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Patriarch Sviatoslav leads consecration of new bishop for eparchy of Parma



Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk with Parma's new eparch, Bishop Bohdan Danylo.

PARMA, Ohio – On November 4, here in the Cathedral of St. Josaphat, Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church presided over the consecration and enthronement of the newly elected bishop of the Eparchy of St. Josaphat in Parma, Bishop Bohdan Danylo.

Co-consecrators during the ordination were Bishop Paul Chomnycky, eparch of Stamford; and Bishop John Bura, auxiliary bishop of Philadelphia.

The solemn liturgy was also attended by many hierarchs, priests, deacons, religious and the laity of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC), Roman Catholic Church, Maronite Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from all over the United States and Canada, as well as Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

In his sermon, Patriarch Sviatoslav, speaking in Ukrainian and English, said that the bishop, among other duties assigned to him, has to be "the light to those, who dwell in darkness." According to the patriarch, "The Lord God sends His bishop to His Church in a very special time. We can say that today the world, in large part, lies in darkness. How many people today [...] turn their eyes to the Church, because sometimes the darkness of disbelief and confusion bothers them and only from the Church emanates the light of truth that shows them the way in their lives."

Therefore, addressing Bishop Danylo, Patriarch Sviatoslav said: "In your ministry, may your eyes be always directed to the Source of the heavenly light."

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Illegal elections prompt debate on strategy for the Donbas

by Zenon Zawada

KYIV – Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko announced on November 3 his intention to eliminate the self-governance zones he pushed for as part of the September 5 Minsk ceasefire protocols after the illegal elections in the occupied districts of the Donbas region, which essentially sealed Russian-separatist forces' control of the area.

Since then, however, he has not made clear just what will be the new legal status of the separatist-controlled districts. And with another Russian military offensive expected before the winter, perhaps as early as this weekend, it's also unclear whether Mr. Poroshenko intends to put up a serious fight, both militarily and economically, or surrender more land.

"The Ukrainian citizenry needs decisiveness. People are planning their lives: to plan for war or peace, to remain in Ukraine or not, to begin business or close it and transfer it abroad. There are dozens of important decisions that people need to make. They need decisiveness from the president in order to make their decisions," said Serhiy Datsyuk, a Ukrainian contemporary philosopher and political observer.

"If we want peace, let's agree on a sacrifice for peace. If we want war, there's a superior strategy and there will be casualties in this war. Only let's decide on what we want and what we're ready to sacrifice," he added.

The alleged lack of clarity comes as the Russian-Ukrainian war is approaching another crossroads, with NATO reporting on November 12 that the Russian armed forces are building up their military presence in the occupied territory, which accounts for a third of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts,

collectively known as the Donbas.

OSCE Secretary General Lamberto Zannier warned on November 12 of a possible imminent attack on the key Azov Sea port city of Mariupol in the Donetsk region, which remains under Ukrainian control. Ukraine's Ambassador to the United Nations Yuriy Sergeyev warned on November 11 that Russia is planning a "full-scale invasion."

It's widely believed the Russian government wants to capture territory along the Azov Sea coastline, through the Zaporizhia and Kherson regions, to create a transport corridor to Crimea, which is isolated from Russia.

Indeed the only direct link between Crimea and the Russian mainland is the ferries that travel through the Kerch Strait, which are nowhere near frequent enough to accommodate the transport demand that swelled following the Ukrainian peninsula's annexation.

Ahead of the current escalation, the president said in a November 3 televised address to the nation that the Ukrainian government's strategy against Russian military aggression will consist of intense strengthening of its defense capability while maintaining a priority on diplomacy.

Yet there was no indication of whether the government is committed to fighting an escalated war, critics said.

"The president isn't ready to make direct and clear decisions that would identify the situation in the country and an exit from the crisis, and that would clearly distinguish the Russian Federation as an aggressor and enemy," said Oleksii Holobutskyi, the deputy director of the Agency for Modeling Situations in Kyiv. "It's not his style. And that

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NATO: Russian weapons, troops entering Ukraine

RFE/RL

NATO says it has observed columns of Russian military equipment entering conflict-racked eastern Ukraine in the past two days.

Speaking in Sofia on November 12, the alliance's top commander, U.S. Gen. Philip Breedlove, said the columns included Russian tanks, artillery, air-defense systems, and combat troops.

"We do not have a good picture at this time of how many. We agree that there are multiple columns that we have seen," Gen. Breedlove said.

Gen. Breedlove made the comments after a report from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) said its monitors had seen a convoy of unmarked military trucks – some towing

howitzer artillery pieces and multi-launch rocket systems – travelling into the rebel stronghold of Donetsk on November 11.

On November 12, Michael Bociurkiw, spokesman for the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine, told RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service in Kyiv that monitors near Donetsk had observed 126 unmarked military vehicles since November 8.

"By unmarked, I mean no license plates. We also mean that the men inside these vehicles have no insignia on their uniforms. But they're towing very heavy equipment, and we're talking about multiple rocket launchers, we're talking about 126-millimeter howitzer guns. This is not what one expects after the signing of the Minsk accords," Mr. Bociurkiw said.

The Russian Defense Ministry later denied that Russian armed forces were

present in Ukraine. Interfax news agency quoted ministry spokesman Maj. Gen. Igor Konashenkov as saying that "there was and is no evidence" behind such statements.

The sightings have fueled fears of an escalation in the conflict in eastern Ukraine, where fighting persists despite a September 5 ceasefire and more than 4,000 people have been killed since April.

They have added to what Kyiv and NATO say is overwhelming evidence of direct Russian military support for pro-Russian separatists who control large parts of Ukraine's Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

Russia denies involvement

In related news, the OSCE says pro-Russian separatists have shot at some of its unarmed drones in eastern Ukraine.

OSCE Secretary-General Lamberto

Zannier said on November 12 in Brussels that video footage recorded by the drones showed "nondescript militias wearing no identification [fighting] on the side of the rebels" firing at the unmanned aerial vehicles with anti-aircraft weapons.

Mr. Zannier said that the drones were also subjected to "high-end military-grade jamming," but added that he did not know where the jamming originated.

The OSCE on October 24 began drone flights to record truce violations and monitor the general security situation in eastern Ukraine, where more than 4,000 people have been killed since April in a conflict between government forces and the rebels.

The conflict, which erupted after Russia annexed the Black Sea peninsula of Crimea

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ANALYSIS

Two battalions of Chechens now fighting Russians in Ukraine

by Mairbek Vatchagaev
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Reading the Ukrainian media earlier this year gave one the impression that Ukraine was fighting not Russia, but Chechnya (vesti.ru, May 28). Few doubted that Chechens were fighting on the Russian side in eastern Ukraine, but their numbers were greatly exaggerated. The deployment of Russian military units from Chechnya in Ukraine (kavkazcenter.com, August 8) was perceived as the deployment of Chechen military units even though the percentage of ethnic Chechens in those units barely reached 1 percent of their total. Those forces also sometimes were referred to as "Kadyrovtsy," but that was also incorrect, since the units sent to Ukraine were from the Defense Ministry, not the Internal Affairs ministry, where the Kadyrovtsy actually serve.

The issue of Chechens fighting in the Ukrainian war evolved in an unexpected way when a Chechen armed group started to fight under the Ukrainian flag. The commander of the group, Isa Munaev, was quite clear from the very beginning about his motives for fighting against the Russians in Ukraine. "The fight of the Ukrainian people against imperial Russia is part of our common struggle for the decolonization of the Caucasus; we decided to express our support," Mr. Munaev said (golosichkerii.com, March 20). In addition, he said that the handful of Ukrainians who gave their lives for the freedom of Ichkeria in the first Russian-Chechen war in 1994-1996 meant that Chechens were obligated to return the favor (YouTube, October 5).

Mr. Munaev's group is made up of people who fought at the beginning of the second Russian-Chechen war and ended up in European countries for various reasons (pravda.com.ua, September 8). The chance

to strike against Russia seems to attract former combatants of the Russian-Chechen war. Moreover, joining the war in Ukraine is seen as a counterbalance to those who would like to travel to fight in Syria, which, until recently, was the only outlet for those Chechens who fled to Western Europe as refugees after the second Russo-Chechen war (1999) and acquired a new status in those countries, but continued to detest Russia's colonial policy in the North Caucasus. For those Chechens wanting to fight, the advantage is quite obvious: in Ukraine, unlike in Syria, they can strike the Russian army and Russian interests directly.

For a long time, Ukrainian authorities hesitated to accept offers of assistance from Chechen volunteers. The status of the Chechen volunteers in a military operation was initially unclear and that is why the Chechen battalion could not move to the frontline in Donetsk to face the Russian army there. However, the Ukrainian authorities realized that they could resolve the matter by issuing the Chechens Ukrainian IDs. That solution was proposed by Internal Affairs Minister Arsen Avakov (gordonua.com, October 31).

Ukrainian military officials then took the important step of inviting Mr. Munaev, a former Chechen commander who fought under former Chechen President Aslan Maskhadov in both Chechen wars and had developed a reputation for being a good tactical commander in fighting Russian special forces. Mr. Munaev arrived in Ukraine and began sharing his experience of fighting the Russian army in Chechnya in 1990s and at the start of 2000s (nohchypress.info, August 25).

Not surprisingly, such a friendly attitude on the part of the Ukrainian authorities

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Moscow using Budapest to put Rusyns in play against Kyiv

by Paul Goble
Eurasia Daily Monitor

In its efforts to promote secessionist ideas among the half-million-strong Rusyn community along Ukraine's western border, Moscow is simultaneously pursuing three goals. First, it is forcing Kyiv to divert its attention from Russian aggression in the east to another theater, thus limiting the ability of Ukrainian forces to counter what Moscow is doing in Crimea and the Donbas. Second, it is cementing an ever closer relationship between Vladimir Putin and the increasingly pro-Moscow Hungarian government of Viktor Orban, a government that presents itself as a defender of the Rusyns against Ukrainians. And third, Moscow is suggesting that if Kyiv continues to resist, Russian forces could dismember Ukraine to the point that it would be a landlocked republic with no direct access either to the Black Sea or to the countries of Central Eastern Europe.

Yet, apparently unwittingly, some Rusyns – or Carpatho-Rusyns as many style themselves – in the West are helping the Kremlin in this effort. To give but one instance: last week, the Carpatho-Rusyn Consortium of North America launched an appeal denouncing Ukraine for its failure to recognize the Rusyns as a nationality, a step all the other countries in the region have already taken. They demanded that Kyiv do so and

back Rusyn autonomy within Ukraine (us7.campaign-archive1.com, October 29). This demand is less than the secession that some in Hungary and Russia hope to promote. However, it has the effect of muddying the waters, thus allowing Moscow the opportunity for plausible deniability about its role. Furthermore, it exacerbates the ethnic feelings between the Rusyns, on the one hand, and ethnic Ukrainians, on the other, in the western portions of Ukraine.

But Moscow's involvement in the Rusyn issue is obvious both from a Russian-inspired appeal of the Transcarpathian Rusyns to Vladimir Putin (rossiyanavsegda.ru, October 28) and from a recent commentary published in Moscow's Segodnya newspaper. The Segodnya article explored how Moscow can best make use of Rusyn aspirations by taking steps below the radar screens of most observers and by coordinating its activities with Budapest – which, the paper argued, should remain in the lead on this issue (segodnia.ru, October 26).

In their appeal to Mr. Putin, the self-proclaimed leaders of Transcarpathian Rus' ask the Russian president to support their aspirations of independence from Ukraine and to defend them from "enslavement by aggressive Galician fascism," which is allegedly oppressing the Rusyns and dispatching more ethnic Ukrainians to the area in order

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NEWSBRIEFS

Biden and Poroshenko confer

WASHINGTON – U.S. Vice-President Joe Biden and Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko spoke on the phone on November 10. The following readout of the conversation was provided by the White House, Office of the Vice President. "Vice-President Joe Biden spoke today with Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko about the situation in the east, the formation of a new government and Ukraine's commitment to reforms. President Poroshenko informed the vice-president about Russia's blatant escalation of the situation in eastern Ukraine, including increased shelling of Ukrainian government positions and the transfer of additional heavy weapons to the separatists. The vice-president and President Poroshenko agreed it was critical for Russia to begin honoring its commitments under the September 5 Minsk Protocol, which calls, among other things, for Russia to: withdraw its troops, equipment and mercenaries from Ukraine; return control over the Ukrainian side of the international border to the Ukrainian government; allow for the deployment of an OSCE border monitoring mission; and return Ukrainian hostages captured by Russian forces and their proxies. The vice-president noted that if Russia continued to willfully violate the terms of the Minsk agreement, the costs to Russia will increase. Finally, the vice-president urged the speedy conclusion of a coalition agreement to enable the Ukrainian government to continue the process of passing and then implementing reforms, and delivering on other commitments made to the Ukrainian people in the October 26 parliamentary elections. (White House, Office of the Vice-President)

Ukraine on ongoing Russian aggression

KYIV – The spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Yevhen Perebyinis, reported on November 11 on ongoing acts of aggression by Russia against Ukraine. "Today another note was sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, in which a resolute protest was expressed because of ongoing acts of aggression by the Russian Federation against Ukraine, the support of terrorist groups 'Donetsk People's Republic' and 'Luhansk People's

Republic,' the continuation of acts aimed at further escalation of the situation in Ukraine, as well as the build-up of units of armed forces of the Russian Federation near the state border of Ukraine," he stated. The note pointed to: ongoing operations by regular units of Russian armed forces jointly with illegal armed formations in the territory of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, in particular: artillery and mortar shelling of positions of units of the armed forces of Ukraine in the vicinity of Donetsk, Pavlopil, Schastia, Triokhizbenka, Stanytsia-Luhanska, Olkhovatkha, Chernukhyne, Nikishine, Ridkodub, Leninske, as well as several tank-supported attacks against roadblock No.37 of the forces of the anti-terrorist operation in the vicinity of the settlement of Krymsk; the concentration of military equipment and personnel of the Russian armed forces in the territory of Kyivskiyi district of the city of Donetsk, in the vicinity of Kurakhove in the direction of Maryinka and Krasnohorivka, as well as in the direction of settlements of Frunze, Oleksandrivsk, Slovyanoserbksk. The statement noted the movement of multiple convoys of military equipment towards Krasny Luch, Luhansk Oblast; through Izvaryne, Luhansk Oblast; in the vicinity of Novoazovsk; from the Diakove border checkpoint towards Nyzhniy Naholchik; from the Uspenka border checkpoint towards Donetsk; from Russia into the temporarily occupied territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea via the Kerch ferry; as well as an increase of the number of Grad MLRS in the vicinity of Dzhankoi airport. The ministry also cited regular violations of Ukraine's airspace and aerial reconnaissance by Mi-8 helicopters and drones of the Russian armed forces; the build-up of military equipment of the Russian armed forces in the territory of Russia in areas bordering Ukraine. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs demanded that the Russian Federation "immediately halt these internationally illegal acts, in particular the invasion of armed forces of the Russian Federation, including heavy military equipment, to the territory of Ukraine, withdraw all armed forces of the Russian Federation from the territory of Ukraine, halt the violations of Ukraine's aerial and

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Secessionist leaders in Ukraine's east step up demands in wake of elections

by Vladimir Socor
Eurasia Daily Monitor

The armistice agreements, signed on September 5 and September 19-20, remain basically unimplemented on the Russian side, politically and militarily. Russia's proxy forces have "de-escalated" their attacks on Ukrainian positions, but continue attacking at a lower level of intensity, inflicting Ukrainian casualties. Russia itself is far from fulfilling the armistice provisions on force disengagement and withdrawal, border security and international monitoring. These proxy forces retain the full capacity to scale up hostilities against Ukraine, with cross-border support from Russia, depending on opportunities.

Politically, the "presidential and legislative elections" just held in the Donetsk and Luhansk "people's republics" have breached the armistice protocol with irreparable effects. Those elections, staged on November 2, have pre-empted the local elections that were to be held in the same territory on December 7, under Ukrainian electoral legislation and in line with the September 5 armistice protocol (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, November 5).

That document had set the stage for holding local elections in Russian-controlled areas (referenced as "individual districts") of Ukraine's Donbas. Under the protocol's Point 3, Ukraine would enact a "law on the procedure of local self-administration in individual districts of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts." Under Point 9, "local elections [were] to be held in accordance with [that] Ukrainian law" in those districts (osce.org, September 6).

Thus, the armistice protocol recognized, at least on paper, the supremacy of Ukrainian law in the Russian-controlled territory. The elections were to be held for low-

er-level local councils. There was no question of holding "presidential" or "legislative" elections of the "DPR" and "LPR." Such an interpretation was ruled out, if only because Ukrainian legislation (both pre-existing and new) would rule out those sorts of elections.

Ukraine adopted that new law on September 16 (see EDM, September 19, 23) and brought it into force on October 18, for application in the Russian-controlled territory. The law's intent was to devolve substantial powers to elective councils at the district, city, town and village levels (not to "DPR's" and "LPR's" "central" authorities). Under this law, elections to district, city, town and village councils were to be held in the Russian-controlled areas on December 7, in line with Ukraine's existing legislation on local elections.

This implied a political quid-pro-quo. Kyiv would yield certain sovereign prerogatives de facto to those lower-level councils. It expected the Russian side to recognize Ukrainian sovereignty de jure by allowing local elections to be held within Ukraine's legal framework. That was also the logic of Ukraine's Western partners (foremost Germany), who expected Moscow to "influence" its proxies and allow those elections to be held. This could have preserved a minimal appearance of Russian compliance with Ukraine's sovereignty, thus sparing the European Union another hard debate over sanctions on Russia. Hence, Germany worked on Kyiv to bring this law into effect, in time for delivering it to Russian President Vladimir Putin at the Milan summit on October 16-17.

The Kremlin had pressed Kyiv to enact this law from entirely different calculations. Moscow envisages a "special status" as a first step toward autonomy or federalization for the Russian-controlled territory, or more widely for "southeastern Ukraine." Vladimir

Putin welcomed Kyiv's enactment of this law as a move in the right direction, although still insufficient in his view (Interfax, October 17; see EDM, October 22).

Moscow had timed "DPR" and "LPR" "elections" for November 2 as a counter-blow to Ukraine's October 26 parliamentary elections. Moscow could no longer contest the Ukrainian government's legitimacy with any degree of plausibility after October 26. Accordingly, it moved to set up "elected" leaderships and state structures in those two "republics." Moscow now claims that the "DPR" and "LPR" leaderships hold legitimate mandates to negotiate with Ukraine's central government, whether directly or in mediated formats.

Based on these "elections," the "DPR" and "LPR" are now moving to revise the armistice protocol, and the overall basis for negotiations, in their favor (Interfax, RIA Novosti, November 3-5; dnr.today/news, lugansk-online.info, November 5, 6).

The newly elected leaders, Aleksandr Zakharchenko and Igor Plotnysky, demand "a new status," to be negotiated with Kyiv on a "co-equal basis" (ravnopravie), bilaterally and in the framework of the "Contact Group" (Minsk Group).

These leaders are no longer interested in the Ukrainian "law on the procedure of local self-administration in individual districts of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts," which Kyiv had designed for selective application to lower-level administrative units. Instead, "DPR" and "LPR" leaders now demand that Ukraine "recognize the special status of the Donbas by a legislative act" – "Donbas" implying the compact territory of both "peoples' republics." Furthermore they assert that "no Ukrainian law will henceforth operate on 'DPR-LPR' territory unless approved by their elected authorities." The two "republics" will soon enact

their own "laws" on local elections in their subordinated administrative units, and will stage those elections. This is a further breach of the armistice protocol, which stipulated local elections to be held under Ukrainian law in the Russian-controlled areas on December 7.

Donetsk and Luhansk now propose revising the September 5 armistice protocol in a way that would signify their recognition de facto by Kyiv. This proposal derives from their September 1 position paper that proved to be a non-starter in the Minsk negotiations. Ukraine would recognize a "special status for the territories under 'DPR-LPR' control," as well as recognize the results of elections held there. In return, the two "republics" would "support peace and preserve Ukraine's single economic, cultural and political space," as part of an "overall space of the Russian-Ukrainian civilization." They would also enter into contractual relations with Ukrainian government- and oblast-level authorities, in return for political recognition. They intend to propose this at the next session of the Contact Group (comprised of Ukraine, Russia, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the two "republics") (dnr.today/news, lugansk-online.info, November 5, 6).

Following the November 2 "elections," held in breach of the armistice protocol and Ukrainian law, Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko moved to abrogate the law on "local self-administration in individual districts of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts." Mr. Poroshenko's announcements on November 4-5 (Ukrinform, November 5) did not, however, trigger the "DPR"- "LPR" demands for status, recognition and revision of armistice terms. The two "republics"

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Illegal elections...

(Continued from page 1)

applies to the unimpeded work of Russian enterprises on our territory, trade with the aggressor in general and serving Russian defense with our factories. And that certainly also applies to transferring all of domestic industry onto a military track."

Mr. Datsyuk called this the president's "smart ass approach" to the war, which involves trading with the same enemy that you're fighting. Not only is Russian business in full swing in Ukraine (particularly banks), but the Ukrainian government hasn't imposed any visa regime on Russian citizens.

Meanwhile, the Russian government has introduced new trade barriers on Ukrainian business on a monthly basis. This week, the latest ban on cheese exports from Ukraine was imposed.

"The 'smart ass approach' won't overcome the insolence and savage fury of the majority of Russians," Mr. Datsyuk said. "It needs to be overcome with nobleness and strategic initiative, which should be multi-dimensional. Peace in the military sphere doesn't mean peace in other spheres. The political sphere requires independent generation of political initiatives, rather than hoping for international support and sanctions."

In defense of the president's approach, Kyiv political insider Volodymyr Fesenko said maintaining economic activity with Russia ensures domestic stability, which is a critical long-term goal.

"The minimum goal is to not allow the conflict to spread beyond Donbas and not play into the Russian government's strategy of undermining domestic stability and splitting the country," said Mr. Fesenko, the board

chairman of the Penta Center for Applied Political Research in Kyiv. "The army and the state are not in a condition to win a war against Russia. We need to prepare for a long conflict. When they say that this conflict or war can be won quickly, it's absolutely unprofessional and resembles an escapade."

In contrast, numerous Ukrainian commanders in the war, particularly volunteer battalion commanders, insist that the war would be winnable if the state's resources were concentrated and organized properly.

The criticism of the president's approach comes as the coalition government is taking longer than expected to form, following the pre-term parliamentary elections held on October 26.

Mr. Poroshenko boldly predicted a coalition agreement would emerge a day or two after the vote, while most other observers offered a more realistic prognosis of a week or two.

Now estimates by government officials range from November 25, as offered by National Bank of Ukraine Chair Valeriia Gontareva, to December 1, as suggested by Vice Prime Minister Volodymyr Hroisman.

The foot-dragging by politicians at a time of war has frustrated segments of the public, particularly after Parliament met for only three days in October. A coalition agreement can be written in an hour and agreed upon within a day, political scientist Yuriy Paliychuk told the Sotsialna Krayina television network on November 10.

"Symon Petliura wrote in his memoirs that in 1918, the imperial Black Sea Fleet was ready to swear an oath to the Central Rada after the collapse of the Russian empire, but the Central Rada spent weeks discussing what the flag of the Black Sea Fleet of the Ukrainian National Republic should be. While

these discussions occurred, the Bolsheviks won over most of the ships," he said.

"Classic coalition-forming squabbles are occurring in conditions under which Ukraine faces a very serious threat. If these people think alike in terms of Ukraine's territorial integrity and national security, they have nothing to talk about, all the more so during a whole week. It's an unacceptable luxury for a country to talk about a coalition agreement. But practically speaking, it's really about divvying up positions."

President Poroshenko revealed that he has been involved in coalition squabbling. A large chunk of his November 3 address was devoted to arguing that the Poroshenko Bloc won the most delegates, "significantly more than any other political force," and therefore has to take the lead in forming the coalition, based on European tradition.

[The Poroshenko Bloc gained the most single-mandate seats despite finishing second in election list voting, giving it 132 deputies' mandates compared to 82 for the runner-up People's Front party.]

What further discouraged segments of the public was that he discussed the coalition more than the war, which barely got a mention during the November 3 video address.

"The president has engaged in forming the coalition because he doesn't have the desire or will to address the most critical issues facing the country," said Mykhailo Basarab, a Kyiv political consultant who worked for a People's Front candidate in the October vote. "If he was committed to a quick resolution of the Donbas conflict and the fight against corruption, he would be far above the coalition-forming process and acting as the leader of the nation. Unfortunately, he's instead concerned himself with divvying up posts and petty matters."

Criticism of the president's involvement in coalition-forming is unjustified, said Mr. Fesenko. It's European practice for the head of state to initiate the coalition-forming process, he said, in which the president has as much a right to be involved as the prime minister.

Moreover, Mr. Poroshenko also played a constructive role in ensuring that Mr. Yatsenyuk would remain as prime minister, with whom he has a positive working relationship, he added.

As for the duration of the coalition-forming process, Mr. Fesenko pointed out that the German Bundestag took two months to form the coalition government and the Ukrainian coalition government will be in place sooner than that. Claims that it's taking too long to form or comparisons to the Central Rada are unprofessional, he commented.

As for the president's alleged indecisiveness, Mr. Fesenko pointed out that he took the initiative on November 3 to ask the National Security and Defense Council, as well as the newly elected Verkhovna Rada, to cancel the legislation creating the self-governance zones in the Donbas.

[Mr. Poroshenko forcibly pushed the bill through Parliament on September 16 – amid accusations of grossly violating procedure – and signed it on October 16.]

The president stressed in his November 3 address that the self-governance zones were a success because they helped avert a Russian military threat and mobilize the support of Ukraine's global partners.

Indeed, the September 5 Minsk ceasefire protocols were successful because they demonstrated to the world that the Ukrainian government is willing to go to great lengths

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Permanent Conference of Ukrainian Orthodox Bishops meets

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J. – The hierarchs of the Permanent Conference of Ukrainian Orthodox Bishops Beyond the Borders of Ukraine convened their annual meeting on September 9-11 in Clearwater, Fla.

The meeting was hosted by Metropolitan Antony, the primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and ruling hierarch of the Eastern Eparchy, along with Bishop Daniel, president of the Consistory of the UOC of U.S.A. and ruling hierarch of the Western Eparchy.

The bishops in attendance were Metropolitan Yuriy, the primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (UOCC) and the ruling hierarch of the Central Eparchy of the UOCC; Bishop Ilarion, the ruling hierarch of the Western Eparchy of the UOCC; Bishop Andriy, the Ruling Hierarch of the Eastern Eparchy of the UOCC. Archbishop Ioan of Australia and New Zealand and Archbishop Jeremiah of the Eparchy of South America were not able to be present for the meeting.

Among the various topics discussed at the meeting were the reports on the ongo-



The participants of the annual meeting of the Permanent Conference of Ukrainian Orthodox Bishops Beyond the borders of Ukraine: (front row, from left) Metropolitan Antony and Metropolitan Yuriy; (back row, from left) Bishop Ilarion, Bishop Daniel and Bishop Andriy.

ing political, economic and ecclesiastical difficulties that exist in Ukraine, the Middle East and in other countries where Ukrainian Orthodox Christians live outside

of their ancestral homeland. The daily reports of conflicts, turmoil, bloodshed and violence can leave no one indifferent and unconcerned. The bishops stated that they share a special bond with their brothers and sisters in Ukraine, especially with the clergy who continue to guide their precious faithful and care for them in the most difficult of circumstances.

The hierarchs adopted a pastoral letter to the clergy and faithful of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church throughout the world, beseeching their prayers for an end to the war conflict in Ukraine and the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukrainians. Although the war in eastern Ukraine has been called in many realms of life in Russia as a "civil" war, the bishops stated clearly that the world fully understands that the war is the result of the invasion of one nation by another – even to the point of the invading nation "annexing" portions of sovereign Ukrainian territory.

In the pastoral letter, the hierarchs expressed concern, stating that "...When innocent women and children are slaughtered in Ukraine and other places in the world, when journalists are kidnapped or killed pursuing their profession, when the defenseless are cut down on their way to work or even in their homes, then those responsible must be brought to justice before world courts. Violence, more often than not, leads to further violence. War is always a loss for humanity, regardless of how it begins."

"In a time of political uncertainty, economic suffering and social and cultural crisis, men and women of good will must reach across the divisions that have separated them and become peacemakers refusing to be caught up in the whirlwind of hatred and death that violence sustains," they noted.

The bishops also expressed their concern about the continued ecclesiastical division in Ukraine and called upon the hierarchs of various Orthodox jurisdictions in Ukraine to live out the words of the Gospel in order to bring unity and healing to the wounded Body of Christ. The disunity, which is already decades old, has severely damaged souls while their spiritual leaders debate about who is good, who is right and who has the greatest number of clergy, faithful and parish communities. If the divisions are not ended, one of the largest Orthodox Churches in the world may be so crippled that not decades, but centuries may pass before she once again becomes the moral conscience of the Ukrainian nation, as she always was throughout history, the hierarchs said.

In addition, the bishops discussed various social, secular and moral issues that continue to affect the parishes of their Churches on the North American continent. One example is the continued encroachment of sporting activities in local school systems and beyond into family life on Sunday mornings. Mandatory attendance at such events takes entire families away from divine liturgy. The loss of Sunday liturgical commitment on Sunday mornings deeply impacts the youth of the Church, denying them a religious upbringing. Emphasis must be made on the priorities chosen by our faithful in such matters – helping them to comprehend a true Orthodox Christian lifestyle.

The hierarchs discussed the upcoming centennial celebrations of both the UOCC and the UOC-U.S.A., which will take place in 2018. The organizing committees will be appointed by the primates of Churches in order to share in the witness of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in North America and the possibility of a combined celebration in addition to the separate celebrations that will be held in both Churches, or at least significant participation of the clergy and faithful of both Churches in the separate celebrations.

CONCERT

**7:00 p.m.
Friday
December 12
2014**



Solomia Soroka
violin



Arthur Greene
piano

Admission (includes gallery access and reception): \$15; \$10 members and seniors; \$5 students. Order tickets in advance online.

In the program:
Franz Schubert
Mykola Lysenko
Frédéric Chopin
Maksym Berezovsky
Johannes Brahms
William Grant Still

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TARAS SHEVCHENKO
POET ARTIST ICON

In conjunction with the exhibition

film The Dream СОН

Language: Ukrainian (no subtitles)

1964
Directed by Volodymyr Denysenko
Color, 91 min.

Starring IVAN MYKOLAICHUK as Taras Shevchenko

**7:00 p.m.
Friday
December 5
2014**

Introduction and Q&A with **Dr. VITALY A. CHERNETSKY**
University of Kansas

Story based on Taras Shevchenko's satirical poem written in 1844 exposing Russian Tsarism as a ruthless and authoritarian regime, which led to Shevchenko's arrest and 10-year exile.

Admission (includes gallery access and reception): \$15; \$10 members and seniors; \$5 students

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NYCULTURE
The Ukrainian Museum's film program is supported, in part, by public funds from the New York City Dept. of Cultural Affairs, in partnership with the City Council.

HUTSULS ON THE BARRICADES Songs, Music and Rituals from the Carpathians and the Maidan

Yara Arts Group concert featuring the *Koliadnyky*, an ensemble of winter-song singers from Kryvorivnia (a Ukrainian village in the *Hutsul* region of the Carpathian Mountains) and Yara artists. Multi-media program with traditional winter songs from the *koliada* rituals celebrating the winter solstice and scenes from contemporary Ukraine.

**Two concerts!
4 p.m. and 7 p.m.
Saturday
December 6
2014**

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Illegal elections...

(Continued from page 3)

to achieve peace, observers said.

"To the Ukrainian citizenry, it was a gesture to show the president desires to preserve the territorial integrity of Ukraine," said Petro Oleshchuk, a political science lecturer at Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv. "To the world, it was to show that Ukraine is a peacemaker."

Yet the protocols were ultimately a failure because the Russian separatist forces didn't uphold any of its points, observers said. In particular, the November 2 elections in Donetsk and Luhansk were a direct flouting of the ceasefire, which called for local elections to be held on December 7.

They drew a voter turnout of about 85 percent in the "Donetsk People's Republic," as reported by the RIA Novosti news agency. Its elected prime minister, Aleksandr Zakharchenko, earned nearly 79 percent of the vote. For its Parliament, the Donetsk Republic party led by Mr. Zakharchenko earned 68 percent of the vote and the Free Donbas party earned nearly 32 percent of the vote.

Voter turnout in the "Luhansk People's Republic" was nearly 69 percent, RIA Novosti reported. Igor Plotnytsky was elected prime minister with more than 63 percent of the vote. The Peace for Luhanshchyna party earned more than 69 percent of the vote, and the Luhansk Economic Union won 22 percent.

These figures haven't been verified by international observers. The Ukrainian government alleged widespread intimidation, fraud and vote-buying.

The elections were merely the latest violation of the ceasefire protocols, none of which were upheld by the Russian-terrorist forces. Since their signing, more than 100 Ukrainian soldiers died (not including armed forces beyond the official military), according to Foreign Affairs Ministry Spokesman Yevhen Perebyinis.

The ceasefire also created the conditions for the Russian armed forces to significantly build up their military presence in the Donbas region. Moreover, the separatists moved the ceasefire line further westward and gained territory during the ceasefire, said OSCE Secretary General Zannier on November 12.

"Poroshenko's not an independent figure in these relations," Mr. Oleshchuk said. "The ceasefire was proposed by Ukraine's Western partners with the hope it would create conditions for peace and compromise with Russia and halt its onslaught. But they don't understand the nature of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia, and that's why it has ended in failure."

In his November 3 address, the best the president could offer as his vision for the Donbas was reinstating the self-governance zones once the separatists adhere to the September 5 ceasefire conditions, which numerous observers – such as Messrs. Oleshchuk and Basarab – equated to having no strategy at all for the region.

"Is it a separated region? Is it a region where the anti-terrorist operation is taking place? Is it a region where a ceasefire is being violated? Is it a region where there's peace? Is it a region where there's a state of emergency? Is it a region under occupation? What is it? A leader is supposed to tell his citizens what legal status he intends for this territory," said Mr. Serhiy Datsyuk.

Dmytro Boyarchuk, executive director of the CASE Ukraine Center for Socio-Economic Research, said he believes the Donbas will eventually get the legal status of a "temporarily occupied territory," as was granted to Crimea in mid-May.

In which case, the Russian government – not the Ukrainian separatists – would be deemed the occupier, Mr. Oleshchuk said. As another option, a new law could re-establish central governance in the Donbas

districts with mechanisms of self-governance, Mr. Fesenko said.

Yet, any legal designation for the Donbas region is months away, observers said. In Mr. Fesenko's view, there's no need to rush with that issue. In Mr. Datsyuk's view, the lack of a designation serves Mr. Poroshenko's approach of avoiding responsibility in the conflict.

"Any official status requires consequences, both political and economic," he said. "Our government isn't ready for that yet. If we call it a ceasefire, it has to be explained why there's a war. If we call it a war, then martial law needs to be imposed. If we call it an anti-terrorist operation, then it needs to be explained what kind of anti-terrorist operation takes half a year."

Another controversial measure was the Cabinet's November 5 decision to continue supplying natural gas and electricity to the occupied Donbas territories at the central budget's expense.

The cost of providing this energy will be drawn from the social payments (including pensions) budget earmarked for the Donbas region, which Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk said haven't been reaching the elderly and needy children, but have been appropriated by the Russian terrorist forces.

That decision came the same day that Ivan Plachkov, the board chairman of the Kyivenergo state electricity producer, warned that higher electricity prices are inevitable for the country.

"I am not ready to pay for a region that is systemically moving towards Russia," Mr. Datsyuk said. "I want it to be disadvantageous to engage in separatism in our country because it's turning out to be a very profitable enterprise. Those launching separatist activities engage in stealing, accumulate capital, open up restaurants and cafes in Russia, and continue to receive money from Ukraine."

In the government's defense, Mr. Boyarchuk said cutting off electricity and natural gas to Donbas would only fuel the separatist sentiments and violent inclinations in eastern Ukraine.

Yet the president's current strategy of handling the war has created no consequences for the separatist forces, observers pointed out. Furthermore, there's nothing stopping the scenario from being repeated in neighboring regions, such as Mariupol or Zaporizhia.

The alleged lack of a strategy also plays into the hands of the Russian government, which has a standard four-step strategy for usurping foreign territories: separation, autonomy, sovereignty and occupation, Mr. Datsyuk said.

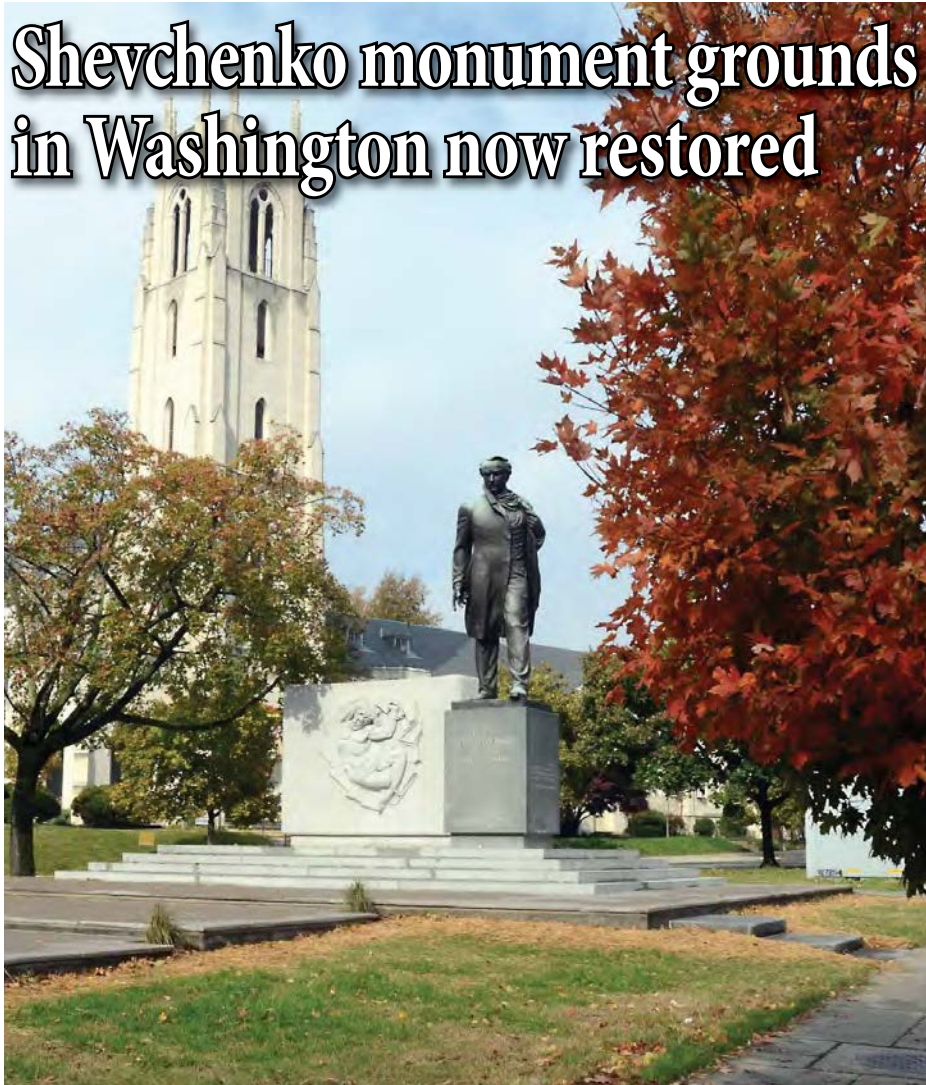
It will inevitably organize another military offensive against Ukraine, Mr. Datsyuk said. It's just an issue of when and how.

"Putin needs the Donbas as a platform for an offensive in the south, so that Crimea isn't left isolated," he said. "If we don't take initiative now, we will have to defend ourselves in worse conditions."

The initiatives suggested by politicians and observers include imposing martial law, imposing a visa regime on Russian citizens, banning pro-Russian propaganda in Ukraine, imposing economic sanctions on Russian business in Ukraine, blocking Russian banks from operating in Ukraine, halting exports of military supplies to Russia, mobilizing Ukrainian industry for the war effort, taxing oligarchs for the war effort, launching an offensive into separatist-controlled territory, and imposing capital punishment for any separatists on Ukrainian territory.

"Everyone understands there's a war going on, but not why the government doesn't publicly acknowledge that," Mr. Datsyuk said. "We need to fight or stop playing these games. If territory, and recovering territory, is valuable to us, then it can only be done through war. Donbas and Crimea won't be returned to us voluntarily. Any indecisiveness will lead to more loss of territory and a worsening of our position."

Shevchenko monument grounds in Washington now restored



WASHINGTON – After four months of repairs to the Taras Shevchenko memorial grounds in Washington, visitors can now visit and pay their respects to the famous Ukrainian poet up close. The National Park Service contractor recently finished restoring the foundation and replacing the old crumbling concrete pavers in front of the monument and removed the high metal fence that kept visitors outside the monument construction site since the repair work began in early July – one week after the Ukrainian American community celebrated the 50th anniversary of the memorial's unveiling. (Apparently, some additional lawn and plant work was left for completion in the future.)

– Yaro Bihun

A tribute to Markian Paslawsky and the other heroes of the Maidan and the war in eastern Ukraine.

В честь Маркіяна Паславського та інших героїв Майдану і війни в східній Україні.

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Photo: Mstyslav Chernov, photo: Mstyslav Chernov



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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Freedom for Nadiya

The case of 1st Lt. Nadiya Savchenko, 33, the Ukrainian pilot captured back on June 18 by Russian-backed forces in Ukraine's Luhansk region and then illegally transferred in July to Russia, remains unresolved. She is charged with complicity in the deaths of two Russian journalists in eastern Ukraine – spurious charges that are nothing less than a bold-faced lie.

After she was abducted – the Ukrainian officer says she was captured by pro-Russian forces, hooded and handcuffed, and then smuggled across the border to Russia – Lt. Savchenko was jailed and subjected to a psychological examination at Moscow's Serbsky Institute, notorious during the Soviet era for its treatment of dissidents, where she was held for a month. She remains in pre-trial detention. In the meantime, she was elected on October 26 to the Verkhovna Rada, running as No. 1 on the list of the Batkivshchyna Party.

Ukraine's Ambassador to the U.S. Olexander Motsyk had written in an August 6 op-ed in *The Washington Post*: "Her case is one of the clearest indications of Russia's direct involvement in the conflict that has been imposed on our country by Kremlin-backed terrorists." He noted, "In Ukraine, Savchenko's detention has resonated on a massive scale. President Petro Poroshenko has held her up as a symbol of the struggle facing the country and a serviceman who has demonstrated a true, strong, Ukrainian spirit. Ukraine's Foreign [Affairs] Ministry has strongly protested her illegal transfer to Russia and considers her capture an act of terrorism. Millions of Ukrainians demand her release."

RFE/RL reported that U.S. State Department spokeswoman Jen Psaki said on October 29 that Lt. Savchenko's pretrial detention in Russia is "an outrage" and violates Russia's commitments under the Minsk agreements. Ms. Psaki also said Washington is "deeply concerned about new criminal charges expected to be filed" against her.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Samantha Power cited the Savchenko case in her statement at the November 12 meeting of the Security Council on Ukraine – the 26th such session on the crisis in Ukraine. Lt. Savchenko, she said, is among the approximately 500 captives being held by Russia and the "separatists" it backs. The ambassador noted that, in accordance with the Minsk protocol, "all sides committed to immediately free all hostages and illegally held persons," including Lt. Savchenko. In fact, the pilot was on Ukraine's list of captives to be exchanged for pro-Russian rebels captured by Ukrainian forces in the conflict in eastern Ukraine.

Through it all, this brave young woman has been defiant. Asked by her interrogators after she was captured who is fighting against the "rebels," Lt. Savchenko replied, "I think all of Ukraine." She is seen on video posted on the Internet as she entered the courtroom on November 7 exclaiming "Slava Ukraini." And she addresses the court only in her native Ukrainian.

1st Lt. Savchenko is a true Ukrainian hero whose only "crime" was to defend her homeland as a soldier. She cannot be forgotten by her nation or the world. Her continued detention is a contemptuous mockery of international law and an egregious violation of human rights. We must demand freedom for Nadiya.

Nov.
16
2012

Turning the pages back...

Two years ago, on November 16, 2012, Ukraine's Minister of Energy Yurii Boiko spoke on the Inter TV channel, noting that Kyiv was dissatisfied with the price Russia's Gazprom charged Ukraine for gas. "We know there will be arguments, even court battles with our Russian colleagues," he said, but Ukraine intends to defend its national interests.

In 2009 Ukraine and Russia signed agreements on gas pricing during a dispute between the two countries over the transit of gas. The dispute resulted in a suspension of Russian gas supplies through Ukraine and left areas of Eastern and Central Europe facing severe shortages of gas during winter.

Vadim Chuprun, the deputy chairman of Naftohaz Ukrayiny, Ukraine's state gas company, stated that Ukraine would cut gas imports from Gazprom further in 2013 and would only purchase up to 20 billion cubic meters (bcm) of gas.

Russian government and Gazprom officials insisted that Ukraine pay for all the gas it agreed to purchase, whether it accepts the full volume or not.

Mr. Boiko, in his television statement, said Ukraine could buy gas from Germany's RWE gas company at \$40 to \$70 cheaper (per thousand cubic meters, or tcm) than Russia's price, and during the summer that price could be as much as \$100 cheaper (tcm). The gas would be shipped via Hungary with initial shipments at 5 bcm of gas in 2013.

Naftohaz stated that Ukraine was paying \$430 per tcm for Russian gas in the fourth quarter of 2012.

Mr. Boiko also explained projects between Ukraine's gas pipeline network and Azerbaijan's Shah Deniz gas fields that would transport Azeri gas to Europe via Turkey and the Black Sea, and the usage of Ukraine's underground gas storage facilities. The idea had support from Turkey and Azerbaijan, but it was unclear whether the consortium developing the Shah Deniz field was also favorable toward the plan.

British Petroleum and Norway's Statoil are the major partners in the project (each with a 22.5-percent stake), but LukAgip, a joint company of Italy's Eni and Russia's Lukoil, also own a 10-percent stake in Shah Deniz.

Ukraine's shift toward less dependence on Russian gas gained momentum after the 2009 spat between Kyiv and Moscow that saw gas supplies cut to Europe, with Kyiv and Moscow blaming each other and Europe left in the cold.

Ukraine currently pays \$375 per tcm of gas from Russia in a recently inked deal between Kyiv and Moscow that was stalled due to pricing issues. As a result of the 2009 cut-off, Europe has also begun to reduce its dependence on Russia for gas and oil, and has pursued the development of alternative energy sources.

Source: "Ukraine reduces Russian gas import," (RFE/RL), *The Ukrainian Weekly*, November 25, 2012.

WINDOW ON EURASIA

Putin asks Russians to feel his pain over lack of respect, says commentator

by Paul Goble

A remarkable change has come over Vladimir Putin in recent months – one that few anticipated but that carries with it some serious risks. He is no longer offering answers and plans; instead, the Kremlin leader is asking Russians to share his emotions over past events and the lack of respect he sees himself, and thus Russia, as having received.

Somehow and in an almost unnoticed way, Gleb Pavlovsky says (daily.rbc.ru) Russians "have ceased to expect from Vladimir Putin political declarations and instead expect to get only confessions." Earlier, he was quite restrained about doing that; now he does so at length on any and all occasions stressing "the hurt which has been inflicted on him personally by history, Russian and world alike."

The upshot of these declarations, the Moscow commentator says, is that Mr. Putin "is demanding respect, and for such respect, Russia may pay dearly" now and in the future.

In speech after speech, "Putin offers no strategies but only experiences" and explains "the emotional motives of his actions" rather than their logic. Everyone is thus supposed to share his feelings even though they appear to be those of someone "who has come from a world that hasn't existed for a long time."

Such experiences "are existentially important," of course, "but as political speech," they offer little guidance. It may be interesting to know how Mr. Putin feels about the end of the Soviet Union or even more distant historical events, but few except for him are really interested in discussing them or deciding now who deceived whom, the question Mr. Putin asks.

Just how odd Mr. Putin's words now sound becomes obvious if one compares them with those he used in Munich in 2007. Some equate what he is saying now

Paul Goble is a long-time specialist on ethnic and religious questions in Eurasia who has served in various capacities in the U.S. State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and the International Broadcasting Bureau, as well as at the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Mr. Goble writes a blog called "Window on Eurasia" (<http://windowoneurasia2.blogspot.com/>). The article above is reprinted with permission.

NATO...

(Continued from page 1)

in March following the ouster of a Russian-backed president and the advent of a pro-Western government in Kyiv, has brought ties between Moscow and the West to post-Cold War lows.

Fears of separatist offensive

In Kyiv, Ukrainian Defense Minister Stepan Poltorak said government forces are redeploying in preparation for a possible offensive by pro-Russian separatists.

"We are repositioning our armed forces to respond to the actions of the fighters," Mr. Poltorak told a government meeting. "I see my main task is to prepare for military action."

A military spokesman said on November 11 the rebels were beefing up their forces, including around the Donetsk region port

with that, but doing so misses the fundamental point. Seven years ago, Mr. Putin gave a political speech in which he said what many were thinking about the dangers presented by the actions of President George W. Bush.

Stripped of some verbiage, Mr. Putin said at that time only "the bitter truth about the unacceptability and impossibility of a 'unipolar world' and about global crises," Mr. Pavlovsky argues.

But now, during the Valdai conference at Sochi, the Kremlin leader engaged in a kind of "emotional theater." Facing domestic problems and a world in which the declared goal of the United States is to "create covertly a disloyal party of those at the top who could put pressure on Putin's course," the Russian president spoke not about what to do but about how he feels about past events.

The only message Mr. Putin sent with this speech was to his subordinates, and that message was that Russians have been treated so badly in the past that anything they want to do is justified, perhaps even required. But that is a form of self-deception that carries with it a heavy price.

A quarter of a century ago, Moscow "had the right to arrange the world order," but that time "has passed." To put Russia in a position to do so again would require that Moscow give "the necessary content" in terms of consumption, finance and ideology that would allow it to act. But Mr. Putin isn't offering anything in any of these sectors now.

Instead, what the Kremlin leader is saying is needed is something that is "dangerously little: respect." That is both flexible and something that can come cheaply, especially if respect is offered in exchange for something real, as happened when Moscow was offered a seat on the G-8 in exchange for NATO moving eastward.

What is dangerous, Mr. Pavlovsky says, is that Mr. Putin's tone now suggests he is prepared to make similar exchanges internationally to get respect, but "in this situation, a healthy isolationism would be more appropriate, which would offer the chance" to get out of the Ukrainian mess, focus on domestic problems and seek an escape from sanctions.

"In the game that is being carried on now," the commentator says, Russia "can only lose."

"One must not try to redraw the world as teenagers love to do." Engaging in such a quest as Mr. Putin is now doing, Mr. Pavlovsky concludes, "will end badly."

city of Mariupol, which is controlled by government forces and is seen by the separatists as a key prize.

Also on November 12, reports said heavy shelling rocked Donetsk.

An Agence France-Presse correspondent said mortar shells were being fired from an area near the city center toward government-held positions around Donetsk's international airport.

Shelling occurs almost daily around the airport despite the September 5 truce, which Gen. Breedlove said on November 11 was a ceasefire "in name only."

With reporting by Agence France-Presse and Reuters.

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OPINION

Sanctions and weapons

by Askold S. Lozynskyj

The recent Milan summit with Ukraine, Russia and the European Union underscores once again why simple diplomacy may not be the solution to the current Ukraine-Russia crisis. That was strikingly evident from remarks made by Russian President Vladimir Putin questioning arrogantly the sovereignty of Ukraine so that even Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel felt compelled to reprimand the Russian president, reminding him of the Budapest Agreement of 1994. She could have mentioned many more agreements and treaties to which Russia or its predecessor, the USSR, was a signatory. A signature on a legally binding document means nothing to Mr. Putin or Russia.

Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko, also present in Milan, is not delusional. He knows that the only way to stop Russia's aggression is through deterrence, not diplomacy or an appeal to Russia's sense of what is fair. By now most Western government leaders have learned this. Chancellor Merkel herself has come to a realization about her longtime friend.

Fora like the Milan summit are afforded and will continue to be proposed in order to enable President Putin to save face and acquiesce in some form of peaceful arrangement, but only when sanctions and losses by Russia become unbearable. However, for summits to have any success, Russia has to find itself in an untenable position, pressed on all sides by a depressed Russian economy, a Ukraine armed to the teeth and a West with the will and fortitude to stop Russia.

It is a curious phenomenon that, while Western leaders have learned the lesson of who is Putin and what is Russia, many analysts in the West continue to offer delusional solutions and recommendations. Naturally, there are also pro-Russian scribes with a Russian agenda. Often it is difficult to distinguish between the disingenuous and the simply delusional. Unfortunately, the distinction is often imperceptible.

Consider the following solution offered by some Western analysts: The U.S. and its NATO allies should refrain from supplying weapons to Ukraine and limit visible involvement in the conflict's military aspects while diplomatically demonstrating its support for Ukraine. This, in turn, will disabuse Ukraine of pursuing a mili-

tary solution, as well as encourage Ukraine to create a sustainable defense, rather than strive to reacquire lost territory. In turn, this will bring Russia to the negotiating table with a viable and palatable offer.

The script could not have been better written in Moscow by Mr. Putin himself. This is precisely what Russia wants – a confirmation of the "status quo" and a reward for bad behavior. The result, however, is a death sentence not only for Ukraine but for the civilized world and its ideals of democracy. Having been rewarded for its aggression, Russia will sit back temporarily, replenish its strength, reinvigorate its economy and within a few years move on to the next adventure. Ukraine will be the first to fall, but certainly, not the last.

This type of strategy is wrong not only morally, but strategically. Furthermore, it plays directly into Russian expectations that Russia will ultimately prevail because the West does not want conflict, while Russia actually benefits from its aggressive proclivities. Yes, even the Russian people have been trained over centuries to be aggressors. Russia's current nine time zones are not enough. Aggression feeds the Russian bear. Unfortunately, many analysts in the West – even those with the best intentions – cannot comprehend the Russian mindset because it is so foreign to our own.

There is only one solution to the current Ukraine-Russia crisis: deterrence not appeasement. The West tried appeasement in the past with Hitler, with Stalin. Only when the West moved on to deterrence did the Soviet Union fall. Today Ukraine bears the brunt of Russia's newest aggression. Ukraine has manifested a willingness to be the West's and, in particular, Europe's surrogate against this newest Russian adventure. Sanctions against Russia and providing both non-lethal and lethal weapons to Ukraine will stop Russia and compel it to join the negotiating table, albeit reluctantly, with a different mindset somewhere between its customary bad faith and the good faith necessary for diplomacy to prevail. At that point, diplomacy has a chance.

Mr. Putin's Russia is a cancer not unlike ISIS. The difference is that Mr. Putin decapitates and massacres in myriad forms and often does it surreptitiously, simultaneously denying complicity. Yet every so often he and his reps feel so emboldened by the West's naivete that they do or say something outrageous. Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 was merely one example. Delusions about and appeasement of Russia can only end badly.

Askold S. Lozynskyj is an attorney based in New York City. He is a former president of the Ukrainian World Congress.

COMMENTARY

An "election" amid Kalashnikovs, cabbages and Moscow's fascist fans

by Halya Coynash

As in Soviet times, all that mattered in the November 2 pseudo-elections in Ukraine's east was the turnout. That was provided for by coercion of public sector workers and enticement with food and near free vegetables. Russia and its faithful far right and Stalinist "observers" did the rest.

The exit polls, Russian TV channels declared, give "Incumbent PM Zakharchenko lead in Donetsk elections." A couple of hours later, he and Igor Plotnitsky, leader in Luhansk, were supposed to be in the lead after a staggering 50 percent of the "votes" had been counted.

Russia just as swiftly issued a statement saying that it "respects the expression of will" of the southeast and pointed to the high turnout.

The latter was especially cynical, given the ways in which the turnout was ensured. This was how a journalist writing from Donetsk for the Polish newspaper Gazeta Wyborcza described it:

"Loud music, cheap food, coffee, tea and most importantly potatoes, carrots, onions, beetroot and cabbage for the throw-away price of 1 hryv per kilogram were intended to attract residents to the ballot boxes. And, indeed, in places there were crowds."

This corresponds to the reports from Ukrainian journalists present and the photos they took. It is unclear only whether the vegetables could be bought by people who had not entered the polling booths. It seems most likely that the vegetables were part of the latest so-called "humanitarian assistance" from Russia.

The enticement was serious given the terrible hardship people have suffered since the fighting began. It is doubtless no accident that the majority of people voting were over age 55.

As in Soviet times when coveted goods appeared, you were only allowed three kilograms per person. However, Novosti Donbasa reported that it was possible to vote by presenting a copy of your passport, rather than the original. Since you could also vote wherever you wanted, people could effectively "vote" 10 times or more at different polling stations, perhaps availing themselves of the refreshments and deficit items at the same time. Voters were enticed to the polling stations in the Luhansk Oblast through "social cards" also providing much-needed assistance.

Judging by reports from witnesses, such as Pastor Sergey Kosyak, methods of coercion were also applied, especially with respect to teachers, doctors and other public-sector workers. They had their passports taken away from them the day before and had to sign an agreement that they would turn up to vote. The social cards are also, in fact, a form of overt blackmail. The daughter of one elderly woman living in the territory controlled by the self-proclaimed "Luhansk People's Republic" explained that pensioners have been told that pensions will be paid out soon. To get it people will have to present not only their passport, but the LPR social card. For the latter they needed to go to their polling station on November 2. The pensioner in question is totally against the militants, and rejected their pseudo-referendum on May 11, but she can simply not live without a pension.

Another echo from Soviet times was that

only turnout was required. Nobody was in any doubt about the supposed outcome of the voting. Gazeta Wyborcza journalist Piotr Andrusieczko reported from Donetsk that in the area which the Kremlin-backed militants claim is the "Donetsk People's Republic" there were two parties: the Donetsk Republic Civic Movement and the Free Donbas movement. Only three candidates were named for each, and virtually no information was known of their program, should there be such a thing. Mr. Zakharchenko's two "rivals" might have been known to him, but they were most unlikely to have impinged on the "electorate's" consciousness. The situation was comparable in the Luhansk Oblast.

Much was made in the Russian media of the "international observers" present, with Russia Today claiming there to be as many as 300. On Saturday, November 1, it was announced that these observers were from something called the ASCE [the Agency for Security and Cooperation in Europe]. This was a fairly obvious attempt to deceive people since the name sounds very similar to the OSCE, which does, in contrast, exist. There is, in fact, no such monitoring organization as the ASCE, or at least there wasn't until Saturday evening before the Sunday "elections."

It was clear after the March 16 pseudo-referendum on the Crimea's status who was likely to be invited to observe these supposed elections. Once again, there were mainly people from far-right parties, such as the Hungarian Jobbik or Belgian Vlaams Belang, or Stalinist parties, such as Greece's Communist Party.

Anton Shekhovtsov has been trying to establish exactly who did appear, and as of Sunday evening he knew of 37 "observers," many of those with whom he comes in contact through his work researching radical movements. He pointed out, quite rightly, that since all these people arrived in Ukraine from Moscow and did not go through mandatory border crossing procedure, they must be considered to have entered Ukraine illegally.

One person who not only attended but made sure to take part in a photo-call with top rebel Mr. Zakharchenko was Mateusz Piskorski. This right-wing Polish politician dabbled with neo-Nazi parties in his younger years. More recently he has been noted for his support for all Kremlin-moves especially with respect to Ukraine. He was among the "observers" swift to praise the supposedly exemplary running of the Crimean "referendum." He has shown equivalent haste on this occasion, waxing eloquent about both the "elections" and the future of the self-proclaimed "Donetsk People's Republic":

"Having visited the electoral commissions in several regions, I can say with full responsibility that for the local population the new political formula which is the Donetsk People's Republic gives great hope for the formation of conditions of stable development, but most of all for department from the oligarch capitalism which functioned in Ukraine since its independence in 1991. The pathological features of this system, flavored over several months with the sauce of extreme nationalism, rejected by the people of Donbas, led to Kyiv's bankruptcy in the eyes of local residents."

(Continued on page 12)

GUIDELINES

FOR SUBMITTING MATERIALS TO THE WEEKLY

In order to facilitate preparation of The Ukrainian Weekly, we ask that the guidelines listed below be followed.

- E-mail submissions are preferred. Stories and photos may be sent to staff@ukrweekly.com.
- Materials may also be mailed to: The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.
- Stories should have the name of the author; photographers should be credited for photos. All photos must be clearly labeled and accompanied by captions.
- Persons who submit any materials must provide a complete mailing address and daytime phone number where they may be reached if any additional information is required.
- News stories should be sent in not later than 10 days after the occurrence of a given event.
- Full names (i.e., no initials) of all persons mentioned in stories and captions must be provided. English spellings must be verified.
- Information about upcoming events must be received one week before the date of The Weekly edition in which the information is to be published. For items to be listed in Preview of Events, information must be sent to preview@ukrweekly.com; information for the Out & About listing must be e-mailed to mdubas@ukrweekly.com.

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Presentation explores "Ira Aldridge and Taras Shevchenko: Two Icons and Friends"

by Mary Kalyna

NEW YORK – One of the more original and thought-provoking tributes during the Shevchenko bicentennial year was presented by The Ukrainian Museum and the Yara Arts Group on November 1. "Ira Aldridge and Taras Shevchenko: Two Icons and Friends" explored the little-known but significant friendship between the acclaimed African American actor and the Ukrainian poet.

The evening was part lecture, part poetry performance, and included a video from Kyiv of Yara's new theatrical piece, "Dark Night Bright Stars," about Shevchenko and Aldridge, which will premiere in New York in February 2015 (an earlier work-in-progress previewed in March of this year).

In a coup for Yara Arts Group and a special treat for the audience, the program was introduced by Broadway star André De Shields, best known for his performance in the title role of "The Wiz" in 1975 and later for "Ain't Misbehavin'" in 1978. Mr. De Shields highlighted the debt



Broadway star André De Shields.

that he and all African American actors have to the trail-blazing Aldridge, calling him the "father of the dream" that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke of in 1963.

Mr. De Shields drew parallels between Aldridge and Shevchenko: both artists, both fighters against slavery in their countries, both highly identified with their people. He concluded with a reading in English of Shevchenko's "Letter to My Countrymen Dead, Alive and Not Yet Born" that brought a new depth and universality to the iconic poem.

Museum member Cathy Zadoretzky said it was "a stunning historical moment, and an honor to be present when an artist of his stature linked the legacy of African American icons with Shevchenko and Ukraine."

Bernth Lindfors, professor emeritus at the University of Texas and an Aldridge scholar, described the life of Aldridge in the context of his time, focusing on his relationship with Shevchenko.

Aldridge was born in 1807 in New York City to a free Black family. While not a slave himself, his artistic possibilities were severely limited by slavery and institutional racism. Like many African American artists who made the journey since, Aldridge traveled to Europe, where he eventually found great honor and acclaim. He was best known for his portrayals of Shakespeare's tragic heroes, including Othello, Macbeth, Shylock and King Lear.

Aldridge met Shevchenko during his first tour of Russia in 1858, not long after Shevchenko had been released from compulsive military service in Central Asia as punishment for writing poems satirizing Tsar Nicholas I. Despite the barrier of language, the two immediately became fast friends, sharing similar artistic temperaments, values and politics. Aldridge was shocked to learn that Shevchenko, a white man, had been born a slave (serf) and that his freedom had been purchased in 1838 through the efforts of his friends. The two men also shared a bond of sorrow, both losing their mothers at the early age of 9.

The friendship culminated in Shevchenko drawing the actor's portrait, and it was signed by both men. The original, owned by the Shevchenko Museum in Kyiv, is currently on loan to The Ukrainian Museum in New York as part of the comprehensive and well-organized exhibit "Taras Shevchenko: Poet, Artist, Icon" (on view through November 30).



Yara artists Shona Tucker and Olga Shuhan.

Prof. Lindfors said Shevchenko and his circle of artist friends were captivated by Aldridge as an actor and interpreter of Shakespeare, attending every performance in St. Petersburg and sometimes becoming so emotionally overwhelmed that they were evicted from the theater – this despite not understanding a word of the original English spoken by Aldridge. His performance conveyed a shared understanding of the human condition – including the enslavement of both their peoples – that transcended language.

The evening at The Ukrainian Museum also included stirring performances of several Shevchenko poems, in Ukrainian and English, by Yara artists Sean Eden, Maria Pleshkevich, Olga Shuhan and Shona Tucker. Yara's Artistic Director Virlana Tkacz conceived and directed the program, and translated the poems with African American poet Wanda Phipps.

Mr. De Shields began the evening by proposing that the artist is primarily a storyteller, that stories have the power to keep the faith and can heal wounds. Aldridge and Shevchenko were two storytellers who changed the course of history – their bright stars still speak to us in our own dark night.

Bandura Downtown series examines "Shevchenko's Sources"

by Ihor Slabicky

NEW YORK – The ninth season of the Bandura Downtown concert series at The Ukrainian Museum in New York opened on Saturday, October 25, with "Shevchenko's Sources: 2014," a program in keeping with the yearlong celebration of the 200th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth. The evening featured bandurist Julian Kytasty, dancer and choreographer Inka Juslin and poet Taras Malkovych.

Mr. Kytasty is a world-renowned bandurist who studied theory and composition at Concordia University in Montreal. He has performed and recorded as a soloist, with ensembles including the Experimental Bandura Trio and Paris to Kyiv, and with international collaborators including pipa player Wu Man, Mongolian singer and multi-instrumentalist Battuvshin, and improvisational guitar master Derek Bailey. He has created music for theater with Yara Arts Group, modern dance, and film, and is the artistic director of the Bandura Downtown concert series. He recently released two albums: "Night Songs from a Neighboring Village," with Michael Alpert, explores Ukrainian and Yiddish musical interactions; a solo album, "Songs of Truth," features traditional kobzar songs from the 17th and 18th centuries.

Ms. Juslin is a dancer and choreographer who has studied in Finland, the Laban Center in London and the University of Hawaii. Besides her work with American choreographer Adam Darius and choreographing many solo and collaborative projects in Finland and New York, she has appeared in several Yara Arts Group and

Bandura Downtown productions.

Mr. Malkovych is a graduate of the Department of Theory and Practice of Translation at the Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University. Presently, he is a visiting Fulbright scholar at Columbia University. His poems and translations have been published in Ukrainian literary periodicals and literary web resources. He is the author and compiler of the anthology "Snovydy: Sny Ukrainskykh Pysmennykiv" (The Sleepwalkers: Dreams of Ukrainian Writers) and the author of the poetry collection "Toy, Khto Lyubyt Dovhi Slova" (The One Who Loves Long Words).

In the first half of the program, Mr. Kytasty recalled his tour of Ukraine this past summer as part of the "Shevchenko's Sources: 2014" project. With projected photographs behind him, he described the estates where Shevchenko lived, like Berezova Rudka, the estate of Zakrevsky, which is still intact. Here, the railing up the grand stairs to the ballroom is original, so under all those layers of paint is one of the spots that Shevchenko would have probably leaned on, looking down to see who is coming up the stairs. The audience saw the monasteries and churches Shevchenko visited and so beautifully captured within his art, where he wrote "Rozryta Mohyla," the tree that he sat under – yes, that tree is still there.

Interspersing his dialogue, Mr. Kytasty sang several songs, accompanying himself on the bandura. "Ruyina (Zazhurylas Ukraina)," written in the 1670s at the Chyhyryn fortress, told of the ruin of Ukraine in a way that it could have been written recently. "Oy Ziydy Ziydy, ty Zironko



Julian Kytasty performs during "Shevchenko's Sources: 2014" at The Ukrainian Museum.

ta Vechirnaya" (Come Out, Night Star) was a song that Shevchenko himself sang. "Mnozhestvo az Sohrishykh" (The Sinner at the Gates of Heaven) recalled the atmosphere of the music of the lirnyky and kobzari that one would have heard near the churches and monasteries that

Shevchenko visited. The effect was one of intimacy, of being there personally with Shevchenko, seeing the same sights, breathing the same air.

The second part of the program, hosted by Mr. Malkovych, presented contemporary poetic works that reflected Shevchenko's style, genre, and oeuvre. Alternating with Mr. Kytasty, they read or presented the poems of: Yaroslav Gadzinsky, Lesyk Panasiuk, Mykhailo Zharzhailo, Oleh Kotsarev, Bohdan-Oleh Horobchuk, Bohuslav Polak, Halyna Kruk, Myroslav Laiuk, Zaza Paulishvili, Pavlo Korobchuk and Mr. Malkovych.

Throughout, Mr. Kytasty provided incidental music on his sopilka or bandura. Joining in, and interpreting the poetry and music with her choreography, was Ms. Juslin. The dancer's performance of the "Coat" was riveting: the coat that was part of her costume both hiding her movements and yet accentuating them. The pieces presented were ones that the contemporary poets wrote with Shevchenko in mind. In doing so, they tied the present to the past, for if Shevchenko was alive today, surely he would write about what was happening now as powerfully as he wrote about what happened in his time.

Presenting a marvelous background for this event was the "Taras Shevchenko: Poet, Artist, Icon" exhibit at The Ukrainian Museum, which showcases numerous original artworks by the poet and artist. Seeing the originals is eminently engaging (some of the works are smaller than expected, while others are much larger), and Shevchenko's technique and attention to detail are without par.

FILM REVIEW: Oles Sanin's "The Guide"

by Ali Kinsella

Oles Sanin's new film, "The Guide" ("Povodyr, abo Kvity Mayut' Ochi"), is beautiful. It's beautiful in the conventional way the word is applied to films in that it pairs a moving storyline with artful acting, resulting in a glimpse of life that, for all its specificity, articulates universal human emotion and experience. It's also beautiful because every single one of its hundreds of shots is deliberately composed and visually stunning. Truth and goodness notwithstanding – though Mr. Sanin observes these virtues as well – the combination makes for a powerful picture of sacrifice for loved ones in the face of great constraint.

The story of Joseph Stalin's ceremonious execution of Ukraine's bandurists coming right on the heels of his finely orchestrated Terror-Famine is almost too fantastical to believe. Yet, like many other inconceivable tragedies, it did happen. This is the terrible culmination Mr. Sanin's movie builds towards as he depicts the increasing terror – terrifying in no small part because the violence was capricious – Ukrainians lived with as Stalin brought a swift end to the nationalizing policies and forced collectivization and submission.

Due to an unfortunate turn, a young American boy, Peter (the affable Michiganander Anton Sviatoslav Greene) ends up on his own and on the run in Ukraine. He makes friends with Ivan, an old, blind bandurist (veteran of the stage Stanislav Boklan) who takes him on as his

orphan guide, in exchange for care and food. Ivan is gruff and taciturn, but Peter is in no position to be picky. Their journey to return the boy to Kharkiv, then the capital of Ukraine, is continually frustrated and becomes further complicated when Ivan learns Peter is unwittingly stewarding a dangerous secret.

On a couple of occasions, the pair comes dangerously close to crossing paths with the NKVD secret police who show no mercy to others who have given the boy and the bandurist shelter. Meanwhile, the countryside is starving and functionaries in the cities are becoming more ruthless. The gravity of the national situation comes through at the annual congress – of bandurists, not party members – which is both a portent of the fate that awaits them and a peek into a lost way of life. Ivan and Peter are separated and only reunite – a train being the perpetual place of their meetings – when the old bandurists are being conveyed to their deaths. Despite the endless suffering, the characters retain their humanity and dignity.

With "The Guide," Mr. Sanin shows how a handful of enthusiastic ideologues and opportunistic sell-outs can smother the will of a population that retains esteem for higher virtues.

Very superficially, "The Guide" has some things in common with "The Firecrosser," Ukraine's 2012 Oscar entry: both are blockbusters many years in the making, and both attempt to mimic the style of filmmaking popularized by Hollywood. In the former's case, though, this attempt is actually successful. For one, Mr. Sanin started with a solid script that was co-written by some very talented contemporary authors: Oleksandr Irvanets, poet, novelist, dramatist, translator, and Iren Rozdobudko, novelist and author of the recently translated "The Lost Button" (whose name, for some reason, appears in the credits but not on the film's website). The talented bunch managed to finally adapt a historical event for the screen without any of the overblown pathos or preaching that plagues most such Ukrainian ventures.

There's none of the blunt moralizing or uncritical analysis that can make the viewer secretly want the bad guys to win. To the contrary, the feelings of empathy and compassion evoked by "The Guide" are proportional to the trials the heroes must go through. True, with its extraneous love story and somewhat formulaic plot, there are moments when the film feels like a copy of Western movies that have seen commercial success as exports. But at the same time, who cares? Such films are popular, in part, because their type of storytell-



Stanislav Boklan as Ivan, the blind bandura player (left), and Anton Sviatoslav Greene as the American boy Peter Shamrock.

ing resounds with audiences.

Without a doubt, "The Guide" is very much a genre film intended for a broad audience and represents not, say, Ukraine's burgeoning art film scene, but the kind of technically sound, aesthetically pleasing, large studio productions Ukraine is capable of producing when funding and talent come together. For Ukraine to have a complete national cinema, all categories – documentary, short feature, horror, porno and so on – must flourish. "The Guide" can help pave the way and prepare the screen. In this, it is not so much simply a cheap Hollywood rip-off, but a harbinger of a new era in Ukrainian cinema.

As better and better films come out of Ukraine each year, it is exciting to watch for new faces: Where did this Stas Boklan, with all of his sensitivity to his character and viewers, come from and how did he learn to do this? Ukraine, in fact, has flocks of equally talented performers who are waiting for their chance to reach larger audiences than live theater can accommodate. Crimean Tatar pop star Jamala was an exciting choice to convey some of the decadence of the early 20th century Ukrainian city, unfortunately, her character was flat and her acting

suffered in accordance. She has potential, though, and might shine in a more-developed role. Oleksandr Kobzar's Volodia, while menacing, was somewhat forgettable.

In only his second feature film in over a decade of work, Mr. Sanin shows great progress and promise. He toned down some of the auteurism that made his "Mama!" a little unpalatable to broad audiences and the result is winning. He again worked with cinematographer Serhii Mykhalchuk, who was responsible for the stark, captivating images that distinguished their earlier narrative film. The consistency and beauty of the cinematography, costume design, washed-out palette and overall artistic direction indicate a common vision that the director managed to execute.

A final observation, one that doesn't detract from the quality of this movie: Bilingual films continue to be en vogue among even Ukraine's best directors. When confronted about this, they hem and haw, pointing to their commitment to presenting reality or their abhorrence of the Soviet practice of having everyone communicate in the language of internationalism.

(Continued on page 12)

Screenings of "The Guide"

- December 2: New York, Columbia University, Schermerhorn Hall, 7:30 p.m.
- December 3: Jenkintown, Pa., Ukrainian Cultural Center, 7 p.m.
- December 4: Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Center for Government and International Studies, 6 p.m.
- December 5: Chicago, Ukrainian Cultural Center, 7 p.m.
- December 9: Ann Arbor, Mich., Michigan Theater, 7 p.m.
- December 10: Detroit, Wayne State University, Manoogian Hall, 7 p.m.
- December 11: New York, The Ukrainian Museum, 6 p.m.

All screenings will be attended by the director, Oles Sanin; those in Chicago, Ann Arbor, Detroit and New York will be attended by the lead actor, Anton Sviatoslav Greene.

FOR LOVERS OF UKRAINIAN ART

Several works of art from a significant private collection are being released for sale.

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All of the artwork, which was maintained in the diaspora, can be authenticated.

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Archeological research in Baturyn continues

by Volodymyr Mezentsev
Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

Canadian and Ukrainian archeologists and historians continued their annual summer excavations in the town of Baturyn, Chernihiv Oblast, in 2013. Prof. Zenon Kohut, the leading historian of the Hetman state and former director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) at the University of Alberta, heads this project.

Last year, nearly 70 students and scholars from the universities of Chernihiv, Hlukhiv, and Sumy, as well as the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy participated in the Baturyn archeological expedition. Archeologists Yurii Sytyi and Dr. Viacheslav Skorokhod of the Chernihiv National University led this expedition. Dr. Volodymyr Mezentsev (CIUS, Toronto) is its Canadian co-director and the Baturyn project coordinator. The renowned historian of Kyivan Rus', Prof. Martin Dimnik of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at the University of Toronto, also takes part in the research of Baturyn and the dissemination of its findings in North America and Ukraine.

Between 1669 and 1708, this town was the capital of the Kozak state that achieved prominence under the dynamic leadership of Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709). Baturyn's fortunes were cut short during the suppression of Mazepa's revolt for the liberation of central Ukraine from the increasing power of Moscow. In 1708, Russian troops stormed the hetman capital and looted and burned it to the ground. They slaughtered to a man 11,000 to 14,000 captive Kozaks and unarmed burghers as a massive punitive measure ordered by Tsar Peter I. The town lay in ruins and remained primarily deserted for half a century until it was rebuilt by Hetman Kyrylo Rozumovsky (1750-1764).

In 2013, excavations were mainly carried out in the Baturyn suburb of Honcharivka. Before 1700, Mazepa constructed a richly embellished three-story masonry palace there; it was destroyed by Muscovite forces in 1708. A rampart with bulwarks and a moat protected the hetman's principal residence on the field side, while a palisade stretched along the high bank of the adjacent Seim River. Footings of these wooden fortifications were uncovered by archeologists.

An examination of bricks from the semi-columns, as well as fragments of the limestone Corinthian capitals and figured ceramic bases of the palace, has determined that these order elements were initially painted with red ochre. The rest of the facades were plastered and whitewashed. This combination of colors was likely borrowed from the ornamentation of the Renaissance and baroque architecture of Central Europe. In Poland, Bohemia/Czechia and Germany some early modern



Log walls and towers of the Baturyn citadel, reconstructed on the basis of archeological data in 2008. Photo by Volodymyr Mezentsev.

palaces, villas, castles, city halls, universities, monasteries and residential urban houses feature whitewashed elevations articulated with bright red vertical and/or horizontal projecting decorative details, usually pilasters or columns. Prior to 1708, the red order elements and the entire exterior of Mazepa's palace were covered with a layer of lime, as was typical of other monumental structures in the Hetmanate.

The floors in Mazepa's residence were paved with ornate ceramic tiles of several geometric forms. Many of them were faced with green and blue glazing, while others were just plain terracotta. This writer and Serhii Dmytriienko (Chernihiv), the Baturyn archeological expedition's graphic artist, conducted a detailed examination of the numerous fragments of tiles found during the palace excavations. We prepared hypothetical computer reconstructions of nine complete tiles of varying shapes and ornamentations, as well as an equal number of floor pavement designs of the palace's reception halls, living quarters and office premises. By extension, this suggests that Mazepa's residence had at least nine rooms, halls, vestibules, corridors, storage areas, and the like.

Ceramic floor tiles discovered in some churches and monasteries of Kyiv, Chernihiv, Hlukhiv, Baturyn and other towns of the Kozak realm are different in formats, adornments and settings. The 16th-18th century castle of the Ostrozky princes in the town of Ostroh, Rivne Oblast, however, used the same combination of

elongated six-angled and square glazed floor tiles as in the Honcharivka palace. The floor chess pattern that has been discovered and reconstructed in the latter was widely employed in palaces, basilicas, and monasteries in Ukraine, Poland, Italy and other European countries. It is represented in the images of interiors of many secular and ecclesiastical buildings found in Ukrainian baroque engravings and icons. Original 16th-18th century checkered floor inlays have been preserved at the residences of Polish kings on Wawel Hill in Krakow and the Wilanow district of Warsaw (1677).

Of all the known architectural monuments of early modern Ukraine, Mazepa's main residence in Baturyn stands out for the largest number, variety and distinctive features of the decorative types of glazed monochrome and terracotta floor tiles uncovered there. This attests to its comparatively large size, multi-storied and multi-chamber architectural design, and exceptional embellishment.

Our expedition continued to excavate the remnants of a spacious service structure (19 by 5 meters) of the early 18th century located at the hetman's court in Honcharivka. It had a wooden post-and-frame (in German: "fachwerk") construction design, which was extensively employed in urban and rural dwellings throughout medieval and early modern Europe, from Britain to western Ukraine. The majority of buildings in 17th-18th century Lviv were of fachwerk design. In North

America, private residences using such construction are known as Tudor-style timber-framed houses. A fachwerk structure could fit well with the Central European baroque style of Mazepa's palace.

Artifacts unearthed during the 2011-2014 excavations give me grounds to surmise that this sizeable service structure housed either Kozak officers ("starshyna"), members of the hetman guard ("serdiuky"), adjutants, and/or clerks working within Mazepa's private quarters or for state institutions at his court. Last year, at this site, were found: 14 silver Polish and Russian coins, a silver pendant with a relief plant pattern, a round dress ornament with a rock crystal, a silver wire earring with a glass bead, four broken silver decorative plates, three bronze clasps and four figured appliqués with relief patterns, engravings and incrustations which adorned the costly leather belts of officers, four plain iron clasps from the belts of ordinary Kozaks, a copper wedding ring, 10 lead musket bullets, a bronze screw and flint from a rifle, a splinter from an iron cannonball or grenade, an iron arrowhead of local manufacture, and many shards of ceramic glazed multi-colored and terracotta stove tiles ("kakhli") produced conceivably by skilled artisans summoned to Baturyn from Kyiv, as well as imported German majolica tableware of the 17th and 18th centuries. Using computer techniques, Mr. Dmytriienko and I have reconstructed two ornamented belts of wealthy hetman officers.

One stove tile bears the incised Cyrillic inscription "Pets" ("Пет"). This could be the name of the person who commissioned the work or some mark of the ceramist who executed it. In any case, this is evidence of that craftsman's literacy.

A number of arrowheads have been found in Mazepa's court. Their presence indicates that the hetman troops, like the rest of the Ukrainian Kozaks, conservatively continued to practice archery until the 18th century, although firearms increasingly dominated their arsenal. Mr. Sytyi has suggested that hetman officers had to be proficient in all kinds of Kozak weaponry, including obsolete ones, and trained their soldiers in these military arts.

In 2013, among the debris of the service building, an elongated bronze plate with engraved linear and geometric ornaments was discovered. It can be identified as a section of the back end of a book casing. Written sources inform us that Mazepa's



Silver ornaments with rock crystal and glass bead of local production discovered at Mazepa's manor, 17th -18th century. Photo by Volodymyr Mezentsev.



Fragments of glazed ceramic polychrome stove tiles uncovered during the 2013 excavations of Mazepa's manor in Honcharivka. Photo by Volodymyr Mezentsev.



Fragment of a terracotta female statuette or doll of the late 17th or early 18th century discovered in the fortress. Baturyn Museum of Archeology. Photo by Volodymyr Mezentsev.

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Archeological...

(Continued from page 10)

palace in Baturyn included his library. This collection of publications and manuscripts was unrivalled in Ukraine at the time.

In the former Baturyn fortress, east of the cemetery of the ruined Holy Trinity Cathedral (1692), archeologists have excavated the remnants of a spacious granary from the 17th to early 18th century. They unearthed 16 pits for storing grain, which were covered by a timber roof, as well as remnants of wooden building for the drying and processing of grain.

In 2003-2004, near the Baturyn citadel, our expedition excavated the substructures of a similar complex containing 10 grain pits. It occupied over 100 square meters in area and in all likelihood belonged to the hetman. Tsarist troops sacked and burned these large grain magazines in 1708. Mazepa could have commissioned them when he secretly organized a military base in his capital for his rebellion and supplies of the allied Swedish army.

Archeological research has shown that as a rule every burgher's household in Baturyn had several pits for storing grain. According to Mr. Sytyi, the impressive number of granaries that have been uncovered indicates the significance of grain production to the economy of the hetman capital, as well as the prosperity of its population prior to the 1708 tragedy.

Close to the grain magazine excavated near the Trinity Cathedral probably existed a contemporaneous dwelling of a well-to-do resident. There were found: fragments of stove tiles, ceramic and glass utensils, two ceramic chibouks of Kozak tobacco pipes, a carved bone mouthpiece made on a lathe, and fragments of iron craft tools from the 17th-18th century.

Two fragmentary terracotta stove tiles of the Mazepa period feature identical bas-reliefs of a horseman fashioned in a folk style. These tiles were made from a single chiseled wooden mould. On both fragments, only the lower half of a man dressed in a short jacket with a belt, close-fitting pants and high boots has been preserved. Both of his legs lean against one side of a harnessed horse. Such a naïve manner of representing the pose of a rider was used in some 17th century vernacular tiles. Comparable reliefs of mounted Kozaks, hunters, Western knights or uhlans armed with spears are depicted on many 16th to 18th century stove tiles found in Baturyn, Chernihiv, Subotiv, Kyiv, Cherkasy, Uman and other towns in central Ukraine.

These motifs were derived from the image of the mounted knight with sabre on the state coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as that of St. George on a horse piercing a dragon with his lance. These images were often employed for heraldic emblems, flags, coins, book illustrations and icons during the Kozak era, and they were replicated in a distinctive folk manner by Ukrainian artisans.

A typical ceramic toy with whistle in the shape of a stylized animal has also been found in Baturyn. It was decorated with brown and yellow ochre stripes. This example of vernacular art has numerous analogies among the ceramic glazed, painted and terracotta zoomorphic figures of medieval and modern Ukraine. A deeply rooted tradition of its production for the market lasted until the 20th century. Several similar 14th to 18th century terracotta and stripe-painted toys or whistles in the form of stylized horses or other domestic animals and birds have been found in Kyiv.

While investigating the trench for a water pipe crossing the fortress' territory, archeologists discovered the remnants of 17 ordinary wooden dwellings, and service or storages structures from the 17th and early 18th centuries, all burned by the Russian invaders in 1708. In an empty



Reconstructed fortifications of the Baturyn citadel with the Resurrection Church and the initial hetman residence and treasury of 17th century. Aerial photo by Serhii Chynin. Baturyn National Preserve.

grain pit, researchers found the skeleton of a teenager who lost his/her life during the massacre in Baturyn. Amidst the debris of a burnt dwelling (House No. 3) the leg bones of its slain inhabitant have been unearthed.

Archeologists also found there the broken head of a terracotta female statuette, seemingly a doll. It may have been broken during the destruction of the house. I believe that a local artist fashioned this figurine in a naïve realistic manner under the influence of some Western Renaissance or baroque sculpture. This find represents a rare and valuable piece of ceramic three-dimensional anthropomorphic sculpture, specifically the art of vernacular toys of Ukraine at the turn of the 17th-18th centuries.

Clay female statuettes from the 14th to 18th centuries have been found in Kyiv, Vyshhorod and Bila Tserkva in Ukraine, and in Belarus. Among the 20 fragments of Kyivan ceramic dolls of this time, series of the 17th-18th century broken heads constitute the closest analogies to the Baturyn figurine. They have delicately modelled faces, and sometimes are painted in various colors. Researchers maintain that the realistic and humanistic Renaissance and baroque art of Italy, Germany, Poland and Czechia influenced the sculptural techniques and artistic designs of these Kyivan dolls. Archeological finds of this kind testify to the vibrant cultural ties between early modern Ukraine and these countries.

In 2006-2009, our expedition excavated about 300 graves of the 17th and 18th cen-

turies in the cemetery of the Trinity Cathedral. Mr. Sytyi discovered several victims of the 1708 carnage within the fourth level of graves there. Last year, archeologists exhumed eight 17th-18th century graves at this cemetery. The remains of a man with a pierced skull (Grave No. 4) can be associated with other casualties of the Muscovite onslaught.

The 2013 excavations in Baturyn have yielded important data regarding the adornment of Mazepa's main residence and the little-known ceramic folk sculpture in the hetman capital. New archeological evidence of its sheer destruction has come to light. My video interview for Ukrainian media about the findings of last year's excavations in Baturyn is available on YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=odhNdkIb2wY&feature=c4-overview&list=UU_5I-7Yh_EmnU1rrRtkWO8w.

* * *

For 14 years, the excavations in Baturyn and the publication of its materials have been sponsored by the Kowalsky Program for the Study of Eastern Ukraine at CIUS, the Shevchenko Scientific Society of America, the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at the University of Toronto and the Ucrainica Research Institute in Toronto. The Chernihiv Oblast State Administration contributed a subsidy for our excavations.

Despite the tense situation in Ukraine, during August of this year, archeologists and students of history from Chernihiv and

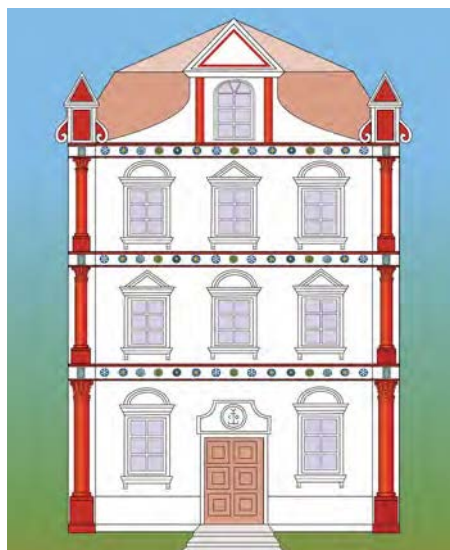
Hlukhiv universities as well as the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy successfully continued with systematic excavations in Baturyn. Their results will be analysed and disseminated in publications and lectures in 2015. Our Canada-Ukraine archeological expedition is preparing to resume the field research of Mazepa's capital next summer. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian government, burdened with heavy military expenditures, is unable to fund our scholarly project. At the same time, the price of food, gasoline and transportation in Ukraine has increased considerably.

The continued support of archeological research in Baturyn and the publication of its findings by Ukrainian organizations, foundations, companies, and private benefactors in the United States and Canada will be vital in 2014-2015. They are kindly invited to send their checks with donations to: Prof. Martin Dimnik, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 59 Queen's Park Crescent East, Toronto, ON, Canada, M5S 2C4. Please make checks payable to: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (Memo: Baturyn Project). The institute will send tax receipts to all donors in the U.S.A. and Canada; those who assist this undertaking will be gratefully acknowledged in related publications and public lectures.

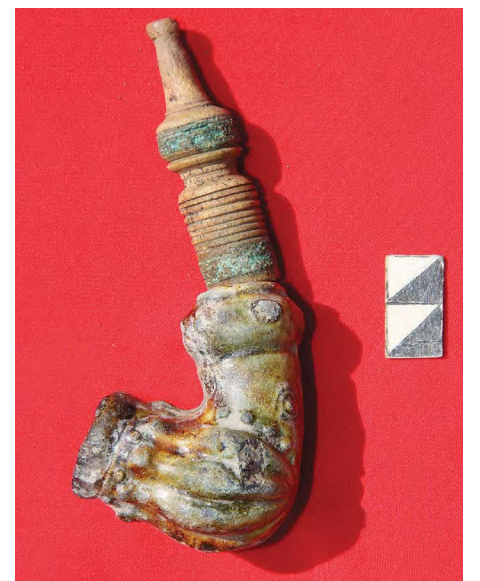
For additional information or questions about the Baturyn project, readers may contact the author of this article, Dr. Volodymyr Mezentsev via telephone, 416-766-1408, or e-mail, v.mezentsev@utoronto.ca.



Fragmented painted ceramic toy whistle in the form of a stylized animal, 17th-18th century. Baturyn Museum of Archeology. Photo by Volodymyr Mezentsev.



Main elevation of Mazepa's palace in the Baturyn suburb of Honcharivka with semi-columns painted red before 1700. Hypothetical reconstruction by Volodymyr Mezentsev, computer graphic by Serhii Dmytrienko, 2013.



Glazed ceramic chibouk of a Kozak tobacco pipe and ornamented bone mouthpiece of local manufacture, 17th-18th century. 2013 excavations in Baturyn fortress. Photo by Volodymyr Mezentsev.

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

land border with Russia and the supply of armaments and military equipment to militants-mercenaries of terrorist organizations." Ukraine also demanded that Russia "withdraw the units of the armed forces of the Russian Federation from the Ukrainian-Russian state border, ensure proper border regime at the territory of the Russian Federation adjacent to the Ukrainian-Russian state border." (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine)

U.S. to Russia: 'Stop fueling the fire'

WASHINGTON – The United States has called on Russia to "stop fueling the fire" in eastern Ukraine with new weapons and other support for pro-Russian separatists there. U.S. State Department spokeswoman Jen Psaki said Washington condemned "Russia's increased militarization of the Donbas region through the provision of tanks and other heavy equipment to separatists." Her comments in Washington on November 10 came days after the

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) said its monitors had witnessed an apparent build-up of heavy weapons and tanks in parts of the Donetsk region controlled by the separatists. Ms. Psaki accused Russia and the separatists of "blatant violations" of a ceasefire signed in Minsk on September 5, and warned that the costs to Moscow will rise if it "continues its destabilizing and dangerous actions." She said Moscow must do more if it truly wants peace in eastern Ukraine. "If Russia is truly committed to Minsk and peace in Ukraine, it will stop fueling the fire with new weapons and support for separatists and withdraw all Russian military personnel and equipment from Ukraine; and it will call on its proxies to stop cease-fire violations, release hostages, and close the international [Russian-Ukrainian] border," the State Department spokesperson said. (RFE/RL)

McCain on violations of ceasefire

WASHINGTON – U.S. Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) on November 7 released the following statement following reports that Russia has violated its ceasefire agreement and again supplied pro-Russian separatists in Ukraine with military equipment

and arms. "No one should be surprised by reports today that large columns of Russian tanks, artillery, and military personnel have moved back into eastern Ukraine. If true, this would be the latest and most conclusive reason to believe that the ceasefire agreement is effectively dead. The United States and Europe need to stop assuming that the provision of lethal military assistance to Ukraine would provoke President Putin into further aggression. What is most provocative to Putin is U.S. and European unwillingness to take these steps, and the perception of weakness it fosters. If confirmed, today's reported Russian re-invasion of Ukraine should lead to an immediate escalation of U.S. and E.U. sanctions. More importantly, we must also provide our Ukrainian partners with the military capabilities to defend their sovereign territory and resist Putin's aggression. If we do not, Putin will continue trying to devour more and more of Ukraine for his new Russian empire." (Office of Sen. John McCain)

Poland preps for Russian 'confrontation'

WARSAW – Polish President Bronislaw Komorowski has signed into law a new national defense strategy that addresses an "intensifying policy of confrontation" by Russia and threats to regional security from the conflict in Ukraine. The 57-page strategy document replaces a plan drawn up in 2007. The new plan involves defense, political and economic structures on all levels. It says Russia has become a negative factor for regional security because of the "rebuilding of its power status at the expense of its surroundings" and Moscow's

"intensifying policy of confrontation" as shown by its seizure of the Crimean peninsula from Ukraine. Mr. Komorowski told journalists in Warsaw on November 5 that things have "changed for the worse to the east of Poland's borders, where an area of instability has emerged." He said strengthening Poland's defenses against the threats now posed by Russia also will contribute to NATO's defense capabilities. (RFE/RL, based on reporting by the Associated Press, Reuters and the BBC)

Germany demands adherence to truce

ASTANA – German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier says that the situation in eastern Ukraine is deteriorating and that all sides, including Russia, must adhere to a ceasefire and steps toward peace agreed in the Belarusian capital, Minsk, on September 5. Mr. Steinmeier was speaking in the Kazakh capital on November 10, a day after the European Union and the United States voiced deep concern over reports of large convoys of troops and military vehicles moving through territory controlled by pro-Russian rebels. "Unfortunately, the situation is again serious. I now think that we must call upon all those involved in this conflict, as well as the Russian side, to return again to the terms of the Minsk protocol," Mr. Steinmeier told a news conference in Astana. Some of the most intense shelling since the ceasefire occurred in the Donetsk province on November 9, fueling fears of an escalation following November 2 votes –

(Continued on page 13)

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Secessionist...

(Continued from page 3)

were already airing those demands at full throttle, and Mr. Poroshenko's move was purely reactive.

The "DPR-LPR elections" and ensuing demands have practically nullified the armistice agreement's value in terms of upholding Ukraine's territorial integrity. Russia had successfully ruled out that principle from the text. Kyiv and its Western partners, however, felt that local elections held under Ukrainian law in the "DPR-LPR" would serve to confirm Ukraine's jurisdiction there, at least on paper.

Oles Sanin's...

(Continued from page 9)

But they're overlooking at least two things. First, artists always have creative license, especially when doing fiction, to reimagine the world however they'd like. It is the presence of the word in the public sphere that confirms and legitimizes its existence. Secondly, many of them underestimate the degree to which they've absorbed the Soviet-Russian vision in which a Ukrainian-speaking world is on some fundamental level laughable. As a playwright friend of mine sardonically noted, "It's really anti-Soviet to force Ukrainians to speak Russian."

The Ukrainian Film Club of Columbia

An "election"...

(Continued from page 7)

Beyond the fact that members of some of Europe's most notorious neo-Nazi parties were approached to be "observers," what is more disturbing is that all of these far-right parties can be reliably expected to praise all Kremlin-backed elections. Like the Russian media, they choose not to

This calculation failed to anticipate Moscow's and its proxies' response. The U.S., German and other governments deplore this breach of the armistice agreement in their public statements, but have not given up hopes to patch it up. The September 5 protocol is seen to be in tatters, but remains the only existing political basis for the armistice. Hence, Ukraine calls for the resumption of the Geneva format of negotiations to supersede the Russian-dominated Minsk format.

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

University is organizing a series of screenings of "The Guide" in five U.S. cities with the participation of the film director, Oles Sanin, himself: New York City, Philadelphia, Cambridge, Mass., Chicago and Detroit. The unofficial U.S. premiere of the film will take place on Tuesday, December 2, at 7:30 p.m., at Columbia University, 501 Schermerhorn Hall, the Morningside Campus. Mr. Sanin will present and discuss his film with the viewers.

"The Guide" is Ukraine's official entry for the Oscar consideration in the best foreign language category for 2014.

Ali Kinsella is a recent graduate of the interdisciplinary Slavic studies program at Columbia University's Harriman Institute. She takes a keen interest in literature and film and is working on a book-length translation of a contemporary Ukrainian novel.

notice the use of food shortages to pull people in to vote and the clear possibilities for voting many times.

Most noticeably, as in the Crimea on March 16, they have no problem in declaring as exemplary elections in which the voters are surrounded by men with machine guns.

The article above was published and disseminated by the *Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group* (<http://khpg.org>).

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War in Ukraine takes a heavy toll on the Ukraine Little League Baseball Championships

by Basil P. Tarasko

BAYSIDE, N.Y. – Just a year ago, orphans from Donetsk No. 1 Internat (orphanage) and from the Lutuhene Internat (Luhansk Oblast) arrived in Kremenets, Ternopil Oblast, Ukraine, to take part in the annual Ukraine Little League Baseball Championship for children from internats. Their smiling faces showed that these almost forgotten children were happy to travel across the country to play their favorite sport, baseball.

This year's championship was held September 15-19 in Kremenets. The Rivne team dominated the local team Kremenets 11-1 to capture the seventh Ukraine Little League Championship title. During the games, nine home runs were hit – a record – and the Rivne team led with six.

During the four days, seven games were held. The children participated in a pitching competition; cultural trips including a visit to the Pochaiv Monastery; an instructional baseball clinic was conducted; and our annual ever so popular lottery was held. We include a daily cultural program and individual skill completions. As Roman Leskiw, a retired U.S. Marine and a

Ukrainian American said, "Christmas comes in September" when we host the annual lottery. Each child chooses donated souvenirs from caring people in the U.S. You should see those smiles – now even wider.

These wonderful activities were all made possible by the contributions from kind organizations and individuals in the United States. Our leading sponsor was the California Association to Aid Ukraine (CAAU), joined by the Self-Reliance (N.Y.) Federal Credit Union. Thank you so much for being there for the children.

I learned that the children from the Lutuhene Internat made it out of the Luhansk Oblast during the deadly siege there and were taken to Odesa. There, the children were split up. In effect, there is no longer an internat in Lutuhene. A casualty.

I spoke to Valya, a phys-ed teacher and baseball coach of the Donetsk team. She told me that her children were evacuated from Donetsk and were moved to a nearby village. Then I learned that their internat was leveled to the ground. What a tragedy – all was lost for those children. Valya is currently in Crimea with her parents and without a job. Another casualty.

Even with all this negative news, I feel



Players, coaches and umpires at the seventh annual Ukraine Little League Baseball Championship in Kremenets, Ternopil Oblast, on September 15-19.

that the tradition of hosting this championship must continue.

To try to compensate for the lost teams, I invited an all-star team from Ivano Puste, a small village in the Ternopil Oblast. In addition the Rivne Little League send its second team to compete for the title. Just before the start of the games, I learned that the orphans from Mizoch, Rivne Oblast, were forbidden to leave their village. A virus had spread into the internat and the children were placed on a 35-day quarantine. Another casualty.

I did not expect all this, yet 30 boys and three young ladies arrived for one purpose: to win the championship banner. The championship must go on. Thanks go to the CAAU for being there once again as the lead sponsor.

The format of the games had each team play single games each day with one team playing a double header. In effect each team played the other team twice. The Kremenets team won its first three games to reach the finals. Rivne defeated Ivano Puste to reach the finals on September 19.

In addition, the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (Philadelphia Branch),

Ukrainian League of Philadelphia, Ukrainian American Sports Club Tryzub, Ukrainian Baltimore Festival, Ukrainian Homestead of ODWU (Organization for the National Rebirth of Ukraine), Ukrainian American Youth Association (UAYA) Ellenville, N.Y., Pitch In For Baseball, Eastern Region Little League Baseball and Hatsfield Sports contributed either funds or needed baseball equipment. Thank you for joining this ongoing project for children in Ukraine.

Special thanks also go to the kind individuals in the U.S., thousands of miles away, who truly care. And the hope is that when those children become adults, they will return this act of kindness to others.

Finally, I do welcome recommendations of new schools or internaty in Ukraine who may want to add a baseball and/or softball program for 2014 and into 2015. There is no cost involved. All the needed equipment will be provided, and training of the new coaches will be arranged. The only requirement is a genuine desire by the director and his teachers. Please contact me, Basil P. Tarasko, district administrator for Ukraine Little League, by e-mail at bt4ukraine@aol.com for more information or with your recommendation.



Basil Tarasko (left), with directors of the Rivne team (center) and director of the Kremenets Internat (right).

Moscow using...

(Continued from page 2)

to weaken them. Moscow helped the Rusyns in the past and must do so again because "a humanitarian disaster for the Rusyn people and all the residents of Transcarpathia has begun at the hands of the Galician Nazis and local collaborators," the appeal argues (rossiyanavsegda.ru, October 28).

To support the Rusyns, the letter continues, Moscow needs to conduct "a peacekeeping operation for a short period" in Transcarpathia and "restore the pre-Soviet status of the Republic of Transcarpathian Rus," which was not within the borders of Ukraine. And Moscow must insist that Kyiv recognize the results of the 1992 referendum in which 76.8 percent of those taking

part declared that "Transcarpathia is a special, self-administered territory and a subject of international law not included in any present territorial-administrative formation" – that is, within Ukraine. The language of this appeal suggests that it was written not by Rusyns but rather by Russians, or at least those under the influence of the Kremlin's massive anti-Ukrainian propaganda effort.

The aforementioned Segodnya article, titled "The Rusyn Question. What Could the Position of Russia Be?" lends additional support to that interpretation. According to it, "the Rusyn issue is acquiring particular sharpness against the background of the events taking place in Ukraine." It is attracting the attention of Western powers who are interested in it for their own nefarious reasons largely related to gas pipeline routes. And it is being pushed hard by

Hungary, which has "consistently insisted upon the idea of autonomy" if not independence for Transcarpathia. But Russia has an obvious interest and needs to take more steps, even if it continues to defer to and rely on Budapest, the Segodnya article argues (segodnia.ru, October 26).

At present, and to lay the groundwork for further action, Segodnya says, Moscow should be actively supporting Rusyn culture and language, providing humanitarian assistance targeted at the Rusyns, promoting stories about them in Russian media and especially channels directed at foreign countries, and bringing pressure to bear on Kyiv to create a Rusyn autonomy by raising this issue with Ukrainian officials and in talks with the leaders of other countries. "In the Rusyn question," the article insists, "Russia must not compete with Hungary. It

will be more constructive to set up a common humanitarian strategy and a common cultural discourse about Transcarpathia." Hungary will take the lead in public; Russia need "only send humanitarian impulses signaling the readiness of Russia to support the protection of Rusyn culture and make it an object of serious research."

It appears increasingly likely that Russia will use Hungary as a cover to destabilize the situation in western Ukraine in the coming weeks, escaping blame or even attention until it may be too late, as was the case in Crimea. Consequently, even hints like these need to be tracked with care.

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NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 12)

denounced by Kyiv and the West but "respected" by Russia – in which leaders of two self-proclaimed "people's republics" were elected. Ukrainian military spokesman Andriy Lysenko said the conflict had intensified in the past week and that Kyiv believes Russia could stir up tension to provide a pretext to "send in so-called Russian peacekeeping units." (RFE/RL, with reporting by the Associated Press, Reuters and Deutsche Presse-Agentur)

McCain on weapons for Ukraine

NEW YORK – The Daily Beast's Eli Lake reported on November 6: "In an interview on November 5, Sen. John McCain, the incoming chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said he has already discussed a new national-security agenda with fellow Republicans Bob Corker and Richard Burr, the likely incoming chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. "Burr and Corker and I will be working closely together on everything," Sen. McCain said, according to The Daily Beast. "For example, arms for Ukraine's

[government], examination of our strategy in the Middle East, our assets with regard to [Russian President Vladimir] Putin in the region, China's continued encroachment in the South China Sea." (The Daily Beast)

Moscow court hears Savchenko's complaint

MOSCOW – A Moscow court has started a hearing into a complaint filed by Nadiya Savchenko, the Ukrainian air force pilot who is being held in Russia on charges of complicity in the deaths of two Russian journalists in eastern Ukraine. 1st Lt. Savchenko lodged a protest against a psychological examination conducted at a

Moscow mental health facility. The hearing was initially scheduled for October 27, but was postponed until November 11 because she was not brought to the courtroom from the hospital. Court officials said the hearing was being held behind closed doors because it involves private information about Lt. Savchenko's health, court officials said. Lt. Savchenko says she was captured by pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine on June 18 and "illegally transferred" to Russian custody in July. Investigators have said she was detained in Russia. The Ukrainian pilot won a seat in the Verkhovna Rada last month. (RFE/RL, with reporting by TASS and UNIAN)

COMMUNITY CHRONICLE

UCCA New York adopts defense battalion in Ukraine

UCCA

NEW YORK – Ivanka Zajac, president of the United Ukrainian American Organizations of New York – a branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), has been working tirelessly since July to support a group of Ukrainians united in the fight for Ukraine's territorial integrity and freedom.

The 25th Territorial Defense Battalion Kyivska Rus' comprises over 450 individuals who have valiantly volunteered their lives to protect their country. They are in dire need of food, clothing and proper equipment.

Mrs. Zajac first learned about this group when she befriended Ivan Rodichenko in New York City. Mr. Rodichenko was an active participant of the Maidan in Kyiv and has immersed himself in helping the 25th Battalion. He is responsible for securing food and resources for 40 men, per rotation.

During the summer, Ms. Zajac and her daughter Romanka created a fund online, providing a simple way to donate money. With the donations, Ms. Zajac has been purchasing medical supplies, clothing and food to send to the men. She has also been providing Mr. Rodichenko with the means to buy lifesaving equipment and other necessary



Ivanka Zajac (foreground) and volunteers help to pack supplies for the defense battalion in Ukraine that has been adopted by the New York branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.



Volunteers of the 25th Territorial Defense Battalion pose with a journalist.

items that cannot be physically mailed. Ms. Zajac and Mr. Rodichenko are in constant contact with each other, working together despite being thousands of miles apart.

The community has been buttressing Ms. Zajac's efforts. Children attending the Ukrainian American Youth Association summer camp painted drawings to buoy the soldiers' spirits. With Irene Saviano's facilitation, students from St. George Academy in New York helped pack provisions. Ms. Zajac's daughter Marianka, together with other volunteers, dedicated her time to collecting and packing items.

Ms. Zajac has sent 14 boxes filled with food, medical supplies, military sleeping bags, military gloves, drawings, religious photos and hand-made rosaries. Mr. Rodichenko frequently posts photos on the "Help the 25th Territorial Defense Battalion Kyiv" Facebook page, expressing the men's gratitude for all.

Ms. Zajac has been deeply involved in aiding these men for many reasons. She says: "I can't be there to physically fight, but I can fund-raise. My parents, Ukrainian school teachers and Ukrainian Youth Association counselors,

taught me to always love, honor and respect our country. If we don't, who will?"

As winter approaches, the men will need warm clothing – jackets, thermal shirts and pants, socks, boots and thermoses for hot tea. The New York branch of the UCCA has adopted the 25th Territorial Defense Battalion Kyivska Rus' and will continue raising the money required to replenish supplies.

Ms. Zajac's goal, besides keeping each volunteer protected and properly equipped, is for every UCCA branch to support its own battalion.

To help the 25th Battalion, readers can make a donation online at <https://www.crowdrise.com/Helpthe25thBattalion-Kyiv/fundraiser/romankazajac>, or send a check or money order made out to "NYC Branch-25th Battalion Kyiv" to: UCCA-NYC Branch, 203 Second Ave., Third Floor, New York, NY 10003

Direct deposits into the 25th Territorial Defense Battalion bank account can be made at Self Reliance (N.Y.) Federal Credit Union at 108 Second Ave., New York.

School of Ukrainian Studies in New York City opens 65th school year

by Daria Kozak-Tymets

NEW YORK – On Saturday, September 13, a celebration of the divine liturgy at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church opened

the 65th year of the Ukrainian Studies of the Selfreliance Association. The service was followed by an opening ceremony at St. George Academy, where, following the traditional "first bell," Principal Ivan Makar

and School Administrator Natalia Duma welcomed students and their parents.

In his remarks, Mr. Makar stressed the importance of education, learning about Ukraine at this particular juncture in its history, and said that "knowledge is the best weapon against the enemy."

From their first years in the United States, immigrants from Ukraine organized communities, trying on the one hand, to adapt to local conditions, and on the other, to preserve their ethnic and national identity. The tireless and dedicated work of these early Ukrainian Americans created a favorable environment for their cultural and national development.

After World War II, the new wave of immigrants, many from the intelligentsia, actively focused their energy on Ukrainian education in the diaspora. Thus, the first Ukrainian school was established in New York City. The school's mission was not only to give children a certain amount of knowledge about Ukraine and to slow assimilation, but also, to bring up valuable and productive members of the community. This situation rings true today.

In 2011, with the appointment of Principal Makar, the school turned over a new leaf. Over the last several years, the administration and faculty has been actively working to take a more communicative approach to learning.

"We are now focusing on developing communication skills, increasing vocabu-

lary, improving Ukrainian reading and writing, and creating more interest in learning about traditional culture and faith," said Vice-Principal for Academic Affairs Chrystyna Vasylykiv-Pikhmanets. She explained that after observing classes, reviewing teachers' lesson plans and reworking teaching materials, a new curriculum and methodology have been created and put in place. To help English-speaking students, a new "Ukrainian language for beginners" class is now being taught by Chrystia Gorski-Makar.

This year, the School of Ukrainian Studies in New York City has approximately 200 students from kindergarten to 12th grade. Branch 83 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America runs the "Svitlychka," or pre-K program, for children age 3 to 5. Here, children learn Ukrainian songs, dance, games and meet their first friends.

The administration for the 2014-2015 school year includes Principal Makar and Vice-Principal (Academic Affairs) Vasylykiv-Pikhmanets, Vice-Principal (Administrative Affairs) Natalia Danysh and the school administrator, Mrs. Duma.

Lower school teachers are: Natalia Guga (kindergarten), Ulana Hanuszczak (Grade 1), Olya Kit-Wowk (Grade 2), Natalia Yezerska (Grade 3), Bozhena Pobutka (Grade 4), Victoria Slobodian (Grade 5),

(Continued on page 15)



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Vovkulaky fraternity of Plast holds grand assembly

by Walter Luciw

TORONTO - On September 27, 45 members of the North American Ukrainian scouting fraternity Vovkulaky gathered at the Plastova Sich campground near Grafton, Ontario, for their yearly grand assembly.

On the program was a review of the past year's activity of the fraternity and a celebration of 57 years of past accomplishments, as well as yearly elections of new leadership of the junior and senior wings of the Vovkulaky fraternity, and planning of further Plast and community activities for the next year.

The program began with singing of the fraternity anthems and a prayer for departed Vovkulaky members, as well as a remembrance of the heroes of the Maidan demonstrations in Kyiv.

Present at the assembly was one such activist of Vovkulaky, senior scout George Sajewych from Washington, badly injured during brutal police crackdowns against the demonstrators in Kyiv, who is now recuperating in the U.S. Shortly, he will be returning to Ukraine to rejoin his brigade on the Ukrainian eastern front, fighting the Russian invasion in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Mr. Sajewych presented a detailed (and emotional) account of his participation in the "Revolution of Dignity" in the winter of 2014 during the concluding bonfire late at night.

The Vovkulaky also had a review of the annual leadership reports and feedback from local Vovkulaky groups in Europe, Ukraine and North America. These confirmed yet again that the No. 1 activity of Vovkulaky members was, and will continue to be, working with Plast youth leaders, organizing summer and winter camps, and providing counselors and leaders for the advanced scouting skills camps "Zolota Bulava" and "Lisova Shkola."

The recreational event at this year's assembly was an



Ihor Popadynech

The Vovkulaky fraternity of Plast at their meeting near Grafton, Ontario.

axe-throwing competition. This became most enjoyable when the target had pictures of certain leaders of the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

The assembly elected Yuri Monczak as "oboznyi" (leader), Lubomyr Domashewsky (North America) and Vyacheslav Stebnycky (Ukraine and Europe) as deputy leaders, and Taras Silecky as treasurer for the senior branch of Vovkulaky. The junior branch elected Oles

Mykyta as oboznyi, Ruslan Tracz (North America) and Mykola Muzala (Ukraine and Europe) as deputy leaders, and Lukash Monczak as treasurer.

The assembly continued well into the night with the "Vovkulacha Vatra" (campfire), where all official ceremonies were held. The assembly was concluded with Mr. Sajewych's recollection of the "Maidan" revolution, the singing of "Nich Vzhe Ide" and a prayer for peace.

Pershi Stezhi discuss new directions at Soyuzivka

by Adriana Helbig

KERHONKSON, N.Y. - Members of the Pershi Stezhi, one of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization's oldest and largest sororities, gathered at the Soyuzivka Heritage Center for their conference on October 18-19. More than 30 members came from New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Virginia, Maryland and Canada for a weekend of camaraderie and work.

Pershi Stezhi, established on September 25, 1947, in

Munich have been very active in the running of Plast scout camps, as well as the famed "Stezhky Kultura" that the group organized for Ukrainian American youths to tour various destinations in Europe and Ukraine.

In the last 25 years, Pershi Stezhi's efforts have also focused on "Tabir Ptashat" camp for children age 4-6. This year, the two weeklong camps at Soyuzivka attracted 81 children who have not yet entered Plast for activities with their parents and grandparents in the Shawangunk Mountains.

The questions on the minds of the seniors, however, were not about their legacy, but about the future of Plast and, more specifically, the future of Pershi Stezhi. A reflective group with a critical and realistic outlook, their questions focused on how to attract and retain young people in the organization.

Well-known within Plast for being quite demanding of themselves in all aspects of their lives, what brings these women together is a sense of individualism, a commitment to hard work and, above all, friendship. They share a strong love for each other, for their heritage and for Plast.

But the question of who will lead the group into the future hangs heavily: The last of the young adult members of Pershi Stezhi went over to the seniors' division last year. Many young women have joined Pershi Stezhi in Ukraine in recent years, and they have been very active in Rivne and Lviv. Should Pershi Stezhi transfer leadership of the sorority to Ukraine, or is there a group of adventurous young women in the U.S. and Canada who wish to revive the sorority? They would work autonomously, though with the help and financial support of the seniors, who represent a who's who of Ukrainian American society over the last 70 years.

This question of transmission, tradition and future direction is one that every Ukrainian American organization faces though, unlike Plast, organizations like churches and community groups have benefited from a significant influx of members from the Fourth Wave of immigration from Ukraine.

The fate of the Pershi Stezhi sorority is up to the young people reading this article. All interested young women are invited to take a closer look at Pershi Stezhi, see how it can help them reach your goals individually, socially, in Plast and in the broader community. The seniors are here to help the younger generation and they are looking to them to point in new directions and the new "first paths" for which the Pershi Stezhi sorority has always been known.



Andrey Hankevych

Pershi Stezhi sorority members at their meeting at Soyuzivka.

School of Ukrainian...

(Continued from page 14)

Anna Tupytsia (Grade 6) and Halyna Halychaniavska (Grade 7). Upper school teachers (Grades 8-12) are: Olya

Matviyishyn (Ukrainian), Valentyna Hlushak (history), Nastya Antoniv (literature), Serhiy Shokalo (geography) and Mykhajlo Barabash (culture).

Sisters Yulia Bronyska and Vera Yulyk teach religion; Elya Romanyshyn is the choral director; and Zoriana Vynar is the

school librarian. Substitute teachers include Yaryna Hlum and Oksana Boyko.

The School of Ukrainian Studies in New York City begins its 65th year thanks to the efforts and support of hundreds of former teachers, administrators and parents. The moral and spiritual guidance of St. George

Church's priests and the generous financial assistance of the Selfreliance Association have also been vital.

Classes take place on Saturdays, from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m., at 215 E. Sixth Street, New York, NY 10003. For more information, see www.ukrainianschoolnyc.org.

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Two battalions...

(Continued from page 2)

consequently resulted in an increase in the number of Chechen volunteers coming from European countries. Eventually, the Chechen commander was able to form a second Chechen volunteer battalion in Ukraine named after Sheikh Mansur. Mr. Munaev appointed one of his close associates, Muslim Cheberloevsky, who actively participated in both Russian-Chechen wars, as commander of the second battalion (golosichkerii.com, October 25).

Thus, as of today, there are two battalions of volunteers made up of Chechen residents from Western Europe. The Chechens are on the frontline, living in tents and fighting under the flags of Ichkeria and Ukraine against the Russia-backed separatist forces that have challenged the authorities in Kyiv (YouTube, November 4).

Mr. Munaev's activism has raised concerns in Ramzan Kadyrov's Chechnya. In response to his statements about defending Ukraine, some Chechens in Chechnya started saying that people who challenge Russia must face retribution. A group of Chechen

volunteers from Chechnya was soon dispatched to Ukraine to punish Mr. Munaev. The head of Mr. Kadyrov's personal guards, Abuzaida Vismuradov (a.k.a. Patriot), published several videos of Chechen volunteers determined to take revenge on Mr. Munaev. "Apti, Timur, Vakha arrived here and brought a Chechen volunteer battalion with them," Mr. Vismuradov said. "They will look for Isa Munaev and people like him. I want to say that his interview will not go unpunished" (vestikavkaza.ru, October 30).

Increasingly, it appears that an intra-Chechen conflict is taking place within the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Mr. Munaev has sought to avoid such a turn and has warned that the Russians want to give the impression that an intra-Chechen conflict was taking place prior to Moscow's involvement in Chechnya and that the Kremlin had managed to end the infighting between Chechens (golosichkerii.com, October 31). Mr. Munaev warned that his men will treat all those who are fighting under the Russian flag as part of the Russian military regardless of their ethnicity.

The fact that an entire special operation was launched to discredit Mr. Munaev (day-mohk.net, October 25) indicates that he

poses a particular threat to Moscow, which would like to get rid of him. The result of Moscow's efforts, however, is that more people within the Chechen diaspora trust him and are prepared to join him and fight for Ukraine's freedom – even those who did not know him as a Chechen war combatant.

Thus, after Syria, the Chechens are ready to establish themselves as a military force on the Ukrainian front as well. The possibility to damage Russia there will motivate the Chechens even more than the opportunity to fight for the caliphate back in Syria. By going to Ukraine, Chechens move closer to their homeland in the Caucasus, which

makes Russia's activities to intercept them much harder than catching those few Chechens who dare to return home from Syria. A new wave of militarized Chechens is forming near Russia; and as the conflict in Ukraine continues, more and more Chechens will likely relocate to Ukraine and take up the Ukrainian cause and receive vital military training, not to mention battlefield experience there.

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

Patriarch...

(Continued from page 1)

After the liturgy, a representative of the apostolic nuncio to the United States read a bull from the pope regarding the confirmation of the election of the newly ordained hierarch and handed it over to Bishop Danylo. Afterwards, the newly consecrated bishop addressed the audience.

Patriarch Sviatoslav had arrived on November 2 in the U.S. for the consecration and enthronement of the new bishop. At Cleveland Airport, he was welcomed with bread and salt by Bishop Bura; Bishop-Elect Bohdan Danylo; his brother, the Rev. Vsevolod Shevchuk, who ministers to the Ukrainian community in Akron, Ohio; the Rev. Bohdan Barytskyi, parochial vicar of the cathedral church in Parma; Archdeacon Geoffrey Smolylo, who serves at the cathedral of Parma; as well as religious and lay representatives of the Ukrainian community in Parma.

The next day, in the Cathedral of St. Josaphat in Parma, Patriarch Sviatoslav, in concelebration with Bishops Chomnycky and Bura, as well as numerous other hierarchs, presided over the Rite of Episcopal Nomination of the Rev. Danylo.

Afterwards, the primate of the UGCC led Vespers, which were attended by the bishops who came to Parma from all over the United States and Canada, as well as many priests, deacons, religious and laypersons.

On November 9, on the occasion of the celebration of the cathedral and eparchial feast day, the newly ordained ordinary of the Eparchy of St. Josaphat presided over his first Sunday divine liturgy since his enthronement. Bishop Danylo was joined by Bishop Bura, until recently the eparchy's apostolic administrator.

After the liturgy, a festive dinner with an artistic program took place in the chancery's banquet hall, during which representatives of the clergy and the laity welcomed Bishop Danylo as their newly enthroned eparch and thanked Bishop Bura for the many years of his fatherly work for the eparchy.

The appointment of the new bishop for the Eparchy of St. Josaphat in Parma was announced by Pope Francis on August 7.

The Rev. Danylo was born on May 22, 1971, in Gizycko, Poland; he grew up in Pzremyszl (Peremyshl in Ukrainian). After studying philosophy in Lublin, he moved to the United States, where he received theological education at the Catholic University of America in Washington and was ordained a priest for the Eparchy of Stamford on October 1, 1996.

After a year of service as curate in the



Department of Information of the UGCC
The newly enthroned Bishop Bohdan Danylo.

parish of St. Michael in Hartford, he was appointed vice-rector of the Seminary of St. Basil the Great in Stamford. He continued his studies at St. Vladimir Theological Seminary in Crestwood, N.Y., and then at the Pontifical University of St. Thomas Aquinas in Rome, where in 2005 he obtained his Licentiate in Theology.

Since 2005 the Rev. Danylo had been the rector of the Seminary of St. Basil the Great in Stamford. The new bishop speaks English, Ukrainian, Polish, Russian and Italian.

Sources: Department of Information of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of St. Josaphat.

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INTERVIEW: Baley speaks about upcoming Shevchenko bicentennial concert

Following is an interview with composer, conductor and musicologist Virko Baley conducted by composer Leonid Hrabovsky.

The bicentennial of Shevchenko's birth is a momentous occasion for Ukrainians specifically and for lovers of Shevchenko's poetry internationally. We now know that the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the U.S.A. asked you to put together an appropriate concert to celebrate this occasion in New York at Merkin Concert Hall at Lincoln Center. Can you tell us how you came up with the concept for this event?

The process was interesting. From a musical standpoint, the concert had to involve the settings of the poet's words to music. But, in the case of Shevchenko, the situation is more complicated. When one reads Shevchenko's various writings (such as diaries and stories), one finds many comments on music. He was musically literate, and there is some evidence that he could perform on the piano. He attended concerts and opera performances regularly. He thought very highly of Mozart and Beethoven and felt much affinity for Chopin and Mendelssohn, who were also high on his list. He was familiar with various virtuosos of his time such as Paganini, Servais and Vieuxtemps.

His writings mention dozens of musical names. He was particularly fond of opera and singers, being by all contemporary accounts a very gifted amateur singer. His taste in music was very catholic: he loved Haydn's great oratorio "The Creation" (a very complex work to understand), the operas of Bellini (especially "Norma"), various operas by Donizetti, two operas by Meyerbeer ("The Prophet" and "The Huguenots"), "William Tell" by Rossini, Glinka's "Life of a Tsar" and many more. He had a long and important personal and artistic friendship with Hulak-Artemovsky, the composer of "Kozaks Beyond the Danube." Shevchenko was also very much interested in theater.

When the great American Negro actor Ira Aldridge came to St. Petersburg in 1858 to appear in Shakespeare's "Othello," he became Shevchenko's close friend. Shevchenko felt that Negroes in America shared the fate of the Ukrainian serfs in the Russian Empire. Putting all his interests together (historical, literary, visual, theatrical, musical philosophical), we clearly see Shevchenko to be a genuine intellectual.

Finally, he was an extremely effective speaker, a dramatic performer of words. In



Performers at the December 7 concert celebrating the bicentennial of Taras Shevchenko: (from left) Oksana Dyka, soprano; Solomiya Ivakhiv, violin; and Angelina Gadeliya, piano.

November of 1860, in St. Petersburg, Shevchenko shared a platform with Dostoyevsky and two other Russian poets, in support of a charitable cause. A diarist who was there, Elena Shtakensneider, commented that Dostoyevsky received polite applause, but Shevchenko a deafening ovation, which she called an "uncontrolled uproar."

Thus, one can say that my approach was to pull together all these strands to create a program that would reflect Shevchenko's musical interests.

Two questions come to my mind that may need clarification. What linguistic skills did Shevchenko possess in order to become that familiar with European culture, and how did he become that versed in it?

As for languages, besides Ukrainian and Russian, he knew Polish – there is considerable evidence for that. He also probably knew some phrases in French, the lingua franca of its day and probably some in Italian, since his main mentor was Karl Briullov, the first internationally acknowledged "Russian" painter, famous during his lifetime for the painting The Last Day of Pompeii. But remember, Karl Briullov was born in Italy and came to Russia with his father – a sculptor named Briullov whose last name was Russified to Briullov – and spent many years back in Italy during his life. Thus, he was actually a man of both worlds. St. Petersburg had, as any center of a quickly developing empire would, a large, multi-lingual foreign population. The students of the academy were very much

encouraged to participate wholeheartedly in the considerable cultural life of the city, which was very busy becoming more and more of a European-style capital. As for how he conversed with Ira Aldridge, or other foreigners, it was with help of friends who knew that particular language. This is true everywhere.

What made you decide to invite Oksana Dyka?

After considering a number of possibilities, the board of NTSh [the Ukrainian-based acronym for the Shevchenko Scientific Society] decided that a concert that featured an internationally renowned singer, and one associated with the venerable Metropolitan Opera, should be considered first. Oksana Dyka had just appeared to great acclaim as Yaroslava in Borodin's "Prince Igor," and this spring is returning to the Met to take over the role of Aida from that other remarkable Ukrainian soprano, Liudmyla Monastyrskaya. She has also been booked for 2016 and 2017 to do other lead roles at the Met.

Dyka is a bona fide international operatic star in the making – no question about it. I found out that Ms. Dyka was fortunately available and interested in participating in our very specific, demanding type of concert, one that reflected Shevchenko's known musical interests. After some discussions, she agreed.

Interspersed between her three vocal sections, there will be music for violin and piano by two composers we know Shevchenko loved, Beethoven and Henri Vieuxtemps, performed by violinist Solomiya Ivakhiv and pianist Angelina Gadeliya, who is also accompanying Ms. Dyka. In addition, Troppe Note Publishing commissioned the Kyiv composer Alexander Shchetynsky to write a new piece in honor of Shevchenko and his bicentennial.

What can you tell us about the other performers at the concert?

Well, they are certainly two of the best young instrumentalists from the Ukrainian community working in United States. Both Solomiya and Angelina are wonderful, professional musicians, soloists and artists, both well-known to the New York audience. Shchetynsky is an established composer in Europe and is starting to have performances and recognition in America. As a matter of fact, MATI [Music at the Institute] is presenting on April 25, 2015, a concert called "Shchetynsky and the New Ukrainians," which will introduce to New York new voices from Ukraine.

What guided you and Oksana Dyka in

selecting the music?

A couple of things. All the music not set to Shevchenko's poetry would have to be selected from the music that he knew of or heard and loved, both vocal and instrumental. In other words, music written prior to the year of his death. The three great operatic arias by Bellini (from "Norma"), Mozart (from "Marriage of Figaro") and Rossini (from "William Tell") that open the concert we know he knew.

Second, I wanted a new piece, written by a contemporary composer in Ukraine, for the concert. I knew that Alexander Shchetynsky had written a chamber opera on an event in Shevchenko's life when in exile, titled "Interrupted Letter," that is to be performed in Vienna the following season. I asked him to compose a violin and piano piece based on that opera for this concert. He agreed, and the result is "An Episode in the Life of the Poet," a fantasy based on the opera "Interrupted Letter" for violin and piano.

But, the bulk of the concert is Oksana Dyka performing songs written on Shevchenko's words by composers such as Lysenko, Stetsenko, Stevopyi, Mussorgsky (the famous "Hopak"), Rachmaninoff, Silvestrov, Skoryk, Ihor Shamo and others, ending with Halia's aria from "Nazar Stodolia" by Dankevych.

Solomiya Ivakhiv and Angelina Gadeliya will perform Beethoven's Allegro Vivace from Sonata in G Major, Op. 30, which is stylistically a "Hopak," a genre that Beethoven became acquainted with during his friendship with Count Andrey Rozumovsky, the son of the last hetman, Kyrylo Rozumovsky, who was the tsar's diplomatic representative to the Hapsburg court in Vienna. Beethoven dedicated his three great string quartets to him, always referred as the "Rozumovsky Quartets."

The program has already aroused considerable interest among many people. I urge the readers of The Ukrainian Weekly to attend an event that will most certainly broaden your appreciation of our genius Shevchenko and in the process hear some fabulous performances and beautiful music.

* * *

The concert will take place on Sunday, December 7, at 7 p.m. at Merkin Hall, followed by an opportunity to meet the artists at the post-concert gala reception at the Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA). The concert is sponsored and organized by the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh). The UIA is co-sponsoring the event with NTSh, and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. (UVAN) is a supporting partner.

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OUT & ABOUT

- November 17
Cambridge, MA Film screenings, "Blockade and Reflections" and short films by Sergei Loznitsa, Harvard University, 617-495-3549
- November 17
Cambridge, MA Symposium, with Anna Artunyan and Alexander Motyl, "Vladimir Putin and Ukraine. What is on His Mind? What is in His Mind?," Harvard University, 617-495-3549
- November 18
New York Roundtable discussion with Denisa Hejlova, Anastasiia Grynko and Milan Heijl, "Media, Business and Politics in Eastern Europe: Public Relations Development and its Power," Columbia University, 212-854-4623 or <http://harriman.columbia.edu>
- November 18-19
Washington Ukrainian Days advocacy event, Ukrainian National Information Service, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Capitol Hill, 202-54-0018 or unis@ucca.org
- November 20
New York Poetry night with Olena Jennings, Vasyl Makhno, Alexander Motyl, Maria Rewakowicz and Al Rosenblatt, The Ukrainian Museum, www.ukrainianmuseum.org
- November 20
Ottawa Film screening, "Holodomor," with discussion by MP James Bezan and Prof. Roman Serbyn, Ukrainian Students' Club of Ottawa, University of Ottawa, www.facebook.com/suskOttawa
- November 20
Cambridge, MA Presentation by Radoslaw Sikorski, "A Future for Ukraine: Lessons From Poland," Harvard University, 617-495-3549
- November 22
New York Requiem service for victims of the Holodomor, St. Patrick Cathedral, www.ucca.org or 212-228-6840
- November 22
Ottawa Requiem service for victims of the Holodomor, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, 613-728-0856 or www.ukrainianorthodox.info
- November 22
Kenmore, NY Christmas bazaar, St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, 716-873-5011
- November 22
San Francisco Holodomor commemorative event, with film screening of "Genocide Revealed" by Yuriy Luhovy, with commentary by Dr. Oleh Weres, Main Public Library, 650-281-6927 or <http://sfpl.org/index/php?pg=1016157801>
- November 22
San Francisco Candlelight vigil for victims of the Holodomor, Northern California branch of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, Union Square, www.facebook.com/events/550941105037623
- November 22
Brooklyn, NY Concert with Vopli Vidopliasova, Master Theater, www.mastertheater.com or 718-339-0003
- November 22
Sebastopol, CA Sister City Friendship Dinner and celebration in support of Chyhyryn, Cherkasy, Ukraine, Sebastopol World Friends, Enmanji Temple Memorial Hall, 707-823-9343 or valchurma@comcast.net
- November 22-23
Washington Christmas Bazaar, Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family, 202-526-3737 or www.ucns-holyfamily.org
- November 23
San Francisco Parish feast day, St. Michael the Archangel Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 415-225-2582 or www.stmichaeluocsf.org
- November 23
Ottawa Ukrainian Christmas Bazaar, Ukrainian Women's Association, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, 613-830-1472
- November 23
New York Lecture by Tamara Skrypka, "Lesia Ukrainka: Fate and Inheritance," and book presentation, "The Drahomanov-Kosach Family Tree: Structure and Culture," Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Science, 212-222-1866

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



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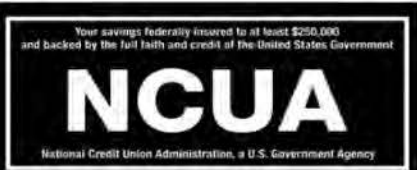
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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, November 22

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a book launch "Shliakh u Bezsmer'tia. Do 30-Richchia Vidkhotu u Vichnist Blazhennishoho Patriyarkha Yosyfa Slipoho (1892-1984). Materialy pro Smert ta Pokhoron" (Lviv: Artos, 2014). The program will feature an introduction by Prof. Leonid Rudnytzky, talks by Iryna Ivankovych (executive director of the St. Sophia Society in the U.S.) and Father Marko Yaroslav Semehen (president of the St. Sophia Society in Italy) and a screening of the film "Shliakh u Bezsmer'tia." The presentation will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Avenue (between Ninth and 10th streets) at 5 p.m. For additional information, call 212-254-5130.

Friday, December 5

NEW YORK: The 1964 film "The Dream" ("Son") will be screened at 7 p.m. This Ukrainian-language production (no subtitles) is director Volodymyr Denysenko's interpretation of Taras Shevchenko's satirical poem written in 1844 exposing Russian tsarism as a ruthless and authoritarian regime, which led to Shevchenko's arrest and 10-year exile. An introduction will be given by Dr. Vitaly A. Chernetsky, University of Kansas, with Q&A after the screening. Admission (includes reception and gallery access) is \$15; \$10 for members and seniors; \$5 for students. Tickets may be purchased online or at the door. The Ukrainian Museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St., between Second and Third avenues; phone number, 212-228-0110; website, www.ukrainianmuseum.org.

Saturday, December 6

MIAMI: The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church Choir invites you to its sixth annual Christmas choral program featuring traditional Ukrainian Christmas/holiday songs of the season. The concert is at 7 p.m. at the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church, 38 NW 57th Ave. (at Flagler Street).

Admission is free. Donations go toward the Church Building Fund. For more information contact Donna Maksymowich-Waskiewicz at 954-434-4635 or donnamak@bellsouth.net

NEW YORK: At 7 p.m., join us for "Hutsuls on the Barricades: Songs, Music and Rituals from the Carpathians and the Maidan," a Yara Arts Group concert featuring the Koliadnyky, an ensemble of winter-song singers from Kryvorivnia (a Ukrainian village in the Hutsul region of the Carpathian Mountains) and Yara artists. Hear traditional winter songs from the Koliada rituals celebrating the winter solstice and scenes from contemporary Ukraine. Tickets for the 4 p.m. and 7 p.m. shows will be available for advance purchase online on November 15. Seating is limited. Admission is \$25; \$20 for members, seniors, students. The Ukrainian Museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St., between Second and Third avenues; phone number, 212-228-0110; website, www.ukrainianmuseum.org.

Saturday-Sunday, December 6-7

NEW YORK: Do not miss the Christmas Bazaar and its unique gifts at 11 a.m.-5 p.m. This annual sale organized by The Ukrainian Museum's "Wednesday Volunteers" is a great opportunity to purchase folk art items, ornaments, Christmas cards, books, artwork, contemporary crafts and jewelry, home-baked goods and much more. Come early for the best selections, or check the online gift shop at www.ukrainianmuseum.org. Admission is free. The Ukrainian Museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St., between Second and Third avenues; phone number, 212-228-0110; website, www.ukrainianmuseum.org.

Sunday, December 7

HILLSIDE, N.J.: You, your family and friends are invited to visit with St. Nicholas at 12:30 p.m. in the church hall of Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church, located at the intersection of Liberty Avenue and Bloy Street in Hillside (Union County), NJ. The par-

ish children will present an informal bilingual entertainment program. Complimentary refreshments will be served. For those attending the Sunday divine liturgy at 10:45 a.m., a light lunch will be provided after the liturgy. If you would like to attend the luncheon, please contact Teresa Szpyhulsky, 908-289-0127; Patricia Shatynski, 908-322-7350; or email the parish at ICUkrainianCatholic@yahoo.com by November 30. Additional information and directions to the parish may be found on the parish website www.byzcath.org/ImmaculateConception.

Saturday-Sunday, December 13-14

NEW YORK: Create your own traditional Ukrainian Christmas tree ornaments such as spiders, cradles, stars, mobiles and garlands using beads, walnut shells, colored ribbons and paper. Sign up for this great activity for the entire family (children ages 7 and up) on Saturday, 2-4 p.m. or Sunday, 11 a.m.-1 p.m. or 2-4 p.m. Fee: adults, \$15; students over 12 and seniors, \$10; children age 7-12, \$5; members - 10 percent discount. Pre-registration is required. The Ukrainian Museum is located at

222 E. Sixth St., between Second and Third avenues; phone number, 212-228-0110; website, www.ukrainianmuseum.org.

Wednesday, December 31

PERTH AMBOY, N.J.: A New Year's Eve dance (zabava) will be held by Assumption Ukrainian Catholic Church, 380 Meredith St., Perth Amboy, N.J., beginning at 8 p.m. Music will be by Oberehy. Tickets are \$80 per person; children (age 5-12), \$40. (Tickets purchased after December 25 will be \$90). A TV will be raffled off as a door prize. Menu will include: main course - stuffed salmon, French-style pork, roasted chicken, chicken with barbeque sauce, chicken loaf, meatloaf, stuffed cabbage, pyrohy, roasted potatoes, cheese blintzes, puffs with meat, mushroom gravy, borsch; European salads - salad olivier, cold feet (studynets), "shuba," carrot salad with raisins, cold cuts, pickled cucumbers and tomatoes; desserts - cakes, fresh fruit and champagne. For tickets call 732-826-0767 or 202-368-2408. All seats reserved; no tickets will be sold at the door. For information see www.assumptioncatholicchurch.net.

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 and/or e-mail address to be published for readers who may require additional information. Items must be **no more than 100 words** long.

Preview items must be received **no later than one week before the desired date of publication** (i.e., they must be received by 9 am Monday morning). 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. When e-mailing, please do not send items as attachments - simply type the text into the body of the e-mail message. Preview items and payments may be mailed to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.



November 27th 2014 at Soyuzivka
Traditional Thanksgiving Feast
Buffet-Style from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m.

Featuring Turkey Dinner with all the trimmings
Beef Carving Station, Salmon ala Snake, and Roasted Pork Tenderloin
Plus Soup, Salad and Desserts

\$40 per adult, 5 to 12 - ½ price, 4 & under - free

Call for reservations 845-626-5641 ext. 140

SOYUZIVKA 216 Foordmore Rd Kerhonkson NY 12446