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# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## As its business empire expands, Yanukovich clan targets top oligarchs

by Zenon Zawada

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV – The ever-expanding business empire of Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich is now preying on top oligarchs, forcing them to sell their business assets to family interests and cease their political activity. Some have decided to cash in their chips, while others have reached backroom deals or are trying to.

In January, former First Vice Prime Minister Valerii Khoroshkovskiy sold the Inter television network, Ukraine's largest, before seeking exile in Europe. Kharkiv mega-millionaire Oleksander Yaroslavskiy said he was forced to sell his Metalist soccer club and won't do business in the city again.

Meanwhile, the slow death of Aerosvit airlines is widely believed to be an elaborate attempt by its billionaire owner, Igor Kolomoisky, to evade being swallowed up by the Yanukovich business clan, which is voraciously pursuing valuable properties to enhance its influence and control of the country.

"With this group coming to power, they've begun to force out others and now we have open financial-corporate wars in very rough forms," said Dr. Oleh Soskin, chair of the Institute of Society Transformation in Kyiv. "Yanukovich, his sons and his closest circle are devouring and taking over all the smaller players around them on



Andrey Skakodub/UNIAN

**Valerii Khoroshkovskiy, whose wealth is estimated at \$395 million, is widely believed to have been forced to sell his television networks before leaving Ukraine. He served as Ukraine's first vice prime minister in 2010-2012.**



Vladimir Gontar/UNIAN

**Igor Kolomoisky, whose estimated wealth is \$3.4 billion, is widely believed to be fighting off an attempt by the Yanukovich business clan to take control of his airlines, including the defunct Aerosvit.**



Vladimir Andreev/UNIAN

**Oleksander Yaroslavskiy, whose estimated wealth is \$940 million, said he was forced to sell his Metalist soccer club by Kharkiv City Council Chair Hennadii Kernes. The new owners are alleged to have ties to the Yanukovich business clan.**

Ukraine's political and economic map."

Western observers, such as Dr. Anders Aslund of the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington and Dr. Alexander Motyl of Rutgers University in Newark, were predicting the current scenario as early as the autumn of 2012. They also predicted the oligarchs

would retaliate politically, which hasn't happened yet.

"These elections will be either the final step in Yanukovich's consolidation of power or his opponents' last chance to disrupt his family rule," Dr. Aslund wrote in late

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## Three ex-ambassadors to Ukraine discuss its successes, challenges



Yaro Bihun

Ambassador William Green Miller (right) presents his "sober and dismal" assessment of the current political and economic developments in Ukraine. Participating along with him in the ambassadorial roundtable on the subject at the Woodrow Wilson Center are (from left): Ambassadors Steven Pifer and John Herbst, and moderator Dr. William Pomeranz.

by Yaro Bihun

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

WASHINGTON – Three U.S. ambassadors whose service in Ukraine covered almost half of the two decades since it gained independence recently discussed the problems and successes of Ukraine's development thus far and what they

envision for it in the future.

William Green Miller, Steven Pifer and John Herbst were featured on January 30 in Washington at the Woodrow Wilson Center Kennan Institute's "Ambassador Roundtable: Reflections and Recommendation on U.S.-Ukrainian Relations." And their assessment, in a nutshell, was that Ukraine's road to developing a truly democratic,

just and economically viable and fair society has been a difficult one, but that it may well achieve that goal in the not too distant future.

Starting off the discussion Ambassador Miller, the second to serve in Kyiv (1993-1998) following Roman Popadiuk (1992-1993), set what turned out to be the general tone of the assessment of Ukraine's accomplishments by noting that any discussion of the current state of Ukraine would have to be "sober and dismal." He added, however, that anyone who really knows Ukraine would also be convinced that ultimately it will achieve its goal of becoming a democratic and prosperous country, "one of the great nations in Europe," as he phrased it.

As of today, however, Ukraine is neither, he said. It is an oligarchy, a "criminal plutocracy ruled by the few for the benefit of the few."

Ambassador Miller characterized the imprisonment of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and former Internal Affairs Minister Yuriy Lutsenko by the current government of President Viktor Yanukovich "not only as an action of political vengeance, but as a clearly unjust and crude attempt to establish authoritarian control and to eliminate any effective political opposition."

Since the early years of its independence Ukraine has lost ground, and all of the aspects of life of its citizens – social, educational, political and economic – have deteriorated, he said. Be they workers, teachers, doctors, policemen or judges, he said, hardly any of them earn enough to maintain a normal decent life. Only a tiny minority does – those who live in Ukraine's "megamansions." As a result, he said, corruption flourishes, with bribes and service charges expected for almost every transaction in everyday life.

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## ANALYSIS

## Vladimir Putin activates anti-American PR campaign

by Pavel Felgenhauer  
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Moscow politics were dominated last month by the angry reaction of Russian officials to the Magnitsky Act. Adopted by the United States Congress in mid-December, this legislation bars U.S. entry to Russians accused of involvement in the death in custody of anti-corruption lawyer Sergei Magnitsky and other alleged rights abuses, as well as freezes any assets they may have. Initially the authorities promised to draw up a similar list of undesirable Americans, but during the passage of the bill in the Duma, additional clauses were added, banning Americans from adopting Russian children and outlawing human rights organizations that receive any private or public support from the United States or employ any U.S. citizens. The bill swiftly and with overwhelming support passed the Duma and upper Federation Council and was signed into law by President Vladimir Putin, taking effect from January 1 (RIA Novosti, December 28, 2012).

Mr. Putin initially tried to somewhat distance himself from the anti-adoption bill, publicly insisting that it was "an emotional response" by Duma deputies to "American provocations." He claimed not to have initiated the bill and was not familiar with its text but broadly "understood" and supported it (www.kremlin.ru, December 20, 2012). These explanations did not sound plausible, as the anti-adoption bill was rushed through with obvious Kremlin support. Eventually, at a meeting of the State Council, a presidential advisory body, Mr. Putin fully backed the bill, attacking the U.S. and its treatment of adopted Russian children and invoking nationalistic rhetoric: "There are probably many places in the world where the living standards are better than ours. Will we send all children there? Will we also move there?" (RIA Novosti, December 27, 2012).

According to opposition Internet TV channel Dozhd, the additional controversial clauses were added to the Russian bill opposing the U.S. Magnitsky Act by the deputy chief of the presidential administration, Vyacheslav Volodin, who is in charge in the Kremlin of internal politics and the suppression of the anti-Putin opposition (www.newsru.com, December 22, 2012). The clause in the bill allowing the authorities to seize the assets of and outlaw non-governmental organizations that receive any support from the U.S. or employ any U.S. citizens threatens most if not all existing human rights advocate organizations, including the Moscow Helsinki Group (MHG), the independent Levada polling center and the Moscow branch of the anti-corruption group Transparency International.

The longtime head of MHG Lyudmila Alexeyeva (85), a prominent Soviet-era dissident, was expelled in 1977 and granted U.S. citizenship in 1982. Ms. Alexeyeva returned to Russia in 1993 and now holds a Russian as well as a U.S. passport. Ms.

Alexeyeva believes the anti-adoption bill was specifically crafted to ban the MHG and her, since she is the only U.S. citizen heading a human rights group in Russia. Ms. Alexeyeva and other human rights activists plan to challenge the bill in court as unconstitutional, though in Russia the courts are absolutely servile and loyal to Kremlin demands (Kommersant, January 9).

Banning Americans from adopting Russian children may have been a PR clause to stir up anti-American emotions to gain additional public support, while the main political thrust of the anti-adoption bill is to gain legal leverage to arbitrarily outlaw human rights groups that the Kremlin dislikes. This calculation seems to have backfired badly: anti-Americanism is a strong public trend in Russia, but the anti-adoption bill that will make more miserable the life of thousands of abandoned Russian children has caused widespread moral indignation, also within the ranks of the Russian government itself, with several ministers publicly voicing their concern (RIA Novosti, December 25, 2012).

More than 650,000 children are considered orphans in Russia; according to official figures, some 110,000 live in state institutions. Lena Spelman, 20, a university student in the U.S. who was adopted seven years ago together with her younger brother from a state institution in Arzamas, in an interview with the semi-official news agency Interfax explained that she visited Russia to meet her mother and older brother in Arzamas. Her Russian mother is an alcoholic and her older brother an aggressive one, so Lena was forced to flee Russia back to the U.S. after several days. According to Lena, only 5 percent of the children from the state institution in Arzamas that were once her companions and were released to live on their own after reaching 18, more or less succeeded in life. The rest are either on drugs, alcoholics or in prison, while some are already dead at age 20 (Interfax, December 16, 2012).

The dismal state of the orphan welfare system is well-known in Russia. The pro-Kremlin Public Opinion Foundation poll has registered 56 percent support for the ban on U.S. nationals adopting Russian children, but 21 percent strongly opposed the prohibition (RIA Novosti, December 25, 2012). In December the Novaya Gazeta newspaper collected over 130,000 signatures in an online petition against the anti-adoption bill. The petition was delivered to the Duma and ignored. This week, Novaya Gazeta has gathered more than 100,000 signatures under another petition, calling for the Duma to be dissolved in favor of new elections (ITAR-TASS, January 10).

The Coordinating Council of the anti-Putin opposition parties and groups, formed after last year's massive protest demonstrations, called for a mass protest march against the anti-adoption bill in Moscow on January 13, reversing a previous decision to postpone mass public protests until warmer weather in the spring. The Moscow authorities have allowed the march to go ahead (Interfax, January 10).

Russia today seems to be a small speck on the political horizon in Washington, which is overwhelmed with financial deficit squabbles and President Barack Obama's Cabinet appointment confirmation controversies. But in Moscow, the United States is at the forefront of policies, genuinely feared or involuntarily used as

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### Correction

In the article "Remembering Serhiy Naboka" by Bohdan Nahaylo (February 3), the first name of Mykhailo Horyn was incorrectly given as Mykola. (Elsewhere on that page, the name of Mykhailo Horyn was cited properly.) The appropriate correction has been made in our online edition.

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Ukraine seeks revision of gas contracts

KYIV – Ukraine is going to seek the revision of unprofitable gas contracts, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov said at a meeting with the U.S. Department of State's Special Envoy and Coordinator for International Energy Affairs, Carlos Pascual, in Kyiv on February 4. "We insist on the revision of the 2009 contract on the supply of Russian gas, which is extremely unprofitable to us," said Mr. Azarov. The prime minister also said that Ukraine proposes the Russian side to take part in the modernization of the national gas transport system (GTS). "The government continues to negotiate with our Russian partners. We invite them to participate in the modernization of our GTS," he noted. Apart from this, Mr. Azarov told the high-ranking American guest that Ukraine is negotiating with Turkey about the passage of oil tankers with liquefied gas through the straits. He noted that the sides are considering the construction of an LNG terminal on the Mediterranean coast. (Ukrinform)

### Klitschko awarded democracy prize

KYIV – Ukrainian boxer and politician Vitali Klitschko on February 3 was awarded the international prize of the German and Polish border cities of Gorlitz/Zgorzelec for building democracy, the Polish news agency PAP reported. "Sports is also politics, and it is very important because without it you cannot build a society, build peace. In a city like Zgorzelec/Gorlitz [after World War II, part of the city was annexed to Poland, and another part to Germany], its role is especially clearly seen, how important it is to build bridges to unite people," said Mr. Klitschko. He also stressed that Ukrainians also want to see their country "stable, a country of values, a country really European." Dr. Willi Xylander, chairman of the Society for Awarding the International Prize of the German and Polish Border Cities of Gorlitz/Zgorzelec, said that Mr. Klitschko is a symbol of the democratic movement, not only in Ukraine, but also in Europe. "He is a man with a deep understanding of the basic ethical standards and a clear political vision, who used his global popularity as an athlete to convey his thoughts to public opinion in his homeland

and abroad," said Dr. Xylander. The decision to honor Mr. Klitschko was made in April 2012, however, the presentation ceremony was postponed due to his busy schedule encompassing politics and sports. This international prize is awarded for contributions to strengthening friendship and mutual understanding between people and nations, for the activities aimed at bringing nations, cultures and views closer. It has been awarded annually since 1993 by the German city of Gorlitz, which the Polish Zgorzelec joined in 2001. (Ukrinform)

### Svoboda: boycott history textbook

KYIV – The Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union has called on Ukrainians to boycott a proposed new textbook on the history of Ukraine and give up the study of the Russian language in school. "Svoboda calls on teachers, students, schoolchildren and their parents to protect by all possible means spiritual independence, without which other independence seems phantasmal," the party said in an appeal regarding ways to counter the destruction of Ukrainian humanitarian education. The appeal, which was posted on Svoboda's website, proposes "boycotting and not accepting the likely edition of an imperial textbook on the history of Ukraine through a fundamental study only on current textbooks," as well as "organizing groups to study the history of Ukrainian statehood and courses 'Leaders of the Nation,' 'Ukrainian Victories,' 'Ukrainian Military History,' etc." In addition, "bearing in mind the black year 1938 for Ukrainian education, when the Russian language became a compulsory subject, and in 1958, when it was possible to give up the learning of the Ukrainian language," Svoboda called on Ukrainians "to categorically refuse to study in school the language of the occupier – Russian – as a further reliable means of the assimilation of Ukrainians." (Interfax-Ukraine)

### Kozhara on EU and Customs Union

KYIV – Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Leonid Kozhara has confirmed Ukraine's strategic course towards European integration, as well as its interest

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# Ukraine signs agreement to extract gas jointly with Shell

by Oleg Varfolomeyev  
Eurasia Daily Monitor

Shell will extract unconventional gas in Ukraine according to an agreement signed with Ukraine in late January. This will be Ukraine's first big project with a large multinational company in the oil and gas sector, and Chevron is likely to follow suit later this year. With the help of the multinationals and new domestic projects, Kyiv hopes to drastically cut its dependence on Russian gas by the time the current contract with Gazprom, which does not suit Ukraine, runs out in 2019.

The process is far from smooth: apart from natural resistance from Russia, the Ukrainian government has to overcome resistance from political opponents at home and to fend off difficult questions about corruption.

On January 24 in Davos, Switzerland, Shell CEO Peter Voser and Ukrainian Energy Minister Eduard Stavitsky signed a production sharing agreement (PSA) for Shell to extract shale gas from Yuzivske field in the eastern Ukrainian regions of Donetsk and Kharkiv. The PSA was signed for 50 years between Shell and the state company Nadra Yuzivska. Each will have 50 percent control. Investment in the project may eventually exceed \$10 billion, Mr. Stavitsky said.

It should be possible to extract 7 billion to 8 billion cubic meters (bcm) of gas from Yuzivske according to the pessimistic sce-

nario in five years' time; and if the optimistic scenario materializes, output from the field may eventually reach 20 bcm. If so, Ukraine will produce more gas than it consumes, said Minister Stavitsky. Work on the field will start in March, he added (Inter TV, UNIAN, January 24).

Last year, Ukraine imported 33 bcm of gas from Russia, including 25 bcm bought by the national oil and gas company Naftohaz Ukrainy (mpe.kmu.gov.ua, January 24). Ukraine produces about 20 bcm of gas per annum, while consumption declined by 8 percent to 55 bcm last year and is set to decline further as the government is committed to replacing gas with local coal where possible in heating and electricity generation, while private gas consumers are introducing energy-saving technologies. This means that Ukraine will definitely have to import less than 35 bcm of gas this year.

Moreover, Ukraine started to buy gas from Germany's RWE last November, is going to triple gas extraction from the Black Sea to three bcm per annum by 2016, and plans to launch a liquefied natural gas (LNG) terminal to process 10 bcm of gas from either Qatar or Azerbaijan or both per annum.

This, plus at least seven bcm of gas expected from the project with Shell, will make the contract with Gazprom – signed by the government of then Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko in 2009, which stipulates that Ukraine has to annually buy at

least 42 bcm of gas until 2019 – grossly outdated.

Gazprom knows this and is going to squeeze as much as possible from the current contract. Immediately after the PSA signing with Shell, it became known that Gazprom asked Naftohaz to pay an additional \$7 billion for gas deliveries last year. Thus, Gazprom decided to punish Ukraine for buying less gas than stipulated by the contract, which contains a take-or-pay clause. Naftohaz said on January 26 that it paid for the gas it imported last year and that Gazprom had been warned in advance how much Naftohaz was going to import. Naftohaz did warn Gazprom, but no agreement has been reached, so Gazprom has the right to sue Naftohaz in an international court according to the contract (Interfax-Ukraine, January 26; Kommersant-Ukraine, January 28).

Ukraine has yet to sign a PSA with Chevron, which last May won a tender to develop shale gas deposits in the western regions of Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk. Shell's plans were approved smoothly on January 16-17 by the oblast councils of Donetsk and Kharkiv, which are dominated by the ruling Party of Regions (UNIAN, January 17).

However, Chevron has apparently encountered opposition in Ukraine. Prime Minister Mykola Azarov recently expressed his regret that the oblast councils of Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk have not yet approved Chevron's plans (UNIAN, January 19).

The far-right party Svoboda which is in

opposition to the government, dominates local politics in Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv, especially after the elections last October in which Svoboda unexpectedly won seats in the Ukrainian Parliament for the first time ever. The party is against PSAs with both Shell and Chevron, citing environmental concerns (lb.ua, January 17).

The opposition raises concerns not only about the environment. The pro-opposition media and national deputies have claimed that SPK-Geoservis, an obscure company that will be Naftohaz's junior partner in the project with Shell, may have links to people close to the presidential family (Ekonomichna Pravda, August 7, 2012; January 23). On the other hand, Deputy Prime Minister Yurii Boiko, who was energy minister in 2010-2012, has had to fend off questions about reports claiming that the government bought drilling rigs to extract gas from the Black Sea from a fictitious firm based in Latvia (Kyiv Post, December 26, 2012; Ekonomichna Pravda, January 17; UT1 TV, January 25).

Indeed, despite the promise of big payouts and mutually beneficial outcomes, multinationals tread on slippery ground by investing in Ukraine, which international watchdogs persistently rank among the most corrupt states.

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

## Three ex-envoys...

(Continued from page 1)

Ambassador Miller said he is optimistic, however, and convinced that Ukraine will get through this difficult period, when the next generation – free of Soviet and early post-Soviet experiences – emerges. It will be able to govern in a just and informed way and put this “dismal present” behind them.

Mr. Miller is now a senior policy scholar at the Wilson Center.

Ambassador Pifer, who replaced Mr. Miller in Kyiv in 1998, and now is director of the Brookings Institution Arms Control Initiative and a senior fellow at the Center on the United States and Europe, noted that when the USSR fell apart Ukraine was thought to be in a good position to succeed. It was of a more manageable size than Russia, for example, had good agricultural and industrial potential, which included aerospace and high tech, and a well-educated population.

These high hopes, he said, did not come to fruition, however. Unlike its central European neighbors, Ukraine was slow in advancing its economy. Mr. Pifer noted that Ukraine's per capita gross domestic product in 1992 was almost equal to that of Poland (88 percent). By this year, it has dropped to one-third (36 percent) of Poland's per capita GDP.

And democracy has not arrived as was expected, missing the “huge opportunity” in 2005 after the Orange Revolution, which brought President Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko to power.

The present Ukrainian government does not have a strategic vision or a goal for Ukraine's future, and there has been a consistent inability or unwillingness to place the welfare of Ukraine and its people above personal and party interests, added Mr. Pifer.

The third U.S. envoy to Ukraine said that Ukraine is facing three challenges, which he is not sure that it can meet: Ukraine's gov-

ernment has to get back on the path to democracy. It must end corruption and promote a wide-based economy and the rule of law – especially in the highly corrupted energy sector in which today it is exceedingly dependent on Russia.

On the positive side, he said that Ukraine can develop its own natural gas resources with the help of Shell and Chevron – if it can keep corruption from ruining things, which it has not been able to do over the past 20 years.

Ambassador Pifer said that in the area of foreign policy Ukraine has a problem in that the senior level of its government has been isolated by the West, which is unhappy about the democratic regression in Ukraine.

Like Ambassador Miller, Ambassador Pifer said he also gets “sober and dismal” when he thinks about how U.S. and European leaders are frustrated in trying to work with Ukraine in any positive way, and how the Yanukovich administration's treatment of Ms. Tymoshenko affects the Western nations' assessment of Ukraine's performance as a democracy.

“I think what we have to do is continue normal diplomatic dialogue with Ukraine on the working level, but not at the senior level,” he said. “And we need to make clear that the relationship between the West and Ukraine is not going to change unless it changes course more in favor of democracy in the country,” he added.

Pushing President Yanukovich on democracy issues will not necessarily push Ukraine into the Russian sphere, Mr. Pifer said, because that would not be in the interest of Mr. Yanukovich and his cohorts.

John Herbst, the fifth U.S. ambassador in Kyiv (2003-2006) and now the director of the Center for Complex Operations Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University in Washington, continued the discussion by presenting a historical overview of how Ukraine has developed over the centuries – being occupied, dominated and divided by neighboring empires, with very few periods of inde-

pendence. But thanks to their ingenuity, the people somehow always learned “how to get by,” and that was more important to them than playing politics.

He noted that Ukraine was frequently divided in its past, but that this did not cause it to fracture along those lines after independence. And this, said Ambassador Herbst, is a great achievement.

The present Ukrainian government cares more about maintaining its position of power than about developing its relationship with the West, Mr. Herbst said, and it is willing to take economic hits to do so.

But the former ambassador said he has no doubt that there will be a “snap-back” in that other direction at some point in the next 10 to 15 years – or maybe even sooner.

As for Ukraine's relationship with Russia, Mr. Herbst said, President Yanukovich did extend the Black Sea Fleet arrangement with Moscow and is “playing footsie” with the Customs Union. He referred to that as being “a little troublesome.” But Ukraine's work on developing its own energy with Shell and Chevron, he added, is a positive development.

There are “reasons to be cautious, reasons to be sober, but no reasons to be pessimistic,” Ambassador Herbst concluded.

During the question-and-answer period that followed the ambassadors' initial presentations, they were asked what policy course they would recommend to the Obama administration's new secretary of state, John Kerry.

Ambassador Miller suggested that Washington should do everything possible to nurture the development of a democratic society in Ukraine and its future leadership.

Ambassador Pifer said he would caution Washington not to overestimate American influence on the Ukrainian leadership's domestic policy. It would be better to figure out what worked and didn't work in past, and proceed from there.

And Ambassador Herbst stressed that it is very important to maintain a peaceful, constructive relationship and at the highest level.

Ambassador Miller followed up with an observation that one should not “underestimate the influence of the diaspora. Ukrainian Americans feel very strongly about their ancestors, and they are a healthy political force in American politics,” he commented.

Ukraine's ambassador in Washington, Olexander Motysk, who listened to the two-hour discussion sitting in the audience, expressed his deep gratitude to the United States and to the ambassadors, who, in his words, obviously “left a part of your heart” in Ukraine.

Ukraine is a very young state, but a “very old nation,” with a very difficult history that included the Holodomor and other Stalin-era repressions, he said. And the 21 years since independence, he added, was a road traveled “with ups and downs.” Not everything went smoothly, but substantial progress and important steps in economic reforms and human rights had been achieved, he said. And his government is optimistic about future, added Ambassador Motysk.

“We are on the way,” he stressed. “We know what we want. We want to transform Ukraine into a prosperous, democratic European state and to become a member of the European Union, and we would like to be in the future a reliable partner – as we have tried to be up to now – with the United States of America and the Western world. At the same time we would like to have good relations with our other strategic partner – with Russia – on the basis of sovereign equality, on mutual interests, and so on.”

The moderator of the afternoon discussion was William E. Pomeranz, acting director of the Woodrow Wilson Center.

Seven U.S. ambassadors have served in Kyiv since the U.S. Embassy opened there in 1992. They were: Roman Popadiuk (1992-1993), William Green Miller (1993-1998), Steven Pifer (1998-2000), Carlos Pascual (2000-2003), John Herbst (2003-2006), William Taylor (2006-2009) and the current ambassador John Tefft.

## Ukrainian Canadian community carols for leader of Opposition

OTTAWA – Celebrating the Ukrainian Christmas season (January 7 to 19 according to the Julian calendar), a group of carolers composed of members of Ottawa's Ukrainian community performed a series of Ukrainian Christmas carols at Stornoway, the residence of the leader of the Opposition, on January 16.

For Ukrainian Canadians, carolling is not a simple singing of Christmas songs – it is more of a folk opera. The carolers first have

to ask for permission to sing. If the answer is yes, they enter the house and sing carols for each member of the family, even for the smallest child. The caroling always ends with short well-wishing poems, appropriately selected for each home.

On a clear night, the carolers arrived at Stornoway and greeted Leader of the Opposition Thomas Mulcair with tradition-

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Ukrainian carolers perform for Thomas Mulcair, leader of the Opposition.

### The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund: December

Amount	Name	City	Name	City	Name	City	
\$1,000.00	Ukrainian Self Reliance	Philadelphia, PA	Alex and Zoriana Latyshevsky	New York, NY	Gregory and Maria Woloszyn	Forest Hills, NY	
\$150.00	Oksana Zakydalsky	Toronto, ON	Michael Lewko	Little Falls, NJ	Peter Yewshenko	Sarasota, FL	
\$125.00	George Sajewych	Silver Spring, MD	Joanna Lipsky	Deerfield Beach, FL	\$10.00	Olga Ariza	Miami, FL
\$105.00	Orest Wesely	Stockton, CA	Natalka Maciukenas	Portland, OR	Walter Dobush	Eastpointe, MI	
\$100.00	Barbara Chupa	Fresh Meadows, NY	Irene Melnyk	Plains, PA	Larissa Dolinsky	Westfield, NJ	
	Yuriy and Irena Deychakiwsky	North Potomac, MD	Mykola Mirchuk	Livingston, NJ	Zorianna Dombchewsky	Rochester, NY	
	Ulana Diachuk	Rutherford, NJ	Oleh Mitranga	Jackson Heights, NY	Lusia Halunko	Richmond, VA	
	Roxolana Horbowyj	Holmes, PA	Nadia Nachesty	Northampton, PA	Boris Hlynsky	Vienna, VA	
	Maria Hrycelak	Park Ridge, IL	Stephen Nachesty	Northampton, PA	Wsewolod Hnatzuk	Fraser, MI	
	Marko and Eugenia Korlatowych	Strongsville, OH	Andrew and Melania Nynka	New York, NY	Michael Hollian	Elmwood Park, IL	
	Irene Nowak	Milwaukee, WI	Jaroslaw and Alexandra Palylyk	Tuckahoe, NY	Eugene Kolisnyk	Jacksonville, FL	
	Natalie Pawlenko	Princeton, NJ	Gloria Paschen	Elgin, IL	Chester Kuc	Edmonton, AB	
	Neonila Sochan	Morristown, NJ	John and Christina Pluta	Wallingford, PA	Maria Lavanga	Philadelphia, PA	
	Roma and George Temnycky	Manlius, NY	Victor Rud	Ridgewood, NJ	Anna Lukachik	Middle Village, NY	
\$75.00	Michael Balahurak	Houston, TX	Arnold and Mary Rudakewych	Lorton, VA	Daria Maksimowich-McKay	Westminster, CO	
	Jaroslawa Gudziak	Syracuse, NY	Patrisia and Yurko Sawchak	Rydal, PA	Peter Melnycky	Edmonton, AB	
	W. Mohuchy	Nutley, NJ	Alex Spotts	Hudson, FL	Georgine Muc	Richmond, VA	
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## As its business...

(Continued from page 1)

October. "This time, however, the most palpable threat to his rule comes not from the crowds on the street but the elite businessmen he has alienated."

Among those alienated is Mr. Khoroshkovskiy, 44, whose wealth was estimated at \$395 million (before the Inter sale), according to a 2012 survey published by Korrespondent, a Russian-language weekly magazine and news site.

A political insider since the Kuchma era, Mr. Khoroshkovskiy joined the government of Prime Minister Mykola Azarov in 2010 as part of a business clan led by Dmytro Firtash (estimated 2012 wealth: \$3.2 billion) and Presidential Administration Chair Serhiy Lyovochkin.

Mr. Khoroshkovskiy had been allied with Mr. Firtash since 2008, when offering his support as State Customs Service chair in the oligarch's battle with former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko over 11 billion cubic meters of natural gas that she had confiscated from RosUkrEnergo.

Mr. Firtash announced on February 1 that he had bought the Inter Media Group Ltd. – which includes eight television channels including the influential Inter network – from Mr. Khoroshkovskiy at a price tag of \$2.5 billion.

That price is at least three and a half times higher than what the holding company would cost on the market, Oleksander Rodnianskyi, a Ukrainian television executive, told the Forbes.ua news site.

The inflated sale price includes Mr. Firtash's payment for Mr. Khoroshkovskiy's political services, the TVi television network speculated. That included arrests of those responsible for confiscating the 11 billion cubic meters of gas, as well as his

assistance in deflecting state legal attempts to recoup that gas.

Others speculated that a good portion of the payment was made by Russian agents, given that Mr. Firtash doesn't have \$2.5 billion of cash at his disposal. Moreover, the price could have been inflated to prevent the Yanukovich family from taking control through the courts, which would have required payment.

The Firtash clan's significant stake in the Azarov government has slowly diminished as the Yanukovich family has gradually forced other competitors to the periphery.

Frustrated by their diminishing role, Mr. Lyovochkin reportedly submitted a resignation letter in early November 2012 before deciding to remain in the Yanukovich administration. Later that month, Mr. Khoroshkovskiy riled Mr. Azarov when he declared that Ukraine joining the Moscow-led Customs Union was illegal.

At about that time, he was the first vice prime minister, jockeying to replace Mr. Azarov as prime minister, only to be denied by President Yanukovich, who is grooming Serhiy Arbuzov of Donetsk, a close family associate, to be the next prime minister.

By the time Mr. Azarov announced his Cabinet in late December, not only was Mr. Khoroshkovskiy excluded, but other Firtash associates were demoted, such as Yuri Boiko, who was moved to vice prime minister from the more influential post of energy and coal production minister.

"I'm sure that Khoroshkovskiy was forced to sell the channel," said Natalia Ligachova, chief editor of the news site Telekritika.ua, a site that monitors Ukrainian media. "Why now? Because at the end of October Inter began to change its editorial policy towards more balance and pluralism. When Khoroshkovskiy didn't join the new government, he

changed the editorial policy even more and an editorial council was created that included well-known civic activists."

One of those council members, Viktoria Siumar of the Institute of Mass Information, said Inter had become more objective during the last five months, particularly in October during the parliamentary elections.

"Five months of criticism on the national channel is the main reason for the pressure to sell," she said.

Mr. Khoroshkovskiy made no statement as to whether he was forced to sell and why he left for Europe, reportedly France or Monaco.

Observers said the reasons might include pressure from the Yanukovich administration to exit politics and business, an independent decision to protect his business assets, or even a plan to return to politics from exile with the image of a reformer, as Sergey Tigipko did in the 2010 presidential election.

What is certain to observers is that Mr. Khoroshkovskiy's departure from Ukrainian politics poses a potential threat to Mr. Firtash further down the road.

The Yanukovich administration is already pursuing measures that undermine Mr. Firtash's influence, including a price-setting law to force the country's biggest exporters to pay taxes on exports based on market rates, not the currently artificially depressed rates on goods transferred to offshore companies.

The newly created Revenues and Duties Ministry has proposed transferring to itself the responsibility for collecting Ukraine's social security funds paid by registered employers, which would transfer control of an estimated \$22 billion in funds away from oligarchs such as Mr. Firtash, who opposes the proposal.

Moreover, the Yanukovich family is tip-

ping the scales in its competition with Mr. Firtash and other oligarchs for state properties that have yet to be privatized, such as Energoatom, the state enterprise that operates all of the nation's nuclear power stations.

"Firtash controls strategic infrastructure through his natural gas networks. Attempts to break such players on the current level of the family's influence inevitably will lead to risks that it won't be able to control," said Yuri Romanenko, a Kyiv political observer and columnist. "Firtash is clearly showing that the family is better off not crossing the line in dealings with him, and it hasn't crossed it yet. A war with Firtash at this stage isn't advantageous for the family."

A good indication of Mr. Firtash's relations with the Yanukovich administration will be whether the news coverage on the Inter network is favorable or critical, media observers said.

"I assume that the 'democracy holiday' in Inter's daily and weekly news will be gradually curtailed and they'll be covering the government based on 'either good or nothing,'" said Otar Dovzhenko, a media expert based in Lviv. "But possibly, ignoring the opposition will be less total since Firtash has his own interest in one of the opposition factions, UDAR."

[About a dozen national deputies in the Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform are reported to be aligned with Mr. Firtash's business interests.]

The price-estimating tax and similar state instruments of enhancing financial control are also being applied to other major oligarchs such as Igor Kolomoisky, whose wealth is estimated at \$3.4 billion.

No state or private authorities have confirmed that Aerosvit – controlled by Mr. Kolomoisky – has been in the Yanukovich

(Continued on page 15)

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## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### Gongadze case still not over

It was more than 12 years ago, on September 16, 2000, that Heorhii Gongadze, editor of the Internet publication *Ukrayinska Pravda* and an investigative journalist who exposed the corruption of high-level officials in the Kuchma administration, went missing in Kyiv. His headless body was found two months later in a forest on the outskirts of Ukraine's capital.

On January 30 of this year, Gen. Oleksii Pukach was sentenced to life in prison for murdering Gongadze. Previously, in March of 2008, three police officers of the Internal Affairs Ministry were found guilty of carrying out the murder. Col. Mykola Protasov was sentenced to 13 years in prison, while Maj. Oleksander Popovych and Col. Valerii Kostenko each received sentences of 12 years. All were members of the ministry's Department of External Surveillance and Criminal Intelligence, subordinates of Gen. Pukach, who they said had personally strangled Gongadze.

When asked whether he accepts the verdict, Mr. Pukach, newly stripped of his rank, stated: "I will agree with it when Kuchma and Lytvyn will be with me together in this cage." He told reporters, "Ask Kuchma and Lytvyn about motives and intentions. They will tell you more." Back in 2011 he had testified in court that the former president, Leonid Kuchma, and his chief of staff at the time, Volodymyr Lytvyn (who later became chair of the Verkhovna Rada), were involved in ordering the murder. Readers will recall that voices alleged to be Mr. Kuchma's and Mr. Lytvyn's were heard on recordings secretly made in the president's office by security officer Mykola Melnychenko.

Also on the recordings was a voice purported to be that of then Minister of Internal Affairs Yuriy Kravchenko. Kravchenko, according to the official account, killed himself in 2005, just before he was about to be questioned in the case. However, most observers believe it was not a suicide but an assassination of someone who knew the truth about the Gongadze murder's masterminds. (Indeed, it was reported that Kravchenko died of two gunshot wounds to the head.) Gen. Pukach had previously identified Kravchenko as the person who gave the order to kill Gongadze – "the first online journalist worldwide to be murdered for his work," according to the Committee to Protect Journalists.

The reaction to the latest chapter in the Gongadze case was swift. The OSCE representative on freedom of the media underscored that "those who ordered this crime remain at large," and the United States expressed "hope that the Ukrainian authorities continue to pursue this case in order to bring to justice those responsible for ordering Mr. Gongadze's abduction and murder."

Commenting on the outcome of the trial, the journalist's widow, Myroslava Gongadze, told RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service: "To be honest, to me it is a certain signal that the current government wants to finish the case of Gongadze, punishing the executors of the crime only." She added, "Now we consider appealing the verdict, only over the motives of the crime, because we believe that the crime was ordered and we want to bring the people who were named by Pukach to justice."

Unfortunately, that is not likely to happen. Back in May 2011, the Procurator General filed criminal charges against Mr. Kuchma for abusing his authority in giving illegal orders that led to Gongadze's death. However, a Kyiv district court ruled in December of that year that the charges could not be pursued based on illegally obtained evidence (i.e., the Melnychenko recordings), and that ruling was twice upheld by appellate courts. Thus, the case was closed. As our colleague Zenon Zawada reported from Kyiv, "The Gongadze murder has come to symbolize how well-connected Ukrainian politicians and businessmen are untouchable by laws and can literally get away with murder."

Reacting to the Pukach verdict, the International Federation of Journalists stated: "Unfortunately, the decision feels like partial justice, as others involved in his murder are still being shielded from responsibility." The Committee to Protect Journalists commented that "justice will not be fully served until all of the perpetrators are held responsible." The European Federation of Journalists was more straightforward, as EFJ President Arne König said: "We urge the authorities to reconsider their decision not to prosecute other individuals mentioned by Pukach. They should answer for their role in a public and transparent trial. It is the only way to do justice to Gongadze and allow his family to move on."

We couldn't agree more. The Gongadze case will not be over until all its perpetrators are brought to account.

Feb.  
14  
2006

### Turning the pages back...

Six years ago, on February 14, 2006, Viktor Yanukovich addressed hundreds of Party of Regions members and journalists at a press conference, where he suggested that Ukraine's economic growth would return once the Party of Regions gained power.

Mr. Yanukovich highlighted his economic accomplishments as prime minister of Ukraine, including a 2004 GDP increase of 12 percent and criticized his successor, Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, and President Viktor Yushchenko for driving the economy to near ruin.

"People are starving and freezing as a result of the abysmal economic policies of the government," Mr. Yanukovich said. Other policies that triggered Ukraine's economic downward spiral were the massive increases in social spending and pensions that the government couldn't afford, he added.

"When we come to power, we will stick to our principles of financial responsibility and we will throw in the garbage pail of history the incompetent economic policies of the current government," he said. "I came here today to say that the closed circle of inflation will be broken if the Party of the Regions comes to power."

Other accomplishments, he noted, included reducing entrepreneurial profit taxes from 30 percent to 25 percent, reducing personal income taxes from 40 percent to 13 percent,

(Continued on page 13)

## NEWS AND VIEWS

### WFUWO, U.N. NGO Committee on the Family to co-host panel about gender-based violence

by Irene Jarosewich

NEW YORK – The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), the policy-making body of the United Nations dedicated to the identification and resolution of issues related specifically to women, convenes a session annually to evaluate progress on gender equality, identify challenges to the well-being of women internationally, set global standards and formulate concrete policies to promote resolutions to the problems faced by women worldwide.

This year, the 57th session of the CSW will take place at U.N. Headquarters in New York on March 4-5. The priority theme for the 57th session is: "The elimination and prevention of all forms of violence and discrimination against women and girls."

In support of this year's priority theme, the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO) will co-host a panel with the U.N. NGO Committee on the Family titled: "When Will the Violence against Women and Girls Stop? Global Solutions," on Friday, March 8, at 2:30-4 p.m. in the Boss Room, on the eighth floor of the Church Center at 777 United Nations Plaza.

The panelists at this parallel event include social anthropologist and the WFUWO's main representative to the U.N., Martha Kichorowska Kebalo, Ph.D., speaking on the topic "Mobilizing Outrage: Women Reacting to Public and Private Violence in Ukraine and Elsewhere: Comparative Strategies," and Pakistani civil rights activist and attorney Rehman Azhar, on the topic "Strategies to Convince Men in Developing Countries to Stop Sexual Violence."

The event's moderator is the American Psychological Association's main representative to the U.N. ECOSOC, Janet Sigal, Ph.D., from the U.N. NGO Committee on the Family. Along with Florence L. Denmark, Dr.

*Irene Jarosewich is the main representative of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations to the United Nations Department of Public Information (UNDPI).*

Sigal is a co-editor of the soon-to-be released publication "Violence against Girls and Women: International Perspectives."

Organized by the WFUWO, along with the U.N. NGO Committee on the Family, this NGO parallel event is also co-sponsored by the American Psychological Association, World Organization for Early Childhood Education, Make Mothers Matter International, International Federation for Home Economics, Universal Peace Federation, New Future Foundation Inc., Harlem Women International and International Council of Psychologists.

In 2010, the "Women in the World" status report published by the United Nations presented extensive information about violence against women and girls, concluding that the acceptance of violence specifically against the female gender is a universal phenomenon that affects women both within and outside their homes and manifests as physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence, depending on the country. Between 15 and 59 percent of women report having experiences defined as gender-specific violence against their person. (This report does not accurately reflect incidents of specific war-related gender violence, such as "victory rape"-calculations that would increase the percentages substantially).

In many regions of the world, longstanding customs put considerable pressure on women to accept abuse as normal. Although men are the most frequent perpetrators of gender-specific violence against women and girls, in certain societies older women are taught and expected to abuse younger women as well, such as in instances of female genital mutilation and dowry abuse.

A major goal not only of the CSW, but of the United Nations over all, is to rapidly increase the level of awareness in all cultures about the unacceptability of such violence.

All who are interested in the topic of preventing violence against women are invited and welcome to come to this parallel event. U.N. grounds passes, U.N. event guest passes or RSVPs are not required in order to attend.

### OSCE media freedom representative welcomes Gongadze conviction, calls for further investigations

OSCE

VIENNA – The Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe representative on freedom of the media, Dunja Mijatović, on January 30 welcomed the conviction of the murderer of Ukrainian journalist Heorhii Gongadze, while urging the authorities to continue to pursue the instigators of this crime.

Her call comes as the Pechersky District Court in Kyiv on January 29 convicted a for-

mer police general, Oleksii Pukach, of strangling and beheading Gongadze in September 2000, and sentenced him to life in prison.

"Finally, after 12 long years of suffering and uncertainty for Gongadze's family, friends and colleagues, justice has been done. But those who ordered this crime remain at large," said Ms. Mijatović.

"There is still a long way to go to break the vicious circle of impunity for those who instigate violence against journalists, in Ukraine and beyond," she added.

### Vladimir Putin...

(Continued from page 2)

boogeyman by the Kremlin. Massive public indignation against the use of destitute Russian orphans as political fodder is interpreted by the Kremlin as extra proof of a U.S.-led conspiracy to oust Mr. Putin and instigate regime change. As a result, the

Kremlin does not seem to be in any mood at present to compromise with the internal opposition or be accommodating with Washington on any international or bilateral issues.

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

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Displaced persons camps revisited

Dear Editor:

Back in November of 2012, The Ukrainian Weekly published my article entitled "Photo and Archival Exhibit of 30 Displaced Persons Camps in Germany and Austria (1945-1950): The Philadelphia Story." Since that time, several letters have been sent to The Weekly's editor, Roma Hadzewycz, in response to the story. One was published; several others were forwarded to me by e-mail. Most have been cordial, primarily expressing an interest in the DP camp phenomenon, but the main thrust of all these epistles has been to provide names of additional DP camps that were not included in the boxed list accompanying my article.

I am writing today to explain (admittedly belatedly) that the list published was not an exhaustive list of all DP camps, merely an abbreviated list of camps that had once been home to the people who were directly involved in the exhibit that was the focus of the article – specifically, members of the organizing committee; individuals who supported the endeavor by graciously loaning personal or family archives, photos and memorabilia for display at the exhibit; and several other individuals who supported the endeavor by donating prizes that were raffled off during the exhibit. In hindsight, this should probably have been explained in the article.

That said, I must refocus on the DP camps and on the letter writers who cited camps I did not mention. The most important issue here is that all of these letters serve to underscore the absence of a truly comprehensive history of this period in the lives of the Ukrainian diaspora. Clearly there is much more to be learned about this tumultuous post-war period and especially about Ukrainians and their experiences in various displaced persons camps.

It is hoped that the original article (November 11, 2012), the letters responding to it, and this response to the letter-writers will encourage Ukrainians – and especially former DPs – in other diaspora communities to organize similar exhibits or publish DP stories, individ-

### GUIDELINES FOR LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Ukrainian Weekly welcomes letters to the editor and commentaries on a variety of topics of concern to the Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian communities. Opinions expressed by columnists, commentators and letter-writers are their own and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of either The Weekly editorial staff or its publisher, the Ukrainian National Association.

Letters should be typed (double-spaced) and signed (anonymous letters are not published). Letters are accepted also via e-mail at [staff@ukrweekly.com](mailto:staff@ukrweekly.com). The daytime phone number and complete mailing address of the letter-writer must be given for verification purposes. (A daytime phone number is essential in order for editors to contact letter-writers regarding clarifications or questions.)

Please note: The length of letters cannot exceed 500 words. Letters may be edited or abridged.

ually or in anthologies, as a way to educate others about the camps and the people who lived in them. Each camp holds thousands of riveting stories of survival, resilience, creativity, and every other dimension of humanity and dynamic of human interaction. They are stories that need to be told.

**Tamara Stadnychenko Cornelison**  
Abington, Pa.

### Student competition about Holodomor

Dear Editor:

The U.S. Holodomor Education Committee is organizing a Holodomor Student Competition for students age 12-19. The goal of the competition is to raise awareness among our youth so that they may become ambassadors in their American schools about this important issue and ensure that it is taught.

We thank all those who have already responded with their desire to participate and encourage all those who have not yet done so contact Lidia Choma at [lchoma@yahoo.com](mailto:lchoma@yahoo.com) for more information about the competition.

The U.S. Holodomor Education Committee has developed a Holodomor PowerPoint presentation and an Addendum to the PowerPoint that is concise, visually appealing and aligned with the Common Core Learning Standards. This unit can be easily incorporated into several areas of high school instruction such as: 20th century European history, genocide and human rights studies, or media/journalism and propaganda, just to name a few. Please email [okul17@aol.com](mailto:okul17@aol.com) to receive an electronic copy of the Holodomor PowerPoint.

What can you do?

1. Encourage your children to choose Holodomor as a topic when doing research papers.
2. Promote the Holodomor Student Competition in your community and school district.
3. Forward the Holodomor PowerPoint to as many people as possible, including teachers in American high schools asking them to include the Holodomor in their curriculum. (studied in 10th and 11th grades in global studies)
4. Contact your local schools and libraries to set up exhibits/films about the Holodomor
5. Set up interviews with your local press and Holodomor survivors and their descendents.

Locally we have contacted the Department of Social Studies in Yonkers, N.Y. (the fourth largest school district in New York State). It will be including the Holodomor PowerPoint on its website as a resource for teachers. We will also be conducting a workshop for social studies teachers titled "Learning From the Past: The Ukrainian Genocide-Holodomor" on February 6 at Yonkers High School.

We each need to do our part if we are to make a difference.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me at [OKUL17@aol.com](mailto:OKUL17@aol.com)

**Oksana Kulynych**  
Yonkers, N.Y.

*The letter-writer is chair of the U.S. Holodomor Education Committee.*



## The things we do...

by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

### Visiting babusia

The last time I saw her is not the way I want to remember her. Instead, I will try to remember a vibrant, smiling, outgoing, bubbly little round "babusia" who whirled around all her visitors, singing and joking, feeding everyone, and pouring drinks. At the time, she was in her mid-to-late 70s, probably, but her lovely round face and outlook were decades younger.

This past September, my friend and I visited her while we were in Kosiv, Ukraine. We knew she had been ill, but that had been a while ago. We hoped she was still around. When we pulled up to her home, we noticed that it was very quiet, no more pretty chickens in the garden and no frisky dog running around. The main house was locked – a real lock on the main door.

We tried the door on the second house, the one with the summer kitchen and her loom. Still very quiet. There she was, lying on her side, covered up with a light comforter. She had shrunk – there was very little of her there, just a tiny elderly person, half-asleep. On the stand next to the bed, there was a glass of water, some handkerchiefs, and little else. She was conscious, but not completely, hearing what we were saying but not fully comprehending, her eyes glazed, not really seeing. There was not much to say. I kissed her forehead, left some money on the stand, we closed the door and left. No one came around to check about the strangers or the car stopping by, and there was no one on the village street.

She had two sons. The one in the village, according to what she told us during our

previous visits, was a ne'er-do-well who stole from his mother and whose wife had left him. The son in Kyiv was a businessman. When babusia became ill a few years ago, he and his wife brought her to Kyiv to a hospital, took care of her and wanted her to stay with them. But she wanted to go back, to her home and her Karpaty – the Carpathian Mountains. Usually, when we had visited her before, there were neighbors and friends around.

As my friend and I drove back to Lviv, there was a heavy silence in the car. We were thinking of her and every so often would reminisce about how delightful it was to visit her. My friend, one of three sons, could not get over how she had been left alone. When his elderly mother became disabled, the three sons hired a companion to live with their Mama to take care of her. They visited very often. He could not get over how this had not happened to babusia. True, we were only there for a short while but, still, she was all but abandoned from what we observed.

Social services in Ukraine are just getting started (a decade or so ago they hardly knew what social work was), and care for the elderly is barely on the horizon. In villages, families take care of their own. And if they don't, what we saw in that silent little house is the result. I so hope that I am wrong, and that there is someone nearby taking care of babusia. But, I am afraid of the answer.

Orysia Tracz may be contacted at [orysia.tracz@gmail.com](mailto:orysia.tracz@gmail.com).

## Attention, Debutante Ball Organizers!



In keeping with our tradition,  
The Ukrainian Weekly  
will publish a special section  
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community's debutantes.

The 2013 debutante ball  
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The deadline for submission of stories  
and photos is March 4.

Please e-mail materials to:  
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## First anthology of Ukrainian drama in English presented at Shevchenko Society

by Ostep Kin

NEW YORK – An event dedicated to the presentation of “An Anthology of Modern Ukrainian Drama,” which was edited, compiled and introduced by Dr. Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych, took place recently at the Shevchenko Scientific Society. This 522-page tome, published by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, provides a brief review of modern Ukrainian drama, biographical data about the playwrights, and analytical essays about 10 plays in the book.

This English-language anthology is a parallel volume to Dr. Onyshkevych's first comprehensive anthology of modern Ukrainian drama in Ukrainian, which was published by CIUS in 1998.

The event itself, held on October 13, 2012, was dedicated to the 120th anniversary of the birth of Mykola Kulish (1898-1937), a leading Ukrainian playwright. Marko Robert Stech, director of CIUS, literary scholar and writer, also participated in the program. Laryssa Lauret and Dr. Stech read fragments from Kulish's “Sonata Pathetique” and Bohdan Boychuk's “Hunger-1933” in Ukrainian and English.

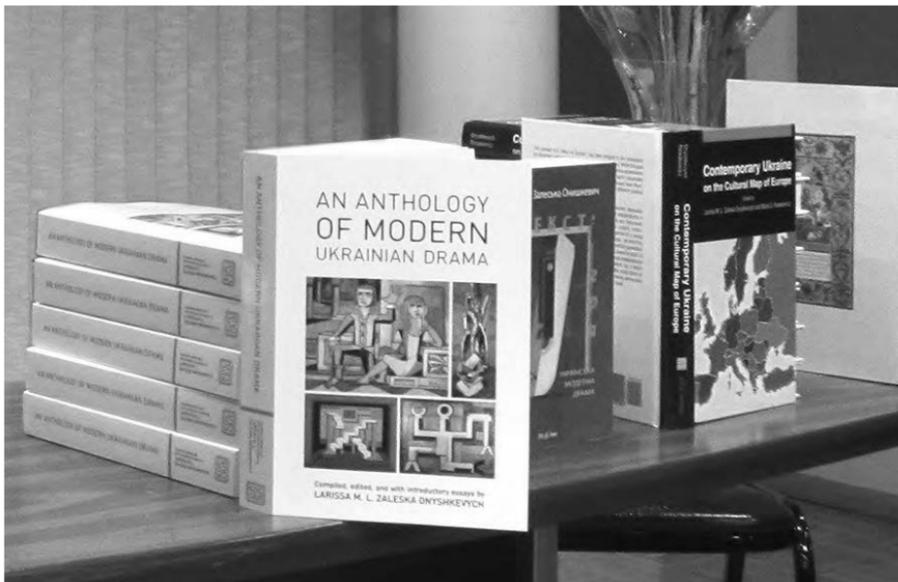
Dr. Stech also spoke about the history of CIUS Press, noting that since 1976, it has published approximately 200 books. The majority of its publications are English-language monographs dealing with Ukraine.

Afterwards, Dr. Onyshkevych explained what motivated her to compile this book, naming four factors: the specifics of drama as an elite genre of literature; few available



Vasyl Lopukh

At the presentation of “An Anthology of Modern Ukrainian Drama,” (from left) are: Vasyl Makhno, Laryssa Lauret, Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych and Marko Stech.



“An Anthology of Modern Ukrainian Drama” and several other books published by Dr. Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych.

published collections of Ukrainian plays; still fewer English translations of Ukrainian plays; and the lack of critical articles and scholarly works about them. She said she particularly felt the lack of the two latter factors when she was teaching Ukrainian drama at Rutgers University (in New Brunswick, N.J.).

Besides the new anthology, Dr. Onyshkevych has previously published the following books: “Antolohiya Modernoyi Ukrainskoyi Dramy” (An Anthology of Modern Ukrainian drama, 1998), “Blyzniata Sche Zustrinutsia: Antolohiya Dramaturhiyi Ukrainskoyi Diaspory” (The Twins Shall Meet Again: An Anthology of Plays of the Ukrainian Diaspora, 1997), and “Tekst i Hra” [Text and Performance, 2009], studies

and essays on Ukrainian drama and theater.

The anthology comprises 10 plays written by nine playwrights between 1909 and 1992: “In the Wilderness” by Lesia Ukrainka, “The People's Malachi” and “Sonata Pathetique” by Mykola Kulish, “The Prophet” by Volodymyr Vynnychenko, “Masters of Time” by Ivan Kocherha, “Planet Speranta” by Oleksa Kolomyets, “The Heroine Dies in the First Act” by Liudmyla Kovalenko, “A Play about a Great Man” by Eghor Kostetzky, “Hunger-1933” by Bohdan Boychuk and “Birds from an Invisible Island” by Valeriy Shevchuk.

“An Anthology of Modern Ukrainian Drama” (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2012), may be purchased for \$39.95 at [www.ciuspress.com](http://www.ciuspress.com).

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# “The Ukrainian Diaspora Religion Survey”: reporting the results

by Andrew Sorokowski

What are the Ukrainian diaspora's preferences and practices with regard to religion? There is a certain amount of mythology about this, but nobody really knows. The U.S. Census does not record religious affiliation. Church surveys are limited to their own faithful.

We do know, however, that Ukrainian church membership in North America is in steep decline. In order to learn the causes of this, as well as to better understand our diaspora, an objective survey of religious affiliation and practice is called for.

It was with this goal in mind that in the winter and spring of 2012, Roma Hayda and Andrew Sorokowski undertook an informal religious survey of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States. Although they serve, respectively, as chairwoman and vice-chairman of the Ukrainian Patriarchal Society, a Ukrainian Catholic lay organization, they decided to conduct this survey as private individuals, in order to avoid even the appearance of any confessional bias.

This was not a comprehensive, professionally conducted effort producing definitive results, but an amateur attempt intended to awaken interest. Only private resources were used. A five-minute questionnaire consisting of 12 multiple-choice questions was prepared. It was sent out by e-mail to about 20 individuals and organizations with a request that they distribute it through their mailing lists. It was stressed that the survey was not being conducted by any organization (though organizations were invited to distribute it); that responses could be anonymous; and that the results, while available to all interested parties, must not be used for commercial purposes.

The questionnaire was directed to U.S. citizens and permanent residents of Ukrainian descent. Respondents were also

asked their states of residence. They could reply by e-mail or letter post.

In all, 221 responses were received, mostly by e-mail. This is not, of course, a sufficiently large sample, nor a sufficiently broad one, to be considered representative of Ukrainian Americans. It does, however, give some rough idea of what kind of sample one can collect, and suggests some possible trends.

Respondents came from 17 states and the District of Columbia. (For some reason, however, 32 persons did not provide their state of residence). Of the 221 individuals surveyed, 173, or about 78 percent, were raised as Ukrainian Greek-Catholics; and only 32, or some 14 percent as Ukrainian Orthodox. Women outnumbered men 120 to 99 (two did not respond to the question about gender). The majority – about 69 percent – were married. With respect to age, the group was skewed: only 19 percent were aged from 17 to 44, while 41 percent were between 45 and 64. Another 39 percent were 65 or older.

It was a well-educated group, with 95 percent possessing higher education. This included 35 individuals with doctoral degrees. The overwhelming majority of respondents knew the Ukrainian language, with 131 persons or 59 percent claiming an “excellent or native” knowledge. At the same time, nearly half – some 44 percent – were born in the U.S., though some 30 percent arrived here during the postwar wave of immigration between 1946 and 1952. The “fourth wave” of those arriving since 1988 was represented by only 27 persons, or 12 percent.

Thus, it must be stressed that these figures are not representative of the Ukrainian American diaspora. They only describe the sample of the population that received, and responded to, the questionnaire.

Some 70 percent of the total said they belonged to the Ukrainian Catholic Church,

while only about 9 percent belonged to one of the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. Around 85 percent of those belonging to a church or religious group stated that their affiliation was chiefly the result of their upbringing.

By international and even American standards, church attendance in this group was remarkably high. Some 57 percent claimed to attend religious services weekly, with another 12 percent attending monthly.

Although the survey questions were multiple-choice, a few individuals added comments to their e-mailed responses. One complained that the questionnaire neglected non-Christians (even though the first question provided an “other religious identity” and “no religious identity” choice, while the third offered the choice of “some other religious group”).

Other respondents were more supportive. One remarked that “Our churches (UGCC and UOC-USA) are in [a] downward spiral where critical mass has been lost and it is a matter of time before parishes and institutions outside of the major area of Ukrainian immigration...close down.”

This individual went on to pose a series of questions, including “How welcoming are our parishes? Is English persecuted? Are inter-married spouses welcomed? Are non-Ukes welcomed? Is there a concerted effort to retain youth, if any? Do our parishes serve as museums [of] how baba and dido worshipped, or do they serve as the Father's House that welcomes all children, embraces them, teaches them, nourishes them, heals them, loves them? Do our priests reach out to youth, encourage vocations? Do our priests look to uphold and rediscover our beautiful liturgical tradition?”

The results reported above are based on a simple tabulation of responses. One could, however, conduct further analysis on the basis of the raw data, that is, the tabula-

tion of 166 responses received directly by the individuals who conducted the survey, and the 55 responses collected by Bo Shevchik of The Washington Group and forwarded to them. For example, one could check for correlations among age, educational level, language proficiency, church affiliation and frequency of attendance.

Interested parties may contact Andrew Sorokowski at [samboritanus@hotmail.com](mailto:samboritanus@hotmail.com) for the two basic tabulations (each as an Excel file, not containing the names or other personally identifiable data of respondents) and the questionnaire with totals for each response (as a Word file).

The organizers thank all those who responded to the questionnaire. Special thanks are due to those who helped to distribute it – particularly Andrew Bihun of The Washington Group, George Gajecky, Irena Jarosewich, Marta Kolomayets, John Kun of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, Max Pyziur, Mr. Shevchik of The Washington Group and Vira Skop.

Again, this was not a professional survey. It was intended to demonstrate that a community-based effort on a volunteer basis can produce results, and that there is a great deal of useful and interesting data to be collected, analyzed and published.

The organizers hope that in the near future, professional sociologists will undertake a thorough and methodologically sophisticated survey of religious affiliation, attitudes and practices of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States. Such a survey could yield answers to questions about, for example, the religious attitudes of young people, the current affiliations of those who have left our Churches, or the proportion of non-Ukrainian speakers in Ukrainian Churches.

The answers could provide guidance for our Churches' planning and policies, and would help us understand our own community.

## Comments on “The Ukrainian Diaspora Religion Survey”

by Oleh Wolowyna

Roma Hayda and Andrew Sorokowski should be commended for having undertaken this survey; it addresses an important topic. A key element of any successful organization is fact-based decision-making. A small community like Ukrainians in the U.S. (0.3 percent of the total population), can improve its chances of having meaningful influence in American society by gathering and analyzing information about the community and making decisions based on facts, not impressions.

A prime example of this strategy is provided by the Jewish community in the U.S. Although by their own estimates they represent only 2 percent of the U.S. population, their influence in American society is vastly greater than this proportion would suggest. One of the elements of this success is understanding the importance of having good information about their community. In this respect they are at a disadvantage compared to other ethnic groups, as the law does not allow the U.S. government to collect information about religion, and thus there are no official statistics about the number of Jews and their characteristics in the U.S.

*Oleh Wolowyna, Ph.D., is a demographer specializing in research on Ukrainians in the United States and Canada. He is the director of the Center for Demographic and Socio-Economic Research on Ukrainians in the United States.*

In order to collect data on their community, they have created the North American Jewish Data Bank, currently housed at the University of Connecticut, and significant amounts of resources are invested in collecting and analyzing data on Jews in the U.S. using surveys and other methods.

Part of the stated Mission of the Data Bank reads:

“Provide empirical survey data sets about the North American Jewish community, from national and local socio-demographic studies as well as other types of contemporary and historical social science research” and, in the words of Prof. Ira Sheskin from the University of Miami, “The surveys, which involve calling tens of thousands of households through random-digit dialing, generate results that answer critical questions about Jewish communities, such as how they have changed over the past 10 years, whether they have grown or diminished, their degree of religious observance and memberships, their median age and household size, social service needs, and attitudes toward anti-Semitism and Israel. Synagogues and Jewish community centers and social service agencies, as well as schools and government leaders, rely on such results to make important planning, programming and community development decisions.”

Ukrainians, as well as many other ethnic groups, are in the fortunate position that data on ancestry has been collected in the 1980, 1990 and 2000 censuses, and since

2005 yearly by the American Community Survey. This extremely rich data set has been organized in an integrated database by the Center for Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ukrainians in the U.S., a research center, at the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York. The database is being continuously updated and expanded, and analyzed in order to understand the demographic and socio-economic dynamics of Ukrainians in the U.S. (see the Center's website: <http://www.inform-decisions.com/stat/>).

In spite of its great potential, this data base has limitations and needs to be complemented by surveys like the one undertaken by Ms. Hayda and Dr. Sorokowski. It is very difficult to select a representative sample of a small and dispersed population like Ukrainians in the U.S., but there is a partial solution called quota sampling. Depending on the issues one wants to study, one can select key characteristics that may affect these issues and select a sample that reflects the proportions of these characteristics in the target population. Examples of key characteristics are: age, sex, nativity and immigration period, years lived in the U.S. (for immigrants), language spoken at home, level of education, home ownership, type of occupation, labor force status, etc. The database constructed at the research center allows us to estimate the percentage of Ukrainians that fall in any combinations of these and other characteristics, and select samples that may

provide more representative results.

Taking as a basis all persons who declared “Ukrainian” as their only ancestry, the religious survey sample is representative in terms of the proportion married people, but not in terms of age and immigration wave; it captured a higher proportion of older and a smaller proportion of younger persons, and significantly more Third Wave immigrants (after World War II) than Fourth Wave immigrants. A quota sample with age structure and proportions of immigration waves provided by the census data is likely to have a better chance of providing more representative results.

As seen by the extremely high percentage of Ukrainian Catholics and small percentage of Ukrainian Orthodox in the sample, this survey does not help to determine the number of members of these two church denominations. However, as pointed out in the article, correlation analysis among age, education level, language proficiency, church affiliation and frequency of attendance could provide interesting insights.

There may be a way of estimating the number of Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox in the United States. The Canadian census has been collecting data on religious affiliation since 1931; thus, there is good quality data on religious affiliation of Ukrainians in Canada from 1931 to 2011. According to research done

(Continued on page 16)

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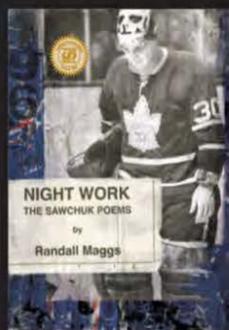
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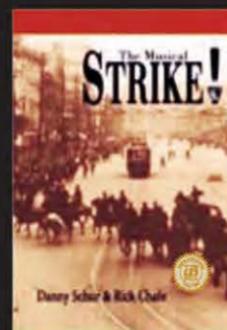
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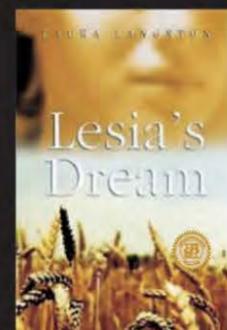
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**COMMUNITY CHRONICLE**

**UCCA New York commemorates 95th anniversary of Kruty battle**

NEW YORK – On Sunday, January 27, the UCCA New York City branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America organized a memorial service (panakhyda) to commemorate the 95th anniversary of the heroic battle of Kruty. The battle, fought at a small railroad station approximately 130 kilometers northeast of Kyiv, marked the courageous yet futile attempt of 300 Ukrainian students to stop the Bolshevik assault against Ukraine's independence.

The memorial service, with Father Bernard Panczuk, OSBM officiating, was

held at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church in the East Village in New York City following the noontime Sunday liturgy. The service commenced with a solemn candle-light procession of young UCCA and community members led by a memorial wreath, provided by branch member Tekla Hnatyshyn.

Ivanka Zajac, UCCA New York branch president, commented, "The memorial service respectfully honored the 300 brave young students who died in defense of their homeland and their freedom."



Young activists during the memorial service dedicated to the heroes of the battle of Kruty in 1918.

**UOC-U.S.A. marks Day of Unity**



UOC-U.S.A.

A view of the prayer service with Metropolitan Antony and Bishop Daniel officiating.

*Religious Information Service of Ukraine*

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J. – On January 22, representatives of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. celebrated Ukraine's Day of Unity and Freedom here at the Church's Metropolia Center.

Parishioners, employees, members of the Consistory and visitors gathered to pray for peace and the well-being of Ukraine and its people during a "moleben" (prayer service) conducted by Metropolitan Antony and the head of the Church's Consistory, Bishop Daniel, in celebration with local clergymen.

Ukrainians of various generations gathered in spiritual unity under the Ukrainian flag to pray for the Ukrainian people in St. Andrew the First-Called Ukrainian Orthodox Church. According to uocofusa.org, the service was attended by Ukraine's Consul Ihor Sybiha and Vice Consul Kostiantyn Vorona of New York, as well as representatives of Ukraine's Permanent Mission to the United Nations.

Afterwards, the hierarchs, clergy and diplomats laid a wreath before the memorial cross at St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in honor of all those who died for Ukraine's freedom.

**Ukrainians of Florida remember "The Paths to Independence"**

NORTH PORT, Fla. – Ukrainian Organizations of Southwest Florida (known as the "Hromadsky Komitet") sponsored an evening to commemorate Ukraine's Day of Unity and Freedom. The event took place on January 20 at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Religious and Cultural Center ("Oseredok") in North Port, Fla., with over 120 in attendance.

After the posting of the American and Ukrainian flags by Ukrainian American Veterans headed by Eugene Tomashosky and Ihor Hron, all in the audience sang the American and Ukrainian anthems.

Roma Guran, president of the Hromadsky Komitet, opened the evening and introduced Lidia Bilous, MC for the evening. Mrs. Bilous was the creator of the evening's program which featured on its cover illustrations of historic events that took place on January 22 and November 1, 1918; January 22, 1919; and August 24, 1991.

Prof. Vira Bodnaruk, president of the Ukrainian Language Society, delivered the main address on "The Paths to Independence".

She went over the historic events that led to the unity of Ukrainian lands (Eastern Ukraine, Halychyna, Bukovyna and Zakarpattia) and declaration of Ukraine's independence in 1918 and 1919. Unfortunately this period was short-lived and Ukraine again was divided among its neighbors – until 1939 when its eastern and western parts were united and became a part of the Soviet Union. This period in Ukraine's history saw the cruel destruction of Ukrainian people by Holodomor, collectivization and exile to labor camps in Siberia. Ukraine's intellectual and middle class were destroyed; the people left behind were terrorized into submission.

But the spirit of independence never left the people of Ukraine and in January 1990, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, patriotic individuals formed a "living chain" between Lviv and Kyiv, symbolizing the spiritual unity of Ukrainian people from east and west, Prof. Bodnaruk continued.

On August 24, 1991, the Parliament of Ukraine voted for independence, which was



Ukrainian American Veterans, headed by Eugene Tomashosky and Ihor Hron, post the flags.

overwhelmingly approved in the referendum on December 1, 1991. Since 1992, the Independence Day of Ukraine has been celebrated on August 24. But January 22 is also an official holiday, called the "Day of Unity and Freedom."

Prof. Bodnaruk's remarks were followed by the song "Ne Spy Moya Ridna Zemlia" (Don't sleep my native land) by the Ukrainian group Mandry. The United Choir of North Port, under the direction of Luboy Ingram, sang "Hey u Luzi Chervona Kalyna," "Zhyvy, Ukraino" and "O Ukraino! O Liuba Nenko." Olya Hron recited the poem by S. Orliuk: "Sviato Derzhavnosty."

A special guest from Ukraine, Oleksander Kryskiv, had an interesting slide

presentation titled "Immortalizing the Heroes of Ukraine." In his remarks he mentioned the many sacrifices made by the youth of Ukraine in fighting for independence of Ukraine throughout the 20th century. Their memory should not be forgotten and the Scouting Organization of Ukraine Plast, in which Mr. Kryskiv is very active, is working toward that end.

At the conclusion of the program a short video titled "Rozмова z Otamanom" (A Talk with the Otaman) by Ivan Popovych of Ukraine was shown. It stressed the fact that what the Ukrainian people fought for during the 1920s with Symon Petliura was not lost, but gave rise to a new generation that fought for and achieved its independence.



Vira Bodnaruk delivers the main address.



Guest speaker from Ukraine, Oleksander Kryskiv.

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## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 2)

in developing relations with the Customs Union of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Speaking on January 25 during a lunch in Davos, Switzerland, during the World Economic Forum, he described the main elements of a strategy for the development of Ukraine in the near future. According to the statement from the MFA, he "confirmed Ukraine's strategic course towards European integration, noting that Ukraine also intends to develop mutually beneficial relations with the Customs Union, taking into account national interests, including in the 3+1 format." (Ukrinform)

### Rada chair on Customs Union

KYIV - Verkhovna Rada Chairman Volodymyr Rybak stressed that the issue of Ukraine's accession to the Customs Union is not on the agenda right now. And the Association Agreement with the European Union, he is convinced, will be signed by Ukraine no later than in November this year. In an interview with the newspaper Ukraina Moloda, he said: "At present, Ukraine's accession to the Customs Union is not a burning issue. The president said, if it is profitable to Ukraine, we can take some specific questions and sign some bilateral or trilateral agreements with member states of the Customs Union. But the president has never said anything about joining it." At the same time, the Parliament chair expressed hope that by the end of November Ukraine would sign the agreement on association and a free trade area with the European Union. "I have recently had many meetings with MPs, the leadership of the European Parliament, and we are working together on this issue. We meet our commitments to the EU. The remaining challenge is to consider the law on public prosecution," he said, according to February 1 news reports. (Ukrinform)

### Ukrspetsexport officials detained

KYIV - Two senior employees of Ukraine's state arms exporter, Ukrspetsexport, have been detained in Kazakhstan, suspected of giving a large bribe, ZN.UA reported on February 1, citing an unnamed source. "The detention of the Ukrainians took place six days ago at the international airport when they were about to fly home. A source said that before that the Ukrspetsexport representatives had met with an official representing the Kazakh authorities and 'conveyed thanks' to him for helping in the implementation of contracts," ZN.UA reported. Both employees were reported to be heads of departments. At the same time, according to Novosti-Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan's Ministry of Defense confirmed the detention of one of its employees, Director of Armaments Maj. Gen. Almaz Asenov, on suspicion of taking a bribe of \$ 200,000 (U.S.). Ukrspetsexport is an authorized state mediator, engaged in the export and import of military and special-purpose services, as well as products that contain information related to state secrets. (Ukrinform)

### Bondarchuk: Our Ukraine helped PRU

KYIV - The Our Ukraine party helped the interests of the Party of Regions of Ukraine (PRU) during the parliamentary election in 2012, according to the head of Our Ukraine's Political Council, Serhii Bondarchuk. "No matter how sad it may sound, I have to admit that the Our Ukraine party carried out a technical task in the interests of the Party of Regions in the last elections to the Verkhovna Rada," he said in an interview with Kommersant-Ukraine, which was published on January 28. He was commenting on the suspicions of party colleagues that Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko is cooperating with the pro-government party. Mr. Bondarchuk said that the responsibility for this lies with Mr.

Yushchenko and the party's treasurer, Viktor Kostenko. "These two men bear full responsibility for what happened, in particular, for the fact that the members of district election commissions were replaced in the interest of the Party of Regions. These facts were established by documents," he said. On January 26, supporters of Mr. Yushchenko and supporters of Mr. Bondarchuk tried to hold two parallel meetings of the party's Political Council at different locations. Mr. Bondarchuk said that 26 members of the Political Council from 18 regional branches had arrived and registered for the meeting at the party's office on Spaska Street. "We could not figure out how many members of the political council were at another address," he said, noting that members of the Political Council from Spaska Street were barred from the meeting chaired by Mr. Yushchenko at the Kyiv Hotel. The head of the party's Political Council said that the recent actions by Mr. Yushchenko were aimed at splitting the party. (Interfax-Ukraine)

### Opposition seeks officials' dismissal

KYIV - The opposition factions on January 25 registered in the Verkhovna Rada a draft resolution on the political responsibility of Ukrainian Internal Affairs Minister Vitalii Zakharchenko and Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) Chief Oleksander Yakymenko "for the involvement of law enforcement agencies in political persecution and the violation of human rights and freedoms." The authors of the bill are the head of the Batkivschyna faction in Parliament, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, UDAR faction leader Vitalii Klitschko, and Svoboda faction leader Oleh Tyahnybok. In addition, opposition members registered a draft resolution on hearing reports by Procurator General Viktor Pshonka, Mr. Zakharchenko and Mr. Yakymenko on the situation at Ukrzaliznytsia's Central Clinical Hospital No. 5, where former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko is undergoing treatment, that occurred on January 18 due to the removal of national deputies from the hospital. The opposition proposed hearing the reports at a special session of Parliament on January 29. Batkivschyna said that the faction had managed able to collect the more than 150 signatures needed to hold the extraordinary meeting. Parliament Chair Volodymyr Rybak, however, refused to convene such a meeting, claiming that some of the signatures were not authentic and saying a special session would cost more than 3 million hrv. The opposition refuted that argument, noting on January 30 that it would cost 500 hrv at most and stating that it would collect that amount to enable the special session to be held. (Interfax-Ukraine)

### Ukraine's "dramatic choice"

KYIV - In 2013, Ukraine will hesitate to the bitter end in its choice between the European Union and the Customs Union, said the chairman of the board of the Center for Applied Political Studies Penta, Volodymyr Fesenko, at a press conference at Ukrinform on "Analytical Result of December and the Passing Year." Speaking on December 28, 2012, he said, "It will have to make a serious, dramatic choice. I think, we will hesitate until the bitter end, and it is impossible to say now in what favor a choice will be done, the problem remains open." Mr. Fesenko observed that 2012 was noted for Russia's intensification of pressure on Ukraine. "It makes the choice very sharp and dramatic for Ukraine: where shall we move further - toward the European Union or toward Eurasian integration?" The expert pointed out that the European Union recently made a number of steps toward Ukraine. "In the recent resolution of the European Parliament regarding the Ukrainian issue and in a statement of the EU Foreign Affairs Council, a milder and more flexible position of the European

(Continued on page 13)

## NEWSBRIEFS

(Continued from page 12)

Union was formulated as regards Ukraine, which opens the possibility for Ukraine to sign a new agreement with the EU next year," he said. At the same time, he pointed out that the EU does not pose ultimatums regarding the release of Yulia Tymoshenko and Yuri Lutsenko; the issue is fulfillment of decisions of the European Human Rights Court and reform of electoral legislation and legal proceedings. "If the Verkhovna Rada makes substantial, tangible steps, if it votes at least for draft laws concerning a new election code and judicial reform, then it will be an important prerequisite for the signing of the agreement between Ukraine and the European Union," Mr. Fesenko predicted. (Ukrinform)

### Fence dismantled near historic church

KYIV – On January 26, defenders of historic Kyiv dismantled the temporary construction fence on Tith Lane near the site of the historic Church of the Tithes (Desiatynna). The UNIAN news service, citing the Kyiv City organization Civil Position, reported that the action against illegal construction occurring on the site of a historic and cultural monument was attended by its members and representatives of other political parties and public organizations of Kyiv. Lawyer Marina Soloviova said, "Any work on the territory of the land plot or fencing of the territory are illegal." The security guards began to spray water and tear gas on some participants who came close to the fence. The people stormed the site and dismantled nearly all the sections of the fence. The entrances to the site were again blocked by tents of the political parties Civil Position and UDAR. The site is patrolled by the police, security guards of the developer and active members of Civil Position who have stayed in tents near the site since January 18. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

### Yanukovych on Ukraine and Europe

KYIV – President Viktor Yanukovych said on January 22, at a meeting marking the Day of Unity and Freedom, that he believes this year Ukraine will take an important step in its foreign policy. "We have set ourselves the task of joining the family of European nations. The European choice – this is a choice of democratic values, economic freedom, social standards. At the same time the key to stability and prosperity is good partnership relations with our neighbors, a prudent and consistent policy of cooperation with our strategic partners. I am convinced that this year we will be one step closer to this goal," said Mr. Yanukovych. At the same time, the president emphasized that Ukraine is going to "blaze its own path" and consistently defend its interests. (Ukrinform)

## Turning...

(Continued from page 6)

and introducing substantial tax benefits for health care and education, which the Yushchenko government had cancelled.

Mr. Yanukovych also alleged that the Yushchenko administration intentionally fomented the natural gas crisis with Russia in order to create a foreign enemy that Ukrainians could rally against. Other accusations included the firing of tens of thousands of government employees who were replaced with "relatives, friends and the godfathers of those who came to power," as well as the systematic persecution of businessmen who supported Mr. Yanukovych in the past elections.

His suggestions to improve the economy were vague, and he gave broad ideas on sta-

### Kozhara, Lavrov agree on cooperation

KYIV – The foreign affairs ministers of Ukraine and the Russian Federation, Leonid Kozhara and Sergei Lavrov, signed a cooperation plan between the foreign ministries for 2013. The ceremony took place in Chernivtsi after a meeting of the Subcommittee on International Cooperation of the Ukrainian-Russian Interstate Commission on January 13. "A dialogue between the foreign ministries of Ukraine and Russia is developing on a scheduled basis. Clear evidence of this was the signing of the plan of cooperation between the foreign ministries of our countries," Mr. Kozhara said at a press briefing after the meeting. He said he and his Russian counterpart discussed a number of burning issues of bilateral cooperation, with particular emphasis on foreign policy and economic issues. "Our cooperation in the international arena will be continued, I'm sure, [and] will significantly intensify. This will also contribute to Ukraine's chairmanship in the OSCE," added Mr. Kozhara. Mr. Lavrov welcomed the meeting of the Subcommittee on International Cooperation of the Russian-Ukrainian Interstate Commission. "It is taking place at a time when Russian-Ukrainian relations are on the rise and are characterized by an intensive political dialogue at all levels, especially at the top level," said Russia's top diplomat. (Ukrinform)

### PACE delegation headed by Popesku

KYIV – Party of Regions National Deputy Ivan Popesku was elected chairman of Ukraine's official delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), and Batkivshchyna National Deputy Serhiy Sobolev was elected as his deputy, it was reported on January 21. According to Mr. Popesku, a meeting of Ukraine's official delegation was held between the meetings of the Political Bureau and political groups of the assembly. "During the meeting, we found a consensus decision that the head of the delegation will represent the majority, and his deputy the opposition," Mr. Popesku explained. Also, the delegation members present at the meeting distributed by a consensus decision all of the PACE committees on a parity basis. "Each committee of the assembly includes a Ukrainian lawmaker from both the majority and the minority," the delegation head said. However, Mr. Popesku declined to name the Ukrainian members of the PACE committees, promising to do so after approval of the lists at the assembly meeting. "Each committee includes representatives of the Ukrainian parliamentary majority and minority," he emphasized. (Ukrinform)

### Deputies support unified Orthodox Church

KYIV – In the Supreme Council of Ukraine, an interfactional association called For a Unified National Orthodox Church has been established in the Verkhovna Rada, according to January 11 news report.

bility, fiscal discipline and transparency, but offered few specifics on how to ensure such conditions. Among them were transparent privatization, deregulating the economy, creating clearer and more precise rules on stocks, defending intellectual property rights, creating new accounting and auditing rules, introducing legal reforms to create a truly independent court system, ensuring democracy, human rights and freedom of speech, and fighting against corruption.

Once the Party of the Regions gains power, Mr. Yanukovych said, the budget will immediately be balanced and spending will be cut on bureaucrats, "presidential palaces, residences and family ethnographic parks."

Source: "Yanukovych promises economic growth when Party of the Regions gains power," by Zenon Zawada, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, February 19, 2006.

National Deputy Oleh Medunytzia of the Batkivshchyna faction has been appointed its head, Rada Chairman Volodymyr Rybak stated at the session in the Parliament, reported UNIAN. A few days earlier, a representative of the Party of Regions, Vadym Kolesnichenko, who heads the movement of Russians of Ukraine, was appointed head of an interfactional association In Support of a Canonical Church. Also, National Deputy Hanna Herman received a blessing from the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate to establish a parliamentary group For Spirituality and Freedom of Conscience. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

### Hetman Sahaidachny to fight pirates

KYIV – Ukraine has confirmed its readiness to send the Hetman Sahaidachny frigate to participate in the European Union's Atalanta anti-piracy operation. The chief of the General Staff and commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian armed forces, Col.-Gen.

Volodymyr Zamana announced this in Brussels, the press service of the Defense Ministry reported on January 17. "Ukraine is ready to send the Hetman Sahaidachny frigate, with a helicopter and a team on board, to participate in the EU's Atalanta anti-piracy operation after the performance of tasks in Operation Ocean Shield at the end of 2013," Col.-Gen. Zamana said. He said that the work on the preparation of the crew and the ship for participation in the operation was continuing and that a technical agreement was being worked out along with the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry. As part of the visit, the Ukrainian general met with newly appointed chairman of the EU Military Committee, French Air Force Gen. Patrick de Rousier, who said he was satisfied with the results of the operative duty of the forces and means of the Ukrainian armed forces in the EU's Helbroc military task force (Greece, Bulgaria, Romania and Cyprus). (Ukrinform)



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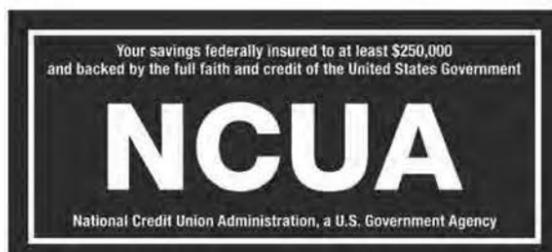
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## Ukrainian pro hockey update

by Ihor Stelmach

### Prospect pulse: Brandon Kozun

As the years go by, National Hockey League players continue to get bigger, stronger and faster, so the size, strength and speed of the skaters has driven most of the sport's evolution into what we see on the ice in today's game.

However, with the rule changes following the 2004 NHL lockout that have brought speed and skill back into the game by eliminating obstruction, smaller quicker players are again thriving in the league, though only if they can hold their own with the big guys.

Lack of size is something Los Angeles Kings right wing prospect Brandon Kozun has been hearing about since he started playing hockey. All it takes is one look at this youngster of Ukrainian descent (father Michael is a Ukrainian American, mother Donna a Canadian), generously listed at 5-8, 165 pounds, to see that his lack of size definitely stands out. Right away, one must ask whether he could ever make it at the NHL level.

But don't try telling him that.

"I don't think size is an issue for me," said the 22-year-old native of Los Angeles in a January 2012 interview with Frozen Royalty.net. "If you ask anyone (about) the way I play, I don't think size comes into it that much. I don't get pushed off the puck and I'm not afraid to go to those areas where you have to go to score goals."

"I've always played big my entire life," added Kozun, who was selected by the Kings in the sixth round (179th overall) of the 2009 NHL Entry Draft. "Even though I'm a smaller guy, I think I play big. I'm not a guy who is limited by size and gets pushed around. I think I'm strong on my skates and that's good for me."

Kozun, currently playing in his third season with the Kings' top minor league affiliate, the Manchester Monarchs, still has an uphill battle ahead of him.

"He's getting better," said Monarchs coach Mark Morris in the same January 2012 interview. "He's got to learn to be stronger on the puck and win more puck battles on the wall. If you're going to be an effective winger in pro hockey, you have to find ways to make plays when a guy is pinching down on you, and you've got to find ways to protect the puck."

"When you're his size, body position is critical," added the coach. "He's pretty light, so he's got to be quick, and be able to surround the puck, keeping it in areas where it's not going to get exposed. You can't be carefree, you can't be careless with the puck. You've got to make sure that it's in an area that's not going to hurt us."

On the heels of a very successful junior career with the WHL's Calgary Hitmen, where he hit the back of the opponent's net regularly, scoring goals in bunches, Kozun is adjusting to a different game in the AHL. He's off to a successful start in 2012-2013, ranking second on his club in scoring with nine goals and 14 assists for 23 points in 31 games played through December 31, 2012. The diminutive scoring machine, who led all Canadian junior hockey in scoring during the 2009-2010 season (65 GP, 32 G, 75 A, 107 PTS), never paid too much attention to the defensive side of the game. That has all changed.

"The biggest thing for me is my play without the puck and taking care of the puck, as well," Kozun added. "They know my offensive capabilities and I've got to be good in the offensive zone. But for me, it's those battles along the boards in my own zone, getting those pucks out, playing in the defensive zone, being a complete player and playing with structure. That's what I have to do to get to the next level. When I do get my opportunity, I'm going to be expected to be that kind of player."

"They've wanted me to become a better

two-way player," he added. "I think everyone knows about the offensive ability I've had over my entire career. The biggest thing for me is to make sure I do get better on both ends of the ice, and I think I am. I'm more of a complete player. I'm learning and getting better as a pro."

"If you look at my game now, it's definitely more rounded and more structured. I play more of a pro game, compared to when I was in juniors. I think I was a little sloppy and was thinking about offense all the time. Now, I'm a way better two-way player and I'm a lot better in the defensive zone."

The mental part of the game is often a challenge for a young prospect, and Kozun was no exception. There is no doubt he is progressing in his maturity and ability to think the game.

"Consistency is a big thing, and for me it's to focus on each shift," said Kozun. "Sometimes I get ahead of myself and focus on long-term goals. But I'm getting better at focusing on one shift at a time. When that shift is over, you focus on the next one. I've gotten better at that. When I ran into a slump at the beginning of the year, I was dealing with that, and I was a little low on confidence."

"It's good that I experienced that early in my career, so the next time it happens, I know how to deal with it," he added. "It's about growing as a player, maturing as a player, the whole mental aspect."

Manchester coach Morris has noticed Kozun's added maturity and the growth in his mental game.

"He's grown up as a person," said Morris. "He's more willing to listen. Oftentimes, the smaller players who score in the leagues below the AHL, they've got to learn humility, they've got to learn patience. Sometimes your egos get bruised when you're playing in a league where guys are bigger, stronger and intense. It gets frustrating for a guy that things came easy to at lower levels."

Morris left no doubt about Kozun making major strides in his development.

He's learning, and, the other thing is, he's not turning the puck over nearly as much as he used to," Morris noted. "He was high-risk, but now he's learning to be a more complete player. He defends better, he's more aware in his own zone, and he's using his speed. We're still working on things like making sure he hits the net more, finishing his checks and so forth. He's got pull-away speed and he's creative."

"He's way more effective as a forechecker, he's going into the traffic in front of the net, and he's paying the price to be around the net, to get the tap-in goals and to use his quick hands and goal scoring touch to get his points. He still lacks some strength, but he's a guy who's improving every time out. I give him a lot of credit. It's been a big jump for him."

The size issue which Kozun has had to deal with throughout his hockey career he prefers to ignore, except for one thing.

"I hear about size a lot and it's cliché, but it pushes you to work harder, and it's something I use as motivation," he said. "I'm getting there. I'm in the wings. I'm waiting for that opportunity to make it to the NHL level and when it comes, I'm going to be ready for it."

**AHL Ukrainian Utterings:** There are three Zajacs in the New Jersey Devils system with Travis a mainstay with the big club and younger brothers Darcy and Kelly plying their trade with Albany... How about an Oleksy (Steve in Hershey), an Oleksuk (Travis in Worcester) and an Oleksiuk (Jamie in Texas)... Oh, and a pair of Boychuks with Charlotte's Zach and Rochester's Riley. They're not related... Mark Pysyk is developing quickly on Rochester's blueline, while the aforementioned Oleksiak is coming along very nicely for the Stars... On the flip side, still hanging on and producing points are veterans Ryan Potulny (Hershey) and Darren Haydar (Chicago)...

Ihor Stelmach may be reached at [iman@sfgsports.com](mailto:iman@sfgsports.com)

### As its business...

(Continued from page 5)

family's crosshairs for takeover, but observers said the evidence is quite strong.

Compared to someone like Mr. Firtash, who controls 15 to 20 percent of the entire Ukrainian economy, Mr. Kolomoisky is an easier target for the family, controlling between 5 and 10 percent "which is enough to widen its resource base," said Mr. Romanenko.

It remains to be seen whether Mr. Kolomoisky loses control of his bankrupt airlines, which also include Donbasaero and Dniproavia. He is currently transferring Aerosvit's assets to Ukraine International Airlines (UIA), which he also reportedly controls. Dr. Soskin speculated that Mr. Kolomoisky reached an ownership sharing agreement with the Yanukovich family, or is in the process of doing so.

An oligarch who has acknowledged publicly that he was forced to sell assets is Oleksander Yaroslavskyi, who was known as Kharkiv's top magnate with an estimated wealth of \$940 million before his sale of the Metalist soccer club for \$300 million, as reported by Forbes.ua, citing anonymous sources.

Mr. Yaroslavskyi said he personally invested \$570 million in building the soccer club up from scratch, which would

imply the reported price isn't accurate or doesn't reflect what it truly sold for.

"The single reason that I was forced to leave the club: incomprehensible claims by the city government to me as the investor and, as a consequence, unprecedented psychological pressure that was placed on our team and staff," he said in a statement on December 24, 2012.

Hennadii Kernes, chair of the Kharkiv City Council, went public with his pressure in late November, claiming Mr. Yaroslavskyi owned the soccer club, not the stadium, the renovation of which to European standards was 70 percent covered by state funds for the Euro 2012 championship.

"When the stadium stood in ruins, with ducks swimming and cows and goats walking around, Kernes didn't need it. But when the stadium became a blossoming garden, it became needed for the city government," Mr. Yaroslavskyi said of Mr. Kernes' claims. "There are personal conflicts, and there are laws of a democratic society. The state guarantees protection of investors. But this situation is robbery in broad daylight."

Metalist was purchased by Haz Ukrayina 2009, a wholesale trader of liquefied gas owned by 27-year-old Serhii Kurchenko. As is common in Ukrainian business, the official owners are merely front men for the real owners, who are protected by several layers of covers.

National Deputy Yuriy Syrotiuk of the Svoboda party claimed to have found the

link between Metalist's new owners and the Yanukovich family business.

He reported in a January 11 parliamentary inquiry that Party of Regions National Deputy Artem Pshonka, the son of Procurator General Viktor Pshonka, serves as the "kryshvalnyk," or cover, for the firm, which allegedly engages in illegal gasoline importing, among other alleged crimes that cost the state budget more than \$375 mil-

lion in tax revenue. Artem Pshonka denied the claims.

To investigate the allegations, Mr. Syrotiuk submitted his inquiry to Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) Chief Oleksander Yakymenko and Viktor Pshonka, of all people.

"I created a 10-year Metalist fund of \$400 million to invest in the team," Mr. Yaroslavskyi said. "Now I'll invest in business, but not in Kharkiv."

### Ukrainian Canadian...

(Continued from page 4)

al greetings of "Khrystos Narodysia" - "Christ is Born," and sang "Dobryi Vechir Tobi," asking "Do you accept carolers?"

The carollers then performed "Boh Narodysia," which was followed by a traditional Ukrainian Christmas greeting, a "vinshuvannya" recited in English by Michael Reshitnyk and in Ukrainian by Oleh Belkin.

Mr. Mulcair invited the group into his residence, Stornoway, where the members of the assembled choir also performed "Radist Nae Zyavylas" and "Boh Sia Razhdaye," and concluded with the Ukrainian Carol of the Bells, "Shchedryk." The night was concluded by offering Christmas greetings. The leader of the opposition generously offered refreshments to the carollers.

The choir performed for Mr. Mulcair as well as members of his caucus including Members of Parliament Alex Atamanenko, Libby Davies, David Christopherson and Megan Leslie. Mr. Mulcair was hosting a meeting of provincial leaders of the New Democratic Party, including Manitoba Premier Greg Selinger and Nova Scotia Premier Darrell Dexter.

The caroling was organized by the National Office of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, which extended a special thank you to the choir consisting of members from the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral: Angie and Michael Reshitnyk, Tamara Charalambij, Zora Jackson, Oleh Belkin, Vera Hutzuliak, Nadia Zelem, Margret Kopala, Oxana Genina, Jenny Dutchak, Iryna Smishna (director) and Norman MacQueen (who was also the photographer for the evening).

## Conference on “‘Braking’ News: Censorship, Media and Ukraine” to be held at Columbia U.

NEW YORK – The capital of Ukraine hosted the 64th World Newspaper Congress and World Editors Forum on September 2-5, 2012. While Ukraine’s President Viktor Yanukovich greeted the international gathering of guests in Kyiv with proclamations on the free state of media in Ukraine, security officers confiscated posters from protesting local journalists who were calling for an end to censorship in the country.

Such scenes of contradiction are not uncommon in Ukraine, a country treading an unsteady path towards democracy. After a brief period of expanded freedoms in media following the Orange Revolution, the country is once again on the brink of a complete control of information by its political and economic elite. Strategies, some blunt, some sophisticated, are being developed and employed daily in an attempt by the centers of power to dictate what subjects are reported on and how they are reported.

The challenges faced by Ukrainian

media today and the ways they are able to respond to them are critical to Ukraine’s progress towards democracy. The fragile state of Ukrainian media today makes it a fascinating subject of analysis in which many of the foundations of functioning media in a democracy can be scrutinized.

The Ukrainian Studies Program, Harriman Institute at Columbia University is organizing a conference titled ‘Braking’ News: Censorship, Media and Ukraine” to be held in New York City on February 21-22. The conference will gather the world’s top analysts on Ukrainian media at Columbia for two days to examine the contemporary state and functioning of Ukrainian media. These experts will discuss how media operate in Ukraine – what they contain and how they are sustained.

The conference will consist of a keynote address, two panels, one roundtable discussion and a film presentation. The proceedings, which will be free and open to the public, will commence on Thursday, February 21, at 7 p.m. with a keynote

address by Andriy Kulykov titled “Ukrainian Media: Old Pressures, New Challenges,” which will be followed by a reception.

The Friday, February 22, program will feature two panels and a roundtable made up of an international gathering of scholars, as well as practitioners, of Ukrainian media.

The first panel, titled “The Media, the Market and Democracy: Ukraine in a Global Context,” will explore the relationship between market forces and how Ukraine’s media operate in a global environment. It will look at issues such as ownership structures, global media convergence, trends towards infotainment, how this affects media content, journalistic standards and the process of democracy more broadly.

The second panel, “Media Discourse, Ideology and Discrimination,” will examine the ideological dimension of Ukrainian media discourse, paying particular attention to the representations of language, historical memory, ethnicity, race and sexual

orientation. It will analyze both the unchallenged reproduction and fierce contestation of identity, legitimacy and normality and these processes’ contribution to social inequality and discrimination.

The roundtable will be a discussion between representatives of the world’s leading news sources on Ukraine about reporting on Ukraine in the West and Ukraine’s presence in Western media.

The conference will conclude with a presentation by Dr. Yuri Shevchuk of a 2011 Serhii Bukovsky film titled “Ukraine: When the Countdown Began.”

Among those who will be participating in the conference are: Mark Andryczyk, Niklas Bernsand, Brian Bonner, Maksym Butkevych, Tanya Domi, Marta Dyczok, Anastasiia Grynko, Myroslava Gongadze, Matthew Kaminski, Volodymyr Kulyk, Alexander Motyl, Natalya Ryabinska, Dr. Olena Tregub and Andrew Yurkovsky.

For more information readers may contact Dr. Mark Andryczyk at 212-854-4679 or ma2634@columbia.edu.

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### ‘BRAKING’ NEWS CENSORSHIP, MEDIA, and UKRAINE

**FEBRUARY 21 & 22, 2013**  
Rm. 1512 International Affairs Building,  
420 West 118th St, New York, New York 10027

<p><b>THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2013</b> 7PM, 1512 IAB</p> <p>Introduction: <b>Ann Cooper</b> (Columbia Journalism School) Keynote Address: <b>Andriy Kulykov</b> (ICTV) “Ukrainian Media: Old Pressures, New Challenges”</p> <p>8PM, 15th Floor Atrium Reception</p> <p><b>FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2013</b> 10AM-12PM, 1512 IAB</p> <p>Panel 1: The Media, the Market, and Democracy: Ukraine in a Global Context</p> <p>1:30-3:30PM, 1512 IAB Panel 2: Media Discourse, Ideology, and Discrimination</p>	<p>4-6PM, 1512 IAB Roundtable: Reporting on Ukraine</p> <p>8PM Rm. 702 Hamilton Hall Film Presentation: <b>Serhii Bukovsky’s</b> “Ukraine: When the Countdown Began” (2011)</p> <p><b>PARTICIPANTS INCLUDE:</b> <b>Mark Andryczyk, Niklas Bernsand, Brian Bonner, Maksym Butkevych, Ann Cooper, Tanya Domi, Marta Dyczok, Anastasiia Grynko, Myroslava Gongadze, Matthew Kaminski, Volodymyr Kulyk, Andriy Kulykov, Alexander Motyl, Natalya Ryabinska, Yuri Shevchuk, Olena Tregub and Andrew Yurkovsky.</b></p> <p>Presented by the Ukrainian Studies Program at the Harriman Institute, Columbia University</p> <p>INFO: <a href="mailto:ma2634@columbia.edu">ma2634@columbia.edu</a> or 212-854-4697</p>
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## Comments...

(Continued from page 9)

by this author some time ago, among persons who declared “Ukrainian” as their only ancestry, the percentage of Ukrainian Catholics decreased from 59.1 percent in 1931 to 27.5 percent in 1991, and the respective percentages for Orthodox Ukrainians are 25.1 percent and 23.8 percent. The percentage of Roman Catholics increased from 11.7 percent in 1931 to 24.6 percent in 1991, while the respective percentages for all Protestant denominations are 4.2 percent and 24.2 percent.

Thus, among Ukrainians in Canada we see a significant decrease among Ukrainian Catholics at the expense of Roman Catholics and to some degree Protestant denominations, while the percentage of Ukrainian Orthodox remained fairly stable.

To the best of my knowledge, nobody has analyzed this data in detail. One strategy for estimating the number of Ukrainians by religious denomination in the U.S. is by using correlations based on Canadian data.

The idea of conducting surveys among Ukrainians in the U.S. is not new. For example, in 2008 Vasyl Lopukh conducted a survey among Fourth Wave immigrants in several cities, and in 2007 Halyna Lemekh wrote her Ph.D. dissertation in sociology, based on a landmark ethnographic study of 65 in-depth interviews and life stories of Ukrainians and Ukrainian leaders in the New York area. Her research was published as a book “Ukrainian Immigrants in New York: Collision of Two Worlds” (LFB Scholarship Publishing LLC, 2010).

In order to be more effective internally, both within the community and at the local level in general, as well as externally in terms of influencing U.S. policy regarding Ukraine, we need to have a better understanding of the Ukrainian community in this country: its strengths, weaknesses and potential for growth. Basic data provided by official statistics – in the U.S. census, the American Community Survey and immigration statistics – is being organized and analyzed by the research center, and this could be complemented by surveys on different topics not covered by the official data. We will be happy to collaborate with persons interested in planning and conducting surveys like the Religious Survey, and complement the current integrated data base with a library of survey data accessible to researchers for more in-depth analysis.

# OUT & ABOUT

- |                                      |  |                              |   |
|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---|
| Through February 24<br>Toronto       | Art exhibit, "Volodymyr Voronyuk," Canadian-Ukrainian Art Foundation gallery, 416-766-6802 or <a href="http://www.kumfgallery.com">www.kumfgallery.com</a>   | February 21-22<br>New York   | Conference, "Braking' News: Censorship, Media and Ukraine," Columbia University, 212-854-4679 or <a href="mailto:ma2634@columbia.edu">ma2634@columbia.edu</a>   |
| February 16<br>New York              | Social evening, "Valentine Soirée," featuring violinist Valeriy Zhmud and guitarist Sergey Podebinsky, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110  | February 24<br>Montreal      | Film screening, "100 Years of the Idea of Plast" by Yuriy Luhovy, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral hall, 450-676-6885 or <a href="mailto:tarataman@hotmail.com">tarataman@hotmail.com</a> |
| February 16<br>New York              | Presentation by Volodymyr Mezentsev, "Baturyn 2012: New Archeological Findings from Mazepa's Court," Shevchenko Scientific Society, 212-254-5130   | February 25<br>Cambridge, MA | Lecture by Leonid Heretz, "World War I in the Oral Tradition of the Galician Carpathians," Harvard University, 617-495-4053   |
| February 17<br>Colebrook, CT         | Winterfest, Bobriwka campground, 860-883-1391  | March 1-2<br>Jenkintown, PA  | Art exhibit, "Finding our Roots in the Coal Mines: Exhibit of Lemko Artist Nicholas Bervinchak," Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 215-663-1166 or <a href="http://www.ueccphila.org">www.ueccphila.org</a>        |
| February 17<br>South Bound Brook, NJ | Presentation by Volodymyr Mezentsev, "Archaeological Excavations at Baturyn", Ukrainian Historical and Educational Center of New Jersey, St. Andrew Memorial Church hall, 732-356-0090                       | March 2<br>Hunter, NY        | Ski races, Carpathian Ski Club (KLK), Hunter Mountain, <a href="mailto:virapopel@aol.com">virapopel@aol.com</a> or <a href="mailto:marianaliv@yahoo.com">marianaliv@yahoo.com</a>   |
| February 17<br>Ottawa                | Lecture by Slavco Demchinsky, "100 Years of Ukrainian Churches in Canada," Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral hall, 613-728-0856  | March 3<br>Litchfield, CT    | Pilgrimage, "Stations of the Cross," Lady of Lourdes Shrine, 860-716-0812 or <a href="http://www.shrinct.org">www.shrinct.org</a>   |
| February 17<br>Montreal              | Commemoration of the 94th anniversary of Ukrainian Unity Day, Ukrainian Canadian Congress, St. Sophia Ukrainian Orthodox Church hall, 514-259-7162 or 514-481-5871   | March 3<br>Toronto           | 67th annual Daffodil Tea, Holy Eucharist Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada, Holy Eucharist Parish Center, 416-465-5836  |
| February 20<br>Ottawa                | Presentation by Ivan Harasym, "Actual Problems of Modern Ukrainian Translation," Shevchenko Scientific Society - Ottawa Branch, St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Shrine, 613-733-7000 or 613-225-5768 | March 3<br>Olyphant, PA      | "Ukrainian Pysanka Workshop," Ss. Cyril and Methodius Ukrainian Catholic Church, 570-383-0319 or <a href="http://www.stcyrils.maslar-online.com">www.stcyrils.maslar-online.com</a>   |
| February 21<br>Cambridge, MA         | Lecture by Natalia Baliuk, "The Function of NGOs and How NGOs Function in Ukraine," Harvard University, 617-495-4053   |                              |   |

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



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	<p><b>TWO CAPITALS</b> 9 Day All Inclusive Tour <b>\$2000 Land twin rate</b> Kyiv, Lviv - the two "capitals" of E. &amp; W. Ukraine. The leisurely pace of this tour permits for stays with family or extensions to Budapest, Vienna or Munich. <b>Departures: May 22, Jul 10</b></p>
	<p><b>BEST OF UKRAINE</b> 15 Day All Inclusive Tour <b>\$3500 Land twin rate</b> Crimea-Yalta plus Bakchysaraj, Sevastopol Kyiv, Lviv, Yaremche and Kamianets Podilsky includes a three day bus tour to the Carpathian Mountains and Bukovyna with stops in Iv Frankivsk, Bukovel, Chernivtsi and Zarnytsia. <b>Departure: July 7 - 21</b></p>

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# UKELODEON

FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

## Hartford UAYA remembers battle of Kruty

by Stephania Humen

HARTFORD, Conn. – The Ukrainian American Youth Association (UAYA) of Hartford, Conn., on January 29 remembered the 95th anniversary of the battle of Kruty.

We honored this battle through a solemn ceremony. All of our groups, with members ranging in age from 4 to 18, gathered outside for a short remembrance of all those who sacrificed their lives on that day. Candles were lit, poppies were given to each child, and all children were educated about what happened on that exact day 95 years ago.

We all sang the Ukrainian national anthem, “Sche Ne Vmerla Ukraina,” and listened to the reading of a poem about the battle called “In Memory of the Thirty” written by Pavlo Tychyna in 1918. The main reason that Hartford UAYA remembers this historic event is that our youth group (age 6-17) is named after the battle of Kruty.

Let me take you back to January 29, 1918. The battle of Kruty



Christina Jancew Iwanik

The Hartford branch of the Ukrainian American Youth Association gathers to remember the 1918 battle of Kruty.

took place when Bolshevik forces consisting of about 4,000 men were planning to storm Kyiv. A group of 400 students came together to fight against the Bolshevik army. By the end of the battle, some 300 students

were dead. The Bolshevik forces were not stopped, but their advance was slowed down.

This was one of the most important battles of all Ukrainian history. Not only did it show sacrifice, but it

showed the dedication and heart of those living in Ukraine. The students who participated in the battle of Kruty were willing to sacrifice their lives for their country.

## Plast members share Bethlehem Peace Light in D.C.



WASHINGTON – Members of the Washington branch of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, after receiving the Bethlehem Peace Light from fellow Plast scouts in Philadelphia, shared the light on their own territory, taking it, among other places, to the Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family and the Embassy of Ukraine in time for their Christmas celebrations according to the Gregorian and Julian calendars, respectively. Seen above are scouts of Troop 45, named in honor of Volodymyr the Great, as they bring the Peace Light to the shrine on December 24. On the left, Solomiya Shpak, who wrote the “Song of the Bethlehem Peace Light,” presents the light to First Secretary Oresta Starak at Ukraine’s Embassy on January 5.

– Solomiya Shpak and Yuri Deychakiwsky

# N.Y. members of UAYA continue tradition of "koliada"



Younger members of the New York chapter of the Ukrainian American Youth Association carol and extend wishes of good luck for the year 2013 to the members of the Ukrainian community in New York.

by Victor Kurylyk

NEW YORK – “God Eternal,” “In Bethlehem,” “A New Joy Has Arisen!” How many beautiful “koliady” (Ukrainian Christmas carols) Ukrainians have created to glorify Our Savior. According to Ukrainian tradition, “koliadnyky” (Ukrainian Christmas carolers) carry the news of the birth of Christ to every home, bringing light, warmth and happiness to all. They are the heralds of new life and hope, and are always welcome guests.

As in years before, the Taras Chuprynka New York chapter of the Ukrainian American Youth Association (UAYA) celebrated the birth of Christ with the Ukrainian community. The “yunatstvo” (youth) and their parents attended liturgy on

January 7 and, bearing the symbolic Star of Bethlehem, embarked on “koliaduvannia” (caroling).

For many of the youngest children, known as “sumeniata,” this was their first experience with koliaduvannia, and at first they seemed a bit shy. But the shyness dissipated with the harmony of the koliady. The young “sumivtsi” quickly embraced the joy of this Ukrainian tradition, particularly when rewarded for their singing with sweets and candy, as in the home of Maria Wasyluk.

Every koliada sung and “vinshuvannia” (Christmas and New Year greeting) are said to bring new energy to each individual involved, carolers and hosts alike.

Translated by Chris Vitovych

# UAYA groups donate to U.S. troops



HARTFORD, Conn. – The Striltsi and Lysy groups of the Ukrainian American Youth Association, Hartford branch, donated dry food, hygiene products, home-made Christmas cards and other essentials to U.S. troops for the holidays. The program is called “Give 2 the Troops” and the donation was made on December 4, 2012.

– Christina Jancew Iwanik

# Hillside parish children visited by St. Nicholas



St. Nicholas and his angel helpers ensure that each child is greeted and receives a special gift.

HILLSIDE, N.J. – On Sunday, December 9, 2012, St. Nicholas visited the children and parishioners of Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hillside, N.J.

To the delight of St. Nicholas, the children presented a bilingual holiday entertainment program that included a play, “The Spider’s Gift: A Ukrainian Christmas Story,” Christmas carols on the keyboard and clarinet, Christmas carol singing and dance.

The Rev. Vasyl Vladyka, parochi-

al vicar, and Tom Dochych, parish choir director, led the attendees in prayer and koliady.

On Wednesday, December 26, 2012, the children of the parish visited parishioners in Union, Essex, Morris and Middlesex counties to share the gift of koliady. Special efforts were made to visit parishioners who were in nursing homes. Many of the parishioners emphasized how wonderful it was to have the children sing beautiful Christmas carols in Ukrainian and English.

## Mishanyna

In honor of Groundhog Day, February 2, this month’s Mishanyna features the names of some of the popular groundhogs in the United States and Canada who are enticed to emerge from their cozy burrows to predict whether winter will continue or whether spring will arrive early. Find the capitalized portions – a clue to their whereabouts – of their nicknames hidden in the Mishanyna grid.

BALZAC Billy	HOLTSVILLE Hal	STATEN ISLAND Chuck
BUCKEYE Chuck	MANITOBA Merv	SUSQUEHANNA Sherman
CHATTANOOGA Chuck	POTOMAC Phil	Western MARYLAND Murray
DOVER Doug	PUNXSUTAWNEY Phil	WINNIPEG Willow
FRENCH CREEK Freddie	Queen CHARLOTTE	WOODSTOCK Willie

W	O	K	E	E	R	C	H	C	N	E	R	F	V	C
O	S	T	A	T	E	N	I	S	L	A	N	D	O	C
O	I	U	R	U	N	T	S	E	A	M	A	N	D	H
D	D	O	S	E	L	L	I	V	S	T	L	O	H	A
P	R	A	T	Q	T	A	D	E	N	I	V	B	O	T
P	U	N	X	S	U	T	A	W	N	E	Y	A	L	T
O	M	O	O	V	R	E	A	R	R	S	O	L	T	A
T	S	W	B	U	C	K	H	E	Y	E	M	Z	E	N
O	T	I	M	A	N	I	S	A	E	A	L	E	Y	O
M	D	N	A	L	Y	R	A	M	N	L	A	N	E	O
A	R	N	O	L	D	O	V	I	O	N	O	O	K	G
C	P	I	S	T	E	T	T	O	L	R	A	H	C	A
H	U	P	U	W	O	O	D	S	T	O	C	K	U	T
A	N	E	S	O	B	A	L	U	Q	S	U	S	B	E
R	X	G	B	A	L	Z	A	C	S	T	O	C	K	E



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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

### Saturday, February 16

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a lecture by Dr. Volodymyr Mezentsev on "Baturyn 2012: New Archeological Findings from Mazepa's Court." Dr. Mezentsev is visiting professor at the University of Toronto and the scholarly director of the Baturyn Project. The lecture will take place at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave. (between Ninth and 10th streets), at 5 p.m. For additional information call 212-254-5130.

**NEW YORK:** The board of trustees of The Ukrainian Museum invites the community to join them for a Valentine Soirée cocktail party beginning at 7 p.m. Enjoy a fun evening with music by violinist Valeriy Zhmud and guitarist Sergey Pobedinsky, plus delicious hors d'oeuvres prepared by chef Andriy Sonevsky, as well as wine and champagne. An auction and other events are planned. Join us for a wonderful evening with friends while supporting a valuable Ukrainian cultural institution. Evening attire is requested. Price is \$150 per person (credit cards accepted, tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law). RSVP by February 11 by calling 212 228-0110 or e-mailing info@ukrainianmuseum.org.

### Sunday, February 17

**MONTREAL:** The Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Montreal branch/Quebec

Provincial Council, invites you to the 94th anniversary of "Sviato Sobornosty," marking the union of the Eastern and Western Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic. The commemorative program includes guest speaker the Rev. Mitrat Dr. Ihor Kutash. It will be held at 3 p.m. at St. Sophia Cathedral Hall, 6250-12th Ave., Rosemount. Admission is \$10. For further information contact Bohdanna, 514-259-7162, or Zorianna, 514-481-5871. Everyone is welcome.

### Sunday, February 24

**MONTREAL:** Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization, Montreal branch, with the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Montreal branch, invites you to the Montreal premiere of the documentary film "100 Rokiv Plastovoyi Ideyi," produced by Yuriy Luhovy in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Plast. This newly released Ukrainian-language film incorporates rare archival photographs, outlines the essential elements of Plast scouting and the main events in its history (1911/1912-2011/2012). The screening will be held at Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Orthodox Cathedral hall, 6175-10th Ave., at 12:30 p.m. Admission is by donation, with all proceeds going to Plast Montreal. A coffee reception will follow. For further information contact Taras Konanec (head of Montreal Plast), 450-676-6885. Everyone is welcome.

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

Preview of Events is a listing of community events open to the public. It is a service provided at minimal cost (\$20 per listing) by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community. Items should be **no more than 100 words long**; longer submissions are subject to editing.

Information should be sent to: [preview@ukrweekly.com](mailto:preview@ukrweekly.com) or Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054; fax, 973-644-9510. **NB: If e-mailing, please do not send items as attachments; simply type the text into the body of the e-mail message.**

# SOYUZIVKA HERITAGE CENTER

## Tennis Camp

June 23-July 4

Kicks off the summer with 12 days of intensive tennis instruction and competitive play, for boys and girls age 10-18. Attendance will be limited to 45 students. Room, board, 24-hour supervision, expert lessons and loads of fun are included. Camp is under the direction of George Sawchak.

## Tabir Ptashat

Session 1: June 23-29

Session 2: June 30-July 6

Ukrainian Plast tabir (camp) for children age 4-6 accompanied by their parents. Registration forms will also be appearing in the Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly in March and April. For further information, please contact Neonila Sochan at 973-984-7456.

## 2013 Summer Camp Information



Soyuzivka Heritage Center  
P.O. Box 529, Kerhonkson, NY 12446

## Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Academy Workshop

June 30- July 13

Vigorous 2-week dance training for more intermediate and advanced dancers age 16 and up under the direction of the Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Foundation, culminating with performances on stage during the Ukrainian Cultural Festival weekend. Additional information <http://www.syzokryli.com/>

## Ukrainian Heritage Day Camp

Session 1: July 14-19 • Session 2: July 21-26

A returning favorite, in the form of a day camp. Children age 4-7 will be exposed to Ukrainian heritage through daily activities such as dance, song, crafts and games. Children will walk away with an expanded knowledge of Ukrainian folk culture and language, as well as new and lasting friendships with other children of Ukrainian heritage. Price includes kid's lunch and T-shirt and, unless noted, is based on in-house occupancy of parent/guardian.

## Discovery Camp

July 14-20

Calling all nature lovers age 8-15 for this sleep-over program filled with outdoor crafts, hiking, swimming, organized sports and games, bonfires, songs and much more. Room, board, 24-hour supervision and a lifetime of memories are included.

## Chornomorska Sitch Sports School

Session 1: July 21-27 • Session 2: July 28-August 3

44th annual sports camp run by the Ukrainian Athletic-Educational Association Chornomorska Sitch for children age 6-17. This camp will focus on soccer, tennis, volleyball and swimming, and is perfect for any sports enthusiast. Please contact [sitchsportsschool@gmail.com](mailto:sitchsportsschool@gmail.com) for an application and additional information.

## Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Ukrainian Dance Camp

Session 1: July 21-August 3

Session 2: August 4-August 17

Directed by Ania Bohachevsky-Lonkevych (daughter of Roma Pryma Bohachevsky), this camp is for aspiring dancers age 8-16, offering expert instruction for beginning, intermediate and advanced students. Room, board, 24-hour supervision, expert lessons and plenty of fun are included. Each camp ends with a grand recital. Attendance will be limited to 60 students.

