



ХРИСТОС НАРОДИВСЯ!
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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a fraternal non-profit association

Vol. LXXXII-LXXXIII

No. 52-1

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28, 2014 - SUNDAY, JANUARY 4, 2015

\$2.00

Verkhovna Rada votes to abandon neutrality, as Ukraine sets sights on NATO membership

RFE/RL

KYIV – Ukraine’s Parliament voted on December 23 to abandon the country’s neutral “non-bloc” status and set a course for NATO membership, a move immediately denounced by Russia as “unfriendly.”

The legislative amendment submitted by President Petro Poroshenko last week was approved with 303 “yes” votes in the 450-seat Verkhovna Rada.

A note explaining the changes in Ukraine’s law on domestic and foreign policy said that the “non-bloc” status codified under then-President Viktor Yanukovich in 2010 had left Ukraine vulnerable to “external aggression and pressure.”

It said that “the Russian Federation’s aggression against Ukraine, its illegal annexation of Crimea... its military intervention in eastern regions” and other forms of pressure created the need for “more effective guarantees of independence, sovereignty, security and territorial integrity.”

The pro-Western leaders who came to power after Mr. Yanukovich fled in the face of protests last February have spoken for months of plans to renounce the neutral status, which prevented Ukraine from seeking NATO membership.

Kyiv and NATO accuse Russia of providing direct military support to pro-Russian separatists who have seized parts of two oblasts in eastern Ukraine and fought government forces in a conflict that has killed more than 4,700 people since April.

“Ukraine’s fight for its independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty has turned into a decisive factor in our rela-

tions with the world,” Mr. Poroshenko told foreign ambassadors in Kyiv late on December 22.

Before the vote, former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko described the legislation to fellow lawmaker as “a bill about our place in Western civilization.”

The legislation approved by Parliament says Ukraine will tighten cooperation with NATO with the aim of “achieving the criteria required to attain membership” in the Western military alliance.

Any accession to the Western military alliance is likely to take years, but a NATO spokesman in Brussels said, “Our door is open and Ukraine will become a member of NATO if it so requests and fulfills the standards and adheres to the necessary principles.”

Russia’s envoy to the OSCE, Andrei Kelin, called the legislation “unfriendly” and said it would “add trouble and tension to our relationship.”

Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Sergei Lavrov said it was a “counterproductive” move that “escalates confrontations and creates the illusion that the profound internal crisis in Ukraine can be resolved through the adoption of such laws.”

In a Facebook post early on December 23, before the vote, Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev said the legislation to abandon nonaligned status was “in essence, an application to enter NATO, turning Ukraine into a potential military opponent of Russia.”

Moscow has frequently warned that it strongly opposes Ukrainian membership in

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Financial concerns increase after 2015 budget is presented



Aleksandr Sinitsa/UNIAN

Finance Minister Natalie Jaresko and Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk in the Verkhovna Rada for the presentation of the proposed budget for 2015.

by Zenon Zawada

KYIV – The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine led by Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk on December 23 presented to Parliament its 2015 central budget, which decides who will carry the economic burden as the country attempts to preserve its statehood in what is promised to be the most turbulent year since independence.

The 2015 budget will also determine whether the government will qualify to

receive the next IMF tranche of \$2.8 billion expected in early February, as estimated by Ukraine’s top economists. The tranche is the Ukrainian government’s only hope for survival as its international reserves have dwindled to \$7 billion – an 11-year low. Meanwhile, it has \$11 billion in foreign debt obligations.

Parliament voted to approve a calendar that would require a vote on the budget on

(Continued on page 16)

New York’s Dumka performs in Boston



Vsevolod Petriv

Dumka performs in Boston at Christ the King Ukrainian Catholic Church.

by Peter T. Woloschuk

BOSTON – The famed Dumka Chorus of New York paid its first visit to Boston in its 65-year history and gave a concert of Christmas carols in Christ the King Ukrainian Catholic Church on Sunday, December 21, following a pontifical divine liturgy celebrated by Bishop Paul Chomnycky of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Stamford, Conn., and concelebrated by the church’s pastor, the Rev. Dr. Yaroslav Nalysnyk.

The hour-long concert featured 44 members of the chorus, under the baton of director Vasyl Hrechynsky, who made the four-hour trip from New York City that morning. They were accompanied on keyboard by Larissa Gutnikiewicz and a string quartet of local musicians (Oksana Gorokhovskiy, first violin; Eve Boltax, second violin; Andrew Wald, viola; and Natalie Helm, cello).

The Rev. Nalysnyk briefly welcomed the ensemble and

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ANALYSIS

A Donetsk snapshot: Frightening rise of denunciations

by Ilya Trebor
RFE/RL

DONETSK, Ukraine – The website of the pro-Kyiv authorities in the eastern city of Donetsk features the photographs of dozens of local residents that have disappeared and are believed to be in the custody of the pro-Russian separatists that control parts of southeastern Ukraine around both Donetsk and Luhansk.

There are many ways to end up in a separatist jail – being caught outside after curfew, failing to produce acceptable documents, or simply arousing the suspicion of one of the many masked men patrolling the streets with automatic weapons.

And, increasingly, one can end up there as a result of the old Soviet-style method of denunciation. More and more cases of people detained “under the testimony of neighbors” are being uncovered.

In October, a document appeared on social media that purported to be a denunciation form from the separatist authorities of Donetsk that people could use to report about “a citizen who is not worthy of occupying the honored position of a citizen of the DNR [Donetsk People’s Republic] and needs to be isolated” and who “carried out illegal activities not in correspondence with the general policies of the Donetsk People’s Republic and the interests of our country.”

The photographed document accused a local whose name was obscured of insulting two DNR functionaries, calling for the “physical destruction” of the DNR leadership and “offending those who support the idea of the DNR.”

At around the same time, another denunciation raised eyebrows in Luhansk. In this instance, it came from the separatist, self-proclaimed “culture minister,” Irina Filatova.

“I ask you to take measures to detain and punish according to martial law Yelena Vladimirovna Krasnovskaya...,” Ms. Filatova says in a letter. She goes on to claim that Ms. Krasnovskaya “performed rituals” at a city cemetery that were intended to “weaken the statehood of the Luhansk People’s Republic [LNR] and bring harm to the health of its citizens.”

“According to the testimony of neighbors, she supports the Kyiv junta and is set against the LNR and Donbas,” the denunciation continues. “I request that you investigate the incendiary activity of Ye. V. Krasnovskaya and determine a just means of punishment, including execution by shooting according to the regime of martial law.”

Last month, a businesswoman from Donetsk named Svitlana Matushko told RFE/RL that she spent one week in captivity in Donetsk after a man she had been dating denounced her for allegedly reporting on separatist militia positions to the Ukrainian military.

Ukraine’s Internal Affairs Ministry recently released a statement from a Donetsk resident identified only as Dmytro, who told of a 27-year-old neighbor who got into a dispute with another neighbor over some money that she borrowed.

The conflict led to a loud argument in front of the building one day in July, Dmytro claims, in which the woman’s father sided with the neighbor and asked his daughter to repay the debt.

“On the next day, two cars without license plates pulled up to our building,” Dmytro’s statement reads. “The woman got out of the first car, and some guys from DNR got out of the second. After a little while, they brought out the neighbor and the father in handcuffs, pushed them into the back of the cars and drove off. We didn’t see them again.”

Dmytro adds in his statement that he supports the DNR, although the incident in his building disturbed him.

Such occurrences appear to have eerie echoes of the Stalin era of terror in the former Soviet Union, where pre-emptive accusations were commonplace.

Wendy Goldman, a professor of history at Carnegie Mellon University and author of “Inventing The Enemy: Denunciation and Terror in Stalin’s Russia,” argues that the tactic played a major role in intensifying and spreading fear and repression under Stalin.

In a 2011 interview about her book, Prof. Goldman argued that “ordinary Soviet

(Continued on page 20)

Quotable notes

“...an agreement once heralded as a breakthrough is gradually being undermined by one of the very countries that signed it.

“As part of the [Budapest] agreement, Ukraine willingly gave up more than 1,000 strategic and 2,500 tactical nuclear weapons, and agreed to the destruction of 176 silos used to launch intercontinental ballistic missiles. In return, Ukraine was offered security assurances by Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States in a document that highlighted the inviolability of Ukraine’s existing borders and its sovereignty, called for the abstention from forceful actions that could threaten Ukraine’s territorial integrity and prohibited economic pressure being placed on Ukraine.

“Unfortunately, Russia has disregarded each of these provisions. ...recent violations of the agreement now risk undermining a system that safeguards states against national security threats through diplomatic means. ...

“As President Petro Poroshenko noted last month, ‘it is clear that the non-bloc status of Ukraine proclaimed in 2010 couldn’t guarantee our security and territorial integrity. ...This position has led to serious losses. That’s why we’ve decided to return to the course of Euro-Atlantic integration.’ ...

“More broadly, recent events in Ukraine have underscored the need for a rethink of the existing global security architecture. ...It is imperative in our fast-changing world that states are granted new means of defending their territory, and that the most effective mechanisms are in place for preserving international peace. It’s a conversation that Ukraine, now more than ever, is keen to take part in.”

– Ambassador Olexander Motsyk, Ukraine’s ambassador to the United States, in an op-ed titled “Why Ukraine is rethinking NATO relationship” that was posted on December 12 on CNN.com.

NEWSBRIEFS

EU adopts new Crimea sanctions

BRUSSELS – The European Union on December 18 agreed to new sanctions against Moscow-annexed Crimea as EU leaders prepared to discuss a “tough and responsible” strategy toward Russia following its involvement in Ukraine. The new measures ban all investment in Crimea and cruise ships from its ports as further punishment for Russia’s annexation of the region from Ukraine in March. European Council President Donald Tusk said ahead of a summit in Brussels December 18, “We should send a strong signal on our readiness to further support Ukraine, also financially, as we have done politically today by making the existing sanctions on Crimea and Sevastopol more effective.” Mr. Tusk, former Polish prime minister, is chairing his first meeting of EU leaders since taking over from Herman Van Rompuy as European Council chief on December 1. The December 18 move came after EU foreign ministers decided last month that the EU’s non-recognition policy toward Russia’s annexation of Crimea needed to be bolstered with tougher sanctions. The ban prohibits EU citizens and EU-registered companies from buying real estate in Crimea, from setting up joint ventures with Crimean companies, and from buying Crimean firms, their shares or other securities. It also bans the sale, export, or transport of goods using EU-registered vessels and aircraft to Crimean firms in the sectors of transport, telecommunications and energy – including the exploration and production of oil, natural gas and mineral resources. In the tourism sector, EU cruise ships are banned from calling at any port on the Crimean Peninsula. (RFE/RL, with contributions from RFE/RL’s Rikard Jozwiak in Brussels and additional reporting by Reuters and the Associated Press)

Putin: No one can intimidate Russia

MOSCOW – President Vladimir Putin has warned that no country can “intimidate” or “isolate” Russia. Speaking in Moscow on December 20, he said such attempts had repeatedly been made over the centuries. He said that currently “open calls are being made to make Russia pay dearly for its

independent stance, for the support of its compatriots, for Crimea, for Sevastopol and for our mere existence.” But Mr. Putin, in an address to mark the national holiday of Employees and Veterans of Russia’s Security Forces said: “Of course, no one will be able to intimidate us, or contain and isolate Russia. No one has ever been able to and no one ever will.” Mr. Putin called for improvement of Russia’s secret services to tackle “modern challenges and threats” amid tensions with the West over the Moscow’s role in the Ukrainian crisis. Mr. Putin said the most important tasks for Russia’s intelligence services were the fight against global terrorism and the prevention of “any attempts of foreign special services to deal a blow to Russia and her political and economic interests.” Russia’s economy is expected to slip into recession next year because of Western sanctions and the falling price of oil. Earlier on December 20, the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry said that the new sanctions won’t push Russia to give up Crimea since it is a “historic and integral part of Russia.” The ministry referred to Cuba, where it took the United States half a century to restore diplomatic relations, and said it was prepared to wait as long as necessary for Washington to relent. The Foreign Affairs Ministry also said that Moscow planned to work out measures in response to new U.S. and Canadian sanctions against Russia. Foreign Ministry spokesman Aleksandr Lukashevich said, “We recommend that Washington and Ottawa think about [the] consequences of such actions. And we will explore response measures.” (RFE/RL, with reporting by Interfax and Agence France-Presse)

Crimea has become a military base

KYIV – Since the annexation of Crimea, Russia has been deploying heavy troops closer to the borders of Ukraine and other European nations, the Ukraine Crisis Media Center reported. Nearly 40,000 troops, 43 battleships, and dozens of missile launchers and fighter jets recently deployed to the Ukrainian peninsula now threaten the security of the entire European region. (Ukraine Crisis Media Center)

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

FOUNDED 1933

An English-language newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a non-profit association, at 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.
Yearly subscription rate: \$90; for UNA members – \$80.

Periodicals postage paid at Caldwell, NJ 07006 and additional mailing offices.
(ISSN – 0273-9348)

The Weekly:
Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 644-9510

UNA:
Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 292-0900

Postmaster, send address changes to:
The Ukrainian Weekly
2200 Route 10
P.O. Box 280
Parsippany, NJ 07054

Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz
Editor: Matthew Dubas

e-mail: staff@ukrweekly.com

The Ukrainian Weekly Archive: www.ukrweekly.com

The Ukrainian Weekly, December 28, 2014, No. 52, Vol. LXXXII -
January 4, 2015, No. 1, Vol. LXXXIII
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ADMINISTRATION OF THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY AND SVOBODA

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NEWS ANALYSIS: Ukraine to develop defense industry without Russia

by Oleg Varfolomeyev
Eurasia Daily Monitor

The annexation of Crimea and the hybrid war with Russia that ensued have changed the Ukrainian government's attitude toward the domestic military industry. Consequently, Ukraine's arms production sector is likely to cease being an export-oriented industry that depended on Russia and exploited the fame of the Soviet military-industrial complex, while not developing much of its own hardware or technologies. Indeed, President Petro Poroshenko told the government in September that the Ukrainian military-industrial complex could become one of the engines of the national economy (Ukrinform.ua September 10).

"Strategy-2020," a reform plan Mr. Poroshenko offered to the nation, provides for increasing military spending to 5 percent of GDP in 2020 from 1 percent until now. The manpower of the armed forces will be expanded as well. Mr. Poroshenko plans for Ukraine to have seven military personnel per 1,000 residents, up from the current 2.8 (president.gov.ua, September 29). Most recently, the president instructed the government to increase military spending to at least 3 percent of GDP already in 2015 (president.gov.ua, November 5).

The first steps in this direction were taken last summer, when it became clear that the Ukrainian army was too weak to protect the eastern industrial Donbas region (an area encompassing the Donetsk and Luhansk provinces) from ill-equipped and ill-trained Russia-backed militants supported by a limited Russian military contingent. Ukraine's Parliament, therefore, approved a 1.5 percent war tax on personal incomes and increased other tax rates in order to boost military spending. As a result, defense spending growth accelerated to 60.4 percent year on year, even as overall state budget revenue increased by just 3.9 percent in January-October (minfin.gov.ua, November 28).

This should be a boon to the domestic defense industry, which has, thus far, had to export almost 100 percent of its products, even though 53 percent of Ukrainian military hardware was over 25 years old, and only 1.2 percent of the military's equipment was newer than 10 years (business.ua, April 21). A case in point has been the truck manufacturer KRAZ, which used to survive mainly thanks to orders from the Middle East. Recently, however, it began supplying newly designed military trucks to the Ukrainian army (fakty.ictv.ua, November 20). In January-October, KRAZ production was up 53 percent year on year, and in October alone it jumped 140 percent year on year (avrokraz.com.ua, November 5).

Despite more than two decades of underfinancing, Ukraine's defense sector remains one of the most developed local industries. Some facilities in shipbuilding and missile production are unique, but Ukraine also makes more standard military products, such as armored vehicles, tanks, radar systems, helicopter engines, transport aircraft, various components for military aircraft, small arms and ammunition. Domestic producers also have numerous design bureaus. If more funds are poured into the industry, it will likely be able to not only contribute to rearming Ukraine, but also to boost exports further and have more resources to devote to research.

However, Ukraine lost some of its defense industry potential this year. With Crimea's annexation, the state military industry concern Ukroboronprom lost 13 enterprises located there, mainly shipyards and aircraft repair plants (ukroboronprom.ua, accessed on November 28; business.ua, April 21). The shipyard Morye, which makes naval hovercraft and speedboats, stands out among them. Crimea's annexation may disrupt a Ukrainian contract with China to build Zubr-type landing aircraft at Morye (feodosia.ws, November 24).

Meanwhile, in the Donbas area, Ukraine has been cut off from local plants produc-

ing ammunition, explosives, engine components and radar systems – Kolchuha passive sensors, in particular. Recent Russian "humanitarian convoys" reportedly carried back over the border into Russia equipment dismantled from at least five Donbas-based defense industry enterprises (forbes.ua, September 1).

Following the Crimean events, the Ukrainian government has severed links with the Russian defense industry. Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) chief Valentyn Nalyvaichenko told a briefing in November that no military industry enterprises located in government-controlled areas were cooperating with Russia (pravda.com.ua, November 18). This is natural, since Ukraine has been in a de facto state of war

with Russia since February. Kyiv, thereby, wants to undermine Moscow's military potential, as the Russian defense industry and troops, in particular as far as missiles and aircraft are concerned, to a large extent depend on Ukrainian equipment supplies and services.

The Ukrainian firm Motor Sich supplied engines for Russian Mi helicopters; Arsenal plant delivered infrared homing heads for air-to-air missiles; Artem equipped Su and Mig fighter jets with air-to-air missiles; Zorya-Mashproyekt used to sell gas turbines for naval vessels; and Ukrainian experts serviced Russia's intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) – SS-18s in particular (rian.com.ua,

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Obama bans U.S. trade with Crimea European Union and Canada also announce new sanctions

RFE/RL

WASHINGTON – U.S. President Barack Obama has issued an executive order banning U.S. exports of goods, technology or services to Ukraine's Crimea region. Obama also authorized the Treasury Department to impose sanctions on individuals and companies operating in the region. In announcing the new measures on December 19, Obama also called on Russia to end its annexation of the region.

The Treasury Department announced 17 names and seven entities blacklisted under the order.

Canada also announced on December 19 new sanctions on Russia over its actions in Ukraine. The moves come one day after the European Union banned investment in Crimea.

Mr. Obama signed a separate law authorizing new Russian sanctions on December 18, but said that he would not use the authority at this time. That law also authorized the president to send lethal weapons to Ukraine's military.

Crimea has been under de facto Russian control since March, after Russian-backed forces took the peninsula from Ukraine.

"I again call on Russia to end its occupation and attempted annexation of Crimea, cease its support to separatists in eastern Ukraine, and fulfill its commitments under the

Minsk agreements," President Obama said.

The Minsk Protocol signed in September led to a ceasefire in eastern Ukraine but failed to stop the fighting. Ukraine and Western countries have repeatedly accused Russia of stoking the unrest in eastern Ukraine by supplying weapons and troops to the pro-Russian rebels. Moscow denies the charge despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

Mr. Obama said he "will continue to review and calibrate our sanctions, in close coordination with our international partners, to respond to Russia's actions."

Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced the new sanctions against Russia on December 19, including additional restrictions on the export of technology used in the oil and gas industry.

Mr. Harper warned that "the Putin regime has continuously violated the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Ukraine."

"Canada will not accept the illegal occupation of Crimea and persistent, provocative military activity in eastern Ukraine," he added.

Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird also said sanctions were being applied on 11 Russians and nine Ukrainians, due to Russia's actions in Ukraine.

With reporting by Agence France-Presse and Reuters.

Microsoft and Ukraine sign cybersecurity agreement



WASHINGTON – Standing in the historic George Washington room of the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington, Jamie Wyllly (left), general manager of public safety and national security at Microsoft, shakes hands with Vladimir Zverev, head of Ukraine's State Service of Special Communication, following their signing December 22 of the Security Program Agreement intended to help protect Ukraine against foreign cybercrime and intervention. Standing with them are Nadiia Vasylieva, Microsoft's chief executive officer in Ukraine; Ukrainian Ambassador Olexander Motsyk (center); and Igor Kozachenko, director of Ukraine's Science-Research Institute of Special Communication and Information Protection (right).

– Yaro Bihun

FOR THE RECORD: Obama on Ukraine Freedom Support act

The following statement by the president on the Ukraine Freedom Support Act was released by the White House, Office of the Press Secretary on Thursday afternoon, December 18.

Today, I have signed HR 5859, the Ukraine Freedom Support Act of 2014, into law. Signing this legislation does not signal a change in the administration's sanctions policy, which we have carefully calibrated in accordance with developments on the ground and coordinated with our allies and partners. At this time, the administration does not intend to impose sanctions under this law, but the act gives the administration additional authorities that could be utilized, if circumstances warranted.

My administration will continue to work closely with allies and partners in Europe and internationally to respond to developments in Ukraine and will con-

tinue to review and calibrate our sanctions to respond to Russia's actions. We again call on Russia to end its occupation and attempted annexation of Crimea, cease support to separatists in eastern Ukraine, and implement the obligations it signed up to under the Minsk agreements.

As I have said many times, our goal is to promote a diplomatic solution that provides a lasting resolution to the conflict and helps to promote growth and stability in Ukraine and regionally, including in Russia. In this context, we continue to call on Russia's leadership to implement the Minsk agreements and to reach a lasting and comprehensive resolution to the conflict which respects Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We remain prepared to roll back sanctions should Russia take the necessary steps.

Conference in New York examines Ukraine conflict and gender violence



Joe Messaoud

At the conference on “The Ukraine Conflict and Wartime Gender Violence” (from left) are: program organizer Dr. Marta Kichorowska Kebalo; speakers Prof. Mar’iana Rubchak, Ayla Bakkalli and Roksolana Misilo; and event organizers Marta Burachok and Mariya Andriyovych.

by Marta Burachok

NEW YORK – The New York Regional Council of the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America hosted a conference on “The Ukraine Conflict and Wartime Gender Violence” jointly sponsored by the World Federation of Ukrainian Women’s Organizations and the UNWLA at the latter’s headquarters here on December 6.

The conference explored the multitude of ways the Ukrainian war affects women. Over 40 people attended the multi-generational event.

Program director and moderator Dr. Marta Kichorowska Kebalo, the WFUWO’s

main representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council in New York, introduced the theme of the conference. She started by giving an overview of the history and politics of the current events in Ukraine. The war has affected women, as participants, as victims and as caretakers.

In the times of war, she said, we must resist the temptation to relegate women to secondary, support positions, but to allow them to more fully participate in the unfolding of political, military and social events. Women have already served as first responders and have been trained to shoot and kill.

Women dominate the ranks of internally

displaced refugees. Women also have to cope with being the primary providers of critical care for the wounded. All of this is in addition to the dangers of gender violence when the fabric of civil society breaks down.

Dr. Mar’iana Rubchak, professor at Valparaiso University, spoke about how the feminist voice was ignited in the Ukrainian struggle. The rebirth of Ukrainian self-determination on the Euro-Maidan also created the rebirth of the feminist spirit in its women. Refusing to be pigeon-holed in traditional nurturing and caregiving stereotypes, the feminist women of the Maidan created their own “Zhinocha Sotnia” (Women’s Brigade), she noted. Thus, they overcame the original directive of the Maidan commander barring women from the front lines of defense.

The most prominent was the 39th Self-Defense Squad, which actively trained women in fulfilling defense duties. This led to the formation of other organizations supporting the military effort. There have even been women actively fighting on the eastern front, the speaker noted, adding that much more work needs to be done for the full empowerment of Ukraine’s women.

Ayla Bakkalli, the U.S.A. representative of the Crimean Tatar Mejlis and an advisor to the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the U.N., gave an impassioned speech about the plight of the Crimean Tatars since Russia’s military invasion and annexation of Crimea. The current situation is deteriorating on a daily basis, with violence, abductions, false arrests and confiscations of Ukrainian land.

We have yet to determine the full impact that this invasion will have on the disrupt-

ed lives of Indigenous Crimean Tatar women, Ms. Bakkalli said. The Crimean Tatars support the territorial integrity of Ukraine and have marched in solidarity with fellow Ukrainian citizens on the Maidan.

The last speaker introduced was Roksolana Misilo, UNWLA vice-president for public relations. The UNWLA, in the 90 years of its existence, has always been in the forefront of providing reliable and trustworthy humanitarian relief to Ukrainians in need.

In its Social Welfare program, the UNWLA has set up an Aid to Ukrainian War Victims Fund to cover both the immediate and long-term needs of severely wounded warriors and their families. Ms. Misilo gave an overview of the fund and cited specific examples of how the fund has already helped wounded soldiers and bereft families.

At the end of the conference, Dr. Kebalo’s concluding remarks re-enforced the many ideas discussed.

After a question and answer session with the audience, the conversations continued during a reception hosted by the New York Regional Council of the UNWLA. All proceeds of this event were donated to the UNWLA’s Ukrainian War Victims Fund.

For further information on work against gender-based violence, readers may go to www.WFUWO.org or contact mkebal@aol.com. For further information on the Aid to Ukrainian War Victims Fund, contact UNWLA Social Welfare Chair, Lidia@Bilous.net. For further information on the UNWLA and membership, go to www.unwla.org or contact marta.burachok@gmail.com.

WFUWO participates in Beijing +20 review

GENEVA – The United Nations NGO Committee on the Status of Women (CSW) in Geneva organized and hosted an NGO Forum on November 3-5 that immediately preceded the United Nations Economic Commission of Europe (UN ECE) conference November 6-7. On the agenda for the UN ECE was the review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action 1995 at its 20-year mark (2015).

Close to 700 representatives of 350 non-governmental organizations from 56 countries of the UN ECE region convened for the NGO Forum to assess progress made in implementing the promises made to the women of the world at Beijing and to make recommendations for the future. Ukraine, and many of the countries that are home to the Ukrainian diaspora (North America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Central Asia) are included in the region embraced by the UN ECE. The World Federation of Ukrainian Women’s Organizations (WFUWO) was among the forum’s participants.

The NGO Forum program of November 3-5 focused on the points of the Beijing Platform that focus on women. Sixteen thematic roundtables were arranged that corresponded to the Beijing Platform’s 12 critical areas of concern for women (Poverty; Education and Training; Health; Violence against Women; Women and Armed Conflict; Economy; Power and Decision-Making; Advancement of Women; Human Rights of Women; Women and the Media; Women and the Environment; The Girl Child) and four emerging issues (Human Rights and Migrant Women; Science, Technology and Innovation for the Advancement of Women; Older Women and Men; Boys for Gender Equality).

Participants in the roundtables from Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora included Natalia Karbowska of the Ukrainian Women’s Fund in Kyiv and Kateryna Levchenko of La Strada-Ukraine, who spoke to the themes of women in power and decision-making, and women and armed conflict. Oleksandra Kunovska Mondoux, the WFUWO’s main representative to the U.N. in Geneva, addressed the topic of women and the media.

From the Independent Life Assistance Center for People with Disabilities, Meliya Assanova, representing those living with disabilities in Crimea, spoke at the roundtable “Women’s Rights: A Power to Create Change” during the first day of the NGO Forum. Larysa Kobelianska, who serves as the advisor on gender issues to Ukraine’s Minister of Social Policy Liudmila Denisova, also participated in the forum.

Ms. Mondoux provided an overview of the situation of women and the media in Ukraine during the past 20 years. Among her points were that “images of women in the media were the subject of much attention by NGOs, and international and educational institutions after 1991, and especially after 2004 when civil society organizations focusing on women’s rights flourished in Ukraine.”

“It is interesting to note that the Ukrainian group Femen, whose members protested topless with a lot of attention in the international media, played an invisible role in Ukraine and was not taken seriously for many reasons, most importantly because there are many other Ukrainian women’s groups working through perhaps more ‘boring means’ for gender equality, such as the Women’s Information Consultation Center,



Oleksandra Kunovska-Mondoux (first from left), WFUWO representative at the U.N. in Geneva, with other participants of the conference held to assess progress in areas of concern to women.

the Ukrainian Women’s Fund, La Strada-Ukraine,” Ms. Mondoux noted.

However, she asserted that “this recent crisis has demonstrated that there is an active citizens’ position and volunteerism in Ukraine, one that is ready to battle half-truths through new technologies. A new generation of civic activists, led by women, is using powerful global social networks to support the people of Ukraine. Social networks such as Facebook or Twitter gathered and shared information, provided evidence, coordinated efforts and mobilized supporters. The Facebook pages of Euro-Maidan, Razom for Ukraine, Half of the Maidan: Women’s Voice of Protest proved the high participation of Ukrainian women activists worldwide. Ukraine’s National Report of April 2014, however, makes no mention of this and provides no gender-based statistics on the use of new social media in Ukraine today.”

Furthermore, Ms. Mondoux stated that “the difficulties in implementing the Beijing Platform for Action lie in the lack of effective legislation. The law of Ukraine adopted in 2005 ensures equal rights and opportunities for both women and men, including equal media access. The state programs outlined for the periods to 2010 and now to 2016 include the need to raise awareness of gender discrimination in the media, but many state institutions fail to address this concretely and remain unresponsive to gender stereotyping in the media.”

She continued: “According to the National Report of April 2014, media coverage frequently reveals the incompetence of Ukraine’s journalists on gender issues. The simple monitoring of media content, for example of sexism in advertising, is alone

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OBITUARIES

Anatole Kolomayets, artist and Holodomor survivor, 87

CHICAGO – Anatole Kolomayets, a prolific and well-respected Ukrainian American artist passed away peacefully in Chicago on December 9.

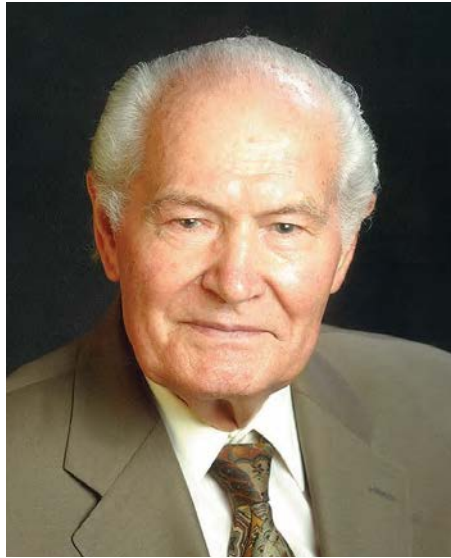
Mr. Kolomayets was born on February 12, 1927, in the “chornozem” (black earth) of the Kobeliaky region of the Poltava Oblast in eastern Ukraine, the oldest son of Ivan Kolomayets and Maria Vasylenko. He was born at a time of great turmoil in that part of the world; when he was 5 years old, Stalin’s Famine decimated the land-holding class of Ukraine. Several members of the immediate family perished during the Holodomor, but Mr. Kolomayets’ father moved the family to the big city of Dnipropetrovsk, where he spent his childhood and first showed a talent for drawing and sketching, often serving as the illustrator of the school newspaper.

In 1941, the family fled the second world war and arrived in Belgium, where Mr. Kolomayets worked in the coal mines at night and attended school during the day, eventually completing two art degrees at St. Luke’s Institute (1948-1952) and the Royal Academy of Fine Arts (1952-1953), both in Liege, where he had the opportunity to study European painting and understand the creative trends of that period. Such masters as Picasso, Matisse, Gauguin and Braque have influenced his style.

In 1953, Mr. Kolomayets immigrated to the United States and settled in Chicago, where he quickly became involved in the artistic life of Ukrainian Chicago and was a founding member of the Monolith Group, a collective of artists and writers.

At a group art show in 1956 he met Luba Karawan and they married on February 16, 1957; they had two children, Marta and Andrew.

Mr. Kolomayets worked as a commercial



Anatole Kolomayets

artist for almost 40 years, but his passion was always painting and during his lifetime he had 42 one-man shows, spanning a 60-year career. More than 500 of the artist’s works – both oils and watercolors – are in numerous private collections and galleries in Argentina, Australia, Belgium, England, France, the United States, Canada and Ukraine.

Mr. Kolomayets was recognized as an Honored Artist of Ukraine in 2007. Once Ukraine became independent, he was engaged in many causes helping his native land, including the Narodnyi Rukh of Ukraine, (Chicago branch), the Friends of the Ukrainian Consulate in Chicago and the Ukraine Genocide Famine Foundation - U.S.A.

“My entire life has been defined by my deep respect for all forms of art, which I take seriously and with a sense of great devotion. This is particularly true of my

attitude toward painting. Since childhood, the idealization of everything that is beautiful has encompassed my universe. The credo ‘beauty will save the world’ inspires me to believe that the world can be a better place for all of mankind,” he wrote in 2005.

He often said that he was inspired by everything around him, reading newspapers or books, watching movies, talking to people. But in his art, one can see that he was always vitalized by his native land and his themes often reflect Scythian history, Ukraine’s Kozak glory, the tragedies of the Holodomor and Chernobyl.

The late Mykola Marychevsky, editor in chief of Fine Art and Artanya, two art journals published in Ukraine, wrote in his preface to the Kolomayets’ monograph published in 2005: “The creative works of Anatole Kolomayets synthesize what he acquired and what he has inherited. His artistic skills and sense of color are the generous gifts of his native land. And his training in Western Europe allowed him to hone his professional skills at the very heart of the movement toward modern art trends. The artist can truly be called a fortunate man. Throughout his life, Kolomayets has been fortunate enough to translate ever-changing circumstances in his life into possibilities for creative enrichment.

“The creative fire that has burned in the soul of Kolomayets for more than five decades, is first of all, focused on the harmony of the surrounding world, and this is why his works do not sing, but warm the viewer. They warm everyone who is free from the prejudice of consumerism and is able to confide the artistic manifestation of the artist’s will. His paintings are gifts to those who dare to rise above the boundaries of the mundane.”

A panakhya, attended by more than 350

mourners, was held on December 14 at Muzyka Funeral Home in Chicago. On December 15, the funeral service took place at St. Volodymyr Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Chicago, followed by interment at Elmwood Cemetery in River Grove, Ill.

Mr. Kolomayets is survived by his loving wife, Luba, daughter Marta with husband Danylo Yanevsky; son Andrew with wife Zoriana; and grandchildren Damyan, Mariana, Inessa and Maksym. Also surviving are his brother George with wife Aleksandra and family, brother-in-law Oleh Karawan with wife Ivanka and family, in-laws Levko and Vera Remeniuk and family, as well as relatives in the United States and Ukraine.

In lieu of flowers, the family asks that donations in memory of Mr. Kolomayets be made to the Ukrainian Genocide Famine Foundation – U.S.A., the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate or the Ukrainian National Museum in Chicago.



“Girl from Poltava,” oil on canvas, 1978.

Oleh Lysheha, 65, poet, playwright, translator and PEN Award winner

KYIV – Oleh Lysheha, a Ukrainian poet, playwright and translator, the first Ukrainian to receive the PEN Award for Poetry in Translation, died in Kyiv on December 17. He was 65.

His works are known to audiences in the United States thanks in large measure to Yara Arts Group, which presented bilingual (Ukrainian-English) versions of his poetry in its productions.

He was born in Tysmenytsia, Ukraine, on October 30, 1949, into a family of teachers. In 1968 Mr. Lysheha entered Lviv University, studying foreign languages, and during his last year there was expelled for his participation in an unofficial literary circle, Lviv Bohema. As punishment, he was drafted into the Soviet army. After serving in the military he returned to his birthplace and worked at a local factory.

He later returned to Lviv and then moved to Kyiv, where he worked as a technical employee at the Karpenko Karyi Kyiv Theatrical Institute.

In the years 1972-1988, he was banned from official publication, but in 1989 his first book “Velykyi Mist” (Great Bridge) was published.

In 1997-1998, Mr. Lysheha was a visiting Fulbright Scholar at Penn State University.

“The Selected Poems of Oleh Lysheha” (Harvard University Press, 1999), the work of Mr. Lysheha and his co-translator James Brasfield of Penn State, received the PEN Award for Poetry in Translation in 2000.



Oleh Lysheha

Mr. Lysheha’s drama “Friend Li Po, Brother Tu Fu” was also included in that publication. In 2002, Mr. Lysheha published “To Snow and Fire.”

He is known also for having translated into the Ukrainian language works by T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, and is the co-author of a book of translations from Chinese, “The Stories of Ancient China.”

Virlana Tkacz and Wanda Phipps of Yara Arts Group started translating Lysheha works in 1991 when the group performed

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Stefaniya Shabatura, 76, artist, former Soviet political prisoner

KHARKIV, Ukraine – Stefaniya Shabatura, artist, former member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and a former Soviet political prisoner, died on December 17 after a long illness. She was 76.

Ms. Shabatura was born on November 5, 1938, in the Ternopil region and was very young when her father was killed in World War II. She graduated from two art institutes in the 1960s, specializing in creative embroidery.

She was also an active member of the Lviv Club for Creative Young People and took part in circulating samvydav literature.

She was arrested during the second wave of arrests of the Ukrainian intelligentsia which began on January 12, 1972. She was charged under the standard Article 62 Part 1 of the Criminal Code – “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda” and sentenced to five years’ harsh-regime labor camp and three years’ exile. The charges were linked to her circulating the poetry of Vasyl Stus and Mykola Kholodny, as well as the article “Amid the Snows” by Valentyn Moroz.

She served her sentence in women’s camp ZhKh-385/3 in a Mordovian labor camp at Barashevo. There she took an active part in protest actions and hunger strikes, demanding political prisoner status and an amnesty for all prisoners of conscience. She was punished for this by being thrown into the punishment solitary confinement or PKT (prison-type cells) and calculated that in all she had spent 115



Stefaniya Shabatura in a file photo from the late 1980s.

days in solitary confinement and a year and a half in PKT.

Ms. Shabatura was not allowed to paint, which led to the women political prisoners declaring a hunger strike in protest. It was only in 1974 that an officer of the Lviv KGB brought a painter’s case and paints, pencils, brushes and paper, after which the camp administration made no more attempts to stop her.

At the end of 1975 Ms. Shabatura was

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Resolve to send us your news!

Our loyal readers have no doubt noticed that during 2014 we've carried news about our community activity from Boston to Seattle, from Minneapolis to North Port (Florida), from Montreal to Edmonton, and so many points in between. We hereby express a heartfelt thank you to all those who shared the news from their communities and about their organizations. Your contributions of stories and photos have enriched the pages of The Ukrainian Weekly and helped us fulfill our role as the Ukrainian community's foremost newspaper.

Now, we are at the end of 2014 and the beginning of 2015, a time of year when we all make resolutions for the coming year. Allow us to once again extend an invitation to join us in this endeavor known as The Ukrainian Weekly in the hope that your resolutions will include submitting materials to our newspaper. We can be partners in 2015! Let us and fellow Ukrainian community members – and folks far beyond our community in North America – know about your work, your plans, your dreams by submitting materials to The Weekly. We have in mind stories, letters, photos, even advertisements – all of these are valuable for the historical record. And don't just send us advance info on events – send us a story to let us know how it all turned out. We guarantee you'll have a place in history. How can we do that? The digital archives of our newspaper are a treasure trove of current information and a formidable source for those interested in the history of our Ukrainian community and developments in Ukraine. These archives will endure, and they are retrievable and searchable, while social media posts... well judge for yourself what happens to them.

Please allow us to offer a few suggestions to make our cooperation more successful in the coming year.

Do send us your info in a timely manner, but please understand that sometimes it may not appear on our pages right away. That's due to the limitations on our end, including too little space, the time needed to prep materials for publication, as well as news developments that may take precedence. On the other hand, we must add that sometimes we get news from our communities so late that we wind up running stories about events that took place a couple of months earlier. We don't like to do that, but we also realize it's for the historical record and, thus, important not only to the sender, but for our community as a whole. Sometimes the news is just so old – several months old – that we simply have to reject a story. We don't like to do that either, but publishing a story that's run its course makes us, and you, look bad (e.g. Easter stories in the summer, Christmas stories in March...). Do send us photos, but do not send us links to your online photo albums (we simply haven't got time to go through them). Please choose your best photos, not marginal ones, or ones that are out of focus. One great photo is immensely better than five bad ones! Please send captions and photo credits for your photos. And, by the way, please identify the author of the story you send so that we may include a byline. (Don't assume we'll insert your name as the author simply because you sent us the information. Oftentimes, people send in stories written by others, so putting a byline atop the story is key.)

We hope to hear from you in 2015, and we hope to publish your materials on the pages of The Ukrainian Weekly. In the meantime, we wish you and yours a merry Christmas and a happy New Year!

A postscript: Dear Readers, our special prices for print and online subscriptions are in effect through December 31, 2014. This double issue – the last of 2014 and the first of 2015 – is being mailed on December 26, 2014, so there still will be time to call our Subscription Department, 973-292-9800, x 3040, to ask for the special price of \$35 for an online subscription, \$80 for print, or \$85 for both. (UNA members qualify for even better prices: \$30, \$70 and \$75, respectively.)

Dec.
31
1999

Turning the pages back...

Twenty-five years ago, on December 31, 1999, Boris Yeltsin resigned as president of the Russian Federation and shifted power to Prime Minister Vladimir Putin. Paul A. Goble of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), analyzed the significance of the transition of power.

Russia's relationship with the West, Mr. Goble explained, had been based more on personal rather than political levels – with individuals meeting with the leader in Moscow. It was a practice that could be traced to Soviet times and continued under Mr. Yeltsin.

The reliance on a personality in Moscow and the inevitable change requires Moscow to establish new personal ties that take time and energy, especially the intense deliberations about what kind of relationship it should be. President Putin, Mr. Goble noted, would have a tough time as a former KGB officer and due to actions in Chechnya. Western leaders will have to answer to politicians and analysts who see Mr. Putin as an openly authoritarian figure opposed to many Western goals.

"Moscow's opposition to the NATO campaign in Yugoslavia and its moves to seize Pristina ahead of allied forces, its increasing ties with Iran, Iraq and other radically anti-Western countries, as well as its war in Chechnya and open discrimination against people from the Caucasus are all policies that many in the West disagree with and oppose," Mr. Goble explained.

With Mr. Yeltsin gone, it was expected that Western leaders would more frequently raise their voices against Russia's aggressive actions. The fact that Mr. Yeltsin was unable to complete his term and that a new democratic election did not take place immediately (the election was held within 90 days) had raised speculation that his exit was due to pressure from Mr. Putin, who likely guaranteed that the outgoing president would not face criminal charges for his past actions if he resigned quietly.

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CHRISTMAS PASTORAL LETTER

Light! Peace! Love!

Pastoral letter of the Permanent Conference of the Ukrainian Orthodox Hierarchs Beyond the Borders of Ukraine on the approaching feast of Nativity of our Lord. To the venerable clergy, monastics and faithful of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Beyond the Borders of Ukraine and to our brothers and sisters of the faith in Ukraine.

Beloved brothers and sisters: Christ is born!

"Do not be afraid..." These are the words of the angel to the shepherds when he announces that a Savior has been born for us. "Do not be afraid" is also the greeting the angel gave to Zechariah in announcing the birth of John the Baptist and to the Mother of God in announcing the birth of Jesus. Finally, the Lord in His own words often tells people not to be afraid: "Fear is useless; what is needed is trust."

There are many reasons for us to be afraid during this sacred time of the Nativity of our Lord. The atrocities of the world have displaced countless people and devastated many homes and homelands. The unspeakable tragedy in our ancestral Ukraine has left us reeling in the face of evil. It is in this context that we, the bishops of the Holy Church, address you this sacred Nativity season. We must stand together in the Love of the newborn Christ Child to face the suffering world around us. It is good that we are together and that we hear words of hope in the midst of fear. It is understandable that we are afraid, but in the midst of so much tragedy, together we place our trust in the God, Who never abandons us during such times.

At the glorious celebration of the Nativity of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, we warmly greet and embrace all the children, young adults, adults and seniors of our Holy Ukrainian Orthodox Church throughout the world. We want you to know that with full trust in God's promise, our love and prayers as your spiritual fathers encompass you during this Nativity Holy Day when you gather for worship and fellowship with friends and family.

The Nativity of Christ is the Feast of Light. On Christmas Eve, the glory of the Lord enveloped the shepherds with the pure light from heaven and they were filled with great fear as the angel of the Lord gave them the Good News of the birth of the Savior. The God-Child born at Bethlehem is the Word of God made flesh, the true Light that enlightens all who are born into this world.

The Nativity of Christ is the Feast of Peace. The angels from heaven proclaimed it so as they announced the birth of the Son of God and sang in the very first Christmas carol: "Glory to God in the highest and peace to his people on Earth." Every Nativity season, the words "Sleep in heavenly peace" are sung in our churches, in our homes, in the streets and at Bethlehem.

The Nativity of Christ is the Feast of Love. It is a mystery for which we need eyes wide-open and hearts renewed to adore Love Incarnate. We are compelled to share that Love with our brothers and sisters, especially those who suffer most the consequences of disaster and economic crisis, those who suffer loneliness, pain and infirmity. Remember, the Nativity experience cannot exist when we block or ignore such



"Three Angels" (1983) by Vitaliy Lytvyn of Toronto. From a Christmas card published by the Ukrainian National Association.

Love. Our Lord reminds us that only those who know and share that Love with hearts like those of a child can fully understand and live the Nativity experience. Those who enclose themselves in selfishness will go through the Nativity Feast without comprehending and celebrating it in their hearts and in their lives.

A Child – born for us! Light! Peace! Love! These are the images we treasure during this holy season. Yet, even as He lies in the manger we can already foresee the impending suffering of the Cross in the senseless slaughter of the Holy Innocents to appease the vanity of the ruling Herod. Are the evil Herods of today any different? In spite of what was to come, that Child grew and matured into the One Who would save our souls. Our lives are a mix of good and evil, of joy and sorrow, of hope and despair, of happiness and pain. As we look upon this Child with awe, we are very much aware of the slaughter of children today who never get a chance to live! This Child causes us to fall down in worship, praise and thanksgiving; the holy innocents of our own time cause us to question the values of a world where one person's choice trumps another person's life!

The Nativity of Jesus Christ is a time to rejoice and give thanks for the gift and blessings of life. It is also a time to be generous toward others who may not be so blessed – so that the life of each and of all might be nurtured and supported. Together we turn to the Author of Life in profound gratitude. May your prayer, worship and acts of charity to those in need at this Nativity celebration lead you to a profound encounter with Christ that you, perhaps, never considered possible! It is the power of giving one's "self" away – as Jesus Christ, Who is and always has been One with God the Father and the Holy Spirit gave of Him "self" – that transforms us as the human creation, that transfigures each of us as

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OUR NEXT ISSUE

This week's issue of The Ukrainian Weekly is a double issue dated December 28, 2014/January 4, 2015. Our next issue will have a publication date of January 11, 2015.



The things we do...

by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

The peacock and Christmas

"Pavochka khodyt', piriachko hubyt'" – the peahen is walking and is losing her feather. These are the beginning lyrics from a number of Ukrainian koliadky [carols] and shchedrivky [New Year's songs] on the courting/romantic theme, one very common in these ritual songs.

But why the pava [peahen] or pavochka [peahen, diminutive], especially when it is the male peacock [pavych] with the fancy plumage, not the dowdy pava? Even in the pre-Christian era of Winter Solstice ritual songs, poetic license was prevalent. The pava is the female (the human one), the one who is being courted, who is preparing for marriage, who is picking up the dropped feathers to plait into a beautiful wreath for her wedding. Convolved, but it makes sense, and serves a purpose. "In the green woods, on the yellow sand (refrain: Shchedryi sviatyi vechir Bozhyi – God's generous holy eve!) the pava walked, losing her feathers. In the green woods, on the yellow sand, the young woman walked, gathering the feathers. She collected the feathers into her apron, and plaited a wreath from them, and went into a dance". In some regions of Ukraine, peacock feathers were used in the wedding wreath for the bride, so the songs continue the courting/wedding theme. The feathers were often part of the decorations on a bachelor's festive hat.

The same theme that appears in the ritual winter cycle songs, is also sung about in ritual wedding songs, and in Kupalo [Midsummer's Night] songs. "O, the kalyna is lush and beautiful in the grove, but more beautiful is the father's daughter (refrain: Sviatyi Vechir! – Holy Eve!). She walks in the garden like a star rising, she carries water like a pava floating." "Groomsmen, walk lightly, do not stir up the soil, so that no dust falls on our pava-bride!" "O, on Ivan's [feast], on Kupailo, Maria came out like a pava. The young men are gazing at her but are too shy to greet her. But Ivan was not shy, took her hand and greeted her: my Mariyko, my soulmate, I love your

face. Not just your face, but all of you. You are like a painting on paper, with your fine black brows [a sign of beauty]." Of course, so much gets lost in translation.

The historical song/ballad "Bondarivna" begins with "in the town of Bohuslav, belonging to Lord Kan'ovsky, there danced Bondarivna, as proud as a peacock." A humorous song sings: "I will go to the fair, where there are forty girls, a blonde one, and a dark-haired one, wherever you look, each one is a pava."

The metaphor of young woman and pava can be understood on a few levels (remembering that it is the beauty of the peacock and not the peahen that is in mind): as beautiful as a peacock, as proud as one, or as haughty as one. In the Ukrainian ritual and folk songs, the beauty and pride are prominent, rather than the haughtiness. A young couple all dressed up strolling together is "as proud and lovely as two peacocks." For older generations, the peacock had a negative connotation of vanity and immodesty but, as shown in the songs, this did not carry through to younger people.

If anyone is still confused about what these carols has to do with the Birth of Baby Jesus, this is another very clear indication of the dualism of Ukrainian traditions, the blend of the pre-Christian and Christian themes. The addition of the refrain "Sviaty Vechir" or "Oy, dai Bozhe" to a song about a girl as beautiful as a peacock, plaiting a wreath for her wedding makes perfect sense.

And this koliada shows that peacocks can't be all bad: "The peacocks are strolling around the garden, and are losing their feathers for God's people. The Virgin Mary is in the parlor, as beautiful as a white rose. The angels flew in from Paradise and are diligently collecting the peacock feathers. There will be a big vinok [wreath] for the Mother, and a little one for Jesus."

Orysia Tracz may be contacted at orysia.tracz@gmail.com.

COLUMNIST'S NOTE: In my Christmas article "Ukrainian Christmas: A New Old Idea" (December 21), I inadvertently erred in the information about the origins of the Ukrainian Recipes Group on Facebook. Oksana Tarnavsky had the initial idea for the concept of a Ukrainian Recipes group and created it with the help of Luba Petruska. The two are co-administrators and share the daily work of running the group and keeping the recipe files updated.

Light! Peace! Love!

(Continued from page 6)

individuals of that creation and brings us closer to true unity with God.

Beloved clergy, brothers and sisters in Christ, we send you our sincere Nativity Lord greetings and we pray that the Light, Peace and Love of that first Nativity shine in your lives and through you into the lives of all who cross your path, for when we bear witness to that Light, Peace and Love, we are on the path leading to the realization of what we were created for and to our ultimate goal for eternity

May you have a loving and holy Nativity and a blessed New Year in our Lord!

With prayers and hierarchical blessings,

† **Yurij, Metropolitan**
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

† **Antony, Metropolitan**
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.
Locum Tenens of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Diaspora

† **Ioan, Archbishop**
Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Diaspora

† **Jeremiah, Archbishop**
Ukrainian Orthodox Eparchy of Brazil and South America

† **Ilarion, Bishop**
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

† **Andriy, Bishop**
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

† **Daniel, Bishop**
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.

Feast of the Nativity of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ 2014/2015.

PERSPECTIVES

BY ANDREW FEDYNSKY



2014-2015: Living in historic times

At New Year's, we reflect on the year gone by and look to the next.

For Ukraine 2014 – which for all practical purposes started at the end of November 2013 – was fraught with history: peaceful demonstrations, which featured guitars, religious services and an endless flow of speakers, attracted hundreds of thousands over the course of many months, along with millions more in scores of cities and towns around the country and tens of millions participating in the movement online. Like the Orange Revolution, the Euro-Maidan continued well into the cold of winter. By their massive presence, Ukrainians affirmed their resolve to orient their country on Europe and its standards and values, and away from Russia and the moral rot and corruption it's associated with.

On a February night, government snipers turned a demonstration for Europe into a revolution as the smoke and fire of a Maidan turned violent generated yet another hero-martyr story: the Heavenly Brigade (Nebesna Sotnia). They're now enshrined in Ukrainian history with the students who died at Kruty in January 1918; World War I-era Ukrainian Sich Riflemen; the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), fighting both the Wehrmacht and the Soviets in World War II and for a decade following; the dissidents of the 1960s and '70s; the Helsinki Group and Rukh in the '80s and '90s; and going back centuries, the Kozaky and the Haidamaky. Throughout it all, there have been heroic clergy – men and women – serving day-to-day, year after year, generation after generation for a thousand years.

The Euro-Maidan coincided with the bicentennial celebration of Taras Shevchenko, the orphan peasant whose poetry roused his enslaved countrymen, reminding them that they were a nation and exhorting them to throw off their chains and sprinkle liberty with the vile blood of their oppressors.

As we end 2014 and enter into a new year, euphoria over the Maidan has faded to the grim reality of Crimea and military conflict in Ukraine's east, where ample blood is shed by new heroes and age-old enemies. Over the past several months, as Russia invests vast military and propaganda resources into its hostile response to Ukraine's Revolution of Dignity, I've heard more than a few comments which begin with the phrase, "Well, who knows if Ukraine will survive, but..."

Such fears are understandable, based as they are on concerns about the country's difficult reality, but they are also unfounded. Ukraine will survive. As long as there are Ukrainians, there will be Ukraine. It's in the national anthem and in the collective unconscious. As they have for millennia, families have been sitting down to "Sviat Vechir" (Sacred Evening) dinner to observe the time when the Earth starts returning toward the sun and every day gets longer. The ritual, now identified with the birth of Jesus, is celebrated in good times and bad.

In 2014, we also commemorated the centennial of the outbreak of World War I. Heartbreakingly, it was on January 6, 1915, when homesick soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian imperial armies on the Eastern Front sang Ukrainian carols across no man's land on Christmas Eve and then proceeded to kill each other on Christmas Day. Asking themselves how this

could be, Ukrainian leaders concluded: "Because we don't have a country of our own." Building one had been the principal project for the nation throughout the 20th Century. Sustaining it is the challenge it faces for 2015.

Looking forward, the country, despite its obvious military and economic weaknesses, has never been stronger. Thanks to the Maidan, the nation is consolidated. Illusions about Russia have been discarded. Eviscerated by President Viktor Yanukovich's regime and infiltrated by Russian agents, the Ukrainian army is now rebuilding. With the help of volunteer militias, it's been in the field against Russian-backed forces for more than half a year. Internationally, over 100 countries backed Ukraine in the United Nations General Assembly, condemning Russian aggression; Russia couldn't even get a dozen to its side.

The U.S. and Europe have been steadfast in their support, imposing and maintaining sanctions against Russia while welcoming Ukraine's government leaders to Washington, Brussels, Paris, etc.; Vice-President Joe Biden has racked up frequent-flyer miles to Kyiv; President Petro Poroshenko addressed a joint session of Congress where Ukraine has many friends – in December, a bill to support Ukraine militarily, economically and politically passed unanimously. The International Monetary Fund is providing support, while also demanding badly needed reforms. And throughout all this, the Ukrainian diaspora on several continents has stepped up, lobbying its elected representatives on behalf of Ukraine and working with the media locally and nationally to rebut Russian propaganda, serve as election observers in Ukraine, etc.

Less than a year after the showcase Sochi Olympics, Vladimir Putin must be wondering what his campaign to restore Russia's greatness and garner international respect has gotten him. He's routinely compared to Adolph Hitler; his name attached to a vulgar refrain is chanted with derision; his provocative foray accompanied by four warships to the G-20 meeting in Australia ended with him fleeing in humiliation after one world leader after another either rebuked or ignored him. Instead of respect, his actions have evoked global contempt and resulted in a stronger, more resolute NATO and a Russian economy in shambles.

2015 is sure to be active – many events we can predict: old-style Christmas, Malanka, the blessing of Jordan water and a cross of ice, Saturday language schools, weekly youth meetings, concerts, summer camps, fall farewells to college students, Thanksgiving, St. Nicholas, new-calendar Christmas, New Year's. And so the cycle repeats itself, with us a year older. We'll greet new babies and no doubt bid farewell to relatives and friends; hopefully attend a wedding or two and enjoy a relaxing vacation.

In the meantime, history will march forward with events inevitably demanding a response. It's essential to remain steadfast with Ukraine, to help the country realize its enormous potential within the European framework, a transformation that will ultimately benefit not only its own citizens but also those in the rest of Europe and, yes in Russia too. We must remain not only interested but engaged. It's both a blessing and a curse: may you live in historic times – we do.

Andrew Fedynsky's e-mail address is afedynsky@gmail.com

COMMENTARY

Why don't Ukrainian Americans write?

by Alexander J. Motyl

A few weeks ago a Ukrainian journalist asked me just why so few Ukrainian Americans write for the U.S. press and policy journals. Why don't they try to affect the policy debates? Why don't they try to influence the discourse?

I'm rarely stumped in interviews, but this time I was. To tell the truth, I have no idea why the number of people who regularly contribute to American op-ed pages and policy journals can be counted on the fingers of one hand. After all, the vast majority of Ukrainians born in the United States have higher educations, speak English fluently and say they're concerned by events in Ukraine. They certainly know how to write. They certainly have opinions worth expressing. And, with unrestricted access to the Internet, they certainly know a great deal about Ukraine. Moreover, they fully understand that the last year has been critical to Ukraine's survival and that the next few years will continue to test Ukraine.

They also appreciate that anti-Ukrainian

opinions still get expressed all too frequently and remain unanswered. Well, not quite unanswered. As the furious listserv debates and blog commentaries attest, a very large number of people actually take the time to write rebuttals to views they consider wrong or offensive. So, in fact, Ukrainian Americans do write, but they write for the wrong places. Instead of writing articles for the American press and thereby trying to affect policy, they confine their efforts to fora that have absolutely no impact on what transpires in the real world.

In a word, Ukrainian Americans understand that affecting public opinion is critically important and they have all the objective abilities to do so. And yet they don't. Instead, they waste their time on intracommunal commentary or electronic mudslinging. Personally, I despair. Several times I've suggested via listserv discussions that their readers stop talking to one another and start talking to the world. To no effect whatsoever.

So what might the reasons for this reticence be?

Perhaps people don't have the time to write? But if they have the time to write extended diatribes on the Internet, surely they have the time to write measured articles. Besides, how long does it take to write a 600-word op-ed piece?

Perhaps people don't know where to write? That can't be it, as they religiously follow debates in the U.S. press. And besides, you can easily find information on journals, newspapers and websites and their submission policies on the Internet.

Perhaps people don't know what to write? That, too, doesn't wash, since they follow the debates and surely know that the U.S. media are happy to run interesting articles about everything ranging from politics to culture to literature to economics to gender.

Perhaps they don't know how to write for the press? That may be it. Most academics, regardless of ethnic origin, are dreadful writers incapable of escaping the structure and logic of academic jargon and writing for broad educated audiences. Of course, the inability to write is no excuse. How

does one learn to write for a general public? By trying to write for a general public. Over and over again until you finally succeed.

Which raises an interesting question. Perhaps the Ukrainian American educated class is afraid of rejection? As someone whose manuscripts have repeatedly been turned down, I can attest to the unpleasantness of the feeling. And yet, that, too, is no excuse. We're all adults. We can surely take a string of no's – especially for the sake of a good cause.

Consider the following. There may be 500 educated Ukrainian Americans out there with the ability to write for the public. Imagine that each of them wrote just one article per year. The mind boggles.

Meanwhile, those of you who are not in the business of writing can make a difference by asking those of your friends who are: Just what have you written lately?

Alexander J. Motyl is a professor at Rutgers University-Newark and has a weekly blog on worldaffairsjournal.org.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

How to show solidarity with volunteer battalions

Dear Editor:

When I was in Ukraine for the parliamentary elections of October 26, I observed a Kyiv that was quiet and somber with reminders of the war everywhere, patriotic billboards calling for the support of the military, billboards proclaiming, "Glory to Ukraine" and "Glory to her heroes," transparent plastic boxes asking for donations for the military placed at restaurant entrances, Ukrainian television stations constantly running news on the war in the east.

The barrage of coverage of the war on the Ukrainian stations is never-ending. In keeping with the patriotic fervor, Ukrainian TV stations post on the side of their screen the blue-and-yellow flag of Ukraine with the motto "One country."

People are constantly signing up to join the all-volunteer battalions. My taxi driver bemoaned the fact that he was rejected because of his age – he is 60. I met a young girl, Dasha Mikailyuk, and her boyfriend, Ivan Gogiy. Ivan volunteers at the office of

the Donbas Battalion. He is an artist and paints patriotic graphics on T-shirts that they sell to provide funds for the battalions. He told me that he came from Donetsk a year ago, when the Maidan started, and has stayed to help with the war effort. He further informed me that volunteers go to schools and have children create graphics on T-shirts which they deliver to the soldiers at the front as a show of support from the children of Ukraine. The graphics drawn by the children are quite telling: one, with a heart in the center, says "Return alive," another says "Glory to Ukraine," still another says "Death to the enemy."

I was invited to attend a special press conference where the battalion commanders Semen Semenchenko, Yuri Berezha and Andrii Teteryk, who had just returned from the battlefields in the east spoke about the war. The room was packed with TV cameras and reporters. Prior to the start of the press conference the moderator spelled out the rules. He did so in Russian, so I raised my hand and asked if they can run the press conference in Ukrainian since I do not understand Russian. One of the commanders says, "ah, diaspora." The three panelists then proceed to talk about the war in the east. Mr. Berezha speaks in Ukrainian, Messrs.



Ulna Mazurkevich

Graphics on T-shirts drawn by schoolchildren.

Semenchenko and Teteryk in Russian. The questions from the media are in Ukrainian.

After the press conference I met with Mr. Teteryk to ask some more questions. He spoke in a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian (I had to keep reminding him that I don't understand Russian), he told me there are 43 battalions fighting in the east, with 200 to 600 members in each. He also informed me that three times a week a convoy of cars comes to the Ukrainian Home in Kyiv to pick up supplies. Then the convoy delivers the supplies to the central committee in Donbas, and from there they are distributed to the various battalions. He said people drop off food and clothing. I ask him what is desperately needed other than Kalashnikovs, and he replied: "Thermal underwear because now we wear three sweaters and its difficult to maneuver." When I commented that, if these items are sent by boat, it will be a while before they get here, he looked me straight in the eye and said: "We will be fighting a long time."

You too can help. Show solidarity with Ukraine's volunteer battalions!

Prepare a small package containing thermal underwear, gloves and socks and send it to Volunteer Battalions, Ukrainian Home, 2 Khreschatyk St., Kyiv 01001, Ukraine. Or send a check (contributions are tax-deductible) to: Ukrainian Human Rights

Committee, 203 Bainbridge St., Philadelphia PA 19147; we will purchase and send the items to the battalions.

Ulna Mazurkevich
Philadelphia

The letter-writer heads the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee of Philadelphia. She may be contacted at ubulana@aol.com.

We should be grateful for The Ukrainian Weekly

Dear Editor:

We in the Ukrainian "hromada" may sometimes take The Ukrainian Weekly for granted, so it is important that the editors and staff be congratulated for consistent good reporting, for helping to keep us abreast of events both here and in Ukraine, and for providing a forum that celebrates and publicizes Ukrainian culture. The December 14 issue was a stellar example.

These are difficult days and journalism, and journalists are under fire around the world. We should be grateful and recognize what we have in The Weekly.

Natalka and Ihor Gawdiak
Columbia, Md.



Ulna Mazurkevich with members of the Donbas Battalion, who proudly told her that "Franko" (Marko Paslawsky) served with them.

COMMENTARY

NATO security for Ukraine

by Askold S. Lozynskyj

Questioning the significance of security through NATO membership has become a tactic of Russia appeasers. The purported logic for this argumentation is twofold: nothing has disturbed Vladimir Putin more than NATO expansion; and nothing would exacerbate the current Ukraine-Russia crisis more than NATO membership for Ukraine. In any event, the appeasers suggest, NATO membership is hardly an absolute security guarantee since each NATO member country acts at its own discretion. Thus, Ukraine should relinquish its NATO membership aspirations. So the argument goes.

Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty provides that an armed attack against one shall be considered an attack against all and each will assist the one attacked. Detractors of this article point out that the all for one and one for all language is followed by "such action as it deems necessary," thereby rendering any assistance discretionary for each member.

There are currently 28 NATO members. To assume the extreme that all will "deem necessary" to do nothing or next to nothing is to suggest that the members will decide that NATO is no longer needed. More importantly, that logic assumes that all member countries will feel so certain of their own security that by doing nothing or very little they are prepared for a reciprocal action in the event their own security is in peril. The question, then, is why did those countries join NATO if not because they sought collective security?

The reality is very different. In fact with Russia attacking Ukraine, Poland – as Ukraine's close neighbor and a NATO member – invoked Article 4, seeking NATO consultation. NATO responded by convening a summit and deploying special units to Poland and the Baltic countries. Several NATO members currently are providing military equipment to Ukraine itself.

The only example of an attack on a NATO country since NATO's formation was the terrorist attack on the United States on September 11, 2001. The U.S. invoked Article 5. Following a determination that the aggressor was based in Afghanistan, NATO led an International Security Assistance Force against the aggressor there. According to NATO sources, all 28 NATO countries participated. Only Luxembourg did not provide troops. Even such smaller NATO members as Slovenia, Estonia, Iceland and Albania did.

Granted, this was an attack on the United States and perhaps no NATO mem-

ber wanted to disappoint the ultimate guarantor of its security. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the theater of operations was not the North Atlantic area, which is the geographic location named in the NATO treaty. Article 5 provides "the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area." Coming to the aid of the U.S. brought other NATO members under fire on their own territory.

NATO expansion and Russian aggression are not a cause-and-effect phenomenon, as suggested by the Russia appeasers. Moldova was not a serious candidate for NATO membership in 1992 when the 14th Army decided to secure the borders of the Russia-inspired breakaway state of Transdnister. Georgia's NATO membership aspirations had suffered a severe blow at the Bucharest NATO summit in April 2008, before Russia decided to invade Georgian territory (Abkhazia and South Ossetia) four months later. Ukraine's very tangible NATO aspirations were also dashed in Bucharest, and Ukraine certainly had not revived its NATO aspirations or solicitation when Russia invaded Crimea in February of 2014.

To the contrary, Russian history is replete with Russian aggression – mostly, not when its victim was particularly secure in its defense, but rather when Russia saw its victim at its weakest. The Russian Federation today spans 10 time zones; 150 nations live within that federation, not because Russia is a country of immigrants, but because Russia even today is an ill-acquired empire.

Ukraine's Russia problem dates back to 1654, when Ukraine was besieged by Poland and the Tatars and needed an alliance with Russia. Russia exploited Ukraine's security issues at that time by simply overrunning Ukraine's territory. Frankly, Ukraine has never recovered from that alliance.

Removing the Ukrainian, Georgian and Moldovan possibility of NATO membership has a serious deleterious effect on the security of those countries. They are significantly weakened because Russia is emboldened. Why? Because that's what bullies do. Furthermore, the security of NATO members neighboring those countries is affected. Ultimately global security is at risk.

If the events of the 20th century regarding Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union have taught us anything, it's that appeasement only serves to embolden the aggressor.

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

Ukraine to develop...

(Continued from page 3)

June 19; business.ua, April 21).

Russia has been one of the main markets for the Ukrainian defense industry. It will likely be easy to enforce a ban on cooperation with Russia on the state-owned behemoth Ukroboronprom, whose first deputy CEO, Serhy Pinkas, insists that all cooperation with Russia had stopped (ukroboronprom.com.ua, October 23).

However, it may be trickier with independent players. A case in point is the Zaporizhia-based company Motor Sich. Russia had been the main market for its engines for decades. It has been rumored that Motor Sich was trying to circumvent the ban, in particular by moving the pro-

duction of cruise missile engines being produced for Russia to Belarus (antikor.com.ua, November 16). Most recently, Motor Sich denied reports that it continued supplying engines for Russian military helicopters (ukrinform.ua, November 24).

Due to the war, the Ukrainian defense industry urgently has to replace Russia with other export markets. But thanks to the war, Ukraine's domestic market is also expanding, especially as the West continues to dither on supplying the embattled country with lethal weapons. It thus seems like high time for Ukraine to seize the opportunity.

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

NEWS AND VIEWS

UCCA Kyiv Office begins program to unite Ukraine's regions



Journalists (from left) Oleh Sholokh, Olena Kyiashko, Alexander Piddubny, Vasyl Chepurny, Volodymyr Boyko and Yuri Hromushyn.

by Viktoriya Hubska

Thanks to a grant from the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine, the UCCA Kyiv Office has begun a 10-month long civic education program titled "Uniting Our Country by Breaking Down Stereotypes."

The purpose of the program is to build confidence in interactive communication between citizens of different regions of Ukraine and the government at both the local and regional levels, and to encourage

Viktoriya Hubska is director of the Kyiv office of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

them to create stable partnerships in the region in order to combat long-existing stereotypes or those that have been circulated by politicians with the intent of dividing Ukrainians.

The UCCA Kyiv Office, which has long-term experience in conducting similar projects and works closely with regional TV and radio stations in 10 cities throughout Ukraine – Odesa, Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kirovohrad, Lviv, Uzhhorod, Mykolayiv and Zaporizhia – is holding a series of live radio broadcasts. The UCCA will invite community activists

(Continued on page 22)

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A future after 50? The first half-century of the Ukrainian Catholic patriarchal movement¹

by Andrew Sorokowski

PART I

Does a movement dedicated to recreating a Church institution that arose in the middle ages have a future in the 21st century? And if by some miracle it does, how can it understand that institution, present it to the general public and win support in today's world?

Those are the challenges that face the Ukrainian patriarchal movement after 50 years. For if the first impetus for this movement was the arrival of the widely revered Soviet captive, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, in Italy in 1963, and his appearance at the Second Vatican Council later that year, the beginnings of the patriarchal movement in North America can be traced to 1964. Fifty years later, the movement's achievements are ambiguous. On the one hand, neither the pope of Rome nor a council of the Catholic bishops has recognized the Ukrainian Catholic Church as one of the patriarchal Eastern Catholic Churches. On the other hand, Ukrainian Catholic bishops, clergy and laity generally recognize the major archbishop who heads their church as a patriarch.

This article will seek to trace the path of the movement from the initial call for a patriarchate to the current re-evaluation of this concept. We will not attempt to explain the patriarchate in theological terms (a vast subject that would require a separate article by a specialist), but simply to outline its main features.

The Ukrainian patriarchal movement is dedicated to the establishment, recognition and development of a patriarchal structure for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. As in other Eastern Churches (both Catholic and Orthodox), such a structure would involve not only recognition of the head of the particular Church as patriarch, but also a conciliar form of governance and considerable internal autonomy (Code of Canons title IV, Canons 55-150). Paradoxically, while this movement can be seen as a lay challenge to episcopal and curial power, it is dedicated to reviving tradition and strengthening Church authority.

There is no tradition of a patriarchate in the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. The idea was raised, however, in the 16th and especially in the 17th century when, in the wake of the 1596 Union of Brest, both Uniates and Orthodox attempted a reconciliation through the creation of a joint patriarchate. A Greek-Catholic patriarchate was proposed in Austrian Ukraine in the 1840s.

As a form of lay activism, the Ukrainian Catholic patriarchal movement traces its roots to the Ruthenian Orthodox church brotherhoods active in Poland-Lithuania during the 16th and 17th centuries. These "bratstva" challenged their bishops, appealing to the patriarch of Constantinople, and

agitated for Church reform. They also resisted the union with Rome. Despite its anti-union stance, the early modern church brotherhood served as a model for the patriarchal movement.

With the liquidation of the union in Russia after the Polish partitions in the late 18th century, Ruthenian Uniates remained only in Austria, which in 1806-1807 had revived the Metropolitanate of Halych as a successor to that of Kyiv. This "Greek-Catholic" Church became associated with the 19th century Ruthenian revival, which took on a Ukrainian identity at the turn of the 20th century and persisted into the interwar period, when Galicia was under the Second Polish Republic. During this time a number of Catholic organizations such as the student group *Obnova* and Catholic Action were formed. The example of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky (1865-1944), a supporter of the Byzantine orientation in the Greek-Catholic Church and the de facto leader of the Ukrainian national movement, contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic lay mentality.

Meanwhile, large numbers of Greek-Catholics from Austrian Galicia and Hungarian Transcarpathia – and after World War I, from what had become Poland and Czechoslovakia – had emigrated to North America, many settling as farmers in Canada, or miners and industrial workers in the United States. The laity contributed from their meager savings to acquiring property and building churches. In the United States after 1924, Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky's incorporation of church properties into the eparchy provoked considerable resistance from both clergy and parishioners, some of whom transferred to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Lay concerns about church property persisted, eventually contributing to the founding of the Saint Sophia societies in the 1970s.

Large numbers of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics displaced by Soviet occupation at the end of World War II settled in Western Europe, or went on to emigrate to North and South America and Australia in the early 1950s.² Meanwhile, in Soviet western Ukraine the 1946 "Synod" of Lviv liquidated their Church, joining its faithful to the state-sponsored and state-controlled Russian Orthodox Church. It was this "third wave" of the Ukrainian diaspora that, committed to preserve in the emigration what was lost or threatened in the homeland, created the patriarchal movement.

Mobilizing the movement

The immediate predecessor to the Ukrainian patriarchal movement was the Ukrainian Christian Movement formed in Brussels, Belgium, on an ecumenical basis in 1955. The patriarchal movement, however, was sparked in February 1963 by the arrival in Rome of Metropolitan Slipyj, who had spent nearly 18 years in prison and

internal exile in the wake of the Soviet liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

On October 11, 1963, at the second session of the Second Vatican Council, Archbishop Slipyj called for creation of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate. In this he was supported by all the Ukrainian Catholic bishops present at the Council. His speech was greeted with a standing ovation, but no formal decision followed. Metropolitan Slipyj was appointed major archbishop in December 1963, which gave him legal powers equivalent to those of a patriarch.³

In June 1964 the church historian Nicholas Chubaty published a series of articles in the Ukrainian Catholic newspaper *Ameryka* setting out the historical bases for creation of a patriarchate. Meanwhile, however, it was reported that the Ukrainian Catholic metropolitan of Philadelphia and two bishops had withdrawn their support for Archbishop Slipyj's call for a patriarchate. In early August 1964, on Prof. Chubaty's advice, an initiative group was formed in New York and set up a National Committee for the Creation of a Patriarchate of Kyiv and Halych. The first task of the group was to organize the collection of signatures on petitions for a patriarchate, which were then sent to Rome.

In September 1964 Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn, OSBM, publicly opposed this action. Together with Bishops Jaroslaw Gabro of Chicago and Joseph Schmondiuk of Stamford, Conn., he issued a declaration stating that they had never given anyone permission to collect signatures. On two occasions in September the metropolitan orally condemned the initiative, warning against "Bolshevik agents" pretending to work for the good of the church.

In October, the Church's press bureau in Rome announced that the Conference of Ukrainian Bishops had decided to continue efforts for the creation of a patriarchate. It was later reported that Bishop Gabro had withdrawn his earlier statement, and that he now supported the collection of petitions by the laity, directing, however, that they should be sent to Rome by way of his episcopal ordinariate in Chicago.

In an interview published in *Svoboda* on November 20, 1964, Bishop Schmondiuk clarified that he supported the patriarchate, but did not approve of the method and approach of the lay committee. The committee received support, however, from Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk of Canada and from Archbishop Ivan Buchko of Western Europe, as well as from Metropolitan Josyf himself. They were joined by Bishop Ivan Prashko of Australia.⁴

At a meeting of laity in New York on October 4, 1964, it was stressed that the actions of the Committee for the Patriarchate proceeded from the spontaneous desire of Ukrainians and were not inspired by the Church authorities. Indeed, in that year several committees for the defense of the rite and traditions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church arose in Chicago, Cleveland and Toronto. Their aim was to oppose the assimilation and Latinization of their faithful by their own hierarchy, which in turn was allegedly pressured by the Roman Curia and the Latin-rite hierarchies of Canada and the United States. At the same time, these committees joined the general movement for establishment of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate of Kyiv and Halych. This entailed supporting the personal jurisdiction of Cardinal Slipyj, as patriarch, over all members of his Church throughout the world.

Although the movement originated in the U.S. diaspora, it encountered less resistance in Canada. There, a large and relative-

ly influential Ukrainian emigration beginning in the late 19th century had been replenished during the 1920s and 1930s. Retaining its language and customs was easier in the rural prairie environment of the western provinces. At the same time, Church leaders were less inclined to introduce Latinizing innovations like the Gregorian calendar, and more supportive of the patriarchal idea, than in the United States. Hence, the movement in Canada was marked by less strife and hardening of positions.

The patriarchal movement received a decisive impetus on November 21, 1964, when, at the Second Vatican Council, the Decree on the Catholic Churches of the Eastern Rite declared that the patriarchate is a venerable institution, defined the Eastern patriarch (No. 7), specified patriarchal rights and privileges and called for their restoration (No. 9), and declared that the council "ardently desires that new patriarchates should be erected where there is need, to be established either by an ecumenical council or by the Roman pontiff" (No. 11). In doing so, the council cited earlier precedent, particularly the *motu proprio* of Pope Pius XII "Cleri Sanctitati" of June 2, 1957.

The decree also declared that the Eastern Churches are equal in dignity to the Western Church (No. 3) and have the right and duty to rule themselves in accord with their own discipline (No. 5). It called on Eastern Catholics to deepen their knowledge of their own church traditions, and to revive and preserve them (No. 6) (The Sixteen Documents, 219-231). Nearly a year later, on November 18, 1965, the council promulgated the Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity, which naturally provided further support for the patriarchal movement.

In 1965 the Society for a Patriarchal Order of the UCC in the U.S.A. (known from 1979 as the Ukrainian Patriarchal Society) was formed, with headquarters in New York (later Philadelphia and Detroit), adopting a charter on April 23, 1966. Pamphlets, bulletins and books on church topics began to appear without prior episcopal approval. On April 24, 1966, an article in *Shliakh* (The Way), the official newspaper of the Philadelphia Metropolitanate, condemned the patriarchal movement. While acknowledging that a patriarchate was a splendid idea, the anonymous author warned that Communist agents were using it to fool the laity and attack the hierarchy. Comparing the patriarchal activists to the Viet Cong, he contrasted them with a list of individuals and institutions that had made generous donations for the construction of the new cathedral in Philadelphia.

The patriarchal movement spread from North America to other countries of the diaspora, notably Australia, Belgium, France, Germany and Great Britain. On November 13, 1967, 200 participants from 11 countries took part in a World Conference of Ukrainian Laity in New York. On April 10, 1971, a European Association of Patriarchal Societies was formed at a conference in Louvain. In that same month, the World Patriarchal Society invited Bishop Prashko of Australia to be its spiritual patron, and he accepted.

The movement received new encouragement when in 1968 Cardinal Slipyj⁵ traveled to North and South America, Australia and New Zealand. In Chicago the parish of Ss. Volodymyr and Olha – the first "patriarchal" parish – came directly under his authority, bypassing the bishop. Similar parishes followed in Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

A World Federation for the Erection of

(Continued on page 11)

¹ A previous version of this paper was presented at the 88th meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association on January 4, 2008, in Washington, DC.

² Between 1947 and 1957, some 80,000 Ukrainians emigrated to the United States from Austria and Germany, and another 30,000 to Canada, and 20,000 to Australia and New Zealand. *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. 1 (Toronto, 1984) p. 823. Another source states that more than 80,000 emigrated to the United States between 1948 and 1952, mostly from the western part of Ukraine. Only 45 percent of these were "peasants." The rest were skilled laborers, tradesmen and professionals. Markus, Daria p. 379. Most of them were Greek-Catholics. They joined an emigration that had originated in the 1870s and was almost entirely of rural origin. In 1990, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S. had some 250,000 members organized in 198 parishes. Id. 384.

³ See the *motu proprio* "Cleri Sanctitati" of June 2, 1957, restated in the Decree on the Catholic Churches of the Eastern Rite, No. 10, and in the CCEC Title V, Canon 152, which applies to both patriarchs and their churches. He could not, however, exercise these powers in his own jurisdiction; whether he could do so in exile proved to be a matter of contention.

⁴ "V.K." (probably Vasyl Kachmar) states that the three bishops published their declaration in four diaspora newspapers, including *Shliakh*, on September 8. This may, however, be the date of the declaration rather than of its publication. No issue of *Shliakh* appeared on September 8, 1964, and the issue of September 6 does not carry the declaration.

⁵ Metropolitan Archbishop Josyf Slipyj had been named Cardinal in January 1965 and formally joined the College of Cardinals in February, though he had been a cardinal in pectore since 1960.

Sheptytsky Institute sponsors international conferences

by Lorraine Manley

OTTAWA – The Sheptytsky Institute of St. Paul University in Ottawa sponsored an international conference at the University of St. Michael's College in the University of Toronto. The conference "Religion in the Ukrainian Public Square: An Analysis of the Euro-Maidan and Its Aftermath" brought together scholars of Orthodox, Greco-Catholic, Roman Catholic and Jewish backgrounds.

Observers have noted the prominence of religious figures and practices during the uprising that began in Kyiv last year. More striking has been the thoroughly ecumenical and interfaith dimension of this religious presence. The presenters analyzed this phenomenon and reflected on possible future trends in the Ukrainian religious and political scene.

The high point of the conference was the lecture by the renowned public scholar George Weigel, the author of more than 20 books. Mr. Weigel is the famous biographer of Pope John Paul II and a frequent commentator regarding Catholicism on network TV. He stressed the importance of Westerners learning from the Maidan and, conversely, Ukrainians learning from the experience of the West.

The conference was a fitting follow-up to a May 2 Sheptytsky Institute event at which Patriarch Sviatoslav of the Ukrainian Catholic Church spoke of the under-reported religious dimensions of the Maidan and noted how the movement had been transformed from a pro-European protest into an incubator of human dignity. He said that religious leaders of various Christian communities, as well as Jewish rabbis and Muslim imams, led the people in prayer and the transformations that occurred on Kyiv's Maidan.

[The occasion for the patriarch's remarks was a fundraising banquet for the Sheptytsky Institute held on May 2 at St. Michael's College in the University of Toronto. He was introduced by Dr. Andrew Bennett, ambassador of the Canadian Office of Religious Freedom, who is the former vice-president of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute Foundation and, like the patriarch, an alumnus of



Participants in the conference, "Religion in the Ukrainian Public Square" (from left): the Rev. Prof. Peter Galadza, organizer and moderator; the Rev. Prof. Andriy Chirovsky, Sheptytsky Institute; the Rev. Dr. Cyril Hovorun, Yale University; Dr. Igor Shchupak, director of the Tkuma Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies in Dnipropetrovsk; George Weigel; Prof. Victor Ostapchuk, University of Toronto; the Rev. Dr. Roman Zavyysky, Ukrainian Catholic University.

the Sheptytsky Institute. The event was attended by leaders of the Ukrainian community and university officials, as well as the chief patron of the evening, philanthropist James Temerty.]

On October 17-18, the Sheptytsky Institute sponsored another international conference at the University of Toronto. This one marked the 50th anniversary of the Second Vatican Council's Decree on the Eastern Churches. Five plenary lectures were each followed by three papers for a total of 18 presentations.

Catholic and Orthodox scholars reflected on the continued relevance of the Vatican II decree. They also analyzed

the evolution of the Eastern Churches during the last 50 years. Among the speakers were noted Jesuit scholar Brian Daley of Notre Dame University; Bishop Nicholas Samra of the Melkite Eparchy U.S.A.; Archpriest John Erickson, former dean of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Seminary in New York; and Prof. Thomas Bird of the City University of New York.

The Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies is an academic unit of the Faculty of Theology, St. Paul University in Ottawa. All of the presentations from both conferences can be viewed at the Sheptytsky Institute's website: www.sheptytskyinstitute.ca.

A future...

(Continued from page 10)

the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was formed in July 1969, only to be dissolved when on December 28-29, 1974, a Ukrainian World Patriarchal Federation (UPSO) was organized in Washington. It included the patriarchal societies of the United States, Australia, Argentina, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany and Great Britain, as well as other organizations. Although full membership statistics are not available, from the available documentation it would appear that with the exception of Great Britain, the movement did not gain nearly as many members in Europe, Latin America or Australia as it did in the United States and Canada.

Patriarch by acclamation

In the meantime, it became apparent that despite Cardinal Slipyj's repeated requests, Rome would not recognize a patriarchate anytime soon. On July 7, 1971, Pope Paul VI wrote to him that a patriarchate could not be established, at least not at the present time. The main reason was canonical: he did not exercise jurisdiction on his Church's territory. The major archbishop maintained, however, that establishment by Rome was not necessary, for in the Eastern Church patriarchates arose as a manifestation of a church's maturity and capacity for autonomous existence.⁶ In March of 1975, he signed two circular letters as "Patriarch and Cardinal." Pope Paul VI warned him not to use the patriarchal title, for that would constitute an attempted *fait accompli* in a canonical matter. On July 10-15, 1975, some 4,000 to 5,000 Ukrainian pilgrims, mostly from North America and Western Europe, converged on Rome for the observances of the Holy Year. On July 12 at a pontifical liturgy at St.

Peter's celebrated by Cardinal Slipyj and 14 bishops, and attended by some 4,000 faithful, three priests acclaimed him as patriarch, one of them using the full title of Kyiv-Halych and All Rus'. From this point on, both Metropolitan Josyf and his followers treated the Patriarchate as established, and sought only recognition from the Holy See. Although the accession of Pope John Paul II in October 1978 promised a more favorable reception for his efforts, and brought an end to the *Ostpolitik* of previous pontificates, Metropolitan Josyf died on September 7, 1984, without papal confirmation of the patriarchate.

In the following years, changes in the USSR prompted a resurgence of the Ukrainian "catacomb Church." During the observances of the Millennium of the Baptism of Rus' in July 1988, a congress of lay delegates from the diaspora met in Rome. Some of them joined the pilgrims at Częstochowa, Poland, in September of that year, where they were able to meet their counterparts from Ukraine. The legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1989-1991, permitting the return of Major Archbishop and Metropolitan Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky to Ukraine on March 30 (Holy Saturday), 1991, appeared to remove the final canonical obstacle to Vatican recognition of a Ukrainian Catholic patriarchate (Code of Canons canon 146, sec. 1).

Meanwhile, in the diaspora the patriarchal movement was fading as activists grew old and passed away. The membership of the movement appears to have been limited largely to the two generations born in western Ukraine between about 1915 and 1940, coming of age between the 1930s and, in the diaspora, the early 1960s. As the younger generation showed little interest in the patriarchal cause, some members of the movement concluded that its future must lie in Ukraine. Attempts were made to transplant the movement. Thus, in August

1992 a World Congress of Laity took place in Lviv, and diaspora laity participated in the Patriarchal Councils of 1996 and 1998. In 2002 the journal *Patriarkhat* was transferred to Lviv, to be edited and published by a young and innovative group connected with the Ukrainian Catholic University.

The election by the Ukrainian bishops of Archimandrite Lubomyr Husar as successor to Cardinal Lubachivsky on January 25, 2001, was a victory for the patriarchal movement, inasmuch as Father Husar had long supported it. On June 23 of that year Pope John Paul II arrived in Kyiv, and on June 27 he beatified 27 martyrs and the founder of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate in Lviv. It was believed by some that during his visit, the pope would proclaim a Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Patriarchate. However, given the adamant opposition of the Moscow Patriarchate and other Orthodox Churches, and repeated Russian Orthodox threats to break off ecumenical dialogue, there was little surprise when recognition failed to materialize.

On February 10, 2011, Major

Archbishop Lubomyr announced his resignation due to old age and infirmity, and on March 23 the 40-year-old Bishop Sviatoslav Shevchuk was elected in his place.

The first decade of the 21st century saw further changes in the patriarchal movement. With the passing of its president, Wasyl Kolodchin, on August 14, 2006, the Ukrainian Patriarchal World Federation practically ceased to exist. On October 5, 2013, the Ukrainian Patriarchal Society in the U.S.A. adopted new by-laws, which eliminated the elaborate system of membership and local branches in favor of a board of seven directors.

In a sense this streamlined form, while prompted by dwindling membership and activity, pointed to the fact that lay activism was no longer the province of a discrete organization, but of the entire laity. While the Society may concentrate on publishing the journal *Patriarkhat* and organizing conferences, thus providing a degree of leadership, the patriarchal movement, as a general revival of the Church, is now a matter for all the faithful.

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⁶ See, for example, his Testament, which he began drafting in 1970, and signed in December 1981.



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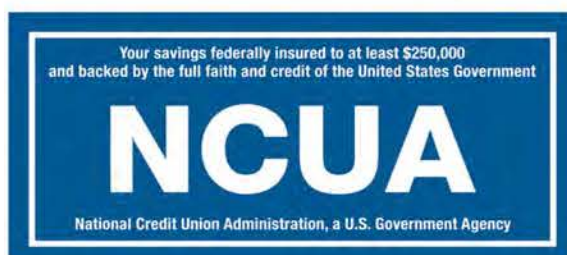
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Fans in the stands with a huge Ukrainian flag.

Christina Bytz



Dancers of the Iskra Ukrainian Dance Academy show off their moves.

Christine Syzonenko

N.J. Devils host second Ukrainian Heritage Night



Korinya performs on the main concourse of Prudential Center.

Christina Bytz



Opera singer Stefan Szkafarowsky, who sang the American national anthem before the start of the game, with the New Jersey Devils mascot.

Christine Syzonenko

by Christina Bytz

NEWARK, N.J. – Ukrainians demonstrated their Ukrainian pride by donning hockey jerseys, embroidered shirts and blue-and-yellow garb of all sorts, and heading to an ice hockey game on Saturday, December 6, here at the Prudential Center.

The second Ukrainian Heritage Night took place during the game between the New Jersey Devils and the Washington Capitals. Even before the puck dropped at 7 p.m., the melodic sounds of Ukrainian music echoed through the main concourse at “The Rock,” which opened to the public at 5:30 p.m. In a cordoned-off area of the concourse, young Ukrainian dancers were seen jumping and twirling in a variety of Ukrainian folk dances.

Andriy Cybyk, artistic director of Iskra Ukrainian Dance Ensemble and Academy of Whippany, N.J., emceed the pre-game and in-between-periods shows. He introduced each ensemble and explained each regional dance. Taking part and showing their skills were: Iskra, showcasing both its Academy and professional-level Ensemble; Tsvitka Ukrainian Dance Academy of Rockland County, N.Y.; and Reechka Dance Group, a part of Assumption School in Perth Amboy, N.J., under the direction of Yarko Dobriansky.

Strolling among the throngs of hockey fans were accordionists Alex Chudolij, Matthew Dubas and Walter Syzonenko, who played popular Ukrainian songs. Theo Bodnar, a singer with Ukrainian Bandurist Capella, enthralled the audience with his playing of the bandura. Some had never seen the bandura and had many questions, which Mr. Bodnar answered. Many had asked to pose for photos with Mr. Bodnar and his instrument.

This year, in addition to receiving a T-shirt, designed by Roman Shumansky, a native of Ukraine currently residing in Prague, anyone who purchased tickets through the New Jersey Devils website using the code word “Ukrainian” also received a tote bag donated by the Ukrainian National Association and a Ukrainian flag donated by Selfreliance Ukrainian American Federal Credit Union of Newark and Whippany, N.J. (the credit union is headquartered in Chicago). The UNA was also a sponsor of the event, via advertisements in its two newspapers, Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, and the printing of programs.

Children, as well as many adults, waited patiently in line to get their faces painted with either a blue-and-yellow flag or a tryzub (trident, the Ukrainian national emblem), some adorned with sparkles. A “face in the hole” that enabled visitors to seemingly pose in Ukrainian costumes was a new addition this year, built by Mark Mazuretz and hand-painted by Linda Kleban.

Stefan Szkafarowsky, world-renowned Metropolitan Opera bass, sang a moving rendition of the American national anthem with his booming voice. At the first puck drop, Ukrainian flags were waved enthusiastically.

During the first intermission, Maksym Lozynskyj, 17, dressed in his Kozak best and draped in the Ukrainian flag, made his entrance seated on the Zamboni, waving his arms and beaming with pride. Meanwhile, out on the concourse, the dancers once again delighted the audience with their acrobatics and fancy footwork.

At the first stoppage of play in the second period, the “Heroes Among Us” segment was announced. During games when the hero is introduced, all in the arena rise from their seats to give the hero, normally present, a standing ovation. This time was not much different, except that Jim Leonard, senior vice-president of Devils Entertainment, presented the Paslawsky family with a plaque in appreciation of their late son, brother and uncle, Mark Paslawsky. Col. Paslawsky, a graduate of West Point, moved to Ukraine, joined the Ukrainian army and was killed earlier this year during a battle in eastern Ukraine. As the entire audience responded with a thunderous standing ovation, the Paslawsky family, through tearful eyes, thanked the Devils for their thoughtfulness.

When the hockey game concluded – the Capitals won 4-1 – hundreds of Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians flocked to the main concourse for the after-game concert. Andriy Dobriansky, the emcee of the concert, introduced Joshua Malakoff, spokesman for the Devils, who greeted the audience and thanked them for their support. Mr. Dobriansky introduced 14-year-old Anna Kosachevich, who sang “God Bless America.” Mr. Dobriansky and his brothers Yarko and Yuriy sang the Ukrainian national anthem,



Jim Leonard (left), senior vice-president of the New Jersey Devils, presents the “Heroes Among Us” plaque recognizing the late Mark Paslawsky to Olena and Irene Paslawsky (his sisters), Orysia Paslawsky (mother) and Juliana (niece) and Nestor Paslawsky (brother), as Myron Bytz, co-founder of Ukrainian Heritage Night, looks on.

Christina Bytz

(Continued on page 23)

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

Bill seeks to void Crimea's 1954 transfer

MOSCOW - The chairwoman of the Russian Federation Council says the upper house of Parliament is drafting legislation that would proclaim the Soviet Union's 1954 transfer of Crimea to Ukraine as "legally void and nonbinding" since the moment of its enactment. Valentina Matviyenko made the announcement at a December 22 meeting of lawmakers from both chambers of Parliament that also was attended by President Vladimir Putin. She said a legal analysis shows the transfer of Crimea to Ukraine under the Soviet leadership of Nikita Khrushchev was "unlawful" and violated the Constitution of the USSR and legal procedures of the time. Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine in March after deploying Russian troops across the peninsula and carrying out an independence referendum that has been condemned around the world as a violation of Ukrainian and international law. (RFE/RL)

Kazakh president calls for compromise

KYIV - Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbaev, during a visit to Kyiv, has reportedly called on Russia and Ukraine to seek compromise in order to end the conflict in eastern Ukraine and preserve its territorial integrity. Mr. Nazarbaev's visit on

December 22 also produced agreements on deliveries of Kazakh coal to Ukraine and the revival of a bilateral trade talks mechanism, as well as talk of defense industry cooperation - pointed messages to Moscow that Kazakhstan is unhappy with the conflict at the heart of the former Soviet Union. "I am appealing to Russia and Ukraine to think about finding a compromise in order to get out of this conflict and preserve Ukraine's territorial integrity, because this situation is nonsense and should not be taking place," President Nazarbaev said after talks with Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko. Mr. Nazarbaev's remarks suggested he is concerned about the effects of the Ukraine crisis on Kazakhstan, which is a partner of Russia in trade and security groupings cultivated by President Vladimir Putin but is also pursuing close ties with the West. Russia's ban on most Western food imports - part of its response to European Union and U.S. sanctions imposed to punish the Kremlin for its interference in Ukraine - has led to trade disputes between Russia and Kazakhstan. Mr. Nazarbaev said confrontation and sanctions were "a dead-end street." He said that Kazakhstan and Ukraine had agreed on supplies of coal from the resource-rich Central Asian nation to Ukraine, which relies on Russian gas for about half its power and digs much of its own coal in regions now held by the pro-Russian rebels. President Poroshenko said that the countries would "revive our military-tech-

nical cooperation in full volume." He did not give details, but suggested that meant Ukrainian defense enterprises helping Kazakhstan bolster its defenses rather than Kazakhstan supplying weapons to Ukraine, which is fighting the pro-Russian rebels in a conflict that has killed more than 4,700 people in eastern Ukraine since April. (RFE/RL, with reporting by Interfax, TASS, RIA and UNIAN)

Leaders agree on more peace talks

KYIV - The leaders of Ukraine, Russia, France and Germany have agreed to call another round of Ukraine peace talks this week. Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko's office said on December 22 that the negotiations will be held in the Belarusian capital, Minsk, on December 24 and 26. The announcement was made after President Poroshenko, Russian President Vladimir Putin, French President Francois Hollande and German Chancellor Angela Merkel spoke in a telephone conference call. The talks will involve Ukraine, Russia, pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Kremlin said Messrs. Putin, Poroshenko and Hollande, and Ms. Merkel "noted with satisfaction that the warring parties have generally enforced the ceasefire in past days." Both the Kremlin and Poroshenko's office said the leaders agreed on the need to respect the ceasefire, draw a separation line between the warring sides, pull out troops and heavy weapons, and quickly release war prisoners. The Kremlin also stressed the importance of providing assistance to the population of the east and taking steps to normalize the economic situation there. The German government said the four leaders discussed "concrete proposals for solutions," in particular regarding the exchange of prisoners. The Elysee Palace said the leaders called for urgent and "concrete progress" in the peace efforts and for the ceasefire to be "fully respected." (RFE/RL, with reporting by Reuters, the Associated Press, Agence France-Presse, Deutsche Presse-Agentur and Interfax)

Ecumenical patriarch, pope sign declaration

ISTANBUL - Pope Francis and Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, meeting at the Phanar on November 30, signed a joint declaration with consequential importance for Christian unity and momentous impact on the suffering of Christians in the Middle East. The two leaders recalled with joy and gratitude their recent encounter in Jerusalem to commemorate the 50th anniversary since the meeting there of their predecessors, Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras. They also referred to visits to the Phanar by their predecessors, Popes John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI. However, two-thirds of the statement was dedicated to the crisis in the Middle East, the "ecumenism of suffering" especially in Iraq and Syria, as well as the conflict in Ukraine. The two primates expressed their concern about the ongoing crisis in Ukraine: "We also remember all the people who experience the sufferings of war. In particular, we pray for peace in Ukraine, a country of ancient Christian tradition, while we call upon all parties involved to pursue the path of dialogue and of respect for international law in order to bring an end to the conflict and allow all Ukrainians to live in harmony." (Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.)

Georgia, Ukraine may get visa-free regime

BRUSSELS - Latvian Foreign Affairs Minister Edgars Rinkevics has said that the European Union might grant both Georgians and Ukrainians visa-free access to the EU's Schengen zone next year. Mr. Rinkevics, whose country takes over the EU's rotating presidency in January 2015, told RFE/RL on December 16 that both

Ukraine and Georgia had a chance to get visa liberalization at the Eastern Partnership summit in Riga in May next year. He noted, "in my ideal world there is at least one or maybe even more than one Eastern partner where the visa-liberalization program is enhanced and introduced," noting that Ukraine is lagging a bit behind for purely technical reasons. The countries have to undertake several reforms, such as increased judicial cooperation with the EU, before being granted visa-free travel. Moldovans in April were granted visa-free travel to the Schengen zone, which consists of 22 of the 28 EU member states and non-EU Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland. (RFE/RL, with reporting by Rikard Jozwiak in Brussels)

Tusk: EU needs long-term strategy

BRUSSELS - European Council President Donald Tusk says the European Union needs a strategy for dealing with Russia that lasts for years, not months. "The biggest challenge today is the Russian approach, not only to Ukraine but also to the EU," said Mr. Tusk, a former Polish prime minister. Speaking at a news conference on December 19 at the end of a summit of EU leaders in Brussels, he called for a strategy that is "tough and responsible" for dealing with Russia and its president, Vladimir Putin, and resolving the Ukraine crisis. Mr. Tusk said "Russia is our strategic problem, not Ukraine." Earlier, EU leaders adopted new sanctions as further punishment for Russia's annexation of Crimea from Ukraine in March. The new measures ban all investment in Crimea and stop European cruise ships from traveling there. However, EU leaders said they were ready to ease sanctions if Mr. Putin was deemed to be implementing a peace plan reached with Ukraine in Minsk in September. British Prime Minister David Cameron said "the door is always open if Russia changes its behavior." He added, "If it takes Russian troops out of Ukraine, and it obeys all the strictures of the Minsk agreement, these sanctions can go." But German Chancellor Angela Merkel stressed: "Sanctions... can only be lifted if the reasons for them change." Earlier, EU foreign policy chief Federica Mogherini said she derived no satisfaction from the economic woes of Russia, partially the result of sanctions action by the EU and United States. But Ms. Mogherini said President Putin and other senior Russian officials needed "a radical change in the attitude toward the rest of the world and to switch to a cooperative mode." (RFE/RL, with reporting by Reuters and the Associated Press)

CPJ: Journalist deaths soared in 2014

NEW YORK - The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) says at least 60 journalists have been killed in 2014 in connection with their work. In a report on December 23, the media watchdog said an "unusually high proportion" of international journalists were killed this year while covering conflicts in places like the Middle East, Ukraine and Afghanistan. With at least 17 journalists killed in 2014, Syria remained the world's deadliest country for the third straight year, CPJ said in the report. Among them were American journalists James Foley and Steven Sotloff, whose beheadings by Islamic State (IS) militants were shown in videos released by the militant group in August and September. In total, some 79 reporters have been killed in Syria since the country's bloody conflict erupted in 2011. Of the five reporters and two media workers killed in Ukraine this year, six were international journalists, the New York-based CPJ said. They were the first journalism-related deaths CPJ has confirmed in Ukraine since 2001. In Afghanistan, Anja Niedringhaus, a German photographer for

(Continued on page 15)

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COMMUNITY CHRONICLE

Montreal community marks 81st anniversary of Holodomor



At the Montreal community's commemoration of the Holodomor (from left) are: Famine survivor Volodymyr Polonskyj, Bohdanna Klecor-Hawryluk, Zorianna Hrycenko-Luhova and Arsen Hnatiuk.

MONTREAL – Joining communities worldwide, Montreal marked the 81st anniversary of the Famine-Genocide in Ukraine on Saturday, November 22, remembering the millions deliberately starved to death in 1932-1933 by Stalin and his regime.

The program was organized by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC), Montreal branch. It followed a requiem service officiated by the Rev. Wolodymyr Kouchnir of the Ukrainian Orthodox

Church, together with the Revs. Ihor Oschipko and Yaroslav Pivtorak of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and held at St. Sophia Cathedral.

Among the 100 attending the solemn remembrance were Famine survivors and children of survivors, as well as members of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization and the Ukrainian Youth Association, stu-

(Continued on page 22)

Ambassador Yuriy Sergeyev speaks at University of Scranton



Ambassador Yuriy Sergeyev is flanked by Malcolm L. MacKinnon (left), president of the Lackawanna Bar Association, and the Rev. Myron Myronyuk, pastor of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Scranton, Pa.

SCRANTON, Pa. – On November 5, members of the Ukrainian community of Northeastern Pennsylvania attended a presentation by Ukraine's ambassador to the United Nations, Yuriy Sergeyev. Mr. Sergeyev spoke about the "Ukrainian-Russian Conflict and Global Security," outlining effective steps that should be taken against Russian imperialism in order to preserve Ukraine's sovereignty.

The event, known as the Annual

Honorable T. Linus Hoban Memorial Forum, was co-sponsored by the University of Scranton and the Lackawanna Bar Association. Previous Hoban Forum speakers have included: William H. Rehnquist, U.S. Supreme Court chief justice; Alexander M. Haig, Jr., former U.S. secretary of state and supreme allied commander of NATO; Helmut Schmidt, former chancellor of West Germany; and Yitzak Rabin, prime minister of Israel.

NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 14)

The Associated Press, was shot dead by a police officer while covering elections in April. Around a quarter of the journalists killed in 2014 were international correspondents, roughly double the usual proportion, the report said. However, despite the high casualty rate of international journalists, the report points out that the "overwhelming majority" of journalists at risk for their work around the world continue to be local. The study found that about nine of every 10 journalists killed are local people covering local stories. Five journalists have been killed in Iraq this year, including three reporters who lost their lives while covering clashes between government troops and the IS militants. Three local journalists have been killed in Pakistan this year, a decline from previous years, but violence against reporters persisted. Pakistani television anchors Hamid Mir and Raza Rumi were seriously wounded in separate attacks by gunmen, and Rumi's driver was killed. CPJ says it is still investigating whether the deaths of at least 18 other journalists this year were related to their work. (RFE/RL, with reporting by Agence France-Presse and the Associated Press)

Ukraine pays part of gas debt

KYIV – According to December 23 news reports, the Ukrainian state energy firm Naftohaz said it has transferred \$1.65 billion, the second tranche of a debt repayment, to Russia's Gazprom. In October, Moscow, Kyiv and the European Union reached a deal under which Russia would restart flows to Ukraine over the winter in return for Ukraine paying \$3.1 billion in

two tranches by the end of the 2014. The first tranche of \$1.45 billion was transferred in early November. Russia started pumping gas to Ukraine in December after Kyiv transferred a prepayment of \$378 million to state-controlled Russian gas company Gazprom for gas shipments in December. Russia wants Ukraine to pay for gas in advance. Russian gas supplies to Ukraine were halted six months ago due to a dispute over prices and unpaid debts. (RFE/RL, based on reporting by Reuters and TASS)

MFA concerned about Savchenko

KYIV – Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) expressed its deep concern over the continued illegal detention of Nadia Savchenko in Russia. A Russian court decision on December 22 extended her illegal detention. The MFA noted: "Despite the deterioration of her health, and the evidence collected by the defense that confirms her innocence and also agreements on freeing all illegally held persons, on December 22, 2014, the Russian side did not change its decision on her continued detention in custody. In connection to this, the Ukrainian side repeats its demand regarding the release of N. Savchenko and all citizens of Ukraine, illegally detained on the territory of the Russian Federation." Lt. Savchenko, a Ukrainian air force pilot who was serving in eastern Ukraine, was abducted by Kremlin-backed terrorists in mid-June and taken to Russia, where she has been illegally detained and imprisoned since that time. She was elected to Ukraine's Parliament in October. She is currently on a hunger strike in protest against her illegal imprisonment. (Foreign Affairs Ministry of Ukraine, Ukrainian Canadian Congress)

WFUWO...

(Continued from page 4)

insufficient if gender equality is not a true priority of government."

At the conclusion of her talk, Ms. Mondoux offered a list of recommendations for improving the situation of women in the media.

The Geneva NGO Forum on Beijing +20 UN ECE Review published its Declaration and Recommendations on November 5 with the motto "Every Woman, Every Right, Every Minute: Everyone is Responsible and the Time is Now" (<http://beijing20.ngo-sw-geneva.ch/>)

The UN ECE Beijing +20 Regional Review began on November 6, after the conclusion of the NGO Forum, and Ukraine's governmental delegation included Minister of Social Policy Denisova. On November 7 she spoke frankly during her presentation about the conflict in Ukraine, as well as the current Ukrainian government's commitment to gender equality.

Ms. Denisova confirmed that Ukraine's current state policies are dedicated to the creation of a legal, social and political foundation for the fullest realization of the potential of women and men in all spheres of employment, community and personal life, and to the eradication of all forms of gender discrimination. Ms. Denisova reminded her audience of Ukraine's recent endorsement

on July 11 of a series of European Union declarations that pertain to the question of achieving gender equality in Europe.

Minister Denisova made a special point of describing Ukraine's current challenges, especially as they relate to safeguarding Ukraine's most vulnerable citizens, women and children, many of whom are suffering from complex life circumstances in the conflict zones of the country's southeast territories controlled by illegally armed groups. She made note of the internally displaced persons, including those from the occupied territory of Crimea.

One result of the violence inflicted upon Ukraine by Russia's invasion of Crimea and the occupation of eastern regions is the ever-increasing problem of displaced persons. Recent estimates by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC, founded in 1998 as part of the Norwegian Refugee Council, an independent non-governmental humanitarian organization) puts the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Ukraine at over 430,000 as of October (<http://www.internal-displacement.org/europe-the-caucasus-and-central-asia/ukraine/figures-analysis>).

The dire situation in Ukraine evoked sympathetic references from Nyaradzayi Gumbonzvanda, president of the NGO CSW Geneva, and Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, undersecretary general and executive director of U.N. Women, as well as overt support from the participants of the conference.

Oleh Lysheha...

(Continued from page 5)

bilingual versions of his poems "Song 212" and "Song 2" at the Ukrainian Institute of America in New York. That summer Ms. Tkacz staged Mr. Lysheha's prose poem "Mountain" at Yara's Theater Workshop at Harvard University. For several years in

Harvard's summer workshops she staged fragments from Mr. Lysheha's play "Friend Li Po, Brother Tu Fu," and several of his poems.

In 1998 Yara presented "A Celebration of the Poetry of Oleh Lysheha." In 2003 Ms. Tkacz staged "Swan" as a full production at La MaMa Experimental Theater in New York.

Source: Wikipedia

Financial...

(Continued from page 1)

December 30, with three sessions and two committee hearings before then. Already National Deputy Oleh Liashko said his deputies from the Radical Party won't vote for the budget, despite the party being a coalition member. Mr. Oleshchuk said he expects the Self-Reliance and Batkivshchyna parties won't support it either, which will threaten the stability of the coalition government.

Based on what was revealed in the budget presented to the Verkhovna Rada, the nation's leading economists said they're pessimistic about the future of Ukrainian statehood. Most notably, the budget calls for a 30 percent revenue increase, which is unrealistic even for prosperous times, and extensive money printing to finance its deficit, which raises the risk of hyperinflation.

"Maybe the government has an unwritten agreement with the IMF, but based on what I know about what the IMF wants and what the government has proposed, they are suggesting entirely different things and the prospects of another tranche are questionable," said Dmytro Boyarchuk, the executive director of the CASE Ukraine Center for Socio-Economic Research.

"The IMF wants to see realistic figures and remedies. It certainly doesn't want to see money printing. So either this government is behaving utterly insolently and irresponsibly, or it knows something that we don't," he added.

The Ukrainian government became dependent on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) after the collapse of the administration of President Viktor Yanukovich, which bled dry the state's international reserves (foreign currency and precious metals) and left behind budget-draining corruption schemes. Not only were the schemes not eliminated, but they were taken advantage of by successors, several economists said.

So far this year, the IMF has loaned Ukraine \$4.6 billion (as part of a \$17 billion stand-by loan program), owing to reforms organized by Mr. Yatsenyuk. But in order to

loan more money, the IMF wants to see more structural reforms that will make the Ukrainian economy more stable, Mr. Boyarchuk said.

The most fundamental of these requirements is a realistic 2015 budget that ensures economic stability and development. Yet the government demonstrated on December 23 that it has failed to achieve that, economists said.

Besides what's described as an unrealistic benchmark of 475 billion hrv (\$29.0 billion U.S.) in revenue, which raises the risk for a swelling deficit, the budget plans for 200 billion hrv (\$12.2 billion) to be printed, which raises the risk of destabilizing money supply flowing into the market, Mr. Boyarchuk noted.

The budget doesn't even assume that the hryvnia will be further devalued; it is based on an exchange rate of 17 hrv per U.S. dollar, which is close to the current official rate and what's being offered on the black market in Kyiv.

Then there are the hidden deficits of the state natural gas monopoly Naftohaz Ukrainy and the Pension Fund, said Andriy Novak, the head of the Committee of Economists of Ukraine. The term "hidden deficits" means that these state bodies bear the burden of incurring deficits that truly belong to the central state budget, and they eventually have to be financed.

There's also the state foreign debt, which is projected to grow 30 percent to 1.2 trillion hrv (\$73 billion) by the end of 2015 (despite payments of \$11 billion to be made in the same year).

"The government hasn't satisfied the main demand of the IMF, which is balancing the budget with a low deficit and reducing, or at least not increasing, the state debt," Mr. Novak said. "Instead, the government went down the deficit-debt path. I don't understand why the government isn't tightening belts while cutting the deficit and keeping the debt under control. Instead, it's tightening belts but gaining nothing in the way of the deficit and debt. So what's the point?"

It's the belt-tightening that raised public alarm, in the two weeks leading up to the budget's release, about who would be most

adversely affected.

The proposals that drew the most controversy were increases in the pension eligibility age to 65 for both men and women (when the average life span of Ukrainian males is 62 years old), and eliminating stipends for university students. Student leaders were threatening nationwide strikes should their state stipends – cash payments that average \$45 a month and can be used for any expenses – be eliminated.

A week and a half after they were leaked to the media from within the Finance Ministry, as part of its recommended budget cuts, Vice Prime Minister Viacheslav Kyrylenko announced on December 22 that these two measures were not included in the proposed spending cuts.

Petro Oleshchuk, a political science lecturer at Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv, said, "The scare could have been one of two things, namely an unfriendly act from within the Cabinet, as the coalition lacks unity," or, a continuation of "a long tradition from Soviet times – first raise fears and then reduce the threat to demonstrate that the government is offering compromises and reducing tension."

The lack of unity within the coalition government was apparent in the weeks leading up to the budget's presentation. Yurii Lutsenko, the parliamentary faction head of the Poroshenko Bloc, described the Cabinet's program in mid-December as an "ABC book with pictures" and "student slapdash."

During the budget's parliamentary discussion on December 23, former Finance Minister Viktor Pynzenyuk, also a national deputy of the Poroshenko Bloc, offered his own scathing attack.

In a populist, made-for-TV harangue, he dismissed it as a "sad" document that shifts economic burdens on society's poorest by postponing inflation adjustments for the minimum wage and minimum living standards – upon which many social payments are based – until December of next year.

This notion that the belt-tightening will come at the expense of the poor has also been fueled by Kyiv's pro-Putin media, which remain active.

But Borys Kushniruk, an independent

Kyiv economist, said the budget will also tax the oligarchs, "who won't suffer any less than the general public," a point that Mr. Yatsenyuk and Finance Minister Natalie Jaresko tried to make while being bombarded with expressions of moral indignation in the Verkhovna Rada.

Ms. Jaresko pointed out that natural gas extraction rents would be increased to 70 percent on some firms that cooperate with state operators and royalties would remain in place for others. Many of these firms are controlled by Ukraine's top oligarchs.

Nevertheless, the identified burden on the oligarchs – described as a caste of 10 percent who control 90 percent of the nation's wealth – wasn't enough to lend optimism to economists, who didn't shy away from apocalyptic forecasts. Mr. Boyarchuk said hyperinflation is "very possible," while Dr. Oleh Soskin of the Institute of Society Transformation said he expects economic collapse in 2015.

Indeed, their sentiments echoed the pessimism expressed earlier this year by The Economist and the Financial Times, leading global publications that both cast doubt upon the Ukrainian government's ability to remain solvent and avoid default in 2015.

Without financial aid in addition to \$17 billion stand-by agreement, "Kiev [sic] would have to massively slash its budget or be forced to default on its sovereign debt obligations," the Financial Times reported.

The 2015 budget deficit is projected at 63 billion hrv, or 3.7 percent of GDP, a decline from 88.4 billion hrv projected for this year, yet a number at great risk of swelling.

In fact, the Standard & Poors rating agency estimated the deficit will swell to 8.5 percent of GDP, far above IMF requirements, and even that figure would require "considerable effort at fiscal consolidation."

Ukraine's financial situation is "precarious," the agency stated, assigning it its worst rating of 10 on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being the riskiest.

"The IMF program itself remains at risk of not going ahead," as there "have been significant deviations from its base-case assumptions," S&P said in the report released on December 19.

New York's Dumka...

(Continued from page 1)

then chorus president Paul Liteplo gave brief remarks introducing the program, which included a number of the most representative traditional Ukrainian carols including "Boh Predvichnyi" (God Eternal), "Khrystos Narodyvsia" (Christ is Born), "Try Slavni Tsari" (Three Kings), "Schedryk" (Carol of the Bells) and "Ne Plach, Rakhyle" (Weep Not, Rachel), as well as a number of carols traditionally sung in the United States including "Silent Night," which was sung in German, English and Ukrainian, and "The First Noel/Pachelbel's Canon."

The group concluded its performance with a rendition of Handel's Hallelujah Chorus from the "Messiah" and received a prolonged standing ovation.

Father Nalysnyk then thanked everyone,

including performers, the audience, Bishop Chomnycky and guests, including the Very Rev. Roman Tarnavsky, pastor of St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and intoned a "Mnohaya Lita," which was immediately picked up by the chorus.

The concert attracted an audience of some 300 and was several months in the planning. It was coordinated by Christ the King's choir director, Ihor Kowal; he was assisted by Vasyl Liteplo, whose father and brother are members of Dumka.

Dumka was founded in New York City in 1949 as a male chorus to preserve and cultivate the rich religious and secular musical heritage of Ukraine. In 1959 it became a mixed chorus. It has performed extensively in major cities throughout the United States and Canada and has toured Europe twice. In 1990 it visited Ukraine, performing to packed concert halls in Lviv, Kyiv and Poltava.

West's efforts to end the bloodletting in Kosovo."

Many Western governments, he added, would be certain to view the transition of power from Mr. Yeltsin to Mr. Putin as evidence that Russia had not made as much progress toward democracy as they had hoped or even claimed.

Russian parliamentary elections in early December 1999 gave Mr. Putin the support he needed to succeed Mr. Yeltsin in the

Verkhovna Rada...

(Continued from page 1)

NATO and has called for formal assurances that this will never happen.

President Vladimir Putin has suggested that the main reason Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine in March was the prospect of NATO forces being deployed on the peninsula.

Russia used troops and a referendum denounced abroad as illegal to annex Crimea after Mr. Yanukovich was driven from power by protests over his decision to scrap plans for a landmark treaty with the European Union and instead tighten ties with Moscow.

The vote in Ukraine added to tension ahead of a planned new round of talks – involving representatives of Ukraine, Russia, the Russian-supported rebels and the Organization for Security and

Cooperation in Europe – aimed to end to the conflict in eastern Ukraine.

After a four-way telephone call between Presidents Poroshenko and Putin, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Francois Hollande, Mr. Poroshenko's office said the negotiations will be held in the Belarusian capital, Minsk, on December 24 and 26.

More than 1,000 people have been killed in eastern Ukraine despite a September 5 deal on a ceasefire and steps toward peace, but fighting has abated this month.

With reporting by Interfax, the Associated Press, Reuters and Agence France-Presse.

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Turning...

(Continued from page 6)

"Even if such speculation is baseless," Mr. Goble noted, "it seems certain to become part of the internal debate as Western countries decide how to deal with the new president of Russia, a man who has defined himself only to the extent of launching a war in the Caucasus and denouncing the

presidential election. He was re-elected in 2004, then switched roles with Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev, with the latter taking the presidency in 2009. The two then reversed their positions in 2012 at the time of another presidential election.

Prior to Mr. Yeltsin's resignation, the ruble had been devalued nearly 70 percent in 1998 against the dollar. Russia's financial collapse was blamed on the failed policies of Mr. Yeltsin and widespread corruption, with

nearly one-third of the shrinking population of Russia living below the poverty line. Mr. Yeltsin described his decision to send the Russian army into Chechnya – which had cost hundreds of thousands of lives – as his greatest mistake.

Source: "A transforming resignation: Boris Yeltsin leaves the scene," by Paul A. Goble (RFE/RL), The Ukrainian Weekly, January 9, 2000.

**Екзекутивний комітет Українського Народного Союзу,
редакції тижневиків „Свобода“
і The Ukrainian Weekly та адміністрація „Союзівки“**

складають найкращі побажання первоієрархам українських церков,
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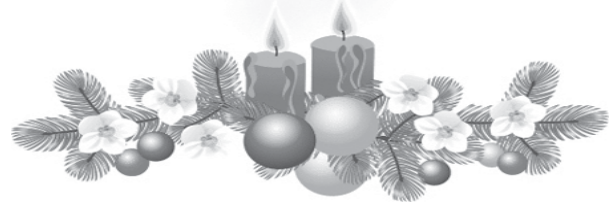
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Merry Christmas!

Julian Pishko and family



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Luba Poniatyszyn Keske - UNA Advisor,
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Різдва Христового**

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усьому дорогому українському народові
в Україні та у всьому світі.

Бажаю кріпкого здоров'я, щастя, сили
та Божого благословення у праці
на добро і процвітання рідної України.

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з наступаючими Святами
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та
щасливого і повного успіхів
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*За дирекцію ОУА,
Олег Лопатинський, голова*



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та
Щасливого Нового Року**
родині, приятелям і знайомим
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and a Happy New Year**
to all our family and friends
Luba and George Walchuk

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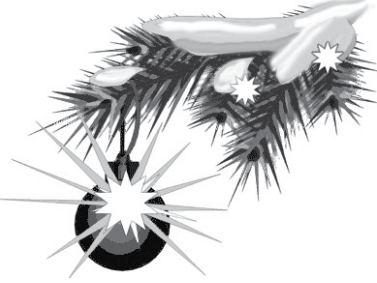


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та Булавам Відділів Юнацтва СУМ, членам
і прихильникам та Українському
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всіх наших членів і прихильників
та бажаємо*

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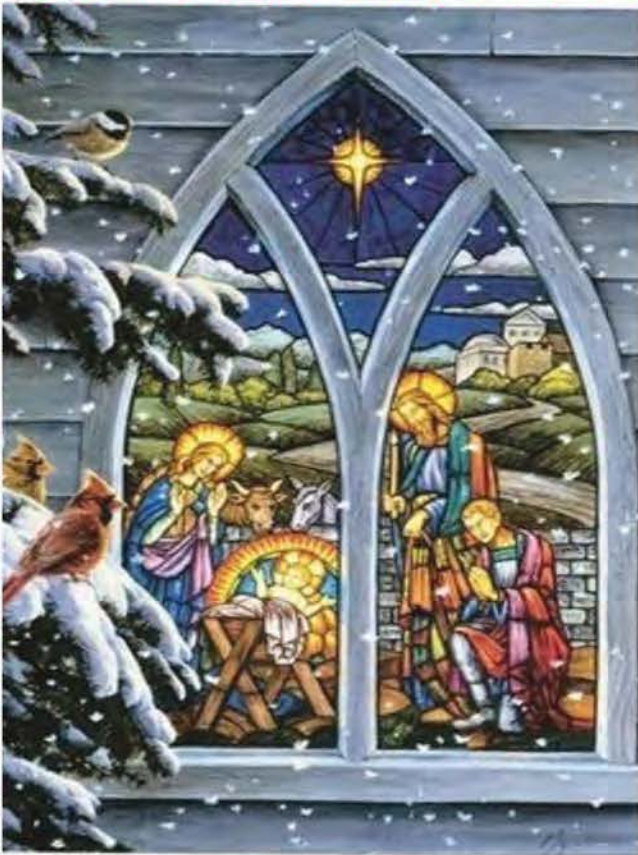


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A Donetsk...

(Continued from page 2)

citizens participated widely and actively in the Terror."

"These behaviors were motivated by genuine belief in alleged enemies, by fear of exposure or attack, and in many cases by both," Prof. Goldman said. "Faith in and fear of the state operated at the same time and often were intertwined in the responses of

the same person. Many of the strategies that people used to protect themselves increased the risk to others and helped spread the terror."

*With contributions from Robert Coalson.
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Централю Українських Кооператив Америки, всіх своїх
членів, їхні родини та все українське громадянство*

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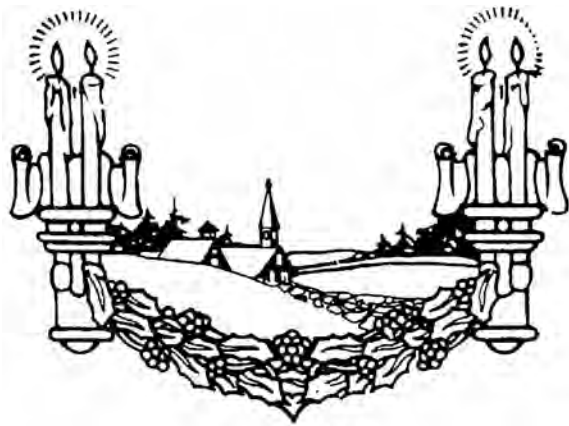
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МОДЕРНІ Й ОХОЛОДЖУВАНІ КАПЛИЦІ

UCCA Kyiv...

(Continued from page 9)

as well as well-known individuals, including journalists, bloggers and influential leaders to participate in the broadcasts.

Leading journalist Alexander Piddubny serves as moderator, fielding calls from participants and questions from the audience, and posting the information on social media. Each broadcast is conducted with a regional co-host, either a journalist or an activist who is familiar with the current situation within the particular region where the broadcast is being aired.

From the name of the project it is clear that the main theme of the broadcasts is stereotypes. What stereotypes exist about Ukrainians in general, or Ukrainians in a particular region? How do stereotypes affect our perception of others? Do stereotypes divide or unite people? These and other questions are being addressed in the broadcasts on regional radio stations throughout Ukraine in the hopes of finding an answer to the question: How can we unite all of Ukraine?

The broadcasts are interactive – they are open to anyone in Ukraine who has access to a telephone, the Internet or FM radio. In the Chernihiv region alone the broadcast reached 300,000 people.

The first program in the series was broadcast on November 17, 2014, on Chernihiv regional radio. Co-hosting the

broadcast, together with journalist Alexander Piddubny, was Olena Kiyashko, professional radio journalist from Chernihiv Radio. Volodymyr Boyko (Chernihiv Training Center), Vasyl Chepurny (Chernihiv Oblast Center Education Society) and Yuri Hromushyn (award-winning journalist from Luhansk) were invited to be guests during the broadcast.

Many listeners phoned in to the studio; they were particularly interested in the following questions: Why has the Ukrainian government done practically nothing in the last 20 years to break down stereotypes between east and west? How are we to break the stereotypes of people in Donetsk and Luhansk in order to encourage them to become patriots of Ukraine and take up arms in defense of their homeland? Many of the questions were aimed at Mr. Hromushyn, who resettled from Luhansk, and has now found a new home and new friends in Chernihiv.

The UCCA believes that such projects are extremely timely and necessary. People in eastern and western Ukraine want an honest dialogue; they want their government and their representatives to hear them and understand that, despite regional differences, Ukraine is, in fact, one united nation. These civic education broadcasts encourage participation and help journalists to focus more on the needs of the audience, not in a mentoring way, but rather in an open dialogue about issues and concerns affecting Ukrainian society today.

Stefaniya Shabatura...

(Continued from page 5)

taken to Lviv for "re-education." On December 10, Human Rights Day, as in previous years, she declared a hunger strike to protest violations of human rights in the USSR. Despite intense pressure from an officer of the Lviv KGB, Ms. Shabatura did not abandon her strike. She was warned that she would "live to regret it."

Immediately following her return to the camp, directly at the guard point, Ms. Shabatura was officially informed that 150 of her paintings, taken away before her departure, had been burned either as "abstract works" or because the camp was depicted.

To protest the action, in February 1976 she refused to work. She was initially thrown into the solitary confinement cell, then in April she was put in a prison-type cell for six months. The head of the camp cynically told her: "We don't shoot people anymore, but we still have other ways of

making sure that you don't leave this camp alive." Ms. Shabatura declared a hunger strike that lasted 12 days.

A wave of protests swept through the Mordovian political labor camps over the wanton destruction of her work, and that of others.

In February 1979 a group of political prisoners and those in exile, including Ms. Shabatura, declared their support for – and membership in – the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, whose founding members by that time were almost all in labor camps.

At the end of the 1980s Ms. Shabatura became actively involved in the national and political revival in Ukraine. She was an active member of the Lviv chapter of Memorial and of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, and took part in the struggle to re-establish the persecuted Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

Ms. Shabatura died on December 17 in Lviv, where she had lived for many years.

Source: Kharkiv Group Human Rights Protection Group.

Montreal...

(Continued from page 15)

dents from the Metropolitan Sheptytsky Ukrainian Saturday School and other community members.

The guest speaker was historian Roman Serbyn, a specialist on the Holodomor. He stressed the importance of recalling the pivotal contribution made by Raphael Lemkin in coining the term "genocide" and applying it to include the 1932-1933 Famine. Prof. Serbyn noted how attempts by Russia to destroy Ukraine as a nation date back to the times of Tsar Peter I and continues today "with Putin, a Russian imperialist, intent in destroying Ukraine as a nation."

Pavlo Chornous shared recollections passed onto to him by his grandmother, who barely managed to live through the Holodomor, losing many family members through forced starvation.

The program, organized by UCC-Montreal cultural chairperson Bohdanna Klecor-Hawryluk, also included moving performances by the vocal trio Rosa under the direction of Vera Turko-Kulycka, vocal duo Anna and Yuriy Konevych, vocal ensemble

Vizerunky under the direction of Ivan Gutych, bandurist Arsen Hnatiuk and others.

Ms. Hawryluk mentioned how Montreal has been in the forefront of raising public awareness of the Holodomor with the organization of the first international conference on the Famine-Genocide in 1983 by Prof. Serbyn at the University of Quebec in Montreal (UQAM). The conference was filmed by Yuriy Luhovy and the tapes of the conference are being restored.

The evening concluded with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem and the passing of blessed pieces of bread as a reminder of how precious this life-sustaining food is and how confiscation of food was used as a weapon in the breadbasket of Europe to try and destroy Ukraine as a nation.

A display of books about the Holodomor written over the decades in the diaspora and more recently in Ukraine was organized by the president of UCC Montreal, Zorianna Hrycenko-Luhova.

As part of the Holodomor commemoration in Montreal, the McGill Ukrainian Students' Association (MUSA) showed Mr. Luhovy's award-winning documentary "Genocide Revealed" at the McGill Music Library during the annual Ukrainian Week.

OUT & ABOUT

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|--|
| January 16
Philadelphia | Malanka Pub Nite, Ukrainian American Citizens' Association, 215-284-0185 | January 31
Ottawa | Ottawa Malanka, "Midnight in Kyiv," with music by Zirka, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral hall, 613-277-4664 or mj.reshintyk@gmail.com (reserve by January 27) |
| January 16
Silver Spring, MD | Online art sale, Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic Church, www.holytrinityartshow.com or 716-903-5485 | February 7
Pearl River, NY | Chervona Kalyna Debutante Ball, with music by Fata Morgana and Svitanok, Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, Hilton Pearl River Hotel, www.kalynadeb.org |
| January 17
Jenkintown, PA | Malanka celebration, with music by Zvook, Ukrainian American Youth Association, Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 215-620-7462 or PhillyMalanka@cym.org | February 7
Rochester, NY | Chervona Kalyna Debutante Ball and Winter Zabava, with music by Zvook, Ukrainian Cultural Center of Rochester, Radisson Riverside Hotel, 585-662-3751 or 585-507-1395 |
| January 17
Scranton, PA | Malanka celebration, with music by Fata Morgana, St. Vladimir Ukrainian Catholic Church, paulewasko@gmail.com | February 14
Parsippany, NJ | Presentation of debutantes, Ukrainian American Youth Association, Sheraton Parsippany Hotel, www.cym.org/us/2015-deb-tickets or debballcommittee@cym.org |
| January 24
Whippany, NJ | Presentation of debutantes, Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization - Newark branch, Hanover Marriott, 973-809-758 or nkbilash@gmail.com | February 14
Chicago | Presentation of debutantes, Ukrainian Medical Association of North America, Palmer House Hilton, umanadeb@aol.com |
| January 30
Philadelphia | Pub Night, featuring music by Svitanok, Ukrainian League of Philadelphia, www.ukrainianleague.com or 215-684-3548 | | |
| January 31
Philadelphia | Presentation of debutantes, Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America, Hyatt Regency Hotel at Penn's Landing, 610-277-12814 or hewka@verizon.net | | |
| January 31
New Britain, CT | New Britain Malanka, to benefit Zolotyj Promin Ukrainian dance group, featuring music by Hrim and Klooch, St. George Greek Orthodox Church hall, 860-452-4023 | | |

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.

N.J. Devils host...

(Continued from page 13)

adding a few more verses from the original version that many had not heard before. The brothers also sang two more numbers.

Following was Korinya (Sana, Zoya and Stefan Shepko, Lexi Hamilton, Alina Kuzma and Maria Pleshkevich), a family of folk

singers/musicians from upstate New York, who performed traditional Ukrainian folk songs, a medley of Ukrainian dance songs primarily from the Carpathian Mountains; a Christmas carol wishing good tidings.

Next was Maksym Lozynskyj, who played guitar and sang "Almost Spring," "The Wall" and "Rise Up" - songs full of hope for the future. Miss Kosachevich followed with "Svicha," a song dedicated to the heroes who

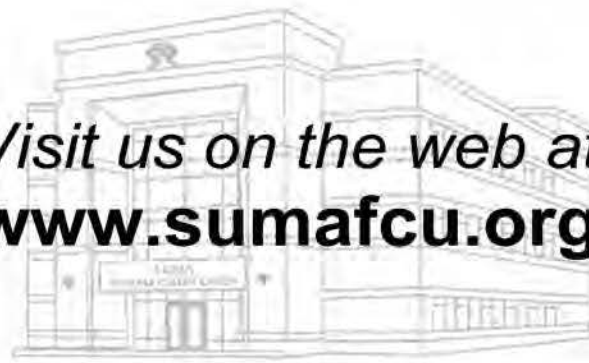
gave their lives for Ukraine's freedom, "Christmas' Quiet Night" and "Prayer for Ukraine." Ms. Oksana Telepko entered the stage area with her bandura and enthralled the listeners with "Blowing Winds," a selection about a boy who leaves for war and the girl who misses him; "Motherland" about Ukraine; and a Christmas song, "Where Are You Going, Three Wise Men," joined by her daughter Katrusia.

The evening ended with an appearance by St. Nicholas, who greeted the children and adults, passing out a secret confectionary treat to all the good people.

The evening was organized by Myron and Christina Bytz under the auspices of the planned Ukrainian Sports Hall of Fame and Museum. An additional co-partner for this year's event was Lys Sports Academy of Whippany, N.J.



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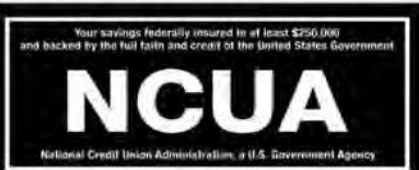
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9pm - 2am

Children's Zabava: 8pm - 9pm

Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center
700 N Cedar Road • Jenkintown, PA

Advance ticket discounts until January 10
\$40 adults (\$45 at door) • \$25 students (\$30 at door)

Ticket Information: 215-620-7462 (Dan) • PhillyMalanka@cym.org

Hotel: Discounted rooms at Days Inn Horsham

Pub Nite: Friday, January 16 • The Ukie Club on Franklin St.

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Wednesday, January 7

PARMA, Ohio: St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral will sponsor its 27th annual Christmas radio program for its sick and elderly shut-in parishioners and the entire Ukrainian community of Greater Cleveland. The Christmas Divine Liturgy will be broadcast live at 9-11 a.m. on WJMO, 1300 AM. It can also be heard online across the United States at PraiseCleveland.com. Go to the radio station website for Praise 1300 AM, click on "Listen Live" on the right-hand side, or go to the parish website, www.st.vladimirs.org at the above-mentioned time. The liturgy will be celebrated by the clergy of St. Vladimir Cathedral, with responses sung by the Ukrainian and English choirs of the cathedral. (Also at St. Vladimir's Great Compline and Matins will be cele-

brated at 7:30 p.m. on Christmas Eve, Tuesday, January 6.)

Saturday, January 17

JENKINTOWN, Pa.: Come celebrate the New Year with family and friends at the annual Philadelphia Malanka. This year the popular Canadian zabava band Zvook will provide entertainment, while a complimentary champagne toast, hot buffet dinner and cash bar will also be offered. The event begins 9 p.m. at the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 700 Cedar Road, Jenkintown, PA 19046. Discounted advance tickets are available until January 10 for adults at \$40 (\$45 at door) and for students at \$25 (\$30 at door). Hotel rooms are available at the Days Inn Horsham. For ticket information contact Dan at 215-620-7462 or PhillyMalanka@cym.org.

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.

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