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# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## Thousands remember Holodomor at service in St. Patrick's Cathedral

by Felix Khmelkovsky

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

NEW YORK – A special requiem service was held on Saturday, November 19, here in St. Patrick's Cathedral as thousands of Ukrainians gathered together to pray for the millions of their compatriots killed by the Soviet Communist regime in 1932-1933.

They came from various parts of the United States – New Jersey, New York, Michigan and even California – to remember the victims of the Holodomor, the Famine-Genocide ordered by Stalin. Almost every second Ukrainian family suffered as a result of the Famine, which today is largely accepted as genocide directed against the Ukrainian people.

The church service began with the placing of symbolic candles and stalks of wheat by children of the Ukrainian American Youth Association (UAYA) and students of local schools of Ukrainian studies, all attired in embroidered shirts and blouses.

Concelebrating the requiem for the victims of the Holodomor on its 78th anniversary were hierarchs and clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, most notably Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk, the recently elected leader of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

Also participating were Archbishop Antony and Bishop Daniel of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., and Archbishop-Metropolitan Stefan Soroka, Bishop Paul Chomnycky and Bishop Basil Losten of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Singing the responses was the Dumka Chorus of New York, under the direction of Vasyl Hrechynsky.

After those in attendance – more than 4,000 people,



Lev Khmelkovsky

Hierarchs who led the requiem service at St. Patrick's Cathedral (from left): Bishop Daniel, Archbishop-Metropolitan Stefan Soroka, Patriarch Sviatoslav, Archbishop Antony, Bishop Paul Chomnycky and Bishop Basil Losten.

according to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which organizes the annual commemoration – sang "Eternal Memory" (Vichnaya Pamiat) Archbishop Antony turned to the congregation with words of comfort and wisdom.

Archbishop Antony said that not only must we not forget what happened to our nation, but we must not allow Ukraine's new leaders to deny the fact that the Holodomor was an artificially created genocide. He underscored that

we must continue telling the world the truth about the events of 1932-1933 so that they can never again happen.

UCCA President Tamara Olexy asked the assembled to imagine themselves as children and to ponder what the children must have experienced during the Holodomor. "It is hard to conceive these gruesome scenes, but thankfully we

(Continued on page 5)

## After tough meeting with Lithuanian president, Yanukovich allows Yulia to get medical care

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – At the fifth meeting of the presidents of Ukraine and Lithuania in Kyiv on November 22, President Viktor Yanukovich once again said it is crucial for Europe to provide a path for Ukraine to sign the Association Agreement with the European Union, while Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaitė raised the issue of Yulia Tymoshenko's imprisonment.

The Ukrainian president stressed that, in matters of economic integration with the EU, Ukraine has achieved quite good results. In particular, negotiations for a comprehensive free trade area are near completion and the first part of the road map for visa liberalization is also fulfilled. "I hope that during the December summit we will get the second part and continue to move in this direction," Mr. Yanukovich added.

However, the Ukrainian president's optimism about the December summit was not shared by his Lithuanian counterpart. At a press conference following the meeting of the Council of Presidents,

Ms. Grybauskaitė said that the success of the EU-Ukraine summit will depend on the fate of imprisoned opposition leader and former Prime Minister Tymoshenko.

Ms. Grybauskaitė spelled out a tough message, which she said she had been authorized to pass on from the European Union.

"Europe was shocked by the decision taken by the court regarding the opposition leader. In Europe, the opinion prevails that Ms. Tymoshenko and her colleagues are the victims of a process of political neutralization," she said, according to Reuters.

Mr. Yanukovich responded that the Tymoshenko trial dealt solely with her work as prime minister and that her opposition activities had not influenced the court's verdict.

Moments later, during the same joint press conference, Mr. Yanukovich said he would allow the jailed opposition leader to seek medical treatment outside of the

(Continued on page 10)

## CCRDF says it will complete its mission in February 2012



Illyia M. Labunka

Zenon and Nadia Matkiwsky with the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund banner following the November 21 press conference in Kyiv at which CCRDF's upcoming closing was announced.

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund (CCRDF) announced at a press conference in Kyiv on November 21 – as well as in its winter 2011 newsletter – that it will conclude its humanitarian mission

and medical programs in February 2012, after 22 years of work in saving the lives of countless children in Ukraine.

At the same time, CCRDF announced

(Continued on page 14)

## ANALYSIS

# Ukraine fails to secure IMF financing in 2011

by Pavel Korduban

Eurasia Daily Monitor

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) mission that arrived in Ukraine on October 25 left the country on November 3, one day ahead of schedule, without agreement on the next loan tranche. The IMF local representative, Max Alier, announced on November 4 that the IMF would "take a pause." Later he explained that the IMF would wait until the completion of Ukraine's current gas talks with Russia (Interfax, November 15).

This means that Ukraine will have hardly received a single dollar from the \$6 billion that it expected to receive from the IMF this year. This is a large sum for a country whose central bank reserves plunged by more than \$4 billion in September and October to \$34 billion, which covers less than five months of imports. Less financing from the IMF is likely to result in more Ukrainian dependence on Russian financial resources.

IMF loans helped Ukraine survive the 2008-2009 financial crisis. In July 2010, Kyiv secured a new \$15.7 billion assistance package from the IMF. The first two loan tranches arrived last year as Ukraine agreed to implement a set of measures to streamline its finances. The most painful of these were pension reform, aimed at balancing the budget of the Pension Fund, and domestic gas price hikes to improve the finances of the debt-ridden state-owned oil and gas giant Naftohaz Ukrainy – which buys gas from Russia and sells it artificially cheap at home.

However, as the parliamentary election year of 2012 approaches and the popularity of the ruling Party of Regions starts to fall, the government is increasingly reluctant to implement unpopular measures promised to the IMF. As a result, Parliament passed pension reform last September instead of early this year and the plan to increase gas prices for households and utility companies by 32 percent in 2011 was abandoned. Consequently, Naftohaz's deficit is expected to approach 1.5 percent of GDP this year.

The recent talks with the IMF were doomed to fail, as the government made it clear from the outset that it was not going to meet the main IMF condition – the gas price hikes. Speaking on the first day of the IMF mission's visit, on October 25, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov told factory workers in Dnipropetrovsk that Ukraine did not need loans at any cost and that gas price hikes were unnecessary because Kyiv would undoubtedly persuade Moscow to lower gas prices (Interfax, October 25).

Commenting on the IMF mission's departure, Mr. Azarov said the IMF would start the

revision of its cooperation program with Ukraine when gas talks with Russia had been completed. Kyiv hopes that by the end of November, Moscow will agree to significantly cut its gas prices for 2012. Mr. Azarov also said Ukraine and the IMF differed on their forecasts for state budget revenues in 2012, but the differences were not major ones (www.kmu.gov.ua, November 4).

The business daily Kommersant-Ukraine reported on November 7 that the IMF insisted that the 2012 budget bill, which the government submitted to the Verkhovna Rada in September, should be revised because it was based on unrealistic forecasts and that personal income tax for the rich should be increased from 17 percent to 19 percent. Mr. Azarov's Cabinet, oblivious to the signs of economic slowdown around the world, expects GDP to pick up pace to 5.5 percent to 6.5 percent next year from some 5 percent expected this year, while the IMF believes Ukraine's growth in 2012 will be flat if not slower than this year.

On November 14, Mr. Azarov said Ukraine has survived without IMF financing so far this year and its absence should not be a problem in 2012 (Interfax, November 14). This must mean that the Cabinet is not going to change its position on domestic gas prices although Russia, even if it agrees to charge less for gas next year, will hardly agree on a price low enough to allow Naftohaz to balance its budget. At the same time, Ukraine will have to borrow this year in any case as its coffers are nearly empty. It is expected that consolidated budget expenditures will exceed revenues by almost \$2 billion in December (Kommersant-Ukraine, November 9).

In the absence of support from the IMF and as the current situation on the financial markets does not favor the Eurobond issues initially planned by the government for this year, there are signs that Ukraine will rely more on Russian financial resources. The government will most probably ask the Russian bank VTB to extend the \$2 billion loan received in June 2010 by another six months.

Earlier this month, Naftohaz had to borrow \$550 million from Russia's Gazprombank in order to pay Gazprom for gas supplied in October. Also, the central banks of Ukraine and Russia agreed in October that it would be possible for Naftohaz to pay Gazprom for gas in rubles rather than dollars as has thus far been the case (www.bank.gov.ua, November 1).

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

## Corrections

- The name of a speaker at the 12th annual "Ukraine's Quest for Mature Nation Statehood Roundtable" was omitted in the story "Washington conference focuses on Ukraine's relations with Poland and Turkey," supplied by the UCCA (November 20). A sentence about the panel on Ukrainian-Polish relations should have read: The morning panels addressed Ukrainian-Polish relations in the past, present and future. Both Krzysztof Bobinski (Unia & Polska) and Serhii Plokhii (Harvard University) [omitted in the original version] in reviewing the past, as well as Janusz Onyszkiewicz (former minister of defense of Poland) and Borys Tarasyuk (former minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine) in assessing the present made it clear that a Polish-Ukrainian entente would have enormous positive consequences for the region.

- The jump headline for the story "NEWS ANALYSIS: Post-communist, European, and 'short of people'" (November 6), which began on page 3, was incorrectly rendered on page 22, appearing as a jump headline for the other story on page 3, which was not transferred to another page. Thus, the jump story headline was incorrectly headlined in our print edition as "Corruption at the top..."; it should have read "Post-communist...".

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Journalists demand reports on murders

KYIV – Representatives of Ukrainian and international media organizations staged a rally on November 23 and handed over a petition to the Presidential Administration to investigate the murders of 63 Ukrainian journalists committed over 20 years of the country's independence. "We are here to strongly protest against impunity for murders and attacks on journalists. It is not just a petition for the authorities, we demand that authorities report on attacks on journalists: how these cases were investigated, whether the murderers were punished," said a representative of Reporters Without Borders in Ukraine, Oksana Romaniuk. The petition was received by Denys Ivanenko, head of access to public information at the Presidential Administration. He promised that the administration will consider it as a request and send a letter to the Procurator General with a request to objectively investigate the murders of journalists. (Ukrinform)

### 32 countries commemorate Holodomor

KYIV – Events dedicated to Ukrainian Holodomor Remembrance Day will be held in 32 world capitals, Ivan Vasiunyk, one of the coordinators of the Public Committee for the Commemoration of Victims of the Holodomor Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, told the press on November 23. "The Ukrainian World Congress on November 26 will organize events in the capitals of 32 countries," he said. Mr. Vasiunyk said that in Ukraine the events will be dedicated to the memory of children killed and aborted due to this tragedy. In Kyiv there will be a mourning procession and a memorial service with bishops of all Churches and religious organizations in Ukraine. At 4 p.m. a national moment of silence will be declared and the "Light a Candle" action will begin. According to various estimates, the Holodomor in Ukraine killed between 7 million and 10 million Ukrainians, including nearly 4 million children. The official Day of Remembrance of Victims of Holodomor and Political Repressions is marked annually in Ukraine on the fourth Saturday of November. (Ukrinform)

### Marking Orange Revolution anniversary

KYIV – City authorities on November 21 proposed that November 22 rallies dedicated to the anniversary of the 2004 Orange Revolution be held on the Yevropeyska, Besarabska, Kontraktova and other squares of Kyiv – that is, in any location other than Independence Square (Maidan Nezalezhnosti), where seven years ago the main protests took place against rigged results of the presidential election run-off. The Kyiv City Administration noted that this proposal is due to the installation of the country's main New Year tree; therefore, Independence Square is partially blocked and peaceful actions in the central square of Kyiv are limited. A number of political parties and public organizations had applied for open-ended rallies to be held on November 22 on the Maidan. However, the Kyiv District Administrative Court supported an effort by the city authorities to ban November 22 events on the Maidan, explaining its decision by saying that the citizens who will gather together that day on Independence Square could pose a threat to Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaitė, who will be in Kyiv on a visit to Ukraine. (Ukrinform)

### Klitschko's new fight: for Ukraine

KYIV – In a November 22 article published in The Times, Vitali Klitschko, leader of the UDAR (Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform) party, writes: "My new fight is for a country more like Europe. I joined the Orange Revolution. Now I want to stop my homeland sliding into tyranny." He wrote the article on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of Ukraine's Orange Revolution, which he described as "a peaceful uprising against a rigged presidential election," when "Millions of my countrymen and I stood in freezing weather for weeks defending our right to a free and fair election." Mr. Klitschko went on to say: "Today our European aspirations are again being tested. Two-thirds of Ukrainians believe that their country is going in the wrong direction. Most are disaffected with all national politicians and neither the ruling party nor the democratic opposition

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# NEWS ANALYSIS: Paranoia grows in the Yanukovich regime

by **Taras Kuzio**

*Eurasia Daily Monitor*

On November 2 President Viktor Yanukovich made a startling warning at an enlarged government meeting. He said, "Law enforcement organs have told me there are purchases of weapons in preparation for a violent attack on the organs of the ruling bodies (of the state)," adding "People have lost their fear and conscience. Who is organizing this?" (Ukrayinska Pravda, November 2).

An anonymous Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) officer on November 3 told Segodnya, a newspaper owned by Donetsk oligarch Rinat Akhmetov, that there have been cases of weapons being purchased in Lviv, Kharkiv and other cities. He confirmed that the SBU had "operational information" about increased threats to Ukraine's leaders.

"These are not rumors from the bazaar. These are facts from trusted people," the SBU officer said. This was the reason, he confirmed, for increasing presidential security and that of other senior state officials. Mr. Yanukovich's cortege to Chernivtsi included 30 vehicles, only 15 less than the level of protection for the U.S. president (see video on Ukrayinska Pravda, November 9).

In September, the Party of Regions began drawing up a draft law to combat "extremism," as seen in Russia and the CIS. "Extremism" is defined as the "forcible seizure of power," "intrusion into the work of the authorities" and "hindering the work of the authorities." If the law had existed in 2004, Orange Revolution protesters, who blocked the government and presidential administration buildings, could have been criminally charged.

The Yanukovich administration is paranoid about threats and "sees imagined enemies much like other strongman leaders in Russia and Belarus" (Kyiv Post, November 3). In response to criticism of democratic backsliding, Ukrainian leaders, according to one editorial, "have adopted increasingly aggressive rhetoric against both Western and domestic critics" (Kyiv Post, November 3).

The Yanukovich administration's criticism against its domestic opponents equates their protest with undermining political stability with the help of foreign support. Cables from the U.S. embassy in Kyiv, released by WikiLeaks, show on a number of occasions Mr. Yanukovich's "Maidanophobia" (Korrespondent, November 7). The Maidan, Independence Square, is blocked each weekend by musical performances organized by the authorities who fear it could be taken over by the opposition.

Mr. Yanukovich has always believed the Orange Revolution, and similar democratic uprisings in Serbia, Georgia and the Arab world, are products of foreign conspiracies. In November 2006, then Prime Minister Yanukovich told U.S. Ambassador William Taylor that President Viktor "Yushchenko is obligated to the Americans for his position." Mr. Taylor replied that his was "nonsense" (<http://www.wikileaks.org/cable/2006/11/06KYIV4187.html>).

The 2004 Yanukovich election campaign unleashed a massive anti-American campaign against Mr. Yushchenko (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, October 7, 2004). At that time, Ukraine had the third largest military contingent in Iraq and unsuccessfully sought a Membership Action Plan at NATO's June 2004 Istanbul summit.

A Korrespondent blogger noted on November 7 that paranoia makes it impossible to explain the policies and actions of the Yanukovich administration in "rational terms." Paranoia is driven by Mr. Yanukovich's fears, as in the case of the imprisoning of Yulia Tymoshenko, which has brought them no dividends and is "irrational" (see EDM, November 4).

On the other hand, Ms. Tymoshenko's imprisonment is "rational" when the country is completely controlled by one person, Mr. Yanukovich, who has concentrated power entirely in his hands. Rational or not, Mr. Yanukovich feels threatened by Ms. Tymoshenko who, if released, would organize an "Orange Revolution-2" against him. Mr. Yanukovich's neo-Soviet political culture "does not view the right of the people to undertake protest actions and sees

enemies behind everything" (Ukrayinska Pravda, November 3). There is no room for Maidans in this mindset. Mr. Yanukovich told the government meeting, "normal people sit and are patient."

If, instead, they storm the barricades they are "unhinged," like Ms. Tymoshenko, or financed by the CIA and high on oranges injected by the CIA with narcotics. In the Orange Revolution, Liudmila Yanukovich said at one of her husband's rallies that the CIA had imported drugged oranges for protesters so they would stay in tents on the Maidan (see video: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=EtS2xb8EFD4](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EtS2xb8EFD4)). Since Mr. Yanukovich was elected, Mrs. Yanukovich has been kept out of public sight in Donetsk.

The head of the Association of Owners of Arms, which believes there are 2 million legal holders of weapons in Ukraine, told Kommersant-Ukrainy (November 4) that the president's paranoia "smells of 1937." Anatoliy Grytsenko, the head of the parliamentary Committee on National Security and Defense, is concerned that Mr. Yanukovich's paranoia signifies a shift in the authorities' threat perceptions from external to internal. Of Ukraine's 715,000 security forces only 184,000 are military personnel.

Front for Change leader Arseniy Yatsenyuk pointed out that corrupt Internal Affairs Ministry officers are the major source of illegal weapons. He added, "every Ukrainian has a weapon, as there is a pitchfork in every decent home" (Ukrayinska Pravda, November 3). Paranoia is stoked up by the president's oligarchic allies and security forces to make him dependent upon them. Mr. Yanukovich's bodyguard is a Russian citizen and his security establishment was successfully lobbied by Russia (EDM, March 29, 2010, Jamestown blog, October 13, 28, 2010).

Arms were planted on Svoboda and Tryzub nationalists who were arrested in January 2011, after the Joseph Stalin monument was blown up in Zaporizhia. In August, the leaders of the marginal nationalist group, Patriots of Ukraine, were inter-

rogated after the SBU revealed plans for a terrorist attack on August 24, Ukraine's Independence Day.

Ahead of the soccer Euro-2012 championship, another threat is politicized football fans. A senior Internal Affairs Ministry officer revealed to Ukrayinsky Tyzhden on November 4 that instructions had been sent from the presidential administration to repress fanatical football supporters. These instructions were issued after the August 7 soccer match between Kyiv Dynamo and Lviv Karpaty, where supporters of both clubs chanted "Thank you Donbas for a Faggot President" ([www.youtube.com/watch?v=w0IqcXwpZpY](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w0IqcXwpZpY)). A print shop producing T-shirts with the lyric was closed and its owner has fled abroad.

A People's Council was established by radical social, veterans and business NGOs on November 5, with the objective of overthrowing President Yanukovich. Chernobyl and Afghanistan veterans have twice almost stormed Parliament, in the second incident breaking newly erected metal fences. The People's Council will have limited influence because of widespread disillusionment in opposition politicians.

"Today the political opposition is completely unable to do anything," Volodymyr Fesenko, the head of the Penta think tank, said. He pointed to low numbers of protesters in Ukraine compared to those in Greece and elsewhere in Europe.

The president's paranoia will have two outcomes. First, it reduces the chances of Ms. Tymoshenko's release. Second, it is likely to stoke further political repression, especially ahead of the 2015 presidential election, when Mr. Yanukovich will campaign for re-election. In such an environment of paranoia, exaggerated threats and personal insecurity, it will be virtually impossible to hold free elections in 2012 and 2015.

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

## UWC leader meets chair of EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Cooperation Committee

WARSAW – Ukrainian World Congress President Eugene Czolij met on November 3 with the Chair of the European Parliament Delegation to the European Union-Ukraine Parliamentary Cooperation Committee, Pawel Kowal.

Mr. Czolij emphasized the importance of Ukraine's integration into European structures and called upon the European Union to sign the Association Agreement with Ukraine before the end of the year. The agreement, which has great significance for both parties, is crucial for Ukraine's future development as a democratic European state.

The UWC president relied on the November 2 appeal to the European community by Ukraine's opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko, in which the former prime minister wrote: "I ask you to sign and ratify the Agreement with Ukraine even if Ukraine's government deliberately fails to fulfill the conditions of the last resolution of the European Parliament, because for Ukraine, this agreement is not just the signing of an official document, it marks the rebirth of our long-awaited freedom, assures the preservation of our indepen-

dence, one achieved through much suffering, and will bring about the Europeanization of life for millions of Ukraine's citizens. All of this is now in your hands."

In addition, Mr. Czolij noted a statement made by the press attaché for the EU delegation to Ukraine, David Stupik, on November 1, regarding an annual allocation of 180 million euros designated for reform initiatives in specific Ukrainian sectors. Mr. Stupik announced that Ukraine will receive this allocation only when it can demonstrate its commitment to carry out reforms. In response, the UWC president asked that funding for projects of non-governmental organizations designed to strengthen civil society not be withheld.

During the meeting with Mr. Kowal, Mr. Czolij also called upon the European Parliament to closely monitor the process of adoption of the law "On Election of National Deputies of Ukraine."

The meeting concluded with a discussion about the upcoming 17th meeting of the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Cooperation Committee scheduled for November 24-25 in Kyiv.



Ukrainian World Congress President Eugene Czolij (right) with Pawel Kowal, chair of the European Parliament delegation to the European Union-Ukraine Parliamentary Cooperation Committee.

## OBITUARIES

### Tamara Kardashinetz, 89, former editor at Svoboda

COLUMBUS, N.J. – Tamara Kardashinetz, a former member of the editorial staff of Svoboda, died on November 4. She was 89.

Mrs. Kardashinetz was born on November 14, 1922, in Kyiv; she was a daughter of the late Artem and Anna Musienko. She moved to the United States in 1949, after a period in the Displaced Persons camps in Germany, and most recently resided in Columbus, N.J.

She was an editor at Svoboda, the Ukrainian-language newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association (UNA), from February 1975 until she retired in May of 1990 to take care of her ailing father.

She was bid a fond farewell by her colleagues at Svoboda, its sister publication, The Ukrainian Weekly, and the UNA, including its executive officers led by President John O. Flis.

Mrs. Kardashinetz remained active in community life after her retirement and was a founding member of the Rutherford Patriots.

Surviving are two sons and a daughter, Anatole Kardashinetz and his wife, Martha, of Berkley Heights, N.J.; Ronald and Mary Kardashinetz and his wife, Mary, of Clifton, N.J.; and Victoria Yasika and her husband, Guy, of Springfield Township, N.J.; as well as



Tamara Kardashinetz at work at Svoboda.

five grandchildren, Roman, Michele and Ronnie Kardashinetz, D.J. Cronrath (with his wife Danielle) and Tolyk Cronrath. Also in mourning are other family members in the United States, Ukraine and France.

Mrs. Kardashinetz was predeceased by three brothers, a sister and two nephews.

The funeral service was offered on November 8 at St. George Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Yardville, N.J. Interment followed at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J.

### The Rev. Dmytro Blazejowsky, 100, scholar, creator of embroidered icons



The Rev. Dr. Dmytro Blazejowsky

LVIV – The Rev. Dr. Dmytro Blazejowsky, a church scholar and historian, who was known also for his beautiful embroidered icons, died here on April 23.

He was born on August 21, 1910, in Vyslik, Sianok county of the Lemko region in Ukraine. He began his studies in Prague, but then traveled by foot on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he remained to study theology and history and was ordained to the priesthood in 1939.

He earned a doctorate in theology from the Urbaniana University in Rome in 1942 and a doctorate in history from Gregorian University, also in Rome in 1946.

He served parishes in Ansonia, Conn.,

in 1946-1947 and St. Joseph, Mo., in 1947-1955. Between 1950 and 1955 he organized parishes in Omaha and Lincoln, Neb., and Denver and he served the Denver parish in 1955-1958.

He then went on to serve parishes in Philadelphia in 1958-1959 and Houston, where he was assigned from 1959 to 1973.

The Rev. Dr. Blazejowsky authored 25 scientific papers on the history of the Church and the Ukrainian state, as well as countless articles on those topics. His most recent Ukrainian-language book,

“My Century and Some Facts on the History of Ukraine,” was at the printer when he died.

At the age of 63 he began embroidering. He created 350 embroidered icons and religious banners, and published 16 collections of patterns of Ukrainian religious embroidery. Ten years ago he established a museum of embroidered icons in Lviv. It is the only museum of its kind in the world.

Burial was at the Yanivsky cemetery in Lviv, in accordance with the Rev. Blazejowsky's last will.

### Yar Slavutych, 93, professor of Slavic languages, writer

EDMONTON, Alberta – Yar Slavutych, noted professor of Slavic languages and a prolific writer, died on July 4. He was 93.

He was born in Blahodatne, Ukraine, on January 11, 1918, and was 15 years old when his grandparents and the youngest of his three sisters died of starvation in the Holodomor, the Famine-Genocide of 1932 to 1933 in Ukraine, along with millions of their countrymen. Young Yars' grandfather, who died in his arms, asked him to promise to inform the world about the Famine.

At the end of the war Mr. Slavutych was a displaced person in Berlin and then in Bavaria. In the DP camp he fell in love with and married Elwira Ziebarth in 1948, and the couple moved to the United States shortly thereafter.

He completed an M.A. and a Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania, and the couple moved to Monterey, Calif., where he taught at the Army Language School. After the birth of their son Bohdan and daughter Oksana, the family moved to Edmonton, where Prof. Slavutych accepted a position in the newly established Department of Slavic Languages at the University of Alberta, where he worked until his retirement in 1988.

He is perhaps best known by a generation of Ukrainian schoolchildren in Canada for his Ukrainian textbooks, such as Ukrainian for Beginners and Conversational Ukrainian, which helped standardize the way Ukrainian was taught despite the many differences in dialects.

In academic circles he was recognized for his prolific writing, both of poetry and literary history. One of his most popular



Prof. Yar Slavutych

poetry books is called “Conquerers of the Prairies.”

Prof. Slavutych also kept his grandfather's dying wish by conducting research on the Holodomor and publishing in both English and Ukrainian.

Prof. Slavutych is survived by his son Bohdan Slavutych, former daughter-in-law Judy Slavutych, grandsons Bohdan Slavutych Jr. (with his wife, Erin Slavutych) and Lev Slavutych, all of Edmonton; daughter Oksana Slavutych (with her husband, Marc-Philippe Gagné) and his granddaughter Emmanuelle Slavutych Gagné of Toronto.

A private funeral service took place on July 9 in Edmonton.

## Gareth Jones and Holodomor in the spotlight in Washington



WASHINGTON – Nigel Colley, great-nephew of Gareth Jones, the Welsh journalist who brought the Holodomor in Ukraine to the attention of the world, points to selected pages from Jones's diaries and letters about the Famine, as well as photographs from that period, during a discussion of his forthcoming book “More Than a Grain of Truth: the Biography of Gareth Jones” on November 21 at the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation in Washington. Among those observing his presentation were Eugenia and Charles Osgood (seated) and Peter Hickman of the National Press Club, where Mr. Colley appeared earlier that day. Washingtonians had a chance to broaden their understanding of the Holodomor at a number of informative events that week, among them the presentation of the 2011 Omelan and Tatiana Antonovych Foundation laureate awards to Profs. Stanislav Kulchytsky and Andrea Graziosi for their scholarly research work on that subject. Complete reports about these events will appear in next week's issue of The Ukrainian Weekly.

– Yaro Bihun

## Thousands...

(Continued from page 1)

can return to the reality and comfort of our surroundings. Yet, for the few Holodomor survivors among us here today, such horrific scenes were not figments of their imagination; for them in 1932-1933 such scenes were a frightening reality," she noted.

Patriarch Sviatoslav then came to the podium. He prayed for the millions of souls lost in what was probably the greatest crime against humanity. The leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church lamented that the new Ukrainian government gives preference to the pro-Russian version of Ukrainian history, adding that such treatment is inadmissible for the majority of Ukrainians in Ukraine and in the diaspora. The congregation responded to the patriarch's speech with sustained applause.

Afterwards Patriarch Sviatoslav stepped forward to bless the Holodomor survivors in attendance.

Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.), a regular speaker at the annual Holodomor commemorations at St. Patrick's, underscored that remembering the millions murdered matters "as we seek justice for the unspeakable."

"It matters as we honor the suffering and the eternal souls of the innocent. And it

matters as we strive year after year, event after event, resolution after resolution, and prayer after prayer to bring the full light of day to this historic tragedy. It matters because to secure our place as a civilized people, in Ukraine and here in America, and indeed in every corner of this globe, we must call out evil for what it is," Sen. Schumer stated.

A statement by the White House press secretary was read to the gathering by William Pope, senior advisor for Europe to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. (The full text appears below.)

Ukraine's ambassador to the United States, Olexander Motsyk, read an official statement from the Ukrainian government.

At the end of the commemoration, Bishop Chomnycky called upon all to offer one more prayer in memory of those who died in the Holodomor. Patriarch Sviatoslav blessed the congregation with a cross, giving special attention to the few remaining Holodomor survivors.

Many in the cathedral had tears in their eyes during the solemn commemoration. The presence of younger generations of Ukrainian Americans will no doubt ensure that the memory of this genocide of the Ukrainian nation will endure and will serve to unite the Ukrainian nation for decades to come.



Local youths place flowers and wheat before candles lit in memory of the millions of victims of the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933.

## UWC on Holodomor's 78th anniversary

The following statement by the Ukrainian World Congress was released on November 22.

On Saturday, November 26, 2011, International Holodomor Memorial Day, Ukrainians around the world will remember the victims of the Ukrainian genocide – the Holodomor of 1932-1933, the most extensive and heinous crime of the totalitarian Soviet regime against Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation.

Seventy eight years ago, in an attempt to subdue our nation and destroy its national spirit, Soviet authorities brutally eliminated millions of innocent Ukrainians, causing irreparable harm to the social fabric of Ukraine's society, its spiritual culture and ethnic identity.

Honoring the memory of the Holodomor's victims, the over 20 million strong Ukrainian diaspora, led by the Ukrainian World Congress (UWC), continues its persistent efforts to raise international awareness of the reasons and consequences of the Holodomor in Ukraine. Among our greatest accomplishments has been the recognition of the Holodomor as an act of genocide by the governments of 16 countries. One of these countries was Ukraine, recognizing the Holodomor as a

genocide in 2006. Today, the Ukrainian government does not recognize the Holodomor as a genocide of the Ukrainian people in direct contravention of the Law of Ukraine "On the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine."

In commemoration of the 78th anniversary of the Holodomor of 1932-1933, the UWC calls upon the Ukrainian diaspora to remember this tragic historical event and mark the anniversary on Saturday, November 26, with memorial services, community vigils and other commemorative events. The UWC also calls upon every Ukrainian family to light a candle in the window of their home and unite in the international campaign "Light a Candle in Remembrance."

"In order to prevent the resurgence of totalitarian regimes and the recurrence of such horrors, the UWC calls upon all Ukrainian communities around the world to continue their efforts to raise awareness and actively support the recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide of the Ukrainian people in their countries of residence," stated UWC President Eugene Czolij.

May our memory of the victims of the Holodomor-Genocide of the Ukrainian nation be eternal.



Felix Khmelkovsky

Patriarch Sviatoslav of the Ukrainian Catholic Church addresses the thousands gathered inside St. Patrick's Cathedral.



Bishop Antony of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. underscores the genocidal nature of the Holodomor.



The patriarch blesses survivors of the Holodomor.

## White House press secretary issues statement on Holodomor

Following is the full text of the "Statement by the Press Secretary on Ukrainian Holodomor Remembrance Day" issued on November 19 by the White House Office of the Press Secretary.

As we celebrate the 20th anniversary of Ukraine's independence – a testament to the spirit and determination of the people of Ukraine – we also remember the suffering they endured 78 years ago during the catastrophic famine that has come to be known as the Holodomor – the "death by hunger." This terrible tragedy, created by the intentional seizure of crops and farms across Ukraine by Joseph Stalin, was one of communism's greatest atrocities. Today, Americans join with the people of Ukraine and Ukrainians

around the world in remembering those who suffered and died senselessly as a result of this man-made famine.

In the wake of this brutal and deliberate attempt to break the will of the people of Ukraine, Ukrainians showed great courage and resilience. The establishment of a proud and independent Ukraine 20 years ago shows the remarkable depth of the Ukrainian people's love of freedom and independence.

The United States values the friendship between our peoples and offers our deepest condolences on this solemn occasion. As we remember this tragedy, we recommit ourselves and reaffirm our shared determination to prevent similar tragic acts from ever happening again.

## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### Orange Revolution: seven years after

Archbishop and Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, writing on the website Pohliad, asks: "Have we understood the Orange Revolution?"

"Let's remember what this revolution was like: Several hundred thousand people – some said there were a million – gathered on the central square of Kyiv; residents of the capital welcomed complete strangers into their homes; not a single drop of blood was spilled, not a single shop window was broken, the people who gathered did not respond to those who did not share their viewpoint with fists, but with flowers!

"Several years have passed. We ask ourselves: Foreigners from various points on the globe were inspired by our Orange Revolution. Why have we forgotten about it?" he writes.

The retired leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church goes on to note the situation in the country: there is tension, the president has warned of possible armed encounters. "Do we need a bloody revolution?" Cardinal Husar asks, and then replies in the negative. "I don't think anyone among our nation wants to see blood spilled. I don't think that we didn't understand. I suspect that some simply did not want to understand, trying to transform [the Orange Revolution] into a political spectacle."

That is why, no doubt, the Yanukovich administration and its toadies saw fit to declare that Independence Square – the epicenter of those historic events that has become known to all as the Maidan – and surrounding streets were off limits on the revolution's anniversary. News media reported that Kyiv city authorities had asked the court to ban such gatherings on November 21-22 and the Maidan was cordoned off to keep the people out. The ostensible reason(s): city officials said the square was being prepped for the erection of the holiday tree and safety rules prohibited gatherings while this was taking place; police officials cited security precautions during the visit of Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaitė. (The response to the latter was a letter-writing campaign to the Lithuanian leader on the maidan.org.ua website welcoming her to Kyiv on Freedom Day and asking her to raise the suppression of citizens' rights and freedoms with President Viktor Yanukovich.) However, observers say the real reason is the Yanukovich regime's antipathy toward not only the events of 2004, but also toward the people of Ukraine – and, some argue, the regime's fear of the people.

Truly, the Yanukovich administration's cynicism knows no bounds. Back in 2005 President Viktor Yushchenko signed a decree establishing Freedom Day on November 22, the date on which the Orange Revolution began. The decree was signed "with the aim of promoting the ideals of freedom and democracy in Ukraine [and] ingraining the feeling of national pride in citizens, while taking into account the historic experience of events in the autumn of 2004." But the current leaders of Ukraine will stop at nothing to rewrite Ukraine's history to their liking – that includes denying the significance of the Orange Revolution.

Despite the authorities' ban, hundreds of people, many wearing something orange, turned out on the streets of Kyiv to mark Freedom Day 2011. Many gathered beside the city's main post office, which is near the Maidan, and formed a "7" using candles in front of the building.

Cardinal Husar underscores that seven years ago it was "not Ukraine" [in the abstract sense] but "concrete people – Ukrainians," who gathered on the Maidan and "demanded truth and justice." Today, he says, we need to "transform this spirit into action." How? "By respecting every one of our countrymen, by speaking the truth, by giving each what he deserves..."

Sadly, seven years after the heady events of the Orange Revolution, trust and justice are not in evidence in Ukraine. And the people of Ukraine continue to press their just demands.

Nov.  
27  
2010

### Turning the pages back...

Last year, on November 27, 2010, Ukrainians around the world marked Holodomor Victims Remembrance Day.

In Ukraine, President Viktor Yanukovich and Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, along with Metropolitan Volodymyr of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate, participated in an official ceremony at the National Museum in Memory of Victims of Famines in Ukraine. Also in attendance were national deputies, Cabinet members, members of the clergy and the public. Symbolic bowls of wheat, sprigs of kalyna and candles were left at the foot of the statute "The Bitter Memory of Childhood."

Unofficial ceremonies organized by patriotic forces in Ukraine commemorated the 77th anniversary of the Famine-Genocide.

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 marked annually on the fourth Saturday in Ukraine in November.

In Budapest, Hungary, a wreath-laying ceremony before the Candle of Memory, a memorial to victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933, was also held on November 27 at Petofi Square.

Jaroslawa Hortiani, chair of the national organization of Ukrainians in Hungary, and the chairmen of 15 local Ukrainian organizations and Ukraine's ambassador to the Republic of Hungary, Yuri Mushka, attended the ceremony.

More activities such as memorial concerts, readings of works on the Holodomor and other events were 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.

In Russia, the Embassy of Ukraine hosted a commemorative event for members of the Ukrainians diaspora in Russia. Ambassador Volodymyr Yelchenko, Ukraine's ambassador to Russia, noted that for many years the Holodomor had been covered up, "and only after

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## COMMENTARY

### Subregional cooperation with the EU Or, how can Ukraine not miss the integration boat?

by Larion Lozoviy

The large window of opportunity that opened with the Polish presidency of the European Union will soon begin to swing shut. If the long-awaited signing of the Association Agreement does not take place within the next six months, Ukraine will find itself having to seriously rethink its prospects and begin to look for new partners. The question is, what's better: to hold your breath and wait for the desired result, or to start looking for new friends right now?

At a time when the European Union is hoping to form a circle of friendly, stable countries around itself, Ukraine must also form a circle of friends within the EU. To expect all the EU's members to have the same attitude towards it or to count on the complete dedication of a single mentor country makes little sense. And, although the formula of an alternative path to European integration through subregional sectoral cooperation is hardly ideal, it could actually offer the principles that are capable of establishing friendly and mutually beneficial relations with all members of the EU.

#### "Friends 4ever?"

On its path to Europe, Ukraine has always tried to find those who would reliably defend its interests among EU member countries. The idea that a few strong political allies could lobby the country's Eurointegration ambitions from within, pulling Ukraine like some tow truck into European space, became a virtual axiom in Ukrainian diplomacy.

The "forum of friends of Ukraine" that took place in Luxembourg in May was a clear confirmation of this. Organized by the country's traditional political "pals" – the foreign ministries of Poland and Sweden – the forum enjoyed a friendly atmosphere with very optimistic findings and an extremely wide range of topics, from a visa-free regime to military cooperation. Enormous hopes were placed on influential friends – the traditional approach of Ukraine's foreign policy, and one that is not entirely baseless.

Indeed, it seems particularly appropriate just now, during Poland's presidency, which coincides with the final stages of talks between Ukraine and the EU on an Association Agreement. But are these expectations not just a bit unrealistic?

Efforts by Ukraine to form a circle of friends, a kind of "inside Europe party of supporters," have generally been bilateral and depended significantly on understandings between individual politicians at the highest level. The stability of such a circle of friends becomes hostage to the political situation at any given moment and to swings in the electoral mood in each of the mentor countries. As the ruling coalitions in these countries change, it is always possible that friends will gradually be replaced by indifferent politicians with no qualms about leaving Ukraine in a grey zone.

In addition, after the last wave of expansion, the European Union came close to the limits of its ability to absorb new countries. Fatigue from the expansion process itself has set in and is still felt very sharply in the

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EU, forcing it to adjust its policy towards the group of friendly countries that are on its outskirts and are hoping to be able to join.

This group, in turn, contains two different types of countries: countries on the Balkan peninsula that are already engaged in the Stabilization and Association Process, which involves very specific measures intended to accelerate accession to the EU; and countries in the European Neighborhood Policy, whose "Europeanness" is not under question, but who are not being offered any real integrational prospects.

Ukraine belongs to the second group. Although such a situation cannot but raise feelings of disenchantment in the country that finds itself left on shore while the integration boat moves away, it is also not worth indulging in fatalistic thoughts about how the walls of "Fortress Europe" are becoming completely impenetrable for new aspirants.

#### Sectoral cooperation: One foot inside the EU?

In the post-expansion era, participation in subregional, sector-based organizations could provide a viable alternative to "full-scale" Eurointegration in those cases where the latter is at least temporarily, impossible. This means that Ukraine's cooperation with its European friends should be very clearly outlined, having a regional tie, being sectoral in orientation and, where possible, having a contractual basis.

Ukraine already has experience joining partner organizations on this basis, such as the subregional European Energy Community (EEC), of which the country became a full-fledged member half a year ago. It is not unreasonable to expect that, should Ukraine build proper multilateral relations with EEC members, this organization will allow the integration dynamic to keep moving forward in EU-Ukraine relations even as the process of expansion begins to come to an end.

Membership in the European Energy Community offers Ukraine an opportunity to bring its policies as close as possible to those of the EU, even if these only relate to the power sector. This kind of narrowly specialized approach places Ukraine's power sector in the forefront of integration, making it a kind of test lab for European approaches to policy-making and for adapting EU rules and procedures.

The EEC is often seen as a preliminary stage to EU accession – a pre-accession instrument. But it does not actually anticipate full policy unification between EEC member countries and the European Union, as this would require setting up a comprehensive common legislative environment in an individual sector that would then be governed by all EU legislation, including new laws.

Instead, the European Energy Community only extends to its members a series of "tried and true" EU directives in the power sector, competition rules and the environment. So, to say that EEC membership is de facto membership in the European Union's energy sector would be inaccurate. It is more like a platform for cooperation that includes the European Union's closest friends – both potential candidates for accession like the Balkans, and countries that have no such prospects for the immediate future, like Ukraine and Moldova.

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## PERSPECTIVES

BY ANDREW FEDYNSKY



## CROSSCURRENTS

by Andrew Sorokowski

### A special man from an extraordinary generation

I once wrote a column about fathers: those who loved, nurtured and raised us, and the ones we picked up along the way as advisors, mentors and inspirations. For me, one of the latter was Dr. Jaroslav Panchuk, my father-in-law and friend. He passed away the last week of October at the age of 88, a good man who provided for his wife of more than 60 years and two daughters. He also gave guidance to four grandchildren and provided a model of how to conduct your life. We're all listed as survivors in a death notice in the November 4 issue of Svoboda, alongside notices for Richard Legenckis, Mykola Lushniak, Mykola Danylyshyn and Borys Hloba. There's also an obituary for Ivanna Lutsyshyn.

And so, allow me this month to write about Jaroslav Panchuk, not only because I loved the man and admired him, but also because he belonged to a generation whose story should be told. Others have done so better than me, but not in the requisite numbers. So here's my contribution.

Jaroslav Panchuk was born in 1923 in the village of Monastyrok about 40 miles northeast of Lviv in what was then part of Poland. His parents were teachers, devout Catholics and fervent Ukrainian patriots. Most Ukrainians at the time, including Jaroslav, considered themselves to be under foreign occupation. That's why I found it amusing that his Ukrainian, as was the case with many others, was salted with Polish phrases and jests; plus, like others, he had cordial relations with Polish Americans.

Jaroslav began medical studies at the University of Lviv just before civil society was disrupted by the Soviet invasion in 1939, followed by the Nazi invasion two years later. In the wake of the ensuing catastrophe, he, with hundreds of thousands of other Ukrainians, became a refugee in post-World War II Germany. There he continued his medical studies at the University at Erlangen, only this time in German instead of his native Ukrainian or Polish.

In 1950, Jaroslav got precious permission to immigrate to the United States and the newly minted doctor – still in his late 20s – landed in New York, where he passed the exam to become a physician, only now in English. He also found time to attend social and cultural events in New York and to marry Jaroslava Slyz, while doing his residency in anesthesiology at Bellvue Hospital.

Soon the Panchuks welcomed two daughters into the world –Ruta and Chrystia – before moving to Chicago and Walton Street in the Ukrainian neighborhood near St. Nicholas Cathedral, built by an earlier wave of immigrants.

Dr. Panchuk was a busy man with a stressful job, frequently awakened in the middle of the night to rush to Edgewater Hospital to administer anesthesia to a patient needing emergency surgery after an auto accident, gun shot or similar incident. As a result, he was not much in the way of joining organizations. On the other hand, he regularly wrote checks to the church, youth organizations, the school, Harvard, Smoloskyp, Ukrainian museums and more than a dozen publications. He was also a patron of the arts, buying paintings, sculptures and recordings of dozens of Ukrainian artists and performers, and a library of books. He also supported non-Ukrainian charities: hospitals, paralyzed veterans,

Chicago cultural institutions.

His funeral was pretty much like countless others I've attended, only for this one I was in the front row next to my wife Chrystia, her mother, our two children, her sister and brother-in-law and two nieces. Behind us were family members, several of whom had flown in, and many friends.

At the parastas, priests sang the age-old requiem service ending with the mournful "Eternal Memory" and sprinkling holy water. It was gratifying that 97-year-old Bishop Innocent Lotocky led the service, paying respect to a man who had supported the church financially for more than half a century and never missed a Sunday liturgy.

We mourned, of course, but also celebrated a life. People spoke: Dr. George Charuk, head of the Ukrainian Medical Association, paid tribute to a departed colleague. So did Dr. Andriy Ripecky who dubbed his father-in-law a "one-man PR firm for Ukraine."

My wife elaborated on that: every year, her father visited Chicago's classical music stations, dropping off a recording of Ukrainian music and suggesting they play it on Ukrainian Independence Day. And they did. When Jaroslav felt Ukraine was not getting proper coverage in the Chicago Tribune, he met with "Bob," the foreign affairs expert on the editorial board, providing him with books and making the case. Sure enough, the coverage improved. When "60 Minutes" on CBS ran a horribly distorted program about Ukraine, Jaroslav picked up the phone, demanded to speak with Morley Safer – who took his call – and proceeded to set him straight.

When he noticed the Tribune Tower, whose walls are studded with stones from dozens of historic buildings like the Pyramids of Egypt, the Kremlin in Moscow and the Capitol in Washington, had nothing from Ukraine, he called his friend "Bob" to find out what had to happen to fix that and then followed up with the Ukrainian Consul in Chicago. A year later, a stone from St. Michael's Monastery in Kyiv was installed in the Tribune Tower wall. Next time you're on Michigan Avenue in Chicago, take a look.

Dr. Panchuk is now resting at St. Nicholas Cemetery surrounded by friends. Each has a story. At the funeral liturgy, Father Myron Panchuk paid touching tribute not only to his Uncle Jaroslav, but also his generation: people who fled Nazi and Communist oppression, coming to America as adults, learning a new language and joining the workforce to build America. They also worked to strengthen existing Ukrainian American institutions and build new ones, investing heart and soul to support freedom and independence for their homeland. And, by the way, they also maintained their property, paid taxes and sent their kids to college.

To see them at the supermarket or voting on Election Day, they were regular folks; yet these were extraordinary people. I want to not only remember one who was special to me, but also express my admiration for all whose death notices appear on these pages and add my condolences to family and friends who experience the same loss my wife and her family did a few weeks ago. *Vichnaya pamiat!*

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### Should history be patriotic?

Recent Internet discussions between historians like John-Paul Himka and Roman Serbyn about the Holodomor and the Holocaust have raised the question of whether Ukrainian history should be "patriotic." While this is not a concern of most professional historians, it has caught the attention of journalists, politicians, and the general public in Ukraine and the diaspora. At a time when Ukrainian historical scholarship and education are under assault, the question has taken on especial urgency.

Should history be patriotic? The question is meaningless, because history is not a person and only a person can be patriotic. History is what happened. It is also a branch of scholarship. Scholarship can only be good or bad, truthful or dishonest. When people speak of "patriotic" history, they usually mean written history, that is, historiography.

Should written history, then, be patriotic? That is, should it emphasize the positive achievements of a nation, and minimize the crimes and catastrophes? Or should it strive for objectivity?

Under circumstances of political danger from Moscow and its surrogates in Ukraine and beyond – almost a state of siege – can Ukraine "afford" objective history? Or must history be harnessed to the defense of the national cause? Many, if not most, historians would argue that historical research and writing should have no "purpose" other than discovering the truth.

But doesn't the teaching of history in schools have a national purpose? The state has an interest not only in educating its citizens about their past, but also in building patriotism: in forming citizens who love their country and are willing to defend it. A version of national history that is full of crimes and catastrophes is not likely to build patriotism. On the other hand, a people who do not understand the failures of the past cannot understand the present or effectively shape the future. Besides, whitewashed history is bland.

This issue has arisen in the United States, where some schoolteachers have been accused of undermining their pupils' patriotism by overemphasizing the genocide of the Native Americans or the evils of slavery and racism. Attempts have been made to denigrate revered figures like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson by pointing out that they were slave-owners. Is it possible for an American to remain patriotic while being conscious that there were no flawless heroes, that every positive achievement had a negative side?

Is it possible for a Ukrainian to remain patriotic while conscious that Bohdan Khmelnytsky's "revolution" involved the mass murder of Jews and Catholics? Or that a national hero like Stepan Bandera may have been an anti-Semitic fascist, and the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army may have been stained by bloody pogroms? Can Ukraine afford to publicly discuss such possibilities while the independence that such men and movements fought for is under threat?

Yet if only a country without enemies could afford true and objective history, there would be no good history at all.

Every country has enemies. The threat of Islamic terrorism has not rendered Americans incapable of dispassionate discussion of their history. One should ask, rather, whether Ukraine can afford not to have an objective history. For the suppression of open scholarly discussion would gain it no friends, and would only provide propaganda points for its enemies. Russia's attempts to whitewash its historical record, including the Soviet period, have brought it nothing but disdain from the international scholarly community.

In today's Ukraine, however, the threat to history comes from the other side. It is the heroic aspect of the liberation struggle that is being suppressed, while the regime's favorite intellectuals (notably its minister of education) harp on its alleged crimes. It is hard to imagine a country that denigrates its own history, but Ukraine is becoming just that.

What, in this perverse situation, is the task of conscientious scholars? To redress the balance by writing "patriotic" history? Or to just be good historians, dedicated to uncovering the truth about what really happened?

We have said that only individuals can be patriotic. Should historians, then, be patriots? Yes – but no more or less than anyone else. They should first of all be scholars, that is, they should seek the truth. Just as an unpatriotic surgeon may be a despicable citizen but still a good physician, so an unpatriotic historian, while personally offensive to many, can still be a good scholar. This is because patriotism has everything to do with being a good citizen, but nothing at all with being a good historian.

This is not to say that a patriot cannot be an objective historian of Ukraine – any more than a religious believer cannot be an objective historian of the Church. A patriot is one who loves his country and his people. Such a person can only desire what is best for them. And what can be better for a country and its people than the truth? A patriotic historian not only can be a good historian, but must do the utmost to become one.

But is objectivity possible? Each historian has a different perspective, which may determine the questions to be pursued, the theses to be proposed. There is a difference, however, between observing and describing facts from your point of view, and deliberately ignoring those that do not fit into some preconceived scheme. "Patriotic history" sometimes does just that. This is bias – that is, willful ignorance. But having a point of view is inevitable and harmless as long as you acknowledge the existence of other points of view and the limitations of your own in the search for truth.

"Patriotic history," in fact, can be self-defeating. If it suppresses other perspectives, it limits our understanding. It also divides us from our neighbors, who inevitably see our history differently. And it tends to isolate our historians – whether at home or abroad – from the scholarly community. Few results could be more unpatriotic.

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## RESEARCHING UKRAINIAN HISTORY

# Erroneous methods in a scholar's challenge to "Ukrainian myths"

by Roman Serbyn

### CONCLUSION

#### Lemkin's terminology

Lemkin, who in 1943 coined the term "genocide" and conceptualized the crime it connoted, and later was instrumental in getting it adopted by the U.N. General Assembly, had no difficulty in applying the U.N. definition to what happened in Ukraine. In 1953, five years after the declaration of the U.N. Convention on Genocide, and on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Great Famine, Lemkin addressed a 3,000-strong audience at the Manhattan Center in New York with an allocation titled "Soviet Genocide in Ukraine."

This Polish legal expert of Jewish origin elaborated his analysis within the parameters of the U.N. Convention. He described it as a four-pronged attack by the Communist regime against the Ukrainian nation, with the intent to destroy (1) the intelligentsia ("the national brain"), (2) the national Churches ("the soul of Ukraine"), (3) the independent peasants ("the repository of the tradition, folklore and music, the national language and literature, the national spirit of Ukraine"), and (4) the cohesion of the Ukrainian people by forced in- and out-migration with the aim of changing the republic's ethnic composition by reducing the number of ethnic Ukrainians and increasing the number of non-Ukrainians, particularly Russians.

It cannot be stressed enough that in his conceptualization of the Ukrainian genocide Lemkin avoided the "peasantist interpretation" still prevalent among both genocide deniers (Terry Martin) and genocide promoters (Norman Naimark). Instead, he treated the peasants as part of the ethnic and national group, not as a social category.

If Prof. Himka had taken Mr. Lemkin's outline and filled it with data provided by newly released Soviet documentation, he would have realized that the destruction of the Ukrainian national intelligentsia and elites of all sorts began in 1929 and 1930, with the arrests and show trial of the so-called Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU). It continued with the purges of real and imaginary "nationalists" within various state administrations, which culminated in the "great purges" of the second half of the 1930s.

A similar analysis of documentary sources shows the destruction of much of Ukrainian cultural and spiritual life (the Church, literature, scholarship, theater, language and so on).

The ethnic mixing of the population, reported by foreign observers who visited Ukraine towards the end of the Famine, is corroborated by official and other Soviet documents. If Prof. Himka had more than a tangential interest in the Holodomor, he would also be interested in the fate of the 8 million ethnic Ukrainians in the RSFSR (according to the Soviet census of 1926) who were subjected to the state policy of physical and cultural destruction. This genocidal act should be added to the Lemkin list as a fifth prong of Stalin's destructive policy towards the Ukrainian nation.

Perhaps the most bizarre and morally objectionable part of Prof. Himka's article is the reasoning behind his opposition to the

Ukrainian community's effort to secure recognition for the Ukrainian genocide. Prof. Himka does not see it as a legitimate campaign for historical justice for the victims, but rather as a political and ideological gimmick to glorify the struggle of the OUN and the UPA and blame the Jews for the Famine.

To bolster his argument he invokes irrelevant and misleading affirmations, such as the claim that the campaign "finds its greatest resonance in the area of Ukraine where there was no Famine, and in the overseas diaspora deriving from that region." First, the argument is irrelevant: the recognition of a crime as genocide is contingent on objective criteria and not on the geographical distribution of its popular support. Second, the history of the Ukrainian Genocide's affirmation is quite different from what Prof. Himka insinuates.

While taboo in Soviet Ukraine, the first promoters and pioneers of Famine studies in the diaspora in the immediate post-war decade originated from the regions where the Famine took place in central and eastern Ukraine. They were: Semen Pidhainy, Dmytro Solovei, Fedir Pigido, S. Stariv, Yar Slavutych, Vsevolod Holubnychy, Ivan Maistrenko and others; and it was the younger generation of "easterners" – Oleh Pidhainy, Marco Carynyk, and others – who were most active in researching and writing in English about the Famine.

In Soviet Ukraine in the late 1980s, during the glasnost period, it was the "eastern" survivors and their descendants who first raised the question of the Ukrainian Famine in the USSR. Since then, most of the publications on the subject in independent Ukraine have been produced by scholars and journalists whose roots are in the Holodomor-affected regions.

As for the present, stronger support in western Ukraine and the diaspora, Prof. Himka knows the historical and political reasons why and how popular memory on the Famine was dulled in the more Russified and Sovietized eastern and southern regions of Ukraine, and why it survived better in the western parts of Ukraine and the North American diaspora (which came mostly from western Ukraine).

Most of the people who have been actively promoting the recognition of the Holodomor as genocide and have embraced the heritage of Ukrainian struggle for independence against Communist Russia and Nazi Germany would probably be offended if they read Prof. Himka's insinuation against Ukrainian attitudes towards the victims of the Holodomor and the Holocaust.

There are various fringe elements in the North American Ukrainian community to whom some of Prof. Himka's reproaches should be legitimately addressed. Every community has these people, but serious scholars don't take marginal elements for the main body of the community or minority views as representative of the community. Most Ukrainians do not behave the way Prof. Himka insinuates that they do. They do not engage in "competing victimology" and are not "galled" by the fact that the widely accepted numbers for the victims of the Holodomor are lower than those of the Holocaust. They do not spout "anger at Russians and Jews" in their "genocide campaign."

Contrary to Prof. Himka's claim, the Ukrainian community has every right to "be calling on the world to empathize with the victims of the Famine." This right is unconditional, and it belongs to the victim group of every genocide or mass atrocity. To suggest, as Prof. Himka does, that it is subject to some sort of reciprocal expression of feeling

towards the victims of other criminal activity is casuistic. This is not to overlook the fact that thousands of Ukrainians helped Jews during the war (Yad Vashem attests to that).

The help that Jews received from the Ukrainian population during the war is praiseworthy. Many Ukrainians risked their lives saving or trying to save Jews. Those who hid Anne Frank in Holland were not even arrested, while Ukrainians lost their lives when caught hiding Jews. Contrary to Prof. Himka's insinuation, many if not most of the Ukrainians who "embraced the heritage of the wartime nationalists" empathize with the victims of the Holocaust.

I find Prof. Himka's opposition to "the campaign for recognition as genocide" of the Holodomor, on the pretence that it is being used to "glorify the anti-Communist resistance of the Ukrainian nationalists during World War II," a casuistic argument against recognizing the Ukrainian Genocide itself. The instrumentalization of a historical event does not change the nature of the event. The Nazis exposed Soviet crimes (the starvation of Ukrainians and the Katyn massacres of Poles) in a propaganda war against the Soviets, yet no one will now say that these crimes cannot be recognized because the Nazis used them for ideological and political purposes.

#### OUN, UPA and the Holocaust

A fundamental methodological flaw in Prof. Himka's discussion of the OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust is his failure to distinguish between history and myth, and then to see their respective roles in the Ukrainian heritage of World War II. Had he done so, he might have come up with a more nuanced and more truthful rendering of the events and of the safeguarding of their memory by the Ukrainian community.

As a Holocaust scholar, Prof. Himka must be well versed in the literature on the role of heritage in the Jewish tradition. "History tells [...] how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose" (Beth S. Wenger, "History Lessons: The Creation of American Jewish Heritage," p. 19, quoting David Lowenthal). History has a duty to discover and explain the past in a truthful way; the goal of myths is to fashion desired attitudes about the past for the future. We evaluate history by its adherence to veracity; myths are judged by their usefulness and their morality – by the righteousness of the cause they advocate. History sins by commission and omission; myths cannot be blamed for what they do not say.

It is in the nature of national heritage, composed of history and myths, to elevate and idealize the past. There is nothing wrong, Prof. Himka's claim notwithstanding, with "glorifying the anti-Communist resistance of the Ukrainian nationalists during World War II." It is right to praise people who sacrificed their lives for national independence and freedom from foreign tyranny. It would be wrong only if the glorification discourse contained malevolent messages.

Prof. Himka complains: "Defenders of the mythical history often circulate fabricated memoirs of a non-existent Jewish woman who served in UPA." Yet, there is nothing wrong with the idea of a Jewish woman serving in the UPA; as part of Ukrainian mythology it promotes positive Ukrainian Jewish relations. Verification of veracity belongs to the discipline of history not the domain of mythology. The point is that, rather than calling the story "mythical history," one should distinguish whether it is presented as a mythical or historical discourse, and

then evaluate it accordingly. If the story is presented as history and is then proven to be a fabrication, it should be rejected as historical falsification.

Prof. Himka criticizes President Yushchenko for embracing the "OUN-UPA-Holodomor" identity and pushing it on the Ukrainian public. What Prof. Himka fails to see is that the Ukrainian politician was attempting positive heritage-making. We are dealing here with what can be called consolidation myths. Since the break-up of the Soviet Union two basic myths have been operating in Ukraine, seeking to consolidate post-Soviet formations according to opposing principles.

One is centered in Russia but enjoys strong support among pro-Russian segments of Ukrainian society. This myth promotes the idea of a common "Russian world" (russkii mir), of which the Ukrainians are supposed to be an integral part even if, for the time being, Ukraine and Russia are separated by what the myth holds as "artificial" state boundaries. The most aggressive promoters of the "Russian World" idea are the Russian state authorities (see the speeches at the Vladimir conference on the upcoming celebrations of the 1,150th anniversary of the foundation of Russian statehood at <<http://news.kremlin.ru/news/12075>>). Its most vocal and outspoken advocate is the patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church (see the visit of Patriarch Kirill to Kyiv to celebrate the 1,023d anniversary of the baptism of "Russia" at <<http://english.ruvr.ru/2011/07/29/53902761.html>>).

Among the ideological underpinnings of this myth are: the idea of a common historical experience, stretching from Kyivan Rus' to the "Great Fatherland War" of 1941-1945, the Russian language that everyone understands in Ukraine, and the Orthodox Church, which necessarily must be under the Moscow patriarch.

At the beginning of his term in office, President Yushchenko tried to counter this imperialist myth encroachment on Ukrainian sovereignty by promoting Ukraine-unifying myths founded on specifically Ukrainian traditions and historical experiences.

One was to be the Holodomor, or the man-made Famine of the 1930s that decimated Ukraine and whose memory has survived in all parts of Ukraine. The other component of the projected integrating myth was the movement for national liberation, embodied by the OUN and the UPA, whose members and supporters fought against both totalitarian empires – Hitler's Third Reich and Stalin's Soviet Union.

What is often overlooked is the fact that Mr. Yushchenko's recognition of the UPA was not in opposition or to the detriment of the veterans of the Red Army. His ambition was to reconcile the veterans of the Red Army and the UPA. This fostering of a shared Ukrainian heritage was a noble one. What Mr. Yushchenko can be reproached for is not having brought into the project the Ukrainian veterans of the Waffen SS Division Halychyna and other units of the armed forces of the Axis powers. Even this limited project did not succeed because of insufficient understanding and support within Ukrainian society, especially among its ruling elites.

After just one term in office, President Yushchenko lost the presidential elections. This was a serious blow to the historical heritage that his administration was promoting. Prof. Himka suggests that the defeat had something to do with a divided historical

(Continued on page 18)

Roman Serbyn, Ph.D., is a professor of history at the University of Quebec in Montreal. He is editor of *Holodomor Studies*, a semi-annual publication, and is still active in research on the Ukrainian genocide of the 1930s.



## “DP TO DC” CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO

# The Displaced Persons Act of 1948: It almost didn't happen

by Myron B. Kuropas

*Below is the text of remarks delivered by Myron B. Kuropas, Ph.D., at the “DP to DC” conference at the Ukrainian National Museum in Chicago on November 6. The conference was held in conjunction with the opening of the exhibit “From DP to DC, Displaced Persons: A Story of Ukrainian Refugees in Europe 1945-1952,” which runs through January 31, 2012.*

When World War II ended, Ukraine was in ruins. “No single European country,” wrote war correspondent Edgar Snow in 1945, “suffered deeper wounds to its cities, its industries and its humanity.”

Some 6.8 million Ukrainians perished, including 3.9 million civilians, 1.3 million military dead, as well as slave laborers. The war destroyed over 700 Ukrainian cities and towns and some 28,000 villages. “The whole titanic struggle which some are so apt to dismiss as ‘the Russian glory,’” concluded Snow, “was first of all a Ukrainian war.”

By the end of September 1945, the Western allies and the Soviets claimed to have some 14 million displaced persons under their care, of which 7.2 million were Soviet citizens. They included forced laborers, which the Germans had collected during the war, as well as POWs, “refuseniks” (those who refused to return to their homelands), military collaborators and those who were ultimately repatriated.

Most of the non-returnees, some 52 percent, were Ukrainians who had fled Ukraine with the German retreat. Most were living in displaced persons (DP) camps administered by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). Few of them were aware that their fate had been decided at Yalta earlier in the year.

On February 11, 1945, the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union had signed a reciprocal agreement guaranteeing the return of all displaced Allied nationals. This included all Ukrainians who were living in the USSR prior to September 1, 1939. This excluded, of course, all Ukrainians who had resided in Polish-governed Halychyna (Galicia) and Volynia.

The Soviets took the position that all Soviet citizens who found themselves in Germany and Austria were anxious to return to the joys of living in the USSR. Those who refused, Moscow argued, were Nazi collaborators. The New York Times agreed. Those who do not wish to return, the Times argued on January 24, 1945, were “collaborationists who have no claims on the sympathies of Russia’s western allies.” The UNRRA director in the American zone of occupation agreed, declaring that the “anti-repatriation groups are not the product of democratic processes, but are rather the remnants of pre-war regimes that reflect Nazi and fascist concepts.”

Worried that they would be forced to care for millions of refugees during the upcoming winter, the U.S. military command in Germany initiated what came to be called “Operation Keelhaul,” and forcibly repatriated thousands of Ukrainians to the Soviet zone of Germany.

NKVD officers had roamed the DP camps identifying those who should be repatriated. Refugees were dragged kicking and screaming to trucks. Some hanged themselves. Others rammed their heads through windows to sever their necks;

some bit each other’s jugular veins.

Once in the Soviet zone, many were summarily executed. Others were placed into box cars and shipped to the gulag. Alexander Solzhenitsyn called this operation “the last great secret of World War II.”

How do we know all this? Julius Epstein published a book titled “Operation Keelhaul” in 1973. Nikolai Tolstoy described this atrocity in his book “Victims of Yalta” in 1977. Tolstoy was later sued for libel by Lord Aldington, a Communist sympathizer, over war crimes allegations that Tolstoy had made in his book. Tolstoy lost the case in Great Britain, but the award against him was later overturned by the European Court of Human Rights.

One wonders. Why did the Allies participate in forced repatriation?

Two reasons are usually offered. They wanted to honor agreements reached with the Soviets at Yalta, agreements Stalin openly ignored. There was also the fear that the Soviets would refuse to repatriate some 5,000 Allied soldiers being held in the Soviet Union. Even so, Stalin never did return most of these military hostages. They died in the gulag along with those who were forcibly repatriated.

Allied commander Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower was appalled by developments in Germany and ordered an end to forced repatriation on September 4, 1945.

On September 6, however, U.S. authorities attempted to move some 600 Ukrainians and others from Mannheim to a DP center in Stuttgart. Believing they were headed for the Soviet zone, the refugees rioted, an event which made national news in the U.S.

This prompted Congresswoman Clare Booth Luce to later ask the War and State Departments regarding the Yalta Agreement and “our common understanding here of the kind of freedom for which our soldiers fought.” Forced repatriation was effectively over, but the future of Ukrainian DPs was still up in the air. It would remain that way for the next three years.

In the United States, meanwhile, the Ukrainian American community was just recovering from a 10-year long Soviet-engineered defamation campaign. Responding to these attacks, the FBI had investigated the Ukrainian National Association (UNA) and other Ukrainian organizations, such as the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (ODVU), for supposedly having Nazi ties. The House Un-American Activities Committee held hearings regarding these allegations in Washington. Obiednannia (United Ukrainian Organizations of America), the Ukrainian umbrella organization, was forced to disband. A new umbrella organization, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), was established in 1940. The defamation campaign continued, unabated, however.

The future of Ukrainians refugees was a major topic of discussion at the second convention of the UCCA in 1944. The delegates passed a resolution stating that it was absolutely essential that the UCCA organize a purely humanitarian and apolitical Ukrainian relief committee for war victims and refugees.

This was done at the first UCCA executive committee meeting in March 1945. A three-person committee, which included Svoboda Editor-in-Chief Luke Myshuha, Longin Cehelsky and Olena Shtogryn was created. Traveling to Washington in April to seek assistance from UNRRA officials, com-



Dr. Myron B. Kuropas speaks on the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

mittee members learned that UNRRA only worked with organizations that were approved by the Council of American Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Services and were recognized by the president’s Relief Board.

They were also told that, since UNRRA served all refugees, they couldn’t guarantee that assistance earmarked specifically for Ukrainians would be forthcoming. Finally, all food, clothing and monies sent overseas by American voluntary agencies required prior approval from the U.S. State Department. What we know now is that, at the time, the State Department was infiltrated with Communist spies and sympathizers.

A final problem for the UCCA commission was the Soviet demand that all assistance to Soviet citizens be channeled through Russian War Relief, an agency under Moscow’s control. Commission members learned that the American Red Cross had already sent some \$20 million to the Soviet Union, most of it earmarked for Ukraine. There was no way to determine if the relief funds ever reached the people of Ukraine.

In June 1944, the UCCA established the Ukrainian American Relief Committee headed by Dr. Walter Gallan. At about the same time a second relief committee was formed in Michigan under the leadership of John Panchuk. Once Panchuk learned that all donations would have to go through Russian War Relief, however, he decided to meld his organization with the UCCA. A unity conference was held in October and the result was the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC).

Ukrainian Communists in the United States were monitoring all UCCA activities on behalf of their masters in Moscow. Ukrayinski Schodenni Visti, the Communist daily, accused Ukrainians in the nationalist camp of engaging in “racketeering.” At the same time, members of Russian War Relief complained to the White House that Ukrainians in the United States were planning to raise funds to assist Nazi war criminals and collaborators who had fled with the Germans in order to escape Soviet justice.

Meanwhile, letters were appearing in Svoboda, America and Narodna Volya from refugees and Ukrainian American military personnel stationed in Germany, explaining the nature of forced repatriation.

The UCCA published a 31-page brochure titled “Plight of Ukrainian DPs,” explaining

why Ukrainians refused to return to the Soviet “worker’s paradise.” The UCCA appealed to all “Americans of good conscience” to intercede on behalf of the freedom-loving Ukrainians in Europe who were fleeing Soviet oppression.

Panchuk penned a letter to various U.S. government officials in which he wrote:

“In the ordinary course of events, the resettlement of displaced persons into the country of their origin would go unquestioned. President Roosevelt and Marshall Stalin anticipated the repatriation of war-torn populations and made it a subject of agreement providing for mutual repatriation of Americans found in the Soviet zone of occupation, and of Soviet citizens found in the American zone.

As subsequent events proved, however, the vast majority of Ukrainians – whose melancholy destiny was the subject of barter at Yalta without their knowledge or consent – did not welcome the ‘agreement’ for their repatriation to the Soviet Union. When one recalls that Russia’s claim to them rests upon the military occupation of their homeland, forceful annexation, confiscation of their lands and property, and ruthless subjugation, their determined unwillingness to comply with repatriation is understandable.

The U.S. War Department’s reply to all such inquiries was that “Ukrainian displaced persons are not being repatriated to their countries of origin unless they so desire.” Among the exceptions noted were “those who on the basis of reasonable evidence have been found to be collaborators with the enemy, having voluntarily rendered aid and comfort to the enemy.”

Still determined to undermine the Ukrainian relief effort, the Ukrainian American Fraternal Union – known as Orden – a Communist front, sent a letter to the State Department on November 21, 1945, protesting Ukrainian activities. On June 25, 1946, the Ukrainian American League, another Communist organization, sent a similar letter to the State Department protesting all efforts to assist Ukrainian “war criminals,” “quislings” and “collaborators posing as displaced persons and refugees.”

The UUARC, meanwhile, continued to work on behalf of Ukrainian displaced persons. On July 28, 1945, the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau was established in London with the cooperation of UUARC

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# International conference focuses on reviving economic freedom in Ukraine

by Andriy Tsintsiruk

U.S.-Ukraine Business Council

WASHINGTON – “Ukraine has all pre-conditions to become an economic leader in Eastern Europe using its rich natural resources, educated workforce and advantageous geographic location at the crossroad of major trade routes between Europe and Eurasia,” said the Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States, Olexander Motsyk, at an international business conference organized recently by the Heritage Foundation and the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council (USUBC) in Washington. Over 175 participants attended the conference.

The conference’s speakers emphasized that Ukraine’s global economic integration and securing its rightful place among free, democratic and prosperous nations should be an important American foreign policy priority. The rebirth and advancement of economic freedom in Ukraine could have a positive impact not only on Eastern Europe, but also on Russia and other post-Soviet states.

Achieving this desirable outcome, however, will require the government of Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich to implement long-delayed structural and legal reforms aimed at establishing a stronger free market democracy and getting Ukraine fully open for business.

Opening the international conference, “Reviving Economic Growth and Freedom in Ukraine,” on September 16, the president of U.S.-Ukraine Business Council, Morgan Williams, stated: “On the 20th anniversary of Ukraine’s independence, Ukraine is faced with one of the most important tasks, which is moving the country forward to economic freedom, because without economic freedom Ukraine is not going to have adequate international investments, experience higher economic growth, job creation and build a strong middle class.” Mr. Williams is the Washington representative of the SigmaBleyzer private equity investment firm.

A former prime minister of Ukraine, Anatoliy Kinakh, one of the leading private sector advocates for economic freedom in Ukraine who currently serves as president of the Ukrainian League of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, made a presentation titled: “Moving Ukraine Forward Through



Ukraine’s former Prime Minister Anatoliy Kinakh speaks. Seated at the table (from left) are: Ambassador Olexander Motsyk, former Vice Prime Minister for Agrarian Policy Leonid Kozachenko, Jim Roberts and Ariel Cohen of the Heritage Foundation.

Needed Economic Reforms.”

“Despite all complications that Ukraine is currently experiencing, the historical direction of the transition has been toward free market system and away from centrally planned economy. We know that progress for economic growth and progress for democracy go hand in hand. Ukraine has chosen an irreversible path toward democratic, modern, and free market state,” said Mr. Kinakh, who is a member of the Ukrainian Parliament.

“For the Ukrainian economy to develop more efficiently, the government must adopt a strategic approach to implementing free market economic reforms such that would gradually encourage international trade and attract more FDI [foreign direct investment]. Currently, flows of trade and FDI are far below their potential level given Ukraine’s dynamic, well-educated population, proximity to the European Union markets, and abundant natural resources,” Mr. Kinakh told the conference.

“Given Ukraine’s large amounts of fertile land, Ukraine has a potential to become one of the world’s largest food providers, if the government moves forward with the legal and regulatory reform necessary to allow Ukraine’s agricultural sector to operate according to international standards, be competitive, attract more investment and improve its productivity,” said Leonid Kozachenko, president of the Ukrainian Agrarian Confederation and former vice-

prime minister for agrarian policy.

Mr. Kozachenko and other speakers at the conference stressed that, to increase private investment, the protection of private property rights must be significantly improved in Ukraine through the legal system and by the government taking stronger measures against corporate raidership.

James Roberts, research fellow for Economic Freedom and Growth at the Heritage Foundation, and Andriy Tsintsiruk, assistant director of government relations and communications at the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council, published an economic policy report, “Ukraine Needs an Economic Freedom ‘Reset’” in which the authors outlined current challenges and opportunities in Ukraine’s post-Soviet economic transition. (The text of the report will appear in next week’s issue of *The Ukrainian Weekly*.)

As a joint publication of the Heritage Foundation and U.S.-Ukraine Business Council, the report was presented at the international conference and called on the government of Ukraine to move forward with the implementation of free-market economic reforms necessary to unlock the country’s economic potential.

The report emphasized the long-term positive implications for Ukraine if Kyiv concludes a trade association agreement (DCFTA) with the European Union, which could serve as an external “framework provider” for the creation of

domestic institutions that promote effective and transparent economic regulations in Ukraine.

Conference organizers emphasized that, as one of the largest investors in Ukraine, the U.S. has real economic and geopolitical interests in Ukraine’s future. The 20th anniversary of Ukraine’s independence marks an important occasion for the West and offers a good opportunity to the U.S. to re-focus on the country, especially as it seeks to revive its economy, raise the standard of living for its citizens, and integrate with global economy.

The U.S. has already invested significantly in Ukraine’s democratic future and economic integration with the West since the collapse of the Soviet Union by supporting Ukraine’s efforts to transition to a free-market economy and providing tangible economic assistance through direct channels and through international organizations.

U.S. and EU foreign policymakers should develop a cohesive long-term approach toward Ukraine that recognizes its strategic role on the border between Western Europe and Eurasia.

The conference concluded that U.S. foreign policy decision-makers should send strong signals of concern to Kyiv about the level of economic freedom in Ukraine and continue providing support to Ukrainian organizations that are committed to democracy, free markets, and Euro-Atlantic integration.

## After tough meeting...

(Continued from page 1)

Lukianivka detention facility where she is jailed.

Mr. Yanukovich said he had been in contact with the procurator general and relevant ministries about Ms. Tymoshenko’s health. “I was informed that the system [of medical treatment in jail]... is not up to the required standards. So this treatment or medical services will have to be provided in medical institutions in Kyiv, in the coming days, either today or tomorrow,” he said, according to Reuters.

Nina Karpachova, the Ukrainian Parliament’s human rights ombudsperson who visited Ms. Tymoshenko in jail, was quoted on November 21 by Channel 5 TV as saying that the 50-year-old former prime minister was in poor health and had been unable to move from her bed in her cell.

Ms. Tymoshenko was sentenced to seven years in prison last month after being found guilty of abuse of office while prime minister, in a trial she and EU leaders said was politically motivated.

Before the Tymoshenko trial, Kyiv had been hoping to conclude deals on associa-

tion and free trade with the EU. But relations have soured over the trial. The European Union has called for Ukraine to free Ms. Tymoshenko, who says her trial and sentencing are revenge by Mr. Yanukovich, who narrowly beat her in the presidential election in February 2010.

Ukrainian officials privately told Reuters that the decision to prosecute the opposition leader was driven by the president’s personal dislike of Ms. Tymoshenko, whose key role in the Orange Revolution street protests in 2004 doomed his first bid for the presidency.

Meanwhile, in Kyiv on November 22, on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the beginning of the Orange Revolution, hundreds of protesters defied a court ban of mass gatherings, issued in response to a petition by the Kyiv City State Administration. Independence Square – the famous Maidan that was the epicenter of the Orange Revolution – was cordoned off by municipal authorities.

November 22 was designated in 2005 by then President Viktor Yushchenko as Freedom Day, to be celebrated annually in light of the “historic significance of the revolutionary events of autumn 2004.”

Source: Reuters, Ukrinform.

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## Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund “Closing its Doors” After 22 Years

The Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund is announcing the closing of its doors on February 14, 2012 – exactly 22 years, to the day, since the organization began with its first medical airlift – thus, concluding its humanitarian mission and medical programs in Ukraine.

When the first airlift landed in Kyiv on Valentine’s Day, February 14, 1990, CCRDF began its determined journey to bring hope to the children who were confronting the effects of the world’s worst nuclear disaster. Each year the magnitude of the relief efforts grew, further

reinforcing the Foundation’s focus on providing life-saving programs for Ukraine’s youngest patients.

The Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund’s achievements are unprecedented and unmatched in Ukraine. Countless lives have been saved in its 22 year history of infusing partner hospitals with state-of-the-art equipment, supplies and medications, and supplementing the aid by organizing medical conferences, training doctors, and translating, printing, and distributing textbooks in the disciplines of neonatology, perinatology, pediatric

oncology, and infant cardiology and cardiac surgery.

The advanced technology, medical education exchanges, and distribution of vital medicine stimulated other organizations, foundations, philanthropists, businesses, and Ukraine’s government to take an active approach to improving the healthcare system in Ukraine. This is one of the most important legacies CCRDF leaves behind.

It is impossible to speak of the Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund’s tremendous impact

without mentioning the support of tens of thousands of donors from the United States, Canada, Ukraine, and other countries who believe in the Foundation’s mission. To all of you, **“thank you”** – your generosity has given hope to an entire generation of Ukrainians.

Before the Fund closes its doors, the last gift to the children will be a **comprehensive telemedicine program to bring Ukraine’s healthcare into the 21st century** by providing cutting-edge medical technology which will facilitate real-time visual-consultations with doctors in the global network.

## Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund Launches Final Program – Telemedicine



*“Telemedicine is an invaluable tool in healthcare because it facilitates an instant exchange of information between medical communities and leading global medical institutions for the benefit of patients.”*



The Children of Chernobyl Relief and Development Fund is proud to announce the establishment of its final legacy in the medical field – the introduction of an expansive telemedicine program in Ukraine. CCRDF chose this program because it is the best investment we can make for the future of Ukraine - launching it into the 21st century and broadening the opportunities for quality healthcare for patients by connecting doctors and hospitals to the global network of leading medical institutions.

In February 2011, CCRDF piloted a telemedicine project in Kherson Regional Children’s Clinical Hospital. Cardiologist Dr. Tamila Kozina of the Kherson Hospital says, “Thanks to the

donated telemedicine equipment, our hospital has become a leader in the diagnosis and treatment of pediatric heart diseases. In the first seven months, 39 patients with congenital heart defects were consulted online; 13 critical patients were transported and underwent operations in the Ukrainian Children’s Cardiac Center in Kyiv. Further, telemedicine allows our specialists to participate in weekly cardiac conferences that take place at the Kyiv cardiac center.”

Dr. Zenon Matkiwsky explains the process of how the innovative program works, “Using precision probes, the ultrasound captures the image of the pediatric patient’s beating heart, abdomen,

brain, or the pregnant woman’s developing fetus. Then, the telemedicine software and equipment transfer the defined image via high-speed internet to any location in the world for an instant consultation.”

In September, following the pilot project in Kherson, CCRDF nominated seven doctors from our partner hospitals to participate in a two week medical education program. This Open World program, administered by American Councils and sponsored by the U.S. government, allowed the Ukrainian doctors to familiarize themselves with telemedicine at leading U.S. hospitals.

CCRDF plans to implement the final

program in 13 select partner hospitals throughout Ukraine: Chernihiv, Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kharkiv, Kherson, Kyiv, Lutsk, Lviv, Poltava, Rivne, and Volodymyrets. The fulfillment of the program will include the purchase, installment, and training of doctors on the essential pieces of equipment, specifically the ultrasound with its multiple probes and the computer, high-tech screen, and audio system.

To maximize the potential of this far-reaching program, we invite you to make one final tax-deductible contribution to CCRDF by January 31, 2012. 100% of your gift will be added to the funds already earmarked for the completion of the telemedicine program.

Please visit us at [www.ccrdf.org](http://www.ccrdf.org) to view the 22 year CCRDF timeline.

# THANK YOU to all the members, staff, and volunteers who helped to accomplish CCRDF's mission - to save the lives of children in Ukraine.



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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

has their support. ...Despite this uncertain outlook, the issue that unites Ukrainians most is the prospect of European integration. Given Europe's current problems one might ask why? Because we share Europe's democratic values and desperately want fair rules of the game." He explained that his Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform unites supporters of European democratic values and those who put the interests of their country above their own. "Our agenda is simple and one I learned early on as a sportsman — we are committed to playing by the rules. ... When Ukraine declared its independence in 1991, I had just become an adult. Twenty years later, my generation has shown that, with hard work and playing by the rules, we can live honestly and in comfort. My mission is to unite my compatriots and show that the commitment to democracy and free markets,

which united us during the Orange Revolution, outweighs the cynical and greedy temptation of money and power that has infected Ukraine. I'm confident that we will change Ukraine from within. I want to count on Brussels' support for our mission to make our neighborhood democratic, free and anchored in Europe." (klichko.org)

### Klitschko not allowed to visit Yulia

KYIV – According to November 21 news reports, a court has turned down a request of the UDAR (Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform) party leader Vitali Klitschko to visit former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and former Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Lutsenko in the Lukianivka detention center. During a panel discussion titled "European International Prospects of Ukraine within the Context of the Adoption of the New Law on Elections," Mr. Klitschko said that he had submitted his request to Kyiv's Pechersky District Court the previous week. Ms. Tymoshenko has been imprisoned since August 5. (Interfax-Ukraine)

### EBRD invests in Ukrainian projects

KYIV – The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) invested 830 million euros in Ukrainian projects in 2011, EBRD Director and Country Manager for Ukraine Andre Kuusvek told reporters on November 21. "We have had the pace of financing since 2008 of about 1 billion euros annually. Sometimes it was higher and sometimes lower, but projects worth about 1 billion euros are signed every year. This year, we have currently signed 830 million euros [worth of projects], and this means that there are some projects that are at the final stage of preparation. And, perhaps, by the end of the year, this amount will again reach 1 billion euros," he said. Mr. Kuusvek noted that in 2011 there were more projects in the corporate sector. "In other words, mainly in industry and agriculture, and the number of such projects was much greater than last year," he explained. The EBRD's senior banker, Alexander Pavlov, said that the size of the bank's investment in Ukraine's financial sector in 2012 would reach \$200 million to \$300 million. "About a third of that amount is trade financing, and the rest are lines of medium-term lending to small- and medium-sized businesses and the financing of energy-efficiency projects," he noted. Mr. Pavlov said that the total amount of funds that the EBRD will invest in Ukraine – about 1 billion euros – should remain at the same level next year as in the current year. "There will definitely be no significant reduction. The operational strategy will not change. We see no reason to change anything, because our task is to finance private business, which will require huge resources. As commercial banks will apparently continue to lend very weakly, then the demand for our funding will only increase. Therefore, we see no need to cut [the funding], and we would be happy to invest more. It all depends on how positive or negative the situation in the economy is," he added. (Ukrinform)

ing security in Europe, and had not contributed to the development of its relations with the European Union and the United States. The situation improved only in relations with Russia. Experts were split in their opinion on domestic political stability. From February 2010 to October 2011, most experts noted the absence of reliable external guarantees of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. Over this period, experts most often described Ukraine as a European state with weak influence, searching for its place in the world. At the same time, a significant number of experts described Ukraine as a state in a "buffer zone" between Europe and Asia. The results of the survey, conducted on October 10-14, showed that the number of those who consider Ukraine as a country under the influence of Russia had significantly increased. The Razumkov Center questioned 80 experts, including national deputies, representatives of central and regional government agencies, public and private research institutions in Kyiv and the regions in Ukraine, and the media. (Ukrinform)

### Ombudsperson: Yulia in critical condition

KYIV – The condition of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko is extremely critical and she needs to be treated outside of prison, Verkhovna Rada Commissioner for Human Rights Nina Karpachova told Channel 5 TV on November 21. "During my unannounced visit to the jail, I also visited Yulia Tymoshenko and the two other women in the cell. Ms. Tymoshenko's condition is extremely grave, and she could not get out of bed when talking to me. She needs an examination and treatment outside of the detention center. Also, I think it is absolutely impossible to conduct investigations in the cell of the detention center, and this is the only recorded instance of this occurring since Ukraine's independence," the ombudswoman stressed. The State Penitentiary Service of Ukraine reported that a commission composed of leading experts of the Ministry of Health of Ukraine on November 7 and 9 had examined Ms. Tymoshenko's health and noted no medical indications that should prevent ongoing investigations of the opposition leader. Earlier, National Deputy Natalia Korolevska of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc-Batkivschyna had appealed to Ms. Karpachova, asking her to immediately intervene on behalf of Ms.

(Continued on page 15)

### Experts on Ukraine's non-aligned status

KYIV – The declaration by Ukraine of its non-aligned status has not generally improved the situation in key foreign policy areas, according to a survey of experts conducted by the Razumkov Center and released on November 21. Most respondents said they were confident that this step had not strengthened the country's security, had not improved its image, had not strengthened Ukraine's influence on ensur-

## CCRDF says...

(Continued from page 1)

its final project: a comprehensive telemedicine program that, according to a news release from the organization, aims "to bring Ukraine's healthcare into the 21st century." The project, whose cost is estimated at \$620,000, will connect 13 hospitals across Ukraine by providing the latest medical technology to facilitate real-time visual consultations with doctors in a global network.

CCRDF, which is based in Whippany, N.J., but has an office in the Ukrainian capital, intends to implement its final project in hospitals located in Chernihiv, Chernivtsi, Donetsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kherson, Kyiv, Lutsk, Lviv, Poltava, Rivne and Volodymyrets.

CCRDF is seeking tax-deductible contributions by January 31, 2012, and notes that 100 percent of these donations will be added to the funds already earmarked for the completion of the telemedicine program.

CCRDF will complete its mission exactly 22 years after its first medical air-

lift – an Antonov-124 cargo plane filled with over 93 tons of humanitarian cargo – left for Ukraine from New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport on February 10, 1990. (See The Ukrainian Weekly issue of February 18, 1990, which may be accessed via the archives on [www.ukrweekly.com](http://www.ukrweekly.com).)

The organization, which developed from the Rukh Fund established to assist the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova (known as Rukh), was founded in 1989 as the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund with the goal of providing assistance to the young victims of the 1986 nuclear disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine.

Through the years, with the assistance of tens of thousands of donors and scores of volunteers, CCRDF has brought more than \$63 million worth of medical assistance in the form of medicines, supplies and equipment to Ukraine. It has also organized many medical conferences, arranged for the training of physicians, and provided for the translation and publication of textbooks and other materials in various medical specialties.

For further information readers may log on to [www.ccrdf.org](http://www.ccrdf.org).

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 14)

Tymoshenko, whose rights were being violated by the wardens of the Lukianivsky detention facility. The opposition drew Ms. Karpachova's attention to the fact that party members, lawyers and relatives of Ms. Tymoshenko were not able to visit her due to a sharp deterioration of her health. However, "there are no contraindications" for investigators and investigation. The Pechersky District Court in Kyiv on October 11 had sentenced Ms. Tymoshenko to seven years in prison, with no right to hold public office for three years, on abuse of office charges in signing gas agreements with Russia. The Kyiv Court of Appeals will consider an appeal of the "gas case" against Ms. Tymoshenko on December 13. Other cases brought by the state against Ms. Tymoshenko are ongoing. (Ukrinform)

### U.S. citizens adopt Ukrainian children

KYIV – A total of 632 children from Ukraine were adopted by U.S. citizens during the 2011 fiscal year (from October 1, 2010, to September 30 of this year). This is a 40 percent increase over the previous year's number of 450 children. These data are contained in the annual report on intercountry adoption issued by the U.S. Department of State and released on November 18. U.S. citizens over the past year adopted 9,320 children. On the list of more than 100 countries, Ukraine holds fifth place in terms of the number of adoptions this year, after China (2,589), Ethiopia (1,727), Russia (970) and South Korea (736). According to generalized statistics from the U.S. Department of State, for the period of 1999-2010, U.S. citizens adopted 8,249 Ukrainian children (4,130 boys and 4,119 girls). Most of them were adopted at 1 to 2 years of age (3,195) and 5 to 12 years of age (2,802). Children less than a year old and ages 13 to 17 numbered 500 and 590 adoptions, respectively. The highest number of Ukrainian children was adopted in 2002, with a recorded 1,094 adoptions. (Ukrinform)

### Kyiv among best cities for shopping

KYIV – Kyiv has joined the list of 33 major cities in Europe in terms of the number of purchases made by foreign tourists, and took 27th place in the list. The study was conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) with the support of Global Blue, a world expert in the field of international shopping, and released on November 18. The Ukrainian capital demonstrated serious results in the "convenience" category because of the high likelihood of receiving discounts on purchases and extended working hours of stores. According to these indices, the Ukrainian capital ranked first and second, respectively. Kyiv received low scores in the "hotels and transport" category, mainly because of the limited number of four- and five-star hotels. (Ukrinform)

### Government plans to reduce state debt

KYIV – The Ukrainian government is planning to considerably reduce the state debt in 2012, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov said at a meeting of the economic press club on November 14. According to Mr. Azarov, in 2007 the ratio of the state debt to GDP was 12 percent, while in 2009 it rose to 36 percent. "In other words, the state debt grew over two years by 24 percentage points. Over those one and a half years, while servicing such an unprecedented debt, we have increased it only by 7 percent," the prime minister underscored. In 2012 the government is planning to achieve a deficit of between 2.5 percent and 3 percent, Mr. Azarov said. Over the last one and a half years the government considerably reduced the state budget deficit, from 18 percent in

2009 to about 4 percent this year. "The main task of the government now is to stop the 'debt pyramid' and to fulfill its obligations at the expense of enhanced economic growth," Mr. Azarov emphasized. As reported, as of the beginning of October, the state debt amounted to 365.5 billion hrv, which is equal 36 percent of forecasted GDP. (Ukrinform)

### Economists on Greek scenario in Ukraine

KYIV – The International Monetary Fund's demand to increase gas tariffs for households is a more complex decision for Ukrainian authorities than pension reform, Volodymyr Sidenko, a fellow of the Institute for Economics and Forecasting at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (NASU), said at a press conference on October 27. He said that taking into account the proximity of parliamentary elections, the authorities would do their best to resist such a decision, because such a move would be perceived by the public as unambiguously negative. Mr. Sidenko recalled that many Ukrainian citizens have the example of Greece, where attempts to reduce social guarantees and shift some responsibility for emergence from a crisis onto the shoulders of ordinary citizens had resulted in serious social protests that are leading to significant economic losses. Therefore, the expert did not rule out that the reaction of Ukrainians to an increase in gas tariffs could be similar to that in Greece. Mr. Sidenko suggested that Ukraine had the opportunity to abandon the next tranche of an IMF loan, but then it would be necessary to resort to other measures. He said Ukraine could not resort to the devaluation of its currency. "In my opinion, this path is closed in our country, although the currency may devalue independently, because the government will not be able to keep it. Then there remain two options: to seek assistance from Russia or from China. Russia is the Belarusian scenario, and I will not comment on it. We must also realize that China is also an interesting country and it will not make financial investments without getting any benefits. It's hard to predict which path the government will choose," the expert said. (Ukrinform)

### China to finance construction of port

KYIV – A delegation of the Crimean government during a visit to Beijing reached an agreement on November 11 with the China National Technical Import & Export Corp. (CNTIC) on the construction of a commercial port on Donuzlav Lake. Rustam Temirgaliyev, a member of the Crimean Supreme Soviet's Presidium who participated in negotiations jointly with Crimean Parliament Vice-Chair Kateryna Yurchenko and Crimean Regional Development Agency Director Oleksii Starodubov, said the total volume of investments in the project is over \$1 billion. The Chinese party considers construction of the modern port in Crimea as a most important strategic project, allowing the Chinese economy, the world's second largest, to arrange logistics for the supply of Chinese goods to Eastern Europe through Crimea. "For the Crimean economy it is a great chance, thousands of jobs, an impetus for the whole construction industry and multimillion revenues for the budget," Mr. Temirgaliyev noted. In October of last year, the Council of Ministers of Crimea had approved the draft state program Development of Transport-Road Complex of Crimea for 2011-2020. The program envisages the transfer of the cargo portion of the Yevpatoria commercial seaport to Donuzlav Lake, where the infrastructure will be set up for freighter ferries and a container terminal will be built. (Ukrinform)

### High-speed train service for Euro-2012

KYIV – Following the launch of high-speed train service between Euro-2012 host

cities, the distance between Kyiv and Lviv could be covered within four and a half hours, said Vice Prime Minister and Infrastructure Minister Borys Kolesnikov in an interview with the Lviv newspaper Express on November 11. He said that after the construction of the four stadiums and terminals at four airports in the host cities is completed, the main task for the first half of 2012 is the launching of high-speed train service among host cities. "In 2012, Ukrainian railways will experience considerable improvement. Euro-2012 host cities will get a high-speed service," the official

boasted. The second task, as noted by Mr. Kolesnikov, is the completion of several important road projects. "Our team has also made gigantic efforts in road construction. I think in Lviv, we saw several bright examples of improvement in the quality of roads, as well as roads around cities," he said. "Intensive construction continues in other cities. It will be possible to travel from western Ukraine to Kyiv on new and improved roads. Last month we started work on an 80-kilometer section of the highway leading from Kyiv to the Russian border," he pointed out. (Ukrinform)

In loving memory of

## Hans Bauer

beloved SON, HUSBAND, FATHER, and BROTHER-IN-LAW

a memorial mass to commemorate the 20th anniversary of his passing will be celebrated on Saturday, November 26, 2011, at 5:00 p.m., at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church in Whippany, NJ.

Mother (in Argentina), Gerda Bauer

Wife, Oksana

Sons, Orest and Roman

Brother-in-law, Ihor Sirko with wife Antonia and son Adrian

Sister-in-law, Christina Smetaniuk with husband Ihor and daughter Alana

Sister-in-law (in Argentina), Graciela Bauer with daughters Johanna and Gisella

Extended family in US, Spain and Argentina.

May His memory be eternal.



## Walter Szuja

Walter Szuja, of Sevierville, TN, passed to his eternal rest on November 3, 2011, at the age of 89.

May he rest in peace.



He was born August 28, 1922. Walter came to Lorain, from Ukraine in 1950 and became a member of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church. He was an active member of the Ukrainian community. He worked for and retired from U.S. Steel. Walter was also the owner of Walt's cafe in Cleveland, OH. After retirement, Walter and his wife, Jeanette, moved to Sevierville, TN, where he found great enjoyment in his hobbies of gardening and cooking.

He is survived by wife Jeanette Szuja; sisters, Sofia Dobowik, Veronica Michatkow, and Paulina Bubenko; son and daughter-in-law Walter and Marie Szuja; stepson and daughter-in-law Steve and Yvonne Stephens; daughters and sons-in-law Vera and Dennis Proy, Bella and Michael Fallner; stepdaughter Linda Sue Powell; niece with husband Olya and John Czerkas; grandchildren, Jerrel Proy with wife Tina, Kristie Proy, Theresa Webb, Jennifer Webb-Stewart, Natasha Szuja, Austin Szuja, Justin Szuja; great-grandchildren, twelve great-grandchildren and great-nephew Marko.

He was preceded in death by his parents Clemente and Maria Szuja; daughter, Luba Rancher (née Szuja); brother and sister-in-law, Stefan and Kateryna Szuja; brother, Helarko Szuja; sister, Ludvena (née Szuja); great-nephew, Stefan.

Walter Szuja's memorial service was held on Saturday, November 26, 2011, at 3:00 pm at Atchley's Funeral Home, Sevierville, TN.

One tradition in the Ukrainian culture is a commemorative service which is held 40 days after the death of a loved one. The family will continue this tradition in memory of Walter Szuja. Memorial service will be held on the 40th day following Walter's date of death at: St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church 3038 Charleston Avenue, Lorain, OH, Monday, December 12, 2011, at 7:00 pm.



At the unveiling and blessing of the veterans monument, Ukrainian American and Ukrainian veterans are seen with the Rev. Severyn Kovalyshyn, Chrystia Lazor Stecyk and the Rev. Mitred Wolodymyr Woloszczuk.



Ukrainian American Veterans Post 40 Members at observances of Veterans Day in North Port, Fla.

## Ukrainian American Veterans of Florida mark Veterans Day

by Jerry Zinycz

NORTH PORT, Fla. – Ukrainian Americans Veterans (UAV) of Cpl. Roman G. Lazor Post 40 had a very active schedule on Veterans Day, when local veterans, police and fire departments and town dignitaries honored veterans for their service to the country.

Marine Corp Detachment 948 and Post 40 were the only units chosen to stand in a prominent location at the Veterans Monument. Junior Naval ROTC cadets hoisted the flag, in a long-standing military tradition.

On Saturday, November 12, the traditional UAV dinner-dance was held at St Mary's Parish Center. Veterans

marched into the hall, forming two honor columns for the Junior Naval ROTC Color Guard to post the colors. All sang the national anthems of the United States and Ukraine and Marion Bojsiuk delivered an invocation.

Post Commander Ihor Hron, the master of ceremonies, recognized distinguish guests: Ukraine Armed Forces Col. Serhiy Shevtsiv with his wife, Maria; UAV members of Post #40; Ukrainian veterans of World War II; Chrystia Lazor-Stecyk, president of UNWLA Branch 56; Daria Tomashosky, president of the Ukrainian American Club; Vira Bodnaruk, president of the Ukrainian Language Society; and Viktor Lisnyczyj, president of Oseredok. Bohdan Guran, president of the Best Western Hotel in

Venice, Fla., was recognized for providing accommodations for the 62nd National Convention of the UAV.

Each year, Post 40 recognizes individuals in the Ukrainian American community for their achievements.

Distinguish Citizen Awards recipients were: Dr. Michael Yarymovich for his lifelong service to the aerospace profession in government, industry and international scientific community, (his outstanding contributions to space programs, and his role in the development of the GPS have been recognized internationally); and Mr. Andriy Slywka, artistic director of the Kalyna Dance Group, for his tireless work with Ukrainian American youngsters in St. Petersburg, Fla.

The UAV Commander's Award was presented to Halya Lisnyczyj, for her initiative in sending packages to U.S. servicemen and women in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as, providing homeless kids in North Port with basic needs.

UAV Service Awards were presented to: Marion Bojsiuk, UAV NSO, for his initiative and dedication to the UAV Monument project in Venice Memorial Garden; Gene Tomashosky, past commander of Post 40, for his leadership in preparing and hosting a premier 62nd UAV National Convention.

On Sunday, November 13, the unveiling and blessing of the UAV and Ukrainian Veterans Monument, a permanent resting place for six UAV and 14 Ukrainian veterans, took place at Venice Memorial Gardens. The color guard raised the flags and laid the wreaths at the monument.

The Rt. Rev. Mitred Archpriest Wolodymyr Woloszczuk and the Rev. Severyn Kovalyshin blessed the monument.

The monument project, from inception to construction, was accomplished in less than a year. The idea of the monument project was to leave a lasting memorial in southwest Florida to men and women who served in the U.S. armed forces and Ukrainian veterans who fought for the freedom and independence of Ukraine.



Junior Naval ROTC Cadets present and post colors at the UAV annual dinner-dance.

## New Jersey Ukrainian veterans remember fallen comrades

by Bozhena Olshaniwsky

UNION, N.J. – Ukrainian American Veterans' Post 6 on November 13 held a commemorative program at its memorial stone at Hollywood Cemetery in Union, N.J.

The ceremony, which included the reading of statements of loyalty to the U.S., a special prayer for all veterans, a reading of the names on the memorial stone, the laying of a wreath and the singing of "God Bless America," was performed by Michael Fedirko, commander; Walter Bodnar, past national adjutant; and Bob Dolan; with Daria Bekesewycz and Bozhena Olshaniwsky, representatives of the UAV Ladies' Auxiliary.

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the Korean War, during which many of the UAV members served in the U.S. armed forces, some paying the ultimate sacrifice. When the war began in 1951, Ukrainians were coming to America as part of the "Third Wave" of immigrants. Many Ukrainians served as a way to ensure gaining U.S. citizenship.

Among the names of soldiers commemorated on the memorial stone are those of Korean War veterans Ihor Olshaniwsky, Oleksander Hromocky, Evhen Salamacha, Yaroslav Turiansky and Dr. George Stefaniwsky.



Bob Dolan, Bozhena Olshaniwsky, Michael Fedirko and Walter Bodnar mark Veteran Day at Hollywood Cemetery in Union, N.J.



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## Erroneous methods...

(Continued from page 8)

memory and Mr. Yushchenko's handling of it. He is right. President Viktor Yanukovich, Mr. Yushchenko's successor, and his supporters have "pushed the opposite perspective," and the current official promotion of this "historical-identity" is very harmful for Ukraine.

I agree with Prof. Himka's analysis of the malady, but not with the cure, when he proposes "the deconstruction of the historical mythologies of both camps." There are four problems with his suggestion.

First, the war of the myths is not an internal Ukrainian war: on the one side are the pro-Ukrainian citizens of Ukraine and the pro-Ukrainian part of the Ukrainian diaspora; on the other side are the pro-Russian citizens of Ukraine, pro-Russian emigrants from Ukraine (of various ethnic backgrounds), and, most importantly, the Russian state and church authorities.

Second, even if the two sides in Ukraine heeded Prof. Himka's advice and gave up their struggle, it is most certain that Russia (the state and the Russian Orthodox Church) would not abandon its policy of promoting the imperialist "Russian world." Deconstruction of the two mythologies in Ukraine would thus open the floodgates to myths coming from Russia.

Third, the two camps are not struggling for the same space. Ukrainocentric myths focus on a distinct Ukrainian entity, while the Russocentric idea is predicated on the old imperial model of Russia, of which Ukraine would be an integral part.

Fourth, myths can play a highly constructive role in the life of communities and help with nation-and-state building. Ukraine needs the leaven of good and healthy historical myths.

At present, pro-Ukrainian myths are being attacked from many quarters, and the efforts to discredit them seem to be gaining in strength. In Ukraine itself, not to speak of Russia, state and church structures seem overly favorable to some form of the "Russian world" myth. With the weakening of Ukrainocentric myths, citizens of Ukraine will be drawn into the orbit of the myth-rich "Russian world."

As György Schöpflin notes, "Through myth the assimilation of ethnically different groups is accelerated, as the myth-poor community accepts that upward social mobility demands the abandonment of its culture, language and myth-world in exchange for something superior; for a better world" (George Schöpflin in Hosking and Schöpflin, "Myths and Nationhood," 22). Prof. Himka's participation in the discussion of Ukrainian myths is a contribution to the impoverishment of pro-Ukrainian myths and the strengthening of the "Russian World" myths.

Now let us turn from myths to history. Prof. Himka quotes his university motto: "Quaecumque vera — whatsoever things are true." He is welcome to apply that principle in his historical analysis of the OUN and the UPA, their struggle for the independence of Ukraine, and their participation in criminal activities. The only proviso is that the truth be obtained from adequate documents that provide sufficient information for a complete and comprehensive interpretation. In this regard, a few remarks should be made about Prof. Himka's text.

He affirms that the "UPA launched a massive cleansing action against the Polish population of Volhynia and later Galicia, in which perhaps 100,000 Poles perished." Unfortunately, the author does not give the context in which these killings took place, nor any account of the atrocities committed by the Polish side. This is not to relativize the two sides of the conflict, but there were two sides and an objective historical rendering of the events must take both of them into account. Prof. Himka's one-sided pre-

sentation of the event is more in the style of myth-making than historical analysis.

I also have a problem with Prof. Himka's story line on the OUN involvement in the Holocaust. It is not a nuanced version of what happened. He attributes the 1941 pogrom of Jews in Lviv solely to the OUN; he does not mention the involvement of common criminals and the action of ordinary citizens of Polish and Ukrainian background provoked by the revelation of massacred victims in Soviet prisons. Prof. Himka claims that the Jew-hunting militias were connected to the OUN, that these militiamen formed the nucleus of the UPA in 1943, and that until the end of the war they lured surviving Jews out of hiding in order to execute them. Thus, he states, the "UPA killed at least thousands of Jews" and the "OUN was implicated in the murder of tens of thousands of Jews."

The only side of Ukrainian Jewish relations that Prof. Himka presents is that of the extermination of Jews by Ukrainians. A fundamental question arises: can all the cases of killings of Jews be classified as part of a genocide (the Holocaust), as defined by the U.N. Convention? Another question: What about the Ukrainians who saved Jews? Prof. Himka does not mention them or the humanitarian work of the Ukrainian clergy. This is not what one would call a "quaecumque vera" account, a complete and balanced rendering of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the war.

In his section on the "strategies" for the dissemination of his ideas, Prof. Himka declares his happiness at discovering "the power of short pieces" because they are more widely read, especially when they are posted on the Internet. He states that traditional academic publications take long to write, sometimes even longer to be published, and have limited audiences.

We have seen that Prof. Himka acknowledged the fact that "short pieces" tend to be sloppier and are prone to error and oversimplification. The text under discussion here would seem to belong to the category of a short work by a public intellectual. As the adage goes, "The problem with being a public intellectual is you get more and more public and less and less intellectual." Academic rigor and integrity, proper to scholars, tend to be more relaxed in public intellectuals writing goal-oriented short pieces. Historical writing can easily take on mythical coloring.

This is what, I'm afraid, has been happening with some of Prof. Himka's writing as he discards his professorial toga and heads for the limelight of the public intellectual. (I was sorry to see his name under the infamous 2011 Open Letter, even though he was only a contributor to its redaction and not its author. I have commented on that piece elsewhere and will not do so here. I mention it only because the line of argument is similar and the results are equally harmful to the legitimate right of Ukraine to have a constructive, foundational national myth.)

As a scholar of Jewish history, Prof. Himka is well aware that there are positive Jewish historical myths about the Jewish struggle for a national homeland and on the Jewish genocide, which are honored by Jews around the world. He also knows about anti-Jewish myths on both these subjects, developed to undermine the very existence of the Israeli state and denigrate the memory of the Holocaust. It seems to me that Prof. Himka does not object to the first and does not condone the second. I fail to understand why he cannot take a similar attitude towards the myths surrounding the Ukrainian Genocide and the Ukrainian struggle for independence (in particular during World War II). If he is serious about "clarifying the history of the Holocaust in Ukraine," he must know that it cannot be done in isolation from its general context and that his partisan treatment of the subject only contributes to strengthening anti-Ukrainian myths about Ukrainian-Jewish relations.

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## The Displaced...

(Continued from page 9)

and the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund. The following summer Dr. Gallan traveled to Europe, where he met with representatives of Ukrainian relief organizations in England, France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland. A building was purchased in Paris to serve as the center for a coordinated effort to aid Ukrainian refugees.

Allowed to visit various Ukrainian DP camps, Gallan learned that forced repatriation was still a major concern.

Gallan was subsequently appointed executive director of the UUARC; Panchuk became president.

Fortunately, the UNRRA was eventually dissolved and replaced by the International Relief Organization (IRO), which was more favorably disposed to the wishes and concerns of Ukrainians. When the IRO began its work, there were 210,000 Ukrainian refugees still living in Europe.

UUARC credibility was further enhanced on September 16, 1947, when it was accredited by the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, a federal board established in 1946. The focus of UUARC quickly shifted from relief to resettlement.

### A partially opened door

America's door had already been partially opened in December 1945, when President Harry S. Truman issued a directive granting preference to refugees within the specified quotas who had a U.S. sponsor willing to sign an affidavit pledging assistance to the new immigrant after his arrival in the United States. For the first time the designation "displaced person" defined not only victims of Nazi oppression but Soviet oppression as well.

President Truman's directive, however, was not well received by the American public. Mail to the White House ran 7 to 1 against the Truman initiative. It was not only the Communists who protested. Fearing that employment for returning American veterans would suffer, the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) made public statements condemning the directive. Hoping to steer Jewish refugees to Israel, American Zionists were also opposed to the plan.

President Truman persevered, however, and in his 1947 State of the Union address, he urged Congress to "turn its attention to this world problem... and find ways whereby we can fulfill our responsibilities to those thousands of homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths." Thus were taken the first steps towards the Displaced Persons Act.

It was obvious to all concerned ethnic leaders that if displaced persons were to find a haven in the U.S., American public opinion would have to change. Taking the lead in this endeavor was the American Jewish Committee (AJC), which brought together various non-Jewish ethnic leaders and, on December 20, 1946, created the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons (CCDP), an organization that soon became a powerful lobby for the refugees.

By May 1948, some 600 radio stations had used CCDP materials in their broadcasts. Millions of American viewed the film "Passport to Nowhere," depicting the plight of DPs, which RKO Films distributed to theaters nationally. Thanks to the efforts of CCDP, public opinion began to shift in favor of DP acceptance. Although its major concern was the 400,00 Jewish DPs, the AJC had been astute enough to understand that other ethnic groups needed to be included in their effort.

Not all Jews were so favorably disposed, however, especially towards Balts, Ukrainians and Poles, who some Jews claimed were Nazi collaborators. Among these were Ira Hirschman, UNRRA emissary, who after touring various DP camps, report-

ed that the "hard core" of the refugees "has proved to be a criminal and fascist group, many of whom left their homes voluntarily to work for Hitler." Judah Nadich, an army chaplain serving under Gen. Eisenhower, wrote that Ukrainians and Volksdeutsch "were Nazis to the very core of their being". Koppel S. Pinson, educational director of the American Joint Distribution Committee, wrote that "a large group of Poles, Ukrainians, Russians and Balts" now residing as DPs, "are some of the bloodiest henchmen of the SS and the Gestapo."

Another savage attack came from Abraham G. Duker, a member of the legal team at the Nuremberg war crimes trials, who declared that Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Ukrainians and Croatians were especially "egregious collaborationists." Condemning CCDP efforts, Duker later claimed that "Balts, Ukrainians, White Russians and other nationalities... were placed by the Nazis in the same categories as racial Germans."

Despite these complaints, Congressional leaders were able to mobilize bipartisan support for assisting refugees.

Congressman Emanuel Celler, a Democrat from New York, introduced DP legislation in 1947 that would have made available the immigration quota of any European nationality that was unused by fiscal years 1947 and 1948. Unfortunately, the bill never made it out of committee.

Congressman William G. Stratton, a Republican from Illinois, introduced legislation that same year authorizing the admission of 100,000 displaced persons a year for a period of four years. As defined in the Stratton bill, a DP was anyone living in Germany, Austria or Italy who was out of his country of origin as a result of World War II, and was unable or unwilling to return to his country because of fear of persecution due to race, religion, or political opinions. Despite almost unanimous support from the mass media, the bill was still opposed by the American Legion, the VFW and the Communists. The legislation never made it out of committee.

On July 7, 1947, President Truman sent a message to Congress urging it to pass displaced persons legislation. These people, he argued, were hardy and resourceful, or they would not have survived. They were opposed to totalitarianism and "because of their burning faith in the principles of freedom and democracy" they have suffered privation and hardship. Many "have strong roots in this country - by kinship, religion and national origin." A source of America's strength, the president concluded, "was the varied national origins, races and religious beliefs of the American people."

During the fall congressional recess, members of a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee visited over 150 DP camps in Europe, meeting with IRO and voluntary agency representatives. They concluded that forced repatriation was reprehensible and urged all countries "capable receiving these displaced persons into their economies and national life" to do so.

A Senate judiciary subcommittee visited DP camps in 1948 and the result was Senate Bill 2242, which accepted the IRO definition of displaced person, but restricted it to persons who entered the American, French or British zones of occupation between September 1, 1939 and December 1945. Preference was given to persons with agricultural skills, as well as skills needed in the resettlement locale. A similar bill by Congressman Frank Fellows, a Republican from Maine, was eventually passed on the House side.

After much debate an amendment to increase the number of admissions to 200,000 was passed. Senate and House conferees met, settled their differences and passed the legislation on to President Truman. The final version permitted a total of 205,000 displaced persons to enter the

United States over a two-year period.

President Truman signed the Displaced Persons Act on June 25, 1948, expressing his hope that future amendments would rectify some of the shortcomings. At the time, there were approximately 835,000 displaced persons in Europe, of whom an estimated 138,622 were Ukrainians.

The United States Displaced Persons Commission was created in August 1948 and was soon making recommendations to extend their mandate to four years and to eventually award 400,000 visas to displaced persons. The commission also requested a revolving fund for loans to voluntary agencies involved in the resettlement process. The UUARC was a prime beneficiary of this financial largesse.

Also significant was a report of the House Subcommittee on the Judiciary titled "Displaced Persons in Europe and Their Resettlement in the United States," submitted on January 20, 1950. The subcommittee report was the result of unannounced visits by members and staff experts to numerous DP camps, interviews with various individuals, and briefings by civilian and military personnel. The goal was to investigate reports of widespread fraud and falsification of documents.

Their conclusion was as follows: "The number of screening agencies, screening sessions, interrogations and checks that a displaced person must pass before reaching the United States, is so extensive that the chance of a fraudulent statement or a forged document to 'slip through' is practically nil"

At the time, every application under the Displaced Persons Act was reviewed by:

1. the FBI;
2. the CIA;
3. the Counter-Intelligence Corps of the United States Army, which required 21 separate investigative steps before a report was submitted to the commission.
4. the Provost-Marshal General of the U.S. Army in Germany;
5. the fingerprint record center in Heidelberg;
6. the Berlin Document Center;
7. the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice through stationing of immigration inspectors overseas in the DP resettlement centers, as well as at ports of entry;
8. consular officers especially assigned for this purpose; and
9. a special investigation in connection with displaced persons whose country of origin had been overrun by the Soviets.

The life of the DP Commission was eventually extended and the admission quotas expanded. By the time the last displaced persons ship arrived on July 21, 1952, some 395,000 immigrants had been admitted to the United States under the provisions of the Displaced Persons Act.

The next, and perhaps the most difficult task for the UUARC was resettlement. It was a complex procedure that involved:

- Finding thousands of qualified Ukrainian sponsors willing to sign housing and employment assurances for displaced persons.

- The expansion of the UUARC operation in Europe. Roman Smook, a Chicago lawyer, headed the UUARC office in Munich.

- The creation of a UUARC apparatus to greet Ukrainian DPs at their port of entry. Centers were created in Boston, New York City, and New Orleans.

- The creation of inland resettlement centers. The UNA, for example, established one at 841 N. Western Ave. in Chicago.

- Finding non-Ukrainian sponsors in various farm states.

It was an amazing task that was successfully accomplished. The complete story of this extraordinary Ukrainian American effort can be found in "Brat Bratovy," (Brother to Brother), published by the UUARC in 1977.

The DP saga was not over, however. As Soviet attacks on Ukrainian displaced persons continued, Ukrainian newcomers became more apprehensive, preferring anonymity to sharing their stories. Their fears increased with the creation of the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) in the Department of Justice. American cooperation with the Soviet Union, they learned, was renewed.

In 1984, the former head of the OSI, Allan A. Ryan Jr., published a book titled "Quiet Neighbors: Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America." Let me read you an excerpt from page 16: "The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 was a brazenly discriminatory piece of legislation, written to exclude as many concentration camp survivors as possible and to include as many Baltic and Ukrainian ethnic German Volksdeutsche as it could get away with... Had Congress tried to design a law that would extend the Statue of Liberty's hand to the followers and practitioners of Nazism as possible, it could not have done much better than this without coming right out and saying so."

Ryan estimated that some 10,000 war criminals came to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. Many of them, he insinuated, were Ukrainians living quietly in your neighborhood.

There was more. Praising the cooperation he received from Soviet procurator Roman Andreyevich Rudenko, extolling the bravery of Michael Hanusiak, editor of a Ukrainian Communist publication in the United States (whose real name he refused to divulge), Ryan declared that America was finally catching up to Russia in the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. An entire chapter in the book was devoted to John Demjanjuk, "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka.

The history of this last sordid chapter in American history will soon appear in a book, titled "The Demjanjuk Debacle: The Trials of a 'Nazi' Who Wasn't." I hope to have the book in my hands by the end of the year.

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## "Scratches on a Prison Wall" presented at Ukrainian center in Philadelphia

by Petrusia Sawchak

JENKINTOWN, Pa. – Many adults and students of both the upper and lower classes from the Ukrainian Heritage School (UHS), had the unique opportunity to attend a book presentation at the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center after classes ended on Saturday, October 29. Members of both Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization and the Ukrainian American Youth Association came to the presentation in lieu of their regular meetings, along with students from UHS because it was considered an important learning experience for them.

The book reviewed was the wartime memoir of Luba Komar titled "Scratches on a Prison Wall" translated from Ukrainian into English and edited by her daughter Christine Prokop. It is a chilling account of a time in history when courageous men and women risked their lives for the love and honor of their country.

"After reading the book, I immediately thought this would be a wonderful way for

our youth to learn about a horrific time in Ukraine through the eyes of a young lady who survived it. It is a way to learn about history, geography and even sociology in a different manner than they do in school," said Natalka Firko, UECC vice-president, Program Sector, and event coordinator.

She added, "I was also happy that Lida Prokop, Christine's sister, was doing the presentation in English as this would make a bigger impact on the students and add a dimension to what they usually hear on a typical Saturday at the center."

Lida Prokop began her talk by describing the events leading to and after the arrest of her mother, Luba Komar – her grueling trial, brutal imprisonment and ultimate escape. The audience listened attentively to the bloodcurdling details of the presentation as the first snowfall of the season fell outside, an unusual occurrence for the month of October.

She continued by saying that her mother wanted the book to be written in English so that more audiences could read it now and in future generations. She lamented that



Lida Prokop signs a copy of the book "Scratches on a Prison Wall" for Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center President Borys Pawluk.

her mother, unfortunately, passed away before the publication of the book.

Following her introduction, there was a video excerpt from Alexander J. Motyl, renowned author, professor of political science and deputy director of the Division of Global Affairs at Rutgers University.

Prof. Motyl said, "In this gripping memoir of a young Ukrainian woman's encounter with Communism and Nazism, Luba Komar experiences imprisonment, torture, death row, violence, escape, resistance and, finally, flight to the West. Throughout, Luba retains her dignity and manifests a quiet heroism, convincingly demonstrating that totalitarianism is ultimately powerless in the face of individuals with the spiritual courage to speak the truth."

This writer also is aware of the agony of the times through the experiences of her maternal aunt, Maria Hrusczak Kvit, born in America but raised in Ukraine, who served as a courier for the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and was held in a prison in Drohobych, Ukraine, about the same time as Ms. Komar and ultimately died. According to a cellmate, she scratched on the cell wall that she would never, despite all the beatings, reveal the names of the members in the OUN.

Ms. Prokop explained how her mother, Luba Komar, a 21-year-old politically active university student in Lviv, was first arrested in 1940 in the middle of the night by the Soviet secret police (NKVD). They interrogated her about her knowledge of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which helped form the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), an underground resistance army that fought for the liberation of Ukraine against the Soviet and Nazi occupations of Ukraine during World War II.

When she refused to tell them what they wanted, Ms. Komar was unjustly imprisoned and tortured. After four months in prison, a trial was held, and Ms. Komar was sentenced to death. In all, 59 people were sentenced for treason to the motherland, espionage and preparation of an armed insurgency. They were transported to Siberia, where they waited to be executed. During a prison break Ms. Komar and others escaped and eventually made it to the West.

"My mother's strength, determination and ironwill enabled her to endure the brutality and tribulations of the times," said Ms. Prokop. She encouraged everyone to read the book to experience the rest of the story. "Scratches on a Prison Wall" can be borrowed from the UECC Library or purchased at Amazon.com or Barnes & Noble.

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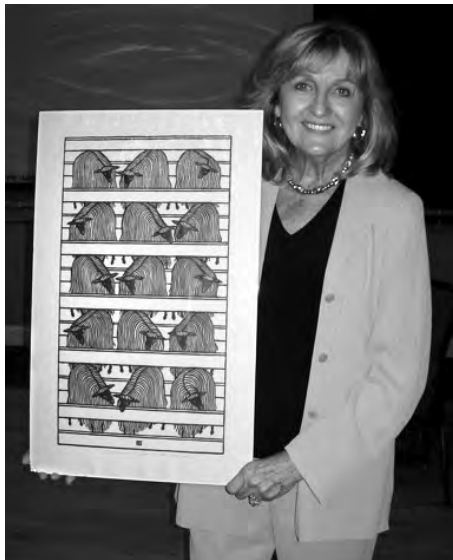


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**UNWLA Branch 75 organizes exhibit/sale of Hnizdovsky prints**

WHIPPANY, N.J. – Ukrainian National Women’s League of America Branch 75 organized an authorized exhibit and sale of prints (woodcuts, linocuts and etchings) by the late Jacques Hnizdovsky here at the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey on October 16. Slavko Nowytski’s award-winning film “Sheep in Wood,” which presents how the internationally renowned artist created the woodcut “Two Rams,” was screened during the exhibit, and information panels presented the biog-



raphy and work of Hnizdovsky (1915-1985). Guests also enjoyed hors d’oeuvres and sipped champagne. A portion of the proceeds from the event, which was chaired by Anna Denysyk and co-chaired by Marta Popovich, was earmarked for The Ukrainian Museum in New York. In the photo above, guests peruse some of the more than 60 art works offered for sale. In the photo on the left, Zorianna Smorodsky holds the Hnizdovsky print (donated by Stephanie Hnizdovsky) that she won in the exhibit raffle.

**Tracz speaks at Morris Museum**



MORRISTOWN, N.J. – Orysia Paszczak Tracz, an expert on Ukrainian culture and folk art, was the guest speaker at a meeting of the Friends of the Morris Museum on October 10. The topic of her talk was “Interwoven: Traditional Ukrainian Costumes and Textiles and Their Symbolism.” Ms. Tracz, who is known also for her columns in The Ukrainian Weekly, focused on Ukrainian textiles and embroidery, as well as the dress of Ukrainian royalty and nobility. Seen above after her presentation are (from left): Dara Denysyk, Rose Pancirov, president of Friends of the Morris Museum, Ms. Tracz and Nusia Denysyk.

— Roma Hadzewycz.

**Parishioners celebrate Thanksgiving**

WILMINGTON, Del. – A longtime tradition at St. Nicholas Church in Wilmington, Del. is to get together as a parish family to celebrate Thanksgiving.

This year on November 20, the parish family and friends gathered for a liturgy celebrated by a former pastor, the Rev. William Gore. The liturgy was followed by a traditional Thanksgiving dinner in the church hall.

Over 100 parishioners and friends attended, including Ukrainian National Association Auditor Eugene Serba along with longtime

Secretary of UNA Branch 173 Peter Serba. Father Gore gave the invocation and reminded all to be grateful for our many good blessings. After dinner, everyone was entertained by some rousing Ukrainian dancing as performed by the Lyman Ukrainian Dance Ensemble from Baltimore, under the direction of Orest Lasuk and Andrew Goolsby. The Lyman Ukrainian Dance Ensemble has performed previously at a number of festivals, but most recently at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington.

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

**December 2011 Workshops at The Ukrainian Museum**

**UKRAINIAN CHRISTMAS TRADITIONS**  
Saturday, December 10, 10:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.  
Hands-on participation in the baking of traditional Ukrainian Christmas breads. Participants will learn about customs, traditions and rituals practiced during this joyous holiday. Open to adults and children over 16 years of age. Fee: adults – \$25; students over 16 & seniors – \$15; members – 15% discount. *Pre-registration required.*

**UKRAINIAN CHRISTMAS TREE ORNAMENTS**  
Saturday, December 17, 11:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m. or 2:00 – 4:00 p.m.  
Sunday, December 18, 2:00 – 4:00 p.m.  
Use beads, walnut shells, colored ribbons, and paper to make traditional Ukrainian Christmas tree ornaments. Open to children and adults. A great activity for the entire family! Fee: adults – \$15; students over 12 & seniors – \$10; children 7–12 – \$5; members – 15% discount. *Pre-registration required.*

**CHRISTMAS WORKSHOP FOR FAMILIES**  
Sunday, December 18, 1:30 – 3:30 p.m.  
Look at the vertep (Ukrainian Christmas puppet theater) on display at the Museum and create your own Christmas puppets. Fee: \$5 per family member; \$3 per Museum member  
*All materials are included in the fees. Take your creations home!*

The Ukrainian Museum’s traditional arts and education programs are funded in part by the New York State Council on the Arts, a state agency.  
The Ukrainian Museum’s programs are supported, in part, by public funds from the New York City Department of Cultural Affairs in partnership with the City Council.

**The Ukrainian Museum**  
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info@ukrainianmuseum.org • [www.ukrainianmuseum.org](http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org)

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

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December 10–11, 2011  
11:00 a.m. – 5:00 p.m.

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11:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m.

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## "Christmas with the Kyiv Chamber Choir" comes to the U.S.

TORONTO - The internationally renowned Kyiv Chamber Choir and conductor Mykola Hobdych launched their North American tour this week, with Canadian concerts in Ottawa, St. Catharines, Kitchener-Waterloo and Toronto's superb Koerner Hall.

After Thanksgiving weekend, the choir will perform in outstanding musical venues in New York (November 29), Hartford, Conn. (November 30), Washington (December 2), Philadelphia (December 3) and Rochester, N.Y. (December 4) - providing audiences a rare opportunity via its first U.S. concert performances in over 12 years.

This tour marks the 20th anniversary since the Kyiv Chamber Choir was formed in 1991.

In the first half of each concert, this award-winning choir performs Christmas works by great Ukrainian composers, including Koshetz, Stetsenko and Turchaninov, with much skill and passion.

The choir will then sing many of the most beloved Ukrainian Christmas carols - in its unique and entertaining style that is unlike anything else in the world of music.

One of the world's great choirs, its per-

formances always bring audiences to their feet. "Christmas with the Kyiv Chamber Choir" will be a special occasion - a concert not to be missed.

In cooperation with local Ukrainian community organizations and other Chorus America members, this concert tour is being organized by Platinum Concerts International (PCI). The choir's tour media sponsors are The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda.

Complete 2011 concert tour information is available at [www.platinumconcerts.com](http://www.platinumconcerts.com).

U.S. concert tickets are available at [www.ticketweb.com](http://www.ticketweb.com), from participating Ukrainian churches and community organizations, and at the door.

For group tickets, participating local community organizations or concert details, in Ukrainian or English, readers may call PCI toll-free at 1-877-266-2557.

Community support of these concerts will help ensure that the Kyiv Chamber Choir will be able to return to the United States and Canada in the future to accomplish its mission by bringing the "hidden treasure" of Ukrainian music to North American audiences.

## Subregional...

(Continued from page 6)

For the first group, participating in the EEC is a mandatory condition of accession; for the second one, it means access to EU markets and to a source of best practices, and, what's more important, a chance to establish deep sectoral ties with future EU members. For Ukraine, this offers a real chance to gain new allies in the European community even before these countries become EU members.

### More friends = more prospects

The key to this will be the approach Ukraine uses to build these sectoral ties. It is common practice in the EU to use bilateral agreements that cover an entire given sector. This bilateral approach is decisive for relations between the EU and countries like Switzerland and Russia.

But when it comes to the EU's "circle of friends" and "stable neighbors" security strategy, other, multilateral, approaches are a higher priority, with a large number of actors and the synergy of a large number of countries' policies. Organizations like the EEC and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) are organized precisely on such a multilateral basis. Moreover, the EEC has an even stronger regional aspect: set up originally as an instrument for coordinating energy policy on the Balkan peninsula, it expanded to an even larger part of the Balkan-Black Sea subregion after Ukraine and Moldova joined. This regional form of multilateralism involves looking for

regional solutions to regional problems, including by organizing transborder cooperation in trade, power infrastructure, environmental protection and other areas.

Despite the fact that the very structure of the EEC encourages the building of multilateral ties, relations between Ukraine and the EEC evolved in the bilateral fashion typical for this country - with the European Commission acting as the main partner. This body really did coordinate power integration in the Balkans from the very first days of the Athens Process, which predated the establishment of the European Energy Community. However, it no longer has any monopoly on representing the interests of all the member countries.

And, it is with representatives of these countries that the most active sectoral cooperation needs to be established. Ukraine needs to primarily orient itself on the western Balkans, which are in the first queue to join the European Union: Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia. If they join the EU with well-established infrastructural and trade ties with Ukraine, this will realistically draw Ukraine closer to the EU. It would be hard to find a better way to guarantee Ukraine allies in the EU already now. Putting together a common position on key issues with the Republic of Moldova would also make a lot of sense for Ukraine, given that the integration of these two countries in the EEC was synchronized.

*The article above appeared on November 3 on the website of the International Center for Policy Studies ([www.icps.com.ua](http://www.icps.com.ua)). It was originally published in the newspaper Den.*

## Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

Ukraine gained its independence did it become possible to reveal this terrible chapter in our history?"

Ambassador Yelchenko noted that in recent years, thanks to the efforts of Ukraine's diplomatic corps and the Ukrainian diaspora, the truth about the Famine was brought to many parts of the world. A requiem was offered for the victims of the Holodomor in Moscow at the

Cathedral of the Savior on the Sands.

In Germany, the Ukrainian community paid tribute to the victims of the Holodomor on November 27 with events in Berlin and Munich.

The Central Union of Ukrainians in Germany held a candlelight vigil in Berlin. In Munich, the community gathered at a local Ukrainian Catholic church. A requiem was offered and a minute of silence was observed.

*Source: "Ukrainians around the globe remember the Holodomor," The Ukrainian Weekly, December 5, 2010.*

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# OUT & ABOUT

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| <p>Through December 18 Spring, TX</p> <p>November 29 New York</p> <p>November 29 Toronto</p> <p>November 30 Hartford, CT</p> <p>November 30 Cambridge, MA</p> <p>December 1 Washington</p> <p>December 1 Chicago</p> <p>December 2 Washington</p> <p>December 2 Chicago</p> | <p>Art exhibit, "Thresholds" by Lydia Bodnar-Balahutrak, Pearl Fincher Museum of Fine Arts, 281-376-6322 or <a href="http://www.pearlmfa.org">www.pearlmfa.org</a></p> <p>Concert, Kyiv Chamber Choir, St. Bartolomew's Church, 877-266-2557 or <a href="http://www.platinumconcerts.com">www.platinumconcerts.com</a></p> <p>Film screening, "Genocide Revealed" by Yuriy Luhovy, Innis Town Hall, University of Toronto, <a href="http://www.yluhovy.com">www.yluhovy.com</a></p> <p>Concert, Kyiv Chamber Choir, Church of St. Peter Claver, 877-266-2557 or <a href="http://www.platinumconcerts.com">www.platinumconcerts.com</a></p> <p>Petro Jacyk Memorial Symposium, "Politics of History: Collective Memory and Media Representations of Ukrainians Displaced by World War II," presentations by Marta Dyczok, Vladyslav Hrynevych and Andriy Kulykov, Harvard University, 617-495-4053</p> <p>Anniversary Gala and Awards Dinner, U.S.-Ukraine Business Council, Omni Shoreham Hotel, 202-223-2228 or <a href="http://www.usukraine.org">www.usukraine.org</a></p> <p>Film screening, "Three Stories of Galicia" by Olha Onyshko and Sarah Farhat, Chicago Cultural Center 312-744-6630 or <a href="http://www.chicagoculturalcenter.org">www.chicagoculturalcenter.org</a></p> <p>Concert, Kyiv Chamber Choir, National Presbyterian Church, 877-266-2557 or <a href="http://www.platinumconcerts.com">www.platinumconcerts.com</a></p> <p>Panel discussion with filmmakers Olha Onyshko and Sarah Farhat, "Multicultural Galicia: An Inseparable, Complicated and Just Possibly Redemptive History," Ukrainian National Museum, 312-421-8020 or <a href="mailto:info@ukrainiannationalmuseum.org">info@ukrainiannationalmuseum.org</a></p> | <p>December 2 Washington</p> <p>December 2 New York</p> <p>December 3 New York</p> <p>December 3 New York</p> <p>December 3 Philadelphia</p> <p>December 3 New York</p> <p>December 3 Leighton, PA</p> <p>December 3 Paramus, NJ</p> <p>December 3-4 Washington</p> <p>Ukrainian Social, The Washington Group and Ukraina Citizens International Association, Slaviya Restaurant and Lounge, 240-381-0993 or 202-491-4030</p> <p>Concert, "Chornobyl Songs Project: Living Culture from a Lost World," featuring the female vocal group Hilka, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110</p> <p>Holiday variety show, Vorochta 5 art group, Bar 82, <a href="http://www.vorochta5.com">www.vorochta5.com</a></p> <p>Artist's reception and concert, featuring art of Katia Setzer, Ukrainian Institute of America, 212-288-8660 or <a href="http://www.ukrainianinstitute.org">www.ukrainianinstitute.org</a></p> <p>Concert, Kyiv Chamber Choir, Church of St. Albert the Great, 877-266-2557 or <a href="http://www.platinumconcerts.com">www.platinumconcerts.com</a></p> <p>Conference on the 20th anniversary of the birth of Markian Shashkevych, Shevchenko Scientific Society, 212-254-5130</p> <p>Wine and Cheese Night, Ukrainian Homestead, 610-377-4621 or 610-272-0678 or <a href="mailto:oselia@ptd.net">oselia@ptd.net</a></p> <p>Performance by Yunist Ukrainian Dance School, Paramus Catholic High School, <a href="http://www.yunistdance.com">www.yunistdance.com</a></p> <p>Christmas bazaar, Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family, 202-526-3737 or <a href="http://www.ucns-holyfamily.org">www.ucns-holyfamily.org</a></p> |
|---|---|---|
- 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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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

### Friday, December 2

**NEW YORK:** Maria Sonevytsky, The Center for Traditional Music and Dance and Yara Arts Group present "Chornobyl Songs Project: Living Culture from a Lost World," village songs from Ukraine performed by Ensemble Hilka (New York City), led by music director and song collector Yevhen Yefremov (Ensemble Drevo, Kyiv), at The Ukrainian Museum, 222 E. Sixth St (between Second and Third avenues). Concert begins at 7 p.m. with reception to follow. Admission is \$15 (discounts for seniors/members). To purchase tickets in advance go to [www.ukrainianmuseum.org](http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org).

### Saturday, December 3

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a conference dedicated to the 200th anniversary of the birth of Markian Shashkevych. The scheduled participants in the conference are: Dr. George Grabowicz, Dr. Anna Procyk and Dr. Serhii Panko. Shashkevych (1811-1843), a priest and a poet, is famous as a leader of the literary revival in western Ukraine based on the use of spoken Ukrainian. The conference 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.

### Sunday, December 4

**NEW YORK:** There will be a lecture and gallery talk in conjunction with the new exhibition "Borys Kosarev: Modernist Kharkiv, 1915-1931" at The Ukrainian Museum. At 2 p.m. Dr. Tetiana Pavlova, Kharkiv State Academy of Art and Design, will present a lecture titled "Ukrainian Photography: Past and Present." At 3:30 p.m., the exhibition curator, Prof. Myroslava Mudrak of Ohio State University, will lead a gallery talk. On display for the first time ever will be an exhibition of 82 works on paper by avant-garde artist Kosarev, a member of the Eastern European Modernist movement and a survivor of Stalin's intellectual purges in 1930s Ukraine. The exhibit opens December 4 and continues through May 2, 2012. Admission to the lecture (includes gallery access) is \$15; \$10 for senior citizens; \$5 for students. The Ukrainian Museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St., New York, NY 10003; telephone,

212-228-0110; website, [www.ukrainianmuseum.org](http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org).

### Saturday, December 10

**NEW YORK:** A Ukrainian Christmas Traditions Workshop with hands-on participation in the baking of traditional Ukrainian Christmas breads will take place at The Ukrainian Museum at 10 a.m.-1 p.m. Participants will learn about customs, traditions and rituals practiced during this joyous holiday. The workshop is open to adults and children over age 16. Fee: adults, \$25; students over 16 and seniors, \$15; members receive a 15 percent discount. Pre-registration is required. The Ukrainian Museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St., New York, NY 10003; telephone, 212-228-0110; website, [www.ukrainianmuseum.org](http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org).

### Saturday-Sunday, December 10-11

**NEW YORK:** Don't miss the Christmas Bazaar and its unique gifts at The Ukrainian Museum on Saturday and Sunday at 11 a.m.-5 p.m. It's an opportunity to purchase folk art items, ornaments, books, artwork, jewelry, home-baked goods and more. Come early for the best selections. The Ukrainian Museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St., New York, NY 10003; telephone, 212-228-0110; website, [www.ukrainianmuseum.org](http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org).

### Saturday, December 17

**WASHINGTON:** The Taras Shevchenko School of Ukrainian Studies will host a Mykolai Show and Holiday Bazaar. Students will present a Mykolai Program at noon. Sviatyi Mykolai (St. Nicholas) 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/Bake Sale at 9:30 a.m. to noon will offer torte slices, fancy cookies, kolachi, makivnyky, medivnyky, children's sweets, varenyky and vushka (frozen), books, CDs, gift items. Location: Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family, 4250 Harewood Road NE, Washington, DC 20017. Vendors looking to reserve a table should contact Lydia Shevchik, [Lydia@evropashop.com](mailto:Lydia@evropashop.com). For information, visit <http://www.ukieschool.org/events.htm> or contact Lada Onyshkevych, [lada2@verizon.net](mailto:lada2@verizon.net) or 410-730-8108.

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

Preview of Events is a listing of community events open to the public. It is a service provided at minimal cost (\$20 per listing) by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community. Items should be **no more than 100 words long**.

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



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