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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## Senate passes resolution supporting Ukraine's people, warning of potential sanctions

WASHINGTON – The U.S. Senate on January 7 unanimously passed a resolution “expressing support for the Ukrainian people in light of President [Viktor] Yanukovich’s decision not to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union.”

Senate Resolution 319 was sponsored by Sen. Christopher S. Murphy (D-Conn.), who introduced it on December 12, 2013. It was co-sponsored by Sens. Ron Johnson (R-Wis.), Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.), Richard Durbin (D-Ill.), Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.), Richard Blumenthal (D-Conn.), Marco Rubio (R-Fla.), James E. Risch (R-Ind.), Benjamin L. Cardin (D-Md.) and Ted Cruz (R-Texas).

The resolution notes that: “according to a poll conducted in November 2013, a majority of the people of Ukraine supported signing a historic trade and political agreement with the European Union”; “a closer association between Ukraine and the European Union has been supported by Ukrainian civil society, business leaders, and politicians across the political spectrum and would bring lasting political, democratic, and economic benefits to the people of Ukraine”; and “the abrupt reversal on the eve of the summit following Russian economic coercion and to protect the narrow interests of some officials and individuals in Ukraine prompted hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians all across the country, especially young people and students, to protest the decision and stand in support of furthering Ukraine’s Euro-Atlantic integration.”

It also cites the violent attempt by special police division on November 30, 2013, to disperse a peaceful

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## Opposition yet to agree on 2015 election strategy



Andrey Kravchenko/UNIAN

Opposition leaders at a press conference in Vilnius, Lithuania, on November 29, 2013, during the European Union’s Eastern Partnership Summit (from left): Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Vitali Klitschko, Oleh Tiahnybok and Petro Poroshenko.

by Zenon Zawada

KYIV – The leaders of Ukraine’s pro-Western political parties are calling upon citizens to prepare for the March 2015 presidential election as the main mechanism to remove President Viktor Yanukovich from power. But they have yet to offer the public an election strategy.

Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform (UDAR) Chair Vitali Klitschko has called upon his rivals to ditch their

campaigns and unite behind his single candidacy. On the other hand, the expected Batkivshchyna candidate, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, and Svoboda party candidate, Oleh Tiahnybok, said they will compete independently in the first round of the presidential election.

Billionaire confectionary magnate Petro Poroshenko is also planning to throw his hat into the ring and there could be government-sponsored technical candidates. The concern among observers is that so many candidates

could cannibalize the pro-Western vote or spread it too thinly, letting another victory slip through their fingers.

“The more candidates from the opposition, the worse it’ll be,” said Sergiy Taran, chair of the Sotsiopolit Political and Social Research Center in Kyiv. “But uniting behind a single candidate is dangerous too.”

As it’s currently written, Ukraine’s election law requires a single candi-

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## Ukrainian American leaders meet with White House senior advisers

WASHINGTON – Leaders representing more than a dozen Ukrainian American organizations met at the White House with President Barack Obama’s senior national security staff on Friday, January 3, to discuss the crisis in Ukraine. They urged the Obama administration to take strong action in support of democracy in Ukraine and to send a firm message of support to those gathered throughout Ukraine in opposition to government corruption and violence against its citizens.

The non-partisan meeting was initiated by the co-chairs of Ukrainian-Americans for Obama, Julian Kulas, Andrew Fedynsky and Ulana Mazurkevich, as well as Alexandra Chalupa, who was recently elected co-convenor of the National Democratic Ethnic Coordinating Committee, and who was the lead organizer of the meeting.

The Obama administration was represented by Karen Donfried, special assistant to the president and senior director of European affairs at the National Security Council (NSC), and Lyn Debevoise, director for Central and Eastern European Affairs at

the NSC.

Although several participants were unable to attend due to a severe snow storm that hit parts of the Midwest and the Northeast, among the groups invited to represent Ukrainian Americans were the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS), U.S.-Ukraine Foundation (USUF), United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Ukrainian Human Rights Committee, Ukrainian National Association, Ukrainian National Women’s League of America (UNWLA), Ukrainian American Bar Association, Kyiv Mohyla Foundation of America and the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. Many other Ukrainian American organizations participated behind the scenes leading up to the meeting, helping to shape the group’s message to the Obama administration.

Rep. Marcy Kaptur, co-chair of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, was represented by her aide, Allison Jarus. Dr. James Zogby, a long-time friend of the Ukrainian American community and chair

of the Democratic National Committee’s Ethnic Council who was instrumental in helping set up the White House meeting, also attended. As co-chair of the DNC Resolutions Committee, Mr. Zogby helped Mr. Kulas, Mr. Fedynsky and Ms. Chalupa pass a DNC resolution in 2010 commemorating the Holodomor in which millions of Ukrainians perished from a Soviet-orchestrated famine.

The group thanked the Obama administration for its outspoken support for democracy and rule of law in Ukraine, particularly for making public the read-out of Vice-President Joe Biden’s phone call with President Viktor Yanukovich; Secretary of State John Kerry’s strong words of “disgust” over the Ukrainian government’s violence against peaceful protesters; Assistant Secretary of State Victoria Nuland’s frequent travel to Kyiv; and Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt’s exceptional leadership at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv. They also acknowledged the work of Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Christopher Murphy (D-Conn.), whose presence at the Euro-Maidan in Kyiv diffused

potential violence and helped protect the protesters from harm.

Mr. Fedynsky noted: “The Euro-Maidan movement has mobilized millions of Ukrainians over the course of the past two months on behalf of democracy, the rule of law and civil society. The only violence has come from the Yanukovich administration. We are gratified by America’s support for the Ukrainian people and especially for the firm condemnation of police state tactics. We look to the U.S. to exercise its leadership to help the Ukrainians achieve their aspirations for a European identity. This goal is in America’s interest, Europe’s, Ukraine’s and ultimately, the Russian people, as well.”

Mr. Kulas reminded the administration that “Ukraine voluntarily surrendered its nuclear weapons under certain assurances for its integrity and independence, and therefore the United States has an obligation to step in.” He also expressed concern about continued reports of heavy media censorship and the physical attacks on

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**FOR THE RECORD****U.S. Mission to the OSCE comments on events in Ukraine**

*The statement below was delivered by Ambassador Daniel B. Baer of the U.S. Mission to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe before the OSCE Permanent Council in Vienna on December 30, 2013.*

I would like to start by once again thanking and recognizing the Ukrainian chairmanship-in-office, which holds its last Permanent Council meeting today. As many have recognized, the team here in Vienna, led by Ambassador [Ihor] Prokopchuk, along with colleagues in Kyiv on the task force and Foreign [Affairs] Minister [Leonid] Kozhara, have much to be proud of over the last year. You have been good colleagues and good stewards of our collective endeavors.

The Ukrainian chairmanship rightly spearheaded an effort to adopt a new decision on protection of journalists at the

recent Ministerial Council meeting in Kyiv. We have not yet succeeded in adopting the decision, but it is clear that the safety of journalists remains an urgent area of concern, particularly in Ukraine in recent weeks.

The United States, like many other countries, was deeply dismayed to learn of the violent beating of Ukrainian activist and journalist Tetiana Chornovol in the early morning of December 25. A few hours earlier, Chornovol, who has reported critically on alleged government misuse of state resources, had posted on her blog photos of a residence alleged to belong to a member of the Yanukovich government. The photographs of Chornovol's bloodied and battered face after she was left in a ditch by her assailants are a haunting reminder of the work still before us to prevent future abuses in the OSCE space.

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**Human rights activists "Open Statement to International Democratic Community"**

*Following is the text of an appeal titled "Open Statement to the International Democratic Community" released on December 12, 2013, by human rights activists in Ukraine.*

In the middle of the night, from December 10 to 11, 2013, Ukrainian special forces troops started another brutal attack on the peaceful demonstrators in Kyiv. Aside from the regular police, militiamen were also widely involved, having been brought from the depressed cities of eastern Ukraine. Some of them were deployed to cause provocations, as it had been done during the scripted assault on the interior troops at the building of the Presidential Administration on December 1.

This time the government and their local and Russian political technologists started to conduct "Nazi-like" activities amongst the protesters. More than a dozen young individuals wearing helmets with swastikas and armed with armature rods were trying to break through to the maidan and stir up a fight with the police. Fortunately, the protesters prevented them just in time.

This incident could have been dismissed if there had been no ongoing campaign conducted for years by Moscow-financed agents in Ukraine, Russia and the West to discredit Ukraine, the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian national liberation movement and the modern Ukrainian democratic opposition. The campaign's aim is to undermine national aspirations for Ukrainian independence and sovereignty, in order to recapture Ukraine and incorporate it into a newly restored Russian empire. The main message of this campaign is to depict Ukrainians as perpetual xenophobes and pogrom-orchestrators, anti-Semites and Nazi accomplices. It is obvious that today we have to deal with efforts at ascribing the same image to those who came out to protest against the actions of President Yanukovich and his subordinates.

As a result of this, we want to emphasize that the current protests in Ukraine have brought to life the desire of the vast majority of Ukrainian society to permanently and peacefully integrate into European civilization. The Ukrainian people are willing and eager to adopt and incorporate the values of

the European political and economic community – in particular, implementing modern, universally accepted human standards of relations among individuals, peoples, confessions, etc. The main principle of the protest movement, approved by all opposition parties and regular participants of the protests, is the refusal to use force and allow any divisions in the Ukrainian political nation.

We urge the international democratic community not to believe the provocations of the security services, to resolutely condemn the violence by the current government of Ukraine, and to support the aspirations of the Ukrainian people toward freedom and democracy.

**Refat Chubarov**

Head of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People

**Semen Gluzman**

President of the Ukraine Psychiatrists Association, human rights activist and former political prisoner

**Tetyana Khorunza**

Editor-in-chief of the newspaper Forum of Nations

**Myroslav Marynovych**

Vice-rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University, human rights activist and former political prisoner

**Vitaly Nakhmanovych**

Leading researcher of the Museum of Kyiv History, executive secretary of the Babyn Yar Public Committee

**Myroslav Popovych**

Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Director of the Institute of Philosophy

**Meylakh Sheykhet**

Director of the representative office in Ukraine of the Union of Councils for the Jews in the Former Soviet Union

**Taras Voznyak**

Editor-in-chief of the independent cultural magazine Yi

**Joseph Zissels**

Chairman of the Ukraine Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities, executive vice-president of the Congress of National Communities of Ukraine, human rights activist and former political prisoner

**NEWSBRIEFS****Expert negates east-west division**

KYIV – Division of Ukraine into east and west does not reflect the social structure of our country and does not correspond either to cultural or structural realities, and therefore the "separation technology" will not work, social psychologist Viktor Pushkar said on the air of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty on January 6. "The division of the country into two, relatively into the east and the west, is very rude and does not correspond to either cultural or structural realities of our country. Actually, as regards those prospects of allegedly dividing the country into two states, in 2004 we were closer to it, but even then this technology failed to work," he said. According to Mr. Pushkar, mental differences between the easterners and the westerners have become less prominent, as evidenced by sociological studies conducted by the Razumkov Center. "According to them, it turns out that the main division between people is not east and west, it is not age, and it is not party affiliation. Such a simple issue as support for conditional European or Eurasian integration very clearly is due to educational level and less due to age," Mr. Pushkar said. In this context, he said, it is impossible "to draw this line, that we live here, and they live there, that let them live as they want and do not touch us." He added, "If I knew where it goes, I'd have supported federalization, counter-federalization, and so on. But it is impossible to draw this line," the expert believes. He said that there is division in Ukraine, but in "more than two," such as by settlement, by social group, etc. "And if we put social structure in place of those manipulations and separation into grades, then we will have a much more accurate formula," Mr. Pushkar said. (Ukrinform)

**Thousands at opposition rally**

KYIV – About 10,000 people gathered on Kyiv's Independence Square on January 5 for the first major opposition protest rally of the new year. The massive protests in Kyiv's main square were triggered by President Viktor Yanukovich's decision in late November to shelve a deal on closer ties with the European Union. At the

January 5 event, opposition leaders urged their supporters to continue the protests after public holidays this week to celebrate Christmas according to the Julian calendar. Protesters have also camped out since late November of last year on Independence Square, where they have erected makeshift barricades. (RFE/RL, based on reporting by Agence France-Presse and RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service)

**Police to respond to violations**

KYIV – The capital's police have again warned participants of the Euro-Maidan that blocking administrative buildings and automobile movement and damage to property will have legal consequences for them, and law-enforcement workers will respond to those violations. A statement by the Public Relations Department of the Interior Ministry Department in the city of Kyiv reads: "The applicable law envisages both administrative and criminal responsibility for blocking and seizure of buildings, blocking of automobile movement and damage to any property. Law enforcement agencies within their legal authority will respond to each of [these] misconducts regardless of the offenders' affiliation to one or another political force." According to January 8 news reports, Kyiv law enforcers repeatedly addressed organizers of mass events, requesting that they observe the order established by the law in holding meetings and demonstrations, do not violate the public order, do not provoke conflict situations and do not encourage the meeting participants in illegal actions and conflicts with law-enforcement workers. (Ukrinform)

**Ukraine assumes CIS presidency**

KYIV – Ukraine on January 1 assumed the presidency of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). President Viktor Yanukovich said earlier that Ukraine, as part of its CIS chairmanship, would make every effort to implement the principles of economic cooperation that meet the interests of all CIS members. According to the president, this concerns the creation of the

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## COMMENTARY

by Geoffrey R. Pyatt

*The following commentary by U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey R. Pyatt was posted on December 20, 2013, on the website of the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv.*

We approach 2014 with more questions than answers, but it is clear that a lot of people across Ukraine are eager for change. Will Ukraine move closer to Europe as President Viktor Yanukovich says is his intent? Or will Ukraine be drawn to the closed system of the Eurasian Customs Union? What are the terms for the extraordinary financial assistance Russia says it will provide? What will satisfy the people on the maidans, in Kyiv and around the country, who have made clear they expect more from their government and desire a future in Europe?

The answers to these questions will largely determine how 2014 and Ukraine's future develop. The United States has always been a strong believer in and supporter of the Ukrainian people and their efforts to make their nation a better place. Based on all I have seen in my first few months here, I remain very optimistic about Ukraine's future and am firmly convinced that any lasting solution to the current political situation must involve the government of Ukraine working with the people of Ukraine, and their representatives, to forge a path all can agree on toward a brighter tomorrow. In particular, I am inspired by the vibrancy of Ukraine's civil society, evidenced so dramatically over the past three weeks.

## Ukraine in 2014

At this critical moment, President Yanukovich has an opportunity to address the concerns of all of Ukraine's citizens and use the momentum of the people on the streets to implement real reform and lead the country towards closer integration with Europe. They demand it, and the president has repeatedly said he is committed to putting Ukraine on a European course. That course does not have to conflict with a robust trade relationship with Russia. This is not a zero-sum game.

Now is the time to steer towards that goal with better governance. The New Year needs to be all about realizing a better tomorrow – that is what I hope to see in Ukraine in 2014.

In October, when I addressed students at the National University of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy (NAUKMA) I spoke of challenges and the potential I saw here, but I also spoke about an introspective Ukraine. A Ukraine that often looks inward to focus on its problems. I want to reiterate my thesis – you may need to look inward for the strength to make and face tough decisions, but only by engaging, with one another, with society writ large and with the world can Ukraine come to embody the change its citizens are demanding and fully participate in global affairs.

In order to fully engage and become a trusted partner for both East and West,

Ukraine has much to do. 2014 should not be a "year of pause" – it should be a year of forging ahead, making difficult choices to set the course for long-term economic stability and changing people's lives for the better, for good. Ukraine cannot do this if the government does not address the structural economic problems that created the current economic crisis. As I have said on many occasions, there is no durable alternative to a new IMF agreement and, if the right reforms are in place, the United States will be a strong supporter of such an accord.

There's a lot of mystery surrounding the deal with Russia and what it will mean for Ukraine's economy and security. I'll leave it to the experts to dissect the terms, but urge transparency from the government and full accountability for the agreements it signs on behalf of the Ukrainian people. I would caution that deferring economic and financial problems to 2015 doesn't help Ukraine, and leaves the country more vulnerable than ever to the same economic problems it has today.

The United States welcomes the signals from our European allies that the door to Europe remains open to Ukraine and 2014 is the year to develop that relationship. That door provides a framework for the reforms that will create stability and prosperity. I hope that a larger debate about the Association Agreement – one free of scare

tactics and ugly rhetoric – can help explain to a wide Ukrainian audience how much they have to gain through European integration.

No one who has been to the maidan can fail to be impressed by the peaceful and energetic voices calling for change. In 2014, the United States will continue to commend and closely follow these efforts. We will continue to strongly support freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and respect for human rights that are key values in any democracy and are fundamental to our bilateral relationship. All Ukrainians should be proud of the non-violence and spirit of hope that has characterized the Euro-Maidan movement.

In 2014, I hope the Ukrainian government will listen to its people and find a path forward to the democratic, economically prosperous, European future its citizens desire. It is important for all those who support a sovereign, independent, democratic, peaceful, economically healthy and European Ukraine to remain engaged and encourage productive dialogue to resolve the current political standoff. As Vice-President Joe Biden recently said, "it's in the most fundamental interest of the United States that Ukraine succeed..."

Make no mistake, the world is watching and we are ready to assist the Government and people of Ukraine to realize their aspirations for a European future of independence, prosperity and peace. I send my best wishes on behalf of the American people to all Ukrainians in the New Year.

Z Novym Rokom, Ukraino!

by Askold S. Lozynskiy

On Thursday, November 21, 2013, with only one week before the scheduled signing of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union, the former's head of its Cabinet of Ministers announced there would be no signing, at least not within a week at the upcoming Vilnius summit. What ensued was a spontaneous people's protest throughout Ukraine that evolved into a well-organized national revolution that ultimately concentrated in Ukraine's capital, Kyiv.

The revolution was named the "Euro-Maidan," but that term captured its essence only until the night of November 30 into December 1. That night Ukraine's regime ordered its special police unit (Berkut) to disperse the protesters, attacking and beating them with rubber and plastic night sticks. Many of the student protesters were severely injured and several were arrested.

At the end, the size of the crowd prevailed and the Euro-protest was transformed into the Euro-revolution. Its demands now included criminal prosecution of those who ordered the attack, the dismissal of the Cabinet of Ministers and the resignation of Ukraine's current president with a democratic election and referendum to follow. Signing an EU Association Agreement was no longer the ultimate goal.

There would be further attempts by special police units to disperse the Euro-Maidan, but in each instance the people prevailed.

As it turned out the revolution is really about human and national dignity ("hidnist"). That word has been spoken over and over again. What it means is probably somewhat particular to different segments of the Ukrainian society and, perhaps, even individually inveterate. Hidnist means to live as a European. It means to be rid of

*Askold S. Lozynskiy participated in the Euro-Maidan in Kyiv on December 12-18, 2013.*

## A revolution of dignity

Russian oppression. For some it may even mean not to be represented in the eyes of the world by a convicted criminal. The words "Zeka het'" (ex-convict out) ring often throughout the Euro-Maidan. Most importantly, it's about national pride. The specific venue of the revolution, like the entire city of Kyiv, was covered with blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flags. Almost every speech concluded with the words "Slava Ukraini" (Glory to Ukraine) three times with the audience's response "Heroyam slava" (Glory to its heroes).

As with most matters Ukrainian, Russia was not a bystander. It actively pursued its own interests. Having devised a scheme to counter European economic wherewithal, Russia insisted that Ukraine join its Customs Union and not the EU. Otherwise the union is nothing more than Russia and some largely insignificant players. At first, threats were the strategy for Moscow. Then Moscow offered and signed off on some enticements, in the form of billions of dollars in credits and a discount on Russian gas. Coincidentally, the timing was ironic. On November 23, Ukrainians throughout the world commemorated the Holodomor of 1932-1933. Seven million and more Ukrainians perished at the hands of Moscow during that power play orchestrated from Moscow.

Very important to this equation has been the support from the West. The EU made its support manifest through visits and communications. Perhaps more so, the United States was forthcoming in support of the Euro-Maidan through the visit in early December of the Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Eurasian Affairs Victoria Nuland to both Moscow and Kyiv, leaving a veiled message in Russia and a strong one in Kyiv. Then came an unequivocal

condemnation of the use of force on December 10 by Secretary of State John Kerry, harking back to admonishments to Ukraine's leadership from Vice President Joe Biden (in a December 9 phone call to Mr. Yanukovich) made immediately prior to the regime's brutal behavior.

And more recently two U.S. senators from different sides of the aisle – Republican John McCain of Arizona and Democrat Chris Murphy of Connecticut – appeared on December 15, 2013, on the Euro-Maidan stage in support of the people and introduced tangible substance to their words: a jointly sponsored Senate resolution with teeth, providing for sanctions against particularly offensive members of the ruling regime, with a burgeoning list of offenders that could include the current president of Ukraine himself.

The revolution prided itself on being peaceful, but after all, it remained an act of civil disobedience, as more than half of Kyiv's main street – the Khreschatyk – was barricaded and at least three public buildings were under siege by the revolutionaries. Lenin's most recent demise in Kyiv was not only symbolic but, hopefully, irreversible. The once protected grounds were taken over by tourists and souvenir seekers until the authorities removed the remaining carcass.

Thus, the government's action of force evoked an even stronger reaction, mostly in defense, but not meek. There could not have been more fallout. The regime then resorted to politics, attempting to organize

its own manifestation of support – a counterrevolution, but with less than significant results. Ukraine's former first president suggested that if a government has to organize (and pay) for a counterrevolution, then that government is not fit to govern and should relinquish control. The regime's humiliation was complete when the counterrevolution announced its unlimited duration, only to adjourn essentially by the very next day.

Despite the government's seeming failings, the end result is difficult to forecast. Hope springs eternal, and the revolution hopes to join Europe, depose the prime minister and his Cabinet, as well as the president himself, and secure the release of all the opposition's political prisoners, most importantly among them a former prime minister, opposition leader and the current president's worst nightmare – Yulia Tymoshenko.

The final outcome of the Euro-Maidan is impossible to predict. In fact, there probably will not be a final outcome, only a series of dynamic developments, but with little certainty. The only certainties are that if the people of Ukraine were allowed to choose their own strategy for their economic and cultural future, that future would be within Europe.

Furthermore, perhaps more important than all else, is the fact that the events of the Euro-Maidan, which arose as a result of the current regime's unwillingness to respect the will of the Ukrainian people and recognize the people as determinants of Ukraine's and their own future, have expedited irreversibly the development of the Ukrainian nation.

After all the Euro-Maidan in Ukraine is a revolution of national dignity.



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## From a Canadian Angle

by Oksana Bashuk Hepburn



## CROSSCURRENTS

by Andrew Sorokowski

# Canada and the Euro-Maidan: Take action to back-up words

On Christmas Day, Troy Lalushnyk, Canada's ambassador to Ukraine, paid a visit to the hospital where Tetiana Chornovol is recuperating from a brutal beating by several hoods driving a Porsche SUV. It was an expression of Canada's public support for her right to speak out and a condemnation of the gang-like tactics by the regime designed to teach the Euro-Maidan protesters a lesson. Other ambassadors, including those of France, Germany and the United States visited as well. They were sending their own message to President Viktor Yanukovich and his overseer, Russia's President Vladimir Putin: your tactics are unacceptable.

Ms. Chornovol stands out as one of the sharpest journalists in Ukraine. Her writings in *Ukrayinska Pravda* expose the crimes and abuses of the politicians with facts and figures. As a result, they despise her. She calls for regime change and new political leadership. The Yanukovich "gang," she says, must be replaced by worthy politicians. This means that mass demonstrations are not enough – political leadership is crucial to Ukraine's future.

It is reassuring to see the world cheering the Euro-Maidan. Canada, too, is doing its part. Perhaps the most important has been the defense of rule of law position taken by Prime Minister Stephen Harper and his government. He grew up in Toronto, where many of his friends were Ukrainian. They

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## Euro-Maidan yalynka shared worldwide



[www.facebook.com/strngdsgn](http://www.facebook.com/strngdsgn)

PARSIPPANY, N.Y. – This depiction of the Euro-Maidan Christmas tree (yalynka) is the work of designer Ilyia Strongovsky of Zhytomyr, Ukraine, who suggested online that it be shared as a holiday greeting. The image has been shared thousands of times on Facebook.

gave him a first-hand understanding of the evils of Soviet Communist dictatorship. He warns of "serious consequences" for President Yanukovich as he descends into lawlessness.

Some two years ago, the prime minister led Western powers in condemning the questionable arrest and incarceration of Yulia Tymoshenko, former prime minister and leader of the opposition. Free governments understand the danger to citizens' rights when democratic institutions are hobbled; they know that if an opposition leader can be arrested and incarcerated everyone is fair game. For this reason, Ms. Tymoshenko's freedom became a key requirement for President Yanukovich in progressing towards European integration. He chose Russia's despotic ways, and the protests started and are now heading into their second month.

Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs John Baird has been unequivocal in condemning violence against demonstrators. "The use of riot police against peaceful protests in Kyiv's Maidan Square is undemocratic and excessive," he stated.

Canada's Ukrainian diaspora supports the pro-European integration demonstrators. Beginning with November 24 demonstrations of solidarity sprang up in Toronto, Edmonton, Montreal and elsewhere. Some 100 demonstrated by the Embassy of Ukraine in Ottawa demanding that the president respect the people's choice: the European Union, not Russia. The main organizing force was a student from Lviv. The following day they showed their displeasure on Parliament Hill, where Volodymyr Rybak, chair of Ukraine's Parliament, was on an official visit. He assured the government of Canada that Ukraine was proceeding towards European integration. Lie, confuse and double-speak – these good ol' Soviet tactics are seen today in the Yanukovich-Putin agreement.

Ukrainian Canadians know their kin want to live more like their Canadian cousins. To make that happen, the "cousins" show up at various Euro-Maidans throughout Ukraine with speeches, financial donations, even hot pizzas. Myron Spolsky, owner of Vesuvius, one of the oldest pizzerias in Kyiv, was on site distributing hot slices.

Canada's media are paying attention to events in Ukraine. A spectacular expression of support for the Euro-Maidan took place at the world-famous Niagara Falls. Taking its cue from skyscrapers in Chicago and elsewhere, the falls lit up in blue and yellow in support of Ukraine's fight for democracy.

Instead of listening, the regime is plunging Ukraine further into dictatorship and Russia's dependency. The terms of the Yanukovich-Putin agreement are most unfavorable to Ukraine. The \$15 billion loan from Russia carries huge interest payments, ensuring even greater debt for Ukraine. The energy terms are appalling: Russia can change the negotiated lower cost every three months.

As the demonstrators rage against the betrayal of their future by the illegitimate regime in control of Ukraine, repressions

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# Both/and

Parallel to the drama unfolding on Kyiv's Independence Square known as the "maidan," another narrative has been developing in the media and on the Internet. This is the ongoing discussion of issues and events. Beginning with the question of whether Ukraine would sign the Association Agreement (AA) with the European Union (EU) or join the Eurasian Customs Union with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, it has ranged over economic, political, cultural and historical issues. The analytical counterpoint has engaged thoughtful commentators as well as arm-chair revolutionaries, and even a few genuine experts. While the diaspora enthusiastically cheered the maidan, others presented a broader spectrum of opinion.

First, some distinctions had to be made. The AA does not mean EU membership. The European Union is not the same as Europe. And contemporary Europe is not to be confused with the "European idea" – a complex of values, ideals and philosophies that neither today's Europe nor the EU can be said to perfectly embody. Was the maidan about the AA, the EU, or the European idea? Conversely, the Customs Union is not the same thing as the Eurasian Economic Commission or a future Eurasian Union. And it is somewhat misleading to equate these with "Russia." But some commentators saw Ukraine's choice as "historic," even "civilizational." Would Ukraine finally join the commonwealth of free, enlightened and democratic nations, or would it revert to the darkness and misery of Muscovite barbarism?

The initial discussion focused on economic questions. Some observers felt that siding with Russia might provide economic and fiscal advantages in the short run but dismal prospects in the long run. Siding with Europe would mean austerity measures and painful reforms in the short term, but long-term economic benefits (Tim Judah, "Fighting for the Soul of Ukraine," <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2014/jan/09/fighting-soul-ukraine/>). It soon became apparent, however, that not only the AA, but ties between Ukraine and the EU in general, had serious drawbacks. Such were the views of Pekka Sutela (<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-12-06/ukraine-spared-the-eu-and-itself.html>) and Ivaylo Gatev (<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/829867.shtml#Ur3FVf2A2M8>). In the paleo-conservative "Chronicles," Srdja Trifkovic argued that the EU had offered Ukraine very little in exchange for major sacrifices (<http://www.chroniclesmagazine.org/2013/12/03/ukraine-orange-revolution-redux/>). And in a December 3 op-ed in *The New York Times*, Nicolai N. Petro remarked that Russia's Customs Union presented more advantages for Ukraine than the AA with Europe. For one thing, the EU was notoriously protectionist, while the Customs Union offered Ukrainian exporters access to the vast markets of Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC). Rilka Dragneva and Kataryna Wolczuk offered a balanced, professional economic evaluation of the Customs Union and what it

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could offer to Ukraine, pointing out that the Eurasian Economic Community and its affiliated institutions were based on European models and designed for countries that, like Ukraine, could not be admitted to the EU ([http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Russia%20and%20Eurasia/0812bp\\_dragneva\\_wolczuk.pdf](http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Russia%20and%20Eurasia/0812bp_dragneva_wolczuk.pdf)).

As the discussion broadened to political issues, the EU came in for more criticism. From the left, Stephen Velychenko argued that the AA was merely the lesser evil, representing a neo-liberal capitalist assault on Ukraine only marginally preferable to neo-feudal post-Soviet state corporatism (<http://www.zcommunications.org/ukraine-the-eu-and-the-eu-left-by-stephen-velychenko.html>). Former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Paul Craig Roberts opined that the Ukrainians on the maidan foolishly wanted to exchange subservience to Russia for subservience to the United States (<http://www.counterpunch.org/2013/12/05/the-next-boogeymen/>). One radical libertarian alleged that the maidan, like the Orange Revolution, was fomented by the CIA (<http://www.lewrockwell.com/2013/12/michael-thomas/another-cia-engineered-coup/>).

Others championed European political culture, contrasting it with Russia's. In an interview with *Der Spiegel*, Aleksander Kwasniewski of the European Parliament said flatly, "We have a different mentality. Democracy is an intrinsic value in the West, but in the East power is the key value," (<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/spiegel-interview-with-aleksander-kwasniewski-on-ukraine-talks-a-937964.html>). Political commentators like Timothy Snyder (in *The New York Review of Books*), Alexander Motyl (in *Foreign Affairs*), Lucan Way and Taras Kuzio (quoted in *Le Monde Diplomatique*) discussed what might lie ahead for Ukraine. With his usual brilliance, James Sherr, now a fellow at London's Chatham House, explained how Moscow's "bail-out" has tightened its grip on Ukraine. He outlined several possible scenarios – none of them very attractive (<http://www.kyivpost.com/content/politics/james-sherr-ukraine-is-in-a-dangerous-situation-334161.html>).

Meanwhile, back at the maidan, there was consensus on at least the "easier" issues: Viktor Yanukovich must go, Yulia Tymoshenko should be freed, corruption and police brutality must end, and civil rights must be restored. For as Mykola Riabchuk observed, the maidan was not primarily about material benefits such as wages, employment, and trade. Rather, it was about values like integrity and the rule of law (<http://www.iwm.at/read-listen-watch/transit-online/maidan-beyond-some-preliminary-conclusions/>). Confirming this view, Kathy Lally and Will Englund reported in *The Washington Post* that although the protesters had no illusions about Europe, they sought European values like transparency and legality (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/ukrainian-protesters-want-more-rules-less-corruption/2013/12/08/5d642ddc-5f59-11e3-8d24->

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### In Ukraine: movement toward and away from EU

Europe. That's what 2013 was all about for Ukraine and its people. This was the year that Ukraine was to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union. There were stops and starts along the way – with Ukraine delivering on some issues, but refusing to budge on others (e.g., the release of imprisoned former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko). Nonetheless, the administration of President Viktor Yanukovich repeatedly stated that Kyiv was moving toward Europe. In the end, however, Yanukovich and company decided not to sign the agreement, opting instead for a deal with Russia.

The year began with news of the latest report from Freedom House. "Freedom in the World 2013" noted a noteworthy decline in freedoms in Ukraine. Freedom House wrote: "With Russia setting the tone, Eurasia (consisting of the countries of the former Soviet Union minus the Baltic states) now rivals the Middle East as one of the most repressive areas on the globe. Indeed, Eurasia is in many respects the world's least free subregion, given the entrenchment of autocrats in most of its 12 countries. The authoritarian temptation poses a threat even in Eurasian countries with recent histories of dynamic, if erratic, democratic governance. Thus, Ukraine suffered a decline for a second year due to the politically motivated imprisonment of opposition leaders, flawed legislative elections, and a new law favoring the Russian-speaking portion of the population."

In mid-year, Freedom House released another report, this one the "Nations in Transit" annual assessment of democratization from Central Europe to Eurasia, which noted a "troubling deterioration" of civil society in Eurasia. More specifically, the report said that Ukraine's parliamentary elections were marked by political persecutions, legal manipulations, bribery and other official abuses.

By the end of the year, Freedom House was saying President Yanukovich should resign as a way to trigger early presidential elections – the only non-violent way to end the standoff with tens of thousands of demonstrators on the Euro-Maidan. Further use of force by Ukrainian authorities should lead to the immediate imposition of targeted sanctions by the United States and European Union against Ukrainian officials responsible for such actions, Freedom House said on December 9, adding that the international community must stand with the democratic aspirations of those brave Ukrainian people who had taken to the streets. "President Yanukovich has lost support and legitimacy among the Ukrainian people," stated David J. Kramer, president of Freedom House. "We don't support rule by mob, but Yanukovich created a crisis by rejecting the path toward integration with the EU and ignoring protesters' demands that the government work on behalf of the people."

#### Regime consolidates power

Throughout 2013, the Yanukovich regime was busy consolidating its power. It began with the appointment of a new Cabinet of Ministers, which held its first meeting on January 9. As our Kyiv correspondent characterized it, "it's all in the 'family.'" (Donbas Oblast natives associated with the Yanukovich family were increasingly being referred to collectively as "the family.") Though there was speculation that Prime Minister Mykola Azarov would be replaced by a Yanukovich family insider, Serhiy Arbuzov, the president tapped the latter as first vice prime minister. The core group in the Cabinet directly representing the Yanukovich family interests was identified by observers as the "Big Six," consisting of Mr. Arbuzov, Energy and Coal Production Minister Eduard Stavtyskyi, Internal Affairs Minister Vitaliy Zakharchenko, Finance Minister Yuriy Kolobov, Agrarian Policy Minister Mykola Prysiashniuk and the leader of the newly created Revenue and Duties Ministry, Oleksander Klymenko. "Their integration into the government testifies to the complete loss of trust by Yanukovich to outsiders," wrote Serhii Leshchenko, one of Ukraine's most recognized political reporters. "He agrees to trust with his future only those with whom he earned money during these last years in government."

In addition, Mr. Yanukovich tapped several associates of Rinat Akhmetov, Ukraine's most influential businessman, a member of the Party of Regions who is believed to be among its chief sponsors. These associates included Oleksander Vilkul, vice prime minister for infrastructure, utilities and maintenance; Ihor Prasolov, minister of economic development and trade; and Volodymyr Kozak, minister of infrastructure.



Taras Khimchak/Euromaidan Journalist Collective

The standoff between protesters and Berkut in the center of Kyiv on the night of December 10-11.

Soon thereafter, the president appointed a new chair of the National Bank of Ukraine: Ihor Sorkin, who was known to have longstanding ties with Donbas business clans and whose wife was the deputy chair of the board of UkrBiznesBank, which is owned by Oleksander Yanukovich, the president's elder son.

Indeed, Oleksander Yanukovich, a dentist and economist, had accumulated assets valued at about \$210 million – most of that since his father became president. Various news media reported that his business empire included banking, real estate, construction, wholesale trade in fuel, coal exports and champagne production. Observers of the political scene, like Dr. Oleh Soskin of the Institute of Society Transformation in Kyiv, said the Yanukovich family was increasing its assets and planning to rule Ukraine for a long time.

Later in the year, on July 6, the Central Election Commission elected as its chairman Mykhailo Okhondovskiy, who was renowned for his role during the 2004 Orange Revolution for defending the CEC in the courts when the presidential election's second round was ruled as fraudulent. He had remained on the CEC in the eight years since as a commissioner from the Party of Regions quota. Observers said his election, and the fact that he replaced a relatively impartial chairman, was yet another signal that the regime was trying to ensure the re-election of Mr. Yanukovich to a second term in 2015.

The Constitutional Court was the next object of President Yanukovich's interest. As our Kyiv correspondent reported, the president thus took the final step towards ensuring control of the key governmental organs necessary for maintaining power following the 2015 presidential elections, which were already expected to be extremely contentious and possibly violent. The Constitutional Court of Ukraine voted on July 18 to appoint as its head Viacheslav Ovcharenko, a native of Yenakiyev, the president's hometown.

Reacting to the CEC and court appointments, Petro Leshchuk, a political science lecturer at Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv, commented: "These people proved their devotion to not just anyone, but to Yanukovich personally. Okhondovskiy defended him in the turbulent days of the winter of 2004, while Ovcharenko 'lost' the case materials of the president's 'complicated youth.' These are his people. Only he could have given the command to appoint them." The reference to "complicated youth" was about Mr. Yanukovich's two criminal convictions: one at age 17 for theft and the second at age 19 for inflicting bodily injury.

If the growing influence of the "the family" wasn't bad enough, in June readers of The Ukrainian Weekly learned that Ukraine's leaders were using thugs to do their dirty work. President Yanukovich and the Party of Regions used Adidas-clad "gopniki" to intimidate political opponents. Some gopniki (a Russian word used to denote impoverished, often criminal, elements of society) are well-trained athletes, or "sportsmeny," while others are bony alcoholics, reported Zenon Zawada.

Oligarchs often hire thugs with tainted pasts to serve as their bodyguards or to carry out violent raids on targeted properties. However, the Yanukovich administration gave

gopniki new opportunities, putting their "talents" to use in persecuting the political opposition, usually with violence. Law enforcement organs also used gopniki-sportsmeny to assist them. For example, during the April 15 protests at Mr. Yanukovich's grandiose Mezhyhiria residence – which has come to symbolize the corruption of his regime – the police dressed recruits in black uniforms without any identifying badges to push about 50 protesters far from Mezhyhiria's gates, before Berkut special forces flew in to encircle them.

Hiring thugs is useful because they shift the responsibility for violence against the public away from the government, said Dr. Alexander Motyl, a professor of political science at Rutgers University-Newark and a Ukraine expert. "The dictatorial state always claims to be fulfilling the 'real' wishes of the people," he told The Weekly, referring to such governments in general. "To use the police against the people would undermine the legitimacy of the state needlessly, as one can draw on thugs to do the dirty work."

#### Developments in Gongadze case

Meanwhile, there were developments in the murder case of journalist Heorhii Gongadze as a former police officer, Oleksii Pukach, was sentenced to life in prison on January 30 – more than 12 years after the journalist's killing. The Kyiv district court that heard the case for about a year and a half reached the conclusion that it was Lt. Gen. Pukach who wrapped and tightened a belt around Gongadze's throat like a noose, while ordering another officer to kick him in the stomach until he stopped breathing.

When asked whether he agreed with the verdict, Mr. Pukach dropped a bombshell on the courtroom, declaring that former President Leonid Kuchma and former Verkhovna Rada Chair Volodymyr Lytvyn were involved in ordering Gongadze's murder. "I will agree with it when Kuchma and Lytvyn will be with me together in this cage," Mr. Pukach blurted out. Indeed, news reports said Mr. Pukach had identified Messrs. Kuchma and Lytvyn in court testimony from 2011 as having ordered the murder.

#### The Tymoshenko case

For Yulia Tymoshenko, the year began with a statement from the Procurator General's Office that she could face life imprisonment for her alleged role in the murder of a lawmaker 16 years earlier. On January 18 Ms. Tymoshenko was notified that she was suspected of having ordered the killing of businessman and legislator Yevhen Shcherban; Procurator General Viktor Pshonka said investigators had found enough evidence that Ms. Tymoshenko, together with former Ukrainian Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, had ordered Shcherban's slaying. Ms. Tymoshenko's lawyer Serhiy Vlasenko rejected the new accusations as absurd.

Less than two months later, on March 6, came a Kyiv court ruling that stripped Mr. Vlasenko of his national deputy's mandate. The Kyiv Higher Administrative Court ruled that Mr. Vlasenko violated the law by moonlighting as Ms. Tymoshenko's defense attorney while at the same time serving as a national deputy in Parliament. As his defense, Mr. Vlasenko cited a legal technicality, stating that he'd been defending Ms. Tymoshenko as a civic defender, not as an attorney, which anyone can do. Mr. Vlasenko said it was



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Demonstrators demand freedom for Yulia Tymoshenko during a protest held near the Pechersk Raion Court in Kyiv on August 5, marking the second anniversary of her imprisonment.

likely he would be arrested now that his legal immunity was gone. U.S. and European officials said the action taken against Mr. Vlasenko was yet another example of politically motivated prosecutions of opposition leaders.

Ms. Tymoshenko's daughter, Eugenia, told RFE/RL on August 2 that her mother needed immediate surgery and "such treatment can only be conducted by independent doctors outside Ukraine." In June, a group of German physicians had examined Ms. Tymoshenko at a clinic in the eastern Ukrainian city of Kharkiv, where she had been undergoing treatment for back pain since May 2012.

Protesters held a rally in Kyiv on August 5 to mark the second anniversary of the opposition leader's arrest. Activist Yuriy Bakal said the demonstrators gathered in Kyiv to protest Ms. Tymoshenko's "politically motivated" imprisonment. "Some concerned people have gathered here – people who, like most people in the country, believe that [Tymoshenko] was convicted unjustly," Mr. Bakal said. "Why is she still in prison? Because we don't live in a democratic country. All democratic countries have already recognized that her prosecution was politically motivated."

Ukrainian lawmaker Mykola Tomenko of the Batkivshchyna faction was among the demonstrators on August 5. He said, "The opposition's immediate goal is to give Tymoshenko an opportunity to receive medical care abroad, particularly in Germany. But our ultimate goal remains the same as before: It's not just Tymoshenko's release from prison, but it is her participation in the next presidential election."

At year's end, despite all the urgings and pressure of the European Union (see subsection "Europe or Russia?"), the United States and other international actors, Ms. Tymoshenko remained in the Kachanivska prison in Kharkiv.

### Putin's designs on Ukraine

Throughout the year, Vladimir Putin and company were making clear their designs on Ukraine. In July, when Ukraine was celebrating the 1,025th anniversary of the baptism of Kyivan Rus', the Russian president visited Kyiv on July 27 for the ceremonies there and Sevastopol on July 28, purportedly for Naval Fleet Day. In between all the ceremonies, however, Mr. Putin took up the task of appealing to Ukrainians – both government officials and the public – to abandon the European Union. He used economic arguments, as well as the standard lines offered up by Russians such as "friendship between Slavic brotherly nations." Speaking at the military ceremony in Crimea, he said: "Today all of you are marching in the military parade in a single uniform, signifying strength and devotion to the principles of our ancestors, who lived together for centuries, worked and defended a common homeland, having made it mighty, great and undefeatable."

Celebrations of the 1,025th anniversary of the Christianization of Kyivan Rus' by Grand Prince Volodymyr were ostensibly a religious affair, but it was even more of an occasion for Russian leaders – both political and ecclesiastical – to promote their concept of the "Russkii Mir," or "Russian World." Part of that worldview, of course, is that Ukraine belongs in that "world" and must be brought back into the fold.

President Putin repeatedly cited what he called the "spiritual unity" and "common roots" of the Ukrainian and Russian nations, at one point stating: "We are all spiritual heirs of what happened here 1,025 years ago. And in this sense we are, without a doubt, one people." And, the Russian leader argued that Ukraine should reconsider entering into the EU Association Agreement and opt for the Eurasian Union instead – a move he claimed would be more beneficial to Ukraine.

Patriarch Kirill of the Russian Orthodox Church, meanwhile, spoke of the concept of "Holy Rus" – Russia, Ukraine and Belarus united under one faith. (It is important to recall here that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate is one of the largest constituent parts of the ROC; thus, the Moscow patriarch is keenly interested in keeping the UOC-MP under his control, especially as other Ukrainian Orthodox Churches are independent.) Observers noted that the Kyiv trip of the Russian president and the Russian patriarch was the latest sign of the deepening ties between the state and Church in Russia, as well as their shared agenda.

When that type of "soft" persuasion did not work, just a day after Mr. Putin's trip, Russia announced a ban on all chocolate imports made by Ukraine's biggest confectionary producer, Roshen. The owner of Roshen, Petro Poroshenko, just happened to be one of the biggest advocates of Ukraine signing an Association Agreement with the EU. The ban on Roshen – ostensibly due to health concerns about ingredients in the chocolates – was just one shot fired in the trade war between Russia and Ukraine, in which each levied import duties on the other's products.

In August, the trade war intensified as Russia increased its pressure against Ukraine. RFE/RL reported that, at midnight on August 13-14, commercial traffic leaving Ukraine for Russia ground to a halt. Russian officials began demanding that trucks be completely unloaded, inspected item by item and then reloaded. They began seizing and questioning the authenticity of documentation. According to the Ukrainian Employers Union, a trade association that represents many of Ukraine's largest exporters, border officials said Moscow had declared all goods from Ukraine to be "high risk."

In late November, after Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers adopted a resolution halting work toward the signing of an Association Agreement with the European Union, Vice Prime Minister Yuriy Boiko described the economic damage inflicted on Ukrainian industry by the Russian trade battles initiated in August, which he estimated at \$3.75 billion to \$5 billion in lost trade. Russian tactics, he said, included, but were not limited to, denying required certifications for the Customs Union market, rejecting products for alleged safety concerns (Roshen sweets), delaying customs procedures that result in delivery delays and refusing to renew customs duty-free agreements (Interpipe pipes). Such restricted trade with Russia had caused industrial production to fall for four consecutive months, resulting in mass layoffs, which Mr. Boiko estimated at 15,000 jobs per month. "We almost completed the program of introducing European standards, and yet we didn't get a signal from our European partners that the incurred losses will be compensated with new markets," he said. "I underline: we

didn't make an issue of a financial aid grant, as Greece did. We merely requested a replacement of [lost] trade." (More about Russian pressure on Ukraine appears in the section below.)

### Europe or Russia?

The question for most of 2013 was would Ukraine sign an Association Agreement with the European Union or not. It would be, as many analysts characterized it, a civilizational choice. As the year began, Moscow was becoming frustrated with Kyiv seeking to pursue closer ties with Europe while simultaneously seeking benefits provided by the Russian-controlled Customs Union. A Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry official stated on January 1 that Ukraine could not have it both ways.

At about the same time, EU Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy Stefan Fule told RFE/RL that Ukraine would have to deliver on some issues if the Association Agreement was to become reality later in the year. Indeed, on February 7, Mr. Fule visited Kyiv and set a November deadline for Ukraine to fulfill its obligations for signing the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement – especially in three key areas: adoption of a new election law, judicial reform and elimination of selective prosecution. "We can't wait. The window of opportunity is open now," he told the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. "Because if we, Ukraine and the EU, allow the November deadline to pass, there won't be anything similar. There won't be a December deadline or a January 2014 deadline." If the November deadline was not met, the agreement with the EU would be shelved for no earlier than 2016, Mr. Fule added.

On February 25, President Yanukovich traveled to Brussels to meet with European Union leaders. The EU gave him a list of 11 tasks that he needed to complete by mid-May if the Association Agreement was to be signed in November. Among the most challenging tasks was the release of opposition leaders Yurii Lutsenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, seen as prime examples of how Ukraine's leaders meted out "selective justice."

Meanwhile, some observers of the political scene said President Yanukovich was flirting with Moscow to make the EU amenable to more compromises, using a strategy of playing the West against Russia that had been employed by President Kuchma. In fact, the Yanukovich administration appeared to be testing the EU's patience every step of the way.

On March 4, meeting with President Putin in Moscow, President Yanukovich seemed to have succeeded in getting Russia to back down from its insistence that Ukraine join the Customs Union. In recent weeks, Russian officials had expressed their willingness to consider other forms of cooperation, and the Yanukovich administration appeared as close as ever to renting the country's natural gas transit system to the Russians, which some observers warned would be the most significant sacrifice of national sovereignty to the Russians since the 2010 Kharkiv agreements. Soon thereafter there were reports that Kyiv was proposing a plan for "associate membership" in the Customs Union for Ukraine and that Mr. Yanukovich had ordered the preparation by mid-July of a plan of cooperation with the Customs Union.

There were two developments in April in the Tymoshenko and Lutsenko cases that affected Ukraine's EU prospects. The European Court of Human Rights concluded on April 30 that Ms. Tymoshenko's detention before and during her trial on abuse of office charges was arbitrary and constituted a violation of her rights. And on April 7, President Yanukovich signed a decree pardoning former Internal Affairs Minister Lutsenko after he had served 27 months of his four-year sentence for abusing his authority. Also pardoned was former Environment Minister Heorhii Filipchuk.

The pardons were seen as a hopeful sign that perhaps a similar resolution could be found in the Tymoshenko case, and calls continued for her release, including from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the United States and former members of Ukraine's Parliament.

European Commissioner Fule wrote on Twitter: "I welcome very much President Yanukovich's decision to pardon Lutsenko and Filipchuk. This is the first but important step to deal with the problem of selective justice." Mr. Yanukovich released Mr. Lutsenko thanks only to pressure from the European Union leadership and the skillful diplomacy of former European Parliament President Pat Cox and former Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, who tirelessly negotiated with him. In the view of political commentator Prof. Ihor Losiev of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, Mr. Yanukovich finally released Mr. Lutsenko "to throw them a bone and get them off his back."

In late April our Kyiv correspondent reported that



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Ukraine was perilously close to missing the EU's May 15 deadline. The reality was that pro-EU parliamentary opposition had blockaded the Parliament instead of working with the majority to pass legislation. Opposition deputies accused the government of provoking the blockade by failing to approve elections for the Kyiv City Council and its chair (mayor) in June, as required by the Constitution of Ukraine. In turn, Prime Minister Azarov accused the opposition of undermining the Association Agreement. At the same time, Party of Regions national deputies were repeatedly absent from meetings of the parliamentary Committee on Euro-Integration Issues, undermining its quorum.

Nonetheless, the European Commission, meeting on May 15, approved a draft proposal by the EU Council to sign the Association Agreement with Ukraine.

Then, on May 18, the Yanukovich administration once again undermined progress toward the EU with its handling of a demonstration led by the opposition: rights to freedom of assembly were violated, and journalists and protesters were attacked in Kyiv during the "Rise Up, Ukraine" initiative. In addition, scores of buses and trains were prevented from traveling to Kyiv for the demonstration.

Continuing to play his game of courting both sides, President Yanukovich was in the southern Russian city of Sochi on May 26 for informal talks with President Putin. Mr. Yanukovich arrived for discussions centered on bilateral relations within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Both presidents were to attend the Eurasian Economic Summit in Astana, Kazakhstan, on May 28-29. Ukraine was now seeking observer status in the Eurasian Customs Union, and Foreign Affairs Minister Leonid Kozhara said Ukraine was seeking to join all the Customs Union agreements that did not contradict its obligations to the EU.

Just a few days later, on May 31, in Minsk, Prime Minister Azarov signed a memorandum with the Moscow-based Eurasian Economic Commission – the executive organ of the Customs Union – that deepened cooperation between that supranational structure and the Ukrainian government. Its provisions allowed Ukrainian officials to attend certain meetings, observe decision-making and become familiar with the content of certain rulings, though without any voting power. A particularly troubling phrase called for officials "to refrain from actions or statements against the interests of the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space."

After the memorandum signing, Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev stressed that the memorandum was only the first step toward Ukraine's integration "We welcome this step, but we understand that if our partners want to participate in our Eurasian Economic Union, they are supposed to approve a whole series of very complex, sometimes unpopular decisions. All decisions at that, not just part of them." (The existing Customs Union was scheduled to morph into the Eurasian Economic Union by 2015.)

EU leaders said they weren't aware of the Ukrainian government's plans to sign the memorandum and they sent a letter to the Ukrainian government requesting a meeting to discuss Ukraine's obligations to the Customs Union. Besides interfering with conditions of the EU Association Agreement, critics said the memorandum could interfere with Kyiv's obligations to the World Trade Organization, of which Ukraine is a member.

By late-May to mid-June, key leaders of the European Union were expressing their lack of confidence that an agreement would be signed with Ukraine. Lithuanian Foreign Minister Linas Linkevicius said on May 29 that the EU leadership would not sign the Association Agreement if it had to decide today. Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Radoslaw Sikorski said on June 15 at the Wroclaw Global Forum: "We offered the Association Agreement to Ukraine, but we still don't know whether it will be signed or if Ukraine will be ready for it." It should be noted that these comments came from two of Ukraine's strongest supporters.

On June 19, President Yanukovich held his first meeting with the opposition since the 2012 parliamentary elections. Only one of the country's three opposition leaders opted to attend the meeting, which also included representatives of the Party of Regions and the Communist Party. Arseniy Yatsenyuk presented a list of demands signed by all three opposition factions – Batkivshchyna, which he represented; UDAR, headed by Vitali Klitschko; and Svoboda, led by Oleh Tiahnybok. Their main demands were to arrange for Ms. Tymoshenko's release and to ensure Ukraine's signing of the EU Association Agreement.

At the end of July, Rikard Jozwiak of RFE/RL rightfully noted: "Ukraine is the most unpredictable country of the current ex-Soviet aspirants. On one hand, Kyiv has reached further than any of the other five in that its Association Agreement and DCFTA [Deep and Comprehensive Free

Trade Agreement] have already been initialed. But questions remain whether they will be signed at the Vilnius summit and, even then, whether the text will be ratified by all EU member states. EU leaders say they want to see Ukraine complete a number of electoral and judicial reforms – especially to address concerns over selective justice."

In late August Ukraine's top leaders seemingly eliminated any doubt that they supported signing an agreement with the EU. As they did so, they faced not only ever-increasing pressure tactics from Russia, but mounting opposition at home. In an August 29 interview with TV journalists, President Yanukovich said: "The autumn of this year will finalize everything," he said, as reported by the presidential website. "We will fulfill all the conditions, of that I don't have any doubt. I don't see any obstacles today to signing this document. Therefore, I'm hoping the time will come and the decision will be made." A day earlier, opening the weekly meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers, Mr. Azarov stated: "After signing the Association Agreement with the EU, Ukraine will create a free trade zone with the EU," he said. "That has to be accepted as reality." Both leaders offered assurances that Ukraine would maintain close economic ties with Russia.

The Communist Party reacted strongly, with Chairman Petro Symonenko saying, "I want to warn you again that you are committing a crime." Speaking in Parliament on September 3, he argued: "You will completely destroy the economic sovereignty of our state. ...You will be transporting products from Europe at zero tariffs, but the Ukrainian producer will be transporting at those [prices] that he had been selling them for. Well, why are you making fools out of the Ukrainian people? Control all these issues first, protect the Ukrainian producer, and then talk about European values." The Communist Party said it would begin collecting signatures to hold a referendum on the Customs Union. Additionally, a handful of Party of Regions national deputies declared they wouldn't support the Association Agreement, also raising the possibility of forming a parliamentary group for the Customs Union.

On September 18, the Cabinet unanimously approved the draft of an Association Agreement with the European Union. According to RFE/ERL, the head of the EU delegation in Ukraine, Jan Tombinski, told reporters in Kyiv that the agreement's approval represented an "important step" by the Ukrainian government and that its signing at a summit in Vilnius in November "will be a joint success of all citizens of Ukraine and the EU." On Twitter, EU Enlargement Commissioner Fule called the move "clear proof" of Kyiv's "European choice." Prime Minister Azarov said the agreement raised the prospect of "a European quality of life" for Ukraine. He said Kyiv would meet the criteria for democratic progress laid down by the EU as preconditions for signing the document. However, he said not a word about the Tymoshenko matter, which remained a huge sticking point as far as the EU was concerned.

Once again, just as things appeared to be moving in the right direction, on September 25 came a report that the EU had set, then reset, the deadline for approval of an Association Agreement with Ukraine. November 18 was

now the day when the EU Foreign Affairs Council would meet to decide on whether the European Union should sign an Association Agreement with Ukraine, reported European Member of Parliament Pawel Zalewski. That was just 10 days before the Vilnius summit. The postponement of the deadline meant the EU and Kyiv had not reached a compromise on the Tymoshenko case. But, it was also a signal – yet another one – to Ukraine that the EU was ready to remain flexible and that Kyiv could choose the path in resolving this issue. There were indications also that the EU would be willing to sign the agreement even if the opposition leader was not released, perhaps if there was at least some movement toward that happening.

Striking an urgent tone in his speech at the Yalta European Strategy conference on September 21, former Polish President Kwasniewski pointed to the solution proposed months ago by him and former European Parliament President Cox who had made 21 visits to Ukraine, totaling 90 days, since launching their diplomatic mission in June 2012. "Tymoshenko is sick. She needs an operation, afterwards therapy, afterwards rehabilitation," Mr. Kwasniewski said. "We hope that she will go abroad," he added, stressing that Ms. Tymoshenko doesn't trust Ukrainian doctors to treat her. "We hope the Ukrainian government accepts the proposal that was prepared many months ago."

As of the end of October, the EU and Kyiv remained deadlocked on the Tymoshenko issue. Mr. Yanukovich was still rejecting the EU's proposal that he issue a pardon to Ms. Tymoshenko, which would allow her to be active in the 2015 presidential campaign, but would not permit her to run. Meanwhile, the EU offered another solution in an October 4 letter to the Ukrainian president, suggesting an amnesty for the opposition leader "out of concern for her medical care and humanitarian grounds." On October 15, Mr. Kwasniewski went as far as to suggest a "partial pardon," whereby her prison sentence would be reduced from seven years to two, meaning the time she had already served. But Mr. Yanukovich continued to insist that Ukrainian law does not allow him to grant a pardon. He did appear to be open to compromise when he said on October 17 that, if the Verkhovna Rada was to pass a law ensuring Ms. Tymoshenko's release, he would sign it.

Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Sikorski confirmed that the foreign affairs ministers of the Netherlands, Great Britain and Sweden would vote against signing the Association Agreement if Ms. Tymoshenko wasn't released. "Very little time is left and the risk of not signing is very large," Mr. Sikorski said at a press conference on October 22 in Kyiv after meeting with Mr. Yanukovich. "There's no more time for bluffing. There's time left for actions."

As the date of the Vilnius summit drew ever nearer, the Party of Regions was undermining the chances for the Association Agreement's signing. Rather than work on a compromise, the Party of Regions parliamentary faction was avoiding meetings and upping the ante, ignoring big concessions offered by the EU and the imprisoned Ms. Tymoshenko. Both the EU and the former prime minister voiced support for a bill submitted in Parliament by inde-



A view of the May 18 demonstration in Kyiv held by opposition forces as part of the "Rise Up, Ukraine!" initiative.



Former Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski (left) and former European Parliament Chair Pat Cox, leaders of the EU's diplomatic mission to Ukraine, at the November 13 extraparlimentary session of the Verkhovna Rada.



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Detail of a section of the barricades erected around the Euro-Maidan, this one showing the names of cities and towns represented among the demonstrators. The photo above was posted on December 22.

pendent National Deputy Anzhelika Labunska which would give prisoners the right to seek medical treatment abroad if they spent at least a year of uninterrupted treatment that didn't result in a full recovery. Upon ruling on a convict's treatment abroad, a judge would also have to rule on whether to grant the convict freedom, which wouldn't require overturning the conviction. Freedom could be granted if a convict was determined to be in ill health. At the same time, the Ukrainian government filed criminal complaints against Ms. Tymoshenko in American and Swiss courts.

Meanwhile, President Yanukovich met with Russian President Vladimir Putin for five hours on October 27 in the resort city of Sochi, reportedly to hear the Kremlin's last-minute pitch for Kyiv to drop the EU.

On November 13, the EU leadership decided to postpone the signing of the Association Agreement until "the last seconds before" the Eastern Partnership Summit scheduled for Vilnius on November 28-29, said Pawel Kowal, chair of the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Cooperation Committee in the European Parliament. Until that time, the EU diplomatic mission of Messrs. Kwasniewski and Cox was to continue working on a compromise in the Tymoshenko case. "The likelihood of signing the agreement is less than 50 percent," commented Volodymyr Fesenko, board chairman of the Penta Center for Applied Political Research in Kyiv.

Meanwhile, foreign affairs ministers of EU countries on November 18 issued an appeal to President Yanukovich to take action in the Tymoshenko matter. German Foreign Affairs Minister Guido Westerwelle issued an urgent appeal to Ukraine to act. "We want Ukraine to orientate itself toward the EU, but the conditions have to be right," he said. "That is, above all, the rule of law and for that the Tymoshenko case surely has a particular significance. I urgently call on Ukraine to act and to unify in a practicable way toward the rule of law, and not play for time. The clock is ticking, time is running out, and everyone in Ukraine should be aware of this." Lithuanian Foreign Affairs Minister Linkevicius, whose country held the rotating presidency of the EU, indicated that Mr. Yanukovich had to show decisiveness and said that the "moment of truth" had arrived for Ukraine.

On November 21, Mr. Kwasniewski said it was over: Kyiv would not sign the AA in Vilnius. The Ukrainian government had decided to suspend preparations for the deal with the EU, purportedly due to concerns about "national security." A government statement said the process was halted in order to fully analyze the impact of the planned agreement on industrial production and trade with Russia. At the same time, the government proposed setting up a tripartite commission on trade to include Ukraine, the EU and Russia.

The resolution was not submitted to the European Union (EU) as the Ukrainian government's official position and therefore lacked any international standing, leaving the door open for a final decision from Mr. Yanukovich, who as Ukraine's president was designated as the final authority on the country's foreign policy decisions. "Ukraine has gone and will continue to go on the path of Euro-integration," the president said during a working visit to Vienna on November 21. Opposition leaders called for

the resignation of Prime Minister Azarov and his Cabinet and President Yanukovich's impeachment should he fail to sign the agreement in Vilnius. In that event, they also asked the EU leadership to impose sanctions on the members of his administration. "We are tired of betrayals, disappointments, poverty and lawlessness," declared Oleksander Turchynov, the close political confidante of imprisoned former Prime Minister Tymoshenko. "We want to live in a normal, civilized European state where there's freedom of speech, respect for people and their rights, where everyone is equal before the law."

Catherine Ashton, the European Union's high representative for foreign affairs and security policy, issued a statement in Brussels on November 21: "...This is a disappointment not just for the EU but, we believe, for the people of Ukraine. The reforms adopted over the last months have been far-reaching. The signing of the most ambitious agreement the EU has ever offered to a partner country would have further enhanced the reform course of Ukraine and sent a clear signal to investors worldwide, as well as to international financial institutions that Ukraine is serious about its modernization pledge and becoming a predictable and reliable interlocutor for international markets. ...We believe that the future for Ukraine lies in a strong relationship with the EU, and we stand firm in our commitment to the people of Ukraine who would have been the main beneficiaries of the agreement through the enhanced freedom and prosperity the agreement would have brought about."

Plans for halting the agreement were reached together with Russian officials and in advance of the November 21 resolution, it was learned. Mr. Yanukovich had held two confidential meetings with Mr. Putin, on October 27 and November 9, the details of which were unknown. Mr. Azarov had met with Russian Prime Minister Medvedev on November 20, though officials denied they had reached any agreement.

### The Euro-Maidan

The Cabinet resolution adopted on November 21 ignited the largest mass demonstration in Kyiv since the Orange Revolution of 2004, drawing between 100,000 and 200,000 Ukrainians on November 24 to Kyiv's European Square to demand the resolution's cancellation and the Association Agreement's signing by Mr. Yanukovich. There was still some small measure of hope, as EU Enlargement Commissioner Fule said the discussion was ongoing.

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 President Yanukovich's ultimate decision not to sign the Ukraine-European Union Association Agreement at the Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius. The next day, the protest swelled in the number of participants – estimates ranged from 200,000 to 1 million – and the level of 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.

As our editorial of December 8 pointed out: 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 divide-and-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. ... it's for the government (and its police) to respect people's rights and dignity, a key foundation of Western civilization."

As hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians rallied in central Kyiv for the third week of the Euro-Maidan, they resisted forceful attempts by police to clear them from key occupied sites, including the Kyiv City Council building, where protesters pushed away buses, and the perimeter of Independence Square, the site of a nightlong struggle on December 10-11 with Berkut special forces. The Yanukovich administration ordered the raids – which failed to remove protesters from these two key sites – to prepare for signing an agreement with the Russian government that many feared would commit Kyiv to joining the Moscow-led Customs Union.

On December 17, the agreement with Russia came to be. President Yanukovich that day signed a series of documents with the Russian government and its natural gas monopoly, Gazprom, that will bind Ukraine's economy and politics to Russia and close the door to an Association Agreement with the European Union for at least the next two years. The key agreements consist of a conditional reduction in prices for Russian gas by a third (subject to a quarterly review) and a loan of \$15 billion, in the form of periodic \$3 billion purchases of two-year bonds, at an annual interest rate of 5 percent (amounting to a total interest payment of \$1.5 billion). The December 17 agreements saved the Ukrainian economy from "bankruptcy and social collapse," Mr. Azarov told the Cabinet the next day. What was not known is the concessions Mr. Yanukovich surrendered in Moscow to get these conditions, fueling speculation that they were significant: either requirements to buy more Russian gas, a stake in Ukraine's state-owned gas transit system or, what's most feared, commitments to join the Eurasian Economic Union to be launched in 2015.

The Euro-Maidan protests continued and plans were made for the long term. A new political movement called "Maidan" was formed in an effort to consolidate actions and activists nationwide.

Then, on the night of December 24-25, a young activist and journalist, Tetiana Chornovol, who had written extensively about the opaque schemes of Ukraine's politicians, was savagely beaten after her car was pursued and run off the road outside of Kyiv in a SUV. That same night, the leader of the Kharkiv Euro-Maidan, Dmytro Pylypets, was stabbed 12 times. And these were just two of the most heinous attacks on opposition activists that were taking place in various venues throughout the country.

The Chornovol attack prompted a new wave of outrage that rejuvenated the Euro-Maidan protests. Demonstrators gathered outside the Internal Affairs Ministry beginning on December 25 to demand the resignation of Minister Zakharchenko. An Auto-Maidan protest on December 29 took nearly 1,000 cars and buses from Kyiv to Mr. Yanukovich's palatial Mezhyhiria estate. Similar protests were being organized near the residences of other political leaders.

On New Year's Eve, tens of thousands – 200,000 according to some estimates – gathered on Kyiv's Independence Square to sing the Ukrainian national anthem en masse and to welcome the arrival of 2014, as well as to demonstrate their continued hope for a Ukraine that would assume its rightful place in Europe. Thus, at year's end, the Euro-Maidan was demonstrating to the world the Ukrainian people's, if not the Ukrainian leaders', civilizational choice.

### Looking ahead to 2015 election

The results of a poll conducted between March 5 and 13 by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation and the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology indicated that the most popular opposition leader in Ukraine was now Vitali Klitschko, leader of the Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform (UDAR). Yulia Tymoshenko was the second most popular and Arseniy Yatsenyuk came in third. Asked whom they would vote for if pre-term elections were held today, 21 percent said they would choose Yanukovich; 14 percent – Mr. Klitschko; 11 percent – Ms. Tymoshenko and 7.1 percent – Mr. Yatsenyuk.

On June 15, Mr. Yatsenyuk led the party that he founded, the Front for Change, in merging with the Batkivshchyna Party founded by Ms. Tymoshenko. The merger took place



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at a ceremonial congress on St. Michael's Square in Kyiv. Among the merger's goals was to consolidate Ukraine's pro-Western opposition for the 2015 presidential election. Mr. Yatsenyuk was also aiming to strengthen Batkivshchyna to bolster his resources for his campaign, in which he will compete with not only President Yanukovich, but possibly other opposition candidates.

Olexiy Haran, a political science professor at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, said the Presidential Administration was seeking to undermine the merger and discredit its leaders. "Bankova Street's line of attack is targeted against Yatsenyuk and Batkivshchyna," he said. "Bankova's idea is to first finish off Batkivshchyna, and then shift the attack against UDAR." Batkivshchyna was the leading opposition party in Ukraine with 18.4 percent support, followed by UDAR at 15.5 percent, according to an April poll conducted by the Razumkov Center.

On October 24, the Party of Regions made clear its intent to undermine Mr. Klitschko, who according to various polls, was seen as the top challenger to Mr. Yanukovich in the 2015 presidential elections. On that day the Verkhovna Rada approved two riders to legislation that would deny residency status to Ukrainian citizens who are permanent residents, or taxpayers, in foreign countries. A few hours after the deeply tucked riders were revealed, the UDAR leader called it a step towards undermining his candidacy given his 13-year residency in Germany. "I want to state that I won't be intimidated or stopped by this," Mr. Klitschko declared from the parliamentary rostrum. "And to put an end to all kinds of attempts to deal with me as a possible candidate, I want to state – I am competing for the presidency."

The "Klitschko riders" were the first gambit in what's expected to be an extended, intense campaign by the Yanukovich administration to place obstacles in Mr. Klitschko's path to the presidency. Another goal is to stir conflict within the fractious opposition, observers said. "I think these are types of behind-the-scenes parliamentary games," said Volodymyr Fesenko, board chairman of the Penta Center for Applied Political Research in Kyiv. "They are probably oriented towards causing conflict within the opposition rather than truly banning Klitschko from participating in the elections."

At year's end, the results of yet another poll, this one conducted jointly on December 20-24 by Democratic Initiatives and Razumkov, revealed that if the presidential elections were held now and a run-off was required between the top two vote-getters, Mr. Yanukovich would lose in the second round to Ms. Tymoshenko, Mr. Yatsenyuk, Mr. Klitschko or Mr. Poroshenko, but not to Mr. Tiahnybok. The president would fare the worst against Mr. Klitschko, with 40.7 percent voting for the UDAR leader and only 30.5 percent for the incumbent.

### Other developments

- In 2013, Ukraine took over the rotating chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. As he took over the OSCE leadership post on January 1, Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Minister Leonid Kozhara said Ukraine would seek to make progress on resolving protracted conflicts, strengthening conventional arms control, combating human trafficking, reducing the environmental impact of energy-related activities and

protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms. Mr. Kozhara reiterated those priorities when he addressed the OSCE Permanent Council on January 17 in Vienna. As the year and Mr. Kozhara's term came to a close, what was most disconcerting was that Ukraine in 2013 had failed to live up to OSCE principles.

- On February 5, opposition lawmakers in the Verkhovna Rada began a protest, physically blocking the Parliament rostrum, in order to demand a halt to what has become known as "piano voting," whereby national deputies present in the chamber press the electronic voting buttons for absentee colleagues, RFE/RL reported.

- On March 2, more than 500 citizens gathered at the Hostynnyi Dvir (Hospitable Court), a historic building in the Podil district of Kyiv, to protest its secret takeover by an unknown developer who was widely believed to have ties to the Yanukovich family. It was yet another expression of outrage on the part of the public over the destruction of historical structures and landscapes in the Ukrainian capital. Historic preservation proponents were irate that developers are replacing Podil's classical architecture – with its aesthetic appeal and accessibility to the public – with glass-encased structures and overpriced shopping malls.

- In March and April, opposition leaders held rallies throughout Ukraine under the banner "Rise Up, Ukraine!" However, the action failed to attract broad support, as most Ukrainian citizens, while they oppose the current government, were not willing to do much to support the opposition other than cast their ballots. "We're told the opposition is weak, it can't bring people to the streets. But it's not the opposition that's weak – it's the people not coming out," Batkivshchyna Party Chair Arseniy Yatsenyuk said in an interview published by Korrespondent magazine in late January. "If the people are satisfied, and the opposition is dissatisfied, that means the moment hasn't arrived yet. But it will absolutely come."

However, observers noted that recent political failures had given the public little reason to support the opposition. One example was the failure on April 19 to oust Prime Minister Azarov. The parliamentary vote fell 36 votes short of the simple majority required, but key opposition deputies of both the Batkivshchyna and UDAR parties did not vote, and some did not even show up. "There are several reasons why people don't trust the opposition," said Petro Oleshchuk, a political science lecturer at Shevchenko National University in Kyiv. "It doesn't offer new faces and new ideas; it's identified with the Orange era and, therefore, quarreling and unfulfilled promises; it doesn't show how its actions specifically can help the average citizen; it doesn't demonstrate a readiness to go to the full extent in defending its ideas and it has a distinct image of 'losers.'"

- According to official statistics reported in May, 2.7 million citizens have left the country since Ukraine's independence. Olena Malynovska, chief researcher at the National Institute for Strategic Studies, explained that of that number about 2 million moved to the CIS countries and more than 700,000 to the rest of the world. The primary reason for the migration of Ukrainians, she said, is economic instability. "In 2010, the average salary in Ukraine amounted to 4 percent of the salary in Germany, 6 percent in Italy, 7 percent in Spain, and 20 percent in Poland and Russia. These data do not require any comments," she noted.

## Ukrainian diaspora: all eyes on Ukraine

The year 2013 brought the Ukrainian diaspora together on numerous occasions; most recently, to stand in solidarity with Ukrainians protesting at the Euro-Maidan in Kyiv beginning in November. Euro-Maidan actions sprang up spontaneously around the globe in places such as Stockholm, Rome, Frankfurt, London, Oslo, Paris, Munich, Hamburg, Brussels, as well as in cities in Spain, Portugal, Australia, Moldova, Georgia, Poland, the Baltic states and, of course, numerous cities across Canada and the United States. According to various media sources, such protests took place in about 50 cities.

The Ukrainian Weekly was flooded with reactions in November in response to the Ukrainian government's decision to stop working on the EU Association Agreement.

The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain stated: "The decision is a betrayal of European aspirations of the majority of Ukrainian people." The Ukrainian Congress Committee (UCCA) wrote: "The UCCA is deeply concerned with the future trajectory of Ukraine and it not being aligned with European values." The Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) stated: "This unilateral decision by the government of Ukraine does not conform to the European hopes and aspirations of the Ukrainian people, puts a stop to reform and the path of European integration and the modernization of the Ukrainian economy to put it in line with international standards." The Australian Federation of Ukrainian organizations responded to the decision by stating, "President Yanukovich had the opportunity to make history and bring Ukraine into Europe. Instead, he has de facto approved the current situation in Ukraine of denial of human and cultural rights, and endemic corruption."

On November 30, The Weekly again shared statements from many diaspora organizations speaking out against violence against the peaceful protesters of Euro-Maidan in Kyiv. Among the statements, the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO) expressed 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 Ukrainian American Bar Association called 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." The Council of Bishops from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church wrote, "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." And finally, the Ukrainian National Association stated, "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 human rights abuses in Ukraine."

From the beginning of 2013 the Ukrainian World Congress (UWC) had been particularly active on the issue of Euro-integration for Ukraine. The UWC is the international coordinating body for Ukrainian communities in the diaspora representing the interests of over 20 million Ukrainians in 33 countries. This year its president, Eugene Czolij, traveled to multiple countries to discuss issues facing Ukraine today. Among his stops were Germany, Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Italy and France. In late February, Mr. Czolij traveled to Belgium to meet with high-ranking officials of the European Union (EU) to discuss the importance of signing the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement. There the EU officials expressed their support for Ukraine's Euro-integration, stressing, however, that Ukraine's authorities must take concrete steps to similarly demonstrate their commitment to the EU.

In early March, Mr. Czolij visited the U.S. capital to meet with U.S. officials, diplomats of several countries and representatives of American analytical institutions to discuss the issues of Ukraine's democratization and Europeanization, underscoring their importance to Kyiv as well as to the strategic interests of both Europe and the United States. Mr. Czolij stressed that the EU Association Agreement would provide a stimulus for democratic, social and economic progress in Ukraine. At the same



Members of UDAR block the rostrum in the Verkhovna Rada on February 6 to protest "piano voting."



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Oleksiy Yemelyanenko

Participants of the demonstration held in Frankfurt, Germany, on December 1 in support of Ukraine's Euro-Maidan.

time, it would prevent Ukraine from being pulled into the Eurasian Union, which poses the threat of creating a new Soviet Union.

In May, The Weekly reported on the UWC's selection of a logo for the 80th anniversary commemorations of the Holodomor. Created by Oleh Lesiuk, a Canadian artist of Ukrainian descent, the logo depicted five stalks of wheat delicately bound with a black ribbon. The wheat serves as a reminder of the devastation perpetrated by the totalitarian Soviet regime and symbolizes Ukraine's determination in the struggle to live and prosper.

In June, Mr. Czolij spoke at a community meeting at the Ukrainian Youth Center in Montreal. The focus of his address was once again the significance of Ukraine's Euro-integration in securing Ukraine's independence. On June 22, the UWC president touched on these same issues at a National Leadership Reception sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Vancouver, British Columbia.

One of the highlights of the year for the UWC was the 10th Ukrainian World Congress held in Lviv on August 20-22 with 208 delegates representing 27 countries participating in its deliberations. The delegates were joined by 350 guests who traveled from around the world, as well as all regions of Ukraine, to observe the congress proceedings. The UWC's motto this year was "Contra Spem Spero." (Hope against Hope) These words, penned by the renowned Ukrainian poet Lesia Ukrainka, symbolized the faith of the 20-million-strong diaspora in Ukraine's better future despite the many challenges ahead.

The 10th Ukrainian World Congress was dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Holodomor and began with a procession and memorial service at the Taras Shevchenko monument in the city's main square. Representatives of Ukraine's governing authorities and leaders of the opposition, most notably, Vitali Klitschko, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Yuriy Lutsenko and Oleh Tiahnybok were present at the congress. Vice Prime Minister Oleksander Vilkul and Verkhovna Rada Vice-Chairman Ruslan Koshulynskyi represented the government of Ukraine at the opening session.

The congress also received a special message from imprisoned opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko, in which she wrote: "Right now there is no greater priority than the signing of an agreement between Ukraine and the European Union on political association and a comprehensive free trade area. For me this isn't a matter of my liberty or imprisonment, it's a matter of the existence of our country, because joining the European Union will guarantee our independence and protect Ukraine from returning to a new empire."

A few days after the UWC sessions, newly re-elected Mr. Czolij met with President Viktor Yanukovich. The Ukrainian president commented, "It is very important that

foreign Ukrainians united in the [Ukrainian World] Congress have an opportunity not only to experience the situation in Ukraine, but also to have certain influence."

The year was also action-packed for the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations. On March 4 a delegation of 14 women from WFUWO, led by its president, Orysia Sushko, attended the 57th session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) at the United Nations headquarters in New York. The organizing theme for this year's session was "The prevention and elimination of all forms of violence against women and girls."

The mission of the WFUWO is to support the dignity and integrity of women of Ukraine and Ukrainian women in émigré communities by supporting adherence to international standards of human rights, raising public awareness of problems and violations, maintaining the Ukrainian language and culture, cultivating awareness of Ukrainian history, family and social traditions, as well as supporting modern Ukraine's development into an independent and stable democracy with respect for the rule of law. Established 65 years ago in Philadelphia, the WFUWO is now based in Toronto and unites 27 organizations from 17 countries.

Later in 2013, in August, the WFUWO held a successful annual meeting at the Lviv Polytechnic National University. Twenty-five delegates and guests of 12 WFUWO member organizations participated in the meeting, as well as 30 members of women's organizations in Ukraine. They were invited to share information on topics of interest to all women and to learn more about the

WFUWO's multifaceted activities. One focus of the conference was a roundtable discussion about current issues women are facing and possible solutions.

In June, delegates representing national bodies of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization from around the world gathered in Whippany, N.J., for the 18th Conference of Ukrainian Plast Organizations (known in Ukrainian as KUPO). Delegates heard reports about Plast activities, approved decisions that affect the scouting organization's work worldwide and elected leadership for the next term. A special focus was the recently celebrated Plast centennial, which was marked in 2012 in all countries where Plast is active. Also discussed was the possibility of creating Plast groups in various countries such as Ireland, Spain, Italy and Portugal, where many Ukrainian émigrés live today, and Estonia, Latvia, Romania, Serbia and Bulgaria, where there is a significant Ukrainian diaspora. Plast has more than 5,000 members in Ukraine, where it has grown by 21 percent since 2009, and nearly 9,000 worldwide. The newly elected leadership of Plast was split almost equally between Ukraine and the diaspora.

In July, The Weekly reported on the Ukrainian Diaspora Studies Initiative at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS), which received materials relating to the history of Ukrainian life in the Far East, a gift from Nicholas and Pat Melnik. Among the donated artifacts were priceless photographs of individuals and Ukrainian community life in China; personal documents; correspondence between members of Ukrainian organizations in North American and Europe and representatives of Ukrainian communities in Tientsin and Shanghai, China (from 1930s to 1947); and individual issues of newspapers in China and the Russian Far East.

These materials constitute important sources for the study of the once vibrant Ukrainian community in China and its ties to the diaspora in other parts of the world. According to an estimate, there were once 100,000 Ukrainians living in China. Mr. Melnik was born in Shanghai in 1935, and emigrated to North America in 1948. The CIUS Initiative noted: "We are extremely indebted to the Melniks for having kept these materials in good condition over the decades and for their efforts in finding repositories that can continue to preserve them for future generations."

That Ukrainians were and are active around the globe was evident also in news about St. Jude Ukrainian Orthodox Mission in Tokyo, a small mission of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church - Kyiv Patriarchate. The pastor of St. Jude's is U.S.-born Father Paul Koroluk, who insists that mission is the outcome of the dedicated work of the faithful. St. Jude Mission is committed to its Ukrainian roots and traditions, yet balances them with openness to people of all cultures. The Rev. Koroluk is proud of a recent accomplishment of the mission: the first modern Japanese translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

The Rev. Koroluk stated, "Although we were founded by Ukrainians, and try as hard as we can to be true to our roots, we are definitely a Church in Japan - a Japanese mission. We are multilingual and multicultural. One part of our mission is to make sure that there is a home where Ukrainians living in Japan will feel safe and comfortable, without having to abandon a part of themselves."



UWC

Delegates and guests at the 10th Ukrainian World Congress held in Lviv on August 20-22.



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### Churches: anniversary of Kyiv-Rus' baptism

Church news in 2013 was kicked off on January 19 when Pope Benedict XVI, as announced by Archbishop Luigi Ventura, apostolic nuncio to France, elevated two new Ukrainian Catholic exarchates in Great Britain and France to eparchies. Thus, the Eparchy of the Holy Family was established in London and the Eparchy of St. Volodymyr the Great in Paris. Bishop Hlib Lonchyna has served as the exarch for Great Britain and was elevated to eparchial bishop of London and Bishop Gudziak, exarch of France, was elevated to eparchial bishop of Paris. The two eparchies include tens of priests and tens of thousands of faithful across Great Britain, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. (UOC-U.S.A.) enthroned Metropolitan Antony as head of the Church on January 25-26 at St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Silver Spring, Md. More than 500 people and 70 clergy members attended, including representatives of the Greek Orthodox, Antiochian Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Church in America, as well as the Ukrainian, Byzantine and Roman Catholic Churches. Metropolitan Antony succeeds Metropolitan Constantine, who passed away in 2012. Metropolitan Antony was elected by Special Sobor in October 2012 and confirmed by Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople. The enthronement celebrations concluded with a banquet on January 26, and the metropolitan served his first divine liturgy as metropolitan on January 27.

Bishop Daniel of the UOC-U.S.A. delivered a 2000 Mercedes-Benz 412-D 22-passenger van on January 12 to Kyiv for the Znamianka Orphanage in Kirovohrad Oblast. The seven-member Winter Mission Team visited the Znamianka Orphanage on December 12-28, 2012.

Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, the former primate of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, celebrated his 80th birthday on February 26, with a hierarchical divine liturgy celebrated at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Lviv by Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk. On February 28 a prayer service was held in Kyiv at the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Resurrection of Christ to mark the Cardinal's birthday.

On March 13, Patriarch Sviatoslav commented on newly elected Pope Francis and his ties to Ukrainian Catholics, including serving the Eastern-rite divine liturgy with the Rev. Stepan Chmil in Rome and later being involved in the Rev. Chmil's beatification process. Pope Francis was archbishop of Buenos Aires, Argentina, when Bishop Sviatoslav, now patriarch, was stationed in Argentina. As a young bishop, Patriarch Sviatoslav was



Priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate walk past St. Sophia Cathedral in the July 28 procession to commemorate the 1,025th anniversary of the baptism of Kyivan Rus'.

guided by the archbishop, who was then known as Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio. Under his guidance, the cardinal showed his support for Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina and his humble ways. Prior to the new pope's election, Patriarch Sviatoslav celebrated a divine liturgy at the Ukrainian Church of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus in Rome, a gift from Pope Urban VIII to the Ukrainian people, during the conclave of cardinals following Pope Benedict's announcement of his retirement.

On April 20 Patriarch Sviatoslav, head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC), and Bishop Gudziak, head of the UGCC's Department of Foreign Relations, met with Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople at his residence in Istanbul, Turkey. The trip was part of Ukraine marking the 1,025th anniversary of the Baptism of Kyiv-Rus'. In an effort to strengthen ties between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches in Ukraine, Patriarch Sviatoslav recommended the renewal of the Kyiv Study Group, which included theologians and scholars of the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in the U.S. and Canada and those of the UGCC.

On May 26 Ukrainian Catholics in Paraguay enthroned Bishop Daniel Kozlinskyi as apostolic visitor for

Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Paraguay at the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin in Encarnacion, Paraguay. The liturgy was concelebrated by Bishop Kozlinskyi and Bishop Ignacio Gorgoza Izaguirre, the local Roman Catholic eparch, Msgr. Mislav Khodznych, the Rev. Volodymyr Fylypiv and priests from the two rites. This was the first time that a Byzantine-rite divine liturgy was celebrated in the city's Roman Catholic cathedral. A reception followed the enthronement, with a cultural program held in the local center of the education organization Prosvita.

On May 10-11, members of the Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, the fund-raising arm of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, met in Chicago to discuss the opening of a new building on the university's campus at Stryisky Park, to re-cap the fund-raising efforts of the past year and to plan future events. The UCU has announced that a formal partnership was signed between UCU and the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and the University of Winnipeg. Other presentations highlighted other expansion projects for UCU and pilgrimage trips.

Dr. Leon Chameides, a retired physician and Holocaust survivor, visited St. Michael the Archangel Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hartford, Conn., on June 2. His recently published memoir "Strangers in Many Lands" recounted his wartime experience and how he was sheltered by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky at the Univ Monastery near Lviv, where he spent two years in hiding from the Nazis. He was the son of one of the leading rabbis of Lviv and most of his family were killed during the Holocaust. Dr. Chameides was spared their fate thanks to the foresight of his father and the network of Ukrainian Catholic clergy and activists. Several other clergy have been recognized by Yad Vashem and the Vatican for their works in saving Jews from the Nazis, but Metropolitan Sheptytsky's work has yet to be recognized by either group. Dr. Chameides has testified before the Canadian Parliament, and has been joined by Chief Rabbi Yaakov Blich of Kyiv and Patriarch Sviatoslav in speaking about Sheptytsky's legacy.

The UOC-U.S.A.'s two-week mission trip to the Znamianka Orphanage in the Kirovohrad Oblast and the LOGOS Center homeless shelter in Kyiv concluded on June 14. The 11-member team was led by Bishop Daniel, Olga Coffey and Ivanna Wronsky. The team delivered more than 35 suitcases filled with humanitarian aid and toys to the orphanage, and purchased 375 pounds of meat for the facility. Bishop Daniel presented a \$5,000 check to the LOGOS Center, coordinated by the St. Andrew Society of the UOC-U.S.A., and donated a heated tent for additional housing for the homeless.

The beatification process of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, which began in 1958, was suspended in 1961 and resumed in 1963, is expected to conclude in 2015, Patriarch Sviatoslav told reporters in July while on a pilgrimage to Stradch in the Lviv Oblast. The patriarch noted that the



Pilgrims watch the consecration ceremony on August 18 outside the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchal Cathedral of the Resurrection of Christ on a plasma television screen. A Ukrainian flag is draped over the three-story chancery.



## 2013: THE YEAR IN REVIEW

150th anniversary of the birth of Metropolitan Sheptytsky will be celebrated in 2015.

On July 26 Russian Orthodox Patriarch Kirill visited Kyiv for the 1,025th anniversary celebrations of the Baptism of Kyiv-Rus'. The invitation-only moleben was held on St. Volodymyr Hill on the Dnipro River and included Russian and Ukrainian presidents as well as nine Orthodox patriarchs. Patriarch Kirill brought the relics of St. Volodymyr the Great to Kyiv, which are kept at the Kremlin in Moscow. The largest pieces of the relics were given to Moscow's counterparts in Kyiv. An eight-foot tall X-shaped cross in honor of St. Andrew the First-Called was also brought to Kyiv by Patriarch Kirill for pilgrims to venerate. A Sunday divine liturgy was celebrated by Patriarch Kirill at St. Volodymyr Cathedral with approximately 20,000 in attendance. The visit of the Russian patriarch was protested by Svoboda and the National Rukh of Ukraine parties at European Square near the Dnipro Hotel.

In August, The Weekly reported about a book that Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio, now known as Pope Francis, wrote in 2010. The Spanish-language book "On Heaven and Earth: Pope Francis on Faith, Family and the Church in the 21st Century," which was re-released in 2013 (co-authored by Rabbi Abraham Skorka, and translated by Alejandro Bermudez and Howard Goodman), mentions the Holodomor among the three greatest genocides of the 20th century, including the Armenian Genocide of 1915 by the Turks and the Holocaust.

More than 20,000 pilgrims attended the consecration of the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Resurrection of Christ on August 17-18 in Kyiv, led by Patriarch Sviatoslav. The state-of-the-art church features a 24-hour Internet broadcasting site ([www.ugcc.tv](http://www.ugcc.tv)) and contemporary architecture. The construction of the cathedral (estimated at \$12 million) marked a shift for the center of the Church, which was based in Lviv at St. George Cathedral for 380 years. During the pilgrimage, a weeklong Synod of Bishops of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was held; its central theme was "New Evangelism." The consecration also coincided with the 10th Ukrainian World Congress on August 20-22 in Lviv and celebrations marking the 1,025th anniversary of the baptism of Ukraine.

Hundreds gathered in South Bound Brook, N.J., on August 10 to mark the 1,025th anniversary of the baptism of Kyiv-Rus' at St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Memorial Church with a divine liturgy led by Metropolitan Antony and Bishop Daniel. Four choirs joined the celebration, including those of St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Memorial Church, St. George Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Yardville, N.J., St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Philadelphia and St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Johnson City, N.Y. The hierarchs led the outdoor moleben and blessing of waters service. A formal luncheon and concert featuring the choirs was held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center to cap off the celebrations.

A new 43,000-square-foot, four-story academic building at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv was opened on September 3. The building houses the school's Institute of Leadership and Management, School of



David Karp/ADL

**At the Anti-Defamation League's October 31 ceremony honoring Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky (from left) are: Abraham H. Foxman, ADL national director; Barry Curtiss-Lusher, ADL national chair; Bishop Paul Chomnycky of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; Jerzy Weyman, grandnephew of the metropolitan; Rabbi Yaakov Dov Bleich, chief rabbi of Kyiv and Ukraine; and Berel Rodal, director of the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter.**

Bioethics, faculties of history and humanities, and the Lviv Business School and its Idea Lab. This was the second major new construction project on the UCU campus in Lviv, and there are plans for a modern library and a church dedicated to 20th century martyrs and a pastoral center. That same day, Bishop Gudziak, who served as the university's rector, was appointed as president of the university. The Rev. Bohdan Prakh was named the school's rector.

The Armenian community in Lviv celebrated the 650th anniversary of its cathedral on September 15 with the unveiling of its altar. The festive liturgy was celebrated by Archbishop Grigoris Buniatyan of the Ukrainian Eparchy of the Armenian Apostolic Church. The restored altar, named "Golgotha," was unveiled by the archbishop and celebrations continued with an agape meal in the courtyard of the cathedral and the Armenian Street Festival, marked by the opening of the Armenian Cultural Center and the Armenian Children's School.

On September 15 the Ukrainian Catholic University dedicated its Boston Seminar Room (formerly Room 306) in the new academic building on the university's campus in Lviv. The room was funded by the Boston Chapter of the Friends of UCU, and features a plaque acknowledging the support of the Greater Boston community. A weeklong trip was organized for representatives from the Boston Chapter, who toured the Lviv area sites, including museums, churches and monasteries.

On September 27 the Ukrainian Eparchy of St. Volodymyr in Paris purchased the church near St. Vincent Abbey which Queen Anna Yaroslava of France founded in 1060. Senlis, located 45 kilometers outside of Paris, is where the daughter of Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise lived in the 11th century. The church is planned to house

the Anna Yaroslava Cultural Center, to represent and promote Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian-European cooperation. The church, which was purchased for 203,000 euros, opened its doors to the public with a hierarchical divine liturgy on November 16. The next day, a Holodomor memorial service was held at Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris on November 17. Nearly \$1.5 million is needed to complete the restoration of the church in Senlis.

The UOC-U.S.A. held its 20th Regular Sobor on October 17-20 in South Bound Brook, N.J. The triennial gathering of clergy and faithful is a forum for the discussion of the progress of the Church's various ministries and to set the course for its future direction; this year's theme was "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" A new award was inaugurated at the Sobor, The Great Benefactor - Blahodiynyk - of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and was presented to the Very Rev. William Diakiw, Emil Skocypec, Valentyna Kuzmycz, Nadia Mirchuk and Dr. Anatolij Lysyj. A new icon, "The South Bound Brook Icon of the Offering of First-Fruits" by iconographer Cheryl Pituch was gifted to the Church and blessed by the hierarchs. It is now featured in the rotunda of the Consistory building. Copies of the icon have been made for presentation in educational programs in the Church's Office of Stewardship and Development. A farewell divine liturgy on October 20 with 300 people in attendance concluded the Sobor weekend.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) honored Metropolitan Sheptytsky for his heroism in sheltering Jews from the Nazis during the Holocaust on October 31. During the league's annual meeting, at a luncheon attended by more than 200 people at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in New York, Metropolitan Sheptytsky was posthumously awarded the Jan Karski Courage to Care Award by Abraham Foxman, national director for the ADL. The metropolitan's grandnephew, Prof. Jerzy Weyman, who traveled from Poland, accepted the award on behalf of the family. Bishop Paul Chomnycky read a letter from Patriarch Sviatoslav, who thanked the ADL for bestowing the honor on Metropolitan Sheptytsky. The Ukrainian Jewish Encounter (UJE) continues to work with Chief Rabbi Yaakov Bleich of Kyiv and James Temerty in promoting the beatification of Metropolitan Sheptytsky by the Vatican. The UJE is privately organized, founded in 2008 by Mr. Temerty, and engages Ukrainians of Jewish, Christian and other heritages in Ukraine and Israel and the diaspora, working with scholars, civic leaders, artists, governments and the broader public in an effort to promote stronger and deeper relations between the two peoples.

The Jewish community of Ukraine, in cooperation with the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, established the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Medal that will be awarded to people who serve the cause of Ukrainian-Jewish reconciliation, Patriarch Sviatoslav stated on November 1, the anniversary of the death of the metropolitan. The patriarch noted that letters by Sheptytsky reveal his knowledge of Hebrew and that the Jewish community is deeply impressed that he wrote in Hebrew and quoted spiritual leaders and thinkers of the Jewish community at the time.



UOC-U.S.A.

**Hierarchs and clergy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. celebrate the liturgy inside St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Memorial Church on August 10 to mark the 1,025th anniversary of the baptism of Kyiv-Rus'.**



# St. Jude Ukrainian Orthodox Mission founded in Tokyo

by Andrii Krawchuk

TOKYO – Orthodox Christianity was first introduced to Japan in the 19th century by the Russian Orthodox missionary and saint, Nikolai (Kasatkin, 1836-1912). The fruit of that work is the autonomous Orthodox Church in Japan, which in 2006 comprised 67 communities served by two bishops and 22 priests.

A new chapter in the history of Eastern Christianity in Japan involves the recent appearance of a small mission of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate: the St. Jude Ukrainian Orthodox Mission in Tokyo.

The mission's founding is tied to the unique life path and the priestly vocation of U.S.-born Paul Koroluk. What brought him to Japan in the first place was not religion but Aikido. The martial art was his passion, and he wished to pursue it here after completing studies in nuclear engineering at the University of Michigan. In Japan, he met his wife, Misako, whose curiosity about his religious background eventually led to her conversion to Orthodoxy – and to Mr. Koroluk's rediscovery and reconnection with his Ukrainian Orthodox roots.

In 2004, a small group of Ukrainian families in Tokyo turned to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP) with a request for the creation of a mission. The Patriarchate responded favorably, Mr. Koroluk enrolled in theological studies through the Antiochian House of Studies and was ordained by Patriarch Filaret (Denysenko) during his visit to the United States in 2006.

Today, 25 years after first arriving in Japan, the Rev. Koroluk is pastor to the Ukrainian Orthodox mission and an adviser to a Japanese intellectual property law firm. His remarkable background serves him well in his work with a community that is committed to advancing Christian universality by embracing diversity. He refers affectionately to his priestly vocation as "the best job in the world" and insists that the mission is the outcome of the dedicated work of all the faithful together.

## Meeting in a borrowed space

Since its first liturgical service on Palm Sunday in 2007, the mission has assembled semi-monthly and on feast days for liturgical celebrations and sacramental services. Without a church building of its own, the community benefits from the generosity of Anglican Bishop Ohata of Tokyo and meets for worship at St. Alban's Church in the Kamiyacho business and diplomatic district in central Tokyo, just across the street from the Tokyo Tower. Its services alternate between Ukrainian-English and Japanese-English.

A small community founded by and originally composed of Ukrainian expatriates, St. Jude's is open to people of any nationality and welcomes "all who come with sincere intent, whether or not they are Orthodox or Christian." Current attendance at services can vary from six to 60, with major feasts and special memorial services drawing the highest levels of participation.

Ukrainian Catholics have also participat-

*Andrii Krawchuk is professor of religious studies at the University of Sudbury (Ontario). He is co-editor, with Thomas Bremer, of "Eastern Orthodox Encounters of Identity and Otherness" (forthcoming with Palgrave Macmillan). In Tokyo last August, he attended meetings of the executive of the International Council for Central and East European Studies, which is planning its next world congress to be held in Japan in 2015.*

ed actively in the mission's services at various times. As Father Paul explains, "In the beginning, although the founders, with one exception, all identified as Orthodox, Greek-Catholics became the most faithful members of our community – they came every week."

The community includes students from Ukraine, a number of whom are enrolled at the Tokyo University of Agriculture, as well as transient expatriates on their way to other countries. For most, Japanese is the primary language of communication, while those who are in Japan only for a short time rely on Ukrainian or English. This year's Easter celebration included faithful of Japanese, Ukrainian, Hungarian and Greek ethnic backgrounds.

Like Eastern Christian parishes elsewhere, St. Jude Mission is committed to the ethnic roots and traditions of its mother Church, yet balances this with openness to people of all cultures and backgrounds. This inclusive perspective has shaped the mission's vision and informs its strategy as it looks to the future. By attending to the ethnic and cultural diversity of its members, the mission cultivates intercultural exchange. Traditional forms of Ukrainian Orthodox creative expression, such as the writing of icons, the decoration of Easter eggs, the preparation of the traditional, 12-course Christmas Eve meal and the staging of the Nativity play (Vertep) are enriched through the active participation of Japanese adults and children.

Cultural integration also works the other way, and Father Paul speaks proudly of a significant recent accomplishment: "We completed, and now use, the first modern Japanese translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.... However, the Orthodox Church in Japan–Moscow Patriarchate continues to use the translation by St. Nicholas, which is in an aristocratic, Meiji-era Japanese that few people in Japan today can understand."

## Historical memory

The mission's ministry includes remembrance of the past and respect for those who fell in wars and other disasters.

Its Facebook site ([www.facebook.com/StJudeTokyo](http://www.facebook.com/StJudeTokyo)) reflects the community's activities along with significant religious events in Ukraine that inspired them. A case in point is a photo of Patriarch Lubomyr Husar (Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church) with Metropolitan Dymytriy (Ukrainian Orthodox Church–Kyiv Patriarchate) at the Kruty memorial service, which took place in Kyiv in 2010. At the request of its members, the Tokyo mission held its own requiem service in 2013 for the repose of those who perished at the Battle of Kruty.

When Ukraine's Ambassador to Japan Mykola Kulinich suggested a memorial ser-



The Rev. Paul Koroluk in Tokyo with students of the Tokyo University of Agriculture on graduation day in 2013.

vice to honor the victims of the 1932-1933 Holodomor, St. Jude Mission began to organize annual ecumenical services, at which Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant clergy have offered prayers in Ukrainian, Japanese and English.

And in March 2012, preparations were under way to mark the 25th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and the first anniversary of the Tohoku earthquake and tsunami, which caused the devastating Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster. The mission shared a prayer of Patriarch Filaret for the victims of both disasters. Recited in Ukrainian Orthodox parishes throughout the world, that prayer had a special resonance at Tokyo's St. Jude Mission, whose Japanese and Ukrainian members recited it at an ecumenical memorial service. No doubt it was also integrated into the community's historical narrative and emerging identity.

## Looking to the future

St. Jude's is a trailblazing church community that promotes openness over exclusion, and Father Paul points out that the mission learns much about hospitality from its Anglican hosts. It has become a meeting place across ethnic and cultural boundaries, one that consciously seeks to demonstrate the universality of the faith through its activities. In practice, this means opening the door to all who seek spiritual services – even across denominational lines.

As the Rev. Koroluk explains, "The painful recognition of the wounded nature of the divided Church, [the requirement of Orthodox baptism in order to receive sacraments] normally excludes those who consider themselves members of a non-Orthodox communion, although the faithful of the Catholic Churches who for good reason wish to share are normally welcomed. In Tokyo, this most commonly applies to faithful of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church."

On this matter of pastoral openness (or ekonomia), Father Paul has noted similar

perspectives and precedents on the Catholic side. For example, Cardinal Husar drew an important distinction between Orthodox-Catholic theological differences and complementary practices of the faith as he invoked the position of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky during World War II: "when an Orthodox cannot find an Orthodox priest, we don't deny him the sacraments, especially confession and holy communion." Likewise, the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity cites necessity and spiritual advantage as instances where Catholics may receive sacraments from a minister of an Eastern Church.

Spiritual needs and pastoral practice are shaping the character of the Church in Japan, along with theological considerations. The Rev. Koroluk elaborates further on the resulting, forward-looking and dynamic understanding of identity: "the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Japan is a Japanese church. If it succeeds, the Japanese will recognize it as a Japanese church worshipping in the Japanese language and teaching a faith that should be universal to all. However, because it has been planted with seed from Ukraine, seed preserving the precious wisdom and worship of the ancient Christian Church, it should also remain a place where all Orthodox, especially Ukrainians, will, upon entering, immediately feel at home. It will be a place where the traditions of its founders, Orthodox and Catholic, from Ukraine, Japan and the diaspora will merge and meld, revealing and not disguising the boundaries of its eternal, unassailable core."

Thus, the mission is striving to balance its Ukrainian Orthodox origins, its diverse composition and its Christian universality. "Although we were founded by Ukrainians, and try as hard as we can to be true to our roots, we are definitely a church in Japan – a Japanese mission. We are multilingual and multicultural.... We very much honor our Ukrainian roots, we are organically part of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. One part of our mission is to make sure that there is a home where Ukrainians living in Japan will feel safe and comfortable, without having to abandon a part of themselves. But before we are Ukrainian and before we are Orthodox, we are a Christian Church – we represent Christ."

The St. Jude Mission's founding idea of ministering to the spiritual needs of Ukrainian Orthodox faithful in Japan is expanding to an ever-wider outreach and encounters across cultural and denominational lines. Rooted in the Byzantine-Kyivan tradition, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in its Japanese incarnation is writing a new chapter in its historical journey. In the process, it is carving out a new sense of identity in its particular, intercultural setting.



Participants of the first Tokyo "Vyshyvanka" Parade, co-sponsored by St. Jude Mission in June 2013.



# Ukrainian journalist describes brutal assault

RFE/RL

KYIV – The Ukrainian opposition journalist who was brutally beaten on Christmas Day says she believes her attackers thought she was dead when they left her bleeding on the side of a road.

Talking to the 1+1 TV channel on January 5, Tetiana Chornovol said she did not resist her assailants.

"I felt my nose sinking in," she said. "I felt it being destroyed under the blows. I was standing with my hands down and they continued hitting me."

Ms. Chornovol was seen in the televised interview with a bandage covering her nose and her right eye swollen and bruised.

Doctors say Ms. Chornovol's condition is "satisfactory" but that she needs two more months to fully recover.

"I cannot sit in front of the computer. When I start to read text, I get dizzy," she said. "I have some sort of an emotional problem. Somehow I get excited very quickly."

Ms. Chornovol, 34, was forced off the road while driving and severely beaten by unknown men in the early hours of December 25. She suffered a concussion and a broken nose.

Ms. Chornovol writes for the "Ukrainska Pravda" opposition website. She is a promi-

nent activist who has given speeches at recent anti-government protests.

The attack came shortly after Ms. Chornovol published an article on the assets of senior government officials.

She is convinced that the attack was ordered.

"I was very concentrated," she said. "I was – to a large extent – trying to survive. The events developed so that it was clear it was an ordered attack."

The chief of the Ukrainian Investigative Directorate, Mykola Chynchyn, said that five suspects had been detained two days after the attack.

The United States has expressed its "grave concern" over the attack, calling it part of an "emerging pattern of targeted violence and intimidation" aimed at activists and journalists who have participated in or reported on the ongoing pro-European Union demonstrations in Ukraine.

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## Ukrainian American...

(Continued from page 1)

journalists. He stated "A nationwide 'cleansing' of media outlets would be an unacceptable violation of Ukrainians' human rights and civil liberties."

Michael Sawkiw Jr., director of UNIS, the Washington bureau of the UCCA, which continues to be a leading advocate for individual sanctions against those responsible for human rights abuses against protesters at Euro-Maidan, also commented on the need for budgetary resources. "It is imperative that the United States Congress, in cooperation with the administration, find emergency funding for Euro-Maidan activists and increase foreign aid programs for the thriving civil society to prepare for the upcoming 2015 presidential elections and provide a level playing field in the informational and social media realm in Ukraine.

Such support will further advance democratic principles in Ukraine," he said.

Also present at the meeting were Marianna Zajac, president of the UNWLA; the Rev. Vladimir Steliac, who represented Metropolitan Antony of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.; and John Kun of the USUF.

Ms. Chalupa reinforced that "Ukrainian Americans have been working tirelessly around the country meeting with elected officials, sending money to support the opposition, writing articles to inform the West about this historic movement, but it will be today's meeting with the White House that will send the strongest message that Ukrainian Americans are standing with those at the Euro-Maidan. This meeting will ignite our community's efforts even further, as we work with you and those in Congress to protect Ukraine's freedoms."

– National Democratic Ethnic Coordinating Committee/Ukrainian

## Senate passes...

(Continued from page 1)

demonstration of students and civil society activists; raids of opposition media and an opposition party on December 9, 2013; and an overnight police operation in an attempt to forcefully take control of Independence Square on December 11, 2013. The resolution warns that, in the event of further state violence the U.S. should consider targeted sanctions and visa bans.

The resolution notes that the Senate:

"(1) stands with the people of Ukraine and supports their sovereign right to chart an independent and democratic future for their country;

"(2) urges leaders in the United States and the European Union to continue working together actively to support a peaceful and democratic resolution to the current crisis that moves Ukraine toward a future in the Euro-Atlantic community and a long-term solution to Ukraine's economic crisis;

"(3) encourages demonstrators and members of the opposition and civil society in Ukraine to continue avoiding the use of

violence and engage in a dialogue of national reconciliation;

"(4) urges all political parties to refrain from hate speech or actions of an anti-Semitic or other character which further divide the Ukrainian people when they need to be united;

"(5) calls on the government of Ukraine to refrain from further use of force or acts of violence against peaceful protesters, and to respect the internationally recognized human rights of the Ukrainian people, especially the freedoms of speech and assembly;

"(6) condemns the decision by Ukrainian authorities to use violence against peaceful demonstrators on November 30, December 1, and December 11, 2013, and calls for those responsible to be swiftly brought to justice and all detained nonviolent demonstrators to be immediately released; and

"(7) notes that in the event of further state violence against peaceful protesters, the president and Congress should consider whether to apply targeted sanctions, including visa bans and asset freezes, against individuals responsible for ordering or carrying out the violence."

## Opposition...

(Continued from page 1)

date to win the first round of the presidential election with at least 50 percent of the vote. Without that margin of victory, the election enters a second round, a run-off in which the candidate with more votes wins.

Among the biggest advantages of allowing numerous opposition candidates to compete is being able to deprive the government of a single target to focus on, whether in attempts to disqualify the candidate, poison him or bombard him with smear technologies.

"A single candidate would be a convenient target for the government, which will create a discourse around him instead of its own problems with the economy, corruption and reforms," Mr. Taran said. "If posts aren't divided between the parties, then there'll be internal friction and conflicts, and the media will focus on these conflicts instead of the government's performance."

Yet the glaring disadvantage is the numerous candidates spreading the pro-European Union vote too thinly, he said, citing poll figures that currently rank Mr. Yanukovich with 20 percent of the vote, Mr. Klitschko at 19 percent, Mr. Yatsenyuk at 9 percent, Mr. Poroshenko at 7 percent, Mr. Tiahnybok at 5 percent and Communist Party of Ukraine Chair Petro Symonenko at 5 percent.

A possible scheme that the Yanukovich administration could employ is disqualifying Mr. Klitschko – along with his votes – after the election, and then fraudulently transferring 6 percent of Mr. Yanukovich's votes to Mr. Symonenko, boosting his total to 10 percent and giving him the second-place finish.

That would produce a runoff between the two pro-Russian leaders that Mr. Yanukovich would handily win.

"So you say that's a falsification? Yes. But in preserving the current electoral system, Yanukovich has no other way to remain in power," Mr. Taran wrote on his Ukrayinska Pravda blog on December 25, 2013. "That offers a 'sly option' of falsification: Symonenko gets thrown some percentage points from the government and the entire focus on falsifications occurs before election day. With such a schedule, election day itself can be held in an exemplarily transparent way."

A Yanukovich-Symonenko runoff is entirely realistic and is currently being considered by the Yanukovich administration, agreed Petro Oleshchuk, a political science lecturer at Shevchenko National University in Kyiv.

"Why immediately pump up Yanukovich's poll ratings if it's simpler to do that with the convenient Symonenko, simultaneously thinning out the opposition's poll ratings at that?" he said. "Then Yanukovich can transparently and democratically become the president in the second round."

A Yanukovich-Symonenko runoff can't be avoided by solely uniting behind a single candidate, Mr. Taran said, stressing that would leave him exceptionally vulnerable to attacks on all fronts. That sentiment has been echoed by Mr. Yatsenyuk, who emphasizes the need for several candidates to compete independently.

"The explanation is very clear: one won't be registered, the second will be disqualified and the third will be poisoned," he told the Euro-Maidan from its stage on January 5. "That's why it would be incorrect to set a single target now, which will be destroyed 15 months ahead of the elections."

Yet Mr. Taran is urging opposition politicians to consider a scheme that incorporates the advantages of both scenarios: settling on a single presidential candidate while publicly predetermining other key positions, drawing from all three opposi-

tion parties in Parliament.

All the candidates would be buttressed by three key conditions: an action plan to be executed, which could be based on the EU Association Agreement; an organized campaign to defend the election results from fraud; and the public divvying up of top positions ahead of time, with each having several back-ups in case the government somehow removes someone from the campaign.

(During the 2004 presidential campaign, former President Viktor Yushchenko agreed to award former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko her post without informing the public.)

Mr. Yatsenyuk hinted that such a coalition could be in the works, telling the Euro-Maidan on January 7 that opposition leaders will soon announce a decision "that will be applauded by all: a single pro-Ukrainian and pro-European team for a Ukrainian victory."

However, he also stressed that no positions will be determined, indicating that, despite the emergence of a team, the opposition candidates will compete with each other for the presidency and behind-the-scenes agreements on the remaining posts could be in the works.

Some form of coalition will certainly emerge, Mr. Oleshchuk said, yet it will be "amorphous and unclear."

"We can expect the latest 'unity declaration' or some 'coordinating headquarters,'" he said of Mr. Yatsenyuk's announcement. "But I can't imagine how he realistically will work with the presence of several candidates from the opposition who will be required to compete with each other. I think it's mostly for the public eye to demonstrate the opposition's unity."

Besides diluting the vote, another risk of not uniting behind a single candidate is that the Yanukovich administration will instigate a dirty public relations war among the opposition politicians, including the distribution of "kompromat," or compromising and embarrassing information about them, Mr. Oleshchuk said.

"Such a war can be fueled by information from the Yanukovich camp that is made to look as though it came from the opposition parties," he said.

Given that the Svoboda nationalist party is an active political player, the Presidential Administration "could also provoke conflicts with the goal of scaring the public with 'the threat of fascism.'"

Indeed Ukraine's pro-EU electorate has indicated it supports the single candidate approach rather than unleashing the "three-headed dragon," a term that has emerged to describe the opposition parties.

The Maidan Citizens Council (Hromadska Rada Maidanu), the coordinating organ of civic movements, organizations and initiatives of the maidan, released a statement on January 9 confirming its impatience with the opposition politicians, insisting they agree on a single presidential candidate by January 10 or face an organized protest.

The council is part of the Maidan All-Ukrainian Association (Vseukrayinske Obyednannia Maidan), the umbrella organization for political parties, non-governmental organizations and civic initiatives committed to the goals and values of the Euro-Maidan protest.

"We understand the argumentation that in nominating a single opposition candidate, he could be poisoned or they could do something else. But believe us – there are ways that can avoid that to the extent that it's possible," said Pavlo Zhovnirenko, a council member and veteran political observer.

"Why do we need a single candidate? So that the citizenry can perform an audit of the candidate, beforehand, in order to offer its support. The election campaign would begin the next day. Enough time has already been wasted," he underscored.



# NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

conditions for strengthening trade in goods and services, the development of an effective mechanism for resolving disputable issues and the removal of barriers in mutual trade. "In particular, a priority during our chairmanship of the CIS will be preparations for the signing of agreements on transit through pipeline transport, trade in services and a protocol on the gradual cancellation of export duties," he said during the sixth meeting of the Ukrainian-Russian interstate commission, which was held in Moscow on December 17, 2013. Earlier, at a CIS summit in Minsk on October 25, 2013, the Ukrainian president announced the plans of the Ukrainian presidency to hold an innovation forum of the CIS countries, an international conference of small and medium-sized businesses, as well as a number of meetings on interstate cooperation. In addition, Mr. Yanukovich proposed holding a meeting of the CIS Council of Heads of State in Kyiv in October 2014, dedicating it to the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Ukraine's liberation from Nazi occupation. As reported, Ukraine in May 2012 had asked to postpone its chairmanship of the CIS from 2013 to 2014 due

to the fact that in 2013 it presided at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe; that term came to an end at the conclusion of 2013. (Ukrinform)

### Azarov: Moscow agreements a major event

KYIV – The Moscow agreements signed by Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich and Russian President Vladimir Putin have become the most important event of the last two weeks, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov wrote on his Facebook page on December 27, 2013, while apologizing for not communicating earlier due to his busy schedule. "What are the main events that have taken place during the time while we did not communicate with you? Of course, the most important were the Moscow agreements of the two presidents – Putin and Yanukovich. They allowed our country to get prospects for 2014, and [gave] all of our people the confidence that next year wages and pensions will rise, and no one will lose their jobs, the economy will grow," Mr. Azarov said. (Ukrinform)

### Yanukovich would lose

KYIV – According to the results of polling conducted on December 20-24, 2013, Viktor Yanukovich would lose the presidential election if it was held today to any of the opposition leaders except Oleh Tiahnybok.

The results were reported on December 27, 2013, at a press conference held by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation and the Razumkov Center. The polling agencies found that Mr. Yanukovich would lead in the first round, but that if the first round did not produce a winner, he would lose in the run-off. The results of the first round would be: 29.8 percent for Mr. Yanukovich, 21.8 percent for Vitali Klitschko, 11.8 percent for Arseniy Yatsenyuk, 10.3 percent for Petro Poroshenko and 5.8 percent for Oleh Tiahnybok. If Yulia Tymoshenko was allowed to run, the result would break down as follows: 29.7 percent, Mr. Yanukovich; 19.1 percent, Mr. Klitschko; 13 percent, Ms. Tymoshenko; 8.6 percent, Mr. Poroshenko; 6 percent, Mr. Yatsenyuk; and 5.2 percent, Mr. Tiahnybok. In a run-off, Mr. Yanukovich would be beaten by Ms. Tymoshenko 31.5 percent to 30 percent; by Mr. Yatsenyuk 36.8 percent to 30 percent; and by Mr. Poroshenko 33.8 percent to 28.8 percent. Mr. Klitschko would have the largest winning margin over the incumbent: 40.7 percent to 30.5 percent. Mr. Yanukovich would win against Mr. Tiahnybok, 30.9 percent to 30.2 percent.

The poll's margin of error was plus/minus 2.3 percent. (Ukrayinska Pravda)

### Sikorski: EU overestimated its appeal

KYIV – The European Union overestimated the attractiveness of its offer for Ukraine regarding association and underestimated Russia's determination in this context, Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Radoslaw Sikorski told the TVN BIS television channel in an interview. "I agree with the assessment that the EU seriously overestimated the attractiveness of its offer and underestimated something that for us [Poles] is obvious: to what extent Ukraine is a priority for Russia and how much money the Russian government is ready to invest to strengthen relations with it," the Polish minister said, according to January 3 news reports. He also expressed his belief that there are no facts that could prevent the signing of an Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU. "I'm not aware of any proven facts that would make association between Ukraine and the EU impossible," Mr. Sikorski said, adding that in the matter "nothing has been yet finally decided." (Ukrinform)

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On Friday, September 20, 2013, beloved mother,  
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## Maria Sajkewycz Kodelsky

passed away in Kailua, Hawaii.

Born January 6, 1922 in the village of Bialobrzegi near Zamosc (Poland), Maria was the younger daughter of Anna and Michael Shomber. She attended gymnasium in Zamosc. In 1944 she moved to Graz, Austria and married Victor Sajkewycz, M.D. They emigrated to New Jersey in 1950 and later to the Chicago area in 1956. Maria was active in the Ukrainian community in Chicago. She served the Ukrainian National Women's League of America as member and head (Southside chapter), taught at the Ukrainian Saturday school in south Chicago, and volunteered at Sts. Volodymyr and Olha Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Following the death of her husband Victor, she remarried widower Dr. Ihor Kodelsky and moved to Kailua, HI in 1981. For the rest of her life, Maria remained devoted to her family, donated generously to numerous charitable causes, and volunteered at St. Constantine Orthodox Church in Honolulu.

She is survived in the U.S. by daughter Irene Saikevych, granddaughter Natalie Reitman White, and great-grandson Rohan Reitman; and, by son Orest Saikevych and grandson Lucian Saikevych, as well as their families. Also, nephew Irik and great-niece Myroslava and families in Ukraine. Maria had numerous friends in Hawaii and on the mainland as well. She was well loved by all, and will be greatly missed.

Eternal love and memory to her!

## Michael Shashkewych

(November 1922 - January 1994)



Dad,

It has been 20 years since we had to say good-bye. Not a day goes by that you are not remembered for your love and compassion of your family, your friends, and the lives you touched.

You would be proud to see your class, kindness, and enthusiastic love of life live every day in the minds and hearts of your grandchildren.

It has been said "Time heals all wounds". I do not agree. The wounds remain. Time and mind cover them with scar tissue and the pain lessens, but is never gone.

May you always rest in peace.  
Your son,  
Bohdan



# Ukrainian Heritage Consortium convenes in Chicago

by Jurij Dobczansky

CHICAGO – The Ukrainian National Museum, located in the heart of Chicago's Ukrainian Village, was the setting for the third annual conference of the Ukrainian Heritage Consortium of North America (UHCNA). This year's conference included representatives from Chicago's Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, Cleveland's Ukrainian Museum-Archives, the Ukrainian Historical and Educational Center of New Jersey, Toronto's Shevchenko Museum, New York's Ukrainian Museum, Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute Library, the Ukrainian Museum and Library of Stamford, Conn., the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York and Washington, the Ukrainian Rochester Collection and several librarians, archivists and museum professionals from the Chicago area.

The three-day conference convened on Friday afternoon, October 4, 2013, with a tour of the impressive collections and exhibits of the Ukrainian National Museum (UNM) led by curator Maria Klimchak. This was followed by a reception and dinner at which attendees exchanged greetings and renewed friendships. Afterwards everyone walked a block and a half to the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art (UIMA) for the opening of the exhibit "Artists Respond to Genocide" commemorating the 80th anniversary of the Holodomor.

The actual work of the conference began early Saturday morning with greetings from Jaroslaw Hankewych, president of the UNM. Lydia Tkaczuk, UNM vice-president, served as moderator of the proceedings, which included reports from each institution highlighting both their successes and shortcomings. It became apparent that a great deal of positive work is being done to introduce the general public in several cities to Ukrainian culture and history

*Jurij Dobczansky chairs the Library and Archives Committee of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.*



Conference participants at the Ukrainian National Museum.

through exhibits, lectures and concerts. The need for more funding, more space and more volunteers was a common theme.

The morning session included technical presentations by two local museum professionals: Beverly Serell about exhibit labeling "The Ten Deadly Sins and How to Fix Them" and Ruth Norton McCarter on "Mold Mitigation" dealing with the risks of mold, disaster planning, humidity and temperature control.

The afternoon session included a discussion of next year's plans by individual museums and the consortium to commemorate the bicentennial of Taras Shevchenko's birth. Aniza Kraus, UMA curator, reported on the UHCNA's project to host an online exhibit featuring four or five of the most interesting Shevchenkiana items from each of the collections. Jurij Dobczansky, Shevchenko Scientific Society, and Andrew Fedynsky, UMA, reported on plans to stage a commemoration on Capitol Hill in cooperation with the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus.

Hanya Krill briefed attendees on the exhibit The Ukrainian Museum is preparing for March 2014, which will feature original artwork, illustrating different aspects of Shevchenko's life and creativity. Andrew Gregorovich, the first representative from Canada to join UHCNA, reported on the work of the Shevchenko Museum in Toronto and invited everyone to visit either in person or online <http://www.infoukes.com/shevchenkomuseum/>.

A lively panel discussion on "The Life of Ukrainian Books" headed by Dr. George Hrycelak, UNM, Mr. Dobczansky and Mr. Fedynsky addressed the future of Ukrainian libraries and books in the diaspora, and the challenges of preserving precious items from private collections. It is often noted that valuable artifacts and literature are often carelessly disposed of by surviving relatives or acquaintances of the deceased.

Michael Andrej, Ukrainian Historical and Educational Center, stressed how important it is to collect letters, diaries and documents

that may appear unimportant but are actually critical to understanding the Ukrainian experience. As institutions continue to build their collections, the dilemma of what to do with duplicate books and periodicals arises. Lubow Wolynetz noted there are several large rooms at the Stamford museum filled with duplicate materials.

Mr. Fedynsky and others noted the great demand for diaspora publications in Ukraine, where generations of Soviet censorship prevented access to them. With the help of grants from the Omelan and Tetiana Antonovych Foundation and others, the UMA has an ongoing book shipment project with more than a dozen partner institutions in Ukraine. The ultimate solution for this dilemma, it was noted, must ultimately lie with Ukraine itself, which has thousands of schools, libraries and other educational institutions where diaspora publications would be welcomed.

As for the cultural artifacts here, Ms. Wolynetz recommended that conferees and their institutions communicate the importance of preserving the past and their willingness to accept donations.

The day ended with a quick bus tour of Chicago, famous for its architecture, followed by dinner at Shokolad, one of Chicago's Ukrainian restaurants. Mr. Hankewych offered a toast to the continued success of the individual museums and to their continued cooperation with one another.

Thanks were expressed to the financial sponsors of the conference: Selfreliance Credit Union, Heritage Foundation of First Security Savings Bank, Hankewych & Associates, Kasia's Deli, Ideal Pastry, and of course, Shokolad Pastry & Café.

On Sunday morning, the attendees convened for a summation and closing discussions. One of the conference organizers noted that, unlike some Ukrainian gatherings, this one was marked by harmony and a spirit of cooperation. In that spirit, everyone agreed. As the final order of business, Washington was selected as the site for next year's conference.

# Concert at Ottawa shrine commemorates the Holodomor

by Maria Semeniuk

OTTAWA – A commemorative concert of sacred music at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Shrine in Ottawa on November 10, 2013, was dedicated to the memory of the millions of innocent victims of Holodomor 80 years ago. The memorial event was initiated and organized by Nadia Kazymyra on behalf of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association (UCPBA) of Ottawa.

The memorial concert featured the well-known professional choir the Ewashko Singers, under the baton of Maestro Laurence Ewashko, professor of voice and choral music at the University of Ottawa with special guest artist Paul Marleyn, cellist and professor and coordinator of the strings section at the University of Ottawa.

The church overflowed with some 300 persons in the audience, including representatives from the diplomatic corps, politicians from all levels of government, dignitaries and music enthusiasts. The generous support of numerous volunteers, sponsors and donors from the Ukrainian community across Canada ensured the concert's success.

Greetings were extended in three languages – in Ukrainian, English and French – by the Rev. Cyril Mykytiuk, the pastor of the shrine. The Rev. Maxym Lysack of Christ the

Savior Orthodox Church in Ottawa was the concert host and soloist of this solemn commemoration. His short speech, delivered in three languages, outlined both the politics and the purpose of the Holodomor, which resulted in death of millions of innocent Ukrainians. Father Lysack called upon audience members to remember these victims with love and prayer while finding moments of reflection during this concert.

Halyna Zelem and Dr. Julia Woychshyn,

two survivors of Holodomor, lit a candle in memory of the victims of this great human catastrophe before the beginning of the concert. Members of their families stood by them during this symbolic ceremony.

The concert distinguished itself by its high level of professionalism and its unique repertoire, showcasing the works of Roman Hurko, the Canadian-born composer of Ukrainian descent now residing in New York.



The Ewashko Singers.

The concert began with the premiere of the a capella choral work "Be Still and Know that I am God" by Mr. Hurko (sung in English) specially commissioned for this memorial concert by the UCPBA of Ottawa. This composition and the next one, "Da Ispravtytsia Molytva Moya/Let My Prayer Rise" (in Church Slavonic), also by Mr. Hurko, were sung from the shrine's choir loft. The powerful melodious line wafted from above to all corners of the church and left an indelible impression on the audience.

The third piece in the program, a composition for cello by Giovanni Solima, "Alone," was performed by Mr. Marleyn. The cellist's virtuosity and mastery of the musical line created an atmosphere of longing and isolation. The melancholic cello seemed to evoke the anguished cry of a suffering human soul.

The following composition, "Svyati" for choir and cello by the late Sir John Tavener was performed by Mr. Marleyn in front of the iconostasis with the Ewashko Singers located on the shrine balcony. The musical exchange between the choir and cellist filled the church with powerful, soul-wrenching music.

The culmination of the concert was Mr. Hurko's "Panakhyda/Requiem" (in

(Continued on page 18)



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31c016b976b2\_story.html?wprss=rss\_world). In the same vein, Father Cyril Hovorun of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate wrote, “The Ukrainian Maidan that gathered ‘for the sake of Europe’ has become more European than Europe and its politicians. The Ukrainians see how the European politicians betray the European Maidan, but they do not betray the European values they stand for. The Ukrainian Maidan actually brings back to many Europeans confidence about Europe; it cures what can be called ‘the European fatigue.’” Indeed, the Ukrainians’ behavior on the maidan – unlike what one often sees in demonstrations in the West – was restrained, self-disciplined, mature – in short, “European” in

the best sense.

So have the Ukrainians been treated fairly? Why must they choose between a skimpy agreement with Europe and a slippery one with Russia? Ukraine is European, but it also has long-standing economic and cultural ties with Russia. Choosing either threatens to divide the country. The argument that European Union standards are incompatible with Customs Union standards seems disingenuous. If the goal is free trade from Lisbon to Vladivostok, why can't the Europeans and the Russians agree on a way for both to accommodate Ukraine? Ivaylo Gatev noted that European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso had dismissed President Yanukovich's offer to trilateralize the talks. Why? Perhaps it's because the EU – like Russia and the oligarchs – thinks only of pursuing its own interests. And Ukrainians lack the strength and leadership to defend their own.

**Canada and...***(Continued from page 4)*

escalate. Minister Baird is clear: “Canada stands with the Ukrainian people during this difficult time and will continue to forcefully oppose all efforts to repress their rights and freedoms.”

The Canadian Group for Democracy in Ukraine wants action to back up these words. In its December 30, 2013, letter to Finance Minister James Flaherty, it called for investigations of “politically exposed

persons” – politicians involved in money laundering. The group asks that offenders be dealt with to the fullest extent. This includes restrictions on visas and freezing the assets of Ukraine's top echelons in the administration, Parliament and judiciary.

The group is holding the government of Canada accountable for the foreign affairs minister's statement that “We and like-minded allies will be monitoring developments closely and considering all options at our disposal.” The group has urged the Ukrainian diaspora worldwide to ensure that their governments do likewise.

**U.S. Mission...***(Continued from page 2)*

Chornovol's beating appears to be part of an emerging pattern of retribution against those who have organized, participated in, or reported sympathetically on the Euro-Maidan protests in exercising their fundamental freedoms of expression and assembly. One journalist tweeted poignantly on Christmas Day: “The scary thing [about] an assault on Chornovol [is] that every journalist working in Ukraine now could easily imagine himself in her place, me included.”

Journalists, including citizen journalists and bloggers, play a crucial role in a free and prosperous society. They call attention to the mistakes of those in power and help the public hold them accountable. They

expose instances of corruption that rob economies of their vitality and corrode political systems. Journalists also document the lives of our fellow citizens and fellow human beings, how they work, love, celebrate, protest, worship and so on – they show us the challenges they face, their successes and failures, and help us to better understand the other individuals with whom we must work to create just and free societies.

The government of Ukraine, including President [Viktor] Yanukovich and all ministers, should uphold its OSCE commitments and publicly commit to zero tolerance of retribution against activists and journalists, and back that commitment up with action, including investigation and prosecution of these kinds of deplorable crimes.

**Concert at Ottawa...***(Continued from page 16)*

Ukrainian), in which the responses were sung by Father Lysack. The flawless enunciation and mastery of the Ukrainian text by the Ewashko Singers impressed Ukrainian speakers in the audience.

“Panakhyda/Requiem” and the words of prayer evoked a feeling of distress about this tragic event in the contemporary history of Ukraine and led to thoughts about its fate, its past and its place in today's world.

While the objective of the forced famine was to destroy the independence of village economy, the main objective had greater far-reaching goals: to destroy the Ukrainian peasantry, the living corpus of Ukrainian national identity, language and folklore.

But souls cannot be obliterated, for they continue their existence, as confirmed by the traditional “Vichnaya Pamiat/Memory Eternal” that reverberated so powerfully in the performance of the Ewashko Singers.

In keeping with Ukrainian Orthodox tradition, pieces of kolach (a ritual bread) were distributed by youth volunteers as the audience left the church slowly, immersed in their thoughts and in the embrace of such a powerful yet poignant afternoon of music.

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| January 15<br>Philadelphia       | Concert with Drakha Brakha, Ukrainian League of Philadelphia, 215-327-7614 or <a href="http://www.ukrainianleague.com">www.ukrainianleague.com</a>                                                                                        | February 1<br>Hamilton, ON               | Volleyball tournament and dance, with music by Zapovid, McMaster Ukrainian Students' Association, Cathedral High School, <a href="mailto:macmusa1280@gmail.com">macmusa1280@gmail.com</a>                           |
| January 17-19<br>New York        | Performance, "Light and Shadow: Yara's Winter Festival of New Art, Music, Performances, Poetry and Video," Yara Arts Group, Ukrainian Institute of America, <a href="http://www.brama.com/yara">www.brama.com/yara</a>                    | February 1<br>Chicago                    | Presentation of debutantes, Ukrainian Medical Association of North America, Palmer House Hilton, 773-486-7929 or <a href="mailto:umanadeb@aol.com">umanadeb@aol.com</a>                                             |
| January 18<br>Calgary, AB        | Malanka New Year's Eve Gala, music by Real Deal and Zhyto bands, Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization in Calgary, Calgary Petroleum Club, 403-241-1781 or <a href="http://www.plast.ca/calgary/malanka">www.plast.ca/calgary/malanka</a> | February 1<br>Rochester, NY              | Presentation of debutantes, "Chervona Kalyna," Radisson Rochester Riverside Hotel, <a href="http://www.rochesterukrainiandeb.org">www.rochesterukrainiandeb.org</a> or 585-872-0240                                 |
| January 18<br>Miami              | Malanka, Ukrainian American Club of Miami, <a href="mailto:donnamak@bellsouth.net">donnamak@bellsouth.net</a> or 305-635-6374                                                                                                             | February 1-<br>April 16<br>San Francisco | Exhibit marking the 200th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, "Life and Work of the Greatest Ukrainian Poet, Artist and Prophet," San Francisco Public Library Main Branch, 415-398-0240 ext. 2           |
| January 18<br>Pittsford, NY      | Concert, marking the 1,025th anniversary of Christianity and Christmas in Ukraine, Linehan Chapel, Nazareth College, <a href="mailto:tamara@rufcu.org">tamara@rufcu.org</a>                                                               | February 8<br>Chicago                    | Film screening, "The Lion and the Lioness" by Irena Kowal, Ukrainian National Museum, <a href="http://www.ukrainiannationalmuseum.org">www.ukrainiannationalmuseum.org</a>                                          |
| January 23<br>New York           | Presentation by Oleksandra Kunovska, "Consumption and Newspaper Advertising in Interwar Lviv," Columbia University, 212-854-4697                                                                                                          | March 1<br>Parsippany, NJ                | Presentation of debutantes, with music by Hrim and Zvook bands, Ukrainian American Youth Association, Sheraton Parsippany Hotel, <a href="http://www.cym.org/us">www.cym.org/us</a> or 646-761-8184 or 845-774-5000 |
| January 25<br>Penn's Landing, PA | Presentation of debutantes, Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America, Hyatt Regency Hotel, 610-277-1284 or <a href="mailto:hewka@verizon.net">hewka@verizon.net</a>                                                                        | March 14-15<br>Toronto                   | Symposium, "Ukraine: Lessons of the Past and Outlook to the Future," University of Toronto, <a href="mailto:ukrainian.gradsymposium@utoronto.ca">ukrainian.gradsymposium@utoronto.ca</a>                            |
| January 25<br>Randolph, MA       | Boston Malanka, with music by Halychany, The Lantana, 508-245-1890 or <a href="mailto:bostonmalanka2014@gmail.com">bostonmalanka2014@gmail.com</a> (advance only)                                                                         | March 21<br>Whippany, NJ                 | Varenyky dinner, Ukrainian American Youth Association, Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey, 973-479-8715 or <a href="mailto:pierogi.dinner.at.uaccnj@gmail.com">pierogi.dinner.at.uaccnj@gmail.com</a> |
| January 25<br>New Britain, CT    | New Britain Malanka, with music by Hrim and Zvook, St. George Greek Hall, 860-452-4023                                                                                                                                                    |                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| January 31<br>Chicago            | Book launch, "Being" by Ksju Kami, Ukrainian National Museum, 312-421-8020                                                                                                                                                                |                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

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



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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

**Friday-Sunday, January 17-19**

**NEW YORK:** Yara Arts Group and the Ukrainian Institute of America present "Light and Shadow: Yara's Winter Festival of New Art, Music, Performances, Poetry and Video." On Friday at 8 p.m., there will be an opening of art and video exhibits with readings by writers. The program on Saturday at 8 p.m. features a gala concert and performances by Yara artists and friends, plus a party by Olesia Lew. On Sunday at 2 p.m., there will be a shadow puppet show for children age 6 to 106. The Ukrainian Institute of America is located at 2 E. 79th St. at Fifth Avenue; telephone, (212) 288-8660. For updates see [www.brama.com/yara](http://www.brama.com/yara).

**Thursday, January 23**

**NEW YORK:** The Ukrainian Studies Program at the Harriman Institute, Columbia University, invites all to attend a presentation titled "Consumption and Newspaper Advertising in Interwar Lviv" by Oleksandra Kunovska, Ph.D. candidate at University of Fribourg and Swiss National Science Foundation research fellow at Columbia University (Harriman Institute). The lecture will take place at noon in the Marshall D. Shulman Seminar Room (Room 1219, International Affairs Building, 420 W. 118th St). The event is free and open to the public. For additional information call 212-854-4697.

### PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

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

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

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

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