferently, claiming, "I never had any information."

Then Ms. Zayichenko mentioned that it was the Party of Regions that organized the meeting. Yet the challengers pointed out that it was the TEC that was supposed to set the election conditions, not the Party of Regions.

What started as discussion quickly degenerated into an hour-and-a-half-long argument that occasionally escalated into a shouting match, in which Mr. Petrenko and Dr. Kapustian accused Ms. Zayichenko of favoring the Party of Regions and violating election laws in general.

After some time, their argument ceased to be about the law and was transformed into a test of wills as an election day warm-up. Both sides were flexing their muscles to prove they couldn't be intimidated. Demonstrating strength and resolve ahead of the election became more important than the law itself. The law was so poorly drafted, with so many gaps and contradictions, that it couldn't resolve many conflicts anyway.

Outside, a commissioner informed The Weekly that plans were afoot to raze 6,000 hectares (14,820 acres) to dig for iron ore. The correspondent responded that there were people fighting to stop that, such as Dr. Kapustian and Mr. Petrenko. "Money rules the world," he responded, shrugging his shoulders.

Dr. Kapustian's leading challenger, Yuriy Matiukha of the Party of Regions, walked into the argument. The former collective farm chair – who had joined Dr. Kapustian in unveiling the Holodomor monument 20 years earlier – tried to calm the emotions and resolve the conflict.

To explain the planned meeting, Mr. Matiukha echoed the same line offered by Ms. Zayichenko, that the Party of Regions had organized it. Any notion that the TEC was supposed to act independently of the Party of Regions hadn't dawned upon him either.

The two candidates repeated their demand for an "open and transparent public meeting" in the election. The argument turned personal when Dr. Kapustian pointed out that Ms. Zayichenko was the

(Continued on page 23)



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# GENERATION UKE



Edited and compiled by Matthew Dubas and Yarema Belej

## Tatyana Koziupa named "Outstanding Graduate Student" at Arizona State University

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Tatyana Koziupa, a doctoral student in media art and sciences at Arizona State University, was named an "Outstanding Graduate Student" by the university's website, <http://graduate.asu.edu>.

Ms. Koziupa, according to the article, is exploring how to advance science education in K-12 schools and learning centers. "In order for Arizona students to keep pace with their national and international peers, there is a particular need to support new modes of teaching and learning for science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) topics," said Ms. Koziupa. "It is essential for K-12 classrooms and informal learning environments to stay current with technological advances taking place in other sectors

of society."

Ms. Koziupa is part of a team utilizing the university's Situated Multimedia Arts Learning Lab (SMALLab), a mixed-reality and virtual environment where students collaborate on complex problem solving in a physical space approximately 15 feet wide. The participants interact with digital graphics and media through movements, gestures and physical manipulation of objects.

"In several K-12 schools we are working with teachers and students to develop effective software for our digital-physical hybrid environment that will integrate well into the classroom and existing curriculum," Ms. Koziupa said. "Also, I am looking at how implementing mixed-reality multimodal technology in informal

learning centers such as museums and science centers will facilitate and encourage life-long learning."

Ms. Koziupa earned a bachelor's degree in media arts and a master's degree in educational technology, a certificate in audio production technology and has almost four years experience in the video game industry. She continued with her doctoral studies at the university because she felt it would be a perfect capstone to her combined industry, academic and creative experiences. "The K-12 Learning Group seemed an appropriate next step. Working with the SMALLab research team has been great."

Meeting the challenges facing the education system today, "I'm focusing my research on how technology and game design principles can influence, transform, inform and enhance our current learning models. We need to test the theories and frameworks in the real world, and work with teachers, students and parents to craft the educational system of the future, today."

Ms. Koziupa is a member of the advisory council for the audio production technology program at Mesa Community College, where she helps to shape the school's curriculum to stay current with industry trends, skill sets and equipment.

Earlier this year, Ms. Koziupa earned a position as a Science Foundation Arizona Graduate Research Fellow and she was a finalist for best presentation for her poster on digital media and learning in the



Tatyana Koziupa

K-12 schools and museums. Also this year, she became a member of the National Science Foundation fellowship program and an Interdisciplinary Graduate Education and Research Training (IGERT) trainee.

In addition to her professional affiliations, Ms. Koziupa is a member of Ukrainian National Association Branch 287. Her father, Michael Koziupa, is first vice-president of the UNA.

## Nicholas Stepaniak named "Communications Trainer of the Year"

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Nicholas Stepaniak, 29, was named the 2010 "Communications Trainer of the Year" by the Association of Public Safety Communications Officials (APCO) International.

Mr. Stepaniak received the award on August 2 at the organization's 76th annual conference, held in Houston. Mr. Stepaniak works for the Stafford County (Va.) Sheriff's Office Emergency Communications Division, which takes and dispatches 911 calls for law enforcement, fire and rescue for 121,000 residents across 277 square miles, handling more than 200,000 calls annually.

Mr. Stepaniak, who has been with the division since 2005, coordinates and manages the division's in-house training program and instructors, in addition to the management of certification and recertification programs, maintains the training records system and works on public education programs.

"Nicholas is the epitome of what it means to be a team player," said Karen Hileman, assistant commander and operations manager for the division. "He eagerly and earnestly shares with others all of the knowledge he has acquired and cultivated throughout his professional career, and takes much joy in seeing other succeed where they thought they might not have."

"Stepaniak's commitment to educating individuals who have chosen a career in the emergency communication profession is unrelenting," she stated in a press release.

"The work he has done in Stafford County is a great example of activities deserving of this great honor and the entire organization should be proud of this award," said George Rice Jr., executive director of APCO.

During 2009 Mr. Stepaniak and his wife, Brandy, were involved in a motor vehicle crash. Despite his injuries, which included a broken foot and bruises from airbags that deployed, Mr. Stepaniak,



Nicholas Stepaniak

while at the hospital, wanted to make sure that the agency's CPR instructor got the materials she needed from him. He returned to teach two days after the crash.

In 2005 Mr. Stepaniak was diagnosed with Ewing Sarcoma, a rare, incurable form of cancer that can invade bone and soft tissue. Doctors told him that the cancer had spread to his lungs, but that the chemotherapy sessions had helped and his cancer is now in remission.

"I'd rather not be a home thinking about all of the bad things that can happen to me," Mr. Stepaniak told the Potomac Local. "I'd rather be at work and doing something instead of just sitting around."

"These are not examples of someone going above and beyond basic job requirements. This is our reality and experience with Stepaniak, our inspiration to be better at what we do and be better human beings doing it. He did not teach us this; we learned it by just having the privilege of working side by side with him," stated Ms. Hileman.

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	<u>Christmas Issue</u> <u>Publication Date</u>	<u>Advertising</u> <u>Deadline</u>
The Ukrainian Weekly	December 19	December 10
Svoboda	December 17	December 11
The Ukrainian Weekly	January 2	December 23
Svoboda	December 31	December 23

1/16 page – \$30; 1/8 page – \$50; 1/4 page – \$100;  
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The next edition of Generation Uke will appear on January 2, 2011.

Please send your submissions by December 27  
to Matthew Dubas at [mdubas@ukrweekly.com](mailto:mdubas@ukrweekly.com).



# Holodomor Memorial in Washington: A progress report

by Alla Rogers

## Overview

Our nation's capital is home to a broad spectrum of monuments honoring heroes and champions, as well as remembering wars and man's inhumanity to man. None are dedicated to victims of torture or death by starvation ("Holodomor" in the Ukrainian language.)

After a painful public debate among living witnesses in Ukraine and in the diaspora and victims who survived what historians, scholars and governments have now officially recognized as a Soviet policy of genocide against the Ukrainian citizenry and its national identity, a proclamation has been made permitting Ukrainians in the United States to memorialize this historic tragedy. It took the lives of 3.5 million, and perhaps as many as 6 million citizens by some scholarly calculations, in the brief period of two years in 1932-1933.

A memorial design competition was organized and a jury panel was selected. Of the 52 submissions examined and judged according to the set parameters, the process produced five finalists. The jury comprised Ukrainian nationals as well as Ukrainians from the U.S. and Canada. Of the five finalists, Larysa Kurylas is the sole American (see sidebar). The other four finalists were from Ukraine.

With the passage of time and with no further news, questions naturally occur about the status of the memorial and the fate of the five designs that were found worthy as finalists. The long and difficult, and sometimes divisive, debate and ensuing monument competition seems to have ended in a resounding silence.

A public awareness of the importance of bringing this project to its conclusion is obvious. A tangible place to remember, shed tears, pray and pay respect is necessary and long overdue!

## Chronology

1. On January 3, 2006, the U.S. Congress

*Alla Rogers is owner and director of Alla Rogers Gallery, founded in 1990 as a showcase for contemporary European and American Art. Ms. Rogers focused on the newly accessible art from Eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union, and her gallery has been in the vanguard of this focus. The Gallery has curated hundreds of exhibitions and led artist exchanges between American and Eastern European artists. Alla Rogers, an artist herself, has recently exhibited her own paintings in Kyiv at The National Fine Art Museum of Ukraine.*



The design by Igor and Liudmyla Grechanyk, "Rostochok" ("Shooting Hands").

authorized the government of Ukraine "to establish a memorial on federal land in the District of Columbia to honor the victims of the Ukrainian famine-genocide of 1932-1933." This was achieved through the joint efforts of the Embassy of Ukraine and the National Holodomor Committee, chaired by Michael Sawkiw Jr.

2. In 2008, a site was approved for the memorial at North Capitol Street, Massachusetts Avenue and F Street NW, after a lengthy site selection process in which many other requested sites were rejected. On December 2 that year, the site was blessed by hierarchs of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches in a ceremony attended by dignitaries from the U.S. and Ukrainian governments and the first lady of Ukraine at that time, Kateryna Yushchenko.

3. In October of 2009, the government earmarked 5 million hrv for the construction of the American memorial and the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture and Tourism organized an international competition for the design of the memorial. The judging took place in Kyiv.

4. In December of 2009, five finalists were selected from among 52 anonymous submissions. Twenty-two jurors voted for their top five choices, in no particular ranking. The finalists, determined by most number of votes were: Oleksandr Diachenko, Larysa Kurylas, Boris Danyluk, Iulii/Lev Synkevych and Igor/Liudmyla Grechanyk.

5. The jury included four persons from North America: Radoslav Zuk, Daria Kulchitsky, Bohdana Urbanovych and Ukraine's Ambassador to the U.S. Oleh Shamshur. The rest of the jury was from Ukraine.

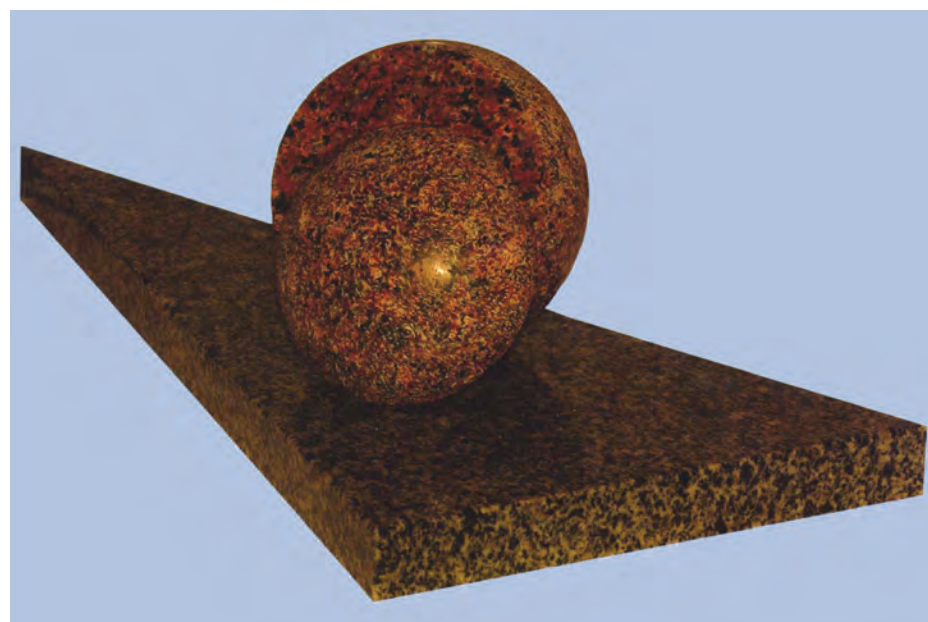
6. There has been no official announcement of the results of the competition.

7. It is not clear by whom and how the winning project from amongst the finalist pool will be selected.

8. By American law the monument must be constructed by no later than 2013.

## Competition and finalists

Project submission requirements



Oleksandr Diachenko's proposal, "Zruynovana Kulya" ("Destroyed Sphere").



"Krapli Sliz na Pshenychnomu Poli" ("Tear Drops on a Wheat Field"), the design by Iulii and Lev Synkevych.

included perspective drawings, technical drawings, a model and a project description. Notably, participants in the design competition were encouraged to refrain from using overtly religious symbolism, since the memorial is to be located on federal land.

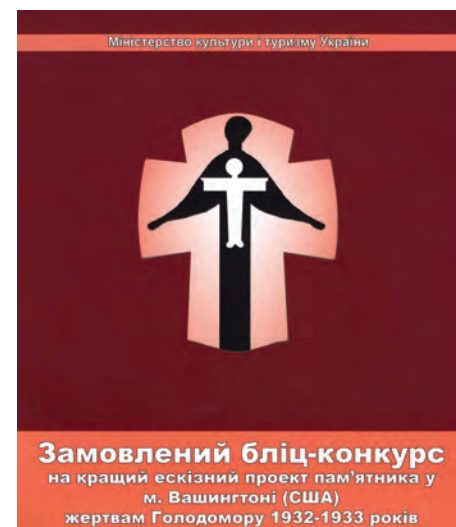
BORIS DANYLUK, "Rushnyk" ("Ritual Cloth"): For Ukrainians that is an object fraught with symbolism. The rushnyk was present to receive the newborn, as well as to lower the coffin into the grave. Village elders wore them to distinguish their seniority and wisdom, they adorned icons in homes and churches, and bridal couples took their vows tethered by these richly embroidered family heirlooms. Certainly a visual cue that Ukrainians would understand and others only with explanations attached.



Boris Danyluk's proposed design, "Rushnyk" ("Ritual Cloth").

"Zruynovana Kulya" ("Destroyed Sphere"): The sphere, a symbol of the world, unity, wholeness, infinity, the cosmos is a power-

(Continued on page 26)



Cover of the brochure of Ukraine's Ministry of Culture and Tourism for the competition for the design of the Holodomor Memorial in Washington.



# Architect's design statement: Memorial to victims of the Holodomor

by Larysa Kurylas

What do Americans know about Ukraine?

If they know anything, it is that Ukraine was the "Breadbasket of Europe," a fact that was taught in schools across America.

For this reason, the main sculpture of this proposed Holodomor memorial in the capital of the United States, represents an over-scaled "Field of Wheat" – 1.8 meters high and 9 meters long. The depiction of wheat, however, is not static. The wheat field changes from high bas-relief on the left edge to deep negative relief on the right, reflecting the transition from an ample harvest to the horrible deficit that became the Holodomor.

Simultaneously with the wheat disappearing, the words "HOLODOMOR 1932 – 1933" emerge out of the wall in greater and greater relief. On a bent panel to the right of the sculpture, a short paragraph titled "Famine-Genocide in Ukraine," explains the term "Holodomor" and the basic facts of Stalin's genocide.

The proposed material for the entire sculpture is bronze. Casting of the sculpture can happen in the United States or in Ukraine, where the recycling of bronze from melted Stalin statues could impart additional meaning.

The "Field of Wheat" sculpture sits on a raised granite planter wall, approximately one-half meter high. The sculpture is placed within arms' reach to encourage a more personal connection to the memorial through touching and burnishing of the bronze surfaces. The shape of the planter responds to the triangular geometry of the site. It is planted with liriope (*liriope muscari*), an evergreen ground cover, for year-round color.

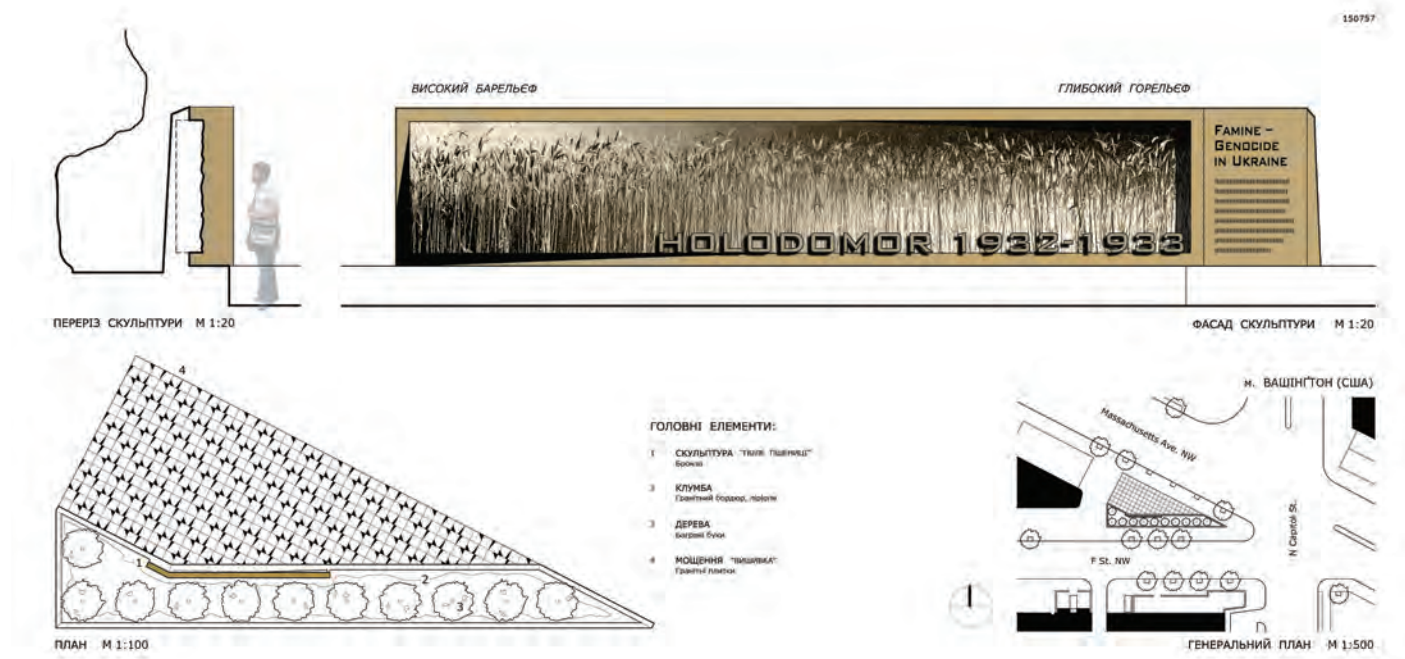
As befits the site, the primary orientation of the "Field of Wheat" sculpture is to the most important street – Massachusetts Avenue. The monument ensemble very deliberately turns away from F Street and the two restaurant/bars with outdoor seating directly south of the site. (Urbanistically, F Street is relatively insignificant in this vicinity, since it is interrupted by a highway one block to the west.)

To further distance the solemn memorial from F Street, a row of columnar "Dawyck" European beech trees (*fagus sylvatica* "Dawyck") are proposed to be placed in the planter. At 8-10 meters in mature height, the scale of the trees works well with the triangular bank building. The trees have a very distinctive leaf color – deep purple – appropriate as a somber

*Larysa Kurylas of The Kurylas Studio has been a practicing architect in Washington for over 25 years.*



The proposed design for the Holodomor Memorial by Washington architect Larysa Kurylas. It is titled "Pole Pshenytsi" ("Field of Wheat").



The architect's rendering of the proposal.

backdrop for the memorial.

The unusual color and distinctive vertical shape of the trees will stand out in contrast to the surrounding street trees and draw attention to the memorial from far away. The vertical and twisted branches of the trees will create winter interest. And in November, during the annual Holodomor commemoration, the trees will turn a beautiful autumnal orange hue. The trees are considered to be specimen trees, slow growing and long-lived.

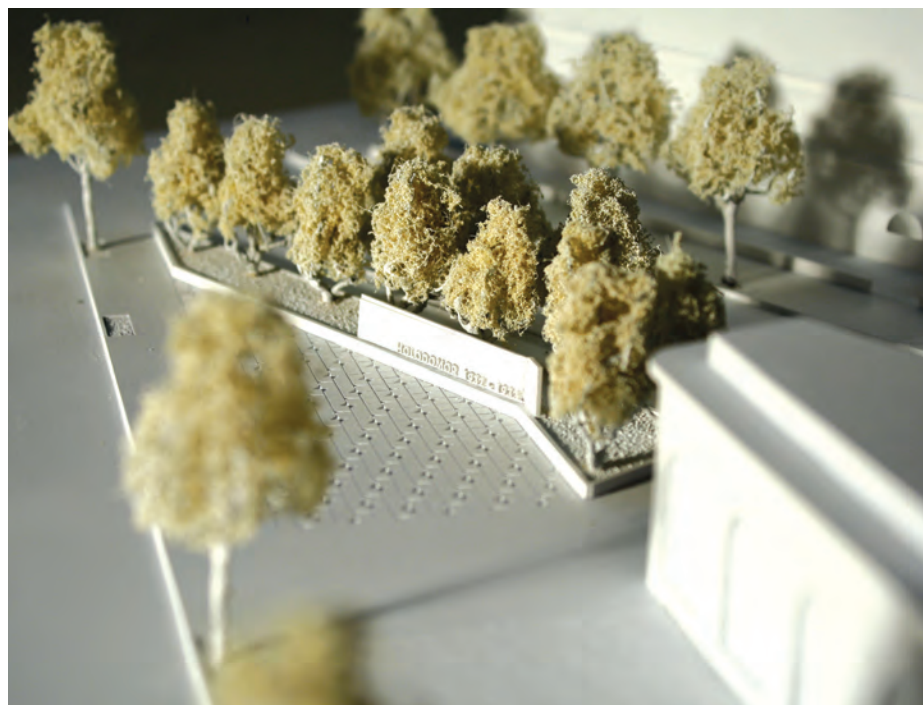
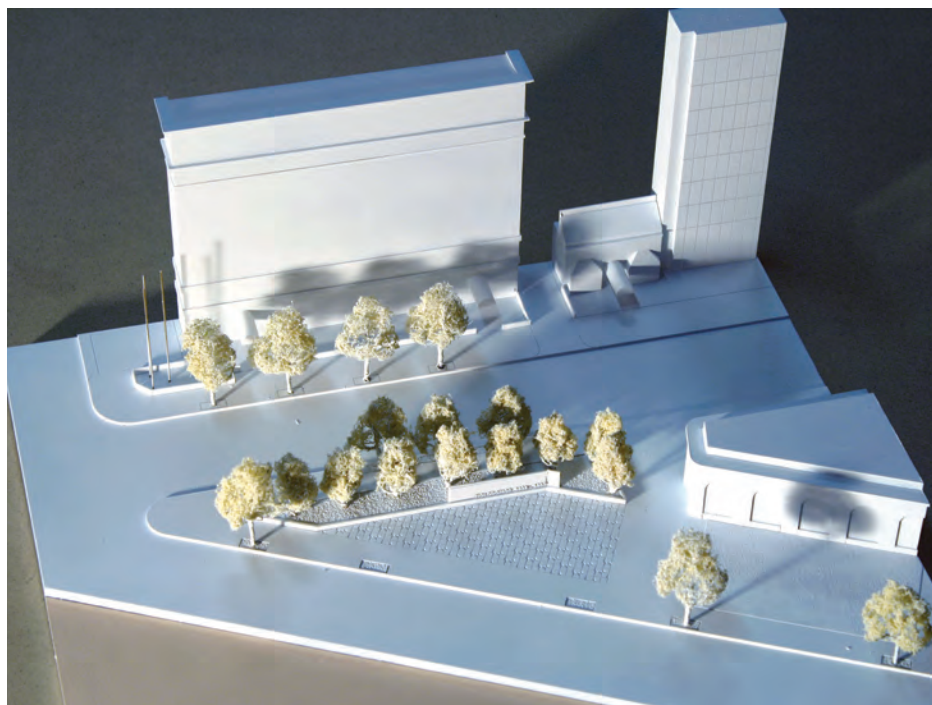
The sculpture is located toward the west end of the site for several reasons. By placing it as far as possible from the very busy

intersection of North Capitol Street, Massachusetts Avenue and F Street, a more contemplative setting for the sculpture is achieved. In this location, the memorial does not interrupt the site lines of Massachusetts Avenue. The horizontality of the sculpture intentionally imparts a lower profile and restrained character to the memorial, while its length establishes an unmistakable presence, especially while traveling east along Massachusetts Avenue.

Placing the memorial at the widest part of the site also allows for commemorative gatherings. For this purpose, the remaining area of the memorial, outside of the planter,

is paved. The paving pattern is inspired by Ukrainian folk art motifs. Its highly abstracted geometry, however, only hints at the richness of Ukrainian folk art. The diagonal grids resolve the urban geometry of the site, but the sharp angular forms of the pattern are intended to create a subtle sense of unease.

It is easy to picture one individual, or a few, or an entire gathering of people at the memorial site. The image that comes to mind is a nighttime scene, with hundred of candles placed on the planter wall and a gathering of people solemnly singing "Vichnaya Pamyat" – "Eternal Memory."



The architect's models of the memorial site.



## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

Ukraine and Russia have today taken up a "good pace" heading towards the solution of various problems." (Ukrinform)

### Ukraine, Russia intensify cooperation

KYIV – Ukraine and Russia intend to intensify cooperation at the interregional level, according to an agreement reached during bilateral talks between Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn and Sergey Mironov, head of the Council of Federation of the Russian Federal Assembly. As Mr. Lytvyn reported at a briefing after the November 29 meeting in Kyiv, the parties agreed that a pause in relations between the two countries is inadmissible. "We stressed the unacceptability of the practice when from 2006 to 2009 we had a break in the relationship and not just at the level of Parliaments," Mr. Lytvyn said. The two leaders discussed a return to the practice of holding interregional forums of the border regions of Ukraine and Russia involving deputies of the municipal and regional levels, as well as members of the Parliaments of the

two countries. Messrs. Lytvyn and Mironov also discussed simplification of border and customs controls, because, according to Mr. Lytvyn, "this is a great stimulus for the citizens of both countries." In addition, issues of humanitarian cooperation between the countries, in particular, joint activities to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko, were discussed. (Ukrinform)

### Ukraine, Russia sign seven documents

KYIV – Ukraine and Russia have signed seven documents after a meeting of the Ukrainian-Russian Interstate Commission, which took place at the Russian presidential residence in Gorki outside Moscow on November 26. The two sides signed a memorandum of mutual understanding between the Russian Transport Ministry, the Ukrainian Transport and Communications Ministry and Russia's Vnesheconombank on the construction of a bridge across the Strait of Kerch. Also signed was an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of testing and the protection of rights to varieties of plants, an agreement on cooperation in conducting inspections at the sites on Ukrainian territory where the Russian Black Sea Fleet is stationed, as

well as a plan on cooperation between the foreign ministries of both countries in 2011. The fuel and energy ministries of Ukraine and Russia signed an agreement on cooperation in the transportation of oil to Ukrainian refineries and its transit across Ukraine. The heads of the Russian Federal Space Agency (Roskosmos) and the National Space Agency of Ukraine signed a protocol introducing amendments to an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes. (Ukrinform)

### Ukraine, Russia to bring economies closer

KYIV – The presidents of Ukraine and Russia have agreed to synchronize the development of their national economies, an Ukrinform correspondent reported from Russia on November 26. Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich announced this at a meeting of the Ukrainian-Russian Interstate Commission at the Russian presidential residence in Gorki near Moscow. He explained that both parties had already taken steps to deepen economic cooperation in energy, shipbuilding and space exploration. "We creating the conditions for the synchronization of our economies," he said, adding that a newly created high-level group on integration interaction would serve as a tool to implement joint strategic projects. Mr. Yanukovich also said that Ukraine remains a reliable partner of Russia, in particular, in the transit of gas to Europe. "Russia, being a reliable supplier of gas not only to Ukraine, but also to Europe, has a reliable partner in Ukraine, which will not create any problems for our partners in Europe. It is very important that we are predictable, and Ukraine will always be such a partner in the political and economic context," the Ukrainian president said. (Ukrinform)

### Tax protesters skip meeting with PM

KYIV – The organizers of the mass protests against Ukraine's new tax law have failed to appear for a planned meeting with Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service reported on November 29. Mr. Azarov's spokesman, Vitalii Lukianenko, said the talks between the prime minister and representatives of the protest were scheduled for midday on November 29. He said the chance for dialogue between the government and protesters was not gone, adding that the government was still ready to discuss the new tax code with the owners of small and medium-sized businesses. Thousands of such business owners have protested for two weeks in Kyiv and other cities to demand that President Viktor Yanukovich veto the legislation, which was approved by Parliament nearly two weeks earlier. (RFE/RL)

### President vetoes tax code

KYIV – Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich on November 30 told reporters at Boryspil airport before flying to Astana, Kazakhstan, for a summit of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that he had vetoed the tax code. Mr. Yanukovich had said at a meeting with economic experts from the government and the Presidential Administration that the sections of the tax code related to the protection of the rights of producers and businesses should be reviewed. The government, at the order of the president, created a working group to review the amendments to the tax code, which was adopted by the Verkhovna Rada on November 18. The group also includes leaders of small- and medium-sized business. In a statement issued on November 30 Mr. Yanukovich said he shares the concerns of people that the tax code adopted by the Verkhovna Rada significantly restricts the rights of entrepreneurs, therefore he is demanding that the document take into

account both the needs of the state and citizens' interests. "The debate involving the tax code is evidence of how difficult the process of the country's modernization is," read a statement available on the official website of the president. "We are going through the path of reforms which all the developed countries have passed. And it begins with restoring order in the economy, the country's finances," he said. He added, "The tax code should be an efficient and equitable tool in the fight against the shadow economy, a transparent mechanism for filling the country's budget, a driving force for the modernization of the country." "Only new taxation can significantly raise pensions and wages, ensure quality health care and modern science and education. The code must be respected by citizens, domestic entrepreneurs and foreign investors must trust in it," he stressed. "Every citizen must feel that the code takes into account both the needs of the state and his/her own interests. And therefore, every decision had to be clearly calibrated, well-calculated and understandable to society, no matter how complex it was," he emphasized. (Ukrinform)

### Opposition comments on presidential veto

KYIV – The opposition says President Viktor Yanukovich's veto of the tax code is a win for small and medium-sized businesses, National Deputy Andrii Kozhemiakin of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc-Batkivschyna told the press on November 30. "This is a victory, especially for entrepreneurs – the people who have consolidated in [response to the] danger of losing their jobs and peace in their families," Mr. Kozhemiakin stressed. He recalled that opposition political forces in Parliament, including YTB-Batkivschyna, have strongly supported the demands of protesters concerning the tax code. Despite the fact that the president explained his veto of the tax code by saying that "not all" of its provisions keep a balance between the needs of the state and the interests of the citizens the YTB-Batkivschyna group will insist on a veto of the tax code as a whole, Mr. Kozhemiakin added. (Ukrinform)

### Tax protests to continue

KYIV – The entrepreneurs protesting in Kyiv are not about to go home, it was announced on December 1. The protest will end only after the tax code is canceled in its entirety and work begins on a new document to be put into effect in 2012. This was announced at a press conference by a representative of the National Coordinating Council, Volodymyr Dorosh. Mr. Dorosh said that only after a final veto of the tax code, could a normal, coordinated dialogue of representatives of the National Coordinating Council of Entrepreneurs with the developers of the new draft tax code begin. He said that the next rally was to be held on Independence Square on December 2. (Ukrinform)

### Bohatyriova on missile defense system

KYIV – Ukraine is ready to participate in the creation of a European missile defense system that NATO member-states are planning to set up to protect Europe and the United States. Raisa Bohatyriova, secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, announced this during her official visit to Warsaw after meeting with the chairman of the Polish National Security Bureau, Stanislaw Koziej, it was reported on November 23 by an Ukrinform correspondent. "Ukraine has expressed its desire not only to join the creation of a European missile defense system, but also to provide its observational capabilities as a practical step of Ukraine's participation in the creation of the European missile defense system," she said. "If the alliance is interest-

(Continued on page 17)

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 16)

ed in this proposal, we will be ready for practical implementation," she added. Ms. Bohatyriova also said that Ukrainian authorities support the involvement of the Russian Federation in the creation of the missile defense system. Mr. Koziej said that Ukraine's readiness to join the creation of a European missile defense system was "a good signal that indicates that the establishment of missile defense is an objective requirement of the time." He noted that the participants in the NATO summit in Lisbon had decided to begin work on the creation of a territorial missile defense system and offered cooperation and participation in this to other countries, particularly Russia and Ukraine. (Ukrinform)

### President honors UOC-MP primate

KYIV – President Viktor Yanukovich has bestowed the Order of Liberty on the leader of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate, Metropolitan Volodymyr (Sabodan), it was reported on November 23. As noted in the text of the decree posted on the official website of the president, Metropolitan Volodymyr was honored for his outstanding personal contributions in promoting peace and social harmony, and long-term selfless work for the revival of spirituality and national-cultural identity of the Ukrainian people. Congratulating the primate of the UOC-MP on his 75th birthday, President Yanukovich said that in his person the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has a wise leader and scholar of theology, a tireless preacher, mentor and good shepherd of the priesthood and the laity, and a fully talented and educated man. (Ukrinform)

### Peres advises Ukrainians to forget history

KYIV – President Shimon Peres of Israel, speaking in Kyiv on November 25 during in a public lecture on "Political and Economic Challenges in the Era of Globalization," said he advises Ukrainians not to focus on history and to leave history to scholars. "If I were asked what to advise Ukraine, I would say: forget about history, history is not at all important... You won't be able to not repeat the mistakes of the past, you will simply make new ones," he said (according to a Ukrainian translation of his remarks as reported by the BBC). President Peres was in Ukraine on a state visit. He met with President Viktor Yanukovich and Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Lytvyn on November 24 and honored the memory of Jews and others killed by the Nazis at Babyn Yar in Kyiv. Also during his visit, a bilateral agreement on stimulation and protection of investments was signed, and activation of cooperation between the two countries' Parliaments was discussed. (BBC Ukrainian, Official Website of Ukraine's President)

### Ukrainians gain visa-free travel to Israel

KYIV – Ukrainians will be able to visit Israel without visas beginning on February 9, RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service reported on November 23. Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman Oleksander Dikusarov told journalists that all citizens with passports will be able to visit Israel for 90 days without a visa. Israelis will enjoy the same visa-free travel privileges to Ukraine. Mr. Dikusarov said the Israeli-Ukrainian visa agreement will boost bilateral political dialogue, trade, and socio-economic relations between the two countries. (RFE/RL)

### Israel's president in Dnipropetrovsk

DNIPROPETROVSK, Ukraine – On November 25, during his official visit to Ukraine, President Shimon Peres of Israel

arrived in Dnipropetrovsk, where the Golden Rose Synagogue hosted a reception in his honor. "Dnipropetrovsk Jews have created a most wonderful community. You have managed to do something unique for the Jewish people. You have united with one another in a way that is uncharacteristic of the Jewish people," commented Mr. Peres. Responding to this greeting, the president of the Jewish community of Dnipropetrovsk, Gennadii Boholiubov, pointed out that Mr. Peres is "a living legend, uniting Jews" and thanked him for his visit. The meeting in the synagogue with President Peres also involved Dnipropetrovsk Oblast State Administration Chair Alexander Vilkul, Dnipropetrovsk Mayor Ivan Kulichenko, Israel's Ambassador to Ukraine Zina Kalay-Kleitman and Ukraine's Ambassador to Israel Hennadii Nadolenko. The following day, the Israeli president paid a visit to the Ohr Avner Day School and met with the board of trustees of the local Jewish community, which includes such leading businessmen as Ihor Kolomoisky, Mr. Boholiubov and Victor Pinchuk. The Jewish community of Dnipropetrovsk is a member of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Ukraine. (Federation of Jewish Communities of the CIS)

### Ukraine, Israel sign action plan

KYIV – Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Gryshchenko and Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman on November 25 in Kyiv discussed the prospects of deepening Ukrainian-Israeli relations in various fields. The ministers noted the positive expectations of the public in both countries from the introduction of a mutual visa-free regime in early 2011 and agreed to continue bilateral talks on the introduction of a free-trade regime between Ukraine and Israel. The parties welcomed the signing of an intergovernmental agreement on the promotion and mutual protection of investments during the visit to Ukraine of Israeli President Shimon Peres, which should give impetus to the development of economic trade and investment cooperation between the two countries. (Ukrinform)

### U.S. policy may lead to inflation in Ukraine

KYIV – The United States has turned on the printing presses, which could result in an increase in petrol prices in Ukraine and a rise in the price of some goods imported from Europe, Ukrinform reported on November 17, citing Focus magazine, which conducted a survey of experts. The victory over competitors from other countries through a reduction in the price of goods is the ultimate goal of all currency wars in the world. Ukraine also contributed to exchange rate wars by collapsing the hryvnia in 2008, which allowed domestic steel and chemical exports to survive the economic crisis, the publication writes. However, the rest of the public had a hard time, as food prices soared and wages pegged to the dollar exchange rate plummeted. This time things could be more complicated, especially if the dollars that are being printed by Washington are sent to foreign markets, including to Ukraine. "America can impose another loan on Ukraine from certain international institutions, bringing the country to national default," believes Yuri Havrylechko, an expert from the Foundation for Safe Society. "There will be more free money in the world, and it will have to invested, and the oil market is the most attractive market for rapid investments. That's why, oil prices will grow," says Oleksander Zhohud, a senior analyst at the International Center for Policy Studies. The head of the A-95 consulting agency, Serhii Kuyun, said that new prices at Ukrainian filling stations after that would be only a matter of time. "On our market, a rise in oil prices is reflected in three weeks or a month, first by wholesale

(Continued on page 26)



Ділимося сумною вісткою, що в понеділок, 22 листопада 2010 р. на 80 році життя відійшла у Божу вічність наша найдорожча Дружина, Мама і Бабця



## св. п. ІРЕНА СОФІЯ КУЗЬМА з дому ОКОЛІТА

Народилася покійна Ірена 23 березня 1930 р. біля Бродів в Західній Україні.

В часі війни родина Ірени опинилася в Інсбруці в Австрії, а пізніше в Америці. В 1950 р. у Філядельфії Ірена заміжжя і одружилася з інж. Григорієм Кузьмою, де народилися троє дітей – Марійка, Зеня і Григорій, а дальше в Пасейку, Н. Дж. народилася наймолодша донька Марта. Від 1969 р. до 2007 р. Ірена з мужем жили біля озера Шонгам, Н.Дж. і в 2007 р. перенеслися до Портланду, Мейн. Покійна була членкою Союзу Українок Америки і виховала своїх дітей в національно-християнському дусі.

Залишилися у смутку:

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дочка – Марійка з мужем Джералдом Сабатіно  
дочка – Зеня з мужем Борисом Ткачем  
внук – Олександр Григорій  
син – Григорій Юрій  
внучки – Ідит, Ірена, Ребека, Абігейл  
дочка – Марта

та ближча і дальша родина Околітів, Сохорів, Кузьмів, Медичьких, Квасовських та друзів, знайомих і рідних у США, Канаді та Україні.

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Родина дякує о. Ярославу Наліснику за похоронні відправи, які відбулися в середу, 24 листопада 2010 р. в католицькій катедрі в Портланд, Ме.

В 40-ий день смери св. п. Ірени Кузьми буде відправлена

Служба Божя в четвер, 30 грудня 2010 р. о год. 4-ій по пол. в Українській католицькій церкві Христа Царя в Бостоні.



## NELLIE WYNARSKY (née Loshchenko)

passed away November 24, 2010, at the age of 86.

Beloved wife of the late Serge; loving mother of Andrew (Suzanne), George (Sheryl) and Daniel; cherished grandmother of Michael and Katherine. Long time member of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Branch 12 and the Association of Ukrainian Artists in America.

Mass and Funeral Services were held Saturday, December 4th at St. Andrew Ukrainian Catholic Church and Cemetery in Parma, OH. Memorial contributions in her memory may be made to The Ukrainian Museum, 222 East Sixth Street, New York, NY 10003; <http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org/donationform.html>.

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## Wikileaks...

(Continued from page 1)

trust between heads of state.”

Such inside information was revealed by Wikileaks, a non-profit organization devoted to exposing government secrets, which to date has distributed about 280 unclassified, classified and secret diplomatic cables exchanged between U.S. embassies and the State Department.

The organization, which publishes the materials on its website, claims to have obtained more than 250,000 such cables and said it plans to reveal their contents in what would be an unprecedented disclosure of U.S. government diplomatic secrets.

The Holodomor surfaced at least one more time in the leaks released thus far. The U.S. Embassy in Moscow reported that Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov raised the issue with Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman in June 2009.

“Lavrov raised Russian concern with ‘historical revisionism’ regarding the Soviet Era and Second World War, which, he said, was particularly acute in Eastern Europe but was also present in Israel,” the cable stated.

“He cited Israel’s official recognition of the Holodomor, the 1930s famine that occurred in Ukraine. Lieberman explained that by recognizing this tragedy, Israel had not said Russia was guilty of causing it, nor that it was an act of genocide.”

The remaining mentions of Ukraine

revealed by Wikileaks, which so far numbered about eight, offered little new information about Ukrainian politics and confirmed much of what was already known. None of the cables came from the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv.

Former Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Lutsenko told the U.S. ambassador that he received an order from former Procurator General of Ukraine Oleksander Medvedko to arrest former Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) Chair Oleksander Turchynov and his former deputy, Andrii Kozhemiakin.

Both are close political associates of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, who was under constant political attack from former President Viktor Yushchenko.

The procurator general accused them of destroying SBU documents related to Ms. Tymoshenko’s “criminal business with Semen Mogilevich,” the cable reported. Ms. Tymoshenko is widely believed to have traded natural gas with Mr. Mogilevich – an international crime boss – in the mid-1990s.

Mr. Lutsenko called the procurator general’s order “crazy” and naturally didn’t execute it, the cable reported. In a November 29 interview, Mr. Lutsenko said the leak was nothing new. At the time in 2006, the Procurator General’s Office filed criminal charges against Messrs. Turchynov and Kozhemiakin.

“After a short time, Turchynov and Kozhemiakin won all their court cases, which proved the absurdity of the accusations,” Mr. Lutsenko said.

The Wikileaks cables also revealed U.S. diplomats confirming Mr. Mogilevich’s widely known role in RosUkrEnergo, the shady natural gas intermediary that buys from the Russian monopoly Gazprom and sells to Ukrainian industry and European markets.

Certain members of the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) are either involved in organized crime structures or close their eyes to their activities, U.S. diplomats reported on the eve of an April 2008 visit of FBI Director Robert Mueller to Moscow.

Mr. Mogilevich not only had official security and the freedom to move within Russia, but was appointed by Gazprom to manage the sale of natural gas to Ukraine through the shadow company RosUkrEnergo, the cable reported.

Mr. Mogilevich eventually lost his protection for unknown reasons and was arrested in Moscow in January 2008.

The November 28 leak revealed that U.S. diplomats engage in as much gossip as salon hairdressers, stating that some embassy contacts noted that a “voluptuous blond” Ukrainian nurse was reported to be in a romantic relationship with Libyan dictator Muammar el-Gaddafi.

Longtime nurse Galyna Kolotnytska, 38, was among a “rumored staff of four Ukrainian nurses that cater to the Libyan leader’s health and well-being.” Mr. Gaddafi can’t travel without Ms. Kolotnytska, and she alone “knows his routine,” the cable reported.

“When Kolotnytska’s late visa applica-

tion resulted in her Security Advisory Opinion being received on the day Gaddafi’s party planned to travel to the U.S., the Libyan government sent a private jet to ferry her from Libya to Portugal to meet up with the leader during his rest stop,” the cable stated.

A Ukrainian political officer confirmed that the Ukrainian nurses “travel everywhere with the leader,” the cable reported.

Reporters with the Segodnya daily tabloid found out that Ms. Kolotnytska indeed is neither voluptuous nor blond, having published her photographs in the newspaper. Her daughter Tania denied her mother was in a romantic relationship with the dictator.

“My mother – Gaddafi’s lover? That’s nonsense! She never spoke to me about that,” she told the newspaper. “She called me today (November 29) and said she’s shocked by the rumors and doesn’t understand where this calamity came from.”

Ms. Kolotnytska moved to Libya nine years ago, her daughter said. She confirmed that “her mother is always with him, but among other medics.”

“Gaddafi is a Bedouin and loves the desert,” she said. “He often goes there to rest and brings his entourage with him. And my mother, a close person to him, communicates with him personally. And they put a tent in the desert and live there for a month or two. It’s hard to work in such conditions, such heat. My mother speaks well of Gaddafi, saying he’s a good person, but can be strict when necessary.”

## Nationwide tax...

(Continued from page 3)

ment said.

“The people will never accept such an agreement if a show will be put on about an ‘achieved agreement’ with individuals who are not authorized by the protesters to engage in any negotiations,” the statement underscored.

Among the biggest complaints of small-business men about the tax code – drafted by Vice Prime Ministers Sergey Tigipko and Borys Kolesnikov and State Committee on Regulatory Policy and Entrepreneurship Chair Mykhailo Brodskyi – was the elimination of the “Simplified System” under which they operated.

Mr. Kolesnikov tried promoting this significant change with the notion that small business finally had to pay the same taxes as big business, such as profit taxes and a Pension Fund tax.

Small entrepreneurs complained that eliminating the Simplified System, or flat tax, would create incredible loads of paperwork that they couldn’t handle themselves and could not afford to pay an accountant to perform.

In submitting its proposal to Parliament on December 2, the Presidential Administration opted to leave the Simplified System in place as an apparent compromise with the entrepreneurs.

Yet that didn’t impress them at all, as the entrepreneurs pointed out that another clause in the legislation nevertheless harms most of the small businesses that qualify for the Simplified System. Namely, big businesses are forbidden to include items and services bought from Simplified System businesses in their gross expenses. That clause eliminates a major revenue source for most small businesses.

“Therefore, they want to deceive the entrepreneurs yet again,” the December 2 statement said. “Instead of a full veto and drafting a new tax code, the Parliament voted merely for a series of amendments



Zenon Zawada

**Volodymyr Dorosh, director of the information center of the central headquarters of the Ukrainian Entrepreneurship Rescue.**

that don’t reflect to the demands of the protesters.”

About 200 articles of the tax code require amending, or more than half, said Sviatoslav Shvetsov, press secretary of the central headquarters of the Ukrainian Entrepreneurship Rescue.

“A document in which more than half the articles need amending needs to be rewritten entirely,” he said. “No amendments will change anything.”

Soon after Parliament approved the new tax code, a robust fireworks display erupted at about 6 p.m. above Independence Square (the “maidan”), where the tent city – named “Misto Voli” (City of Wills) – was offering support to more than 700 protesters amidst the chilly December winds.

No one could confirm who ordered the display, yet it certainly wasn’t the Ukrainian Entrepreneurship Rescue.

“Our ‘Misto Voli’ will stand until we’re convinced that a new tax code is under development,” Mr. Dorosh said.

Among the biggest problems facing

the entrepreneurs are the different factions that emerged during the three weeks of protests. Every few days, protest organizers issued new statements alleging different factions had emerged, attempting to destroy their unity and subvert their goals.

Protest leaders accused Oleksander Danyliuk, among the original organizers, of declaring himself leader and trying to usurp authority, while another faction led by entrepreneur Oksana Prodan was accused of negotiating with politicians without the necessary authority.

The leaders of the Ukrainian Entrepreneurship Rescue struggled to ensure its protests had no single leader and no negotiator, concentrating its efforts on three main goals: a presidential veto of the tax code, the dismissal of the government of Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, and conducting parliamentary elections in March 2011.

The latter two demands are unlikely to be fulfilled, while President Yanukovich

can claim that he did indeed veto the tax code. It remains to be seen whether the memorandum signed by seven businessmen will be taken seriously by the small-business community and whether the protests will continue.

During the third week of protests, several thousand entrepreneurs converged on Kyiv’s maidan on a daily basis, ignoring snowfall and freezing temperatures.

A National Coordinating Council was formed on December 2 to plan further action. Yet protest leaders warned that rows of police had descended upon the Misto Voli that evening, with plans to raze the tents. An officer showed a court order to the tent city commander declaring their presence on the maidan illegal.

The national deputies who camped out in the tent city on earlier nights – such as Yurii Hrymchak, Andrii Shkil and Mykhailo Volynets – were not around, and the Rescue leaders issued a public call for them to show up and offer support, before it was too late.

## Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

Mr. Demjanjuk from the U.S. He also argued that the Sobibor charges were addressed in the defendant’s trial in Israel and thus the current trial constituted double jeopardy. Judge Ralph Alt, the presiding judge, rejected the motion.

“The Munich state prosecutor’s office is aware that this will not be an easy trial,” RFE/RL quoted Barbara Stockinger, senior prosecutor. “For one thing... the accused is already 89 years old and also because some of the witnesses who will be heard here are of a remarkable age. But there is a large amount of evidence which can be looked at, so we believe that the trial will proceed a little slower than usual but that the crime can be proven to the accused.”

Mr. Demjanjuk did not speak during his court sessions and faces 15 years in jail if convicted. If he is acquitted he cannot return to the United States since he

was stripped of his U.S. citizenship at his deportation.

Mr. Busch said that the case against Mr. Demjanjuk was a farce because German SS members at Sobibor were acquitted in earlier trials. “How can you say the order-givers were innocent... and the one who received the orders is guilty?” he asked. “There is a moral and legal double standard being applied today.”

“I find it a bizarre showpiece,” said Rebecca Wittmann, professor of German post-war legal history at the University of Toronto. “Of course it is important to put Demjanjuk on trial. But the defense has good arguments – that he’s a relatively unimportant character, that he’s Ukrainian, not German, and that thousands of others in much higher positions – including a former guard who’s set to testify against Demjanjuk – have gotten away scot-free.”

Source: “Demjanjuk trial begins in Germany,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, December 6, 2009.



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## NATO's Lisbon summit...

(Continued from page 2)

Vancouver to Vladivostok." The conditions under which such unification is achieved and whether there is sufficient unification will be for Russia to decide.

In December 2009, NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen visited Moscow and requested assistance on Afghanistan. The Russians responded with a demand for an "agreement on the basis of NATO-Russia cooperation" (Eurasia Daily Monitor, October 28). During the course of the year, NATO-Russia relations intensified largely on Russian terms. In April 2009, during the NATO meeting in Tallinn, Estonia, Russia (not present) was invited to participate in the "missile defense shield" project – the same one that had been planned for deployment in Poland, but had been scrapped following Moscow's objections.

In September of this year the NATO Secretary-General invited Russia to participate in the NATO summit planned for Lisbon. NATO speaks of Russia ever more insistently as a strategic partner, however, this completely disregards the fact that Russia's strategic goal is not partnership with NATO but its demise.

Chasing after Russia's participation in the NATO summit in Lisbon, the alliance issued a public invitation to Mr. Medvedev at a specially convened NATO-Russia Council in New York in September (NATO press release, September 22, 2010; [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-775CABC7-0C734261/natolive/news\\_66401.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-775CABC7-0C734261/natolive/news_66401.htm)). But Mr. Medvedev's acceptance did not arrive until October, after German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Nicholas Sarkozy had agreed with him about the summit's agenda. This all happened during the three-way meeting in Deauville, France, where Germany and France wooed Russia with the prospect of also securing a special role in EU security and foreign policy decisions (EDM, October 22).

Mr. Rasmussen and the U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Ivo Daalder, announced an impending "breakthrough"

at the Lisbon summit involving NATO's future role and NATO-Russia relations. Ambassador Daalder said, "Be prepared for NATO version 3.0" ([http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/10/29/get\\_ready\\_for\\_nato\\_30](http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/10/29/get_ready_for_nato_30)). Mr. Rasmussen as well as Germany Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle discussed the new NATO version directly with Moscow.

The Russians want – in return for their cooperation with NATO – a veto over NATO's deployment of troops on the territories of NATO member-countries in Central-Eastern Europe. Moscow wants NATO to be bound not to station more than 3,000 troops (one brigade) in the aforementioned countries, which it regards as a sphere of its privileged interests. If during a time of crisis more troops were to be required, then Russia's prior consent would be mandatory (EDM, October 22).

In other words, if Russia were to attack or threaten to attack Latvia, for example, then for NATO to send its troops to defend Latvia would require Moscow's permission. One question is: "What will Russia give in return?" A Russian diplomat stated on October 27: "Russia should not increase its obligations at all, since it is NATO that is expanding and threatening Russia, not the other way around" (Kommersant, October 27).

NATO, of course, says it has not accepted these proposals. A joint-communique was planned concerning joint policies on Afghanistan. Also, the idea has been mooted of "strengthening" the NATO-Russia Council, and Mr. Rasmussen has committed himself to announcing a breakthrough in NATO-Russian relations. It is clear that the West has not learned since 2008. It is still talking diplomatically about "agreeing not to agree" or "no taboos in the dialogue." Russia, however, is talking about trade-offs in an old imperial spirit. Therefore, are the crown jewels being offered in return for chicken feed?

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

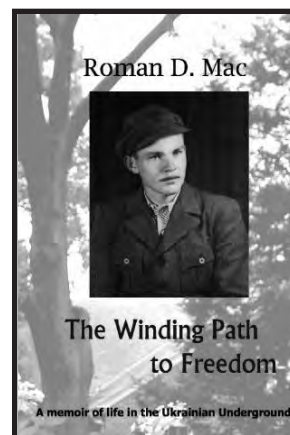
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## Philadelphia's UECC convenes its 30th annual meeting

JENKINTOWN, Pa. – The Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center (UECC), a nonprofit educational and cultural organization in Jenkintown, Pa., held its 30th annual meeting on Sunday, October 24, in the UECC Gallery.

Registration for the meeting for UECC members and delegates of Ukrainian member-organizations began at 1 p.m. Materials pertaining to the meeting were distributed, including this year's bilingual annual report. The meeting began at 2 p.m. with a call to order and opening prayer. After a verification of the quorum and approval of the agenda by the members and delegates of Ukrainian organizations with UECC membership, Secretary Natalia Griga read the minutes of the last annual meeting held on October 25, 2009, which unanimously approved unanimously. At the time of the vote, there were 2,346 registered votes (1,906 votes were needed to have a 20 percent quorum).

President Borys Pawluk presented his report and gave a brief description of how the UECC is organized, noting that the work of the board of directors is divided into five sectors.

The Administrative Sector is responsible for satisfying the administrative and technological needs of the UECC, as well as supporting protocol requirements for the board of directors. Highlights of the work of the Administrative Sector, led by Vice-President Lubomyra Kalyta, included the hiring of a new executive director in May, creation of a new personnel manual, and the testing and completion of a new donor management system, providing a significant improvement over the previous manual practice.

Executive Director Mark Tarnawsky is responsible for facility and office operations, including yearly contracts and management of usage agreements, office administration, Senior Services and general community services.

The Finance Sector, led by Vice-President Sophia Koropecyk, is responsible for managing the financial affairs of the UECC. A Long-Term Rental Committee was created in order to find new facility users. Several new long-term users signed contracts with the UECC: the Ukrainian Federation of America; the national executive board of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization; and the Fountain of Youth daycare center. Mr. Pawluk stressed that these new users do not, however, make up for the income lost as a result of the departure of New Horizons, a previous tenant.

Although the Finance Sector conducted



Oksana Zharovsky

**The board of directors of the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center: (seated, from left) Andrea Zharovsky, Sophia Koropecyk, Natalia Griga, Mark Tarnawsky, Borys Pawluk, Lubomyra Kalyta, Natalka Firko, Roman Cyhan, Patricia Sawchak. (standing) Danylo Zacharczuk, Roman Petyk, Lubomyr Pyrih, Nadya Petryk, Basil Kuzio, Laryssa Krywusha, George Danyliw, Larysa Stebly, Ivan Prasko.**

a successful Phonothon and "koliada" efforts, generating nearly \$90,000 on net for the Center, and reactivated the Grant Committee, which applied for several grants and received grants from Western Union and the U.S. Census, the UECC experienced a big decline in revenues during the fiscal year and found that usage income fell sharply.

Total income for fiscal 2009-2010 (administration, building related, educational and cultural programs, fund-raising events, communications and public relations, social services and investment management) was \$406,794. Total expenses for the same reporting period was \$559,166 with a net of -\$152,372. The annual operating costs of the UECC were more than \$440,000 in fiscal 2009-2010, which does not include the more than \$100,000 in long-overdue building projects undertaken over the past year.

The Building Sector, led by Vice-President Orest Wirstiuk, completed the following projects during the reporting period: installed new entrance doors, rekeyed all exterior locks, completed the electrical system expansion throughout the building, replaced the floor in the Main Hall, reconstructed the main entrance to the Main Hall, reconstructed the main floor

hallway, renovated rooms for Plast executive board, renovated a bathroom for Fountain of Youth, installed heating and air conditioning for the Ukrainian Federation of America, hooked up hot water and new plumbing for Svitlychka Cooperative Nursery, completed brick pointing of the front exterior of the building, remediated a water drainage problem in the back patio area, and completed an engineering study assessing current HVAC strategy and future needs.

The Program Sector, led by Vice-President Natalka Firko, organized and co-sponsored 21 events – geared to all ages and interests since July 2009 and raised approximately \$32,000 from these events; maintained biannual informational meetings with organizations, continued strengthening ties with many groups and organizations towards co-operative event planning.

Members of the 30th Anniversary Committee planned a grand celebration with the dedication of the main hall as the Borys Zacharczuk Grand Hall to honor the long-term former president of the UECC and one of its principal benefactors.

The Marketing and Communication Sector, led by Vice-President Andrea Zharovsky, provided support for the activities of the UECC Office, archived docu-

ments and photographs, served as lead contact with the U.S. Census, served as a liaison with Ukrainian community organizations, collaborated with organizations sponsoring events at the UECC, generated and aired a weekly radio program (52 one-hour programs), represented the UECC at Ukrainian events in the Philadelphia area and maintained a relationship with local press and media.

The sector was also tasked with gathering and preparing historic information for a 30th Year Anniversary Book. An ad-hoc book committee was formed and spent over eight months working on the project. The book will contain over 420 pages and will recount the UECC's history, activities, programs, the organizations that utilize it, as well as list its benefactors.

Roman Petyk read the Audit Committee's Report, which, based on its work and the report of outside auditors, is convinced that the financial and administrative work of the UECC is conducted on a business and professional level. He reported that the committee is satisfied with its review and the UECC financial report for the 2009-2010 and recommends it to the members UECC. Members at the meeting

(Continued on page 26)

## Philadelphia UECC re-elects president, elects new executive committee

by Andrea Zharovsky

JENKINTOWN, Pa. – The board of directors of the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center (UECC), in keeping with its By-laws, met on October 25 and elected its new executive committee Monday.

The 2010-2011 UECC Board unanimously re-elected Borys Pawluk to a fifth term as president and chief executive officer of the corporation. Also elected unanimously were the following officers: Secretary Natalia Griga, Treasurer Sophia Koropecyk, Vice-President of the Administration Sector Lubomyra Kalyta, Vice-President of Communication Sector Andrea Zharovsky, Vice-President of the Finance Sector Sophia Koropecyk, Co-Vice-Presidents of the Programs and Events Sector Natalie Firko and Nadya Petryk, and Vice-President of the Property and

Utilization Sector Roman Cyhan.

The UECC board of directors immediately proceeded to address critical issues and priorities facing them this year, including the current financial situation and the need to raise additional funds through community donations and business sponsorships. The board also focused on the need for a new membership drive, the organization of the five sectors, and creating new programs for the Ukrainian American community.

The Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, founded in 1980, is a non-profit organization whose objective is to preserve and promote awareness of Ukrainian heritage throughout the Philadelphia community. The UECC is located at 700 Cedar Road, Jenkintown, PA 19046; telephone, 215-663-1166; e-mail at [contact@ueccphila.org](mailto:contact@ueccphila.org); website, [www.ueccphila.org](http://www.ueccphila.org).



Oksana Zharovsky

**The executive committee of the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center (from left): Andrea Zharovsky, Sophia Koropecyk, Mark Tarnawsky, Natalia Griga, Borys Pawluk, Natalka Firko, Nadya Petryk, Roman Cyhan and Lubomyra Kalyta.**





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## Saving Zaruddia...

(Continued from page 12)

Village Council chair's daughter, implying that her work was biased towards him. That caused the pregnant woman to erupt in tears minutes later.

Embarrassment fell upon Dr. Kapustian, who nursed aloud, "If there weren't such games being played ..."

Dr. Kapustian took a break to have lunch at her mother's home. By then it was apparent that the TEC was planning the political meeting on behalf of the Party of Regions all along, without any intention of inviting other parties.

Dr. Kapustian noticed fliers posted throughout the village announcing the meeting on October 25, at 10 a.m. The fliers were unsigned, a violation of election law. Moreover, a village "babusia" (elderly woman) informed her that she received a telephone call urging her to attend the Monday meet-and-greet.

Upon returning to the TEC in the late afternoon, Ms. Zayichenko was accompanied by a half a dozen other commissioners, most of whom were loyal to her father and the Party of Regions.

Dr. Kapustian demanded a written statement from the TEC explaining why she and Mr. Petrenko were being denied the chance to speak at the October 25 meeting; her demand was repeatedly ignored.

Emotionally collected, Ms. Zayichenko retorted, noting that she wasn't an educated "professorsha" like Dr. Kapustian, implying she was out of touch with the rest of the village. Both accused each other of not knowing the law, yet neither party offered to refer to a copy of the election legislation to resolve their conflict.

The 5-foot-1 professor stepped up the pressure, warning all of the commissioners about potential criminal prosecution if they falsified the vote.

Fearful of falsifications, Dr. Kapustian acknowledged that she felt the need to scare the commissioners to prevent them from engaging in election fraud. In response the outraged commissioners accused Dr. Kapustian of threatening them.

Dr. Kapustian dug deeper in her criticisms, asking why they were defending the moneyed interests wanting to ruin the community instead of following their consciences.

During the argument, a commissioner walked outside to get some fresh air. He began ranting in disgust: "Twenty years and nothing! There was never any order, and there won't be! Not a brain inside! They've stolen everything, and these two are arguing!"

Inside, Ms. Zayichenko offered a new excuse for not allowing the two candidates to participate. Reading the law, she said a statement had to be made to the "appropriate TEC," which she was the one in Kremenchuk, not Bondari.

Dr. Kapustian rejected that claim, again warning the commissioners of "criminal responsibility," and ignited a new round of yelling. The TEC chairman warned he'd report Dr. Kapustian's threat of criminal prosecution to the central TEC in Kremenchuk.

Eventually Ms. Zayichenko revealed what was at the heart of her resistance: that the Party of Regions had signed a rental agreement to reserve the village's Culture Building for the meeting, even placing a security deposit. Such meetings were organized in central villages throughout the Kremenchuk region.

By the time the sun had set, Ms. Zayichenko assured Dr. Kapustian that no Party of Regions rally would occur the next day.

Rather than speaking to voters that day, Dr. Kapustian and Mr. Petrenko

spent their time and energy on the conflict. Yet their ability to fend off violations this time served as helpful practice for what they would face on election day.

Indeed Dr. Kapustian enjoyed a rousing laugh with Mr. Petrenko following their day of arguing. "We scared them good!" Mr. Petrenko said.

"I mentioned 'criminal responsibility' 15 times so they wouldn't even think about it!" she said. "I imagine how much they're cursing us now!"

"We showed them!" Mr. Petrenko said. Not convinced of the TEC's claims all the same, Dr. Kapustian and Mr. Petrenko decided to trek back to Bondari on Monday morning to see for sure whether the meeting was canceled.

Sure enough the sight of a row of blue Regions flags pierced the horizon as they drove towards the Culture Building along the rural dirt road, passing cow pastures, forest patches with orange leaves and the tall, yellow grasses of the steppe.

Campaign tents were propped up, newspapers were being handed out, and several Regions officials had arrived in the village from Kremenchuk, including Poltava Oblast Council candidate Viktor Shkurat; the deputy district organization chair, Serhii Nemchenko; and a fellow named Stoyan, who was particularly rude and aggressive.

They did little to dispel the stereotype that the Party of Regions leadership consists of thugs masquerading as legitimate businessmen. They wore black leather jackets and ivy caps as if they were uniforms, and most couldn't deliver a coherent campaign speech that conformed to the basic standards of Ukrainian grammar.

When Dr. Kapustian approached them and complained that their meeting violated election law, Mr. Stoyan responded with contempt, "We paid for our own people to speak, not others." Both sides insisted the election law was on their side.

As their argument intensified, Dr. Kapustian referred to the Regions officials as "tryky," which were trios of Communist officials dispatched in 1937 to arrest those regarded as enemies of the state. That enraged Mr. Stoyan, who got close enough to Dr. Kapustian's face that she had to warn him twice, "Keep your distance."

Amidst their ranting, they called her a "provocateur" for merely asking questions about the election process. They labeled her an Orange politician, claiming they did nothing for five years and didn't want to work.

Yet Dr. Kapustian never belonged to an Orange party and succeeded in providing natural gas service to her native village as a simple citizen.

Mr. Stoyan also directed his intimidation towards The Weekly, alleging its correspondent was illegally recording their altercations with Dr. Kapustian, even though everyone was on public land and outdoors. He also demanded The Weekly correspondent's information, which was offered on a business card.

As Dr. Kapustian argued, Mr. Petrenko stood near his car and kept his distance. Throughout the campaign, Dr. Kapustian had more confidence confronting the Party of Regions machine, whether because of her education and world travel, or the fact that she didn't have to interact with them on a daily basis, as Mr. Petrenko did.

Eventually the Regions decided to hold the meeting outdoors in the front yard, rather than inside the Culture Building, perhaps because of the low turnout. About 16 villagers showed up, most of whom were government workers who were required to attend. Most villagers didn't show, which Dr. Kapustian said was their version of a silent protest against Ukrainian politics.

The Kremenchuk District State Administration's First Deputy Chair Oleksander Koval attended, which was evidence of the campaign's abuse of government resources (adminresurs), a violation of election law.

The Regions candidates took turns attempting to offer a campaign speech. Mr. Shkurat said the Orange forces had five years to show they could do something and failed. He said he was sick of political debates on television talk shows like "Shuster Live."

Specifically, he said he would help renovate the run-down Culture Building, and promised to work on the village's "biggest problem," which was extending a "vodovod" to Bondari.

What he meant was a "vodohin" in Ukrainian ("vodoprovod" in Russian), or a water main for the villages of the Kremenchuk District, which have never had indoor plumbing.

Residents drew their water from wells until 1995, when waste from the Kremenchuk Oil Refinery was found to have polluted the region's groundwater. Since then, drinking water has been delivered to the villages with government money, part of which Dr. Kapustian alleges is mismanaged by Mr. Zayichenko.

Mr. Shkurat assured the villagers that the "vodovod would be our main task," with him knowing the necessary people to talk to and "which doors to open."

Among the more bizarre moments in his speech was his assurance that he's not receiving "any capital from America behind me," an indirect reference to Dr. Kapustian having invited an American journalist to observe the election proceedings.

Mr. Matiukha largely repeated Mr. Shkurat's goals for the village. Both candidates agreed that the villages had "lots of problems." Neither candidate made any mention of Ferrexpo's plans to raze

nearly a dozen villages to dig for iron ore and process it at the newly constructed Bilanivskiy Iron Ore and Enrichment Plant.

No one in the audience posed any questions when given the chance, except for Dr. Kapustian, who asked Mr. Shkurat why he hadn't bothered working on extending a water main before the elections, having served as a director in the city's utilities department. She also asked what he did specifically for this region.

That drew shouting derision from the Regions gang, who challenged Dr. Kapustian to prove what she's done, unaware that she gained parliamentary funds to extend natural gas service. They accused her of doing nothing and giving out buckwheat instead – standard political smears in Ukrainian politics.

She asked Mr. Matiukha what he had done in the last 13 years after leaving Ostaptsi for another village, while she was busy getting money from the Verkhovna Rada to extend natural gas service for the first time. He rarely returned to the village afterwards, she said.

He was at a loss for words, stating he's always been willing to help and has been a loyal Regions party member. His fellow party members heckled Dr. Kapustian for posing such questions.

About an hour after arriving, the Regions politicians left in their cars for their next campaign destination, which was unlikely to have someone like Dr. Kapustian to question their political record and campaign abuses.

It became clear to Dr. Kapustian that she had a vicious opponent in the Party of Regions on election day.

*Part III of this series will examine the local elections held on October 31 in the village of Bondari in the Kremenchuk District of the Poltava Oblast.*

### SHEVCHENKO SOCIETY POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWSHIP IN UKRAINIAN STUDIES

The Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc. invites applications for the Shevchenko Society Postdoctoral Fellowship for the 2011-12 academic year. Funded by generous contributions from the Ukrainian-American community, the Shevchenko Society Postdoctoral Fellowship is intended to support aspiring young scholars in the US and Canada who work in Ukrainian studies. The Society is especially seeking a fellow who will study and teach modern Ukrainian history.

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

Candidates must have earned a PhD degree with a concentration in the Ukrainian area within the past 5 years, have a strong potential for developing independent research and be interested in pursuing a career in Ukrainian studies at the university level.

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Send a letter with your name, citizenship, current position (title), work address, home address, e-mail and phone number, research field or discipline and the month and year you received the PhD degree, the name of the proposed host institution for the fellowship and name and e-mail address of a mentor/academic liaison you have contacted at the host institution. Also describe in the letter the envisioned course(s) to be taught at the host institution, proposed dates for the fellowship period and give the names and contact information of 2 scholars who are qualified to evaluate your work and who agree to submit recommendations on your behalf.

The letter of application and a separate 2-page summary of goals and research interests and curriculum vitae must be received before February 23, 2011. Applicants are encouraged to also send a copy of a scholarly paper written in the past two years. The reprint can be forwarded electronically or mailed separately to:

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The fellowship award will be announced in April, 2011 by e-mail and begin after July 1, 2011.



## Ukraine's law...

(Continued from page 4)

- Inclusion of State Judiciary Administration into the judicial control: The fact that the State Judiciary Administration was the executive body responsible for courts' organizational and financial matters was widely criticized. The new law addressed this problem by including the administration under the judicial control (Article 145). It is vital to ensure that the State Judiciary Administration is completely excluded from the executive branch.

- Improvement of financing of the courts: All courts of general jurisdiction will be responsible for spending the budget allocations without interference of any body (Article 142). It is a good sign, but sufficient funds must be available from the state budget to ensure proper administration and infrastructure in the courts. An adequate budget is required to have an independent judiciary. Courts must receive enough funding to pay judges' salaries comparable to those of members of the other branches of government. Enough money must be available to fund the administration, buildings and salaries of other court officials.

- Financial disclosure requirement: Judges have a duty to disclose annually their financial status and property which will be publicly posted at the official website of the judiciary (Article 54).

- Training of judges: Judges will take appropriate training constantly at the National School of Judges to improve professional skills. It seems that the training will no longer be under the auspices of the Ministry of Education (Article 81). This provision, however, should be clarified.

- Improvement of discipline practice procedure: Any person can file a complaint against the judge, and a sample

complaint will be available on the High Qualifications Commission's website (Article 84).

- Reduction of justices of the Supreme Court: The law wisely strengthened the role of the Supreme Court by reducing the number of justices to 20 (Article 39).

- Political Neutrality. The new law in Article 53 wisely prohibits a judge from being a part of a political party or taking part in "political actions, rallies or strikes." This should be expanded to specify that a judge may not run for office while serving as a judge. He or she should resign first. The prohibition of judges becoming members of trade unions prevents a possible conflict of interest and appearance of impropriety. If a judge is a member of a trade union and hears a case on commercial or labor matters, his objectivity might be questioned. The judge must recuse himself.

While the new law contains many improvements that will help the judiciary become more apolitical, the law also has several areas where it can be improved. For example, the involvement of the High Council of Justice and High Qualifications Commission in the selection process of judges is too political and very problematic in the new law.

As it stands, judges must be recommended by the High Council of Justice and pass examinations conducted by the High Qualifications Commission in order to secure an appointment. While the new law does seem to attempt to set up a neutral way to select qualified judges, the involvement of these two bodies could act as, essentially, political gatekeepers to the judiciary. While the High Qualifications Commission consists mostly of judges, the High Council of Justice remains too political and can have undue influence on judges.

Judicial independence does not mean that judges can do whatever they want.

Some form of judicial immunity is critical, since the threat of liability could hinder a judge's freedom of reasoning. The current provisions for judicial immunity in the new law, however, go too far. Under Article 48, no judge may be arrested without the consent of the Verkhovna Rada, and only the procurator general or his deputy may open a criminal suit against a judge. It strains the rule of law to protect a judge from criminal liability for any actions. The new law should be modified to only protect judges from those actions taken in accordance with his judicial office.

The new law requires a judge to comply with a Code of Judicial Ethics, which the Congress of Judges of Ukraine will adopt. It is unclear what the specifics of this code will be or what it will require judges to do. Furthermore, if courts are to become self-governing, they should adhere to the Code of Judicial Ethics and regulate themselves, even if the Verkhovna Rada does not pass one. Presently, there is a Code of Judicial Ethics, but a violation of that code cannot be used to instigate disciplinary proceedings against a judge. This hinders the self-governance of the judiciary.

Under the new law, a vote of no-confidence in the chief Justice can be issued by a lower-than-normal quorum of the plenary session of the Supreme Court. This is a rather questionable practice. Under Article 45, a plenary session is competent if at least two-thirds of its members are present, "except for events envisaged by this Law." Under Article 43, a plenary session can convene to issue a vote of no confidence in the Chief Justice with only a majority of the plenary session present.

This type of vote is sufficiently serious to warrant at least the presence of the normal quorum of the plenary session, and it is questionable why a lower-than-normal quorum should be able to convene to take such serious action. The new law should be amended to require at least the normal two-thirds quorum, if not a more stringent one, to take the serious step of issuing a vote of no-confidence in the chief justice.

The new law foresees that a judge can be dismissed for a breach of oath (Article 105). Pursuant to Article 55, a person first appointed to a judicial position shall take the oath "to comply with moral and ethical principles of judicial conduct and not to commit any action disgracing the title of a judge and diminishing the authority of the judiciary." This provision can have a very broad reading and can cause some problems in interpretation. This seems particularly dangerous because of the vague terms used and the possibility of using it as a political weapon against judges. A more precise definition of what constitutes "the breach of oath" by a judge is needed.

There is still much work to do to bring Ukraine's judiciary into line with the Constitution; for instance, while the Constitution guarantees the adversarial process, courts still use the inquisitorial process. Another example is Article 19 of the new law. It grants the president the power to abolish courts. It is unconstitutional. Article 106(23) of the Constitution allows the president to establish courts but does not reside the power to abolish the courts. Laws cannot grant more power to any state body or institution than it is envisaged by the Constitution. Moreover, granting such powers in the hands of executive can have dangerous ramifications.

Another example of constitutional controversy is the decreasing role of the Supreme Court of Ukraine under the new law. The Supreme Court under the Constitution is the highest judicial body within the courts of general jurisdiction. Pursuant to the new law, however, the high specialized courts will now decide whether to submit a case for appeal on questions of law (cassation) for further review to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court must retain the position as the highest court in

the system of courts of general jurisdiction in compliance with the Constitution.

Ukraine's Constitution guarantees the right to a jury trial for some cases, yet the country currently has no jury trial system and has never, in fact, held a jury trial. Currently, Article 63 in the new law merely specifies that jurors shall be citizens of Ukraine. More procedures for the selection and participation of jurors should be included, so that the guarantees of the Constitution can be carried out.

The law also requires a judge to be sworn in at a ceremony in the presence of the president. This could be problematic. For instance, what if the president refuses to show up for a ceremony? Would this prevent a judge from being sworn in? This must be changed. Ukraine has experienced a similar problem when the Parliament would not convene to swear in Constitutional Court judges, and this caused the Constitutional Court to lack a quorum for a 10-month period. This should not be allowed to take place again, and judges should not be required to take the oath of office in the presence of one particular person or group of persons. Such a requirement is not in Ukraine's Constitution.

The law cannot function properly, however, without relevant amendments of the Constitution in order to ensure full harmony of the new law and the Constitution. For example, a High Council of Justice with a majority or a substantial element of judges elected by their peers into a central body would be a development in the right direction and cannot be achieved unless relevant amendments are introduced to the Constitution. Article 131 of the Constitution of Ukraine provides that the High Council of Justice consists of 20 members. The majority of the members belong to or are appointed by the executive or legislature. Moreover, the Head of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) recently has been appointed to this body by the president recently. Apparently, there is a conflict of interest when such political figures are involved in the selection process.

The present composition of the High Council of Justice of Ukraine does not correspond to international standards and should be changed. Ukrainians must be able to trust that their judiciary serves the law, rather than a political party, and requiring judges to receive the recommendation of a political body hinders this trust. While some improvements of the Constitution are needed, first of all, it is vital to adhere to the current Constitution and ensure its proper implementation.

There is no question that the judiciary in Ukraine needs to be reformed, and the new law does make some improvements. What is needed is to strengthen the checks and balances – not control over the judiciary by the executive. Self-government by the judiciary must be enhanced and guaranteed. Judicial independence in the final analysis will depend largely on the conscience and courage of the judges themselves. Judges will not be respected until they respect themselves.

*Bohdan A. Futey is a Judge on the United States Court of Federal Claims in Washington, DC, appointed by President Reagan in May 1987. Judge Futey has been active in various Rule of Law and Democratization Programs in Ukraine since 1991. He has participated in judicial exchange programs, seminars, and workshops and has been a consultant to the working group on Ukraine's Constitution and Ukrainian Parliament. He also served as an official observer during the Parliamentary elections in 1994, 1998, 2002, and 2006, and Presidential elections in 1994, 1999, 2004, and 2010, and conducted briefings on Ukraine's election Law and guidelines for international observers.*

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**COMMUNITY CHRONICLE**

**SUAFCU leaders meet with lawmakers in Washington**

by Maria Klimchak

CHICAGO – The National Association of Federal Credit Unions (NAFCU) met in Washington on September 19-23. Highlights of the conference were discussions on overcoming the current financial crisis and the role of credit unions in revitalizing the economy of our nation. Representing Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union (SUAFCU) at the conference were CEO Bohdan Watral, Board Chair Michael R. Kos and board Vice-Chair Ihor Laszok.

Mr. Watral also represented the Ukrainian National Credit Union Association, of which he is president. Mr. Laszok is also president of the World Congress of Ukrainian Cooperatives.

While in Washington, NAFCU members met with their local congressional representatives. The SUAFCU board members also made a point of stopping by to visit with members of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, chaired by Rep. Marcy Kaptur, Sander Levin and Jim Gerlach. Other members of the caucus, which promotes initiatives favorable to Ukraine, include Nancy Pelosi and Illinois congressional representatives Danny Davis, Luis Gutierrez, Dan Lipinski, Mike Quigley and Jan Schakowsky.

A number of congressional representatives are supporters of credit unions and were available to meet with visiting credit union leaders during the NAFCU meetings.

The 16 Ukrainian American credit unions in the United States hold over \$2.5 billion in assets and provide quality financial services in a highly competitive envi-

ronment, at the same time supporting the communities in which they are active.

Asked about the impact of the economic crisis on Selfreliance UAFCU, Mr. Watral responded: “The crisis had a profound effect on all financial institutions in the U.S. and other countries. In 2009-2010 alone, 293 banks were liquidated in the US. As a result of our board of directors prudent guidance and the management’s professionalism, Selfreliance UAFCU continues to be a stable financial institution, which has successfully weathered today’s economic crisis. Unlike other financial institutions SUAFCU actually increased its contributions to the community in 2010.”

He added, “We are grateful to our loyal credit union members for their trust and cooperation, as it is their support which have enabled us to achieve today’s positive balances.”

With regard to SUAFCU’s participation in the NAFCU event Mr. Watral said: “These conferences are important as we plan the ongoing work of our Ukrainian American credit unions. Representatives of our U.S. government and the National Credit Union Administration (NCUA), which influence the work of credit unions, also participate in these events. In discussions with them and among credit union leaders we can prioritize our own development goals: how to enhance our member services, what new services to introduce, how to improve our marketing strategy, and how we can best capitalize on our membership in NAFCU so as to improve the economic well-being of Ukrainians in the US – and in Ukraine.”



SUAFCU Vice-Chair Ihor Laszok, CEO Bohdan Watral and board Chair Michael R. Kos meet with member of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus Rep. Jan Schakowsky of the 9th Congressional District in Illinois.



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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 17)

and then in retail," the expert said. After petrol, Ukraine traditionally sees a rise in the price of food. The first signals already exist: since the United States has declared the possibility of injecting money into the economy, oil prices rose by 16 percent. The physical flow of the U.S. currency to Ukraine will affect the stock market, rather than the public. Experts suggest that U.S. investors, who will need to invest their funds freed after the redemption by the government of debt securities, will want to invest their money in Ukrainian equities or bonds. The president of the Association of Ukrainian Banks, Oleksander Suhoniako, proposed that the Ukrainian financial market be closed for "hot" dollars. "Speculators who will buy securities in Ukraine will inject a few billion dollars into the market, which is a lot by our standards. In order to buy out such an amount of dollars, the National Bank of Ukraine will have to print hryvni. As a result, there could be inflationary pressure on the national currency," the expert said. The world will start to feel the first effect from printed U.S. dollars in the next few weeks, when the first tranche of new dollars will be put into circulation. Then the echo of currency battles will come to Ukraine. (Ukrinform)

### 6.6 million have left Ukraine

KYIV – According to the World Bank, Ukraine ranks fifth in the world among countries with the highest migration rates, the newspaper Segodnia reported on November 11. Living overseas are 6.6 million Ukrainians who emigrated in various years – nearly 15 percent of Ukraine's total population. Running ahead of Ukraine in terms of the number of emigrants are Mexico (11.9 million), India (11.4 million), Russia (11.1 million) and China (8.3 million). According to the World Bank, Ukraine is losing not only potential laborers, but also graduates. Thus, working overseas are 3.5 percent of the total number of the Ukrainians who have a higher education. Ukrainians go abroad first of all in search of work; often they leave in order to fulfill their creative and professional potential. Rarely is the cause of emigration to unite families that are spread across the world, said Ihor Markov, ethnic studies sector head at the Ethnology Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. The World Bank reported that the Ukraine-Russia migration ranks third in the world in terms of traffic intensity, following Mexico-U.S. and Russia-Ukraine. In all, nearly 3.6 million people left Ukraine for Russia, and 3.7 million entered Ukraine. Next in popularity among migrating Ukrainians are Italy, the United States and Poland. (Ukrinform)

## Holodomor Memorial...

(Continued from page 14)

ful and ancient archetype. In this instance the sphere is cut and its wholeness destroyed. It lies on a simple triangular plinth on a landscaped green triangle with two intersecting paths that form a cross.

**IGOR AND LIUDMYLA GRECHANYK** – "Rostochook" ("Shooting Hands"): A pair of bronze hands dominates the composition. The attitude of the hands would read as asking or begging for an offering, for alms, for food. The hands are weathered; the wrists are thin with sinew and blood vessels visible and near the surface. Throughout time hands have held a fascination for artists for their complexity, sculptural qualities and ability to convey emotion separate from the human face.

**LARYSA KURLAS** – "Pole Pshenytsi" ("Field of Wheat"): Wheat, grain harvest, bread, breadbasket. These are all easily made associations with Ukraine and its agricultural might for millennia. A bronze bas-relief of wheat in wall form is transformed into negative relief from left to right. As the wheat recedes, the words "HOLODOMOR 1932-1933" emerge in greater and greater relief. Designed into a panel on the right is a plaque explaining the historical facts of Stalin's genocide. A lot of design ideas have also gone into landscaping the site for maximum effect during the change of seasons, allowing trees and their changing colors to affect the site seasonally. The sculpture is elevated on a raised granite planter that invites the viewer to perhaps touch or interact in some way with the sculpture, a precedent successfully set by the Vietnam Memorial wall in Washington. The artist purposely designed the site for

maximum space for people to assemble. Because it is narrow and long on the horizontal and taller to the viewer on the vertical, it has achieved a distilled harmony and illusion of space on a rather small footprint.

**IULII AND LEV SYNKEVYCH** – "Krapli Sliz na Pchenychnomu Poli" ("Tear Drops on a Wheat Field"): Once again the powerful association of wheat and harvest with Ukraine appears as a design element. In this instance, the artists chose to plant the triangular footprint with actual wheat. In a uniform, golden carpet of wheat sheaves, there appear two crystalline, light-reflecting round shapes. At first, they have a slightly futuristic or even science fiction association, and it is up to the viewer to decipher the meaning. The contrast between the natural organic associations with wheat and the light-refracting substance sitting in its midst evokes immediate questions: What could this be? Why is it here? Absent most of the architectural elements present in the other designs, it is a compelling image.

### Conclusion

These worthy submissions must now be judged on their merits and a choice made so that construction can begin by the agreed-upon deadline of 2013. Clarity of design, universality of recognition, accessibility to information within the site itself are all elements that should be considered, in addition to the creative concept itself.

The forfeiture of this opportunity would add another layer of tragedy to an already unimaginable and unreconciled sadness in the heart and minds of Ukrainians everywhere whose lives were touched in some way by the Famine of 1932-1933.

## Documenting...

(Continued from page 6)

died and estimated the death toll at around 9 million.

But we do not know the death toll. No one was counting the bodies, many of which lay for days unburied or were dumped into mass graves.

Starvation and repressions achieved one of Stalin's expressed goals: to bring the errant Ukrainian republic into the Soviet fold. The policy of developing Ukrainian culture and language – initiated in the 1920s – was ended and its chief proponent, Mykola Skrypnyk, committed suicide in July 1933.

The purges of the 1930s later removed practically all the perpetrators of the Famine at the republican level.

Postyshev, Stalin's local plenipotentiary, was executed in February 1939. The entire leadership of the Ukrainian Communist Party was eliminated. Depopulated villages were refilled with families from other regions. The Famine was then systematically concealed from the public and the outside world for the next 54 years.

The late James E. Mace called Ukraine a "post-genocidal society." This is a pertinent epithet for "eastern Ukraine," or Soviet Ukraine as it existed in 1932-1933, which never fully recovered and where present-day residents still have problems coming to terms with the crimes committed in 1932-1933 because essentially this heartland of Ukraine was systematically "denationalized" and eradicated by the Soviet regime.

## Philadelphia's...

(Continued from page 21)

voted unanimously to give the outgoing board a vote of confidence with a commendation.

Mr. Pawluk read the Nominating Committee's report and recommended new candidate Nadya Petryk, to replace Mr. Wirstiuk, to the UECC board of directors. He also recommended board members who were up for re-election: George Danyliw, Ms. Firko, Tetyana Husar, Ms. Kalyta, Basil Kuzio, Mr. Petyk, Patricia Sawchak, and Myron Soltys. The Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center consists of 24 members with staggered three-year terms. The candidates were elected unanimously.

Also elected were members of the UECC Board, the election of members to the Election and Nominating committees. Bohdan Mizak, Basil Panczak and Marta Tailikh were elected to serve on the Nominating Committee for 2010-2011. Halyna Keller, Roksolana Luciw and

Walter Maruschak were elected to serve on the Election Committee for the same period. All were elected unanimously.

During the discussion, UECC members recognized and praised the work of the board of directors, raised questions on membership, safety, fund-raising, the radio program, the costs of renovating and building, and the planned handicapped-access lift.

Mr. Pawluk re-emphasized that efforts by the UECC are not sufficient to raise the amounts required for the UECC to continue to operate, thus the center will continue to rely on the generosity of its members and the community at large.

President Pawluk thanked the board of directors and staff for their work and accomplishments, and presented Ivanna Biletsky with a plaque and flowers honoring her for her work and dedication to the UECC, especially during the recent transition period and search for a new executive director.

The annual meeting adjourned with members continuing their discussions over coffee and sweets.

## Koliada: Winter Rituals from the Carpathian Mountains



Three different events:

**Koliada and Music from the Carpathians** – Saturday, Dec 11 at 7:00 PM

Koliadnyky from Kryvorivnia and troista instrumental music  
Ukrainian Museum, 222 East 6th St, New York (212) 228-0110

**Twelve Dishes/Sviat vechir** – Friday, Dec 17 8:00 PM

Koliada and new interpretations of ritual food by Olesia Lew  
Ukrainian Institute of America 2, East 79th St, NYC (212) 288-8660

**Winter Sun** – Sunday, Dec 26 2:30 PM and 7:30 PM

Theatrical celebration of the traditional kolyada, puppets and music  
La MaMa Experimental Theatre, 74 East 4th St, NYC (212) 475-7710

For current schedule go to [www.brama.com/yara](http://www.brama.com/yara)

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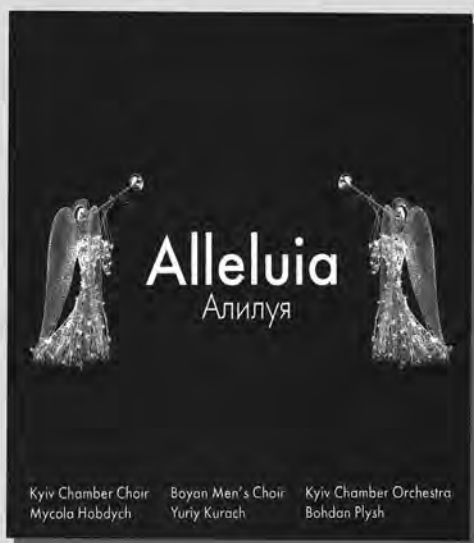


# OUT AND ABOUT

- |                                |  |                             |  |
|--------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| December 7<br>New York         | Book presentation by Vita Susak, "Ukrainian Artists in Paris, 1900-1939," Columbia University, 212-854-4697                      | New York                    | Dzhemilev," Ukrainian Institute of America, 212-288-8660   |
| December 10<br>Cleveland       | Christmas party, Ukrainian Museum-Archives, 216-781-4329 or www.umacleveland.org   | December 17<br>New York     | Concert, "Twelve Dishes/Sviat Vechir: A Festival of Traditional Winter Songs and New Interpretations of Ritual Food," Ukrainian Institute of America, 212-288-8660     |
| December 11<br>Jenkintown, PA  | Christmas Bazaar, Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 215-663-1166  | December 18<br>Washington   | St. Nicholas program and holiday bazaar, Taras Shevchenko School of Ukrainian Studies, Ukrainian National Shrine of the Holy Family, 410-730-8108 or lada2@verizon.net |
| December 11<br>New York        | Concert, "Koliada and Hutsul Music," The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110  | December 18<br>New York     | Christmas party, "Yalynka," Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America, Ukrainian Institute of America, 212-729-9824  |
| December 11<br>New York        | Concert, featuring music of Fredric Chopin on his 200th anniversary, Ukrainian Institute of America, 212-288-8660                | December 18<br>Leighton, PA | Christmas bazaar, Ukrainian Homestead, 610-377-4621 or www.ukrhomestead.com  |
| December 12<br>New York        | Children's Christmas party and tree trimming, Ukrainian Institute of America, 212-288-8660                                       | December 18<br>Chicago      | Concert featuring Nazar Dzhuryn and Mikhail Yanovitsky, Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 773-227-5522  |
| December 12<br>Yonkers, NY     | Christmas bazaar, Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 30, St. Michael Ukrainian Catholic Church, 914-522-4676    | December 19<br>New York     | Christmas workshop, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110   |
| December 12<br>Perth Amboy, NJ | Theatrical event, "An Evening of Kozak Glory," Assumption Ukrainian Catholic Church, 201-213-4321                                | December 19<br>Ottawa       | Dinner and concert, "Pyrohy and Koliady," Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Orthodox Church hall, 613-728-4923   |
| December 12<br>Chicago         | Book presentation by Vita Susak, "Ukrainian Artists in Paris, 1900-1939," Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 773-227-5522        | December 26<br>New York     | Performance, "Winter Sun: A Celebration of Traditions from the Carpathians," Yara Arts Group, La Mama Experimental Theater, 212-475-7710                               |
| December 12<br>Morristown, NJ  | Concert featuring bandurist Oksana Telepko and her students, Morris Museum, 973-971-3700 or www.morrismuseum.org                 |                             |  |
| December 12<br>Whippany, NJ    | Christmas bazaar, St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, 973-476-1970 |                             |  |
| December 14                    | Presentation, "An Evening with Mustafa   |                             |  |

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

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- "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.
- "Morska Zabava" in New Jersey in November.
- "Koliada" in December.
- A subscription to The Ukrainian Weekly  
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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, December 11

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh), the Medicine and Biology Section of NTSh and the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) invite all to a celebration of the 60th anniversary of UMANA. The program will feature presentations by Drs. Viktor Gribenko and Alexandra Kushnir on the subject "The Best Traditions of Professionalism, Civic Duty and Benefaction." Dr. Kushnir is the director of the Medicine and Biology Section of NTSh. The program will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call 212-254-5130.

**NEW YORK:** Music at the Institute celebrates the 200th birthday of Frederic Chopin with a special concert by Solomiya Ivakhiv, violinist, Natalia Khoma, cellist, and Volodymyr Vynnytsky, pianist. The program includes Chopin's "Polonaise Brillante" in C Major for cello and piano, "Nocturne" in C-sharp minor, transcribed for cello and piano, Piano Sonata No. 2 in B-flat minor, and Trio for violin, cello and piano in G minor. The concert begins at 8 p.m., followed by a reception at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 E. 79th St. Admission: \$30: \$25 for UIA members and seniors; \$20 for students. For more information call 212-288-8660.

**NEW YORK:** Yara Arts Group presents "Koliada and Hutsul Music" featuring the Zelenchuk Koliadnyky from Kryvorivnia and the "troista" instrumental music of Mykhailo Ilyuk, Vasyl Tymchuk and Ostap Kostyuk. They will be joined by violinist Valerie Zhmud and bandurist Julian Kytasty. The program begins at 7 p.m. at The Ukrainian Museum, 222 E. Sixth St.. Admission: \$15: \$10 for museum members and seniors; \$5 for students. To make reservations call 212-228-0110 or e-mail [info@ukrainianmuseum.org](mailto:info@ukrainianmuseum.org). For additional information, visit [www.ukrainianmuseum.org](http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org).

Sunday, December 12

**YONKERS, N.Y.:** A Christmas Bazaar sponsored by Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 30 will be held at 9 a.m. - 1 p.m. at St. Michael the Archangel Ukrainian Catholic Church hall, 21 Shonnard Place, Yonkers, N.Y. 10703. This is a great opportunity to view and purchase glass paintings by Andriy Khomyk, original art work by other Ukrainian artists, ceramics, embroidery, handicrafts, CDs, Christmas cards, honey, poppyseed, wheat, baked goods and more. For additional information call Areta, 914-522-4676.

Friday, December 17

**NEW YORK:** Yara Arts Group and the Ukrainian Institute of America present "Twelve Dishes/Sviat Vechir: A Festival of Traditional Winter Songs and New Interpretations of Ritual Food." The Koliadnyky of Kryvorivnia will perform along with the "troista" instrumental music ensemble of Mykhailo Ilyuk, Vasyl Tymchuk and Ostap Kostyuk. Food artist Olesia Lew will serve new interpretations of the ritual dishes. The event begins at 8 p.m. at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 E. 79th St. at Fifth Avenue; phone, 212-288-8660. Admission is \$25.

Saturday, December 18

**WASHINGTON:** The Taras Shevchenko School of Ukrainian Studies will host a "Sviaty Mykolai" (St. Nicholas) show and holiday bazaar. Students will present "Mykolai - Superhero" at noon. Sviaty Mykolai will then meet with each grade/age group (non-students welcome). The Heavenly Office will be open 9:15-11:45 a.m.; please bring only one item per child (\$2 fee), clearly labeled (child's full name, grade/age). The bazaar and bake sale is at 9:30 a.m.-noon and will feature torte slices, fancy cookies for your holiday cookie tray, kolachi, makivnyky, medivnyky, children's sweets, varenyky and vushka (frozen), books, CDs, gift items. Note the new location this year: Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family, 4250 Harewood Road NE, Washington, DC 20017. For further information visit <http://www.ukieschool.org/events.htm> or contact Lada Onyshkevych, [lada2@verizon.net](mailto:lada2@verizon.net) or 410-730-8108.

Sunday, December 26

**NEW YORK:** "Winter Sun: A Celebration of Traditions from the Carpathians" is a new show featuring Yara Arts Group, Julian Kytasty, Kat Yew and special guests with winter songs from around the world. The event includes samples of the traditional ritual dish kutia. The event takes place at 2:30 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. at La MaMa Experimental Theater, 74 E. Fourth St.; phone: 212-475-7710. Admission is \$25; \$10 for children.

Friday, December 31

**BUENA, N.J.:** A New Year's Eve Party organized by the New Kuban Free Kozak Community of Buena, N.J., will feature dinner, champagne at midnight, entertainment (live music and dancing). Admission: \$45 (includes all-you-can-eat-and-drink buffet/bar); free for children age 10 and under. The event will take place at the New Kuban Free Kozak Cultural Center, 228 Don Road, Buena, NJ 08310, beginning at 9 p.m.. For additional information call 856-697-2255.

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

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

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

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