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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Cabinet rejects EU association pact, igniting largest protest since 2004

by Zenon Zawada

KYIV – Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers adopted a resolution on November 21 halting preparations for signing the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement at the Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius on November 28-29. The resolution calls for measures to ensure national safety and renew lost production and trade with the countries of the Moscow-led Customs Union.

The Cabinet resolution ignited on November 24 the largest mass demonstration in Kyiv since the Orange Revolution of 2004, drawing between 100,000 and 200,000 Ukrainians to Kyiv's European Square to demand the resolution's cancellation and the Association Agreement's signing by Mr. Yanukovich.

The resolution was not submitted to the European Union (EU) as the Ukrainian government's official position and therefore lacked any international standing, leaving the door open for a final decision from Viktor Yanukovich, who as Ukraine's president is designated as the final authority on the country's foreign policy decisions.

"Ukraine has gone and will continue to go on the path of Euro-integration," the president said during a working visit to



Protesters hold a sign, "Luhansk Oblast for the EU Agreement with Europe," at the November 24 demonstration in Kyiv, which was the largest since 2004.

Vienna on November 21, as his position on the Cabinet resolution.

Opposition leaders called for the resignation of Prime Minister Mykola Azarov and his Cabinet and Mr. Yanukovich's impeachment should he fail to sign the agreement in Vilnius. In that event, they also asked the EU leadership to impose sanctions on the members of his administration.

"We are tired of betrayals, disappointments, poverty and lawlessness," declared Oleksander Turchynov, the close political confidante of imprisoned former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. "We want to live in a normal, civilized European state where there's freedom of speech, respect for people and their rights, where everyone's equal before the law."

Mr. Yanukovich is expected to announce his decision on whether to agree to the terms and sign the pact at the very summit itself, having confirmed he will travel to Vilnius.

The main obstacle remained the EU demand of arranging for Ms. Tymoshenko's release. For the agreement to be signed, experts said, either Mr. Yanukovich has to agree to pardon Ms. Tymoshenko or the EU

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Major conference in New York presents latest research on Holodomor

Day one focuses on why, how and where the genocide occurred

by Roma Hadzewycz

NEW YORK – A landmark conference presenting new research and newly discovered information about the Holodomor, or Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, brought more than 50 prominent scholars from around the globe to the Princeton University Club of New York on November 5-6.

The two-day conference, titled "Taking Measure of the Holodomor," was part of the Ukrainian Historical Encounters Series, whose program coordinator is Dr. Walter Zaryckyj, executive director of the Center for U.S.-Ukrainian Relations. It was presented by the center in collaboration with the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Holodomor Research and Education Consortium and National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

The conference opened with "A First Word Concerning the 'Great Famine of 1932-1933,'" featuring Prof. Mark von Hagen (Arizona State University), who provided the historical background and con-

text for the discussions that were to follow. He compared the Irish famine – known as the Gorta Mor, or Great Hunger – to the Holodomor, since both used famine as instruments of policy.

Prof. von Hagen explained that genocide and atrocities are "the highest stages of colonialism," citing the Holodomor and the Holocaust, both of which took place on Ukrainian territory, as extreme examples of colonial rule in Ukraine's history. The Ukrainians and the Jews, he said, were subjected to similar treatment by occupying powers. During the Holodomor, he said, Ukraine experienced a "double colonial burden" – it was plundered and its people were destroyed.

He explained: "Colonialism did not cause the Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932-1933 any more than it did the Irish famine of 1846-1852 or the Bengal famine of 1943, but it did provide a context, an ecology, in which ruling elites and their bureaucracies were able to achieve new highest stages – or, more accurately, lowest stages – of colonialism under the party-state dictatorships of Stalin, Hitler, later Mao and Pol Pot."

Dr. Lubomyr Hajda (Harvard University), who served as chair for the conference opening, noted the importance of moving Ukrainian studies more into the realm of comparative studies.

"Why did the Holodomor Happen?" was the topic of the conference's first session, in which the participants were Ludmila Hrynevych (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) and Roman Serbyn (University

of Quebec at Montreal), with Frank Sysyn (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta) serving as moderator.

Dr. Hrynevych noted at the outset of her remarks that, significantly, hunger is one of the four horsemen of the Apocalypse. She cited the work of Dr. David Marples (University of Alberta), who said one needs

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Dr. Andrea Graziosi of the University of Naples.



Author and columnist Anne Applebaum.

ANALYSIS

A possible third way for Ukraine: no Association Agreement, no Customs Union

by **Fuad Chiragov**

*Jamestown Foundation Blog
November 21*

The majority of experts think that only two options exist for Ukraine: either an Association Agreement with the European Union or the Russia-led Customs Union. However, there is actually a third way that was suggested by the Ukrainian newspaper *Obozrevatel* on August 20, with a column titled "Azerbaijan can offer a third way for Ukraine" (<http://obozrevatel.com/abroad/69145-azerbajdzhan-mozhet-otkryit-dlya-ukrainyi-tretij-put.htm>).

This possible third way for Ukraine would mean not signing the EU Association Agreement as well as refraining from joining the Customs Union of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Such an option does not necessarily imply an isolationist stance against the EU; rather it means exploring the potential outside partnerships for Ukraine to be able to withstand external pressure currently being applied to it.

Against this background, the visit of Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev to Ukraine on November 17 was clearly not an ordinary formal state visit. On November 18, in Kyiv, President Aliyev and President Viktor Yanukovich signed the Fourth Protocol of the meeting of the Council of Presidents. The protocol covered the results of a discussion of the main issues in bilateral relations, namely the current situation and perspectives for the development of relations, and cooperation in trade, economy and energy (<http://haqqin.az/news/13014>).

Most interestingly, on November 19, the Ministry of Energy of Ukraine announced that Kyiv is ready to participate in the Trans-Anatolian Pipeline (TANAP) by investing approximately \$800 million in this project. During their meeting, the two presidents also discussed Ukraine's proposal to connect TANAP to the gas pipeline networks of Bulgaria and Romania and then onward, via the Ananiv-Tiraspol-Izmail route, to Ukraine's Odesa Oblast. This corridor would result in the transit of 10 billion cubic meters (bcm) of gas annually (<http://forbes.ua/news/1361088-v-gazoprovod-tanap-ukraina-gotova-vlozhit-800-mln>).

According to Ukrainian calculations, its \$800 million investment would be reimbursed within five years because gas transiting through this pipeline to Ukraine will be \$60 to \$80 per thousand cubic meters cheaper than Russian gas.

While debate still rages about whether Ukraine will sign the EU Association Agreement at the November 28-29 summit in Vilnius, Mr. Aliyev's visit to Kyiv was particularly symbolic and significant. Some commentators even argue that President Aliyev actually saved President Yanukovich ahead of the Vilnius summit (<http://haqqin.az/news/13025>) by easing external pressure on Ukraine and creating breathing room for the government to make its crucial decision.

While meeting with Mr. Aliyev, Mr. Yanukovich recalled that the former president of Azerbaijan, Heydar Aliyev, had saved the Ukrainian agriculture and energy sectors in the 1990s by ensuring a steady supply of Azerbaijani oil to the country (<http://fakty.ictv.ua/ru/index/read-news/id/1493945>; http://censor.net.ua/news/260066/takoe_ne_zabyvaetsya_yanukovich_vspomnil_kak_aliev_pomog_spasiti_ukrainu). Moreover, during the 2009 Russia-Ukraine gas crisis (<http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/01/07/uk-russia-ukraine-gas-factbox-idUKTRE5062Q520090107?sp=true>), Azerbaijan increased its oil supplies to Ukraine, which helped Kyiv overcome the consequences of the disruptions of its gas imports (<http://www.trend.az/capital/energy/1814577.html>).

Similarly, Azerbaijan stepped in to help Belarus deal with its gas purchase debts to Gazprom in November 2010. The Russian natural gas monopoly began decreasing gas shipments to Belarus until its debts were repaid. And with a lack of financial resources to make the payments to Gazprom, the Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka said that he "approached the president of Azerbaijan, and President Ilham Aliyev lent \$200 million within less than one day, and Belarus closed its \$187 million debt to Russia." Gazprom resumed its full gas sales to Minsk three days later (<http://lenta.ru/news/2010/06/26/helpme/>).

Azerbaijan had also interceded — when Western powers did not — to provide extra gas to Georgia when the power line and natural gas pipeline connecting Georgia to Russia were blown up in January 2006, as well as during several similar such instances in the 1990s (<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/23/international/europe/23georgia.html>); (<http://www.isdp.eu/images/stories/isdp-main-pdf/2013-Tsereteli-Azerbaijan-and-Georgia1.pdf>). Moreover, 40 percent of Israel's gas consumption today comes from Azerbaijan (<http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2013/11/14/dont-write-off-azerbaijan-just-yet/>).

At the time this article was written, Ukraine had yet to make a final decision on whether it will choose the Association Agreement or the Customs Union, and a cost benefit analysis is likely affecting this decision. President Yanukovich may consider joining the Customs Union to be politically costly for him, while signing the agreement with the EU is likely to bring higher political gains for Ukraine. Nevertheless, Kyiv may be considering the EU Association Agreement to be too costly in the short term if Ukraine does not receive any external assistance in the face of Russian pressure.

In other words, Ukraine categorically rejects joining the Customs Union, which would genuinely infringe on Ukrainian independence, but although Ukraine wants closer integration with the EU, it cannot currently afford to sign the Association Agreement.

The August column in *Obozrevatel* notes that "many experts fail to notice that actually there is a third way, which Azerbaijan has demonstrated more than confidently for 20 years. This former Soviet republic cooperates very effectively with the EU, the U.S., the countries of the Middle East and the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. The visit of [Russian President Vladimir] Putin to Baku in August 2013," the paper continues, "demonstrated that Azerbaijan manages successfully to find common language with different partners and to build bilateral dialogue with different partners equally."

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NEWSBRIEFS

Kyiv waits for better EU deal

KYIV – Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich said financial terms offered by the European Union to convince him to close a key political and trade deal with the bloc had been humiliating and that he would wait for improved conditions before agreeing on anything. Mr. Yanukovich made the statement in a televised interview on November 26 as thousands of pro-EU Ukrainians continued to stage mass demonstrations in Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities urging the government to sign an Association Agreement with the EU. He said the EU for the past three years had demanded Ukraine sign a loan agreement with the International Monetary Fund in exchange for EU technical assistance worth 610 million euros. Mr. Yanukovich said the IMF told Ukraine it would have to raise taxes for the population and freeze salaries and pensions. Mr. Yanukovich said, "We don't have to be humiliated like this. We are a serious, European country." He added, "As soon as we agree on normal conditions, then we will talk about signing." The Ukrainian president's statement came shortly after Russian President Vladimir Putin said Moscow was concerned about the impact on Russia's economy of closer ties between Ukraine and the EU, urging Brussels to refrain from "harsh" remarks. "I would kindly ask our friends in Brussels – my personal friends, good ones in the European Commission – to refrain from harsh statements," Mr. Putin said. "Should we kill entire branches of our economy to be loved by them? We do not want any outbreaks of joblessness and shutdown of entire branches of the Russian economy." Mr. Putin said Ukraine, the EU, and Russia should meet and discuss a way forward after Kyiv suspended moves to sign an Association Agreement with the EU at a summit later this week. Brussels had earlier accused Moscow of pressuring Ukraine out of the deal. But Mr. Putin denied Russia had strong-armed Ukraine into putting off the signing of the agreement and said, "The choice of whom to sign a free trade agreement with is Ukraine's sovereign choice and we will respect the decision, whatever it is." (RFE/RL, based on reporting by Agence France-Presse, Reuters, ITAR-TASS and Interfax)

Students joint Euro-Maidan in Kyiv

KYIV – Several thousand students joined protesters in Kyiv on November 26 to demand that Ukraine's government sign the EU Association Agreement. It was the third day of large protests in the capital. On November 26, leaders of the three main opposition groups, the *Batkivshchyna* party, the UDAR party and the *Svoboda* union – respectively, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Vitali Klitschko and Oleh Tiahnybok – circulated an appeal for unity among their supporters. The appeal said, "We are different, but we are united by one demand: President Viktor Yanukovich must sign the association agreement at the Eastern Partnership summit in Vilnius." On November 25, jailed former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko launched a hunger strike in solidarity with the pro-EU protests. (RFE/RL)

UCCA condemns use of force

NEW YORK – The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) on November 25 issued a statement condemning any use of force and urged the government of Ukraine to refrain from further violence against the peaceful protesters gathered in Kyiv and throughout Ukraine. "As citizens of a democracy, Ukrainians have the expressed right to come together and collectively express and defend their common European interests," the UCCA stated. "The UCCA calls upon the government of Ukraine to respect the rule of law, conform to its international commitments and to uphold democratic principles, one of which is the freedom to assemble. The protests currently being held in Ukraine in support of EU association are the political right and civil liberty of citizens living in a democracy. The UCCA stands in solidarity with all Ukrainians gathered on the Euro-Maidans throughout Ukraine who are freely expressing their desire for a European future!" (UCCA)

Barroso, Van Rompuy issue statement

BRUSSELS – The president of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso, and the president of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, on November 25

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Ukraine: Not going West for now

by Maksym Bugriy
Eurasia Daily Monitor
November 22

The Ukrainian authorities have seemingly activated a “pause” in Kyiv’s European integration process. President Viktor Yanukovich’s Party of Regions, which controls the government and holds an overwhelming plurality in the Parliament, blocked all of the opposition’s attempts to vote through European integration draft laws on November 20 and 21.

Moreover, on November 21, the Cabinet of Ministers issued a sublegal act (a.k.a. delegated legislation or subordinate legislation) to suspend Ukraine’s preparations to sign the Association Agreement with the European Union. The act referenced national security issues related to European integration and the need to examine the risks of the disruption of trade and economic cooperation with Russia should the signing of the Association Agreement with the EU go forward. The government act also called upon the resumption of dialogue with the Customs Union and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries, and resolved to set up a trilateral dialogue with the EU and Russia on an economic and regulatory issues (http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=246864953&cat_id=244276429).

Meanwhile, President Yanukovich and his senior staff asserted that Ukraine’s European integration course remained unchanged (<http://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/29537.html>; http://zn.ua/POLITICS/u-yanukovicha-schitayut-chtokrest-na-podpisanii-associacii-s-es-stavitarano-133334_.html). On November 22, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov told the Ukrainian Parliament that the proposed trilateral EU-Ukraine-Russia consultations were to be held before the November 28–29 EU Eastern Partnership summit in Vilnius.

He also complained about the International Monetary Fund’s (IMF) tough austerity requirements to resume its financing program for Ukraine, which the Ukrainian authorities had rejected (<http://ria.ru/politics/20131122/978924666.html>).

Kyiv’s move seemed to be coordinated with Moscow. Also on November 21, President Vladimir Putin denied that Russia was applying economic coercion, adding that the Kremlin was not against Kyiv joining the EU and would only have objected to Ukraine joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (<http://inpress.ua/ru/politics/20469-rossiya-ne-protiv-assotsiatsii-ukrainy-s-es-no-protiv-vstupleniya-eyo-v-nato-putin>). Moreover, the Russian presidential press secretary, Dmitry Peskov, said on the same day that Moscow was prepared to hold tripartite negotiations with Ukraine and the EU on trade and economic issues (<http://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/176159.html>).

On social media, European politicians Stefan Fule (twitter.com/StefanFuleEU) and Karl Bildt (twitter.com/carlbildt), swiftly condemned Russia’s substantial economic pressure on Ukraine. And the next day, on November 22, Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaitė’s aide told Baltic News Service that during that day’s telephone conversation [between the two leaders], Viktor Yanukovich told the Lithuanian President about Russian threats “to restrict imports of its goods” from

Eastern Ukraine, which, according to Kyiv’s calculations, could “lead to billions in losses” (<http://www.lithuaniantribune.com/57579/ukrainian-president-tells-president-grybauskaitė-about-russias-black-mail-201357579/>).

Arguably, Mr. Putin has demonstrated a coherent and determined, if somewhat unpredictable, coercive policy against Ukraine, thus allowing him to keep Ukraine from leaving Russia’s orbit. The Kremlin remarkably skillfully used the issues of Ukraine’s fiscal problems, energy dependency on Russia and falling commodity outputs.

Furthermore, Russia exploited Mr. Yanukovich’s political vulnerability stemming from his ties to large Ukrainian businesses that predominantly trade with Russia, as well as his fears of relatively low voter support ahead of the 2015 presidential elections.

Finally, Moscow played on the consequences of an underperforming international order, including the International Monetary Fund’s unpopular austerity demands on Kyiv, Brussels’s unwillingness to treat Ukraine as a candidate for membership, as well as Europe’s inability to provide more support to Ukraine in the face of Russian pressure (<http://jamestownfoundation.blogspot.com/2013/11/a-possible-third-way-for-ukraine-no-eu.html>).

Nonetheless, Kyiv’s poor record in addressing the “selective justice” issue points to President Yanukovich’s personal political vulnerabilities. The Ukrainian opposition has accused Yanukovich of agreeing to behind-the-scenes accords with Mr. Putin, including, purportedly, deals benefiting himself (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, November 14).

Opposition leader Arseniy Yatsenyuk of the *Batkivshchyna* party alleged on November 22 that Mr. Yanukovich managed to negotiate reduced natural gas prices and \$20 billion in financing “for him and his closest circle,” and that part of this funding would be allocated to the president’s 2015 re-election campaign (<http://interfax.com.ua/news/political/176281.html>).

Indeed, some unaddressed issues, suggesting possible corruption – such as, for example, President Yanukovich’s opulent Mezhyhiria residence and his son Oleksander’s wealth – inspire negative public opinion and contrast sharply with the “European values” that Kyiv claims it is striving to embody.

At the same time, the ever-changing policies of the Ukrainian authorities are indicative of the technical weakness of government institutions, which, to a large extent, lack the institutional capacity to comprehensively analyze and respond to Russian economic coercion. Ukraine’s relative economic weakness compared to its massive eastern neighbor requires that the Ukrainian authorities seek the support of other large regional powers, but such assistance clearly comes at a price.

At this stage, Kyiv’s suspension of its European integration efforts translates to a short-term victory for Mr. Putin. Ukrainian authorities will probably continue their “multi-vectoral” approach, trying to win concessions both from the EU and Russia and also, perhaps, from other regional players.

Speaking to the Jamestown Foundation on November 21, U.S. negotiations expert Arthur Martirosyan compared EU-Ukraine-

(Continued on page 12)

THE WORLD REACTS TO KYIV’S DECISION

U.S. Department of State

Following is the text of the press statement about Ukraine’s decision on association with the European Union. It was delivered by Jen Psaki, spokesperson for the U.S. Department of State, on November 21 in Washington.

The United States joins the European Union in its disappointment with the decision of the government of Ukraine to delay preparations for signature of an Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement

with the EU. The EU has offered Ukraine an historic opportunity to cement a European future for its people and demonstrate to international financial institutions and investors its unwavering commitment to democratic reform.

We stand with the vast majority of Ukrainians who want to see this future for their country, and we commend the EU for keeping the door open. The United States is convinced Ukraine’s integration with Europe is the surest course to economic prosperity and democracy.

Canadian foreign affairs minister

Canada’s Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird on November 22 issued the following statement in response to Ukraine’s announcement regarding the European Union.

Canada is deeply disappointed with today’s announcement by the Ukrainian government of its decision to suspend preparations for the signing of the Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area with the European Union.

This decision represents a significant lost opportunity in Ukraine’s path toward strengthened democratic development and economic prosperity. This agreement would have embraced the values of freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law in Ukraine, and would have created a more transparent, rules-based and liberalized marketplace, transforming and developing Ukraine’s economy. Canada hopes that preparations for a Ukraine-EU agreement can resume in the near future.

I personally spoke with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Leonid Kozhara on November 15 to urge Ukraine to sign this agreement. It is particularly disappointing that the Yanukovich government has since made a decision to turn its back on the exhaustive efforts that the European Union and all of Ukraine’s Western partners, including Canada, have made to help Ukraine fulfill its European aspirations.

The government of Canada is likewise very troubled that Ukrainian authorities have not taken the necessary steps to address selective justice in the case of imprisoned Ukrainian opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko. This continues to hamper Ukraine’s democratic development, as a legitimate and active opposition is a vital part of a vibrant and effective democracy.

Canada commends the European Union for keeping the door open and stands together with the people of Ukraine in their pursuit of the many shared values that would have been enshrined in this agreement.

EU high representative for foreign affairs

Catherine Ashton, the European Union’s high representative for foreign affairs and security policy, issued the following statement in Brussels on November 21.

The EU takes note of the decision of the government of Ukraine to suspend the process of preparation for signature of the Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area between the EU and Ukraine.

This is a disappointment not just for the EU but, we believe, for the people of Ukraine. The reforms adopted over the last months have been far reaching. The signing of the most ambitious agreement the EU has ever offered to a partner country would have further enhanced the reform course of Ukraine and sent a clear signal to investors worldwide, as

well as to international financial institutions that Ukraine is serious about its modernization pledge and becoming a predictable and reliable interlocutor for international markets. It would have provided a unique opportunity to reverse the recent discouraging trend of decreasing foreign direct investment in Ukraine and would have given momentum to negotiations on a new stand-by arrangement with the IMF [International Monetary Fund].

We believe that the future for Ukraine lies in a strong relationship with the EU and we stand firm in our commitment to the people of Ukraine who would have been the main beneficiaries of the agreement through the enhanced freedom and prosperity the agreement would have brought about.

Quotable notes

“...Fortunately, all is not lost. Like all tin-pot authoritarians, [Viktor] Yanukovich thought he could pull a fast one on the people. He was wrong. On Sunday, November 24, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians took to the streets in protest against the regime’s anti-European moves. The opposition called for the government’s resignation and Yanukovich’s impeachment. They may or may not succeed this time, but one thing is clear, and Yanukovich must know it. Sooner or later, his regime will come crashing down. The only question is: will the collapse be peaceful or not?”

– Alexander Motyl, writing on November 25 in “Yanukovich Chooses Russia over EU for Ukraine” on his blog “Ukraine’s Orange Blues” on www.worldaffairsjournal.org.

Cabinet rejects...

(Continued from page 1)

has to drop its demand for her release.

EU Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fule, who has been among Ukraine's biggest advocates within the EU leadership, hinted in a November 23 press conference in Brussels that the option of signing without Ms. Tymoshenko's release was still being considered.

"We are waiting for their report to resolve the problems of selective justice," Mr. Fule said. "Afterwards, everything is in the hands of the member-states. The discussion is ongoing."

Other EU leaders have directly mentioned the possibility of allowing Mr. Yanukovich to sign the agreement by merely promising Ms. Tymoshenko's release. In that scenario, it would then be up to the 28 EU member-states to evaluate his commitment to that promise in the agreement's ratification process (which requires approval from all 28 Parliaments).

Yet diplomats representing Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden have stated they won't support anything short of Ms. Tymoshenko's full freedom at the moment of the agreement's signing.

In which case, political observers will count the failure to sign the Association Agreement as the latest political victory for Russian President Vladimir Putin, recently deemed by Forbes magazine as the world's most powerful man.

"The single reason that could have forced Yanukovich to release this document is the desire of the orderer, who wanted to get in his hands a formal guarantee that Yanukovich won't reconsider tomorrow; a guarantee that can be thrown in the faces of Western leaders as evidence of their incapability," Ukrayinska Pravda journalist Sergii Leshchenko wrote of the Cabinet resolution.

"The name of the orderer is Vladimir Putin. The government's resolution is a flagrant humiliation of the European side. This document is a marker that delineates Ukraine as a zone of Russia's geopolitical influence. And its goal is to demonstrate more evidence of Putin's status as the world's most influential person, next to whom [Barack] Obama looks like a schoolboy."

To explain why the Cabinet reached its decision, Vice Prime Minister Yurii Boiko gave a press conference the day of the resolution and described the economic damage inflicted on Ukrainian industry by the Russian trade battles initiated in August, which he estimated at \$3.75 to \$5 billion in lost trade.

Russian tactics have included, but have not been limited to, denying required certifications for the Customs Union market, rejecting products for alleged safety concerns (Roshen sweets), delaying customs procedures that result in delivery delays and refusing to renew customs duty-free agreements (Interpipe pipes).

Such restricted trade with Russia has caused industrial production to fall for four consecutive months, resulting in mass layoffs, which Mr. Boiko estimated at 15,000 jobs per month.

"We almost completed the program of introducing European standards, and yet we didn't get a signal from our European partners that the incurred losses will be compensated with new markets," he said. "I underline: we didn't make an issue of a financial aid grant, as Greece did. We merely requested a replacement of [lost] trade."

The Association Agreement talks were halted "with the goal of approving measures to ensure the national safety of Ukraine and to more carefully study the measures necessary to renew lost production volumes and trade with Russia and other states of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)," said the November 21 Cabinet resolution.

It called for establishing an active dialogue with the Moscow-led Customs Union nations to revive trade and creating a trilateral commission among Ukraine, Russia and the EU to develop measures to renew production volumes lost by Ukrainian firms.

Prime Minister Azarov, who made numerous statements in recent weeks blaming the agreement's failure on the EU, claimed the day after the resolution that the EU leadership was at fault for failing to arrange for a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) under relaxed conditions.

"Think about the size that's necessary to pay the IMF debt alone," he told jeering opposition leaders during a raucous parliamentary session on November 22. "That's increasing utility rates for citizens, freezing wages and welfare at current levels, reducing budget spending. We have to cancel tax benefits for agricultural producers."

That's why the Cabinet of Ministers made renewing relations with the Russian Federation its top priority, said Mr. Azarov, who spent more than half his life in his native Russia.

That night on the "Shuster Live" television talk show, Mr. Azarov insisted that the government is merely pausing EU integration and has no intention of joining the Eurasian Economic Union that is planned for launch in 2015.



Protesters hold a European Union flag at the November 24 demonstration in central Kyiv – the largest since the Orange Revolution of 2004. Zenon Zawada

"We are aiming for integration with the EU, we are aiming for signing this agreement, but we took a pause for now," he said. "We changed nothing strategically. We only changed tactically."

Plans for halting the agreement were reached together with Russian officials and in advance of the November 21 resolution. Mr. Yanukovich held two confidential meetings with Mr. Putin, on October 27 and November 9, the details of which are unknown.

Mr. Azarov met with Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev on November 20, though Mr. Boiko denied they had reached an agreement.

Yet Viktor Suslov, Ukraine's representative to the Eurasian Economic Commission, acknowledged on November 20 that Russian and Ukrainian officials agreed to hold detailed consultations in the weeks after the agreement's halt, the Kommersant-Ukraine newspaper reported on November 22.

The Russian government agreed not to apply any trade sanctions or restrictions during the negotiations, Mr. Suslov said. Moreover, "it's possible that large aid will be offered from the Customs Union countries during the consultation period," he said.

Many believe that Mr. Putin has already offered Mr. Yanukovich such financial aid, though there has been no public admission of such assistance.

Arseniy Yatsenyuk, the parliamentary faction chair of Batkivshchyna, estimated that aid at \$20 billion, "half of which they will steal, and the other half to spend on the election campaign so that Yanukovich will falsify the result and gain the post in 2015," he told reporters on November 22.

He also alleged Mr. Putin offered support for Mr. Yanukovich's re-election campaign. But some observers said Mr. Yatsenyuk's statement was mere sensationalism.

"Russia has no money," said Dr. Oleh Soskin, director of the Institute of Society Transformation in Kyiv.

"It needs to keep Belarus, fight in the Caucasus. They took Armenia, and Tajikistan is dependent on them. How do they have so much money? They have a budget deficit and an outflow of investment. God forbid oil prices fall. They won't be able to fulfill their budget at all. Russia doesn't physically have the money to finance Ukraine," he explained.

Concorde Capital, a Kyiv investment bank, wrote in a November 22 report that if Mr. Yanukovich got aid from Mr. Putin, it would have been exclusively in the form of a loan or, less likely, natural gas price discounts, and under opaque conditions that may involve political concessions.

"Aid from Russian banks and gas discounts is precisely what the Yanukovich administration needs to solve its short-term problems," Concorde Capital wrote. "Such a scenario looks risky for Yanukovich, who will gradually lose his ability in the next few years to preserve economic and political independence from Russia."

Mr. Putin promised Mr. Yanukovich a new natural gas agreement early next year, which the government has already factored into its 2014 budget, reported Mustafa Nayem, one of Ukraine's most respected journalists, who cited well-placed, anonymous sources in his November 22 story.

Mykhailo Pohrebinskyi, an advisor to former President Leonid Kuchma, said he believes Mr. Putin offered Mr.

Yanukovich a loan in the range of \$15 billion under discounted interest rates, as well as lower gas prices and normalized trade conditions.

Dr. Anders Aslund of the Peterson Institute of International Economics in Washington pegged the aid to be offered by Russia at closer to \$10 billion, as had been suggested by Putin advisor Sergei Glazyev at the Yalta European Strategy summit.

Yet, on November 26, Mr. Azarov told reporters that the Ukrainian government received no aid from Russia, while Mr. Putin said the same day that no agreement has been reached to reduce gas prices for Ukraine. The next day, the Russian president announced the Ukrainian government owes Russian banks \$28 billion.

The threatening statement revived hopes among optimists that the Association Agreement could very well be signed in Vilnius.

Concorde Capital estimated that Mr. Yanukovich needs \$5 billion to \$6 billion to survive 2014 given the government's desperate current financial position, which consists of rapidly depleting international foreign exchange reserves, enormous scheduled foreign debt payments, plummeting tax revenue and sliding industrial production.

The Fitch ratings agency downgraded Ukraine's credit rating in November with a negative prognosis. Such factors create a serious risk for currency devaluation, Concorde Capital reported.

"Whatever happens in Vilnius, the Ukrainian government will have to deal with a set of severe economic problems that have accumulated during the last few years," the bank wrote. "We see some crucial weaknesses that will complicate the life of decision-makers in the near future, but all of them converge at the main bottleneck, which is the economy's increasingly dangerous foreign currency deficit."

Mr. Yanukovich's successful re-election depends on avoiding a hryvnia devaluation, which is what might have motivated him to opt for the short-term solution of quick cash from Russia and postpone the long-term benefits of integration with the EU, which offered no such loans.

Yet Mr. Yanukovich's inability to repay Russian loans could lead the Russian government to provoke a default, demand political concessions such as Customs Union membership or demand state assets, Concorde Capital said.

Since the Yanukovich administration isn't interested in the Customs Union, there's a high chance of a renewed trade war with Russia, the bank reported.

"A likely benefit from the failed EU deal is warmer relations with Russia, which may be beneficial for several months but will create risks for Ukrainian independence as soon as Russia inevitably begins to pressure Ukraine to join the Customs Union, the precursor to the Eurasian Economic Union," Concorde Capital reported. "Yanukovich will be isolated and on his own in this case, with no support from Western powers, even on a surface level."

Indeed, EU leaders such as Enlargement Commissioner Fule have insisted until the very end that the agreement is on the table.

Despite declaring on November 21 – after the Cabinet resolution – that his EU diplomatic mission is over and the

(Continued on page 10)



WASHINGTON, November 23.

SAN FRANCISCO, November 24.

Yaro Bihun

Mykyta Safronenko

Euro-Maidan spreads around the globe



NEW YORK, November 23.

Stefan Slutsky

Demonstrations and gatherings in support of the Euro-Maidan taking place in Kyiv and other cities in Ukraine sprang up spontaneously around the globe. According to various media sources, such protests took place in about 50 cities. Here is a sampling of photos from various venues.



ROME, November 25.

Marianna Soronevych



STOCKHOLM, November 24.

Ukrainian Women's Association of Scandinavia



VANCOUVER, British Columbia, November 24.

Stanislav Nastenکو



TORONTO, November 24.

Ukrainian Canadian Congress



CLEVELAND, November 24.

Andriy Futey

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

A dangerous political game

With its November 21 resolution, Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers heightened the stakes in a dangerous political game that could end very badly not only for the administration of President Viktor Yanukovich, but for the nation's future.

What's particularly disturbing about the Ukrainian government's decision to reject the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement – it's only a pause, they insist – is its refusal to think about Ukraine's long-term future. Ukraine's leaders have turned the negotiations into bazaar-style bargaining in a desperate search for cash that will keep their floundering government afloat until the March 2015 presidential election. Winning those elections will enable this band of crooks and swindlers to continue robbing the country for another five years.

But the economy is in such bad shape (owing exclusively to the extreme mismanagement and corruption of the Yanukovich administration) that the president hasn't even been sure if it will remain intact until then. Some banks have predicted Ukraine's international reserves could plummet to as low as \$8 billion to \$10 billion next year, compared to about \$30 billion a year ago. Many bankers are stunned the hryvnia has avoided a major devaluation up to this point.

That's where Russian President Vladimir Putin has conveniently stepped in. He speaks the language that these fraudsters understand: cold hard cash immediately, without the Europeans' talk about rule of law, democracy and individual rights that comes across as mere chatter to the Yanukovich entourage.

On November 26, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov confirmed what other top Ukrainian officials began admitting immediately after the resolution – Messrs. Yanukovich and Putin had indeed reached some form of a deal, the details of which no one beyond a handful of people know. While Mr. Azarov has denied receiving financial aid (which may or may not be true) and Mr. Putin has denied offering natural gas price discounts (which may or may not be true), we know that there's some arrangement.

Mr. Azarov himself admitted that Mr. Putin demanded delaying the Association Agreement until a trilateral commission was formed, while Ukraine's representative to the Eurasian Economic Commission, Viktor Suslov, acknowledged the November 21 resolution was planned with the Russians.

And, it's no coincidence that Mr. Putin asked Mr. Azarov to issue the Cabinet resolution – as an order – on the eve of the ninth anniversary of the Orange Revolution. That event was among the biggest foreign policy failures of Mr. Putin's political career, and the events of the last week are the result of nearly a decade of work in plotting his revenge.

Those of us capable of seeing beyond the 2015 presidential election realize that any deal involving borrowing money from Russian state banks (all controlled by Mr. Putin) is a potential time bomb for Mr. Yanukovich and the Ukrainian nation as a whole. Mr. Putin has announced he wants to launch the Eurasian Economic Union in 2015, which he can't do successfully without Ukraine's involvement. Mr. Yanukovich and his entourage are sadly mistaken if they think Mr. Putin's going to allow them to back out of the Eurasian Union after going this far.

The Ukrainian economy is projected to be in such bad shape by 2015 that Ukrainian banks, such as Concorde Capital, expect the Yanukovich administration will have no choice but to resort to the IMF for a lifeline, regardless of whether it gets loans from Russia. We can fully expect the Russian government to take advantage of Ukraine's weakness at that point to demand repayments, or compensation in some other form, potentially Eurasian Union membership. If necessary, the Russian government has enough influence on the Ukrainian economy to provoke a default, experts said.

It's our sincere hope that Mr. Yanukovich will stun the Ukrainian public and sign the EU Association Agreement, foregoing any arrangements with the Russians. The first hint that this is possible (though admittedly unlikely) is that Mr. Yanukovich never supported the Cabinet resolution, which is merely symbolic and has no bearing on Ukraine's international agreements. The second hint is Mr. Putin's November 27 blackmail threat that the Ukrainian government owes Russian banks \$28 billion. The Russian president appears concerned that whatever deal they have is tentative and Mr. Yanukovich could decide to renege at the last minute.

In the meantime, we support the tens of thousands of Ukrainians who have braved the rains of this weekend and the freezing weather that followed to demand Ukraine's rightful place in the European community, leading eventually to EU membership.

Dec.
2
2004

Turning the pages back...

Nine years ago, on December 2, 2004, as millions across Ukraine and the diaspora were protesting the November 21, 2004, second-round run-off of presidential elections between candidates Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich that became known as the Orange Revolution, President Leonid Kuchma traveled to Moscow for a talk with Russian President Vladimir Putin.

"A revote of the second round might prove useless," Mr. Putin told Mr. Kuchma. "... This could continue as long as one of the sides doesn't obtain the result it needs."

The Weekly's editorial noted: "What Messrs. Yanukovich, Kuchma and Putin, and others who support them would like the world to believe is that the millions demonstrating in Ukraine are simply unhappy that their candidate lost. Therefore, these 'malcontents' are not to be taken seriously. Thankfully, most of the West agrees with the opposition that there is much, much more at stake here. What we're talking about is an election stolen from the people of Ukraine. The people are not going to stand for this and that's why they've been occupying Kyiv for the past 11 days."

In commenting on the international criticisms of the election results, the editorial responds: "For it is not the exit polls that are the issue, but the hundreds of thousands of

(Continued on page 14)

REACTIONS TO KYIV'S DECISION ON EU

Ukrainian Catholic University

Below is the statement of the Ukrainian Catholic University in response to the government of Ukraine suspending the European integration process. It was released on November 22.

The decision of the government of Ukraine to refuse to sign the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union, announced on November 21, has deeply worried the community of the Ukrainian Catholic University. At stake is the future of 46 million people, and especially young people, whose future may be deprived by this decision.

The national interests of Ukraine are in its entry into the European space, where there is rule of law, respect for human dignity and human rights, civil, religious and academic freedom, free enterprise, social justice, accountability of government before the people, respect for private property, etc. Instead, Ukraine's entry into superstate formations, which are united on diametrically opposite values, contradicts its national interests.

We are aware that by signing the agreement with the European Union, the Ukrainian government would be obliged to look after the economic stability of the Ukrainian state. However, it is not the Association Agreement that is the biggest threat to the economy of Ukraine, but the

nonconformity of the economy's current legal framework to modern European standards.

For the Ukrainian Catholic University, however, there is no doubt that the future of Ukrainian education is also connected with the prospects of its association with the European educational and cultural space. Ensuring these prospects is also the duty of the Ukrainian government.

At the same time, universities are natural exponents of the aspirations and expectations of students, who now unequivocally vote for Ukraine's European choice. Crossing out this choice will lead to an inevitable surge in emigration among young people, which threatens the security of the state no less than the temporary economic difficulties.

So, for the sake of our youth, we urge the university's community not to be indifferent and publicly express its position and advocate for the European future of Ukraine.

We call on the president and government of Ukraine to urgently review the decision and re-engage with European diplomats in order to sign the carefully prepared agreement. It is never too late to make a wise decision.

Vilnius became a symbol of Ukraine's European prospects. Let it not also become a symbol of its infirmity and another historic defeat!

Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain

The following statement by the General Council of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain was issued November 21.

The Association of Ukrainians is both shocked and deeply disappointed at the Ukrainian government's decision today to stop working on the Association Agreement and the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) with the European Union.

The reason given, that the decision was in the interests of Ukraine's national and economic security, is frankly disingenuous.

It is clear that many of the reforms that the EU had set as preconditions to the agreement were unpalatable to President Viktor Yanukovich and his ruling Party of Regions, and progress has been slow, particularly in relation to reform of the judicial and electoral systems to demonstrably conform with European democratic standards. The case of Yulia Tymoshenko has been a particular thorn in the president's side, and the EU was right to take a stand against seriously flawed politically motivated judicial processes.

It is equally clear that, having authorized the initialization of the Association Agreement and the DCFTA earlier this year

with the view to Ukraine signing the agreements in Vilnius next week, President Yanukovich and Prime Minister Mykola Azarov have been conducting simultaneous secret negotiations with the Russian government which, unlike the EU, does not demand any democratic standards for entry to the Customs Union. So, authoritarianism, corruption, selective justice and erosion of press freedom will now be able to continue unchecked.

The decision today is a betrayal of the European aspirations of the majority of Ukrainian people. President Yanukovich and his government have blocked Ukraine's civilized path towards: increased stability, prosperity and democracy; European principles, ideals and values; reform of the judicial system and law enforcement; and higher economic standards and trade with Europe (estimated at three times the current GDP per capita).

By turning away from Europe, President Yanukovich has shown that he, his prime minister and his government have no political principles, are incapable of democratic reform and cannot be trusted to act in the best interests of the people they have been elected to serve.

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

The UCCA released the following statement on November 22.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), the representative organization of over 1 million Americans of Ukrainian descent, strongly condemns the Ukrainian governing authorities' November 21 decree halting their preparation process for signing a historic trade and political agreement with the EU one week before the critical EU summit in Vilnius, Lithuania.

The upcoming third summit of the Eastern Partnership is seen as a critical juncture for Ukraine, deciding whether it would opt for further integration into Euro-Atlantic structures or see its future closely

tied with Russia. The abrupt political reversal on the eve of the summit, of suspending EU preparations and renewing an active dialogue with the Russian Federation and other countries of the Customs Union, effectively destroys Ukraine's chances of joining the European Union. The UCCA is deeply concerned with the future foreign policy trajectory of Ukraine and it not being aligned with European values.

The UCCA strongly urges President Viktor Yanukovich and the government of Ukraine to reverse the November 21 decision, which undermines the national interests of Ukraine by threatening the revival of the Soviet Union, and continue working towards fulfilling the requirements of the European Union.

REACTIONS TO KYIV'S DECISION ON EU

Ukrainian Canadian Congress

The UCC issued the release below on November 22

The Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) is deeply disappointed and denounces the decision of the Government of Ukraine to "stop the process of preparation for the conclusion of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU... and resume an active dialogue with the Russian Federation and other countries of the Customs Union" (Cabinet Order of November 21, No. 905-p).

This unilateral decision by the government of Ukraine does not conform to the European hopes and aspirations of the Ukrainian people, puts a stop to reform and the path of European integration and the modernization of the Ukrainian economy

to put it in line with international standards. It further impedes the path to democracy and protection of human rights.

The government's decision exceeds the authority of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and is contrary to the principles of domestic and foreign policy of Ukraine approved by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

"Over the past 18 months the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, together with the Ukrainian World Congress have worked to assist in advancing to the Association Agreement between the EU and Ukraine, and we regard the current actions of the authorities in Ukraine as a real loss of sovereignty of Ukraine, ignoring the European aspirations of the people of Ukraine, and a move to return to the Soviet past," said UCC President Paul Grod.

Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations

The AFUO issued the release below on November 22.

The decision by President Viktor Yanukovich not to proceed with Ukraine's integration into the European Union sets back the aspirations of Ukraine's people, according the peak body for the Ukrainian Australian community.

Stefan Romaniw, chairman of the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations, who is currently in Kyiv, is hosting Australian MP Marie Ficarra, parliamentary secretary to the Premier of New South Wales Barry O'Farrell on the occasion of the commemoration of the 80th anniversary of the Holodomor 1932-1933.

"I will meet with government of Ukraine officials this week and tell them that not pursuing the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement denies the people of Ukraine what they deserve: a country with democratic institutions, the rule of law and economic opportunity," Mr. Romaniw said. "President Yanukovich had the opportunity to make history and bring Ukraine into Europe. Instead, he has de facto approved the current situation in Ukraine of denial of human and cultural rights, and endemic corruption."

"President Yanukovich's preservation

of the status quo is despite the urging of the European Union, and the governments of the United States, Canada and Australia, and that of the citizens who are right now gathering on Independence Square in Kyiv," Mr. Romaniw stated. "I have just come from Independence Square where there is a ground swell of citizens calling for Ukraine to go to Europe and condemning the government's decision."

"Following my meetings with Ukrainian officials, the AFUO will provide an update to the Australian government. There is now heightened need for countries like Australia who support and benefit from democratic values to support the conduct of free and fair presidential elections in 2015 so that the Ukrainian people have their say on President Yanukovich's actions," Mr. Romaniw said. "This should take the form of increased Australian diplomatic effort, direct representation in Kyiv in readiness for its future transition, and support for independent election monitoring."

"President Yanukovich has not listened to his own people or his growing trade partners. Those leaders who do not listen inevitably fail, and the AFUO calls on him to establish a timeline for renewing the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement process before the 2015 presidential elections," Mr. Romaniw said.

Ukrainian World Congress

The UWC issued the release below on November 22.

TORONTO – The Ukrainian World Congress (UWC) calls upon President Viktor Yanukovich to immediately take the necessary steps in order to sign the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement during the third summit of the Eastern Partnership in Vilnius on November 28-29.

The signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement will confirm Ukraine's European choice and guarantee, first and foremost, a strong stimulus for democracy and social progress, access by the Ukrainian people to the world's largest economy and European economic and social programs, support for the modernization of

the energy sector, and the acceleration of reforms in education and health care.

On the other hand, the rejection of this unique opportunity to sign the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and the active engagement in a dialogue with Russia regarding the Customs Union will thwart the Ukrainian nation's European aspirations, undermine Ukraine's sovereignty, support Russia's expansionist ambitions, and cause further deterioration of human rights.

"The Ukrainian World Congress calls upon President Viktor Yanukovich to make the right choice for the good of the Ukrainian people and sign the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement," stated UWC President Eugene Czolij.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

More on the first complete "Kobzar"

Dear Editor:

R. L. Chomiak writes in his letter to the editor (November 10) that the word "first" is always dangerous in journalism. Dangerous, yes, but to never use the term would preclude the naming of any first – the first moon landing, the first American president and the first "Kobzar," which Taras Shevchenko published in 1840. More problematic is a designation of the final "Kobzar." No one knows exactly how many editions there have been, but estimates of 200 or more are credible.

Volume 1 of Mykola Denysiuk's complete works of Shevchenko provides a history of the "Kobzar's" complicated evolution. Today, the book is understood to be the compilation of Shevchenko's uncensored and unabridged poetry. It includes a few poems in Russian, but not verses in that language that he weaved into his plays. The 1844 Chyhyryn edition mentioned by Mr. Chomiak consisted of slight revisions of the eight poems that comprised the first "Kobzar." Attached to that edition was the poet's longest verse, "Haidamaky," released in 1841 as a stand-

alone. A facsimile of the original epic poem was published this month by the Shevchenko Scientific Society. The modern "Kobzar" also corrects early typographic and transcription errors made by publishers.

I urge Mr. Chomiak to check my translation before suggesting I may have missed Shevchenko's "Якби-то ти, Богдане п'яний." He might also review the results of his own Google search before implying that there are several versions of the poem. Though it is posted on numerous websites, the wording is identical. For those interested in its provenance, or of any Shevchenko poem, please refer to <http://izbornyk.org.ua/shevchenko/shev1.htm>.

If Mr. Chomiak can find a verse considered part of the final collection that I did not translate, I will promptly do so and inform Shevchenko scholars in New York and Kyiv who told me that mine is the first ever complete rendition of the "Kobzar" in English. I am told there are complete translations in Hungarian and Russian.

Peter Fedynsky
Columbia, Md.

Fedynsky's "Kobzar": Is it really the first?

Dear Editor:

By taking issue with "which Kobzar" was translated by Peter Fedynsky, (letter, November 10), R.L. Chomiak is really missing the mark. Every "Kobzar" begins with poetry from 1838-1842, which was not included in the 1844 edition. This is noted on page 131, Volume 1 of the Denysiuk "Works."

My issue is that Mr. Fedynsky's volume is touted by his publisher to be "the first ever English translation of the entire 'Kobzar'" as stated on the back cover page of the book and repeated in some Weekly articles. This is rather strange because in 1964 Profs. C.H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell authored "The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko – The Kobzar" in

English as published by the University of Toronto Press. In his Introduction, Mr. Fedynsky states that their work was "the closest to a complete translation of Shevchenko's verse." That being said, whose work was really "first" and what made that work "incomplete"?

My purpose is most certainly not to detract from Mr. Fedynsky's monumental accomplishment coming 50 years later. But, and here I agree with Mr. Chomiak, "first" in journalism is always dangerous.

And, yes, Mr. Fedynsky does translate the Bohdan poem – on page 366, and nothing is lost in the translation.

Bohdan Pasichny
Hamilton, N.J.

More about the Prison on Lontskoho Museum

Dear Editor:

Thank you and, through you, Andrew Sorokowski, for the article "The Prison on Lontskoho" (November 17). The Museum and National Memorial to Victims of Occupation Regimes in Lviv (Prison on Lontsky Street) is becoming better known through such articles.

In August, the Ukrainian World Congress convened a special session at the memorial/museum on the eve of its convention. Last month a special 14-member delegation from the European Parliament visited. The Canadian prime minister was at the museum in 2010 and again met with its director, Ruslan Zabily, when he was in Ottawa in 2012.

A non-Ukrainian visitor from Canada was so moved by the experience that he is funding the translation into English of all exhibits at the museum and is developing an English-language hand book for visitors.

Another supporter from the U.S. funded the installation of a computer network in the research wing and WiFi throughout the museum, including in its meeting space,

that enables the work of historians and allows for numerous academic events and public lectures.

The establishment of the museum is itself a fascinating story of dedication and determination by young researchers and historians who led the fight for its founding in 2009.

The Lontsky Museum and Memorial is a fine example of a success story of civic involvement in working to overcome the colonial legacy of totalitarian occupation

The museum's future in no small measure depends on ever greater interest and support by the Ukrainian diaspora and beyond.

The Ucrainica Research Institute and the League of Ukrainian Canadians in Toronto have been working directly with the museum since 2010. For more information on how to get involved and support the museum readers may write to luc@lucorg.com.

Borys Potapenko
Toronto

The letter-writer is executive director of the League of Ukrainian Canadians.

OPINIONS

in The Ukrainian Weekly

Opinions expressed by columnists, commentators and letter-writers are their own and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of either The Weekly editorial staff or its publisher, the Ukrainian National Association.

Major conference...

(Continued from page 1)

to look at the policies that created the Holodomor, and pointed to levels of culpability from involvement and corruption to knowingly and purposefully executing the policy. She said it is important to study also why the Holodomor, which was the apogee among famines, had such an effect on the Ukrainian identity and the formation of the nation.

Another area of study worth pursuing, according to Dr. Hrynevych, is determining how much grain was transported in 1930-1933 to Russia. Moscow, she said, controlled the exploitation of resources from one region to benefit another. It is important to note that there was no loyalty in Ukraine to the USSR, that in the late 1920s social protest was united with the national question. The villagers, church and intelligentsia, she added, were all nationally conscious.

Dr. Serbyn underscored that the genocide in Ukraine was not due to famine only; the Holodomor was merely the most deadly part. The Ukrainian genocide, in fact, is much broader, as Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term "genocide," said in his 1953 speech at Manhattan Center. The first blow, Lemkin said, was aimed at "the intelligentsia, the national brain, so as to paralyze the rest of the body." The second strike was against the Church, "the soul of Ukraine," the third at the farmers, "the large mass of independent peasants who are the repository of the tradition,... the national spirit of Ukraine." The fourth step was the "fragmentation of the Ukrainian people" by the introduction into Ukraine of foreign people and by the dispersion of Ukrainians.

Dr. Serbyn continued by noting that there had been attempts to explain the famine as the result of economic policy, however, Soviet leaders did not want to simply starve Ukrainian peasants but to destroy the Ukrainian nation. It was already in 1929, he explained, that certain segments of Ukrainian society were targeted. The intent, clearly, was "the destruction of the Ukrainians as a group," he underscored.

Dr. Serbyn also stated that using the plural of Holodomor (i.e., holodomory) is incorrect as there was one specific Holodomor. The previous famine, in 1921-1922, he said was meant to sacrifice the colony (Ukraine) to save the metropolia (Russia); it was not a genocide.

Next, conference participants heard presentations on "How Did the Holodomor Happen?" in a session moderated by Bohdan Klid (University of Alberta).

Stanislav Kulchytsky (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) spoke of punitive actions such as confiscation of goods, blockades of starving people and suppression of information about what was occurring in Ukraine. In January 1932, he noted, Joseph Stalin changed the face of socialism; he had assumed all power and was ready to sacrifice millions of people. Viacheslav Molotov was sent to Ukraine to increase grain deliveries and strengthen the Communist Party. The destructive blow came when Stalin ordered searches of farms and collective farms. Stalin personally directed this in a telegram of January 1, 1933, in which the peasants were told to give up foodstuffs and threatened with punishment if they did not comply.

By February 1933, all foodstuffs had been removed; there were reports of counterrevolutionary actions and hidden stores of food. Word went out that "kurkuls and Petliurites" were hoarding food - this was used to create enmity between classes, Dr. Kulchytsky noted. He said there were numerous documents and directives about food confiscation and the struggle against counterrevolution. All talk of famine was considered to be anti-Soviet propaganda.

Andrea Graziosi (University of Naples, Italy) began his presentation by saying that first one must define what the



A view of the conference proceedings at the Princeton University Club in New York City.

Holodomor is, adding that, in his view, theories and legal definitions, are not the best approach for a historian. He went on to emphasize that "the Holodomor is a very specific famine - not the Soviet famine, or Kazakh famine, or Volga famine." Also, it is part of a larger picture from the late 1920s to 1953.

In 1932-1933, Dr. Graziosi noted, there was a concentration of deaths in several months. Italian diplomats and Ukrainian Communist (Bolshevik) leader Mykola Skrypnyk understood that part of the Holodomor was an attack on Ukrainian elements in society. What occurred was motivated by political decisions taken at the end of 1932; moreover, this was a personal decision by Stalin, he said.

Famine was used "as a political weapon and to fight against nationalism." In fact, the Holodomor was "a zoned solution based on special measures - special anti-Ukrainian measures," Dr. Graziosi continued, adding that Stalin, who was a micromanager and obsessive-compulsive, was able to control the party and the country, and used the famine to break Ukraine and the peasants.

According to the Italian scholar, mortality during the 1930s famine "depended on residency, urban or rural, and not on nationality, meaning that people living in the countryside suffered independently of their ethnic background. Yet one cannot forget that, as everybody knew, in spite of previous urbanization-cum-Ukrainization, villages remained overwhelmingly Ukrainian, while cities had largely preserved their 'alien' (Russian, Jewish, Polish) character. The countryside was thus targeted to break the peasants, but with the full awareness that the village represented the nation's spine."

"Where Did the Holodomor Happen?" was the topic of the third session, moderated by Serhii Plokhii (Harvard University) and addressed by Gennadi Poberezny and Kostyantyn Bondarenko (both of Harvard University) and Joseph Livesey (New York University).

The panel presented the results of research begun three years ago, Dr. Plokhii explained, by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute's Digital Map of Ukraine Project, which has been working on the GIS Map Atlas of the Holodomor. "By measuring the footprint of the Great Famine, we also sought to understand the dynamics of the famine, the intentions of the authorities, the fate of the survivors and the consequences of mass starvation," he said.

Mr. Livesey presented and explained the use of mapable data, such as Council of Commissars reports on individual districts and such factors as drops in school attendance, sickness, death from starvation, etc. This, he said, is a way of

looking at data and uncovering patterns.

Mr. Poberezny noted that the project started from nothing and began with the creation of a conceptual basis and a look at what could be done with modern technology to investigate the Famine. GIS, or Geographic Information System, is cartography plus database management, he explained. Mr. Bondarenko introduced the website of maps, which he described as an interactive tool, that is available on the website of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

The researchers noted several salient points: the regions hardest hit by the Great Famine were oblasts in the middle of Ukraine, which runs counter to expectations; the famine continued through 1934; no direct correlation was found between the level of collectivization and the level of deaths; and no correlation was found between losses and ethnicity, or between blacklisted communities and the level of death.

The researchers said there was a difference in the policies applied by Moscow to different regions. The most resources in May 1933, for example, went to the south, the most collectivized areas that produced the most grain. The heaviest losses in 1933 were in the areas hardest hit in 1932. According to their data, the researchers said, 3.9 million people died in the Holodomor.

The afternoon session of the first day's program began with a presentation on the topic "Contextualizing the Holodomor" with Anne Applebaum, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of "Gulag" and "Iron Curtain" who is now working on a book about the Holodomor, as the featured speaker. After being introduced by John Micgiel (Columbia University), she opened her remarks with the comment: "I'm not sure being introduced as a Pulitzer winner in this company is positive," a reference to the Pulitzer Prize awarded to Walter Duranty of The New York Times, who has been discredited as a journalist for denying and concealing the Famine of 1932-1933.

Ms. Applebaum noted that most people were unaware of the Famine. A real breakthrough in the study and understanding of the Famine came with the publication of Dr. Robert Conquest's book "The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine" (1986), which described what happened and who died. Ms. Applebaum said she is interested in pursuing the motivations and mechanisms behind the Famine.

"Times have changed, there is new research, there are newly available archives," she said. And, just as HURI supported the work of Dr. Conquest, who was assisted by Dr. James Mace, it is now supporting her work. She described her assignment as "a daunting task."

The Holodomor, she said, "was a template for others that followed." It was the first time that food supply was used deliberately as a peacetime weapon. It does not have a precedent. Stalin's control made it possible to starve whom they wished to starve, Ms. Applebaum stated, and later his methods were copied by others. Hitler sealed ghettos and prevented food from getting in; Mao used famine also.

She cited these unique aspects of the Holodomor: famine areas were sealed, there was an information blockade, there was concealment of the deaths (via doctored census records, censored news reports and use of journalists like Duranty) and communist rhetoric was used to justify the systemic destruction of the people. The nature of communist ideology, she pointed out, with its focus on the future and the idea that all was for the greater good, as well as the totalitarian nature of control over all facets of life contributed to making the Holodomor possible.

"Was this the seminal Stalinist event? This is what I am asking," Ms. Applebaum said of her research.

Session four on "Who Carried Out the Holodomor?"



Prof. Serhii Plokhii of Harvard University.



Prof. Mark von Hagen of Arizona State University.

(Continued on page 9)

Major conference...

(Continued from page 8)

included presentations by Yuri Shapoval (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) and Robert Kusnierz (Pomeranian University, Poland), with Jars Balan (University of Alberta) as moderator.

Dr. Shapoval began by pointing out that moral persons could never have carried out the Holodomor. He noted that Stalin sent his appointees to control Ukraine. The regime's apparatus was at work in the latter part of 1932 as tens of thousands were arrested with the help of local Chekists, who never felt themselves to be part of Ukraine. Also arrested were elements of resistance, and not just those related to the Famine. The regime used the situation to take care of political problems as well, Dr. Shapoval stated.

At the beginning of 1933, over 63,000 persons were arrested. Party activists were constantly at work "ensuring" something, such as the spring sowing, he said. They circumvented their own laws, so they knew full well what they were doing. Dr. Shapoval cited statistics about people arrested, punished, sentenced and executed at the time of the famine. And, those who "alleviated famine conditions" were punished also, he added.

"We can now name the names of the perpetrators of the Holodomor," Dr. Shapoval said, noting that the Holodomor set the stage for the Yezhov-era repressions targeting bourgeois nationalists.

Dr. Kusnierz provided the Polish perspective on the Holodomor, citing reports by Polish diplomats in Ukraine. These reports indicated that the Famine was carried out in Ukraine by outsiders indoctrinated in Soviet ideology who fulfilled the tasks given them by the Soviet government. One consul said Stalin was a good psychologist who knew the people and their weaknesses. Another said the Bolsheviks did not care about other people and had a total disregard for the victims and applied systematic terror to break them.

Poles who worked in the USSR said "it was visible that Ukraine's status was that of a colony and its people were treated accordingly." Their situation was much worse than that of the people in Russia, Dr. Kusnierz said. "For the Poles, one question was never in doubt, i.e., the Ukrainian specificity of the hunger."

Dr. Kusnierz also cited a report by a Polish delegation, accompanied by a historic photograph taken on the Dnipro River in August 1933: "It is photographic proof that the famine was man-made: while the famine was at its apogee and acts of cannibalism were taking place, Soviet depots were full of grain, which is perfectly visible on the photograph." Thus, he said, Polish materials are an important contemporaneous source of information about the Holodomor.

Marta Baziuk (Holodomor Research and Education Consortium) led the conference's fifth session, which focused on "Who Suffered from the Holodomor?" The presenters were Nicolas Werth (Institute for Contemporary History, National Center for Scientific Research, France) and Hennadi Yefimenko (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine).

Dr. Werth began by stating that death by famine did not differentiate its victims. He went on to report that registers recorded only a small portion of deaths, and at a certain point they were no longer counted. Death registration registers were ordered destroyed and even those not destroyed did not list the cause of a victim's death as starvation. General vague categories were used to characterize the starving and the dead, thus it is difficult to analyze who

the Holodomor's victims were.

The overwhelming majority of the dead were peasants, Ukrainians, who died as a result of confiscation of food-stuffs and the blockade. The much more ethnically mixed town population did much better than Ukrainian villagers, Dr. Werth noted. But national minorities living in the countryside were not spared. Famine was concentrated in the rural areas, and small towns also were affected. Large, strategically important areas, like industrial regions, he explained, were better supplied and the death tolls there were considerably lower.

"At the peak of the Holodomor, November 1932-February 1933, there was a systematic effort to divide those who cooperated from those who resisted," Dr. Werth said. Those who cooperated received supplies. Thus, "there was differential feeding based on the level of cooperation." Party troikas determined who received help and how much.

Dr. Yefimenko stated unequivocally that the Holodomor was a result of the building of communism and it was directed against the Ukrainian nation.

This, he said was the revenge of the Kremlin, which wanted to punish the Ukrainian nation for killing the dream of a quick transformation to communism/socialism; a warning against the republic's possible stand against Stalin and its secession from the USSR; a means to indoctrinate the Ukrainian peasantry to work for state farms and collective farms; and a punishment for segments of the party nomenklatura for sympathizing with the Ukrainian nation and doubting the correctness of the party's course.

The final session of day one of the conference attempted to answer the question "How Many Suffered from the Holodomor?" Moderator Andriy Makuch introduced the topic by noting that, for years, 7 million was the figure commonly cited, then in the 2000s 10 million became the figure used.

Natalia Levchuk of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine spoke about the work done by a demographic team in Ukraine and the United States, which looked at both direct losses (deaths) and indirect losses (e.g., potential births) resulting from the Holodomor, analyzing actual and hypothetical numbers. The team looked at the censuses of 1926, 1937 and 1939, the latter of which is known to have been falsified.

As a result of their analysis, the demographers said that 3.9 million died in the Holodomor in the years 1932-1934, and there were an additional 600,000 indirect losses, for total estimated losses of 4.5 million. Ms. Levchuk reported that the team also looked at regional losses, finding that two oblasts, Kyiv and Kharkiv, account for over 50 percent of the deaths during the Holodomor, each losing more than 1 million people.

She further reported that, thus far, there is no direct evidence of an ethnic dimension to the Holodomor as no correlation has been found between ethnicity and deaths. However, the question is still open, she added, and demographic data and historical records must be explored further.

Dr. Oleh Wolowyna (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Center for Demographic and Socioeconomic Research of Ukrainians in the U.S. Shevchenko Scientific Society) clarified that the target area of the groups' research was all inhabitants of Ukraine and that this was put into the context of the entire USSR. The group looked at deaths per 1,000 of population and found significant differences among areas of the USSR. Thus, the number of deaths in Ukraine was 129 per 1,000, while in Russia it was 32. The highest number of excess deaths per day occurred in June 1933, when it was more than 30,000; in May through July 1933 there over 25,000 deaths per day.



Alexander Balaban/CUSUR

Victor Rud and Marianna Zajac at The Ukrainian Museum's program paying tribute to pioneers of Holodomor awareness.

The team also looked at urban versus rural losses and found that the more urbanized the population the lower the losses. However, the issue is complicated by the fact that peasants migrated to cities in search of food and many of them died in the cities, Dr. Wolowyna said. There is a question about the magnitude of urban deaths of rural migrants that were registered as urban deaths, and to what extent this may have affected estimates of urban excess deaths.

Dr. Wolowyna pointed out that there still are many original documents stored in different archives and this has revitalized the search for and analysis of these documents. He concluded by stating: "Detailed demographic analyses, coupled with the collection and systematization of statistics on different factors related to the Holodomor, have revealed a complex dynamic that challenges some previous conclusions and raises many new research questions."

The discussant for this session, Cheryl Madden (Shevchenko Scientific Society) cited the lack of records on deaths, or even sizes of families, which makes it hard to come up with a "definitive number" for the number of the Holodomor's victims. However, she added, the research results prove the intent of the Holodomor's organizers, thus underscoring that it was genocide.

On the sidelines

On view during the conference was an exhibit of historic news reports, publications and books about the Holodomor that was prepared by the Ukrainian National Association.

On the evening of the conference's first day, November 5, The Ukrainian Museum was the venue for a special program on the theme "The Holodomor's Impact on General Political Discourse Over the Decades," which was hosted by Valentina Kuryliw, director of education for the Toronto-based Holodomor Research and Education Consortium.

Herman Pirchner, president of the American Foreign Policy Council, was the featured speaker. He noted that the reactions of governments at the time of the Holodomor were troubling. "Our own State Department said, yes, there is a lack of food in Ukraine, but it does not appear we can take any measures at this time." Mr. Pirchner also cited the groundbreaking work of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, which was created as the result of a law passed by the U.S. Congress.

The evening also included "A Tribute to Pioneers of Holodomor Awareness" that recognized the work of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Viktor Rud and Member of Parliament James Bezan of Canada (who was unable to attend).

Marianna Zajac, president of the UNWLA, spoke about her organization's role in relief efforts and awareness campaigns at the time of the Famine-Genocide and in subsequent decades.

Mr. Rud, who played the key role in the campaign to air a special about the Holodomor on William F. Buckley Jr.'s TV show "Firing Line," underscored that the Holodomor was more than a heinous crime; it was a genocide in which millions did not simply die - they were murdered.

The museum program also showed excerpts of the documentary "The Living" (2008) by Sergey Bukovsky, which features interviews with Holodomor survivors interspersed with excerpts from the diary of Welsh journalist Gareth Jones, as read by his grandnephew Nigel Colley.

NEXT WEEK: Read about this milestone conference's second day, during which speakers explored the social, psychological, economic and legal aspects of the Holodomor, plus the news media's treatment of the genocide.



Yuriy Symczyk

The Ukrainian National Association's display of historic news reports about the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933.

Cabinet rejects...

(Continued from page 4)

agreement won't be signed, former Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski continued to hold "behind-the-scenes, last chance" discussions, Poland's *Gazeta Wyborcza* reported on November 25.

Ukrainian mass media controlled by the Yanukovich administration, such as the *Segodnya* (Today) daily newspaper, claimed on November 25 that Ms. Tymoshenko's release is no longer a condition for signing the agreement. Instead, the alleged issues are the terms of an IMF loan and the removal of EU import quotas.

Yet Mr. Fule dismissed Mr. Boiko's claim that an agreement failed to be reached on compensation to Ukraine for trade lost with Russia and for implementing the Association Agreement.

In fact, the EU didn't receive any proposals from Ukraine to ease trade conditions for producers that could be hurt by a Russian blockade after the agreement's signing, Mr. Fule said at a November 25 press conference.

The EU received only two demands from Ukraine – the first regarding a producer of a special type of steel faced with EU anti-dumping measures, and the second regarding a food producer faced with Russian complaints on its product safety.

He also dismissed Cabinet claims that the agreement's implementation, including adapting to its standards, would cost as much as \$20 billion. "That's nonsense," Mr. Fule said. "I don't recognize such numbers and don't know where they came from."

Meanwhile in his talks with Mr. Fule, Mr. Yanukovich claimed the Association Agreement would cost the Ukrainian economy \$160 billion, Mr. Nayem reported.

This week, EU leaders continued to repeat that they weren't interested in getting Mr. Yanukovich's signature in exchange for money.

"If Ukrainian leaders think they can hold a tender that will get them the larger financial tribute, then they can be disappointed because Europe is a long-term investment strategy," Polish President Donald Tusk said on November 26, as reported by Poland's *Gazeta Wyborcza*. "I don't know who has information of how much Vladimir Putin gives Viktor Yanukovich, but there's no doubt that the pressure on Ukraine from Russia – as well as certain economic-political circles – is strong."

Yet Mr. Nayem reported that the EU is ready to offer Ukraine \$826 million in financial assistance upon signing the agreement, and additional tranches of \$2.7 billion this year and \$4 billion early next year (without specifying whether these are loans or grants).

European Member of Parliament Jacek Saryusz-Wolski estimated financial aid to Ukraine at \$1.1 billion to \$1.4 billion annually, reported the UNIAN news agency.

Incredibly enough, several Ukraine political observers – such as millionaire businessman and former National Deputy Gennady Balashov – still believe Mr. Yanukovich could pull off a last-minute surprise and sign the agreement.

Mr. Azarov indicated at a November 26 press conference



Berkut officers lock arms around the Lenin statue in central Kyiv during the November 24 demonstration, which drew more than 100,000 participants.

that Mr. Yanukovich doesn't intend to sign the agreement in Vilnius, but instead will pursue the Russian government's proposal of discussing the Association Agreement within the context of a trilateral commission involving Ukraine, Russia and the EU.

The EU rejected outright the trilateral commission idea mentioned in the November 21 resolution, "which isn't a way out of the situation and doesn't have a precedent," Lithuanian Foreign Affairs Minister Linas Linkevicius said on November 22, as cited by the UNIAN news agency. "The EU proposal of bilateral negotiations remains in force and we don't see a role for third countries in this process," he said.

But a third party that did surface this weekend was the Ukrainian public, which demonstrated that the EU Association Agreement will become a key political issue – if not the main issue – in next year's presidential campaign season.

Mass demonstrations erupted throughout the country – not just in Kyiv – in outrage over the government's decision. Protesters reoccupied Kyiv's Independence Square on November 22, which happened to be the nine-year anniversary of the Orange Revolution (not by coincidence, in the view of some observers).

Images range from *déjà vu* – protesters returning to the same place with the same goal of protesting against governmental fraud – to the surreal, for those marching down Shevchenko Boulevard in central Kyiv



A marcher wipes her feet on the remnants of a Communist Party tent that was torn to shreds during the November 24 demonstration in central Kyiv.

Police officers locked arms and formed a ring around the statue of Vladimir Lenin, appearing to be either defending the massive granite monument or using it to form a defense against the tide of thousands of angry protesters.

To reach the monument, they broke through a line of a dozen police officers who were supposed to block them from marching down the boulevard's poplar-tree lined pedestrian median.

The officers should have been locking their arms around the adjacent Communist Party tent instead, which was torn to shreds soon enough by the Svoboda nationalists. Marchers proceeded to wipe their feet on the snippets of red tent cloth that lay strewn on the boulevard.

The biggest demonstration was organized on European Square, not by coincidence, on November 24, where opposition leaders declared their goal of holding pre-term parliamentary elections if the agreement is undermined.

Former Internal Affairs Minister Yuriy Lutsenko apologized to the Ukrainian people for failing to fulfill the promises of the Orange Revolution, while journalist Vitalii Portnikov called for Russian and Ukrainian speakers to unite for the common goal of Euro-integration.

Numerous clashes erupted that day, most notably in front of an otherwise empty Cabinet of Ministers building. Incidents included Svoboda nationalists tearing off the toll bar to the Cabinet parking lot and using it to attack Berkut officers. Tear gas was exchanged during the conflict as well.

Shortly after 11 p.m., more than 100 Berkut officers started to clear the Khreshchatyk at Independence Square, using pepper spray and violently throwing protesters to the sidewalk.

They descended on European Square, where they made an attempt to clear the 40 tents that had been set up. Yet the thousand or so protesters managed to block their attack and force the Berkut officers back to the opposite side of the Ukrainian Home, where they took refuge in front of the Dnipro Hotel.

More than a thousand demonstrators stayed up to ensure the tent city would survive the first night, including released political prisoner Yuriy Lutsenko, Mr. Yatsenyuk, and pop star Ruslana, who belted the national anthem for inspiration at 2 a.m. from a makeshift stage atop a van.

Another hero to emerge during the Euro-Maidan was investigative journalist Tetiana Chornovol, who ran for a parliamentary seat in 2012 and lost. During violent battles between police officers and protesters at European Square on the evening of November 25, Ms. Chornovol discovered a suspicious looking van and climbed through its roof opening.

In the process, she discovered that it contained officers of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), who were spying on the protesters. They pulled Ms. Chornovol out of the van by shattering its window. The next day, the Procurator General of Ukraine filed criminal charges against her and others involved

(Editor's note: Zenon Zawada is the political editor at Concorde Capital investment bank in Kyiv.)



Protesters on November 24 on Kyiv's European Square.

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issued a joint statement. "Concerning the Ukrainian decision to suspend temporarily the preparations for signing the Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA), the European Union's position remains clear. The offer of signing an unprecedented Association Agreement and a DCFTA is still on the table. This requires the necessary political will by the Ukrainian leadership, determined action and tangible progress on the conditions set out in December 2012," they stated. "Important progress has already been achieved by Ukraine. We are convinced that signing the Association Agreement and a DCFTA, the most ambitious agreement the European Union has ever offered, provides the best possible support for Ukraine's economic situation, reform course and modernization in view

of building a prosperous and stable future for all Ukrainians. The EU stands ready to be more open and more supportive to those who are willing to engage in reforms and modernization." The statement referred to the pressure being exerted on Ukraine and said: "While being aware of the external pressure that Ukraine is experiencing, we believe that short-term considerations should not override the long term benefits that this partnership would bring. However, the European Union will not force Ukraine, or any other partner, to choose between the European Union or any other regional entity. It is up to Ukraine to freely decide what kind of engagement they seek with the European Union. Ukrainian citizens have again shown these last days that they fully understand and embrace the historic nature of the European association. We therefore strongly disapprove of the Russian position and actions in this respect. The Association Agreement and a DCFTA are opportunities

to accompany our common neighbors towards modern, prosperous and rule-based democracies. Stronger relations with the European Union do not come at the expense of relations between our Eastern partners and their other neighbors, such as Russia. The Eastern Partnership is conceived as a win-win where we all stand to gain." (European Union)

EPP leader supports Ukraine's people

ATHENS - The president of the European People's Party (EPP), Joseph Daul, speaking on November 25 from Athens expressed his strong support for the Ukrainian people, who took to the streets to defend the European choice of Ukraine and to protest against President Viktor Yanukovich's unprecedented reversal on the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement. "The large number of protesters, their strong commitment to European values and the peaceful manner of the demonstrations prove that Ukraine is a European country and that the Ukrainian people are Europeans," he said. "During the past years, the EPP has constantly supported the pro-European choice of Ukraine and has worked closely with political leaders who promote these values. I am deeply concerned by the irresponsible behavior of the Ukrainian government, which is turning a deaf ear to its own citizens. Thus, I call on President Yanukovich to respect the European choice of the Ukrainian people and urge him to fulfill the necessary criteria in order to sign the Association Agreement in Vilnius." (EPP)

Biden, Yanukovich speak on the phone

WASHINGTON - The White House, Office of the Vice-President, on November 22 released the following "readout" of Vice-President Joe Biden's call with Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich. "In a phone call today with Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich, Vice President Biden expressed his disappointment in the Ukrainian government's decision to delay preparations for signature of an Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement with the EU. As the vice-president has told President Yanukovich before, it is our strong conviction that closer integration with Europe offers Ukraine a strategic opportunity to strengthen its democracy and return its economy to prosperity. The vice-president underscored the continued support of the United States for the Ukrainian people and their aspirations for European integration." (White House)

Patriarch Sviatoslav about Euro-Maidan

ROME - Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk is in solidarity with those all over Ukraine who went to the Euro-Maidan to voice their European aspirations, but he warned against any bloodshed. "I want to express my solidarity with the youth and with our citizens who are not indifferent to the fate of the country and who are actively displaying their positions," Patriarch Sviatoslav, head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, announced on November 24, in Rome. "We see that hundreds of

thousands of people in various cities and towns in Ukraine and the world took to the streets. Today, we have seen how even tear gas was used near the building of the Cabinet of Ministers in Kyiv. Today we pray and with our prayers I want to appeal to everyone in Ukraine. With great concern we are watching the events taking place, especially today, this very day, this Sunday," he said. The patriarch urged "those who are in the streets, and those who today have a responsibility before the people as our elected officials and those who are members of various civil organizations and political parties, law enforcement officials, our government - to prevent violence." He added, "We will not allow the shedding of a single drop of blood, lest we destroy our future." He also called on all those present to pray for peace: "Let us pray that no hot-head destroys this peace. Let us pray that in all these difficult moments, we will stay a civilized European nation to the end, which is we want to declare to the world." (Information Department of the UGCC)

EU waters down Vilnius declaration

BRUSSELS - The European Union has watered down its language regarding the conditions for bloc membership for six former Soviet republics in the draft final declaration of the upcoming EU's Eastern Partnership summit in Vilnius. The summit's final declaration - a draft of which was seen by RFE/RL on November 26 - does not currently include Article 49 from the EU treaty that allows any European country to apply for membership if it "respects the fundamental values of the EU." That had been in a previous version of the declaration, which is to be signed by officials from Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan on November 29 in Lithuania. The draft document instead mentions that "the participants of the Vilnius summit reaffirm the acknowledgment of the European aspirations and the European choice of some partners and their commitment to build deep and sustainable democracy." Article 49 is significant both from a legal and symbolical point of view. Its exclusion represents a blow for countries favoring EU enlargement, such as Poland and Sweden, which had hoped to give the countries of the Eastern Partnership a boost in their quest to be more closely associated with the bloc. Instead, more enlargement-skeptical countries headed by Germany, France and the Netherlands, as well as several southern EU states, appear to have triumphed. They succeeded in weakening the text even further as it currently refers to the six Eastern Partnership nations as "countries" or "partner countries" instead of "states." That is also seen as weakening the link to enlargement prospects. In the final draft they are only called "states" on one occasion, which is a copy of a similar declaration dealing with the EU's "southern neighborhood," which includes mainly North African countries. Interesting to note in the draft final declaration is that one statement - "Today. The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, including the

(Continued on page 13)

Ukraine: Not going...

(Continued from page 3)

Russia relations to "an asymmetrical bargaining game following rules of auctions or, to use Harvard Business School professor Guhan Subramanian's neologism, 'negotiauctions.'" While Mr. Martirosyan acknowledged the suspension of the deal as a rational option, he emphasized: "And, yet, it cannot be postponed indefinitely without significant damage to the national interests.

The very game needs to be changed. A more salient question is whether the current cast of players is capable of changing it."

Indeed, as the country's political aspirations remain unfulfilled, there is a clear call in Ukraine to develop improved leadership, integrity and professional statecraft within the government.

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France eliminates Ukraine in World Cup playoffs



Members of Ukraine's national soccer team.

by Ihor N. Stelmach

SOUTH WINDSOR, Conn. – In a stunning reversal of fortune and performance, France overturned a two-goal, first-leg deficit to qualify for the FIFA World Cup finals, defeating Ukraine 3-0 in Paris on November 19.

Midway through the first half France took the lead on a goal by Mamadou Sakho and then proceeded to tie on aggregate goals when Karim Benzema tallied at 34 minutes. Early in the second half with Ukraine defender Yevhen Khacheridi sent off (red-carded), France capitalized on its one-man advantage when an own-goal by substitute Oleg Gusev put them ahead for the first time in the 72nd minute.

France's coach Didier Deschamps made five changes to his starting line-up from the November 15 2-0 loss in Kyiv, while Ukraine made three changes, two on defense. The visitors expected an all-out assault by perennially strong France, but could not have expected the high-intensity effort Les Bleus came out with at the start of the match. Ukraine was pinned back from kick-off as goalkeeper Andriy Pyatov was under siege inside three minutes.

Ukraine's defense, which had gone eight successive matches without conceding a goal, was finally undone in the 22nd minute. Franck Ribery's shot was blocked by Pyatov, but Sakho converted the rebound, netting his first international goal. A scramble in Ukraine's box had a ball come off

Matthieu Valbuena and fall to Benzema a mere six yards out. He fired it into the net despite being clearly offside.

Only one goal away from swinging the momentum, Ukraine barely produced an attempt on goal in the first half, only to have its second-half hopes marred when Khacheridi was carded for a second offense on Ribery. Under pressure from Sakho, Gusev turned a deflected shot into his own net.

France had secured its ticket to Brazil.

Ukraine 2-France 0

Roman Zozulya's second-half goal put Ukraine in complete control of the first-leg match of the play-off on November 15 at Olimpiyskyi Stadium in Kyiv, a 2-0 upset of France. Zozulya struck in the 61st minute before Andriy Yarmolenko's penalty kick (82nd minute) left the 1998 World Cup winners and 2006 finalists temporarily on the back foot ahead of the second-leg match in France.

Scoring chances were few and far

between in the first half, with both goalies (Andriy Pyatov for Ukraine, Hugo Lloris for France) making minimal numbers of saves. Ukraine midfielder Edmar served up the pass to set up Zozulya for the only goal of the match. The Brazilian-born Ukrainian set up Zozulya from the middle of the offensive zone, allowing the striker to slot the ball past Lloris from about 12 yards.

France defender Laurent Koscielny conceded a penalty when he fouled Zozulya in the 83rd minute with Yarmolenko blasting the ball past Lloris for a two-goal advantage. Koscielny was sent off with a red card in the 90th minute for needlessly hitting Oleksandr Kucher.

Ukraine continued to show improvement since Mikhail Fomenko took charge as coach at the end of last year. The offensive assault led by Yarmolenko and Yevhen Konoplyanka on the wings was partnered with a solid defensive plan that was very evident as Ukraine strangled the life out of a French squad fresh from scoring 13 goals in its last three matches.

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 12)

DCFTA (Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area) has been signed – is still within brackets. It can be inferred from this that EU members are still holding out the possibility that Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich could change his mind before or during the summit and decide to sign the much-debated Association Agreement and DCFTA. (RFE/RL)

Tymoshenko launches hunger strike

KYIV – Jailed former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko has launched a hunger strike in solidarity with Ukrainian protesters rallying in Kyiv for closer ties with the European Union. In a message to protesters, announced by her lawyer Serhiy Vlasenko, Ms. Tymoshenko said, "As a sign of unity with you I declare an unlimited hunger strike with the demand to Yanukovich to sign the association agreement." The EU says Ms. Tymoshenko's imprisonment for abuse of office is politically motivated. Allowing the opposition leader to seek medical treatment abroad had been one of the main conditions for Kyiv to sign the accord with the EU. Her message came as thousands of pro-EU demonstrators on November 25 urged President Viktor Yanukovich to sign a political and trade agreement with the bloc for a second day, chanting, "Ukraine is Europe!" Some protesters clashed with police, which used tear gas. (RFE/RL)

Putin accuses EU of blackmailing Kyiv

KYIV – Russia's President Vladimir Putin has accused the European Union of "blackmail" and "pressure" against

Ukraine over Kyiv's decision not to sign a key political association and free-trade agreement with the EU. Mr. Putin made the comments on November 22 after talks with Turkey's prime minister in St. Petersburg. "In fact, we have heard threats from our European partners against Ukraine – up to the point of helping them stage mass protests. So, this is pressure. This is blackmail. And whether Ukraine and the Ukrainian leadership bow to this blackmail will be clear in the coming days," Mr. Putin said. (RFE/RL Ukrainian Service)

Kravchuk comments on Russia's view

KYIV – Former President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk has said that nobody expected Russia would so sharply change its views as regards Ukraine. Speaking with journalists on November 19, he noted that three years ago, Russian President Vladimir Putin had said that Russia would not be against it if Ukraine had common relations with the European Union. "We are against Ukraine's participation in NATO, Putin said," according to Mr. Kravchuk. He added that the Russian president also said he was for a free trade area from Lisbon to the Urals, "but now Russia has started to pursue a very aggressive policy as regards Ukraine." Mr. Kravchuk noted that the accents in relations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation have unexpectedly changed. "The accents have already changed. In other words, such turns and swings in Russia's policy, including in the economy, are a problem for us, and we have to react to this," he stressed. Mr. Kravchuk also cited the words of U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, who warned against leaving Ukraine with its problems face to face with Russia. (Ukrinform)



Ділимося сумною вісткою, що 24 жовтня 2013 року відійшов у вічність наш найдорожчий і незабутній чоловік, батько, брат та вуйко



**св. п.
Михайло Лашин**

народжений 28 травня 1946 року в селі Гораєць, повіт Любачів, Східня Польща.

Михайло прибув до США у 1973 році і одружився з Дарією Возняк. Бог обдарував їх двома синами, Тарасом і Андрієм. За професією Михайло працював як шофер. Дуже скоро після прибуття до США включився в громадську працю. Довголітній член парафії свщм. Йосафата в Трентоні і член парафіяльного комітету; член і колишній голова Осередку Спілки Української Молоді ім. Євгена Коновальця в Трентоні, член УККА Трентонського відділу і ООЧСУ, Михайло належав до Чоловічого Хору „Прометей” у Філядельфії і Церковного Хору при парафії свщм. Йосафата в Трентоні, якого він був співзасновником.

Парастас відбувся 1 листопада 2013 року в похоронному заведенні Kutch Funeral Home в Трентоні, Н.Дж. Похоронні відправи відбулися 2 листопада в Українській католицькій церкві свщм. Йосафата в Трентоні, а відтак тіло було перевезене на цвинтар св. Марії в Трентоні.

Наша щира подяка о. парохів Тарасові Лончині за духовну опіку покійного під час перебування в лікарні, за уділення тайни Єлеопомазання і за відправлення Парастасу, Заупокійної св. Літургії і Похорону. Щиро дякуємо о. Василеві Путері і о. Володимирові Попикові за співслужіння під час Парастасу. Також дякуємо отцям за їхні теплі слова і спомини про покійного Михайла. Дякуємо Церковному Хорові і Диригентові Романові Кучарському за участь у відправленні Парастасу. Рівнож дякуємо Чоловічому Хорові „Прометееві” з Диригентом Романом Кучарським за участь в св. Літургії і за супроводження покійного на вічний спочинок. Дякуємо членам Осередку Спілки Української Молоді ім. УПА у Філядельфії за участь у похоронних відправах.

Окрема щира подяка всім, що зложили пожертви на численні св. Літургії за покійного Михайла, а також на церкву свщм. Йосафата в Трентоні, на Оселю Спілки Української Молоді в Елленвілі та на Злучений Український Американський Допомоговий Комітет в пам'ять Покійного Михайла.

Найщиріша подяка парафіянам нашої парафії свщм. Йосафата і друзям за всю підтримку, за всі молитви і Богослужіння у часі тяжкої недуги нашого найдорожчого Михайла.

У 40-ий день смерті будуть відправлені Заупокійні Святі Літургії в Україні, Польщі і в церкві свщм. Йосафата в Трентоні в понеділок, 2 грудня, о год. 7 веч.

Горем опечалена родина:

дружина ДАРІЯ
сини ТАРАС та АНДРІЙ
сестра МАРІЯ ЯВОРНИЦЬКА
племінниця АННА КЛИМОВИЧ з родиною
та ближча і дальша родина в Україні, Польщі й Америці.

Вічна Йому пам'ять!

Turning...

(Continued from page 6)

ballots destroyed, coerced, altered and illegally cast – many of them over and over again – to secure a Yanukovich victory. Nor is this an issue of east versus west, or Orthodox versus Catholic, or Russophones versus Ukrainophones. The only issue in Ukraine is that the voice of the people must be heard. Millions are demanding a free and fair election, and their demands and aspirations deserve the strong support of the West."

The United States, Canada and the West "must continue to insist that it is the will of the people of Ukraine that must prevail via a revote of the run-off; they must forcefully protest Russia's blatant interference in Ukraine's election (and please, drop the illusions about President Putin, who dreams only of a renewed empire); and, perhaps most importantly for the long term, they must no longer ignore Ukraine but instead put out the welcome mat at the European Union and NATO," the editorial concluded.

Source: "The will of the people," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, December 5, 2004.

A possible third...

(Continued from page 2)

The editorial column also mentions that this strategy does not impede Azerbaijan from initiating and managing regional mega projects like TANAP and the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) or acquiring the gas supply system of Greece or investing \$20 billion in Turkey's economy. "All these allowed Azerbaijan's economy to reach a new level and to strengthen its positions at the global level" (<http://obozrevatel.com/abroad/69145-azerbajdzhan-mozhet-otkryit-dlya-ukrainyi-tretij-put.htm>).

The column argues that Azerbaijan can actively influence political processes in the Balkan countries, Bulgaria, Albania, as well as others. Finally, Obozrevatel also suggests that Ukraine and Azerbaijan should establish their own free trade zone or other form of allied economic relations. For this purpose Ukraine will need to look at Azerbaijan in a different way — not as a former Soviet republic with which it has had good relations — but as a "real power", with which it could develop deep economic relations now and in the future.

Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova — the latter two are expected to initial Association Agreements with the EU at the Vilnius summit — are in the middle of perhaps the most important periods of their existence as independent states. They stand before a crucial choice that will determine their future. On September 3, Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan capitulated in the face of Russian pressure by announcing that Armenia would join the Russia-led Customs Union (see *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, September 5, 6, 11, 18).

Considering Armenia's relative economic and geopolitical strength, this country is neither a substantial loss for

Europe nor a real gain for the Customs Union. The real jackpot remains Ukraine, and the ultimate winner of this geopolitical contest will be the side that manages to secure Ukraine's orientation. But, while expressing a real desire to sign the Association Agreement with the EU, Ukraine remains concerned about the possible negative consequences of closer European ties, which EU officials rarely publicly recognize or acknowledge.

Kyiv expresses concerns that the United States and the EU have offered neither real nor tangible support to Ukraine, and the West has not expressed a real unanimous commitment to help Ukraine overcome and compensate for the negative consequences coming from Moscow should Ukraine make a definitive pro-European choice.

On October 25, Ukrainian Prime Minister Mykola Azarov noted that 40 percent of Ukraine's trade is with countries of the future Eurasian Union and just 30 percent is with the EU (http://www.ng.ru/cis/2013-09-23/1_ukraina.html). Neither the EU nor the U.S. responded adequately when the assistant to the Russian president, Sergei Glazyev, threatened that Ukraine might face real fiscal default if it signs the agreement with the EU (<http://www.ng.ru/news/449464.html>; <http://www.ng.ru/news/443981.html>).

Other than political declarations criticizing Russian pressure ahead of a possible EU deal (<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/content/20130826IPR18104/html/Ukraine-MEPs-criticise-Russian-pressure-ahead-of-possible-EU-deal>), so far the European Union has fallen short on offering tangible action plans to assist Ukraine — for example in the imminent event of a shutdown of Russian gas supplies to the country during the winter of 2013-2014. Russian pres-

sure in the energy sphere is readily apparent: On November 15, Gazprom announced that Ukraine owed \$1.3 billion for gas by the end of October (http://www.ng.ru/cis/2013-11-15/1_kiev.html).

Taking all the above into account, Azerbaijan's role in offering a "third way" for Ukraine could indeed be received positively in Kyiv. The third way does not necessarily imply an isolationist stance or even an alternative to closer relations with the EU. Rather, this option implies bilateral Ukrainian-Azerbaijani cooperation to neutralize the potential negative consequences of European integration for either country, but especially for Ukraine.

As Mr. Aliyev, in his recent meeting with Mr. Yanukovich, pointed out, "Cooperation in [hydrocarbon transportation], as well as in other fields will enable [Azerbaijan and Ukraine] to strengthen our positions in the Caspian and Black Sea region" (<http://fakty.ictv.ua/ru/index/read-news/id/1493945>).

Whether or not Ukraine ultimately signs the Association Agreement in Vilnius, a closer alignment with Azerbaijan and the cooperation projects that Baku proposes are, nevertheless, in Kyiv's best interest. If Ukraine signs the agreement, closer economic ties with Azerbaijan will ease the negative consequences of the decision brought about by Russia's retaliation.

But if the signing is delayed beyond the Vilnius summit, Ukraine's cooperation with Azerbaijan will allow Kyiv to withstand Russian economic pressure during that time frame (<http://www.ukrexport.gov.ua/azerbaijan/ru/relations.html>).

The article above is reprinted from the *Jamestown Foundation Blog* published by the *Jamestown Foundation*, www.jamestown.org.

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Ukrainian Technological Society names Roma Hadzewycz 2013 Ukrainian of the Year

PITTSBURGH - The Ukrainian Technological Society (UTS) of Pittsburgh presented its 2013 Ukrainian of the Year Award to Roma Hadzewycz at its 44th annual award ceremony and dinner-dance, held on Saturday, November 2, at The Club at Nevillewood in Pittsburgh.

Ms. Hadzewycz was honored for her professional excellence in journalism and reporting; her dedication and editorial leadership of the Ukrainian community's foremost newspapers: The Ukrainian Weekly, this year celebrating its 80th anniversary, and Svoboda, celebrating its 120th anniversary; her editorial contributions to four books released by The Ukrainian Weekly on the Great Famine in Ukraine, the 10th anniversary of Ukraine's independence and other significant news developments; and for her commitment and leadership on both the local and national levels of the Ukrainian National Association (UNA) and Plast; as well as longstanding efforts to strengthen ties between Ukraine and the U.S.

Ms. Hadzewycz joined The Ukrainian Weekly staff in 1977 and was named editor-in-chief in 1980, making her the longest tenured editor of this publication. She has been editor-in-chief of Svoboda, the Ukrainian language newspaper published by the UNA, since 2007.

In addition to her long career in journalism, Ms. Hadzewycz has served as an advisor of the Ukrainian National Association and has served on a number of UNA committees. She has been a member of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization since childhood and has held numerous positions within the organization on the local and national levels. Ms. Hadzewycz is also a longtime member of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America.

In her welcoming remarks, Roksana Korchynsky, Ph.D., president of the UTS executive board, provided a brief history of the Ukrainian Technological Society - now in its 44th year and one of the longest continuously active Ukrainian organizations in the tri-state area. Dr. Korchynsky observed that the society's long history of cultivating Ukrainian culture and social awareness, and strengthening the Ukrainian community through active participation and leadership, parallels the history and mission of The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda.

She also highlighted the meaning of the society's Ukrainian of the Year Award,



Cynthia Abbott

At the Ukrainian Technological Society's annual Ukrainian of the Year ceremonies (from left) are: Roman Danyliw, Motria Hodowanec, Nickolas C. Kotow, Roma Hadzewycz, George Honchar, Bonnie Reinhart and Dr. Roksana Korchynsky.

which recognizes people of local, national and international stature who have contributed to the Ukrainian community or Ukrainian scholarship, or who have demonstrated significant achievement which brings recognition and prestige to the Ukrainian community. These individuals have been exemplary role models for our entire community, Dr. Korchynsky said, noting that previous award recipients include Ukrainian leaders, scholars, artists and clergy; men and women with distinguished careers in medicine, law, business, science and technology.

Before the formal award nomination was made, Dr. Korchynsky read greetings from the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Association and the Plast sorority Pershi Stezhi. Marika Zaliszczuk, president of Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Branch 27 in Pittsburgh, offered congratulations and best wishes on behalf of the Branch's membership.

Nickolas C. Kotow, UTS executive board secretary-treasurer, made the nomination address honoring Ms. Hadzewycz as the 2013 Ukrainian of the Year. He noted that The Weekly's long-time regular columnist Dr. Myron Kuropas, writing in a recent article titled "Thank you, Svoboda," reminded readers that the early editors of Svoboda

had two major goals: to enlighten the early immigrants in their transition to life in the United States, and to make them aware of their heritage. Mr. Kotow said that Ms. Hadzewycz was being recognized for her dedicated efforts - through The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda - of continuing that educational process and promoting Ukraine and Ukrainians as free and independent members of the world community of nations.

Upon accepting the award, Ms. Hadzewycz underscored the profound influence that her family's active involvement with the Ukrainian National Association and Plast has had on her life and career. Her father, Walter (Wolodymyr) Sochan, actively served in the UNA, including 28 years as an executive officer, and her mother, Neonila Sochan, is a longtime member and champion of the Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization. When she joined the staff of The Ukrainian Weekly as assistant editor in 1977, having just graduated that same year from New York University, it was as if it was her destiny, Ms. Hadzewycz said.

Ms. Hadzewycz shared highlights from the intertwined history of the UNA and Svoboda. Perhaps less known today is the fact that the newspaper Svoboda, which published its first issue on September 15, 1893, preceded the founding of the UNA. It was in its fourth issue, on November 1, 1893, that Svoboda ran an article under the headline, "We Need a National Organization," calling for the establishment of an entity to support and represent the issues and concerns of fellow Ukrainians. The formal meeting to launch the Ukrainian National Association took place on February 22, 1894, and was duly reported in the Svoboda issue of March 1, 1894.

Over the decades, the UNA recognized the importance of engaging youth. The Ukrainian Weekly, established in 1933 by the UNA, was expressly aimed at younger Ukrainians, particularly those who did not speak the Ukrainian language. It was founded also to tell the world the truth about the genocidal famine then ravaging Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Weekly continues to

champion high-caliber reporting on events of interest to Ukrainians all over the world. This includes stories filed by reporters working from its bureau in Ukraine and by contributors from throughout the Ukrainian diaspora, especially in the United States and Canada. Both correspondents and community activists are vital to fulfilling the mission of the publication to inform and inspire readers, and to promote the Ukrainian culture and heritage, as well as to sustaining the success of the publication, Ms. Hadzewycz said.

Ms. Hadzewycz concluded her remarks with a promise and an invitation. She promised to do her utmost to ensure that The Ukrainian Weekly continues to serve its readers and UNA membership with integrity, competence and commitment. And she invited members of the audience, and all those associated with the Ukrainian Technological Society of Pittsburgh including members, prospective members, guests and student scholarship recipients, to regularly contribute news and stories about local events to the editorial staff.

Roman Danyliw and Motria Hodowanec, UTS executive board Members, then read the award proclamation in English and in Ukrainian, respectively. George Honchar, UTS executive board vice-president, invited all present to join in a celebratory "Mnohaya Lita."

The Ukrainian of the Year commemorative award plaque for Ms. Hadzewycz was created by Pittsburgh graphic artist Kathy Boykowycz.

The Rt. Rev. Archimandrite Msgr. George Appleyard gave the invocation. The Very Rev. Michael Kochis, pastor of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Ambridge, Pa., gave the benediction. Music for the evening was provided by the Mosaic Duo.

To learn more about the Ukrainian Technological Society (UTS) of Pittsburgh, the Ukrainian of the Year Award, the UTS annual scholarship program and other UTS activities, readers may visit the UTS website at www.utsphg.org, send an e-mail to Board@utsphg.org, or become a UTS friend on Facebook.



Artist Kathy Boykowycz and Roma Hadzewycz with the Ukrainian of the Year Award for 2013.



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Plast scouts compete at 51st Orlykiada at Soyuzivka

by Julian Hayda

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – Every November over the course of over 50 years, young members of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization have come together to compete in a unique intellectual tournament known as Orlykiada. For many years, the competition has been held at the Soyuzivka Heritage Center.

The competition is organized year after year by the Plast fraternity Orlykivtsi, spearheaded this year by Marta Mudri and Lydia Rezie (a member of the Orlykivtsi). Fourteen teams qualified for Orlykiada 2013, which took place on November 9-10. Participants answered questions in an academic bowl, displayed exhibits and performed in artistic skits on the theme of Ukraine as “The Breadbasket of Europe.”



An Orlykiada participant from Philadelphia shows his love toward Plast.



Andrew Zwarych

Orlykiada participants after liturgy at Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic Church.

“During the 80th anniversary of the Holodomor, we wanted the scouts to evaluate and understand the important role of bread in the history and culture of Ukraine,” explained Ms. Rezie, “only then can a young person truly understand the reasoning behind the Holodomor and its tragic effects for the Ukrainian nation – not only physically, but spiritually as well.”

The first-place winner of this year’s Orlykiada was the team representing Cleveland, whose members met three hours per night, four nights per week, “working very hard on our preparation for this competition,” according to team leader

Natalia Zappernick. “We thought it was very important for every member to take an equal and vital role in executing each of the requirements Orlykiada demands, so that all members would take ownership of the entire team’s project.”

The organizers and judges also distributed awards for best in each category. First place in the academic bowl went to the team from Passaic, N.J.; first place for best exhibit went to the team from Chicago; and first place for artistic skit was awarded to the team from Toronto.

An important tradition of Orlykiada is the election of two outstanding Plast scouts for the ceremonial positions of “hetmanych” and “hetmanivna” – the honorary hosts of every year’s competition. The judges decide who will be awarded the titles

based on their display of good scouting attitudes, involvement in their community and on how they live by the example of Gregoire (Hryhory) Orlyk, a great French Ukrainian leader of Ukrainians in exile and son of the famous Hetman Pylyp Orlyk.

This year Diana Moczula from the Plast branch in Newark, N.J., was named hetmanivna and Rostyslaw Wynnyckyj from Toronto was named hetmanych.

“This is a big shock to me,” admitted Mr. Wynnyckyj, “my uncle was once named hetmanych [at Orlykiada] many years ago, so these attributes must run in the family.” He said he believes that to become a hetmanych a member of Plast must have a certain worldview: “This is a person who knows how to voice his opinion, spread his ideas, and is a good leader who cares about Plast.”



Orlykiada participants from across North America fill Soyuzivka’s Veselka Hall.

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CAST: NATALIE DANYUK, ALEXANDER MATIENKO CAST: SOFIA RUSSINOVICH CAST: J.D. ZACHARIAS CAST: LUYBOMIR LEVITSKY, ROKSOLANA KRAVCHUK, IGOR KULYNYCH
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CAST: DMITRY NEDRYA CAST: ROMAN BARANOVSKIY CAST: VALERA KRYZHANOVSKIY CAST: ANDREX SELIVANOV
CAST: ANDREX SELIVANOV, LUYBOMIR LEVITSKY CAST: LUYBOMIR LEVITSKY

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Ti Shcho Hrebli Rvut sorority of Plast holds biennial meeting

by Roma Hadzewycz

HECTOR, N.Y. – Members of the Plast sorority Ti Shcho Hrebli Rvut held their biennial meeting here at Seneca Springs Resort on scenic Seneca Lake on October 25-27.

The sorority chose the Finger Lakes region for its 2013 meeting as it is equidistant for members from the Toronto and New York/New Jersey metropolitan areas. Thirty-five senior and young adult members of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization participated in the meeting, which was a mixture of business sessions and enjoyable activities.

The weekend's program featured a Friday night dinner at a marvelous local restaurant; a pajama party; a "campfire" (held indoors) that was organized by the young adult members of the Hrebli and featured an "infomercial" skit presented by the Bystrysia group of senior members from New Jersey; a hike along the gorge in picturesque Watkins Glen State Park and dinner in the nearby town.

During the meeting's business sessions, reports were delivered by the leaders of Hrebli (as the sorority is known for short) in the United States and Canada, as well as its branches in New Jersey, New York, Toronto, Winnipeg and other venues.

Members agreed that a history of the sorority in the United States should be prepared, similar to the one Canadian members have completed; and that a history of the camp counselors' training course known as "Shkola Bulavnykh" should be written to cover the period from its founding by members of the sorority to the time when it became a program of the International Board of Plast.



Members of the Plast sorority Ti Shcho Hrebli Rvut at their biennial meeting on the shores of Seneca Lake.

In addition, Hrebli – who are known for their work as Plast scoutmasters – will continue their active involvement in Plast branches in North America, as well as on the national boards of Plast U.S.A. and Plast Canada, and in Plast worldwide.

Acting under the auspices of the Plast U.S.A.'s National Board of Directors, the sorority is in charge of sharing the Bethlehem Peace Light with Plast members and others across the country.

Elected to lead the senior sorority of Ti Shcho Hrebli Rvut were: Chrystyna Kolos, president; Lesia Lebed (U.S.), Daria

Kowalyk (Canada) and Halyna Potiuk (Ukraine), vice-presidents; Oksana Tarasiuk, secretary; Mary Kolodij and Oksana Stanko, treasurers; Olenka Yurchuk, editor; Marta Kuzmowycz, archivist; and Daria Darewych, Sophia Kachor and Marta Borowyk, councilors.

Another major event of the weekend gathering was the formal induction of new members to the young adult branch of the sorority. The new full-fledged members are: Melasia Cybriwsky, Lana Denysyk, Anya Jaskiw, Arianna Lebed and Melasia Siokalo.

Young adult Plast members ("starshi plastunky") who may be interested in joining the sorority may contact Ms. Jaskiw, ann@jaskiw.com; Ms. Siokalo, skier4mel@gmail.com; or Ms. Denysyk, Imd625@gmail.com.

The Ti Shcho Hrebli Rvut sorority, founded in 1926 in Ukraine, bases its traditions on Lesia Ukrainka's drama "Lisova Pisnia" (Forest Song), as well as on folk customs of the Hutsul region of Ukraine. For information about Ti Shcho Hrebli Rvut, readers may go to: <https://www.facebook.com/hrebli>.



Newly inducted members of the sorority (from left): Melasia Cybriwsky, Lana Denysyk, Melasia Siokalo, Anya Jaskiw and Arianna Lebed.



Hrebli during a hike through the gorge in Watkins Glen State Park.

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www.ukrainianmuseum.org

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

December 2013 Workshops at The Ukrainian Museum

UKRAINIAN CHRISTMAS TRADITIONS

Saturday, December 7, 10:00 a.m.–1:00 p.m.

Hands-on baking of traditional Ukrainian Christmas breads. 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 – \$20; members – 10% discount. *Pre-registration required.*

UKRAINIAN CHRISTMAS TREE ORNAMENTS

Saturday, December 14, 2:00–4:00 p.m.

Sunday, December 15, 11:00 a.m.–1:00 p.m. or 2:00–4:00 p.m.

Make traditional Ukrainian Christmas tree ornaments with beads, walnut shells, colored ribbons, and paper. 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 – 10% discount. *Pre-registration required.*

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 with the support of Governor Andrew Cuomo and the New York State Legislature.

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.

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CHRISTMAS at The Ukrainian Museum

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Christmas concert in Woonsocket to feature Yevshan Vocal Ensemble

WOONSOCKET, R.I. – St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Woonsocket, R.I., will once again host the Yevshan Ukrainian Vocal Ensemble for a Christmas concert on December 15 at 2 p.m. inside the parish church building at 394 Blackstone St.

The concert will feature both Ukrainian and Western Christmas songs and carols. Many of the songs, which were first presented last year during Yevshan's first trip to California, will now be performed on the East Coast for the first time. Some audience favorites from the group's well-received 2011 Christmas concert at St. Michael's will again be performed.

Under the direction of Musical Director Alex Kuzma, Yevshan is based in Hartford, Conn., but draws its 30 or so singers from across New England.

Tickets are \$20 for adults, \$15 for seniors (65+ years) and \$10 for children (12 years and younger). Tickets will be available at the door, but may be purchased in advanced at Christ the King Ukrainian Catholic Church in Boston; St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Boston; St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Woonsocket; and St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Woonsocket.

For more information and tickets, call 508-839-4001.

St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church has served Rhode Island and central Massachusetts for 105 years. The parish broadcasts its divine liturgies through its website (www.stmichaelsri.org) every Sunday at 11 a.m. (Eastern time) for those who cannot attend church in person.

The Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America, The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America, & The Ukrainian Institute of America

warmly invite you to The Traditional Christmas Celebration of

YALYNKA

with hors d'oeuvres, refreshments and a musical program presented by the vocal Ensemble "PROMIN"

Saturday, December 14th, 2013

(Doors open at 7:00pm – Program starts promptly at 7:30pm)

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OUT & ABOUT

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| December 1
Miami | Thanksgiving celebration, Ukrainian America Club of Miami, donnamak@bellsouth.net or 305-635-6374 | December 6-
February 2
Chicago | Art exhibit, "Ceramics/Glass," Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 773-227-5522 or www.uima-chicago.org |
| December 1
Toronto | Banquet fund-raiser, Toronto Friends of the Ukrainian Catholic University, Ukrainian National Federation Trident Hall, 416-239-2495 or www.ucef.org | December 6-7
Winnipeg | Christmas Fair, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center - Oseredok, 204-642-0218 or ucec@mymyts.net |
| December 1
Miami | Holodomor presentation by Alexander Motyl, Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 17, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church, 305-798-0190 or oksanajp@gmail.com | December 7
Palatine, IL | Girls Night Out fund-raiser, Iskra School of Ukrainian Dance, Ukrainian American Youth Association Center, www.cym.org/us-palatine |
| December 1
Ottawa | Christmas bazaar, St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Shrine Hall, 613-723-1673 | December 7
Toronto | Presentation by Virlana Tkacz, "Yara and the Hutsul Koliada," St. Vladimir's Institute, 416-912-3766 |
| December 3
New York | Lecture by Iryna Vushko, "From Promise to Terror: Ukrainian Socialists Between Imperial Austria, Poland and Soviet Ukraine," Columbia University, ma2634@columbia.edu or 212-854-4697 | December 7
New York | Christmas concert, featuring the Dumka Chorus of New York, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110 or www.ukrainianmuseum.org |
| December 4
Washington | Groundbreaking ceremony, Holodomor Memorial, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, www.ucca.org or ukrainegenocide@gmail.com | December 7-8
Silver Spring, MD | Christmas bazaar, Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic Church, 240-669-8566 |
| December 5
Winnipeg | Gala event, "Andriyivsky Vechir," Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center - Oseredok, www.oseredok.org | December 7-8
New York | Christmas bazaar, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110 or www.ukrainianmuseum.org |
| December 5
Stanford, CA | Panel presentation, "Contextualizing the Holodomor: Observations on the 80th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933," Stanford University, 650-725-2563 or creesinfo@stanford.edu | December 8
Philadelphia | 75th anniversary celebration, St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church, NadiaO1@verizon.net |
| December 5
Winnipeg | Andriyivskyi Vechir, Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center Oseredok, Qualico Family Center at Assinboine Park, www.assinboinepark.ca | December 12-13
Washington | Ukraine in Washington gala event, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation with the Embassy of Ukraine, National Press Club, Willard Hotel, www.usukraine.org/gala or 202-524-6555 |
| December 6
Alexandria, VA | Concert featuring pianists Aleksandra Kasman and Roman Lopatynskyi, The Washington Group Cultural Fund, The Lyceum, 301-229-2615 or twgculturalfund@gmail.com | | |

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.



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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, December 7

NEW YORK: Join us at 7 p.m. for an unforgettable Christmas concert with the Ukrainian Chorus Dumka of New York under the direction of Maestro Vasyl Hrechynsky. Admission (includes reception and gallery access): \$15; \$10 for members and seniors; \$5 for students. Seating is limited. Purchase tickets early: online at www.ukrainianmuseum.org or by calling 212-228-0110. The Ukrainian Museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St.

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a lecture by Stanislav Menzelevskyi on "The VUFKU Heritage: The Question of Restoration and Popularization of Ukrainian Film." Mr. Menzelevskyi is a film critic, post-graduate at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, senior research worker at the Oleksander Dovzhenko National Center in Kyiv, and Carnegie fellow at Columbia University. VUFKU is a former Soviet Ukrainian film production studio. There will be screening of a newly restored film, "Shkurnyk" (1929) directed by Mykola Shpykovsky. The lecture and film presentation will take place at the society's headquarters, 63 Fourth Ave, (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m.

TORONTO: Yara Arts Group's artistic director Virlana Tkacz will show images and speak about the Hutsul koliada, which she has been recording in the village of Kryvorivnia in the Carpathians since 2003. She will also discuss the four major Yara shows she has created on the theme at La MaMa Theater in New York, including "Midwinter Night," which Yara will be presenting at the Harbourfront Center in Toronto on December 27-29. Ms Tkacz's presentation will be at 7 p.m. at St Vladimir's Institute, 620 Spadina Ave. For more information call 416-912-3766. Entrance is by donation.

Saturday-Sunday, December 7-8

NEW YORK: Do not miss the Christmas Bazaar and its unique gifts on Saturday and Sunday at 11 a.m.-5 p.m. It's a great opportunity to purchase folk art items, ornaments, Christmas cards, books, artwork, contemporary crafts and jewelry, home-baked goods and more. Come early for the best selections. Or try the gift shop online at www.ukrainianmuseum.org. The Ukrainian Museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St., between Second and Third avenues. Telephone: 212-228-0110.

Friday, December 13

NEW YORK: Comedy, mysticism and demonic possession add to the excitement of the just-released feature film "Unforgotten Shadows" ("Tini Nezabutykh Predkiv," 2013, Ukrainian with

English subtitles), a mystery-horror thriller by the Ukrainian director and author Lyubomyr Levitsky. The victims, college students, travel to the forbidden mystical forest in western Ukraine seeking the aid of the legendary mol'fary (sorcerers) to reverse a curse. A pre-screening reception with the director is at 7 p.m.; the film starts at 8 p.m. Recommended for ages 16+. Admission: \$15; \$13 for museum members. Seating is limited. Purchase tickets online at www.ukrainianmuseum.org, or take a chance at the door that night. The Ukrainian Museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St., between Second and Third avenues. Telephone: 212-228-0110.

Saturday, December 14

MIAMI: Come hear the most popular Christmas song in the world, "Carol of the Bells," in its original language as you open your hearts to the rich musical treasure of the Byzantine/Ukrainian rite. The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church Choir invites you to prepare for the birth of our Lord at the fifth annual Christmas choral program featuring this universally loved Christmas carol and other traditional Ukrainian Christmas/holiday songs of the season. Admission is free; donations go toward the Church Building Fund. The concert is at 5:30 p.m. at the Assumption Church, 38 NW 57th Ave. (at the Flagler Street). For more information contact Donna Maksymowich-Waskiewicz, 954-434-4635 or donnamak@bellsouth.net.

WASHINGTON: The Taras Shevchenko School of Ukrainian Studies will host a Mykolai Show and Holiday Bazaar. Students will present a Mykolai show at noon. Sviatyi Mykolai (St. Nicholas) will then meet with each grade/age group (non-students welcome). The Heavenly Office is open 9:15-11:45 a.m.; only one item per child (\$2 fee), labeled with child's name, grade/age). A bazaar/bake sale will be held at 9:30 a.m. to noon, offering a variety of home-baked treats and holiday foods, books, gift items. Location: Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family, 4250 Harewood Road NE,

Washington DC 20017. For further information visit ukrainian-schoolbazaar.weebly.com or contact Lada Onyshkevych at lada2@verizon.net or 410-730-8108.

TORONTO: Yara Arts Group presents "Koliada and Music from the Carpathians" featuring koliadnyky from Kryvorivnia Ivan and Mykola Zelenchuk, with Verkhovyna musicians Mykhailo Iluyuk and Vasyl Tymchuk. They will be joined by violinist Mark Marczyk, bandurist Julian Kytasty and singers from Kosa Kolektiv. The event begins at 7:30 p.m., at the Ukrainian National Federation, 145 Evans Ave. Admission: \$25; \$20 for seniors, students and children. For information call 416-912-3766 or log on to www.brama.com/yara.

Sunday, December 15

PASSAIC, N.J.: The Ukrainian Centralia invites everyone to the third annual Christmas Bazaar at 240 Hope Ave. at 9:30 a.m.-5 p.m. There will be unique items from various vendors, including Christmas ornaments, fresh honey, Ukrainian spirits and beer, holiday decorations, jewelry, traditional Ukrainian giftware, glassware, ceramics, woodcarvings, embroidery, apparel and more. Also available will be baked goods, ingredients for holiday recipes and hot foods to enjoy and take-out. Plus, Diana Howansky Reilly, author of "Scattered: The Forced Relocation of Poland's Ukrainians after World War II," will be at the bazaar to sign and sell copies of her new book. For further information e-mail Marianna Hoholuk, Mznak@aol.com.

Friday-Sunday, December 27-29

TORONTO: Yara's new theater piece with "Koliada, Vertep and Koza," called "Midwinter Night: Sacred and Profane Rituals" created by Yara Arts Group with the Koliadnyky of Kryvorivnia and Lemon Bucket Orchestra, will be presented at Enwave Theater, Harbourfront Centre, 235 Queens Quay West. Tickets for the Friday gala are \$150; on Saturday and Sunday, \$35; \$25 for students \$25; and \$15 for children. Tickets are available at harbourfrontcentre.com or by calling 416-973-4000.

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; payment should be sent to Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054. **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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