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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Hundreds of thousands take to the streets of Kyiv

Protesters support Euro-integration, express outrage over police brutality

by Zenon Zawada

KYIV – Ukraine's capital erupted in the biggest social unrest since the country regained its independence in 1991 after police on November 30 brutally beat and arrested protesters peacefully demonstrating against Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych's decision not to sign the Ukraine-European Union Association Agreement at the Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius.

The next day, a demonstration planned to protest Mr. Yanukovych's decision swelled in participants – estimates ranged from 200,000 to 1 million – and outrage over the police's excessive use of force. Conflicts exploded throughout Kyiv between protesters and police, injuring hundreds.

Opposition forces took control of several strategic sites in central Kyiv, including Independence Square (the maidan), the adjacent Trade Union Building and the Kyiv City Council.

(Continued on page 14)



Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians returned to Kyiv's Independence Square (maidan) on December 1 to protest the president's decision to not sign the European Union Association Agreement and the police brutality against Euro-Maidan protesters.

Major conference in New York presents latest research on Holodomor

Day two explores social, psychological, economic, legal aspects of Holodomor



by Matthew Dubas

NEW YORK - The second day of the scholarly forum "Taking Measure of the Holodomor" on November 6 in New York continued the conference program by focusing on the political, cultural and socio-psychological consequences of the Holodomor, examining legal developments and taking a look at the Holodomor as presented in contemporaneous press reports and government archives. The two-day conference at the Princeton University Club ended with sessions on remorse and reconciliation, and future challenges and approaches to the study of this genocide. (Day one of the conference was covered in last week's issue.) The day's first session (Session VII) addressed the "Political and Social-Economic Consequences of the Holodomor," with commentary by Vladyslav Hrynevych (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) and Oxana Shevel (Tufts University), moderated by Dr. Alexander Motyl (Rutgers University).

Prof. Hrynevych examined the "second wave" of collectivization that Ukraine experienced in 1939-1940. With the memory of the Holodomor still fresh in Ukrainians' minds, it was easy for many Ukrainians to see the return of Soviet agrarian practices that led to the starvation of millions. Quoting the reactions of soldiers meant to enforce these policies, one identified as Oleinikov stationed in Leningrad (St. Petersburg), asked his commanding officer: "Can it be that no member of the government was aware that in Ukraine everything was taken from the peasants to the last grain, people were dying of hunger, and corpses lay about on the roads? I am certain that they knew of it but took no countermeasures." Similarly, Prof. Hrynevych stated, during the Polish-Soviet war, the Poles would not have welcomed the Red Army so joyfully, according to servicemen who served during that campaign. During the Soviet-Finnish war, the Red Army was beaten back

Members of the Student Organization of Mykola Mikhnovsky (TUSM) read names of Holodomor victims from one village in Ukraine at the Ukrainian Institute of America.

(Continued on page 8)

Washington demonstration supports protesters in Ukraine



In front of the White House, Nazar Kalivoshko (left, with microphone) reads a declaration condemning the police violence used in the breaking up a demonstration on Kyiv's Independence Square.

by Yaro Bihun

WASHINGTON – A group of close to 200 Ukrainians and Ukrainian Americans living in the Washington and Baltimore area gathered in front of the White House on Sunday, December 1, to celebrate the 22nd anniversary of Ukraine's historic referendum – when its people voted for independence from the Soviet Union – and to express their support for its people today, who have been gathering in the hundreds of thousands on the streets of Kyiv and other cities to protest the decision of President Viktor Yanukovych's government not to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union but remain allied with Russia.

The demonstrators in Washington, who ranged in age from babies in carriages to seniors, began the demonstration earlier that brisk sunny Sunday afternoon at the Francis Scott Key Memorial Park, across the street from the Embassy of Ukraine in the Georgetown area of Washington.

After an hour there, they moved on to continue their protest in front of the White House, many marching the one and a half miles there with their Ukrainian and American flags and placards, while others drove.

Standing on Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House for almost another hour, the protesters listened to their demonstration coordinator, Nazar Kalivoshko of Baltimore, read a declaration condemning the police violence used in breaking up a demonstration on Kyiv's Independence Square on the previous day.

The demonstrators chanted and – led by members of Washington's Spiv-Zhyttia chorus – sang the Ukrainian national anthem, a number of Ukrainian folk songs and "God Bless America" at the conclusion of the demonstration.

New Yorkers protest violence directed against Euro-Maidan





PM warns of 'escalating' tensions

KYIV - Ukrainian Prime Minister Mykola Azarov has warned the opposition to stop its escalation of political tensions as protesters continue to demand his government's resignation. Mr. Azarov, speaking at a Cabinet of Ministers meeting on December 4, also warned protesters who are blockading government buildings that anyone found guilty of violating Ukrainian law or the Constitution will face punishment. With protesters picketing government headquarters outside, Mr. Azarov claimed that "the reasons for street protests have been exhausted." He said, "Certain political forces without any constructive agenda are directing street protests, inciting violence, unlawful occupation of administrative and communal buildings, blockades of state institutions. This is a criminal offense." The prime minister also said: "I want to ask the so-called leaders of street protests: 'Who will assume responsibility for these crimes? Who is ready to bear criminal responsibility?' I call on these so-called leaders not to hide behind people's backs but to publicly and clearly state who personally will be responsible for this," he added. Despite the events at home, President Viktor Yanukovych was on a visit to China, where he is seeking economic deals. (RFE/RL with reporting by Agence France-Presse and Reuters)

Opposition disrupts Rada session

KYIV - Opposition lawmakers disrupted the December 4 session of the Verkhovna Rada and vowed to continue to block the legislature until their demands are met. The opposition is demanding that the government step down over its decision not to sign an agreement on closer ties with the European Union and over a violent police crackdown on the resulting demonstrations. The opposition on December 3 failed to push through a parliamentary vote of noconfidence in the government but vowed to continue protests. Before that vote in Parliament, Prime Minister Azarov apologized for the crackdown by riot police against demonstrators, but denounced protesters who blocked access to government offices. He also pledged to reshuffle his

Cabinet. Meanwhile, Ukraine's Vice Prime Minister Yurii Boiko was in Moscow for talks on bilateral issues, including natural gas. Ukraine has been seeking lower prices on Russian gas supplies, possibly a key pressure point in any dealings between Kyiv and Moscow. Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev, after his meeting with Mr. Boiko, said Moscow wants "stability and order" in Ukraine. (RFE/RL with reporting by Agence France-Presse and Reuters)

Rybak suggests roundtable meeting

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Rybak has invited representatives of the opposition, the majority and international specialists to hold a roundtable meeting to address the situation in Ukraine. Speaking with reporters on December 4 in Kyiv, he said, "I proposed to hold a roundtable meeting, and tomorrow we will meet with representatives of the opposition and form those questions that will be discussed." He added that after President Viktor Yanukovych returns to Ukraine from China, he will have a meeting with the head of state. (Ukrinform)

Rybak rules out dissolution of Rada

KYIV - Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Rybak said on December 4 that he rules out the possible dissolution of the Ukrainian Parliament. "By law, if the Rada doesn't work for 30 days, which means that there will be no possibility to open the session, the president will have the right to dissolve Parliament. But it's not his responsibility. Therefore, I currently don't think that the Parliament will be dissolved," Mr. Rybak told journalists. He said that the Verkhovna Rada of the seventh convocation had done for the adoption of European integration laws what the deputies of other convocations had failed to do in the previous 10 years. The Verkhovna Rada chairman also said it's necessary to find common ground to unite east and west: "We must do everything to unite the country. We all have to live here. I, as Parliament speaker, have nowhere to go, and nobody is waiting for me and my children abroad. Therefore, I will do everything to unite

(Continued on page 13)



Demonstrators near Ukraine's Permanent Mission to the United Nations on December 1.

NEW YORK – About 2,000 demonstrators from the metropolitan New York area gathered on Sunday, December 1, near Ukraine's Permanent Mission to the United Nations to express their outrage at the violence unleashed in Kyiv in the early morning hours of November 30 by Berkut special forces against participants of the Euro-Maidan.

The group chanted such slogans as "Ukraine is Europe" and "Out with the occupiers" and vowed "Together to the end."

The gathering was addressed via megaphone by Ukraine's Ambassador to the U.N. Yuriy Sergeyev, who voiced his support for the people expressing their will in Ukraine and underscored, "I am with you."

He said: "What is happening today in Ukraine, not only in Kyiv, and around the world is the answer of the people who want freedom and dignity. I am outraged, along with you, at the violations of the constitutional rights of our citizens, their right to express their free will, their opinions, their right to freedom of assembly. I am outraged about this violation of international law, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights..."

"Along with you, I demand an investigation into not only what happened, but why it happened," Ambassador Sergeyev stated. Postmaster, send address changes to: The Ukrainian Weekly 2200 Route 10 P.O. Box 280 Parsippany, NJ 07054

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Canada deplores use of force against protesters in Ukraine

Baird on November 30 issued the following statement.

Canada strongly condemns the deplorable use of violence today by Ukrainian authorities against peaceful protesters in Independence Square. These demonstrators simply want a closer association with the European Union.

Freedom of speech and freedom of

Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister John assembly are fundamental tenets of any truly democratic country.

> We call upon the government of Ukraine to respect and indeed protect the rights of its citizens to express their opinions freely, consistent with Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe principles.

> Canada stands with the people of Ukraine to build a society based on freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

U.S. denounces violence against Ukrainian demonstrators

Jen Psaki, State Department spokesperson, made the following statement to the press on November 30.

The United States condemns the violence by government authorities against peaceful demonstrators in Kyiv today. We urge Ukraine's leaders to respect their people's right to freedom of expression and assembly. These are fundamental to a healthy democracy and the respect for universal values on which the United States partnership with Ukraine depends.

Consistent with the principles embodied

by the OSCE, we call on the government of Ukraine to foster a positive environment for civil society and to protect the rights of all Ukrainians to express their views on their country's future in a constructive and peaceful manner in Kyiv and in other parts of the country. Violence and intimidation should have no place in today's Ukraine.

We continue to support the aspirations of the Ukrainian people to achieve a prosperous European democracy. European integration is the surest course to economic growth and strengthening Ukraine's democracy.

European Union leaders condemn excessive use of force in Ukraine

Following is the text of a joint statement by the European Union's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Catherine Ashton and Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy Stefan Fule on events in Ukraine. The statement was released on November 30.

The European Union strongly condemns the excessive use of force last night by the police in Kyiv to disperse peaceful protesters, who over the last days in a strong and unprecedented manner have expressed their support for Ukraine's political association and economic integration with the

EU. This support had been welcomed yesterday by the participants of the Vilnius Eastern Partnership Summit. The unjustified use of force goes against the principles to which all participants of the Vilnius Summit, including the president of Ukraine, yesterday reaffirmed their adherence.

We call on Ukraine, also in its capacity as chairmanship in office of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], hosting its Ministerial Conference on December 5-6 in Kyiv, to fully abide by its international commitments to respect the freedom of expression and assembly.

Sen. John McCain: "The eyes of the world are on Ukraine"

U.S. Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) on acts of violence against peaceful demon-*December 2 released the following statement* on the public demonstrations in Ukraine.

The public demonstrations unfolding in Ukraine are a powerful expression of the strators. At the same time, it is important for those demonstrating to continue doing so peacefully.

Ukrainians should not be forced to choose between a future in the West or the East. They should be free to chart their nation's future as they choose, in the best interest of Ukraine's citizens. As Ukrainians continue to press their government to take the necessary steps to sign an Association Agreement with the EU, the Ukrainian government should listen to the voices of its people and respond to their legitimate aspirations.

Groundbreaking in D.C. for Holodomor Memorial



WASHINGTON - The building of the long-awaited Ukrainian Holodomor Memorial in Washington in remembrance of the millions of Ukrainians who died in Stalin's 1932-1933 Famine-Genocide was launched on December 4 with the symbolic groundbreaking ceremony at the site carried out by eight individuals and representatives of organizations instrumental in the successful achievement of this goal. Seen above, they are (from left): Robert Vogel, superintendent of the National Mall and Memorial Parks; Larysa Kurylas, designer and sculptor of the monument; U.S. Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio); Ukraine's Ambassador to the U.S. Olexander Motsyk; Michael Sawkiw Jr. of the U.S. Committee for Ukrainian Holodomor-Genocide Awareness; Anthony Fisher, representing Ukrainian businessman Dmytro Firtash, the major funder of the memorial; U.S. Rep. Sander Levin (D-Mich.), sponsor of the Holodomor Memorial bill in Congress; and Oleksandr Severyn, 91, from the Bronx, a Holodomor survivor. (More details on this historic event will appear in next week's issue.)

- Yaro Bihun

OSCE rep concerned by violence against journalists in Ukraine

OSCE

VIENNA - OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media Dunja Mijatović on December 2 expressed her concern about the magnitude of violence against members of the media at recent demonstrations in Kyiv.

"I am especially concerned that in most of the cases, the beatings were reportedly conducted by the law enforcement officers who attacked the journalists and disregarded their press identification. Violence against journalists cannot be tolerated," Ms. Mijatović wrote in a letter to the chairperson-in-office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Leonid Kozhara.

Kupriyanov, Euronews, Gleb Garanich, Reuters; Sergei Supinskiy, Agence France-Presse; Sergei Chuzavkov, Associated Press; Joseph Sywenkyj, The New York Times; Tomasz Piechala, Eastbook; Oleksandr Perevoznik, Liga Business Inform; Valeriya Burlakova, Stanislav Kozlyuk, Ukrayinskyi Tyzhden; Max Levin, LB.ua; Johannes Wamberg Andersen, Danish freelance journalist; Maxim Kudimets, Insider; Pawel Pieniazek, Polish freelance journalist; Anton Chernyshov, Independent Journalists Union; Denis Danko and Dmitriy Volkov, 1+1; Yaroslav Galata, Demokratychna Ukraina; Mikhail Zagorskii, Zhitomir.info; Dmitriy Kachura, Kommentarii; Yevgenii Golovatyuk, Ukrayinski Novyny; Oleg Khavruk, Comments.ua; Sergei Dolzhenko, European Pressphoto Agency; Yevgenii Feldman, Novava Gazeta; Yurii Butusov, Censor.net; Emin Kalantarov, Lifenews; Sergei Polezhaka, freelance journalist; Yevgenii Maloletka, UNIAN; Valeriy Kolosyuk, Aratta. Vikno v Ukrainu; and Sergei Yurchenko, Novoross.info. The OSCE's media freedom representative had previously condemned earlier attacks on journalists. Dmitry Gnap and Yakov Lyubchich of Hromadske.tv were attacked on November 29 while reporting on the demonstrations in Kyiv. The journalists were injured and their equipment damaged. On November 28. Vlad Puchich. chief editor of "20 Minutes," was attacked and injured in Zhytomyr. This was the second attack targeting Mr. Puchich in the past few days.

high expectations that Ukrainians have for a future of democratic reform, economic opportunity and integration into the Euro-Atlantic community.

The eyes of the world are on Ukraine. Ukraine's leaders should respect their people's basic rights, including freedom of expression and assembly, and refrain from

Quotable notes

"[Viktor] Yanukovych has decided it's more important to keep [Yulia] Tymoshenko in prison than to integrate Ukraine closer toward Europe."

"He has left his country vulnerable to Vladimir Putin's threats and pressure. That will be Yanukovych's legacy if he doesn't reverse course."

- David Kramer, president of Freedom House, in a statement quoted by CNN on November 25 and The Washington Post on November 26.

Ms. Mijatović reiterated the call to the Ukrainian authorities to take urgent action to halt the violence against media and to swiftly launch investigation into these attacks.

According to information available to the representative's office, more than 40 journalists representing national and international media outlets, including Ukravinska Pravda, Channel 5 (5 Kanal), 1+1, Euronews, Reuters, Agence France-Presse, the Associated Press and The New York Times, were physically assaulted and severely injured while covering the public protests in Kyiv.

They include: Dmitriy Larin, Ukrayinska Pravda; Mustafa Navyem, Hromadske.tv; Nataliya Zhijko, Yurii Usik, Ivan Nakonechniy, Channel 5; Roman

Fischer-Slysh fund donates \$300,000 to National University of Ostroh Academy

Ostroh Fund reaches \$1 million mark

DE KALB, Ill. – Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, president of the Friends of Ostroh Foundation, on November 21 announced a donation to the foundation of \$300,000 from the Fischer-Slysh Memorial Fund.

The donation brings to \$1 million the total collected by the foundation for the National University of Ostroh Academy, which is located in the Rivne region of Ukraine.

The moving force behind the donation was the late Dr. Maria Fischer-Slysh, a retired pediatrician who lived in Toronto. She was well known in Ukraine and the diaspora for her charitable giving. Along with her late husband, Dr. Rudolph Fischer, she was especially devoted to the development of Ukrainian educational institutions that support Ukrainian culture and the development of its moral fiber.

In 2009, she and her husband donated \$1 million to the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. Their other philanthropic activities included the establishment of a scholarship fund at the Ukrainian Free University; a \$100,000 donation toward the publication of the Encyclopedia of Ukraine, a project of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS); \$5,000 for the publication of a book about the Holodomor, "Under a Black Brand" ("Pid Chornym Tavrom"); as well as decades of support for an annual contest titled "We are your children, Ukraine," created to encourage the use of the Ukrainian language among the children of Crimea.

Dr. Fischer-Slysh was born in Kolomyia in 1922 to Dr. Adolph and Olha Slysh. Prior to the second world war, she lived with her parents in Lviv where she attended the academic gymnasium (a college-prep high school). Following the Bolshevik invasion of 1939, her family ended up on a list of "enemies of the people." They fled to Belz, then to Chelm and finally to Munich, where Maria graduated from the Medical Faculty of the Ludwig Maximilian University in 1950. Immigrating to the United States, Dr. Fischer-Slysh became a pediatrician in Kankakee, Ill., in 1959.

"I remember with great fondness my personal meetings with Dr. Maria Fischer during her many visits to Ostroh Academy, listening to her presentations to the students and at scientific conferences," declared Prof. Ihor Pasichnyk, rector of Ostroh Academy. "Mrs. Fischer was a great patron of Ukraine, and was very active in the diaspora. She made great contributions to the research of our Institute of Diaspora Studies. I recall that she was extraordinarily pleased with the development of Ostroh Academy and its success in the moral development and spiritual upbringing of true Ukrainian patriots for Ukraine."

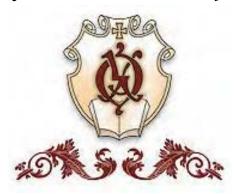
"Our students and professors sincerely appreciate all the efforts and deeds of Dr. Fischer-Slysh directed at the development of Ukraine, our system of higher education, and the National University of Ostroh Academy," Prof. Pasichnyk added.

"The magnanimous donation from the memorial fund of Dr. Maria Fischer-Slysh and Dr. Rudolph Fischer to the Ukrainian National Foundation for the benefit of Ostroh Academy is truly commendable," commented Stefan Kaczaraj, president of the Ukrainian National Foundation Inc. "Ukraine needs highly educated people who love Ukraine and its culture and who will work towards building a democratic and truly Ukrainian Ukraine."

"This is a great gift to Ostroh," responded Vira Bodnaruk, a member of the Friends of Ostroh Foundation. "But its students and staff headed by Rector Ihor Pasichnyk are worthy of it. I hope there will be more donors of this caliber in the future."

"I strongly believe that this generous donation will be greatly appreciated by the students and staff of Ostroh University," stated Dr. Nikolay Megits, another Ostroh Foundation friend. Mrs. Tamara Denysenko, also a friend, commented: "The donor's contribution to Ukrainian education and international relations is truly commendable."

"I am delighted to hear of this generous donation from the Memorial Fund," declared Bohdan Watral, a member of the Ostroh Foundation. The Ostroh Academy is one of the oldest academic institutions in Ukraine which continues to provide its students with an excellent education steeped in Ukrainian heritage, culture and language. Ostroh Academy has been in the forefront of the movement to institute aca-



Emblem of the National University of Ostroh Academy.

demic reforms in higher education in Ukraine, making its colleges and universities competitive with comparable institutions worldwide."

"My wife, Lesia, and I have been collecting donations for Ostroh Academy since 1997," stated Dr. Kuropas who, thanks to two Fulbright Grants, has taught at Ostroh on two separate occasions. "All Ukrainians should visit this unique and incredibly well developed educational institution. The Fischer-Slysh donation is by far the largest we have received thus far. This donation brings the total amount collected by our humble fund to over \$1 million. This is a great tribute to the generosity of our community. Lesia and I are hopeful that other Ukrainian Americans will be encouraged by this donation to also donate to the fund."

Checks should be made out to: Ukrainian National Foundation/Ostroh Fund, and sent to 107 Ilehamwood Drive, DeKalb, Illinois 60115.



Chrystia Freeland wins Toronto by-election

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – Even if it's no surprise, it's still nice to win. Although there were 11 candidates on the ballot, most people called the by-election in Toronto Center a "two-horse race." It featured Liberal candidate Chrystia Freeland and New Democratic candidate Linda McQuaig.

Both women are journalists whose primary focus has been income inequality and the vanishing middle class. Toronto Center was a useful example. It is made up of two halves: the northern (Rosedale) section is one of Toronto's wealthiest; in the southern part, social housing predominates or, as one paper put it, it's "a riding that includes \$10 million houses and homeless shelters, Chanel and Dollarama."

On November 25, four federal by-elections were held in Canada: Toronto Center in Toronto, Bourassa in Montreal and two, Brandon-Souris and Provencher, in Manitoba. The by-elections produced no change in party standings: the first two ridings stayed Liberal, and the Manitoba ridings remained Conservative, although the Liberals increased their share of the vote in all ridings. In Toronto Center Ms. Freeland received 49 percent of the vote, while the NDP candidate got 36 percent (a difference of 5,000 votes). This was a riding where the ruling Conservative party candidate played a marginal role, garnering only 8 percent of the vote. Toronto Center was considered a safe Liberal seat, as the Liberals have held it for the last 20 years, most recently by interim Liberal leader Bob Rae, who resigned his seat when Justin Trudeau took over the reins of the party. It is usually said that by-



Chrystia Freeland

* Not available in all states.



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Sales – 888-538-2833 ext. 3055 2200 Route 10, Parsippany, NJ 07054 General information – 800-253-9862 www.UkrainianNationalAssociation.org facebook.com/UkrainianNationalAssociation elections are no indication of party standings in the country, but in this case, partly because they were the only game in town, the four by-elections received more than normal attention, particularly the campaign of the so-called "Liberal star candidate" Ms. Freeland.

Considered part of Liberal leader's inner circle, she has been made co-chair of Mr. Trudeau's Economic Council of Advisors, which is writing the party's economic policy. The by-elections were also a test of opposition leaders – Mr. Trudeau of the Liberals and Thomas Mulcair of the NDP – neither of whom had yet led his party in an election. Mr. Trudeau worked hard to keep the Toronto Center riding Liberal, showing up every few days from Montreal to help Ms. Freeland.

Our community responds to developments in Ukraine

Following are excerpts of statements released by several Ukrainian diaspora organization in reaction to recent events in Ukraine.

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

November 30

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America... denounces the barbaric attack on the peaceful demonstrators gathered in Kyiv's Euro-Maidan who were expressing their desire to integrate into Euro-Atlantic structures.

We call upon the U.S. government and its EU allies to immediately reiterate their support for the Ukrainian people and their aspirations to join the European communi-

Ukrainian Canadian Congress

November 30

The Ukrainian Canadian Congress today denounced the brutal violence perpetrated against the peaceful protesters of Euromaidan in Kyiv Ukraine by Berkut special forces, which have left dozens seriously injured. ...

"We thank the government of Canada for their strong condemnation of the actions by the government of Ukraine. We ask all western governments to immediately impose targeted economic sanctions against those individuals responsible for these human rights abuses in Ukraine, including the freezing of assets and restricdiate economic sanctions which will include the freezing of assets and visa restrictions for Yanukovych and his government. The United States must condemn Russia for its unabashed attempts to reestablish its empire.

ty of democracies. We further call on imme-

We call upon the Ukrainian American community to contact their elected officials to condemn this brutal act and impose austere sanctions upon Ukrainian government officials....

tions on visas," stated UCC National President Paul Grod.

We urge Ukrainian authorities to investigate and prosecute those who authorized and executed these acts of violence against the people of Ukraine. We further call for the resignation of the authorities in Ukraine who have deliberately acted against the will and interests of the Ukrainian people. The use of violence against peaceful protesters has sparked resignations by Members of Parliament from the governing Party of Regions and the resignation of a senior Ukrainian diplomat to Canada, Ms. Natalia Holub. ...

World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations

December 2

The World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations supports the participants of the peaceful protest at the Euro-Maidan in Ukraine and expresses its profound outrage regarding the numerous acts of violence on the part of law enforcement against the youth, students and participants of the peaceful protest, including a beating of more than 40 Ukrainian and foreign journalists. ...

The World Federation of Ukrainian

Women's Organizations supports the presentation to Parliament of a draft resolution on the resignation of the government on December 3, and anticipates its approval. Millions of Ukrainians have a right to live in a democratic European Ukraine!

We call upon the member organizations of WFUWO to demonstrate their support of the Euro-Maidan and appeal to their constituents to do the same. Ukraine must sense the strong support of the diaspora, and notably that of Ukrainian women.

Ukrainian American Bar Association

November 30

The Ukrainian American Bar Association (UABA) steadfastly condemns President [Viktor] Yanukovych's brutal and unsparing use of force to quash Ukrainian citizens' rights of peaceful assembly and speech. They gathered to express their support for Euro-integration, the same objective that President Yanukovych himself had repeatedly trumpeted as his unshakeable goal. He had assured that the government would act in a manner consistent with European and

rights including the freedom of speech and assembly. However, actions speak louder than words! President Yanukovych's recent unlawful actions on Kyiv's Euro-Maidan belie his words and underscore his subservience to the dictates of Russia, Ukraine's ago-old persecutor. ... We call upon the Ukrainian legal community – especially the judiciary – to stand straight and reaffirm their allegiance to the Ukrainian nation and the principle of the rule of law and justice. We call on you to be the guardian of our

Ukrainian National Association denounces attack on peaceful protesters

The statement below was issued by the Ukrainian National Association's Executive Committee on December 2.

The UNA today stands in solidarity with the Ukrainian people, who are exercising their democratic right to peaceful protest.

The deterioration of democracy in Ukraine is reaching a critical point. We condemn the brutal violence perpetrated by Berkut special forces against the peaceful protesters.

We implore President Barack Obama to communicate to Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych the concern of the U.S. in the strongest possible terms that people must be allowed to exercise their constitutionally protected democratic right to protest without the threat of violence.

The militia brutally turned against the peaceful gatherings expressing their desire to integrate into the European Union on the Euro-Maidan in Kyiv, and many were seriously injured.

We ask the American government to support the democratic movement in Ukraine and ask that the U.S. impose targeted economic sanctions – including the freezing of assets and restrictions on visas – against those individuals responsible for these human rights abuses in Ukraine.

We call upon Ukrainian American community members to contact their elected officials to condemn this brutal act.

FOR THE RECORD: Patriarch Filaret condemns "use of brutal violence"

Below is the text of the statement by the Patriarch of Kyiv and All Rus'-Ukraine Filaret issued concerning the events of November 30 in Kyiv.

Dear Compatriots!

Dear Brothers and Sisters!

Today our society is experiencing one of the most difficult moments of modern history, and for this reason the Church cannot stand by silently.

Events of the past weeks and months convince us that the vast majority of our citizens support the European integration of Ukraine. In defense of their aspirations they have joined in mass public demonstrations. These demonstrations were held generally peacefully and without violence, to which our citizens were called by our Church, and other Churches and religious organizations.

The Kyiv Patriarchate, together with the Ukrainian people, supported and continues to support the European integration of Ukraine and sees Ukraine's future in a circle of independent states in a united Europe.

After the massive civic actions, we have repeatedly appealed also to law enforcement and other state representatives with a call to ensure the constitutionally guaranteed right of the citizens to peacefully express their position. Unfortunately, our call was not heard.

On the night of November 30, with the use of brutal violence, protesters were expelled from Independence Square. Photographs of these actions bring to mind July 18, 1995, when force was used against the participants of the funeral of Patriarch Volodymyr (Romaniuk).

As a Church, we morally condemn the brutal use of force against civilians, which occurred today on the capital's Independence Square. We also call upon everyone – especially the police, but also members of civic actions – to prevent the further use of violence.

Because this possibility – the development of large civil conflict and divisions of the country, ruination of our statehood – is what those forces are seeking, at any cost seeking to prevent Ukraine's integration with a united Europe.

The future is unknown to us. But we want all to know: the Kyiv Patriarchate is with the Ukrainian people. Regardless of what adversities lie ahead of us.

According to the Lord Jesus Christ, prayer has a great ability to destroy the power and the machinations of the devil. So right now, among other things, prayer for Ukraine is especially needed, for the preservation of our shared home from the ravages of internecine strife. I call all believers to this strengthened prayer.

With a heavy heart, but with firm faith in the Lord's mercy and help, I say together with you, "O Great and Only God, protect our Ukraine!" I ask for the Lord's blessing on all of the Ukrainian nation!

+ Filaret

Patriarch of Kyiv and All Rus'-Ukraine Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate

international principles of individual human Ukraine's right to freedom.

Council of Bishops, Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.

December 2

...Thousands of Ukrainian citizens have taken liberty to stand up for their beliefs by participating in protests-maidans throughout Ukraine and especially in the capital of Kyiv.

Throughout Ukraine's history, millions of people have given their lives for freedom, dignity and human rights, in order to reclaim the right to peaceful demonstration as well as political and societal activity. The voice of the street must be heard and respected, and it cannot be silenced by the noise and uncertainties of those in leader-

ship positions who choose to confuse and abuse by utilizing violence against the protestors. The use of force, confrontation and violence will fail to resolve political issues. We call upon the leaders of Ukraine to address and immediately cease the violence against the protesters. The country's democratic future will depend on dialogue and the ability to listen to voice of Ukrainian citizens. ...The authorities must respect the protesters who have simply exercised their political and constitutional – and most importantly – God-Given rights to peacefully gather in protest and demonstration. ...

for Ukrainians at Euro-Maidan

UUARC announces fund drive

PHILADELPHIA – At the request of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee Inc. is sending immediate humanitarian aid to the hundreds of thousands cold and hungry Ukrainians who have flooded the streets and squares of Kyiv, Lviv and many other cities to protest the Ukrainian government's decision to suspend the process of Ukraine's Euro-integration.

The protesters support an Association Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine and are against a return to active dialogue with

the Russian Federation and other countries of the Customs Union. They also aim to demonstrate to the Ukrainian government and the world the Ukrainian people's desire to join the European Union.

Donations may be sent to: UUARC, 1206 Cottman Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19111 (memo: Action EU). Online donations are accepted at www.uuarc.org. In addition, donations may be made to UUARC accounts at Ukrainian federal credit unions in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and Yonkers, N.Y. All donations are tax-deductible.

<u>The Ukrainian Weekly</u> Yanukovych & Co. must go

They were playing us for fools all along.

The traitor from Lviv, Hanna Herman, played us for fools when she visited the Ukrainian Canadian Congress on November 9 to promise that "this year will go down in history as the year of Ukraine's new civilizational choice when Ukraine will sign the Association Agreement." President Viktor Yanukovych played us when he declared in late August his intention to sign the European Union agreement in Vilnius, only to fail to lead a serious campaign to meet its requirements in the following months. Instead, he held two secretive meetings with Russian President Vladimir Putin at which they reached an understanding that no one – not even the EU leadership – is aware of.

These hucksters were also playing the EU leadership. A week after Mr. Yanukovych claimed he needed 160 billion euros (\$217.6 billion) to implement the agreement's modernization requirements, Vice Prime Minister Serhiy Arbuzov offered a totally different estimate: 10 billion euros (\$13.6 billion). The EU reacted in disgust, with a high-ranking diplomat telling Interfax-Ukraine Kyiv should "stop playing with new numbers every day that have no basis."

The current battle in Ukraine is no longer just about signing the Association Agreement – a prospect that may be lost for years. It's about removing a band of criminals who have violated previous commitments to Euro-integration, brought the economy to the brink of collapse with their rampant theft and corruption, played a divideand-conquer game with their own people by exacerbating cultural divides and ruined the delicate structures of rule of law and checks and balances in government.

They've imprisoned those who question and criticize their mismanagement of government – a practice that continued even after the brutal clearance of the maidan on November 30. Indeed, numerous criminal charges have been filed against the protesters.

Soon afterwards, back-lit billboards – reserved by the Ukrainian Choice civic movement led by Viktor Medvedchuk – sprang up in central Kyiv declaring the goals of Mr. Putin. The first goal – stopping association with the EU – was checked off on the list. Two goals remain: Customs Union membership and "establishing democracy," as so exemplarily demonstrated in places such as the Russian Federation, Belarus and Kazakhstan. And Mr. Putin will have more levers toward securing Ukraine's membership in the Customs Union, reportedly having offered Mr. Yanukovych immense loans and discounts on natural gas prices.

Mr. Yanukovych has fallen into a Russian trap by putting his short-term interest of getting re-elected in 2015 ahead of his long-term interest of protecting the wealth of Ukraine's oligarchs against inevitable raids by Russian billionaires once deeper economic integration occurs. But Mr. Yanukovych isn't supposed to represent just the interests of Ukraine's oligarchs. He has a responsibility to ensure that the people's rights are protected and that their economic condition improves – something he has utterly neglected at the expense of his own voracious appetite for wealth.

Skeptics believe the Euro-Maidan offers little prospects for change and will either sputter out or face a violent end at the hands of state forces. But several distinctions from the 2004 maidan indicate the battle is different this time and has the potential for more success.

Unlike 2004, this time the fight is not for a particular politician or party, but for European (i.e., Western) values. And beyond the Association Agreement, it's for the government (and its police) to respect people's rights and dignity, a key foundation of Western civilization. Unlike 2004, the politicians are on the periphery of events and don't even have much influence over the maidan. This time, the residents of southern and eastern Ukraine, who have lived under Mr. Yanukovych's rule and have seen their economic conditions worsen, are no longer going to rise up to defend him.

Also unlike 2004, this president has already demonstrated his willingness to beat protesters, and there's little doubt he'll do it again. Mr. Putin has also indicated his willingness to back Mr. Yanukovych, stating on December 2 that the protests in Ukraine "are more like a pogrom than a revolution."

Therefore, we support the opposition's call for the resignation of President Yanukovych, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov and the Cabinet of Ministers.

After the failed December 3 vote to oust the Cabinet, the only means to achieve this goal is to block the central streets, maintain large protests outside the key government buildings, and apply enough pressure to rupture the parliamentary majority, force resignations of top state officials and impel law enforcement officers to stop repressing the people.

Former political prisoner Yurii Lutsenko offered another critical key to solving this crisis that demands attention: "Europe needs to help us. If the current authoritarian government doesn't hear the voice of democracy, Europe has to strike the weak points of the current regime, which are well known: their accounts, real estate and business abroad."

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

BY ZENON ZAWADA

A night on European Square

The 100,000 to 200,000 patriots who came to central Kyiv on November 24 weren't playful or smiling, like nine years ago. Our Christian faith teaches us that there is righteous anger, and the Ukrainian people have as good a case as any for it. The immense turnout was both unexpected and entirely awaited.

It was supposed to express itself after the appointment of Ukrainophobe Dmytro Tabachnyk as education minister, after the draconian tax code of 2010, after the imprisonment of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko in 2011 and after the language law of 2012 that removed protection for Ukrainian.

I suppose Ukrainians endured all that with the expectation that President Viktor Yanukovych's long-term financial interests would lead him to compensate for all his sins and sign the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement. But he fudged that as well.

I wanted to see just how serious Ukrainians were this time around (on November 24) and visited central Kyiv at about 10 p.m. I was a bit disappointed – there was no one at the Cabinet of Ministers, where there had been raucous brawls earlier that day.

By 11:15 p.m., the notorious Berkut – swinging their batons behind their astronaut helmets (hence the nickname for them, "kosmonavty") – were clearing the intersection of Khreschatyk and Instytutska Street of protesters, literally throwing them onto the sidewalks.

Shocked by their aggressiveness, I yelled at them, "Vy vsi kurvy!" (You're all whores), which drew an immediate admonition from Batkivshchyna National Deputy Lesia Orobets, who appeared out of nowhere. Indeed, she was running alongside the Berkut, yelling "Don't provoke them!" while flashing her deputy ID.

Only in Ukraine, I suppose, will you find a 31-year-old member of Parliament and mother of two mixed up in street fights as midnight approaches. (A week later, Svoboda National Deputy Oleksii Kaida, 42, got bashed over the head and while fellow Svoboda Deputy Andrii Mishchenko, 40, was viciously beaten.)

The Berkut (along with Ms. Orobets) ran to European Square, where they were greeted by more than 1,000 protesters who stopped them in the middle of the square. These brave descendants of the Kozak kinship pushed the riot police all the way back to the Dnipro Hotel, from where the Berkut eventually departed with their Ruslana climbed atop the Batkivshchyna party van at 2 a.m. and sang the national anthem for all of European Square – and the guests of the Dnipro Hotel – to hear.

I saw a clearly born again Yurii Lutsenko explaining to the youngsters what advantage we had that the three-digit millionaires in the government buildings didn't. "We have the masses and we have our idea – that's our strength," he said.

I heard Valerii Kosariev, a talkative 70-year-old retired electrician from Dnipropetrovsk, declare his contempt for the Communists, admiration for western Ukrainians (they managed to avoid the Holodomor, he told me, speaking only Russian) and support for former President Viktor Yushchenko, who did a fine job considering he left Ukrainians alone during his endless catfights with Yulia.

I saw elderly women, intellectuals and college freshmen; whom I didn't see were the tough-talking, broad-shouldered young nationalists decked out in their camouflage and red-and-black flags and badges. When the going gets tough, these "alpha-males" have a tendency to vanish.

The hardest part about these all-nighters is the 4-6 a.m. shift, precisely the time when the Berkut viciously attacked the peaceful demonstrators on Independence Square six days later.

Only the stronger ones are able to resist sleep and I lay down on an otherwise rough wooden crate that felt awfully comfortable considering I was sheltered inside a tent from the drizzle. Just outside, I heard a woman offering tomatoes and kovbasa. This is what the maidan of 2004 was like, I thought to myself.

Suddenly I was awakened by a friend who learned via his iPhone that the Berkut were clearing the maidan. It was 5 a.m. and we all grew quite tense, expecting the Berkut to next target us on European Square. "How do we defend ourselves?" I asked those around me. "What, you didn't bring a can of mace?" was one response, half in jest. But no one had a clear answer.

To our relief, they stuck to the maidan ostensibly in order to clear space for the capital's Christmas tree. The rains got more serious and a bunch of us tucked ourselves snugly into a tent. Mr. Kosariev, a veteran of several "maidany," was sharing war stories from the tax maidan of 2010. A police officer stole his phone and had called his daughter with come-ons.

"Yanukovvch has crossed the line this time, and there's no turning back for him now," he said, drawing nods from the rest of us, including a round-eyed, plumpcheeked mini-warrioress from Lviv and a darker-skinned, gray-haired Kyiv computer programmer. That was five days before Mr. Yanukovych rejected the EU Association Agreement, six days before the November 30 Berkut storm of the maidan and a week before twice as many people came to protest. I no longer doubt that this is the beginning of the end of Mr. Yanukovych's regime. I just hope it won't require more decent, honest descendants of the Kozaks getting hurt.

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If there was any doubt about what the Yanukovych regime stands for, the latest events in Kyiv have presented ample proof. Yanukovych & Co. must go.

Dec. **10** 2004

Turning the pages back...

Nine years ago, on December 10, 2004, Zbigniew Brzezinski of the Center for Strategic and International Studies gave a closing statement at Freedom House during the daylong conference "Ukraine's Choice: Europe or Russia?" sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute in Washington.

"I think the Ukrainian people over the last few days have demonstrated that their political consciousness now embraces simultaneously deep and widespread patriotism with an equally deep and widespread commitment to democracy," Dr. Brzezinski stated. He also noted that the protests in Ukraine have demonstrated that

(Continued on page 7)

tails between their legs.

Desperate not to let the "trash" (another nickname for the Berkut) ruin our little fortress of 40 tents and a metal stage, I decided to heed the call of National Deputy Andrii Parubii for everyone present to stay the night. As rough as it was, with the chilly weather, drizzling rain and a day of work ahead of me, I didn't regret it.

I heard the mild-mannered Arseniy Yatsenyuk yell to the warriors, "Glory to the nation!" – a phrase that's typically limited to the nationalists – to which he got the reply, "Death to the enemies!"



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The New York Mets: a swing and a huge miss



Children and coaches in Kremenets at the Ukraine Little League championship.

Dear Editor:

On August 8, I along with others received an e-mail from Liza Szonyi-Donovan of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York Branch. There was an invitation to purchase a ticket to attend the second Ukrainian Heritage Night at Citi Field on September 26 – a wonderful event to show all in attendance examples of Ukrainian culture.

I checked my travel plans for Ukraine and noticed that I would still be overseas at that time. Then I had this idea. What if the New York Mets were to donate baseballs to be used by the children during the Ukraine Little League baseball championship in Kremenets? I could then announce this donation during opening ceremonies on September 18. On August 27, I contacted Ms. Szonyi-Donovan and requested four dozen balls for the children. She, in turn, contacted the Yonkers Branch of the UCCA, which was in touch with the Mets. All remained silent.

On September 16, while I was in Kremenets, and hearing nothing, I lowered my expectations and asked for baseballs that the umpires generally toss aside during the game because of a blemish. Those baseballs would be welcome as well. Later that day, I heard back from Ms. Szonyi-Donovan, who stated the Mets needed more information about my work in Ukraine. The Mets received my article published in July in The Ukrainian Weekly and the info about the official Ukraine LL website, www.ukrainebaseball.org.

I was confident that the Mets would help me after reading the article. On Sunday, September 22, the closing ceremonies were held for the 38 boys and three girls at Ukraine's LL championship. My hope was to announce that the New York Mets had donated the needed baseballs, whether new or scuffed. That was not to be. A swing and a huge miss by the New York Mets.

In the October 27 edition of The Ukrainian Weekly, the UCCA proudly wrote that nearly 500 Ukrainian Americans descended on to Citi Field on September 26 to celebrate Ukrainian Heritage Night. How wonderful! So, that is 500 people, and the admission was \$25 per person, plus drinks, hot dogs and souvenirs. Do the math.

Yet, according to Google, 4,498 miles away in the little town of Kremenets, Ukraine, there were 41 children from four orphanages that could have used a few new baseballs and at least a couple of scuffed up baseballs. A swing and a huge miss.

As they say "maybe next year." A swing and a missed opportunity by the New York Mets to help the almost forgotten children.

I am always hopeful. Please contact me if you wish to help in 2014. Thank you.

Basil Tarasko Bayside, N.Y.

Turning...

(Continued from page 6)

Ukraine has a political culture "that places them among the democracies of Europe."

The various stages of the de-Sovietization process of the region, Dr. Brzezinski said, started with the "Warsaw Round," that culminated in the entrance of Central Europe – Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary – into NATO, and later into the European Union. The next round, he called the "Vilnius Round," culminating in the entrance of the Baltic countries - Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia – into NATO and then into the European Union. Now, we are in the "Kyiv Round," he said, "because it will involve the further accession to the community of free nations on peoples further east, with Ukraine being the spearhead." Dr. Brzezinski also noted how the West lags in its recognition of historic moments. "And that has been the case when it comes to de-Sovietization, de-imperialization. We have been late in our judgments. We were late in estimating the degree of change in the Soviet Union and the futility of perestroika and its significance in the collapse of the Soviet Union. We have been slow in recognizing the pace of change in Central Europe. We underestimate the degree of change in the East. And the Ukrainian people, by achieving national independence and general democracy in an important European nation, have thereby given further impulse."

Dr. Brzezinski also underscored the effect Ukraine's democratization process will have on Russia, as most Russians recognize Kyivan Rus' as the fountainhead of the Russian state, and they will be troubled that Ukraine is ahead of them. "It is very important also to maintain political clarity towards Russia, to make it very clear that neo-imperialism, masquerading as a democracy, promoting the suppression of democracy in Ukraine will have an effect on the relationship of the West with Russia. It will mean the international isolation of the Putin regime," he said. There are ways Ukraine can ensure its democratic path, Dr. Brzezinski added, with accession to the World Trade Organization, a free-market economy status, facilitate Ukrainians to find work in Europe to experience the benefits of their democracy being contiguous to the European Union, and to join NATO and the European Union, but only if Ukraine wants "to be a member and qualifies as a member, it should feel confident that it will be a member."

CROSSCURRENTS

by Andrew Sorokowski

Feast and famine

What is the greatest challenge that humanity has ever faced? According to Ambassador Kenneth Quinn, president of the World Food Prize Foundation, it is how to sustainably feed a projected world population of 9 billion by 2050. And the chief issue connected with this challenge concerns biotechnology and genetically modified organisms (GMOs).

As reported by the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council, which sent representatives, last October 16-19 over 1,500 delegates from over 70 countries, including Ukraine, attended the Borlaug Dialogue in Des Moines, Iowa, where the World Food Prize was awarded. Considered the father of the "Green Revolution," 1970 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Norman Borlaug (1914-2009) is credited with having saved millions of lives through improved breeds of grain that were introduced into India and Pakistan in the 1960s. Although he relied on plant breeding, irrigation, fertilizing, and other traditional techniques, Dr. Borlaug supported GMOs as well.

Developed by large chemical companies like Monsanto and DuPont Pioneer (a member of the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council), GMOs can be resistant to chemical herbicides, as well as to pests and diseases like rust fungus. They can also be designed for drought resistance, higher nutritional value and longer shelf life.

They are, however, controversial. The German Federal Ministry of Education and Research offers various points of view on this issue at http://www.gmo-safety.eu/ debate.html. Drawing an analogy with nuclear energy, critics argue that genetic modification carries health risks that have not been properly assessed and therefore should not be taken. One problem is that it is difficult to trace the effects of GMOs that have been fed to farm animals from which food products are derived. Some cite the danger that farmers relying on the resistance of genetically modified crops to herbicides may over-spray them. Recently, a Danish pig farmer reported that feed containing GMOs that had been sprayed with the herbicide glyphosate was causing gross deformities in his animals (http://www. counterpunch.org/2013/11/29/the-realcost-of-gm-animal-feed/). Critics also point to the danger of GMO contamination of other crops ("out-crossing"), though defenders counter that buffer plantings can segregate them from non-GMO crops.

GMOs are usually associated with monocultures, such as soybeans, grown for export, which replace crops for local consumption. This makes a nation dependent on the market for the given commodity and susceptible to economic dislocation when world prices fall. Moreover, shipment of such products entails high fuel consumption and other costs. Farmer, philosopher and "locavore" leader Wendell Berry maintains that by favoring agribusiness and huge marketing chains, biotechnology disrupts the local culture of the small family farm and village. As a result, we lose contact with the land, which "teaches probity and modesty while encouraging community solidarity, values whose loss imperils the basis of democracy" (Frank Browning, "Dinner by Design," California, Vol. 120, No. 5, Winter 2009, p. 26). There are other ethical objections. In his message for the 1990 World Day of Peace, Pope John Paul II warned of "the biological disturbance that could result from indiscriminate genetic manipulation" (No. 7). Peter A. Kwasniewski asserts that while breeding is legitimate because it does not alter the essence of the organism, genetic modification goes beyond human stewardship of nature to tampering with the core of living things, that is, "playing God" (Peter A. Kwasniewski, "Genetically Modified Organisms, a Catholic's Animadversions." Second Spring, No. 7, 2006, pp. 33-42).

There are alternatives. Research institutes in the Netherlands, for example, are seeking ways to make plants naturally resistant to pests through molecular analysis, DNA finger-printing and genetic backcrossing. They thus produce improved hybrids without genetic modification (Browning, op. cit., pp. 27-28).

Global hunger is also a function of the number of mouths to feed. Paul Ehrlich's "The Population Bomb" (1968) made dire predictions of worldwide famine. Some of these proved false or exaggerated. Populations in much of the developed world, including Ukraine, have actually been dropping: average fertility rates in Europe and the former USSR have been well below the 2.1 replacement rate in a developed country. Nevertheless, the world population may reach 10 billion before leveling off. Consequently, many people in the West believe that the answer to world hunger is contraception. It is curious, of course, that many of those opposed to artificial intrusion in the food cycle have no problem with artificial interference with human reproduction. Moreover, separating sex from procreation has deep cultural consequences. Western pressure to artificially limit Asian, African and South American populations is sometimes perceived as a new form of colonialism, which threatens traditional social, cultural and religious norms.

But global hunger is not simply a matter of too little food or too many mouths. The chief problem is distribution. This means that patterns of consumption in the developed world must change. That, in turn, requires a moral and cultural metamorphosis. In their June 10, 2002, Venice Declaration, Pope John Paul II and Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I observed that the world environmental crisis "is not simply economic and technological; it is moral and spiritual." A solution would require a radical "inner change of heart, which can lead to a change in lifestyle and of unsustainable patterns of consumption and production." It is all too easy for us to advocate GMOs for Asians or condoms for Africans while perpetuating our wasteful

Source: "For the record: "Brzezinski on the West's response to Ukraine's choice" (prepared by Yaro Bihun), The Ukrainian Weekly, December 19, 2004. consumerist economy and way of life.

The causes of hunger are complex. Some of the proposed solutions - biotechnology, population control, economic restructuring remain controversial. But two things are indisputable. First, as Amartya Sen has said and as Ukrainians know all too well, there is no such thing as a natural famine. Second, hunger is our responsibility. We rail at those who lived in plenty while Ukraine starved. We think of the rich man who feasted daily while the sick and hungry Lazarus lay at his doorstep (Luke 16: 19-31). Todav it is we who live in plenty, and Lazarus is at our doorstep. We can best honor the victims of the Holodomor by creating a permanent fund, in their memory, for global famine relief.

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Major conference...

(Continued from page 1)

so stubbornly, because the Finns had heard reports of the suffering due to Soviet collectivization policies.

Ukrainian resistance to the Soviet collectivization process during the second wave of 1939-1941, Prof. Hrynevych suggested, "was not the least important of the factors that brought about the catastrophe of 1941."

Prof. Shevel noted how the discourse on the Holodomor has evolved through the years. The narrative has always been dictated by those in power, shaping the unified memory and its politicization. In post-1991 Ukraine, the political interests were divided between predominantly left versus capitalist forces, and under Presidents Leonid Kuchma and Leonid Kravchuk Ukraine experienced a period of historical amnesia regarding the Holodomor. The term "genocide," when referring to the Holodomor, wasn't even used by the leadership until 2003 and then became more frequently used.

During the early days of post-Soviet Ukraine, the leadership was focused on improving the country's international image. This focus helped the discussion on the Holodomor and legislation that was shaped during this period, including terminology referring to the targeting of the Ukrainian people, not the nation ("natsia" vs "narod"), which was initiated by former Verkhovna Rada Chair Oleksander Moroz.

President Viktor Yushchenko took it to a new level under his leadership, including the establishment of a criminal code for the denial of the Holodomor, Prof. Shevel said.

Under President Yanukovych, there was a notable shift and the genocidal nature of the Holodomor was denied. There has been a policy of no direct support by the leadership for the preservation of historical memory. The Holodomor monument in Washington, which was supported under President Viktor Yushchenko, did not receive the same support from Mr. Yanukovych. Instead, an ally of Mr. Yanukovych's, Dmytro Firtash, a wealthy businessman who has reinvented himself as a philanthropist, donated \$2.5 million for the completion of the monument. This allowed Mr. Yanukovych to maintain the Moscow-led position on the Holodomor, while at the same time keeping the promise of the previous administration to the diaspora, said Prof. Shevel.

Opinion polls in Ukraine, Prof. Shevel noted, reveal paradoxical results: 6 percent say the Holodomor was genocide, while 40 percent say it was not. Surprisingly, 30 percent of Ukrainians from the eastern regions, that were later repopulated with Russians by the Soviets to replace the millions of starved Ukrainians, support the genocidal claim.

The discussion on "Cultural Social-Psychological Consequences of the Holodomor" was moderated by Dr. George Grabowicz of Harvard University, with panelists Olya Andriewsky (Trent University), Hennadi Ivanushchenko (Center to Study the Liberation Movement of Ukraine) and Olya Bertelsen (Columbia University).

Dr. Grabowicz commented that the Holodomor is unique among genocides, because for 30 to 40 years after the Famine-Genocide, the victims praised the regime responsible. This type of "Stockholm Syndrome" is a result of suppressed knowledge, and the lack of national identity and symptoms of historical amnesia will eventually phase out with Ukraine's Europeanization, he said. The dichotomy of homo-Sovieticus versus Ukraine-man can also be seen in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army/Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (UPA/OUN) dialogue in Ukraine.

Prof. Andriewsky continued on the theme of identity, noting its challenges and progress, including the creation of the National Book of Memory on the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor by President Yushchenko and the effort made to name all of the victims. The unintended consequences of these identity challenges have marginalized the victims and witnesses, and there is a lack of social history on collectivization, she added.

Each Ukrainian village should be able to tell its own story, have its own memory – a dialogue of oral and social history collected from the villagers themselves, documenting the resistance movement, the culture wars, the impoverishment of the peasantry (the disappearance of culture-bearers and attack on religion) to capture the widespread scope of the oppression, noted Prof. Andriewsky.

The cultural catastrophe of the Holodomor and its effects on village life and the family structure have been studied by Olesia Stasiuk, Prof. Andriewsky continued. A warped mentality emerged of tattling on your neighbors or your own family to save your own life. Future studies on the Holodomor may focus on gender and the Holodomor, which remains an unexplored topic, as well as the psychological consequences.

Mr. Ivanushchenko noted that the publication of Holodomor information has begun a discussion among the scholarly community. An overview of the research includes eyewitness accounts, archival material, death certificates – which include



The audience during conference sessions at the Princeton University Club.

information on the cause of death, the individual's social status, nationality and other information. Much of these documents also show related medical conditions during the Holodomor, including tuberculosis and other ailments.

Prof. Bertelsen spoke about post-genocidal Ukraine, and how Ukraine's development as an independent country impacted Holodomor research – specifically, how the center for research has shifted from North America to Ukraine. The increased dialogue on Ukrainian social history with the release of archival material from the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) archives and the Kharkiv Oblast archives is an example of this. Future studies on the Holodomor will examine inter-ethnic demographics and comparisons among Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, Jews, etc.

The mass media was discussed during the ninth session, moderated by Dr. Halyna Hryn (Harvard University), with panelists Nigel Colley, Andrew Stuttaford and Serhii Cipko. Dr. Hryn commented on the lack of outside knowledge of the Holodomor and the international assistance efforts, and cited attempts made to discredit press coverage of the Holodomor.

Mr. Colley, the administrator of the Gareth Jones Archives, spoke about the censorship that Jones and similar journalists faced when writing about the Holodomor. The Daily Express carried stories reporting that the Russians had confessed to starvation in Ukraine, including reports by Soviet apologists H.R. Knickerbocker and Walter Duranty, who wrote that the people were hungry but not starving.

In 2003 the diaspora became more aware of the work of Jones, and an exhibit at Cambridge University in England displayed the diaries written by Jones during his time documenting the Holodomor. The increased awareness of sources such as Jones' diaries opened up new primary resources that have paved the way for books like Timothy Snyder's "Bloodlands: Between Hitler and Stalin" and the BBC feature "Hitler, Stalin and Mr. Jones." Mr. Stuttaford of the National Review Online noted the work of Malcolm Muggeridge, who exposed Soviet crimes but was not supportive enough of Jones and his work. William Henry Chamberlain (Christian Science Monitor) wrote about the Holodomor with two differing driving forces in the dialogue - Marxism versus McCarthyism. His early writings reflected sympathy for the Communists and then, after he saw the devastation caused by totalitarianism, his writings championed the rights of the individual. Thomas Walker was another innovator in telling the story of the Holodomor, but using second-hand sources. The New York Times admitted that the Soviet famine showed that people were not happy living under the Soviet system of governance. Then there were those who simply said that the Soviets had lied, like Gene Lyons.

Prof. Cipko (University of Alberta) explained that the Toronto Star's Moscow correspondent Pierre Van Passen wrote about Ukrainians in Kremenchuk, Poltava region, who survived the 1921 Famine, and that the 1933 Famine was even more "calamitous"; his reports documented grain confiscation by the Soviets.

Carleton Ketchum, a Soviet apologist for the Daily Express, even provided photos of the Holodomor, noting 5 million to 10 million deaths, but noted that the worst was over after 1932-1933, although "food shortages" continued. He reported that in 1931-1932, 1 million to 1.5 million people had died due to starvation.

As other examples, Prof. Cipko said that the forced expatriation of a generation of Ukrainians to the Kuban region shows how the Soviets targeted Ukrainians for starvation. President Herbert Hoover, while visiting Canada, noted the relief effort, and the American Relief Association stated that the "Russian government left millions to die." Even the League of Nations began to allow relief into the Soviet Union, but the hypocrisy was not addressed.

In the session "The Holodomor as Genocide: Legal Developments and Covenants" chaired by Mark Andryczyk (Columbia University), U.S. Federal Judge Bohdan Futey spoke about the international covenants, agreements and court decisions. For more than 75 years, the crime of genocide has been defined by international courts, and Mr. Futey explained the legal foundation for Ukraine's rightful claim to identifying the Holodomor as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people. He cited the U.N. General Assembly's adoption of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide on December 9, 1948, in Paris. The convention entered into force on January 12, 1951, and was ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on March 18, 1954 (the Ukrainian SSR ratified on November 15, 1954, and the Russian SFSR ratified on May 3, 1954). The legal definition of genocide proposed by Dr. Raphael Lemkin "favored an increased scope of protection for racial, national and religious groups whose cultural, political, social or physical existence were imperiled," Mr. Futey noted. It also provided expansive categories of criminal liability, including "genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, direct and public incitement to genocide, attempted genocide and complicity in genocide." Another milestone in legal developments was the U.N. Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitation to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, adopted on November 26, 1968. The agreement was ratified by both the Ukrainian

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Bishop Basil Losten and Judge Bohdan Futey in conversation during the Holodomor program.

(Continued on page 9)

Major conference...

(Continued from page 8)

and Russian Soviet republics in 1969, and the European Parliament introduced a similar agreement in 1974. Its provisions compel the signatories to prohibit genocide and prosecute perpetrators, both states and individuals.

This U.N. Genocide Convention position was upheld by the International Court of Justice at the Hague, when it ruled 14-1 that Serbia had violated its obligation to prevent genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but stated that the genocidal acts committed at Srebrenica could not be attributed to Serbia, Mr. Futey continued. "Responsibility is not incurred simply because genocide occurs, but rather if the state manifestly failed to take all measures to prevent genocide, which were within its power, and which might have contributed to preventing genocide," the court stated.

Ukraine's Parliament first recognized the Holodomor as an act of genocide on the national level with a resolution on May 14, 2003, and in 2006 Ukraine's Parliament passed the first law that recognized that the Holodomor was a genocide in accordance with the U.N. Convention of 1948. The executive branch adopted a similar conclusion in 2008, signed by Minister of Justice Mykola Onishchuk, chairman of the National Commission for Strengthening Democracy and the Rule of Law. The judicial branch applied the U.N. Convention's definition of genocide in 2010 in a ruling by the Appellate Court of Kyiv on a case filed by the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), which charged Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich, Postyshev, Kosior, Chubar and Khateyevych with genocide in Ukraine in 1932-1933.

The European Parliament adopted a resolution on the Holodomor that recognized it as a crime against humanity in 2008, and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 2006 condemned it as an intentional act of the Soviet government and as a "massive human rights violation."

Although 16 countries have adopted resolutions recognizing the Holodomor as genocide, Judge Futey underscored that the work continues, particularly as the U.N. has yet to adopt a similar resolution.

Dr. Taras Hunczak (Rutgers University) introduced the next session, which examined "The Holodomor on the Pages of Contemporary Government Archives," with panelists Volodymyr Vyatrovych (National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy) and Lubomyr Luciuk (Royal Military College of Canada).

Prof. Vyatrovych noted that each topic covered during the two-day conference is worthy of its own conference, and it is a lot of material to cover in the short time. Interpreting the events of the Holodomor has come into sharper focus, Prof. Vyatrovych said, and this has been helped with the opening of government archives of ry and collect evidence to dispute historical misinformation and support the international recognition of the Holodomor as genocide.

Nowadays, Prof. Luciuk noted, Ukrainians have gotten hung up on a numbers game; in his view, many millions died and there is no concrete number, which has led to uncertainty in this area, but this should not stop the work to expose the truth.

For comparison, Prof. Luciuk cited the numbers of the Holocaust, in which it is widely accepted that 6 million Jews died over the course of the Nazi's decade-long extermination program; whereas the Holodomor killed 4 million Ukrainians in five to six months.

Prof. Luciuk also urged that Ukrainians, and those attending the conference, should pay their respects at the nearby gravesite of Raphael Lemkin, who helped the international community define genocide and helped make the world responsible for its prevention and prosecution.

The challenges facing Ukrainians include increasing the number of countries that recognize the Holodomor as genocide and challenging the historical deniers. In 2003-2004 The New York Times Moscow correspondent Walter Duranty, a Holodomor denier and Stalin apologist, was identified through the efforts of the Ukrainian community as a Soviet stooge, Prof. Luciuk said. Evidence shows more widespread knowledge of the mass starvation in Ukraine, thanks to the efforts of journalists such as Gareth Jones, which Prof. Luciuk called "monumental."

Archival evidence has shown, Prof. Luciuk continued, that British intelligence in 1934 knew more than they were publicly stating, because they knew the Soviets would resent it and it could compromise their relationship.

After the second world war, the real crime against humanity was the forced repatriation of refugees back to the Soviet Union. Many would lie to enter a foreign country and would not tell the truth, even decades later, Prof. Luciuk added.

Work continues on the international level. For Israel, there is only one genocide – the Holocaust – and its government calls the Holodomor a shared tragedy, not a genocide. Other international archives show evidence of knowledge about the Holodomor, including the Vatican.

For the future, Prof. Luciuk underscored the need for forensic examinations of mass graves. This work will hallow the memory of the victims who can no longer speak and will silence the Holodomor deniers.

Dr. Yaroslav Bilinsky (University of Delaware) moderated the 11th session of the conference, "The Holodomor – Responsibility and Redress," that included reports by Profs. Jan Jacek Bruski (Jagiellonian University) and Ray Gamache (King's College).

Prof. Bruski's statement focused on moral responsibility in the aftermath of the Holodomor, how the Ukrainian community's efforts have shaped international public opinion, and how 80 years later the issue of the Holodomor faces similar challenges, including a "conspiracy of silence" between the East and the West. Poland urged Western states to acknowledge the ethnic persecution, the unknown scale of the genocide, with estimations roughly at 5 million people. But the Polish response was limited, as there was no interest to call it genocide, and Austria proposed a joint response, but the idea was put off due to Soviet-inspired generalizations of the Holodomor. The Cold War lessened the chance of a discourse on the matter as well, and begs the question of why there was no call to action from the international community during the Holodomor.

Prof. Gamache called attention to the work of journalists like Gareth Jones, who contradicted Soviet reports of drought and a bad harvest to explain the starvation going on in the Soviet Union. Jones used eyewitness testimony versus Duranty's position that supported the Soviet government, criticizing as unreliable reports about the famine. Andrew Kearns studied the grain harvest in 1932 and contradicted the reports of Soviet agronomy experts for centralized planning of the Soviet Union who helped to lead the collectivization and de-kulakization of the Ukrainian farmland.

The efforts to strip Duranty of his Pulitzer Prize in 2003 failed to correct the errors of the past, and The New York Times is as culpable as Duranty in the denial of one of the worst examples of crimes against humanity, Prof. Gamache emphasized.

Valerii Vasylyev (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) was unable to attend the conference and his prepared statement was read by Christine Vitovich.

In his statement, Mr. Vasylyev analyzed the differences between the leadership of the Russian SFR and the Ukrainian SSR, with the goal of highlighting each republic's political path during the Holodomor. It is widely accepted, Mr. Vasylyev continued, that the forced industrialization and forced collectivization policies led to the creation of a deep-rooted socio-economic crisis beginning in the 1930s.

"In my view, "Mr. Vasylyev stated, "Stalin erroneously and purposefully placed the blame of the catastrophic situation in Ukraine on the leadership of the Ukrainian SSR. In his convoluted explanation, Stalin not once acknowledged the losses associated with collectivization of the village farms and the widespread policy of bread rations, which directly resulted in the starvation deaths of millions."

Dr. Natalia Pylypiuk (University of Alberta) moderated the discussion on "The Holodomor – Remorse, Reconciliation and



Dr. Walter Zaryckyj, conference organizer.

Denial," which featured speakers Myroslav Shkandrij (University of Manitoba) and Vladyslav Verstyuk (Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance).

Dr. Pylypiuk commented that Ukraine has a divided societal element and no ethical collective consciousness.

Prof. Shkandrij noted that there has been a long silence concerning the Holodomor, and it has been accepted as genocide only recently. For many years the genocide was unknown, indicating some sort of complicity in the crime. The Communist left, which distributed misinformation and outright denial of this crime against humanity, used a relentless campaign of propaganda to sell the lie that there was no famine.

This was proof of historical mythology to support the policy of Soviet glorification. As an example, Prof. Shkandrij noted that World War II was renamed the Great Patriotic War, the gulag was transformed into an instrument of Soviet development, and sacrifices were made in the name of industrialization and modernization.

"It should be recognized, for example, that if the tragedy is characterized as a genocide, the successor state, Russia, has to accept a greater burden of liability. This is particularly true especially if this state accepts the legacy of Stalin and Stalinism," Prof. Shkandrij added.

Prof. Verstyuk underscored that the numbers of deaths associated with the Holodomor continue to be a point of contention. The plight of Ukrainians needs to be examined in the pre-first world war, post-first world war, interwar, pre-second world war and post-second world war periods, but the genocidal nature of the Holodomor is clear, Prof. Verstyuk said.

Under President Yushchenko, there was a rebirth in the discourse on the Holodomor, marked by an unprecedented openness. President Yushchenko went even further with presidential decrees commemorating the Holodomor and criminalizing the denial of the Holodomor's genocidal nature. The Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, an initiative of former Prime Minister Yurii Yekhanurov, even had the support of former Verkhovna Rada Chairman Moroz. The widespread acceptance of the Holodomor as genocide shows an awakening in Ukraine of its historical memory, Prof. Verstyuk said. People began looking for family names, who and where they came from, and searched for familial roots that were uprooted by the Soviets. During the final panel discussion of the conference, "Holodomor Studies – Future Challenges and Future Approaches," Eugene Czolij, president of the Ukrainian

the Security Service of Ukraine, the Russian State Security Service and the former Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU).

Some of the issues regarding the archives include that the government archives do not permit material to be added and that no release of material is made known to the public. Prof. Vyatrovych also noted how the work of researchers such as Oleksander Ratchenko needs to continue.

Prof. Luciuk spoke about his personal experience in dealing with archives in the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association's pursuit of redress from the Canadian government and recognition of its policy of internment of Ukrainians during the first world war. He also invited people to create their own familial or community archives to preserve historical memo-



Attorney Myroslaw Smorodsky (left) with Prof. George Grabowicz.

(Continued on page 10)

P Just because we are still living while others have died before our eyes does not mean that we are any smarter than they are. All it means is that we are luckier. Don't ever forget that.

TALABARSKE - A NOVEL -The True Story of Two Brothers With One Extraordinary Bond Finding Life After Ruin In World War II

May 1931. Iwan and Petro's world was spun into chaos. In a small Ukrainian village, the two brothers had lived a simple existence under the watchful eyes of their parents...until the day the dark cloud of the Communist regime put its stranglehold on the village. The brothers were forced to execute a deliberate act of defiance that would forever change their young lives.

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Major conference...

(Continued from page 9)

World Congress, introduced Douglas Irwin-Erikson (Rutgers University Center for the Study of Genocide). Mr. Czolij spoke about the timeline of events that have brought the Ukrainian people to this point of historical consciousness, the media's downplaying of the Holodomor during the time of the genocide and how the media presents the information today.

Mr. Irwin spoke about linking Lemkin's ideas with modern definitions of genocide. The historical process has removed the "death by starvation" explanation of the Holodomor and much of Holodomor studies is un-relatable to Western scholars. The globalization process has influenced the evolution of the genocide discussion from a regional to a global issue (citing other genocides in Rwanda, Cambodia, Congo, etc.).

The social process has allowed an understanding and fostered finding common ground. The prosecution of perpetrators has spawned a watchful culture that actively prevents and policing of genocidal warning signs to stop the next Hitler, Mr. Irwin said.

Ukraine's Ambassador to the United Nations Yuriy Sergeyev, noted that at the U.N. there is a majority or general consensus that the Holodomor was a crime that violated international law.

However, there continue to be elements that prevent a dialogue or discussion within the international body, and this is contrary to the U.N. spirit. The artificial nature of the Holodomor has been questioned by Russia and its supporters, who claim famine conditions arose due to mismanagement of collectivization policies, as well as deny that the Ukrainians were targeted. There has been a concerted effort, Ambassador Sergeyev said, to decouple the Holodomor from the term "genocide." Only with the fruits of Holodomor research and through understanding, he added, will the deniers be convinced. Work at the U.N. continues with regard to the Holodomor, he said, and the lessons of the Holodomor will guide the ongoing dialogue.

At the Ukrainian Institute

On the evening of November 6, more than 100 people attended the 80th anniversary Holodomor commemorative event at the Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA), hosted by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA).

Dr. Daniel Swistel, president of the UIA, welcomed the participants, guests and speakers of the two-day conference "Taking Measure of the Holodomor." The commemorative event capped the two-day conference.

Tamara Olexy, president of UCCA and panel moderator, introduced the panelists: Michael Sawkiw Jr., president of the U.S. National Holodomor Committee; Stefan Romaniw, secretary general of the Ukrainian World Congress; Jan Pieklo, head of the Polish Ukrainian Cooperation Foundation; and Eugene Czolij, president of the Ukrainian World Congress.

The Student Organization of Mykola Mikhnovsky (TUSM) prepared a reading of Holodomor victims' names from just one village in Ukraine. The students read the names and ages (if known) of the victims for more than 10 minutes, at times naming an entire family killed as a result of the Holodomor. Some of the students then read testimonies from students at the time, with strong imagery of the death, human decay, suicide and cannibalism associated with the Famine-Genocide.

Ms. Olexy then acknowledged the few Holodomor survivors who were in attendance, and presented them with commemorative certificates. She also thanked the conference donors, patrons and sponsors whose contributions had made the landmark event possible.

Mr. Czolij awarded Judge Bohdan Futey and Prof. Roman Serbyn with St. Volodymyr the Great Medals, the highest honor of the UWC, in recognition of their significant contributions to the development of the Ukrainian community in both the diaspora and Ukraine.

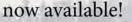
Prof. Serbyn, a recipient of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress Shevchenko Medal and the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal, is a leading scholar in Holodomor research.

Mr. Futey, who has advised the constitutional and judicial reform process in Ukraine, thanked the UWC. He also thanked the UIA, who once named him Man of the Year, and said it was especially meaningful to receive the award at a place where he got his start in the Ukrainian community as head of the Ukrainian American Students' Federation (SUSTA), which used the UIA as its headquarters. "This medal is dedicated to all those that have and continue to fight for a modern, independent Ukraine based on the rule of law," Mr. Futey said.



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Thousands at St. Patrick's Cathedral commemorate Holodomor victims

by Matthew Dubas

NEW YORK – Approximately 2,000 people filled the landmark St. Patrick's Cathedral on November 23 to commemorate the millions of Ukrainians killed during the Holodomor of 1932-1933. This year marks the 80th anniversary of the Famine-Genocide.

The Dumka Choir of New York sang the responses to the requiem service that was led by hierarchs of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches – Metropolitan Antony (Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.), Bishop Paul Chomnycky (Ukrainian Catholic Church Stamford Eparchy), and Bishop Daniel (UOC-U.S.A.) – who were joined by area clergy of both Churches.

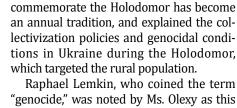
Children, dressed in Ukrainian embroidered shirts, carrying candles and led by a large wooden cross, processed through the center of the church to the front, where they placed sheaves of wheat and other items on a makeshift altar to the victims of the Holodomor.

Metropolitan Antony, in the opening statement, noted that the Holodomor was genocide committed by Stalin and his henchmen, targeting the millions of Ukrainians who dared to challenge the "plan of the day," which resulted in the master plan to destroy Ukraine and to eradicate the memory of the Holodomor. "May their souls reside in eternal peace. Memory Eternal in God's Kingdom."

As the service continued, prayers were offered for the forgiveness of the sins of the millions of Holodomor victims and that their memory be eternal, with the singing of "Vichnaya Pamiat."

Statements were read by attending dignitaries, including Tamara Olexy, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; Sen. Charles Shumer (D-N.Y.); Ambassador Olexander Motsyk, Ukraine's envoy to the U.S.; Ambassador Yuriy Sergeyev, Ukraine's representative to the United Nations; and Bishop Chomnycky.

Ms. Olexy noted how the gathering of



Ukrainians at St. Patrick's Cathedral to

year marks the 65th anniversary of his work at the U.N.; she explained the progress that has been made in the international law recognizing genocide. The UCCA invited participants to the December 4 groundbreaking ceremony for the Holodomor monument in Washington.

William Pope, senior advisor for fellows at the U.S. Department of State, read a statement released by the White House press secretary (the text appears below).

Sen. Shumer explained that he was honored to be at St. Pat's to commemorate the Holodomor. He reminded the participants that events such as this are there to make sure "we never forget" the victims of the Holodomor, and remarked how he was humbled to share his thoughts annually at this commemoration - to honor those who can no longer speak, the "murdered millions" of Stalin's crime. "We seek justice for the innocent, but prayer after prayer, resolution after resolution, we continue to call out evil for what it is - noting how did this happen, who offered aid, who is responsible and who stands in the way," Sen. Shumer underscored.

Sen. Shumer then asked the Holodomor survivors to stand and be recognized by the participants, so they are not forgotten. The U.S., he said, is responsible to Ukraine and for freedom everywhere to combat the Putins of the world, and is committed to supporting a democratic Ukraine. Work remains for the next generation for the defense of human rights, Sen. Shumer added. "With all my strength, I stand beside you," he said.

Ambassador Motsyk expressed gratitude to the organizers of the event, and noted the challenges of restoring dignity to the victims of the Holodomor and avoiding similar catastrophes in the future. Mr. Motsyk called the Holodomor "the cruelest crime against the Ukrainian people" and noted that the slow death of starvation is "indescribable." The Famine-Genocide

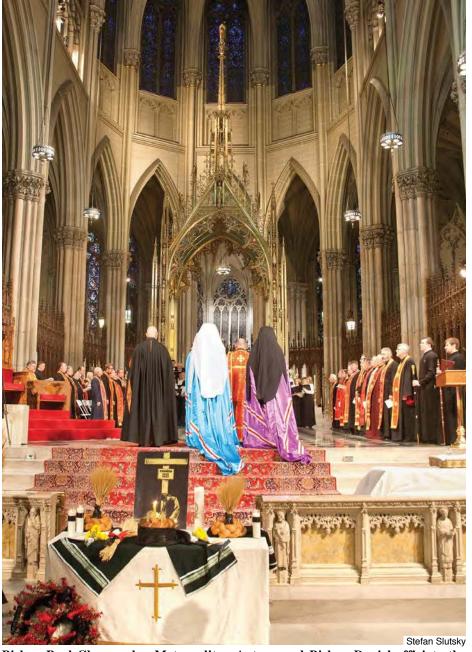


haunts every Ukrainian generation, and added, Ukrainians need to be "masters of their own house."

Bishop Chomnycky thanked Cardinal Timothy Dolan and Msgr. Robert Richie of St. Patrick's Cathedral for the use of the landmark space, and noted the work of "Shestydesiatnyky" (dissident writers and activists of the 1960s) like Yevhen Hutsalo, whose work he excerpted to illustrate the conditions during the Holodomor.

In the story, a boy hid an icon of the Mother and Child under his shirt. Villagers suspected that he was hiding food and, because they were starving, they killed the boy. The Mother of God is known as the protectoress of Ukraine, Bishop Chomnycky noted, but could not save this boy. And so, as Ukrainians do annually, we gather "to pray for those who have no one to pray for their souls."

The Dumka Choir concluded the service



Bishop Paul Chomnycky, Metropolitan Antony and Bishop Daniel officiate the Holodomor service at St. Patrick's Cathedral.





Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.)

William Pope, senior advisor for fellows at the U.S. Department of State, greets Holodomor survivors. with the singing of "Bozhe Velykyi Yedyni," and many people departed the cathedral for Ukraine's Mission to the U.N. on 51st Street to protest President Viktor Yanukovych's renegeing on the Association Agreement with the European Union.

FOR THE RECORD: Statement by the White House on Holodomor Remembrance Day

The following statement was issued by the White House, Office of the Press Secretary, on November 21.

Eighty years ago, the Ukrainian people were subjected to unimaginable suffering as a result of the deliberate policies of the regime of Joseph Stalin. Ukrainian men, women and children died of starvation as the product of their labor was seized in an effort to break the will of a proud people. On November 23, the American people will solemnly join with Ukrainians around the world, including so many Ukrainian Americans, in remembering the millions who died senselessly as a result of this man-made catastrophe.

Though the Holodomor was an example of the worst in mankind, the tremendous resilience and courage demonstrated by the Ukrainian people in the face of such cruelty is testament to an indomitable national spirit. Even during the worst days of the famine, the people of Ukraine never gave up hope that their homeland would one day become independent and free.

This sad occasion is an opportunity to reflect on the evil that man can do. As we remember and honor the victims of the Holodomor, we reiterate our call for the respect of universal human rights, and we renew our commitment to preventing similar atrocities from ever happening again.



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FOR THE RECORD

U.S. Sen. Benjamin L. Cardin's statement on the Holodomor

Statement in the U.S. Senate by Benjamin L. Cardin (D-Md.), chairman of the U.S. Helsinki Commission (Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe) and a senior member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The statement appears in the November 19 edition of the Congresssional Record.

Madam President, this year we commemorate the 80th anniversary of the Holodomor, the genocidal Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933. Eighty years ago, an engineered famine in Soviet-dominated Ukraine and bordering ethnically Ukrainian territory resulted in the horrific deaths of millions of innocent men, women and children.

I visited the Holodomor monument in central Kyiv, a poignant reminder of the suffering perpetrated by Soviet dictator Stalin's deliberate and inhumane policy to suppress the Ukrainian people and destroy their human, cultural and political rights. Requisition brigades, acting on Stalin's orders to fulfill impossibly high grain quotas, took away the last scraps of food from starving families and children. Eyewitness accounts describing the despair of the starving are almost unfathomable. Millions of rural Ukrainians slowly starved – an excruciatingly painful form of death – amid some of the world's most fertile farmland, while stockpiles of expropriated grain rotted by the ton, often nearby. Meanwhile, Ukraine's borders were sealed to prevent the starving from leaving to less-affected areas. International offers of help were rejected, with Stalin's henchmen denying a famine was taking place. At the same time, Soviet grain was being exported to the West.

The final report of the congressionally created Commission on the Ukraine Famine concluded in 1988 that "Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-1933." No less than Raphael Lemkin, the Polish-Jewish-American lawyer who coined the term "genocide" and was instrumental in the adoption of the 1948 U.N. Genocide Convention, described the "destruction of the Ukrainian nation" as the "classic example of Soviet genocide."

We must never forget the victims of the Holodomor or those of other republics in the Soviet Union, notably Kazakhstan, that witnessed cruel, mass starvation as a result of Stalin's barbarism, and we must redouble our efforts to protect human rights and democracy, ensuring that 20th century genocides such as the Holocaust, Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, Ukraine, Bosnia, Cambodia and Rwanda become impossible to imagine in the future.

Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew on Holodomor's 80th anniversary

The message below was released by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the Holodomor. A video of Patriarch Bartholomew delivering the message may be found at http://www.patriarchate.org/ news/releases/patriarchal-message-80thholodomor-anniversary. The statement was released by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. on November 23.

Beloved in the Lord: grace and peace be unto you.

It is with all great pride, albeit with heavy heart, that we are communicating with all of you today from the historic and martyric Mother Church of Constantinople on the solemn occasion of the 80th anniversary of the Holodomor of the Ukrainian nation.

As we prayerfully commemorate the tragic and inhumane events during the years 1932-1933, when countless people lost their lives through deliberate and brutal famine, we pray for the repose of the victims' souls and for the healing of this painful wound in the conscience of your blessed nation. It is impossible to fathom the magnitude and intensity of such hostility, which caused human beings to destroy other human beings created "in the image and likeness" of God – all supposedly in the name of political ideologies, but ultimately only fuelled by falsehood and godlessness.

In our time, dearly beloved, we are obliged to remember the past and learn from its tragedies so that we may understand how to move ahead into the future with compassion and forgiveness. We are called to discern and avoid every spiteful ideology and divisive prejudice, which discriminate against other people either individually or collectively whether on ethnic and racial or religious and cultural differences. As Orthodox Christians, we must at all times strive to bridge differences and cultivate fraternal relations with all people, while remaining humbly faithful to our own ecclesiastical teachings and traditions.

"I am the way and the truth and the life (John 14:6)," says our Lord. With this divine assurance, we find great consolation and encouragement. For it is in the Church as His sacred Body that we are spared of sorrow and suffering, while at the same time we find strength to forgive and love all people.

May God grant rest to the souls of all victims of the Holodomor. And may God bless all of you.

& The Ukrainian Institute of America

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the love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all. Amen.

+ Bartholomew

Archbishop of Constantinople-New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch

NOTICE TO READERS: Double issue in December

Due to Christmas schedules, The Ukrainian Weekly will publish one combined issue at the end of this month that will be dated December 22/December 29, 2013. Please make a note of this when submitting materials. To be considered for that issue, stories, photos, events listings, advertisements, etc., must be received by Monday morning, December 16.

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

Parliament and unite Ukraine. I think that in a few days we will reach agreement between the opposition and deputies who support the government." (Ukrinform)

Russian FM urges non-interference

BRUSSELS – Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Sergei Lavrov, speaking after a meeting with NATO foreign affairs ministers in Brussels on December 4, urged outsiders not to interfere in the political crisis in Ukraine. He said he did not understand why NATO found it necessary to condemn the Ukrainian authorities for using excessive force against protesters. "[Russia] considers it a Ukrainian internal affair. I do not understand the scope of rather aggressive opposition actions," Mr. Lavrov said. "I count on Ukrainian politicians to come up with a way to return the situation into the constitutional framework – that's what we stand for – and call on everyone to refrain from meddling in this situation." Also speaking at the NATO meeting, Ukraine's ambassador to the alliance, Igor Dolgov, told the alliance's ministers that he saw no crisis at all. "What I see and the news I receive from Kyiv is [concerning a] mass demonstration of people in support for the European integration of Ukraine. This is exactly the main foreign-policy course that my president and acting government continue to implement, so I see no crisis," Mr. Dolgov said. "I see the desire of the population, especially of the Ukrainian youth, to accelerate the process or the rapprochement with the European Union and signing of the Association Agreement as soon as possible." (RFE/RL with reporting by Agence France-Presse and Reuters)

Amnesty International condemns violence

KYIV - Amnesty International, an international organization for the protection of human rights, accused the Berkut riot police of disproportionate use of force in the riots on Bankova Street and insisted on an independent investigation, Amnesty International Ukraine director Tetiana Mazur told reporters on December 4. "We strongly condemn the violent crackdown on demonstrators by the Berkut riot police, as they used force disproportionately on Bankova Street," which has been caught on tape, Ms. Mazur said. She added that Amnesty International calls on the Ukrainian authorities "to solve the problem of riots on Bankova Street legally, not politically." (Ukrinform)

Yanukovych and Barroso converse

BRUSSELS - On December 2, President Viktor Yanukovych of Ukraine called the president of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso. During the call, Mr. Barroso made the following points regarding the current tense situation in Ukraine: all sides should show restraint: 2. all civil rights and liberties should be respected; 3. the use of force by the police should be investigated as soon as possible; 4. it is important that the Ukrainian authorities urgently engage with all relevant political forces; 5. a peaceful and political solution is the only way for Ukraine out of the current situation. Mr. Yanukovych agreed with this approach and explicitly confirmed the intention to investigate into the use of force by the Ukrainian police and to inform the public about the results. During the same telephone call, the president of Ukraine asked the European Commission to receive a delegation from Ukraine to have a discussion on some aspects of the Association Agreement and the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area, Mr. Barroso confirmed the readiness of the European Commission to receive such a delegation at the appropriate level. He underlined that the European Commission stands ready to discuss aspects of implementation related to the agreements already initialed, but not to re-open any kind of negotiations. These terms were accepted by President Yanukovych and it was decided that the timing and the level of this consultation should be arranged through the appropriate diplomatic channels. (European Commission)

EU denies Ukraine meeting planned

BRUSSELS - As Ukrainian protesters remained massed outside government buildings in Kyiv for a sixth day over the government's rejection of closer ties with the European Union, the EU responded to a claim from Ukrainian officials that they were sending delegations on December 4 to Brussels and Moscow, saying it had no plans to meet with Ukrainian envoys. But a separate Ukrainian delegation is expected to hold talks in the Russian capital. Meanwhile, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry offered new backing for Ukraine's opposition, which was angered by a government reversal that threw up possible roadblocks to the country's stated goal of EU membership and appeared to defer considerably to relations with Russia. Speaking at NATO headquarters in Brussels on December 4, Mr. Kerry said that Washington urges the Ukrainian government to "listen to the voices of its people who want to live in freedom and in opportunity and prosperity." He cited what he described as "unbelievable numbers" of Ukrainian protesters, who have turned out in the tens of thousands or more - the opposition has claimed 500,000 in some cases - to express anger over the snub to the EU. Mr. Kerry also warned against a repeat of the violence between security forces and protesters that broke out in Kyiv on the weekend. "We urge the Ukrainian government to listen to the voices of its people who want to live in freedom, and in opportunity, and prosperity," the U.S. secretary of state said. "And we urge all sides to conduct themselves peacefully. Violence has no place in a modern European state." Mr. Kerry indirectly criticized pressure on Ukraine from neighboring power Russia, saying Ukraine was the subject of an "inappropriate... bidding war" over its future direction. Mr. Kerry had been due to visit Ukraine this week for a meeting of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), but that visit was canceled. He will travel to neighboring Moldova, which initialed its own EU Association Agreement at the Lithuanian summit, "in order to support that country's European choice." He added that he hopes to visit Ukraine "when it, too, gets back on the path to European integration and economic responsibility." (RFE/RL, based on reporting by Reuters, the Associated Press and Agence France-Presse)

Cardin urges Kyiv, OSCE to act

ued: "In light of these developments, this is not the time to mince words or engage in obfuscation. Ministers should take advantage of this opportunity to act in support of Ukrainian democracy. I urge the representatives of the participating states meeting in Kyiv to address these human rights issues in a clear and unequivocal manner. I commend the representatives of civil society who have met in advance of the Ministerial. Their voices are critically important for the protection and promotion of human rights and deserve to be heard as part of this meeting." Sen. Cardin also said, "Ukraine should take immediate steps to fulfill the human rights commitments that all the participating states [of the OSCE] have freely undertaken by investigating reports of excessive use of force by police and thugs and ensuring that freedom of assembly and association are respected. Ukraine should also implement the standards on the protection of journalists embodied in the draft Ministerial Decision that has been shepherded by the Ukrainian chairmanship." (U.S. Helsinki Commission)

Ukrainian diplomat in Canada resigns

OTTAWA – The first secretary of Ukraine's Embassy in Canada announced her resignation in a post on the Embassy's Facebook page on November 30. "As of today, I do not consider myself a government employee of Ukraine. I thank all my diplomatic colleagues with whom I had the honor of working since April 1997 and I wish them courage and deep internal motivation to continue to defends the interests of our homeland in a dignified manner. As of today, I knowingly return to the status of a regular citizen of Ukraine, something about which I am immeasurably happy." (http://www.day.kiev.ua)

On Saturday, November 9, 2013, Ukrainian patriot and scholar, beloved father, brother, uncle, and grandfather, **Dr. Bohdan S. Wynar** 1926-2013 passed away in Aurora, Colorado, at age 87. A former professor and dean, Ukrainian scholar and author, member of numerous Ukrainian academic organizations, founder and owner of Libraries Unlimited Publishing House with the Ukrainian Academic Press imprint, Bohdan, who was born in Lviv, always loved his native Ukraine and continually tried to help it from afar. He is survived by two sons, Taras and Michael with their families,

including two grandchildren, Jace and Melania; his daughter, Roxolana, brother Lubomyr, and niece Natalie with her family.

He was greatly loved and will be greatly missed.

May peace and God's eternal love be with him.



Ділимося сумною і болючою вісткою з рідними і знайомими, що в четвер, 28 листопада 2013 року відійшов у вічність наш найдорожчий БАТЬКО, ДІДУСЬ і ПРАДІДУСЬ

св. п. ЕВГЕН ЗЕНОВІЙ ГОЛЮКА

нар. 6 лютого 1925 року у Львові, Україна.

ПОХОРОН ВІДБУВСЯ 4 грудня 2013 року з церкви св. Івана Хрестителя в Нюарку на український цвинтар св. Андрія Первозваного в С. Бавнд-Бруку, Н. Дж.

У глибокому смутку залишилися:

дочки - ЛІДА ЛЕВИЦЬКА з мужем АНТОНОМ і дітьми:

WASHINGTON - On the eve of the December 5-6 Ministerial Council of the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is taking place in Kyiv, Helsinki Commission Chairman Sen. Ben Cardin (D-Md.) issued a statement expressing concern about recent violence directed against protesters in Ukraine's capital. "As a long-time supporter of the democratic aspirations of the Ukrainian people, I am deeply distressed by the recent violence on the streets of Kyiv. The brutal dispersal of peaceful protests and beatings of dozens of journalists constitute serious violations of Ukraine's OSCE commitments on freedom of assembly and freedom of expression. I am particularly concerned by reports that the whereabouts of more than a dozen protesters cannot be determined." He contin-

- МАРКОМ з дружиною СОФІЄЮ і донечкою ВІКТОРІЄЮ, ДАНИЇЛОМ
- МАРТА ВІРТ з мужем ЮРКОМ і дітьми АДРІЯНОМ, ХРИСТИНОЮ і АЛЕКСАНДРОМ
- син д-р ЕВГЕН ГОЛЮКА з дружиною д-р ДАНОЮ і дітьми ГРИГОРІЄМ, ДЖАНАТАНОМ і ЗАХАРІЄМ
- кузини ГОЛЮКИ, БАЧИНСЬКІ, ЦЬВІЛІ, ГУРИ, КОРОЛІ, КАЧАЛИ
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Hundreds of thousands...

(Continued from page 1)

Thousands attended daily boisterous protests on Hrushevsky Street, in front of the Cabinet of Ministers and the Parliament.

Though dubbed the "Euro-Maidan," the protests have now gone beyond demands for Euro-integration. Opponents are demanding a complete overhaul of a government plagued by corruption and mismanagement, starting with the ouster of Mr. Yanukovych and the Cabinet of Ministers led by Prime Minister Mykola Azarov.

"You can say that politics isn't needed here, but politics has come to us," Yurii Lutsenko, a former political prisoner and leader of the Third Republic civic movement, told shocked citizens on November 30 who gathered on St. Michael's Square following the student beatings.

"A dictator has come to us. All slogans need to be withdrawn. The single slogan is Yanukovych is not our president. Yanukovych has to go, or else we'll lose the country," Mr. Lutsenko said.

The press services of the president and the prime minister offered standard statements expressing their shock and concern over the beatings. Yet Mr. Yanukovych made no television address and instead flew to China on December 3 to seek loans for his financially strapped government.

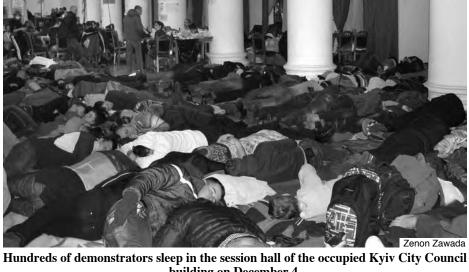
Meanwhile, Mr. Azarov reacted defiantly to opposition calls for dismissals of his Cabinet, threatening criminal charges against them, which the government began filing soon afterwards against various participants in the demonstrations. By December 5, 64 charges were filed against Euro-Maidan participants.

During a raucous December 3 parliamentary session, Mr. Azarov expressed deep regret for what happened, yet expressed particular empathy for the injured police officers. He claimed 162 police officers were injured, of which 92 were hospitalized. He also accused the opposition of pursuing a dictatorship through violence.

"We are open to dialogue, we are ready to discuss all the conditions of our agreements with peaceful demonstrations," Mr. Azarov said amidst chants of "Resignation!" from the opposition. "We extended our hand to you. If we meet a fist, I'm telling you openly that we have enough strength," he stated.

About an hour afterwards, the parliamentary opposition mustered only 186 out of the needed 226-vote majority to dismiss the Cabinet, making another such vote impossible until the next parliamentary session, which is expected to be convened in February.

The opposition's failure to prepare a winning strategy for the dismissal vote - by recruiting enough allies or delaying the vote until it had a firm majority – stoked greater skepticism among the public that it's not interested in upsetting the current political



building on December 4.

order until the March 2015 presidential elections.

That scenario was alluded to by National Deputy Volodymyr Lytvyn, chair of the Verkhovna Rada's National Security and Defense Committee, who said the opposition didn't engage in enough consultations ahead of the vote. He led two dozen national deputies in preparing a resolution asking the president to dismiss the Cabinet.

"They didn't agree at all to review our proposals, maintaining that there's little interest in the government's resignation but the revolutionary process must be supported," he said, as reported by the newspaper Kommersant-Ukraina on December 4.

Although the Communist Party had earlier indicated it would support the initiative, which would have provided an additional 31 votes, Chair Petro Symonenko announced from the rostrum just before the vote that his party was submitting its own bill calling for the government's dismissal and also condemning the EU Association Agreement.

Several Party of Regions national deputies who had said they would leave the party and vote against the Cabinet also backed away from their pronouncements.

"After today, negotiations can resolve this issue," said Volodymyr Fesenko, board chairman of the Penta Center for Applied Political Research. "But neither the government nor the opposition is ready for that. That's why international organizations need to be included. There's another option, which is force. But if the situation develops that way, then that's very dangerous for the government and everyone. I can say now that a very long conflict awaits us."

The ongoing revolt in Kyiv stems from the decision made by Mr. Yanukovych to travel to the Eastern Partnership summit in Vilnius on November 28-29, only to decline signing the EU Association Agreement.

Certain EU leaders attending the summit,

as well as a few political observers, held out hope that the Ukrainian president would pull a surprise by signing the agreement, despite the Cabinet of Ministers having issued a resolution on November 21 ordering a pause to the government's Eurointegration preparations.

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By doing so, he could have cast himself as a hero who saved Ukraine's Euro-integration aspirations and earned the support of a portion of the pro-EU electorate for the March 2015 presidential elections.

Yet even that glimmer of hope was extinguished with Vice Prime Minister Serhiy Arbuzov's remarks to the summit on the morning of November 28, in which he referred to a document - separate from the Association Agreement - that he was trying to get the leadership to agree to, Ukrayinska Pravda reported.

Mr. Arbuzov's proposal was a one-page memorandum to form a bilateral working group to draft a road map to implement the agreement, assess the economic damage it will do to the Ukrainian economy, and relax loan conditions of the International Monetary Fund, Kommersant reported on December 2.

The EU agreed to the memorandum, but also insisted that the working group not create a permanent trilateral consulting mechanism involving the Russian Federation, limiting its involvement to "an irregular basis when necessary."

The idea for a trilateral consulting commission was first raised in the Cabinet's November 21 resolution and advocated by Mr. Yanukovych ever since, indicating that it was a part of the tacit arrangement he had reached with Mr. Putin in the weeks leading up to the summit, Kommersant reported.

Mr. Arbuzov gained support for the memorandum from EU Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fule and EU Trade Commissioner Karel De Gucht.

"It's necessary to note that the representatives of the European Commission that negotiated with Arbuzov exceeded their authority – the memorandum proposed by Kyiv wasn't approved by the EU nations," Kommersant reported. "But the European officials took a risk. As a result of consultations with them, the first vice prime minister included a series of amendments."

Nevertheless, Mr. Yanukovych declined to authorize it, insisting on the presence of Russian diplomats in the working group – a condition rejected by the EU.

Two anonymous sources in the European Commission and a source in the government of a leading EU state told Kommersant they don't believe in the possibility of signing the Association Agreement with Mr. Yanukovych as president.

In his conversations with EU leaders after his arrival on the evening of November 28, Mr. Yanukovych explained he couldn't sign the agreement because of pressure from the Russian government.

He told German Chancellor Angela Merkel that "the economic situation is very complicated" and "we have very large threats."

"I would like for you to hear me," he told her. "I have been alone for three and a half years. I have been one-on-one in very unequal conditions with a very strong Russia."

The video of Mr. Yanukovych – speaking at an informal closed meeting with Ms. Merkel, European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso and Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaite - was recorded by Ms. Grybauskaite's personal cameraman, Kommersant reported.

Mr. Yanukovych had the expectation that their discussions would be kept confidential, yet Ms. Grybauskaite saw the need to break that understanding, releasing it on the Internet, Kommersant reported on December 2. The evening of that discussion, Ms. Merkel told German journalists she had no hope left for the Association Agreement.

The next morning, disappointed EU leaders decided to express their disapproval of Mr. Yanukovych by seating him in the back corner of the audience for the ceremonies at which the Moldovan and Georgian presidents initialed their respective agreements (which Ukraine had done in July 2012). He was placed further from the center than Belarus's foreign affairs minister.

It was revealing that Mr. Yanukovych reached his decision regardless of the fate of imprisoned former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, which had dominated the negotiations with the EU leading up to the summit.

The EU was ready to sign the agreement without her release because of the urgency placed on it by the Polish and Lithuanian governments. Kommersant reported, citing anonymous sources in the European Commission and the government of a European country.



No. 49



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UKELODEON

FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

Soyuzivka hosts its annual Halloween celebration



The best costumes (from left) were: "Tonto" and "Evil Magnificence"; "The Syzokryli Family Who Have Seen Better Days"; and "The High-Flying Balloons."

by Sonia Semanyszyn

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – As guests arrived at Soyuzivka for Halloween weekend on October 25-27, they were greeted by dancing pumpkins and witches. The grounds were decorated with hay, pumpkins and flying ghosts. The atmosphere was set for a fun weekend.

The evening on Friday was kicked off with a special appearance by EMCK. The festivities continued on Saturday morning, as some guests went pumpkin-picking at local farms or worked on their costumes for the evening.

At 4:30 p.m. the lion from "The Wizard of Oz" made an appearance to lead all the children in a costume parade around the Soyuzivka grounds. Upon returning to the Main House, the lion asked all the children to introduce themselves. All the children then received little goody bags.

seen roaming the area.

prepared by Chef Andrij Sonevytsky was served in the dining room. Meanwhile, outside, the creatures were stirring and the haunted havride was starting. There were many screams coming from the direction of Lviv. There were reports of zombies loose on the grounds, popping out from under the grass and chasing people. And Soyuzivka's famous ghost, Ursula, was

Those who survived this experi-At 5 p.m. a sumptuous buffet dinner ence made their way to the Veselka hall, where Svitanok was playing for the 250 guests in attendance, including many families and children of all ages.

The winners of this year's costume contest were: "Evil Magnificence" (Diana Shmerykowsky), "Tonto" (Orlando Pagan), "The Syzokryli Family Who Have Seen Better Days" (Lonkevych Family) and "The High-Flying Balloons" (Lara and Anna Chelak, Rob Littlefield and Christine Nedilsky).

Autumn Carnival returns to School of Ukrainian Studies in New York



the Selfreliance Association in New York City.

The Autumn Carnival began approximately 20 years ago and is the initiative of the school's Parents Committee, which wanted to introduce a component of fun into the school curriculum. It normally takes place at the end of October or the beginning of November, the most convenient time during the academic year. Early carnivals included arts and crafts, carnival games, prizes and a buffet. Students from the upper classes would join after lunch to partake in the fall festivities. Few things have changed over the years. "First of all, this is a special event for the kids to have a little fun. Parents have helped tremendously with the games, prizes, and many parents have come today to decorate and help make this a true festivity - a festive event for the children," said Iryna Bruchkowska, Parents Committee secretary.

Schoolchildren at the Autumn Carnival in New York City.

by Xenia Ferencevych

NEW YORK - On Saturday, November 2, a year after Hurricane Sandy forced its unprecedented cancellation, children and parents alike welcomed the return of the annual Autumn

Carnival to St. George's Academy in New York City.

The carnival is an annual custom for preschoolers, kindergarteners and students in Grades 1-7 who attend the School of Ukrainian Studies of

This year, as music filled the merrily decorated cafeteria, children partook in arts and crafts including jewelry making, painting and drawing.

(Continued on page 18)

Stamford UAYA holds annual Fall Family Outing

ELLENVILLE, N.Y. - Blessed with bright sunshine and unseasonably warm temperatures, the third annual Ukrainian American Youth Association (UAYA) Fall Family Outing took place on October 12-13, on the UAYA grounds in Ellenville, N.Y. Approximately 40 children of varying ages and their parents attended the outing, which was organized by UAYA Branch 54, Khersones, in Stamford, Conn.

The weekend began with a formal assembly and went on to include a short presentation on the characteristics and traits of UAYA members. The presenter, the Rev. Dr. Ivan Kaszczak, discussed these typical characteristics that all "sumivtsi" can and should strive to achieve in their personal, academic and professional lives, including traits such as kindness, honor, courage and self-determination.

Following this presentation, there was time to play a quick and friendly game of soccer - children vs. parents. Afterwards, the children remained on the sports field, where they awaited a surprise guest, specifically a long-time sumivets from the New York branch who is a professional skydiver, Ivan Kaczor.

While the children waited impatiently on the ground, Mr. Kaczor jumped from a plane over 13,000 feet up in the air and parachuted safely down, landing directly on the sports field where the children were standing. What an exciting event and not something you see everyday. The children (and parents) had a multitude of questions for him, of course, which he patiently and gladly answered.

Later that day, there was also a presentation on first aid, a topic you can never know enough about. As evening approached and dinner was devoured, everyone sat down to enjoy the epic Hollywood blockbuster film "Taras Bulba," which was shown on a big, open-air screen.

After the film, as is already tradition, the sumivtsi danced the night away to the fantastic sounds of their hometown DJ and father of two lovely young girls in the branch, Andriy Solonynka. Liturgy was celebrated at Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic Church in Kerhonkson, N.Y., on Sunday morning. The children and parents then drove to the nearby grounds of Oriana, where they had a chance to visit the small but impressive collection of Trypillian artifacts. After a brief discussion with the collection's curator, Iryna Forostyak, director of the Fund for Research of Ancient Civilizations, the children were given clay and instructed on

A special assembly marks the opening of the weekend's activities.

how to make their own birds and other symbols of nature.

Finally, the weekend's activities came to a close and, reluctantly, everyone packed up and headed home – undeniably feeling they'd grown closer to one another as an UAYA family over the course of the weekend.

Thanks were expressed to the administrators of the UAYA grounds who facilitated the outing, to all the parents who helped organize the weekend and especially to the participating guest lecturers without whom there would have been no program.

Ivan Kaczor, a professional parachutist, arrives in a very unusual way to spend some time with the kids.

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all inclusive tours to Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Austria and

Tour Name	Cost/tw	Dept Date	Itinerary
Christmas in Lviv (Guaranteed departure!!)	\$790	Jan 2 - 10	Lviv – the heart of Western Ukraine and the capital of
9 days			Galicia
Two Capitals I	\$1690	May 14 -23	Kyiv and Lviv - Featuring Lviv International Music
10 days			Festival
			Optional: Istanbul pre-tour May 11th USA Dept
Mini Ukraine I	\$2450	May 14 -28	Kyiv, Iv. Frankivsk, Yaremche, Kamianets Podilsky, Lviv
13 days			plus: Bukovel, Chernivtsi, Zarvanytsia
Densele and Dense	+7200	1	Optional:Istanbul pre-tour May 11th USA Dept
Hapsburg Heritage	\$3290	June 15 -28	Ukraine – Poland – Hungary - Austria Lviv, Krakow, Budapest, Vienna
14 days			plus: Bukovel, Chernivtsi, Zarvanytsia
			Optional:Kyiv pre-tour June 13-15
Dnipro Cruise No. 1	\$1950	June 25 - July 07	Dnipro Princess Cruise: Odessa, Sevastopol. Kherson,
13 days	Main deck	Julie 25 - July 07	Zaporizhzhia. Kremenchuk, Cherkassy/Kaniv, Kyiv
Best of Ukraine	\$3000	June 25 - July 14	Laportalization recent and and a chericatory reality representation of the
20 days	Students	Julio Lo Suly 14	Dainra Princass Cruisa: Odossa Soundanal Khaman
			Dnipro Princess Cruise: Odessa, Sevastopol. Kherson,
Tour Directors:	\$3600		Zaporizhzhia. Kremenchuk, Cherkassy/Kaniv, Kyiv
Dr. Adriana Helbig Dr. Oksana Lassowsky	Main deck		plus Land Tour: Ivano Frankivsk, Yaremche, Kamianets
DI. OKSalia Lassowsky	upgrade		Podilsky, Bukovel, Chernivtsi, Zarvanytsia and Lviv
Student Tour-All Welcome!	available	the state of the s	
Two Capitals II	\$1690	July 2 - 11	Kyiv and Lviv
10 days			
Mini Ukraine II	\$2450	July 2 -14	Kyiv, Iv. Frankivsk, Yaremche, Kamianets Podilsky, Lviv
13 days			plus: Bukovel, Chernivtsi, Zarvanytsia
Two Capitals III	\$1690	Aug 6 - 15	Kyiv and Lviv
10 days			
Mini Ukraine III	\$2450	Aug 6 - 18	Kyiv, Iv. Frankivsk, Yaremche, Kamianets Podilsky, Lviv
13 days	+1050	A	plus: Bukovel, Chernivtsi, Zarvanytsia
Dnipro Cruise No. 2	\$1950	Aug 31 – Sep 12	Dnipro Princess Cruise: Odessa, Sevastopol. Kherson,
13 days	Main deck	Aug 21 Can 10	Zaporizhzhia. Kremenchuk, Cherkassy/Kaniv, Kyiv
Dnipro Cruise No. 2 + Lviv 17 days	\$2800 Main deck	Aug 31 – Sep 16	Dnipro Princess Cruise: Odessa, Sevastopol. Kherson,
17 udys	Main deck		Zaporizhzhia. Kremenchuk, Cherkassy/Kaniv, Kyiv Land Tour: Lviv
Hutsul Tour	\$2100	Sep 2 - 13	Kyiv, Ivano Frankivsk, Rakhiv, Lviv
12 days	\$2100	JCh 7 12	plus: Yaremche, Bukovel and Kolomyja
12 00/5			Featuring: Hutsul Bryndzia Cheese Festival in
			Rakhiv
Turkey and Greek Islands	\$2490	Sep 26 - Oct 14	Istanbul, Ankara. Cappadocia, Konya, Antalya,
16 days	1.000		Pamukkale, Aphrodisuas, Kusadasu Ephesus Cruise:
			Rhodes, Santorin, Mykonos, Kusadasi
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UKELODEON

FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

Lions, and tigers, and bears – oh my!



WHIPPANY, N.J. – The 22nd annual "Maskarada" (masquerade party) of the Ukrainian American Youth Association (UAYA), Whippany branch, was in full swing on October 28. Instead of their usual meeting), the children were treated to a Halloween extravaganza. Included in this year's festivities were a hula hoop pass game, baseball pitch game, bean bag toss and other fun games. Pumpkin decorating was a particular favorite of the children. From the oldest members to the youngest, all were thrilled to take their works of art home. The most exciting game of the evening was the pie-eating contest. The witches-brew ingredients proved to be delicious as six older "sumivtsi" quickly gobbled up their pie for the grand prize. After a fun-filled party, the children were ready for some relaxation and joined their parents, grandparents and counselors for pizza and dessert.

"Autumn Carnival"...

(Continued from page 16)

Students also competed for prizes by playing games such as beanbag toss, tic-tac-toe and electronic pinball. Winners received tickets that they could collect and exchange for a game, toy or book, all donated by parents. Everyone enjoyed pizza, baked goods and drinks, which were also donated.

The highlight of the carnival was the presentation of Halloween costumes, a tradition that has evolved over the years. Every child and even some adults, including the principal and teachers, arrived at the carnival dressed in clever costumes, which they showed off during a joyful parade that capped off a day of fun.

Ukrainian Studies classes take place every Saturday from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. The school is located at 215 E. Sixth St., New York, NY 10003. For more information readers may visit the school's website, www. ukrainianschoolnyc.org.

New Haven 'Ridna Shkola' begins new school year



NEW HAVEN, Conn. – The "Ridna Shkola," or School of Ukrainian Studies, in New Haven held its first day of classes on Saturday, September 21. There was a divine liturgy at 10:30 a.m. at St. Michael Ukrainian Catholic Church led by the Rev. Iura Godenciuc. Afterwards the teachers, parents

– Chris Bytz ul

Mishanyna

This month's Mishanyna focuses on winter holidays: the feast day of St. Nicholas, Christmas, New Year's and Epiphany. Find the capitalized words hidden in the Mishanyna grid.

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and students enjoyed a little time for some snacks and then there was a meeting to discuss matters related to the school year. The director of the school is Myron Melnyk, who also teaches along with Nataliya Danchenko, Volodymyr Dumalsky, Natalia Korenovsky and Halia Lodynsky. Luba Dubno and Ms. Lodynsky also teach catechism. Classes start at 9:30 a.m. and end around 12:30 p.m.

– Halia Jurczak-Lodynsky

Let us hear from you!

The next edition of UKELODEON will be published on January 12, 2014. Please send in your submissions by January 3, 2014 to staff@ukrweekly.com.

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OUT	XTABOUT
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Through December 31 Chicago	Exhibit, "Antique Trunk Show – Fashions from the Collection of Tetiana Reynarowych," Ukrainian National Museum, 312-421-8020 or info@ukrainiannationalmuseum.org	Dece Toro
December 12-13 Washington	Ukraine in Washington gala event, U.SUkraine Foundation with the Embassy of Ukraine, National Press Club, Willard Hotel, www.usukraine.org/gala or 202-524-6555	Dece Whip Dece
December 13 New York	Andriyivskyi Vechir (Andrew's Night), Ukrainian American Youth Association, www.cym.org/us-newyork or newyork@cym.org	Passo
December 13 New York	Film screening, "Unforgotten Shadows" by Lubomyr Levitsky, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110 or www.ukrainianmuseum.org	Dece Hillsi Dece
December 14 New York	Yalynka Christmas celebration, Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America and the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America, Ukrainian Institute of America, www.uesa.org or 347-856-9541	Dece Otta Dece New
December 14 Warren, MI	Concert, "A Bandura Christmas," Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus, St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church Banquet Center, 734-953-0305 or www.bandura.org	Dece New
December 14 Washington	St. Nicholas Program and Holiday Bazaar, Taras Shevchenko School of Ukrainian Studies, Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family,	Dece Plymo PA Dece
December 14 New York	410-730-8108 or lada2@verizon.net Lecture by George Grabowicz, "Bohdan Krawciw's Poetical Crossroads," Shevchenko Scientific Society, www.shevchenko.org or 212-254-5130	Toro
December 14 Miami	Ukrainian Christmas concert, "Carol of the Bells," Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church, donnamak@bellsouth.net or ukrainianmiami.org	Entri advei from and a



Spring into Fashion

Fashion Show, Luncheon and Gift Auction!



December 14 Toronto	Performance, "Koliada and Music from the Carpathians," Yara Arts Group and the Koliadnyky of Kryvorivnia, Ukrainian National Federation hall, 416-912-3766 or www.brama.com/yara
December 15 Whippany, NJ	Christmas Bazaar, St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, 973-476-1970
December 15 Passaic, NJ	Book presentation by Diana Reilly, "Scattered: The Forced Relocation of Poland's Ukrainians after World War II," a Christmas bazaar is to be held following the book presentation, Ukrainian Centralia, mznak@aol.com
December 15 Hillside, NJ	St. Nicholas program, Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church, www.byzcath.org/immaculateconception or 908-322-7350
December 15 Ottawa	Fund-raiser dinner, "Pyrohy and Koliady," Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, 613-277-4664 or 613-728-4923
December 20 New York	Presentation, "Koliadky," Ukrainian Institute of America, Anna.shpook@yahoo.com
December 21 New York	Literary evening, "Contemporary Ukrainian Literature in English Translation," Shevchenko Scientific Society, www.shevchenko.org or 212-254-5130
December 21 Plymouth Meeting, PA	Performance, "The Nutcracker," featuring the Donetsk Ballet of Ukraine, Plymouth/Whitemarsh High School, 215-849-7950 or www.ibexchange.ticketleap.com
December 27-29 Toronto	Concert, "Midwinter Night: Sacred and Profane Rituals," Yara Arts Group with the Koliadnyky and Lemon Bucket Orkestra, Enwave Theater Harborfont Center, 416-973-4000 or tickets@harbourfrontcentre.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 14

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 ukrainianschoolbazaar.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 Kolectiv. The event begins

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at 7:30 p.m., at the UNF, 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.

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a lecture, "Bohdan Krawciw's Poetical Crossroads," by Prof. George G. Grabowicz, president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Bohdan Krawciw (1904-1975) was a poet, translator and editor. The lecture will take place at the society's headquarters, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information call 212-254-5130. Copies of the Krawciw's works will be available for purchase.

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,

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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 Orkestra, 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.

Tuesday, December 31

Checking & Debit

PERTH AMBOY, N.J.: The annual New Year's Eve "zabava" (dance), sponsored by Assumption Ukrainian Catholic Church will be held in the school's auditorium at 380 Meredith St., Perth Amboy, NJ 08861, beginning at 8 p.m. Music will be by Anna-Maria

Entertainment. A delicious and bountiful buffet dinner will be served at 8 p.m. and will be available all evening; there will be free champagne and a dessert table. Advance ticket sales: \$75 per adult, \$35 per child age 5 to 13; after December 25: \$85 for adults, \$40 for children. (No tickets will be sold at the door.) For tickets call 732-826-0767.

Saturday, January 11, 2014

CARTERET, N.J.: St. Demetrius Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral and St. Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church are co-sponsoring a Malanka, which will be held at the St. Demetrius Community Center, 681 Roosevelt Ave., Carteret, N.J. Entertainment will be by Luna. Tickets are \$60, which includes hot dinner buffet, open bar and a midnight champagne toast. The St. Demetrius Center is located just blocks from Exit 12 of the New Jersey Turnpike. Doors open at 6 p.m.; dinner will be served promptly at 7 p.m. For tickets and table reservations contact Peter Prociuk, 609-655-4468 or pprociuk@aol.com; or Hala Kaskiw, 908-377-6073. Dinner tickets will not be sold at the door. Deadline for tickets is January 5. Tickets for the "zabava" (dance) and open bar only after 9 p.m. are \$40.

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