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## Russia props up Yanukovych as his support base erodes

by Zenon Zawada

KYIV - President Viktor Yanukovych's authoritarian rule was on the brink of collapse during the January 29 parliamentary session, news reports said, as deputies were ready to form a new majority and reinstate the 2004 constitutional amendments that would have brought back a parliamentary-presidential republic.

Yet the Russian government – rattled by the prior day's resignation of Prime Minister Mykola Azarov - renewed pressure on Ukrainian oligarchs and politicians to keep Mr. Yanukovych in power. That day it announced renewed trade barriers and freezes on the financial aid and natural gas discounts extended in mid-December of last year.

Mr. Yanukovych rushed into Parliament, where he reportedly blackmailed members of his Party of Regions parliamentary faction to approve his version of an amnesty bill that makes possible a state of emergency in 15 days. As a result, the political crisis intensified with the Euro-Maidan's violent dispersal still a likely option.

"It was a tragic day," an anonymous independent deputy told The Insider news site (theinsider.com.ua), which offered a behind-the-scenes account of the January 29 session's activity. "We could have changed the country's fate today and reformatted the majority, but it didn't work out."

Just that weekend, 78 Regions deputies, about a third of the faction, didn't attend a meeting called by Mr. Yanukovych at the



A view of the barricades on Kyiv's Hrushevsky Street on January 28.

Presidential Administration. Mr. Azarov resigned on January 28, following in the footsteps of Presidential Administration Chair Serhii Lyovochkin who did so 11 days earlier.

The political winds were slowly eroding Mr. Yanukovych's support base, which was

confirmed in an interview on Polish state radio on January 30 by former Polish President and EU diplomat Aleksander Kwasniewski. "I think the president's urgent visit to the Rada occurred because he's afraid that the majority is no longer on his side," said Mr. Kwasniewski, who has spent more

than a decade dealing with Mr. Yanukovych and Ukraine's politicians. "He lost several dozen votes in the Party of Regions. He went to discipline them, frighten them, blackmail them, and that had an effect."

(Continued on page 4)



Fliers with Nihoyan's portrait have since phies of the victims who died as a result of cropped up throughout the Euro-Maidan territory. He was video-recorded reciting verses from Taras Shevchenko's poem "Kavkaz" (Caucasus) for a film commemorating the 200th anniversary of the poet's birth this vear. "Once the Armenian [Serhii] Paradzhanov recorded a film that became the symbol of Ukrainians. Today an Armenian gave his life to become a symbol of Ukraine," said pop star Sviatoslav Vakarchuk.



Mourners at the funeral of Euro-Maidan activist Serhii Nihoyan in Bereznuvativka, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, on January 26.

their involvement in the Euro-Maidan protests.

KYIV - The following are brief biogra-

Serhii Nihoyan, 20, was a native of the village of Bereznuvativka in the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast and an ethnic Armenian whose parents fled the war in Nagorno-Karabakh. He actively practiced karate and radio technology. He joined the Euro-Maidan on December 8, 2013, not telling his parents. He cited as his motivation that he knew Ukraine should be democratic and "I understood that I should be on the Maidan." He served as a Maidan guard and returned home in early January, but returned despite his parents' attempt to dissuade him. Nihoyan was killed by four shots from a sniper, one in his head and one in his neck, at between 6 and 6:30 a.m. on January 22,

Mykhailo Zhyznevskyi, 25, was a native of Belarus who fled to Ukraine at the age of 17 after being tracked by the State Security Committee of Belarus, the successor to the KGB. He joined the Ukrainian National Assembly-Ukrainian Self-Defense (UNA-UNSO) and never returned to Belarus.

#### (Continued on page 4)

#### ANALYSIS

## Tensions grow between Moscow and West, as the situation in Kyiv deteriorates

by Pavel Felgenhauer Eurasia Daily Monitor January 23

The escalating crisis in Ukraine is reverberating in Moscow, where the ruling elite is convinced the violent clashes in Kyiv between special police forces and protesters have been organized and financed by the West.

Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Sergei Lavrov accused the European Union of supporting "pogroms" by the opposition in Kyiv, where the situation "is out of control." Mr. Lavrov announced that Moscow supports a negotiated settlement of the Ukrainian crisis and would be ready to act as an intermediary, but "only if asked by Kyiv" (http://www.interfax.ru/print. asp?sec=1446&id=35332).

The Russian Duma, in turn, issued a statement condemning "foreign forces that, in violation of international law, are interfering in Ukraine and escalating the conflict by supporting the opposition extremists" (http://www.newsru.com/world/ 22jan2014/kyiv.html).

President Vladimir Putin has been mostly silent, as the situation in Kyiv has drastically deteriorated after the Verkhovna Rada, in a highly controversial vote on January 16, and without any discussion, approved a set of draconian laws severely curtailing democracy and civil rights (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, January 22).

Mr. Putin's position was expressed by his press secretary, Dmitry Peskov, in an interview to Komsomolskaya Pravda: "We are hurt to see what is happening in Kyiv but are sure the Ukrainian leadership knows what to do. Ukraine and Russia are brotherly nations and partners, while any interference in Ukrainian internal affairs is impermissible." Mr. Peskov expressed "regret and indignation" with the West, which is "obviously interfering in internal Ukrainian processes." Mr. Peskov continued by accusing the West of doing its best to undermine the Winter Olympics, which will begin next month in Sochi, "because they do not like and envy Russia, since we are strong, successful, rich and healthy" (http://www. kp.ru/daily/26184/3073444/).

Of course, Moscow is much more deeply involved in the Ukrainian crisis than the Russian authorities would like to publicly admit. The pro-Kremlin Moscow press on January 23 was full of inflammatory comments that back up the Ukrainian prime minister, Mykola Azarov, who has described the Kyiv protesters as "criminals and terrorists." Mr. Azarov supported the actions of the Ukrainian riot police force Berkut that injured hundreds of protesters, while at least three (five by some reports) have been shot dead by snipers (http://www. ng.ru/cis/2014-01-23/1\_ukraina.html). In its news broadcasts, Russian state TV Rossya-1 describes the Kyiv protesters as "terrorists and fascists," while the pro-Kremlin daily Izvestiya demands that Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych "crush the vile serpent [the opposition]." If Yanukovych fails to come through with decisive action to "normalize the situation" by dispersing the protesters. Moscow may withdraw its political and financial support (http://izvestia.ru/news/564295). Last month Mr. Putin promised Mr. Yanukovych to cut the price Ukraine pays for Russian natural gas and to provide Kyiv with \$15 billion in emergency loans. The

first \$3 billion was provided in December 2013 by the Russian government buying a special issue of Ukrainian Eurobonds. The Yanukovych government announced it wanted Moscow to send \$2 billion more in January. Russian government sources told Vedomosti that Moscow is ready to go through with payments, but its position may change, if the situation in Kyiv changes and there is a threat of regime change. At present, the Kremlin believes Mr. Yanukovych controls his police force, which is ready to suppress the protesters (http:// www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/ 21715421/kredit-ukraine-zavisit-ot-katapulty).

While the Moscow ruling elite seems united in its contempt of the Ukrainian protesters and in its belief that the protests are the result of Western subversion, the Yanukovych regime is seen with almost equal disdain as corrupt and untrustworthy.

Mikhail Leontyev, a Kremlin-connected TV journalist, who this month was appointed vice president in charge of public relations of state-controlled oil major Rosneft, told a Moscow radio station: "Ukraine is a failed state – a conglomerate of criminal clans." According to Mr. Leontyev, there is little difference between Mr. Yanukovych and his opponents: "We support Yanukovych as legitimate, but it is disgusting to do business with people without a political backbone" (http://www.rusnovosti.ru/news/300706/).

Vedomosti writes that it makes little sense for Russia to become involved in an escalating confrontation with the European Union and the United States over Ukraine an increasingly irrelevant piece of land with a politically split population, a failed economy, a failed and corrupt ruling elite, and meek resources. The future of Russia is in the Asia-Pacific region where it can sell more natural resources - the backbone of Russia's economy - in a growing market, while Europe stagnates. In Ukraine, the West and Moscow balance each other in an unending struggle that is senseless and harmful to both, Vedomosti concludes (http://www.vedomosti.ru/opinion/ news/21715151/poslednyaya-bitvauhodyaschej-epohi).

If Mr. Yanukovych fails to suppress his opponents, or the current unrest leads to regime change in Kyiv, the most popular solution, as seen in Moscow, could be to split Ukraine in half, with Russia taking the Russian-speaking eastern and southern parts of the divided nation, while the European Union and the United States may have the rest. The east and south of the country traditionally see their capital not in Kyiv, but in Moscow, and there is a staunch belief in Russia that Ukraine will fracture, if the pro-Western forces prevail. Former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev sees the possible break-up of Ukraine as a serious threat, but one which can be avoided by Russia and the West jointly mediating the Ukrainian crisis (http://izvestia.ru/ news/564463). Whereas writer and nationalist opposition figure Eduard Limonov believes that Ukraine breaking up will be positive for all involved, especially if Russia takes control over Ukraine's "better" half (http://izvestia.ru/news/564258). The Ukrainian crisis has the potential to escalate into the worst East-West confron-

## Vewsbriefs

#### **Obama notes Ukraine in SOTU**

WASHNGTON – In his State of the Union (SOTU) address on January 28, President Barack Obama mentioned Ukraine in a single sentence. The comment came in this paragraph: "Our alliance with Europe remains the strongest the world has ever known. From Tunisia to Burma, we're supporting those who are willing to do the hard work of building democracy. In Ukraine, we stand for the principle that all people have the right to express themselves freely and peacefully and to have a say in their country's future. …" A transcript of his address was published by The Washington Post. (The Washington Post)

#### Yatsenyuk welcomes Obama remark

KYIV – Ukrainian opposition leader Arseniy Yatsenyuk on January 29 thanked U.S. President Barack Obama for remarks in the latter's annual State of the Union address to Congress, in which he backed free and peaceful freedom of expression. They were the latest statement from the administration in Washington to emphasize the government in Kyiv's responsibility to "listen" to its citizens over the future course of the country. Mr. Yatsenyuk offered thanks to President Obama via Twitter "for recognizing our struggle for #Democracy4Ukraine" and added, "We press on for a brighter future for Ukraine." (RFE/RL)

#### Merkel supports Ukraine's protesters

BERLIN – German Chancellor Angela Merkel on January expressed her support for Ukraine's pro-European protesters, saying their demands must be heard. In a speech to Germany's Parliament, she cited the "courageous demonstrations" against the Ukrainian government: "They are fighting for the same values that guide the European Union and that is why they must be listened to." The chancellor added: "We support, with all the means at our disposal, efforts for a peaceful solution of the conflict and the justified demands of the opposition." (eubusiness.com, Agence France-Presse)

#### Canada announces visa ban

OTTAWA – On January 28, just one day after an emergency parliamentary debate on the issue, Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird and Immigration Minister Chris Alexander announced that their government will bar certain individuals from the Ukrainian regime from entering Canada. "Canada remains deeply concerned by the escalating violence that has occurred in Ukraine in past weeks. We strongly condemn the killing of protesters," Mr. Alexander told reporters on Parliament Hill. "After extensive consultations with stakeholders, including allies, our government has been compelled to take action, and indeed meaningful action. Today our government is announcing that effectively we will restrict entry into Canada for key Ukrainian government officials that have been responsible for their repression and silencing of opposition voices." Former Liberal MP Borys Wrzesnewskyj says that he was disappointed by Tuesday's announcement. "Clearly not adequate," he told Yahoo Canada News in an e-mail exchange." [It] would have been a good first step in November when the students were first brutalized in Independence Square." (Yahoo news)

#### OSCE chair welcomes first steps

BERN - Swiss Foreign Affairs Minister Didier Burkhalter, the chairperson-in-office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), welcomed the developments of January 28 in Ukraine and appealed to all sides to remain engaged in political dialogue. "I welcome the steps taken today, such as the revocation of recent legislative amendments," Mr. Burkhalter said. "I hope these steps will help to de-escalate the tensions and bring Ukraine closer to a peaceful resolution of the current crisis by democratic means." He added, "I appeal to all sides to stay engaged in efforts to reach necessary compromises in a broad political dialogue. And I urge everyone to refrain from violence and measures which could lead to further escalation of the stand-off and plunge the country into a deeper crisis." (OSCE)

#### OSCE: attacks on journalists must stop

VIENNA – Representative on Freedom of the Media Dunja Mijatović of the Organization for Security and Cooperation

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## **NEWS ANALYSIS: The unaddressed issues facing protest leaders**

**by Maksym Bugriy** *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 

On January 28, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov submitted his resignation to President Viktor Yanukovych, while an extraordinary session of the Verkhovna Rada repealed the "draconian laws of January 16," which had triggered the outburst of radicalism, violent battles and tense standoffs between protesters and the police on Hrushevsky Street in Kyiv (Kyiv Post, January 28). Yet, several urgent and no less important issues remain unaddressed: governance reform and the Russian influence on Ukrainian politics.

On January 25, President Yanukovych and administration officials met with opposition leaders and formulated a set of proposals and agreements. These included the president's offer to name Batkivshchyna party leader Arseniy Yatsenyuk prime minister and for UDAR party head Vitali Klitschko to be nominated vice prime minister for humanitarian affairs (UNIAN, January 25). At the subsequent January 28 meeting, however, both opposition leaders rejected Mr. Yanukovych's offer, although Mr. Azarov did resign from the prime minister post (UNIAN, January 28) – a possible sign of an interim under-the-table agreement.

Had the authorities acquiesced to the Maidan protesters' biggest demands -President Yanukovych's resignation and early Rada elections - this might have been sufficient to calm the demonstrations temporarily. But such actions would also have brought to the forefront some of Ukraine's unresolved political issues. One such priority area is governance reform. Notably, Ukraine's policy-making is considerably dependent on the country's oligarchs. According to reports, a special meeting of the country's most powerful oligarchs, including Rinat Akhmetov and Dmytro Firtash, may have taken place on January 25 to address the political crisis (http://

www.theinsider.com.ua/politics/ 52e3c95cb2393/). Presently, there are indications that some oligarchs "diversify" their political investments by providing some support to protesters, such as positive coverage in the media outlets that they own. Yet they are also apparently willing to maintain the political system's status quo by continuing to back the authorities in power.

Another unresolved political issue has become the decay of regional governance. The week of January 21 resulted in countrywide protests targeting Ukraine's oblast administrations headed by governors essential to the president's "power hierarchy." Some of these demonstrations were organized by soccer fan groups, and not by the opposition leaders. Ten oblast administrations were seized as of January 28 (http://tyzhden.ua/Infographics/99884). Local government building seizures in the Chernivtsi, Rivne and Ivano-Frankivsk oblasts were carried out unexpectedly smoothly, while in Cherkasy and Zaporizhia police harshly dispersed the protesters.

These regional protests may open the way in some oblasts to the replacement of governors, which is likely to be accompanied by bargaining among various power groups. For now, however, the opposition parties and Maidan activists have not publicly addressed the issue of governance in the regions, focusing instead on the central government.

The escalation of clashes between the authorities and protesters also highlights the necessity to reform the country's law enforcement and security sectors. In many cases, the police responded with unjustified use of violence, abuse of detained protesters and attacks on journalists – 60 journalists have reportedly come under police attacks during the period of January 19-27 (http://www.unian.ua/politics/877502-jurnalisti-mayut-buti-gotovi-do-togo-schomojut-zaginuti-pid-chas-boyovih-diy-bond-

*In telephone calls to Yanukovych, Biden urges de-escalation in standoff* 

Following are the texts of readouts of Vice-President Joe Biden's January 23 and January 27 telephone calls with Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych. The texts were provided by the White House, Office of the Vice-President.

#### January 23:

Vice-President Biden called Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych today to urge an immediate de-escalation in the standoff between protesters and security forces in downtown Kyiv. The vice-president urged

#### January 27:

Vice-President Biden called Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych to express U.S. support for ongoing negotiations between the government and the opposition to end the current standoff and bring about a peaceful, political solution to the crisis.

He underscored that the U.S. condemns the use of violence by any side, and warned that declaring a state of emergency or enacting other harsh security measures would further inflame the situation and close the space for a peaceful resolution. arenko.html). Coupled with this has been the widely reported use of violent civilian "titushky" helpers by the police (see Eurasia Daily Monitor, January 22). Some observers have blamed law enforcement's excessive reactions on poor service conditions inside the units, while some point to a systemic police culture of over-reliance on force, as well as corruption (http://texty. org.ua/pg/article/editorial/read/51300/ Spovid\_milicionera\_u\_bagatoh\_pidrozdilah\_narada\_pochynajetsa).

Ukraine's police officers number some 350,000, overwhelmingly exceeding armed forces personnel (approximately 140,000). Therefore, without deep and comprehensive reform, the opposition's demands to abolish the Berkut riot police would simply result in increased mobility within the wide-ranging, corrupt and inefficient law enforcement system.

In addition to raising the above-cited domestic issues, the ongoing political crisis in Ukraine has also highlighted Russia's overwhelming influence on the situation in the country. First and foremost is the issue of Russian financing and reduced price for natural gas. Even if the opposition were in power in Ukraine, it is far from certain that it would have been able to secure a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in place of Russian financial assistance, or that it would have successfully built societal consensus in support of the painful gas and utilities tariffs reforms and social spending cuts the IMF required.

Speaking to Vedomosti, Batkivshchvna party representative Yuriy Odarchenko seemed content with the Russian financing: "Russian loans were granted on a commercial basis; Ukraine is able to meet all terms and will meet them." After having dispersed the first of the funds, Moscow's position on continuing its assistance to Ukraine is not static, however; a Russian federal-level official told the same paper that any escalation in the political crisis could force the Russian government to rethink its support to the Ukrainian government (http://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/21715421/kredit-ukrainezavisit-ot-katapulty#ixzz2rbziv3DP).

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## **Quotable notes**

"We are gravely alarmed by reports of at least three deaths and scores of injuries during recent clashes in Kyiv. We continue to condemn the use of violence by government authorities, as well as by fringe extremist groups and provocateurs, both of which are attempting to discredit the peaceful protest movement. We were also similarly alarmed by the Verkhovna Rada's rushed passage of draconian anti-democratic legislation – an action that directly precipitated the increased instability of recent days.

"Since the beginning of the crisis, President Yanukovych has repeatedly stated a preference for a peaceful solution that creates the conditions for a fully democratic Ukraine; however, the actions of the government of Ukraine have consistently undermined that goal. Now is the time for all sides to reject violence and instead engage in a full and representative national dialogue to realize that solution. Specifically, we call on the government of Ukraine to immediately cease the use of violence; repeal the recently passed anti-democratic legislation; recognize the human rights of peaceful protesters and independent media; and participate in a true dialogue with the opposition.

"We applaud the State Department's recent step to revoke the visas of several individuals responsible for violence and – should the government of Ukraine continue down the road of repression – urge the Obama administration to use its existing legal authorities to continue to impose sanctions against appropriate individuals."

> – January 22 statement by the co-chairs of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, Reps. Sander Levin (D-Mich.), Jim Gerlach (R-Pa.) and Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio).

"...We strongly condemn the Ukrainian government's aggressive crackdown on journalists and protesters and its violent attempts to suppress demonstrations. While we regret that some protesters have resorted to violent measures that are inconsistent with the peaceful character of the Euro-Maidan movement, the responsibility for the growing political crisis in Ukraine lies squarely with the government's heavy-handed tactics and undemocratic actions. The unfortunate reality is that the Ukrainian government has consistently failed to engage in meaningful dialogue with the opposition, and its attempt to forcibly end the protests through the passage of anti-democratic legislation and a deepening crackdown is only escalating the crisis.

"We commend the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine for its decision to revoke the visas of several Ukrainian officials responsible for past acts of violence against peaceful demonstrators. However, now more than ever, the deteriorating situation in Ukraine calls for stronger leadership at the highest levels in the United States and Europe. As the Ukrainian government shows an increasing disregard for the rights of its citizens, and as its tactics against peaceful protesters become more brutal, we believe additional measures are now necessary to hold Ukrainian officials accountable, ensure that basic human rights are protected, and clarify the choice for those with power and influence in Ukraine about what future they seek for their country."

President Yanukovych to take steps to end violence and to meaningfully address the legitimate concerns of peaceful protesters, stressing the importance of the ongoing dialogue with the opposition and the need for genuine compromise as the only solution to the crisis. The vice-president underscored that freedoms of assembly and expression are fundamental pillars of a democratic society and must be protected. While emphasizing that violence by any side is not acceptable, the vice-president underscored that only the government of Ukraine can ensure a peaceful end to the crisis and further bloodshed would have consequences for Ukraine's relationship with the United States. Vice-President Biden encouraged President Yanukovych to find a peaceful resolution to the crisis.

Underscoring that no time should be lost, the vice-president urged President Yanukovych to pull back riot police and work with the opposition on immediate measures to de-escalate tensions between protesters and the government. He also urged the government to take concrete steps during tomorrow's parliamentary session to respond to the full and legitimate concerns of the Ukrainian people, including by repealing the anti-democratic laws passed on January 16.

Finally, the vice-president reaffirmed the unwavering support of the United States for a Ukraine that rejects violence and that respects the human rights and dignity of its citizens in accordance with their European aspirations and their desire to restore their country back to economic health. – January 23 statement by U.S. Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz), Chris Murphy (D-Conn.), Ron Johnson (R-Wis.) and Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.).

"...America is proud to be more engaged than ever, and, I believe, is playing as critical a role, perhaps as critical as ever, in pursuit of peace, prosperity, and stability in various parts of the world.

"Right here in Europe, we are working with our partners to press the government of Ukraine to forgo violence, to address the concerns of peaceful protesters, to foster dialogue, promote the freedom of assembly and expression. And I literally just received messages before walking in here of the efforts of our diplomats on the ground working with President Yanukovych to try to achieve calm and help move in this direction in the next days. We will stand with the people of Ukraine. ..."

– U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, speaking on January 24 at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

### Russia props...

(Continued from page 1)

That a desperate Mr. Yanukovvch has begun resorting to threats and blackmail against his own deputies was confirmed by The Insider on January 30. The president told national deputies that he rushed to Parliament from a hospital, where he was being treated for a hemorrhage. "I was lying with an intravenous, but I came to you after seeing what was happening," he said, as reported by The Insider, citing anonymous sources at the meeting.

The Insider wrote, "Nevertheless, his poor health didn't stop the president from suppressing the revolt in the faction," adding a quote for an anonymous deputy: "Such cursing I haven't heard in a long time. We were all threatened to be buried in asphalt and to put us all in prison. They said they have a case against each of us."

Among those accompanying Mr. Yanukovych for the meeting was Justice Minister Olena Lukach and Vadym Novynskyi, a Russian billionaire oligarchturned-Ukrainian citizen who was elected to Ukraine's Parliament in 2012 to represent a district in Crimea. He enjoys close ties with Russian President Vladimir Putin.

The Ukrainian president demanded the faction vote for his amnesty bill, claiming that he reviewed it with German Chancellor Angela Merkel and U.S. Vice-President Joe Biden and they both approved its text (which later turned out to

be a lie). He also threatened to dismiss the Parliament if national deputies didn't approve it.

The Party of Regions deputies caved in to the president's pressure, giving it 232 votes out of a necessary 226.

Before the president's arrival, more than 60 Party of Regions deputies were ready to not only support the opposition's amnesty bill, but reinstate the 2004 constitutional amendments creating a parliamentarypresidential republic, The Insider reported.

Svoboda National Deputy Andrii Illyenko confirmed with the BBC news service that about 60 Party of Regions national deputies were ready to support the opposition version before the president interfered. Party of Regions defecting deputy Inna Bohoslovska was also leading efforts to form the new majority.

"The Kremlin helped 'to break' Yanukovych," reported Ms. Nikolayenko. "Russia stopped clearing Ukrainian goods through customs. The threat of a renewed trade conflict with the northern neighbor forced Rinat Akhmetov and Dmytro Firtash to convince their deputies to support the president's position."

Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev was upset about Mr. Azarov's resignation, The Insider reported, because it was with him that he arranged the secret details of the deal that reduced Ukraine's gas price by a third and offered a \$15 billion loan at a 5 percent interest rate.

During the session, Mr. Novynskyi was "actively helping the president conduct 'precaution interviews' with the deputies,"

The Insider reported.

"In unofficial conversations, several deputies assured that Novynskyi in the Rada is virtually 'Putin's enforcer' and seriously confirmed he is on the phone with [Russian Orthodox Church] Patriarch Kirill 24 hours a day."

That the Russians and Mr. Yanukovych got their way only heightened their conflict with the Euro-Maidan movement and raised speculation that the president still plans to implement a state of emergency and resort to bloodshed to disperse Kyiv's occupied city center.

In the raucous January 29 blackmail meeting, Mr. Yanukovych said he arranged for Mr. Azarov's resignation to satisfy one of the opposition's demands. Yet he said he "can't constantly 'play on one side of the field' and it's their turn to make concessions," The Insider reported, citing its anonymous sources.

His amnesty law sets a 15-day deadline for the opposition to vacate all occupied government buildings and streets as part of a self-liquidation of the Euro-Maidan protest.

In exchange, the government agrees to amnesty those detained and incarcerated in what the courts will determine to have been peaceful acts of protest during the Euro-Maidan. More than 130 activists are detained at the moment: many of them were not involved in any of the violent incidents or takeover attempts of state oblast administrations.

Opposition politicians and legal experts criticized the measure, labeling it the "hostage law" because it essentially renders

those who have been detained and incarcerated as hostages to be traded for the opposition's surrender.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union said the president's amnesty law puts the Ukrainian government in the same category as pirates and terrorists. It expressed concern that, for the sake of political aims, the Parliament "is ready to ruin the foundations of law and turn the fundamental basis for legal order into a subject of trades and agreements."

Former Kyiv City Council deputy and political expert Kostiantyn Matviyenko compared it to "an act of state terrorism."

"The hostage bill's authors and those who voted for it in parliament not only violated the limits of common sense and the elementary framework of legal culture, but also offered the grounds to prohibit their political parties - the Party of Regions of Ukraine and Communist Party of Ukraine as terrorist organizations," Mr. Matviyenko, a political analyst with the Hardaryka Strategic Consulting Corporation, wrote on his blog.

"This very law, even if it's not signed by the president, is subject to a legal review by competent international institutions. Their conclusions are worth including in a report of accusation of terrorism," he commented.

Mr. Yanukovych even told the Regions deputies in the raucous January 29 meeting that he doesn't plan to sign the law that canceled the January 16 dictatorship legislation within the 15-day period as is

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## **Profiles...**

#### (Continued from page 1)

Living in Bila Tserkva in the Kyiv Oblast for nine years, he used the pseudonyms Oleksii or Lokki. He served as a Maidan guard.

He was shot in his rib cage in the vicinity of his heart by a sniper on January 22. A panakhyda was held for him in St. Michael Cathedral on January 26, the day he would have turned 26. He was planning to visit his parents in Belarus after reconnecting with them.

"This is a Russian death squadron," fellow Belarusian exile Halyna Vasylivna told the Hazeta Po-Ukrayinsky newspaper. "They did wonders to us [in Belarus]. Our Vice-Speaker Viktor Honchar and Internal Affairs Minister Yurii Zakharenko disappeared. Still no one knows where they are. All the laws were passed here in one day, but it was gradual for us. We [Belarusians] have been living in a dictatorship for 20 years. The boy couldn't accept that."

Yurii Verbytskyi, 50, was a native of Lviv and seismologist who earned a candidate of sciences degree in physics-mathematics. He was an alpinist who climbed the highest peaks in the Caucasus Mountains. He took time off from work as the leading engineer at the Institute of Physics at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine to join the Maidan in the middle of January



Mykhailo Zhyznevskyi

In further tortures, Verbytskyi suffered "twice as much" as Mr. Lutsenko, a Kyiv native. The beatings were handled in a professional way in the style of police. Mr. Lutsenko said, adding that he thinks the thugs were hired by the government. He believed they were from eastern Ukraine because of the myths they repeated about the "Banderites" and Europe wanting to encroach on Russia. They asked the two men how much the Maidan was paying them.

"They were driven by the principle that a person arrives with certain types of

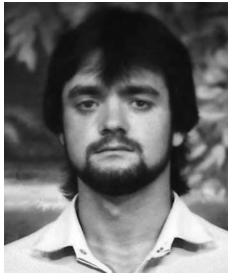


Yurii Verbytskyi

in the woods. Verbytskyi was buried in Lviv's prestigious Lychakiv Cemetery, and his funeral attended by more than 5,000 mourners.

His brother Serhii recalled one of their last conversations in which Verbytskyi said what motivated him to go to the Euro-Maidan: "The point of no return has been crossed. Either the government destroys us, or we destroy it."

"[Lviv] Mayor Andrii Sadovyi said on television that he will be buried in the Sykhiv cemetery," Verbytskyi's 74-year-old neighbor Maria Andriyivna told Hazeta



**Roman Senyk** 

your grandchildren.' Those were the last words I heard from him."

His wife, Liubov, said he had already bought return train tickets before he went to Hrushevsky Street. "He called me and said, 'See what's happening on the Maidan? I'm up front.' Then he described how they were shooting five meters from him. He said his eyes were covered [with soot]. Some girls washed them and gave him a mask. After two hours, they called from a hospital and said he was wounded."

He never regained consciousness, she id. "Only when the priest read him his last rites, he opened his eyes a splinter and then closed them. Tears fell and that's how he died beside me."

He suffered an eye injury during the clashes on January 21 and was driven to a central Kyiv hospital by civic activist Ihor Lutsenko. Both were kidnapped from the hospital by 10 plain-clothed men who forced them out, beat them and shoved them into a black van, Mr. Lutsenko said.

"They questioned us together with elements of violence before taking us to different corners of the forest and working on us separately," he told the Ukrayinska Pravda news site. "I only heard how they were very fiercely pressing on Yurii. Why him and not me? Because he's from Lviv. as it turned out, and for these people, in their words, that's another caste of enemies. The most willing ones, so to speak, went after him. They practically didn't go after me compared with him."

trauma, then he needs to be taken because he likely participated in the events on Hrushevsky [Street]," said Mr. Lutsenko.

He also said that Verbytskyi answered their questions in the Ukrainian language, to which they responded that they didn't understand. He said, "That's your problem," as reported by Hazeta Po-Ukravinsky. That anecdote has led some observers to believe he was tortured and killed by Russian special forces, though they could have been mocking him.

The next day, Verbytskyi's body was found in a forest in the Boryspil district. His entire spine and arms were blue with bruises, his face was beaten up, his legs were broken with their bones exposed, and his ribs were broken and jutting from his skin. He froze to death after being left to die

Po-Ukrayinsky. "But evidently people were offended, so he was given a space in Lychakiv. His body was brought in the morning in a closed casket. They said the torturers abused him so much that he's hard to recognize. He was a handsome fellow."

Roman Senyk, 45, a native of the village of Nakonechne Druhe in the Lviv Oblast was shot in a lung and shoulder by a sniper on Hrushevsky Street on January 22. He underwent three operations, including an amputation of his hand, before dying on January 25. He lost 3.5 liters of blood, and in an attempt to save his life, more than 350 Kyiv residents donated their blood on January 24.

"I spoke with Roman on the phone," his sister told Hazeta Po-Ukrayinsky. "He said, 'I'm standing for you, your children and

A fifth casualty was reported by the Ukrayinska Pravda news site, but his identity was not confirmed. He was one of two protesters savagely and repeatedly beaten on January 20 atop the colonnade in front of the Dynamo Kyiv stadium. The man who captured his violent beating on video said he wasn't sure whether the victims fell off the colonnade or was thrown to his death by the Berkut. The graphic video is available at: http://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=I4uUPRAywrE

In addition, a 55-year-old man from the Volyn Oblast was found hanged on the Christmas tree on the Maidan on January 27.



## Organizations' carolers visit UNA Home Office



PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The 2013-2014 Christmas season brought several groups of carolers to the Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association. The first to arrive were the "koliadnyky" of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization's Newark, N.J., branch (upper left), which is based at the Ukrainian American Cultural Center of New Jersey (UACCNJ) in nearby Whippany, who caroled on January 15. The next day brought carolers from the Ukrainian Music Institute (lower right), also based at the UACCNJ. Then, on January 20, two groups of carolers from the Ukrainian American Youth

Association brought "koliadky" and "vishuvannia" (best wishes) from the organization's branches in Whippany (lower left) and Jersey City, N.J. (upper right).



## Mission Statement

The Ukrainian National Association exists:

• to promote the principles of fraternalism;

• to preserve the Ukrainian, Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian heritage and culture; and



• to provide quality financial services and products to its members.

As a fraternal insurance society, the Ukrainian National Association reinvests its earnings for the benefit of its members and the Ukrainian community.

WOONSOCKET, R.I. – Ukrainian National Association Branch 241 in Woonsocket, R.I., hosted its annual St. Nicholas celebration for the children of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church on Sunday, December 8, 2013. Msgr. Roman Golemba and Janet Bardell, branch secretary, greeted the youngsters. Lydia Zuk-Klufas and Lydia Kusma Minyayluk planned a program performed by the children that included several plays, poems and musical entertainment during the festivities. The parents prepared a delicious buffet luncheon. Of course, the highlight of the event was the arrival of St. Nicholas and his distribution of gifts to the children.

#### THE UNA: 119 YEARS OF SERVICE TO OUR COMMUNITY

## <u>The Ukrainian Weekly</u> **The enemy of the people**

Is violence ever an option? The events of recent weeks prove that, certainly, violence can be an effective means to accomplish certain goals. The idea of non-violent protest is to take the higher moral position over your enemy and use your suffering to reach his conscience to make him reconsider his violent acts. The assumption behind this theory is that your enemy has a conscience. Ukraine's enemies in the 20th century included the world's greatest mass murderers. Now the enemy of the Ukrainian people is their own president, who has demonstrated he isn't the least bit bothered by his citizens being beaten, kidnapped, tortured or murdered.

On the morning of the November 30, 2013, beatings of students that ignited the Euro-Maidan, Mr. Yanukovych was out hunting in one of his suburban retreats that he has surrounded with armed guards. His police responded with more brutal beatings the next day. As the Euro-Maidan protested peacefully, the terror campaign continued with an attempt to violently disperse the Maidan on December 11, followed by the kidnapping and brutal beating of journalist Tetiana Chornovol on December 24-25.

At the beginning of this year, the violence of January 19 sent Ukraine into a downward spiral of violence that by the end of the week left at least five dead and more than 1,000 injured. It was triggered by the president's refusal to heed to the Euro-Maidan's peaceful protest, instead signing the so-called "dictatorship laws" passed by Parliament that prepared for its violent dispersal. The legislation was a carbon copy of legislation passed in the Russian Federation last year, experts said.

To this day, Ukrainians can't agree on who ignited the violence on January 19. The Pravyi Sector coalition of nationalist organizations claimed responsibility, yet video evidence shows that the radicals who provoked the violence said the first bus was set ablaze by the police themselves. The Svoboda nationalists claim it was "provocateurs" that started the violence (without making clear whether they were statesponsored or Russian-sponsored) before the Euro-Maidan activists and nationalists stepped in for a heroic defense.

Regardless of who was responsible, the clashes revealed the true face of the Yanukovych administration and the Party of Regions. These are people willing to spread the most egregious lies and manipulations, support the most vicious torture and even murder people in order to be in power and continue to plunder the budget. For Mr. Yanukovych and his cronies a violent dispersal of the Euro-Maidan is not out of the question. We know our enemy.

On the negative side, the violence hit the front pages of newspapers such as the Financial Times and The New York Times, doing severe damage to Ukraine's image as a peaceful country ready for European integration. Such scenes are a red flag to investors, who will think twice before bringing their capital to Ukraine.

Most importantly, however, the use of force was a language that the boorish, criminal Ukrainian leadership understood. Industrial tycoon Rinat Akhmetov issued a statement condemning the use of violence to solve the political crisis, and by January 28 the dictatorship laws forbidding peaceful protest were repealed. Prime Minister Mykola Azarov resigned the same day. If not for the violent resistance, the Euro-Maidan could have very well become a chapter in the history of Ukraine's transition into a Belarus-style dictatorship. And at least the Euro-Maidan demonstrated its activists don't intend to be sitting ducks and go down without a fight.

We uphold the calls for a peaceful resolution to the conflict from politicians, diplomats, religious leaders and businessmen alike. Ukraine's new government needs to be formed in the interest of the broadest spectrum of its citizens, rather than the current model of a single criminal clan dominating. But at the same time, we're relieved that there are also those – whether on the Euro-Maidan's radical fringes or within its ranks – who are ready to speak the language of force that is so familiar to Mr. Yanukovych in those moments when it's necessary. Such activists have always played a role in Ukrainian history, but never were they able to organize themselves well enough to overpower the destructive forces such as Nazism and Bolshevism.

Hopefully, this generation will close the chapter on Ukraine's authoritarian legacy, with all its hate and violence, through the ouster of Mr. Yanukovych. Hopefully, it will be with minimum casualties.

#### COMMENTARY

## Viktor has fallen

#### by Lubomyr Luciuk

It's -10 degrees Celsius today in Kingston but it feels like -21.

In Kyiv, Ukraine's capital, it's -12 degrees Celsius but feels more like -20.

I'm writing from the comfort of my study. My good friends on the Euro-Maidan aren't anywhere near as snug. Yet they endure, not only cold, but brutality because for them Ukraine always was, is, and shall forever be, a European nation.

This is not simply a question of geopolitics. It's cultural. Most Ukrainians want to live like other Europeans, in a society where civil liberties and human rights are respected, where democracy and the rule of law prevail. They have had enough of the corruption and nepotism of Viktor Yanukovych's regime.

Overwhelmingly, in 1991, they voted for Ukraine's independence. And, in 2004, they came out in the millions for the Orange Revolution, protesting a fraudulent election, hoping democracy would take root in Ukraine. Their leaders betrayed them, proving to be only somewhat less debased, but certainly no less venal, than the man

Lubomyr Luciuk is a professor of political geography at the Royal Military College of Canada on Kingston, Ontario. they removed, Viktor Yanukovych.

He returned in 2010. Since then Mr. Yanukovych and "The Family" surrounding him have fattened off the riches of the land – today Oleksander, the president's eldest son, is a multimillionaire, the "king of coal," a remarkable achievement for a 40-yearold dentist. Think of this as the "Golden Calf" stage in modern Ukrainian history. It won't last much longer.

Indeed, what we are witnessing now is the first step in Ukraine's painful return to Europe. Color this stage a cowardly yellow, for President Yanukovych is increasingly nervous about the masses occupying Ukraine's public spaces. Since fear is a poor counsellor, the Kremlin's man in Kyiv has deployed thugs and snipers to do his dirty work, beating journalists and murdering protestors.

It hasn't worked. Watch the YouTube video of Mykhailo Zhyznevskyi's casket being carried through the Euro-Maidan. Mr. Yanukovych's hired hands shot him off the barricades. Yet the nation was not cowed. The crowds stand firm, shouting "Heroes never die!" There will be more heroes before this all ends.

My students have often asked why Ukraine is taking "so long" to return to Europe. For me an answer, and solace too,

(Continued on page 17)

#### LETTER TO THE EDITOR

## What is the diaspora position on sanctions?

#### Dear Editor:

I am writing to seek clarification about the current position of Ukrainian diaspora organizations towards Ukraine – specifically, the issue of the growing call for the U.S. and EU targeted sanctions and visa blacklist. This issue was raised by Ukrainian Americans at last month's meeting in the White House. Following the deaths of protesters in Kyiv on the anniversary of Ukraine's historic independence day (January 22, 1918), the United States imposed targeted sanctions and the European Union and Austria are beginning steps to freeze oligarchs' bank accounts.

It is obvious that the targeted sanctions should include officials such as President Viktor Yanukovych; Prime Minister Mykola Azarov (who most recently issued three decrees authorizing the police's criminal methods); Procurator General Viktor Pshonka; former secretary of the National Security and Defense Council and current chief of the Presidential Administration, Andriy Kliuyev (who has overseen police brutality and criminality); and Internal Affairs Minister Vitaliy Zakharchenko. What is less clear is whether the list of targeted sanctions should include oligarchs towards whom Ukrainian diaspora organizations would seem to have a multi-vector policy. I should state at the outset that I stand together with those Ukrainians protesting outside oligarchs' homes and offices, as well as the NGOs and foundations that have cut ties to the mafia anti-democratic kleptocracy. Let me give just two recent examples of Ukrainian diaspora multi-vectorism. Firstly, there was either applause or silence when Dmytro Firtash donated \$2 million to the

Holodomor Memorial in Washington. Yet, Mr. Firtash's Inter TV is one of the two most vitriolic channels attacking the Euro-Maidan (the other being State Channel One). Mr. Firtash is also a supporter of Ukraine joining the CIS Customs Union, which Mr. Yanukovych promised Russian President Vladimir Putin he would do after he "wins" the 2015 elections.

Secondly, last month's gala organized by the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation in Washington received funding from the Kliuyev and Akhmetov foundations (among others). Mr. Kliuyev is widely reported (including by Serhiy Leshchenko, who is currently on a National Endowment for Democracy fellowship in Washington) to be the organizer of the brutal police violence on the night of November 30, 2013. Opposition leaders have refused to attend negotiations with Mr. Kliuyev because they believe he is one of those responsible for police brutality.

Mr. Akhmetov has been an ally of Mr. Yanukovych since the mid-1990s and he has massively financially gained from first Mr. Yanukovych's governorship of Donetsk and then his presidency, as a result having been thrust in the ranks of the top 50 wealthiest people in the world. There have been protests outside his London and Donetsk residences. Mr. Leshchenko wrote in his Ukrayinska Pravda blog that if Mr. Akhmetov does not want to break with Mr. Yanukovych then he should share responsibility with him for his criminal actions. Ukrainian Americans, therefore, should decide what their relationship is towards oligarchs and towards the current political crisis in Ukraine. Currently, some want to have their cake and eat it too, accepting donations from oligarchs and at the same time including them among those who should be targeted for sanctions and visa blacklists.

## Turning the pages back...

Three years ago, on February 7-8, 2011, Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute hosted a two-day event, including a roundtable seminar, "Undoing Ukraine's Orange Revolution? The First Presidential Year of Viktor Yanukovych," and a session of the Ukraine Study Group, "Yanukovych's Ukraine: What's Next?" Major points discussed during the first day's roundtable



Feb.

2011

included Mr. Yanukovych's reforms in the Verkhovna Rada, the courts and other government institutions, the rule of law, nation-building, attitudes toward the opposition and the media, foreign policy, a political plan, Western and Russian attitudes toward President Yanukovych and his government, the economy, the aims of the current power elite and the oligarchs, and finally, what's next for Ukraine.

Prof. Timothy Colton, the Morris and Anna Feldberg Professor of Government and Russian Studies and chair of the Department of Government at Harvard, listed the biggest changes as a result of a direct initiative by Mr. Yanukovych, including the formation of a new majority in Parliament, the Kharkiv accords that extended the basing of the Russian Black Sea Fleet for a temporary gas discount, as well as Mr. Yanukovych's foreign policy doctrine to not pursue NATO membership for Ukraine.

Indirect changes included the Constitutional Court approving the formation of Rada coalitions with individual deputies as well as political parties and factions; the Donetsk administrative court's stripping of the title Hero of Ukraine that was awarded posthumously to Stepan Bandera on the basis that the decision was illegal, as Bandera was not a

(Continued on page 19)

What's it going to be?

Taras Kuzio Toronto



by Andrew Fedynsky



## *The Euro-Maidan phenomenon*

I was a college sophomore in 1967 when a Jesuit priest introduced me to Teilhard de Chardin's "The Phenomenon of Man." Chardin (1881-1955), also a Jesuit, was a paleontologist who helped discover 750,000-year-old fossils of Peking Man, an early form of Homo Sapiens. In his book, Chardin postulates evolution as a divine process beginning billions of years ago with a single cell and then, increasing in complexity over the eons, becomes conscious of itself and, through science and technology, leads to "a thinking layer enveloping the earth."

Writing in the 1930s, Chardin based his theory on the writings of Volodymyr Vernadsky (1863-1945), a bio-geochemist who founded the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1917; his name today is on the premier library in Ukraine. Pondering its development, Vernadsky saw the Earth moving through three phases: the Geosphere (inanimate matter); Biosphere (biological life); and finally, the Noosphere, where humanity masters its environment at the atomic level, developing tools to create what he called "the sphere of human thought." Borrowing from Vernadsky's theory, Chardin in "The Phenomenon of Man" predicted a time where any individual could simultaneously be present in every corner of the world.

I hadn't thought of Chardin for more than 40 years – how often do we reflect on books we read as sophomores in college? And yet, the Euro-Maidan and my connection with it from Cleveland reminded me of Chardin and what had once seemed to me a crackpot idea. Today, we call it the Internet.

Nearly everyone was surprised when masses of people, reacting to President Viktor Yanukovych's rejection of Europe in late November of last year, spontaneously gathered on the maidan (Independence Square) in Kyiv to wave the national colors alongside the deep blue flag of the European Union. A few days later, my wife and I were eating dinner when we got an urgent call alerting us that the government militia, at that very moment, was launching attacks. We rushed to our computer and, 5,000 miles and seven time zones away, watched as the Berkut clubbed and kicked protesting young people; and we spread the alarm. The same message went out to the world, including people in Kyiv who roused themselves in the middle of the night to flood the maidan taxi drivers offered free rides.

In the days that followed, crowds swelled to as many as a million people. Fed up with Soviet-style corruption and a sorry standard of living, they saw Europe as the beacon for democracy, freedom, the rule of law, global respect and personal prosperity. It was also a rejection of Russia, which for millions evokes bitter memories of oppression, corruption, censorship, famine, terror, rigged elections, food lines, etc. Moscow's use of natural gas prices as a political bludgeon and a trade embargo to block Ukraine's association with Europe confirms the obvious – that President Vladimir Putin wants to undermine Ukraine's sovereignty in order to reconstitute the Russian Empire. There'd be no story, of course, if people hadn't come out in such huge numbers, but they have – and that's where the Internet and social media have made such a difference. But those don't actually explain the Maidan movement. Twitter, text messages, e-mails, Internet are tools available to anyone: both the Yanukovych administration and those opposed to it. One side used them to draw millions into the squares around the country; the other has had to resort to coercion and subterfuge. Why?

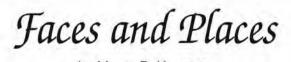
I was in Kyiv a year ago in January and heard firsthand the disgust and simmering anger over the corrupt confluence of political power, judicial authority and oligarchic business. President Yanukovych's decision to reject Europe and orient Ukraine toward Russia was the spark for the protests that morphed into yet another Ukrainian revolution, the origins of which go back 200 years to the birth of Taras Shevchenko in 1814, when nearly every Ukrainian was a slave, including Shevchenko himself.

Shevchenko, recently emancipated under miraculous circumstances, began writing his breathtaking verse in the late 1830s when he was barely 25 years old. With nibbed pen and paper, sitting at a solitary desk and no prospect of publishing his most inflammatory verse, he still presumed to speak to every Ukrainian, confident that his words would be heard and heeded. Addressing "the dead, the living and the unborn - compatriots of mine in Ukraine and not in Ukraine," he offered his people a roadmap to freedom, independence and national sovereignty. "Bury me, rise up and break your chains, then sprinkle liberty with hostile, wicked blood." Tsarist agents found his poems and, in punishing the poet for writing them, made him immortal.

Shevchenko's revolutionary poetry, forbidden in the Russian Empire, was published anyway in Prague, Geneva and elsewhere, and smuggled into Ukraine where an illiterate population committed it to memory. Over the course of half a dozen generations, he mobilized a nation – most recently, Serhiy Nihoyan recited his poem "The Caucasus" on the maidan, exactly one month before he was martyred by a Berkut sniper.

All of this – the resolute vigil, Shevchenko's verse, electric guitars pumping music from the stage, Ruslana's indefatigable presence throughout the night, day after day, and, yes, the catapult and Molotov cocktails on Hrushevsky Street – is a manifestation of Ukrainians' collective unconscious: where people express themselves through memories and ideas inherited from their ancestors. It's a concept Swiss psychologist Carl Jung discovered and described at the same time Vernadsky was writing about the impending "sphere of human thought."

Ukrainians trace their identity a thousand years back to Rus', when Kyiv was a leading European power. When Berkut began beating students, the bells of St. Michael Cathedral tolled, signaling alarm just as they had when the Mongols sacked the city in 1240. Nearly 800 years later, a cellphone rang on Elmwood Road in Cleveland and, joining millions on the maidan and throughout the world, my wife and I rallied to the cause. For Ukrainians, it's been a centuries-long evolution towards sovereignty, independence and freedom – shared by many other peoples and one which has enjoyed success and suffered setbacks. But one thing is clear: in pursuit of their rights, Ukrainians have been as relentless as waves of water crashing against the granite of selfish, vested interests; and like water they will ultimately prevail. That's something Shevchenko believed; it's what the Maidan knows.





by Myron B. Kuropas

## **Two sisters**

"A Promise Kept: A Tribute to a Mother's Love" by Andrij J. Semotiuk is exactly what the titled suggests.

This semi-autobiographical book is the fulfillment of a promise the author made prior to his mother's death. Andrij had wanted to write about his family earlier but his mother asked him to wait.

And wait he did as his life took him from Ukraine to Edmonton, to Los Angeles, to Vancouver, to New York City and to Toronto, all while pursuing a career in law, marriage, and providing loving care for his mother in Canada and his Aunt Helen in the United States.

Andrij's mother, Salomea, was born on April 24, 1911, to Julian and Maryna Drozdowsky in Pidhaitsi, Galicia. Helen was born on April 23, 1909. The family moved to Drohobych where, in 1913, Solomea contracted spinal meningitis rendering her deaf in one ear. When she was 12, she contracted scarlet fever, which destroyed the hearing in her other ear.

Although deaf, Salomea refused to be treated differently from other kids, vowing to lead her life as a person without a disability.

"My mother's steadfast resolution," explains Andrij, "was made possible... by two advantages. First, she wasn't born deaf and was therefore able to hear her own speech until age 12." She was thus able to avoid the imprecise diction of someone who was unable to hear oneself speak. She also learned to lip-read. Salomea identified with the hearing world for the remainder of her life.

The family moved to Lviv after Julian, Salomea's father, was appointed a judge to the district court. They lived in a building owned by Solomiya Krushelnytska, one of Maryna's aunts.

Ms. Krushelnytska was a world-famous opera singer whose 1904 portrayal of Cio-Cio San in "Madame Butterfly" in Italy revived the Puccini opera and possibly saved it from obscurity following a shaky opening night.

Andrij's mother became a successful seamstress in Lviv, designing fashionable dresses for the Ukrainian elite. Musically gifted, Helen moved to Vienna to study and teach piano. The two sisters had a brother, Alex, who became a successful attorney in Lviv.

Helen returned to Lviv in 1934 and for a short time the Drozdowsky family was together and happy. This changed in 1939 with the joint Soviet/Nazi invasion of Poland. Salomea fled to Cracow but soon returned. Alex was arrested by the NKVD. Like other Ukrainians searching for relatives at the infamous Brigidky Prison following the sudden Soviet departure, the Drozdowsky family was horrified at what they discovered. Before departing, the NKVD had brutally slaughtered hundreds of Ukrainian prisoners. Among them was Alex. Leaving Ukraine with the retreating German army, Solomea and Helen ended up in a DP camp. Learning that Jake Holonko, a Ukrainian Canadian widower, was looking for a Ukrainian woman to move to Alberta and help him raise his children. Solomea became that woman and after a week-long ocean voyage, she arrived in Halifax in 1947. A four-day train ride to Edmonton followed. Jake took her by horse and carriage 60 miles west to a farm in Park Court. Solomea became pregnant and, when

Jake resisted marriage, she left for a Ukrainian Catholic church in Edmonton. On January 8, 1949, Andrij was born in a Catholic hospital. Temporarily unable to care for her newborn, Solomea placed Andrij in a Ukrainian orphanage in Mundare.

By 1950, Solomea and Andrij had found lodging with William Semotiuk in Edmonton. "Over time," writes Andrij, "what had begun as a relationship of mutual help and affection turned into one of love." William was not able marry Solomea because he had a wife in Ukraine. He was, however, able to adopt Andrij through a special court order.

Helen, meanwhile, by-passed Canada and settled in the U.S. She married Emil Tysovnytsky, a veteran of the Ukrainian Galician Army. In 1954, Solomea took Andrij to visit his aunt in Los Angeles. Helen was delighted to see her sister after so many years, and the two sisters reminisced about old times. Andrij bonded with his aunt, remaining close to her for the remainder of her life.

Back in Edmonton, William contracted stomach cancer and died on January 12, 1958. Andrij was devastated, especially during the singing of the mournful "Vichnaya Pamiat" at the burial site.

Andrij was sent to live with his aunt, "temporarily," Solomea told him. Emil was a strict disciplinarian who didn't spare the rod when needed. Andrij attended public school and Ukrainian heritage school in Los Angeles. But he remained a discipline problem. When his behavior became intolerable, Emil demanded that Solomea take him back to Edmonton. Returning to Edmonton, Andrij discovered that his mother had developed a serious relationship with Stefan Zmurkevych. Andrij's arrival only complicated things.

Andrij grew up and found a job with the United Nations in New York City. In time, he completed law school at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, passed the bar exam and moved to Toronto, where he met Ann Tworynsky. They married on January 14, 1979. Moving to Edmonton, they had two children, Mark and Natalie.

In 1997, despite his mother's vehement objections, Andrij made contact with the Holonko family and eventually developed a warm relationship with his long-lost kin. They quickly took him in and today he is known as "Uncle Andy."

For many years Andrij spent time traveling between Edmonton and Los Angeles, looking after Solomea and Helen. He provided much solace and love during their declining years, remaining with both until the end.

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Solomea and Helen experienced the horrors of Stalin and Hitler in Ukraine and survived to live a relatively peaceful and prosperous life in North America. Neither died poor. Both had the good fortune to have a son and nephew who truly cared about them.

I highly recommend Andrij's book, which provides an invaluable historical account, another in a series of reflections by children of the DP generation. We need more. Every such story is a piece of a puzzle that is yet to be completed.

The book is available on Amazon.com.

Myron Kuropas's e-mail address is kuropas@comcast.net.

#### **OPEN LETTER FROM UKRAINE**

## The real extremists are the country's leaders

Below is the text of an open letter by noted Ukrainian writer Yuri Andrukhovych that is being circulated worldwide in the Ukrainian, English and other languages. The translation published here is by Vitaly *Chernetsky. The original letter was dated* January 23.

#### Dear Friends,

especially foreign journalists and editors

These days I receive from you lots of inquiries requesting to describe the current situation in Kyiv and overall in Ukraine, express my opinion on what is happening, and formulate my vision of at least the nearest future. Since I am simply physically unable to respond separately to each of your publications with an extended analytical essay, I have decided to prepare this brief statement which each of you can use in accordance with your needs.

The most important things I must tell you are as follows.

During the less than four years of its rule, Viktor Yanukovych's regime has brought the country and the society to the utter limit of tensions. Even worse, it has boxed itself into a no-exit situation, where it must hold on to power forever — by any

means necessary. Otherwise it would have to face criminal justice in its full severity. The scale of what has been stolen and usurped exceeds all imagination of what human avarice is capable

The only answer this regime has been proposing in the face of peaceful protests, now in their third month, is violence, violence that escalates and is "hybrid" in its nature: special forc-

es' attacks at the maidan are combined with individual harassment and persecution of opposition activists and ordinary participants in protest actions (surveillance, beatings, torching of cars and houses, storming of residences, searches, arrests,

rubber-stamp court proceedings). The key word here is intimidation. And, since it is ineffective, and people are protesting on an increasingly massive scale, the powers that be make these repressive actions even harsher.

Full-scale crimes against humanity are now being committed in Ukraine, and it is the present government that is responsible for them.

The "legal base" for them was created on January 16, when the members of Parliament fully dependent on the president, in a crude violation of all rules of procedure and voting, indeed of the Constitution itself – in the course of just a

couple of minutes (!) with a simple show of hands (!) - voted in a whole series of legal changes that effectively introduce dictatorial rule and a state of emergency in the country without formally declaring them. For instance, by writing and disseminating this,

I am subject to several new criminal code articles for "defamation," "inflaming tensions," etc.

Briefly put, if these "laws" are recognized, one should conclude: in Ukraine, everything that is not expressly permitted by the powers that be is forbidden. And the only thing permitted by those in power is to yield to them.

Not agreeing to these "laws," on January 19 Ukrainian society rose up, yet again, to defend its future.

Today in television newsreels coming from Kyiv you can see protesters in various kinds of helmets and masks on their faces, sometimes with wooden sticks in their hands. Do not believe that these are "extremists," "provocateurs" or "right-wing radicals." My friends and I also now go out protesting dressed this way. In this sense my wife, my daughter, our friends and I are also "extremists." We have no other option: we have to protect our life and health, as well as the life and health of those near and dear to us. Special forces units shoot at us, their snipers kill our friends. The number of protesters killed just on one block in the city's government quarter is, according to different reports, either five or seven. Additionally, dozens of people in Kyiv are missing.

We cannot halt the protests, for this would mean that we agree to live in a country that has been turned into a lifelong prison. The younger generation of Ukrainians, which grew up and matured in the post-Soviet years, organically rejects all forms of dictatorship. If dictatorship wins, Europe must take into account the prospect of a North Korea at its eastern border and, according to various estimates, between 5 million and 10 million refugees. I do not want to frighten you.

We now have a revolution of the young. Those in power wage their war first and foremost against them. When darkness falls on Kyiv, unidentified groups of "people in civilian clothes" roam the city, hunting for the young people, especially those who wear the symbols of the Maidan movement or the European Union. They kidnap them, take them out into forests, where they are stripped and tortured in fiercely cold weather. For some strange reason the victims of such actions are overwhelmingly young artists — actors, painters, poets. One feels that some strange "death squadrons" have been released in the country with an assignment to wipe out all that is best in it. One more characteristic detail: in Kviv hospitals the police force entraps the wounded protesters; they are kidnapped and (I repeat, we are talking about wounded persons) taken out for interrogation at undisclosed locations. It has become dangerous to turn to a hospital even for random passers by who were grazed by a shard of a police plastic grenade. The medics only gesture helplessly and release the patients to the so-called "law enforcement." To conclude: full-scale crimes against humanity are now being committed in Ukraine, and it is the present government that is responsible for them. If there are any extremists present in this situation, it is the country's highest leadership that deserves to be labeled as such.

#### On the occasion of UN International Mother Language Day With the support of the Ukraine's Permanent Mission to the United Nations The Ukrainian World Congress

and

#### The World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations

Invite you to support Ukraine by attending a commemorative program at the United Nations honoring

## **Taras Shevchenko:**

Champion of the Ukrainian Language, Self-Determination of Peoples, Human Rights and Social Justice

### February 27, 2014, 3-6pm

Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Chamber United Nations Building, New York City

#### Program in honor of the bicentennial of the birth of Ukraine's national poet:

Address by Secretary-General of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon Address by President of the 68th General Assembly of the United Nations John W. Ashe Address by Eugene Czolij, President of the Ukrainian World Congress Address by Orysia Sushko, President of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations

Keynote by Prof. Maxim Tarnawsky, University of Toronto Prometheus Ukrainian Chorus Peter Fedynsky, Master of Ceremonies, translator of Shevchenko's Kobzar

Please wear your *vyshyvanka*!

There is no charge for admission, however, please RSVP by February 16, 2014, to email: ukrainersvpday@gmail.com to be put on the list of attendees.

Please arrive by 2:30pm to allow time for UN security procedures at the First Avenue entrance (either the 43rd or the 47th Street access will be designated on the day of the event).

(Continued on page 20)

## The noteworthy: people and events

his section features the noteworthy events and people of 2013 that defy easy classification (or could fit under more than one of our Year in Review categories).

 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 international prize is awarded for contributions to strengthening friendship and mutual understanding between people and nations.

 Dr. Danylo Hryhorczuk of Chicago was presented Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization's highest award - the Order of the Eternal Fire in Gold, awarded to individuals in recognition of exceptional work for the community. The presentation was part of the annual "Svichechka" ceremony, celebrated in 2013 on January 12. Dr. Hryhorczuk has devoted his life to the improvement of public health in many ways, both in the U.S. and Ukraine, particularly to researching the consequences of the Chornobyl nuclear disaster.

• Five dancers from Syzokryli Ukrainian Dance Ensemble - Nick Buniak, Volodya Holoborodko, Alex Kobryn, Nick Kobryn and Paul Schepel - were featured in a photo spread with Dutch supermodel Mirte Maas for March's inaugural issue of Vogue Ukraine magazine, which, unfortunately, is published in Russian.

• Ukrainian-owned Kramarczuk's Deli in Minneapolis was one of five recipients of the James Beard Foundation's 2013 American Classics Award, "given to restaurants that have a timeless appeal and are beloved for quality food that reflects the character of their community." The honorees were announced via a February 28 press statement, with an official ceremony on May 6 at Lincoln Center's Avery Fisher Hall in New York.

 Ukrainian Canadian author Chrystia Freeland won the 2013 Lionel Gelber Prize for her book "Plutocrats: The Rise of the New Global Super-Rich and the Fall of Everyone Else." The prize is awarded annually for the world's best non-fiction book in English on foreign affairs that seeks to deepen public debate on significant international issues. Ms. Freeland delivered the annual Lionel Gelber Prize public lecture on April 15 at the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto, and formally received the prize at that time.

• In its 125th year of publication, National Geographic launched a Ukrainian-language edition of its magazine, the premiere issue of which hit newsstands on March 27. The publisher, Sanoma Media, publishes seven other global titles in the Russian language, so its choice to launch National Geographic Ukrayina in Ukrainian is indeed noteworthy.

• Marusia Popovech, a doctoral candidate at New York University's School of Medicine, was named among the 2013 recipients of the Lindau Nobel Laureate Young Researcher Award announced in early March, for her research in "examining the effects of surface chemistry of engineered nanoparticles on cellular machinery and gene expression in genetically altered murine models of oxida-



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launch the first issue of National Geographic Ukrayina on March 27.

tive stress and impaired cell transport." More simply put, Ms. Popovech's research examines the biological effects of nanoparticles on our bodies at the molecular levels; her research can potentially influence national policies and protocols for exposure to nanomaterials, either in the workplace or at consumer level.

• Dr. Eugene Stakhiv received the Meritorious Civilian Service Medal, presented to him by Dr. Joe Westphal, undersecretary of the Army, at the former's retirement ceremony from the Institute for Water Resources (IWR) on February 9. The award recognizes Dr. Stakhiv's vision in establishing UNESCO ICIWarM, an international water resources technical center at IWR, and his leadership of two International Joint Comission studies using state-ofthe-art approaches. The medal also recognized Dr. Stakhiv's contribution to three Intergovernmental Panels on Climate Change (IPCC) as the Defense Department representative, subcommittee co-chair and lead author - for which the IPCC co-chairs were recognized with the Nobel Peace Prize in 2007.

• Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, a professor in the Department of Politics and Economics at the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston, Ontario, and a Fellow of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, was appointed in April as a part-time member of the Parole Board of Canada. The Parole Board of Canada makes decisions on conditional release, record suspension and clemency.

• Sister Mary Bernarda, OSBM, was honored on April 7 by friends, relatives and community members for her



ministry to orphaned and underprivileged children in Ukraine. Basilian Provincial Superior Sister Dorothy Ann Busowski called her "Ukraine's Mother Theresa," praising her stamina and self-effacing generosity. Although Sister Bernarda's yearly visits ended in 2012, a new project – in answer to a request by the bishops of Ukraine and in collaboration with the Basilian Sisters in Zaporizhia, will invite young women to accompany the sisters from the U.S. to minister to the poor and needy in Ukraine.

• The Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS), the Washington bureau of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, presented its first-ever "Friend of UNIS" award on April 17 to Orest Deychakiwsky, a longtime staff member of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Commission) and friend of the Ukrainian American community. The award was presented by UNIS director Michael Sawkiw Jr. at a reception at the Embassy of Ukraine, part of the "Ukrainian Days in Washington" organized by UNIS.

• The month-long exhibition "History of Kyiv in Archival Documents" was presented in Paris by the State Archival Service of Ukraine at the Ukrainian Cultural and Information Center of the Embassy of Ukraine in France. Opening in May, the exhibition presented documents from the Kyiv State Archives, some of them text and photographic copies of documents that are under UNESCO protection, including technical and visual documentation of such architectural treasures as the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, St. Sophia Cathedral and the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves. The exhibit contains information about several prominent Ukrainians, as well as photo documentation about the destruction of Kyiv by the Nazis and its restoration. The delegation from the State Archival Service hoped to conclude an agreement on cooperation with the French archival service; the Ukrainian archives service has such agreements with 40 countries.

· Nadya Wasylko was named by Photo District News (PDN) as one of the top 30 emerging photographers for 2013, "PDN 30: New and Emerging Photographers to Watch," as featured in the April edition of PDN. The members of the PDN 30 were recognized not only for their talent and vision as photographers, but also their ability to establish themselves as working professionals. Notably, in 2012, Ms. Wasylko had been awarded the PDN 2010 Photo annual award for her series about the changing visual landscape of Ukraine. • The Osvita Foundation of Winnipeg, Manitoba, honored Orysia Paszczak Tracz in June with its 2013 Osvita Foundation Award for her significant contribution to the Ukrainian community. The Osvita Foundation is committed to supporting excellence in education through the promotion of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program, of which Ms. Tracz has been a supporter since its inception. A writer, long-time columnist for The Ukrainian Weekly, commentator. lecturer and steadfast advocate for all things Ukrainian, Ms. Tracz has been an articulate and

At the funeral, with full military honors, of Private William Yawney on May 25 in Northampton, Pa. He was killed during World War II, but his remains were identified only recently.



Leonid Finberg, director of the Center for Jewish Studies at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, receives the 2013 Antonovych Award on October 19.

informative voice of the Winnipeg Ukrainian community for more than 40 years, publishing countless articles in numerous journals and translating numerous books from Ukrainian into English.

• Private William Yawney (U.S. Army) was buried with full military honors, including a 21-gun salute and taps, on May 25 – Memorial Day weekend – some 60 years after his death. Military honors for the funeral were provided by Ukrainian American Veterans of Post 42 in Pennsylvania. Private Yawney, age 23 at the time, was killed during World War II while on a scouting mission before the invasion of Saipan, in the Pacific. His remains were discovered in 2007 by workers of a construction company, identified through DNA and dental records, and released to his family on May 22.

• On June 29 the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE) awarded its annual Alexander Graham Bell Medal to research partners Dr. Andrew Chraplyvy and Dr. Robert Tkach, for their "contributions to the science and technology of optical communications enabling highspeed wavelength division multiplexing through the mitigation of the effects of fiber nonlinearity." Simply put, the two developed a new type of optical fiber capable of carrying far more information than what was previously used, and which helps form the backbone of the modern Internet and telecommunications network.

• Natalie Pawlenko, director of the Office of Local Public Health for the New Jersey Department of Health, was recognized as a Public Health and Prevention Champion of Change during a reception at the White House on September 10. For the past nine years, Ms. Pawlenko has led a statewide effort to streamline and coordinate public health data collection and analysis to improve the public health reporting system in New Jersey. The collected data are used by local health departments to prepare for preventive and emerging health issues.

• Leonid Finberg, the director of the Center of Jewish Studies at the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, was honored as this year's laureate of the Omelan and Tatiana Antonovych Foundation Award, for his "contributions toward the building of a civil society in Ukraine." The award was presented by the foundation's president, Dr. Ihor Voyevidka, at a ceremony at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington on October 19. Mr. Finberg was praised for his dedication to his work, which focused on the reawakening of Ukrainian and Jewish selfawareness, the development of their language, history, culture and literature, as well as their cooperation. • The Ukrainian Technological Society (UTS), a professionals' association based in Pittsburgh, presented its 2013 Ukrainian of the Year award on November 2 to Roma Hadzewycz, editor-in-chief of The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda. Ms. Hadzewycz was honored for her "professional excellence in journalism and reporting; her dedication and editorial leadership of the Ukrainian community's foremost newspapers; ...her editorial contributions to four books released by The Ukrainian Weekly; ...and for her commitment and leadership on both the local and national levels of the UNA and Plast; as well as longstanding efforts to strengthen ties between Ukraine and the U.S."

## Our community mourns their passing

Difference of the passing and the passing of many of its prominent members: artists, church leaders, soldiers and community activists. Among them were the following, listed in order of their passing.

**Chrystyna Baranetsky**, 61, Livingston, N.J., longtime Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization leader, known to many as scout leader "Podruha Tynia"; she mentored and inspired dozens of plastunky with her enthusiastic personality, belief in adolescent potential and ability to motivate girls to work hard – January 6.

**Mykhailo Horyn**, 82, leading Ukrainian dissident during the Soviet era and human rights activist; was a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and a founder of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine; was twice imprisoned by Soviet authorities for his "anti-Soviet" activity; while visiting the U.S. in 1991, helped co-found the Coordinating Committee to Aid Ukraine; president of the Ukrainian World Coordinating Council, 2000-2006 – January 13.

**Bohdan J. Chaplynsky,** 76, East Hanover, N.J., a leading operatic tenor; began his singing career in 1959 as soloist and youngest member of the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus; frequently featured solo performer for Ukrainian cultural and community events; leading tenor with multiple opera companies, including the Ritenhouse Opera Society, Berks Opera Company and Amici Opera Company – January 15.

**Marika Prociuk Bokalo**, 67, longtime activist with the sports club Chornomorska Sitch and the Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S. and Canada (USCAK); a school teacher by profession; swimming director for both Sitch and USCAK, as well as camp secretary for the Sitch Sports School; organized many athletic events, including the USCAK swimming championships held annually at Soyuzivka – January 18.

**Steven Howansky**, 70, Stamford, Conn., relocated as part of Akcja Wisla and eventually emigrated to the U.S. in the early 1960s; devoted much time and energy to groups such as the Organization for the Defense of Lemkivshchyna, the Lemko Research Foundation Inc. and the Ukrainian Lemko Museum in Stamford; avid supporter of the Ukrainian American Youth Association's Krylati soccer teams, which he helped coach and manage at various stages – February 11.

**Hennadii Udovenko**, 81, Kyiv, veteran Ukrainian diplomat perhaps best remembered as Ukraine's ambassador to the United Nations at the time the country declared independence; ambassador to Poland, 1992-1994; foreign affairs minister, 1994-1998; served in the Verkhovna Rada, 1998-2007 and headed the Popular Movement of Ukraine, Rukh, 1999-2003; president of the U.N. General Assembly, 1997-1998 – February 12.

**Chester Myroslav Kuc,** 81, Edmonton, Alberta, dance master and folk art specialist; lifelong student and teacher of dance who shared his enthusiasm and knowledge with many young dancers; along with his wife Luba, founded the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) School of Dancing, one of the largest dance schools in Edmonton; founder and artistic director of two dance companies – Shumka (1959) and Cheremosh (1969) – both of international acclaim; skilled writer of pysanky, and master of embroidery; researcher and collector of



Paul Poberezny

**Bishop Julian Voronovsky**, 76, Drohobych, Ukraine, last Ukrainian Catholic bishop to be secretly consecrated during the Church's Soviet-era persecution; originally trained as an engineer; secretly ordained a priest in 1968 by Bishop Vasyl Velychkovsky, after attending clandestine seminary; ordained an auxiliary bishop, also secretly, in 1986 by Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk of Lviv; became rector of the archeparchy's major seminary after the Church's legalization in the early 1990s; in 1994-2011 led the Sambir-Drohobych Eparchy, where he restored parishes, founded monasteries and schools, and made many efforts to rebuild the Church – February 28.

**Erast Huculak**, 82, Toronto, businessman known for his philanthropic activity; served on Advisory Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress; founder and director of the Children of Chornobyl Canadian Fund; served as president of Canadian Friends of Rukh, and wrote about this in his memoir, "My Wooden Suitcase"; purchased youth complex now known as the Huculak Center for Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization in Toronto; established the Huculak Chair of Ukrainian Culture and Ethnography at the University of Alberta's Faculty of Arts; purchased and donated premises for the first Embassy of Ukraine in Canada – March 2.

**Peter Hrycak, Ph.D.,** 89, Cranford, N.J., responsible for designing and implementing the thermal design of the Telstar satellites in the 1960s; professor of mechanical engineering at Newark College of Engineering (which later became the New Jersey Institute of Technology), where he taught and mentored many during his 27 years in academia; past president of Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America; published a variety of technical research papers, along with numerous articles in Svoboda – March 7.

**Joseph V. Krawczeniuk**, Ph.D., 88, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; earned a Ph.D. in German studies from the University of Munich; taught German studies at King's College in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., from 1962 until his retirement in 2008; wrote extensively for Ukrainian academic journals and newspapers, including Svoboda; wrote a brief history of the Ukrainian National Association, which appeared in the catalogue accompanying the documentary photo exhibit marking the UNA centennial – April 17.

**Halyna Tytla,** 77, Yorktown Heights, N.Y., artist and iconographer who studied with Petro Cholodny Jr. – April 19.

**Dr. Anatol Lysyj**, 87, Minneapolis, Minn., physician, writer, philanthropist and leader in the Ukrainian and

many forms of folk art – February 16.

#### American communities; skilled and dedicated doctor



Mykhailo Horyn

Henadii Udovenko

Erast Huculak



Innocent Lotocky

Marta Baczynsky



who once hitched a ride to the hospital on a snowmobile during a blizzard, and volunteered time at LBJ Tropical Medical Center in American Samoa; was involved in medical relief projects in newly independent Ukraine, as well as Children of Chornobyl; passionate champion of Ukrainian independence and culture - June 5.

Ihor Sverhun, Dmytro Koniaev, Badavi Kashaev, killed as a result of a terrorist attack on a mountain climbers' campsite in the area of Mount Nanga Parbat in Pakistan, along with seven other climbers from various countries and their Pakistani guide; responsibility for the attack has been taken by the Pakistani Taliban – June 23.

Ihor Rakowsky, 83, Tuscon, Az., longtime community leader, member of Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization's Burlaky, president of Ukrainian choir Dumka, colonel in the U.S. Army, special agent in the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration - June 27.

Bishop Innocent Lotocky, 97, Chicago, retired eparch of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of St. Nicholas in Chicago; born in Stari Petrykivtsi, Ukraine; completed the Gymnasium of the Basilian Fathers in Buchach and entered the novitiate; ordained to the priesthood in Czechoslovakia in 1940; came to the U.S. in 1946; consecrated a bishop in 1981, serving as the eparch of St. Nicholas until retiring in 1993, although he continued to celebrate the divine liturgy regularly at St. Nicholas Cathedral – July 4

Bohdan Malaniak, 83, Glendale, Calif., spent 37 years at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center as associate vice-president for academic and research affairs, which established an endowment in his name, the "Malaniak Award for Excellence in Postdoctoral Research"; longtime member and past president of the Los Angeles-based Ukrainian National Choir Kobzar; served on the board of directors of the California Association to Aid Ukraine; edited a book documenting the lives of those who, like him, spent time in the Regensburg DP camp, and produced a short film about life there – July 15.

Gregory Malynowsky, 93, Howell, Mich., patron of Ukrainian medicine; generous supporter of numerous scholarly, cultural and educational and medical programs in Ukraine, often collaborating with the American-Ukrainian Medical Foundation (AUMF); sponsored the publication of 20 medical handbooks; purchased thousands of English-language books for university libraries in Ukraine; bought computerized printing equipment for the Academy of Medical Sciences of Ukraine, the medical schools in Kyiv, Odesa and

1953, and organized annual fly-in gatherings; purchased 900 aces in Lake Winnebago Wis., for the EAA Aviation Center; established and built AirVenture Museum, a yearround center for sport aviation enthusiasts; featured in Slavko Nowytski's 1982 film "Helm of Destiny," a documentary on the Ukrainian experience in the United States - September 3.

Andrij Paschuk, 89, New York; took an active role in raising funds in the 19060s for Ukrainian studies at Harvard University; for almost 50 years was an active member of the Ukrainian Institute of America, as well as a member of the UIA board of directors and at one time its vice-president; founder of the Music at the Institute series of concerts – September 11.

Nicholas Oresko, 96, Cresskill, N.J., oldest living recipient of the U.S. Medal of Honor and one of three Ukrainian Americans to have been awarded the Medal of Honor; joined the army during World War II, arriving in France two months after D-Day; awarded the Medal of Honor in October 1945 for leading a one-man raid on a well-fortified enemy position during the Battle of the Bulge - October 4.

Yevhen Hanowsky, 86, Astoria, N.Y.; longtime leader in the Ukrainian American Youth Association (UAYA), holding many local, national and international positions over more than four decades; awarded the UAYA's highest rank in 1996 by the organization's 15th World Congress in recognition of his work - October 14.

Bohdan S. Wynar, 87, Aurora, Colo., former professor and dean, Ukrainian scholar and author, member of numerous Ukrainian academic organizations; professor at University of Denver and State University of New York (SUNY); dean of Library and Information Science School at SUNY; founded the Libraries Unlimited publishing house in 1964, adding the Ukrainian Academic Press division in 1972 and Teacher Ideas Press in 1988; authored and co-authored many books in Library Science November 9.

Tatiana Tchekina, 69, Rochester, N.Y., pianist and music professor; taught accompanying and chamber music at the Kyiv Conservatory before joining the faculty of the Eastman School of Music in 2002, where she was an assistant professor of accompanying; performed as pianist all over the world since 1967 with her husband, violinist Oleh Krysa; recorded over 20 CDs and regularly taught master classes – December 7.

Jaroslaw Rozumnyj, 88, long-time professor of Slavic studies; earned his P.D. in Slavic studies from the University of Ottawa; taught at the University of Manitoba for over 30 years; head of the Department of Slavic Studies, 1976-1989; after retiring from the University of Manitoba in 1995, served as dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich; was fundamentally involved in the revival of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy in the early 1990s; best known for his publications on 19th and 20th century writers and the Ukrainian cultural experience in Canada -December 8.

## The Ukrainian Weekly's 80th anniversary year

Eighty years - that's the milestone we at The Ukrainian Weekly marked this year. It was on October 6, 1933, that The Weekly's first issue rolled off the presses, and we celebrated the 80th anniversary of our newspaper's birth with a special issue published on October 6, 2013. We hope you enjoyed that special issue as much as we truly enjoyed working on it. We were most pleased that we managed to find a photo of each and every editor of The Ukrainian Weekly from 1933 through the present day. The special issue also presented a look back at eight decades of news stories, features and editorials by offering a selection of such articles.

#### Major donation from Self Reliance (N.Y.)

Our sister publication, Svoboda, also marked an anniversary in 2013 - its 120th. The Weekly's and Svoboda's anniversaries were noted by Self Reliance (N.Y.) Federal Credit Union, which issued a check for \$20,000 to the two newspapers as a donation in recognition of their combined 200 years of service to the Ukrainian community and nation. Interestingly, the check was issued on December 19, which just happened to be the feast day of St. Nicholas.

The accompanying letter from Bohdan Kurczak, president, and Bohdan Sawycky, chief financial officer, noted the two publications' all-important contributions, especially Svoboda's role as a "protectress (berehynia) of the Ukrainian heritage," and wished the two newspapers much success and inspiration in continuing their mission.

#### Special issues, special features

As usual, the year included several special issues, beginning with "2012: The Year in Review" (published in three parts in January) and then our very popular "Ukrainian Debutante Balls" section - all the pages of which were published in color - that appeared on March 19. Next came our annual "A Ukrainian Summer" release, published as a 24-page pullout in the May 5 issue. (As has become tradition, "A Ukrainian Summer" appears in the first issue in May.)

Soon afterwards, Editor Matthew Dubas authored a special feature: a three-part series dubbed "On the road with the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus" that he wrote while "embedded" with the UBC during its spring concert series. His articles (published May 12, 19 and 26) chronicled what it's like - on and off the stage - to put on a tour of this caliber.

Meanwhile, in Kyiv, a former chief of our Kyiv Press Bureau, Zenon Zawada, is our principal correspondent in Ukraine, writing on a free-lance basis. He continues to do an outstanding job for us and our community in reporting from Kyiv. That has been especially notable as he files stories and analysis of developments related to the Euro-Maidan movement that began in late November.

The Weekly introduced a new column, "Border Crossings," presenting a view from Ukrainian Canada that is written alternately by Jars Balan, chair of the Canada Ukraine Committee of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, (UCC) and Taras Zalusky, the Ottawa-based executive director of the UCC. The first column appeared on May 5.

On September 8 we introduced another new columnist: Eugene Z. Stakhiv, Ph.D., a lecturer and researcher at Johns Hopkins University and visiting scholar at the Institute for Water Resources. Prior to his retirement from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, he served for 10 years as U.S. director, International Great Lakes Study; concurrently he was director of the UNESCO International Center for Integrated Water Resources Management. Dr. Stakhiv served as co-chair and lead author for the first three United Nations Intergovernmental Panels on Climate Change, for which he shares a Nobel Prize. The new column is called "Science and Technology Notes."

Dnipropetrovsk, the Kyiv Otolaryngology Research Institute and the Kharkiv Scientific Radiological Research Institute – July 29.

Marta Baczynsky, 74, New York, writer, editor, public relations professional; began writing for The Ukrainian Weekly as a special correspondent in the late 1960s, reflecting the interests and concerns of the Ukrainian American community; wrote for Nashe Zhyttia (Our Life), the magazine of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, serving as editor of the magazine's Englishlanguage section for some two decades; involved in development and public relations for The Ukrainian Museum in New York, 1986-2009 - September 3.

Paul Poberezny, 91, Oshkosh, Wis., experimental aircraft pioneer; flew solo across the country at age 17, in 1939; served as a flight instructor in the U.S. Army's air force, and fought air combat in the Korean and Vietnam wars; founded the Experimental Aircraft Association in

Armenia (Aka) Perevma, 86, Troy, Ohio, internationally known artist; earned a degree in sculpture from the Dayton Art Institute in 1966; was the artist coordinator for the Welding for Artist Program at the Hobart School for Welding Technology in Troy, 1970-1980; received a citation and medal from the Ukrainian government in 2001 for her contribution to the richness of Ukrainian culture abroad; honored by the Ohio Arts Council in its first group of Ohio Heritage Fellows - December 9.

#### Award-winning year

2013 was also a year of awards. We began the year with a story in our February 17 issue reporting that Roma Hadzewycz had been presented a Special Recognition Award whose citation read: "With great appreciation for your support of Ukrainian American Veterans." The award was announced at the UAV National Convention in November 2012, but the presentation took place later when Anna Krawczuk, a past national commander of the UAV and coordinator of the UAV Registration Project, and

Bernard Krawczuk, public relations/publications officer, stopped by our editorial offices.

Our Toronto correspondent, Oksana Zakydalsky, was one of seven Ukrainian Canadians honored on September 26 with the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal, a Canadian government award that honors significant contributions and achievements by Canadians. Ms. Zakydalsky was recognized for her work with the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center; her more than 20 years as a writer and correspondent for The Ukrainian Weekly, Homin Ukrainy, Svoboda and the New Pathway; and her leadership in Plast Ukrainian Youth Organization, both in Canada and on the international level.

Later in the year, Ms. Hadzewycz was honored by being named the Ukrainian of Year 2013 by the Ukrainian Technological Society, a professionals' group based in Pittsburgh. The presentation was made at the UTS's 44th annual award ceremony and dinner-dance on November 2. The award was given in recognition of: "professional excellence in journalism and reporting; dedication and editorial leadership of the Ukrainian community's foremost newspapers: The Ukrainian Weekly, this year celebrating its 80th anniversary, and Svoboda, celebrating its 120th anniversary; editorial contributions to four books released by The Ukrainian Weekly on the Great Famine in Ukraine, the 10th anniversary of Ukraine's independence and other significant news developments; and commitment and leadership on both the local and national levels of the Ukrainian National Association (UNA) and Plast; as well as longstanding efforts to strengthen ties between Ukraine and the U.S.'

In her acceptance address Ms. Hadzewycz spoke about the profound influence that her family's active involvement with the Ukrainian National Association and Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization had on her life and career; shared highlights from the intertwined history of the UNA and Svoboda; and underscored the role of The Ukrainian Weekly in our community.

#### To be or not to be digital

In March 2013, the announcement was made of plans to change The Weekly to a new digital format. Letters went out to all subscribers, and the response rate was very good: over 31 percent responded with e-mail addresses, but more than 7 percent replied that they had no e-mail address. Others did not reply at all. Quite a few (some speaking for their elderly parents) said this was discrimination against older readers who do not use computers, the Internet, e-mail, etc.

Some readers were absolutely against the digital only version; others thought the digital version would, of course, be free. Some readers actually gave us their e-mail addresses and said "put me on your e-mail distribution list," expecting that they would thenceforth get a free Weekly each week via e-mail. We found ourselves fielding a variety of questions about The Weekly's (and even Svoboda's) future. There were even questions about whether readers should renew or not, since we were supposedly ending our print edition.





The front page of The Ukrainian Weekly's 80th anniversary issue dated October 6, 2013.

UNA Treasurer Roma Lisovich wrote in April that the cost to print and deliver the newspaper to our readers was approximately \$110 annually per subscriber, adding that the UNA would have to raise the print subscription price to \$100 for members and \$125 for non-members. "We are sympathetic to the financial hardship that this may cause some readers. We hope our loyal readership will recognize that the price increase barely covers the per-subscriber cost it takes to produce The Weekly," she noted.

In the end, the decision was made to continue the print edition, and to continue promoting online subscriptions (which, we must note, obviates concerns about poor postal delivery). However, the price for annual subscriptions had to be raised as of the new year to offset rising costs (including the new postage rates that are to go into effect in late January 2014) and declining revenue (due to decreases in income from advertising and subscriptions). However, we hasten to add, that this does not mean that The Weekly will not go digital at some point in the future.

(See the announcement about new pricing on right.)

#### **Copies for Congress**

For many years, The Ukrainian Weekly provided members of the Senate and House of Representatives with gratis subscriptions to our newspaper. The thinking was that The Weekly is useful and informative, as it covers developments in Ukraine, the life of the Ukrainian American community and issues of concern to their constituents. However, due to financial considerations, exacerbated by the poor delivery of our newspaper by the U.S. Postal Service, in March 2013, we stopped mailing members of Congress copies of our newspaper.

The good news is that we are now offering their offices free access to The Ukrainian Weekly via a PDF file of each week's issue e-mailed by the Ukrainian National Information Service, the Washington office of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Our sincere thanks go out to Michael Sawkiw Jr., who agreed to this proposal and has been sending out these PDFs of our newspaper to his congressional e-mail list beginning with The Weekly issue dated November 17. The primary recipients of these e-mailings are members of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus and their staffs, plus staffers in the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations committees – more than 35 recipients in all. 2012, and at the end of 2012 we had 510 likes.) For those who may not be familiar with it, our Facebook page includes breaking news, shares of major news stories and features on Ukraine and Ukrainians, previews of what's coming up in our issues and notifications that the latest issue is out, available for subscribers to our online edition and on its way via regular mail to print subscribers. So, why not LIKE us? See https://www.facebook.com/ TheUkrainianWeekly.

#### **Rolling the credits**

This year's edition of "The Year in Review" was prepared by Roma Hadzewycz and Matthew Dubas of The Weekly's editorial staff; our part-time staffer Christine Syzonenko; our colleagues Deanna Yurchuk and Lesia Lebed; our correspondents Yaro Bihun in Washington and Oksana Zakydalsky in Toronto; and Ihor Stelmach, our sports columnist. Credit for the layout goes to our layout artist Stepan Slutsky.

The articles in this year's four-part yearender (January 12, 19 and 26, and February 2) were prepared based on stories about events of 2013 that appeared in The Weekly – those written by our staffers and regular correspondents, as well as many submitted by community activists from cities and towns across North America. Thank you, thank you, thank you to all of these community-minded individuals. Let's keep up our partnership!

Incidentally, our editorial of June 23, 2013, was addressed to readers in an effort to improve cooperation between them and us; it includes some friendly advice on how to submit materials to The Weekly and is a good guide for anyone who wants to send us stories, information, photos, etc.

As we bring to a close our "2013: The Year in Review," our parting message is: we look forward to working with all of you in 2014 and beyond.

## New pricing for subscriptions

#### Dear Readers:

We heard your voices. Last year in March, when the announcement was made that The Ukrainian Weekly was considering going to an all-digital format, some of you accepted that possibility, some did not respond, while others protested. At that time, the Ukrainian National Association, our publisher calculated that the yearly cost to print and deliver our newspaper to a reader was about \$110, and therefore the UNA might have to raise the price for a print subscription to \$100 for UNA members and \$125 for non-members.

In December, the UNA Executive Committee made the decision to continue the print edition of The Weekly and to set the prices for a year's subscription at \$80 for members and \$90 for non-members. The price for an online subscription, \$40, remains the same. For those who receive the print edition, an online subscription costs only \$5 more; that is, UNA members can get both print and online subscriptions for \$85, while the price for non-members is \$90.

Prices for Svoboda, the Ukrainian-language weekly published by the UNA, are the same as those for The Weekly.

The Weekly's Toronto correspondent, Oksana Zakydalsky, was honored on with the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal, which was bestowed by the Canadian government and presented on September 26 by Ukrainian Canadian Congress President Paul Grod.

#### To conclude, some numbers

Reader support for our newspaper continued to be very strong. A total of \$25,498.12 was received in donations to The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund during 2013. We express heartfelt thanks to all our donors – your contributions help ensure that our newspaper continues to be published.

As of December 31, 2013, our Facebook page had 1,430 likes. (We had inaugurated our Facebook page in July

The new prices for subscriptions are effective as of February 1. (Readers whose subscriptions run out on or after that date, will have to pay the new price. If your subscription is still current, there is no need for any additional payment.)

Thank you, Dear Readers, for your years of support for The Ukrainian Weekly. We trust that you will remain our loyal readers.



#### FOR THE HISTORICAL RECORD

## Ukraine's Euro-Maidan: a timeline through December 17

#### by Zenon Zawada

The timeline below covers major developments of December 11 through December 17, 2013, when President Viktor Yanukovych of Ukraine signed a deal with President Vladimir Putin of Russia that closed the door to an Association Agreement for Ukraine with the European Union.

Since December 17, the Euro-Maidan protests, which began as a demonstration of public demand for Ukraine's signing of an Association Agreement with the European Union, have evolved into a struggle about the very future of *Ukraine and its people. (Part 1 of this timeline, covering the* events of November 21 through the early morning of December 11, appeared in The Weekly's December 22-December 29, 2013, issue.)

#### **December 11**

· Several thousand Berkut special forces and internal army soldiers are deployed during the early morning to forcibly disperse the Euro-Maidan. The attack comes as EU Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Minister Catherine Ashton and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs Victoria Nuland are spending the night in Kyiv. In various stages, the police storm the maidan from the hilltop of Instytutska Street, from both ends of the Khreshchatyk, and from Mykhailivska Streets, on the maidan's north side. Barricades were established on all these streets.

• 1- 2 a.m. – Massive shoving matches that are to last the whole night begin between thousands of police and Euro-Maidan protesters. Police begin to dismantle the barricades on Instytutska Street and the Khreshchatyk at the intersection with Khmelnytsky Street. The first incursion is made on Mykhailivska Street, where the Berkut break through the barricades, enabling maintenance workers to dismantle the debris and toss it onto trucks. Women are forced to gather in front of the stage, from which Ruslana calls upon protesters to stay calm and peaceful, and urges the police to stop fulfilling illegal commands.

• 2-3 a.m. – Police break through the barricades on the east end of Khreshchatyk and begin forcing back protesters in intense shoving matches. They also break through a human chain on Instytutska Street, pressing their way down towards the maidan and forcing protesters to the side by making incisions through the crowds. They eventually reach Khreshchatyk, blocking the ability of protesters to shuttle between the maidan stage and the Trade Union Building, which serves as the Euro-Maidan headquarters. Maintenance workers remove barricades at the intersection of Instytutska and Khreshchatyk. About 500 women huddle in front of the stage, from which Ruslana repeatedly sings the national anthem. She continues to urge the police not to shame Ukraine, repeating that it's a peaceful protest. The crowds are shouting, "Kyiv, rise up!" and "Together until the end!" Svoboda National Deputy Andrii Illyenko joins a group trying to push back the police but falls and receives 10 blows from batons to his head, hearing cursing ctor Glasko

and shouts of, "Banderivtsi, we will kill you!" Several dozen people are captured by police and thrown off the maidan territory. At the top of Mykhailivska Street, St. Michael Cathedral sounds its bells in support of the maidan. Activist Tetiana Chornovol ties herself up with a towing cable which police were going to use in dismantling the barricade. At the Kyiv City Council, protesters barricade themselves inside; authorities shut the lights off and hundreds of Berkut and Internal Army forces gather outside.

 3-4 a.m. – Protesters resisting the police swell to about 3,000, including presidential candidate Vitali Klitschko of the Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform (UDAR). Arseniy Yatsenyuk, parliamentary faction chair of the Batkivshchyna party, joins the barricade defense at Mykhailivska Street. Journalist Mustafa Nayem reports at 3:17 a.m.: "It's now dangerous on the Maidan because the police and people dressed as road maintenance workers are beating protesters and trying to knock them off their feet." At 3:24 a.m., Mr. Klitschko declares from the stage, "Don't use force. We don't have weapons. This is a peaceful protest. We don't want to live in a police state. We will demand not only the government's resignation, but the president's resignation too." Soon afterwards, shoving matches intensify on Instytutska Street. By 3:34 a.m., the

protesters are reported to have lost control of the Instytutska barricades. A tight crowd of 500 protesters are all that's restraining the police from taking the street under control. Opposition deputies credit the "unmotivated behavior" of the "more passive" internal army forces, mostly guys in the late teens and early 20s, that "practically rescued Kyiv from a massacre," reports Ukrayinska Pravda journalist Serhiy Leshchenko. The Kyiv City Council restores its electricity and prepares for an invasion by hundreds of police who are lined up outside. Mr. Illyenko is again beaten on his head in front of the building and is rushed to a hospital for stitches.

• 4-5 a.m. – The police on Instytutska Street spray tear gas at protesters in an attempt to force them down the hill to the Maidan. Smoke grenades go off, the shoving matches continue. Unconscious victims, including a Berkut officer, are carried away. Mr. Yatsenyuk declares from the stage that Mr. Yanukovych "spit in the face of the U.S., Europe and 46 million Ukrainians." Mr. Klitschko approaches the internal army soldiers on Instytutska Street and chats with them. The Trade Union building evacuates its journalists with the Euro-Maidan leadership preparing for it to be

(Continued on page 14)

## Statement by Yulia Tymoshenko about the events of December 17

Below are excerpts of a statement by Yulia Tymoshenko that was released on December 19, 2013, in the Kachanivska prison of Kharkiv, where the former prime minister and opposition leader remains imprisoned. The full text appears on her website, www.tymoshenko.ua.

so hard to gain over the past 22 years. Yanukovych didn't singlehandedly decide to hand over control of Ukraine to the Russian Federation. This decision was reached by a consensus of all the leaders of the major oligarch clans with whom Yanukovych runs Ukraine.

If we put this off until 2015 we will lose Ukraine. ... As long as Yanukovych is in power, the existence of an independent Ukrainian state is under threat. ...

I also appeal to the democratic world: don't leave Ukraine alone with the club of post-Soviet dictators, don't let them break the people that went out onto the Euro-Maidan despite blood and fear. Strengthen the faith of the Ukrainian people in the values that the democratic world has been fighting for so hard. ...

Euro-Maidan protesters stack garbage to form a barrier against police forces lined along Mykhailivska Street during the December 11 police assault.



On December 17, 2013, Viktor Yanukovych changed the course of history. By signing a package of public and secret documents with Vladimir Putin, he deliberately put Ukraine under the political, military, energy, financial and economic control of the Russian Federation. ...

What Yanukovych did on December 17, 2013, is much worse than simply joining the Customs Union. These were the first irreversible changes. Yanukovych no longer has the political freedom to make any independent decisions on the international arena. As of December 17, 2013, any steps by Ukraine towards Europe, including the signing of an Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union, are impossible.

On December 17, 2013, Yanukovych annulled Ukraine as an independent entity, as a full-fledged participant in international politics, and put all international level decisions that concern Ukraine in the hands of Vladimir Putin. ..

On December 17, we as a country were stripped of all the independence from our northern neighbor that we worked

This board of oligarch advisors consists of nine individuals. They, along with Yanukovych, made the decision to merge Ukraine with Russia on the molecular level with the complete surrender of the country as a sovereign state. ... They also began the process of unification, which will include the creation of private Russian-Ukrainian megacorporations. They will soon privatize the remaining state monopolies in Ukraine in all spheres, from military to information

Yanukovych and his oligarchs agreed to the merger of Ukraine and Russia for the sole reason of maintaining political power and misappropriating state resources of Ukraine. They decided they can do this only under the cover and protection of a new post-Soviet empire. ....

The only way out of this dangerous situation is the immediate peaceful removal of Yanukovych from power through constitutional means based on the will of the people. The removal of Yanukovych, not his marionettes - the government, NSDC [National Security and Defense Council] or individual ministers.

All this is allowed to go on while Yanukovych drowns the peaceful student maidan in blood, brings new criminal charges against civil society leaders and activists every day and throws them in jail, ignores the will of the people to be part of a united Europe. ...

My last appeal is to the opposition. Don't be afraid of anything! Lead the Ukrainian people to victory over dictatorship by uniting your efforts with the democratic world. The only thing you can't do is give up and find a convenient reason to retreat. Don't leave the maidans until a new. democratic, pro-European president is elected early in Ukraine and the entire system of life in Ukraine begins to change. To retreat now and stop fighting would be the worst betrayal of the Ukrainian people.

I trust that no Ukrainian will allow this! Glory to Ukraine!

#### Ukraine's Euro-Maidan...

#### (Continued from page 13)

stormed. Fierce shoving matches erupt at its entrance as the police close in. At the Kyiv City Council building, demonstrators pour water on its steps, the Khreshchatyk sidewalk and the street itself, which soon freezes in the 10-degree (Fahrenheit) temperature.

• 5-6 a.m. – The maidan swells to an estimated 15,000 supporters, ensuring that it will survive the day. Scores arrive owing to free rides offered by taxi drivers. UDAR National Deputy Pavlo Rozenko reports that with the Berkut awaiting the command to clean out the maidan, "What saved us was the people joining our ranks."

• National Deputy Volodymyr Ariev reports that a group of demonstrators fended off provocateurs who arrived with swastikas on their helmets and tear gas canisters in their hands. In front of the Trade Union building, former Defense Minister Anatoliy Grytsenko approaches police one by one, urging them to leave. The Internal Affairs Ministry reports 10 injured Internal Army soldiers from the night. It also reports arresting eight protesters, all of whom were released.

• 7 a.m. – Euro-Maidan participants celebrate their victories by holding up cellphones as lights and singing the national anthem.

• Three buses containing Berkut special forces pull up to the Kyiv City Council building and block its entrance at about 8:45 a.m. About 200 protesters barricaded inside begin pouring water on the buses and the Berkut officers. About the same time, more than 300 protesters swarm a fourth bus that approaches at the intersection of Khmelnytsky Street, push it away and force it to drive off in retreat. By about 10:15 a.m., the Berkut forces at the Kyiv City Council entrance begin to retreat to the crowd's applause.

• At about 10:30 a.m., Ms. Nuland arrives at the Euro-Maidan to hand out sandwiches and cookies to both protesters and police.

• Prime Minister Mykola Azarov tells his weekly Cabinet of Ministers meeting that the EU leadership is observing the protests yet not offering any aid. In particular, Ukraine needs \$27 billion in non-repayable aid, he says. He later states, "There will never be any force used against peaceful protesters, understood? What's happening is only a clearing of roads to ensure the life of Kyiv." His message to protesters is, "Don't provoke law enforcement officers to clashes. That already won't be peaceful protests."

• Internal Affairs Minister Vitaliy Zakharchenko issues a statement insisting "there won't be any dispersal of the maidan. No one is violating the rights of citizens to peaceful protest. However the rights and legal interests of other citizens can't be ignored. The normal functioning of the capital can't be violated." He says, "The city's main transportation arteries are blocked by barricades, the necessity and expediency of



Presidential contender Vitali Klitschko and pop star Ruslana look with dread from the Euro-Maidan stage at the clashes during the December 11 police assault.

its European future, which requires applying security measures and renewing talks with the EU and IMF leadership.

• Ms. Ashton meets with Mr. Yanukovych, during which he says he's open to dialogue with the opposition and notes his desire to sign the EU Association Agreement. She expresses her deep concern for the morning's events in a statement: "I condemn the use of force and violence which can't be an answer to peaceful demonstrations, and I call for maximum restraint." She also tells Mr. Yanukovych of the need to release those arrested and to investigate and prosecute those responsible for the excessive use of force. In a TV interview that evening, Ms. Ashton says the EU won't interfere with the dialogue that's supposed to occur between the government and opposition, "but we're ready to offer our support."

 A Kyiv district court fines Yurii Bolotov and Vladyslav Zahovorko, arrested during the December 1 clashes on Bankova Street, before releasing them on bail. A Kyiv appellate court releases Mykola Lazarevskyi, also arrested December 1, under house arrest. Kyiv courts release Hennadii Cherevko and Serhii Nuzhnenko on their own recognizance. Both were arrested during the December 1 clashes. A Kyiv district court decides to arrest for two months Viktor Smolii, the lawyer for Andrii Dzyndzia, a journalist with the Dorozhnyi Kontrol (Road Monitoring) news site. Mr. Smolii is suspected of attempting to kill a Kyiv district judge; Mr. Dzyndzia is arrested for allegedly using a front wheel loader to storm the Presidential Administration on December 1 (he says he merely climbed it to get a better view to take pictures). A Kyiv district court arrests for two months Roman Teslenko, a student suspected of organizing mass disturbance at the Kyiv City Council building, the day it was occupied by the opposition.

• Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Viktor Ratushniak says the police don't rule out using further force in dismantling the remaining barricades in central Kyiv.

#### December 12

nine arrested during the December 1 clashes on Bankova Street, is released. He suffered a concussion, broken fingers, a bruised rib cage and wounds throughout his body.

• Oleh Blokhin, the head coach of the Kyiv Dynamo football team, says he doesn't support the Euro-Maidan, which "creates problems for average Kyivans. We can't drive into the city. That's not right. People have the right to defend their position, but as a Kyivan I can't drive into the city center and take my kids to the Christmas tree."

• Billionaire Victor Pinchuk says the Euro-Maidan has made him think about his responsibility as a businessman and citizen "in order to do everything possible to achieve a peaceful and constructive resolution." The Euro-Maidan's greatest achievement was that Ukrainian civil society demonstrated its strength, he tells the Financial Times. "Not that people are making a choice in favor of a certain political agreement. But that free citizens are forming their beliefs and speaking about them. Nothing can be stronger," he said. "That gives me enormous optimism regarding the future of our country."

• Mr. Yatsenyuk declares three demands of the Euro-Maidan: holding accountable those who gave the commands to disperse the maidan, releasing all those illegally arrested as maidan activists and dismissing those responsible for the country's economic and political crisis.

• Thugs set fire to the car of Svoboda National Deputy Ihor Shvaika, an active Euro-Maidan supporter in his native Kharkiv. He was at a maternity ward at the time as his daughter Ivanka was born on December 11. The same day, thugs damage the car of UDAR activist Dmytro Bilotserkivets. All four tires are pierced and spray-painted were the words, "Udar za maidan" (A strike for the maidan).

• Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Minister Leonid Kozhara says the government will resort to foreign intermediaries in the nation's political crisis as a last resort. "It seems that it's an extreme measure that would show the inability of both the government and opposition for constructive dialogue," he says, as reported by the Interfax-Ukrayina news agency. "And if that happens, then we, of course, can use the services of some very influential intermediaries. • Party of Regions National Deputy Vadym Kolesnichenko threatens to bring citizen brigades from southeastern Ukraine to Kyiv during the weekend. "In Sevastopol, more than 800 people expressed the desire to form self-defense detachments to defend the state order and Constitution," he tells a regional TV station. "In Crimea, such divisions have already been created in each town." He accuses the opposition of launching a state overthrow. "These are not the barricades of peaceful citizens," he said. "These are the barricades of bankrupt politicians who dragged Ukraine into the beginning of an escalated civil confrontation."

• The government is planning to conduct provocations against the Euro-Maidan during the weekend, says Mr. Yatsenyuk. The provocations are aimed at introducing a state of emergency and using the army, he says. The Dzerkalo Tyzhnia weekly newspaper reports that the Defense Ministry was ordered to provide food, fuel and lodging for 200,000 demonstrators during the weekend, citing a source in the National Security and Defense Council. Batkivshchyna National Deputy Hennadii Moskal says the SBU is planning provocations with the help of Russian special forces.

 The leadership of the First National TV network is requiring its employees to portray the Euro-Maidan in a negative light, reports network cameraman Roman Malko on his Facebook page. The problem is not with journalists or cameramen, but with the management of television networks, he writes. "I was given the assignment yesterday of recording BUMS on the Maidan!!! BUMS THAT AREN'T THERE !!!!!," he writes. "With the goal of showing all of Ukraine that bums are standing in Kyiv, not normal people with their own idea who are trying to make a contribution to the country's development. It's all lies !!!!!! WE'RE BEING FORCED !!!!!!!!!..."

• Kyiv City State Administration Chair Oleksandr Popov says the government made a mistake in storming the Kyiv City Council building on December 11. He says he didn't participate in its planning or execution, which isn't the function of his position. "I had information that no forceful measures are planned and no actions regarding the Kyiv City State Administration are planned," Mr. Popov says. "I don't know why that happened and why a purely provocative moment resulted."

• Russian opposition activist Boris Nemtsov is informed at Kyiv Boryspil airport that the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) has forbidden his entry into Ukraine. Ten days earlier, he had led a protest in support of the Euro-Maidan at the Ukrainian Embassy in Moscow, where he was arrested. "Yanukovych has gone down the path of [Belarusian President Alyaksandr] Lukashenka. He also didn't permit me," Nemtsov says. "Now entry into Belarus is open, but not to Kyiv."

#### **December 13**

• In the first protest at the residences of top government officials, about 30 Democratic Alliance activists travel to the suburban mansion of National Security and Defense Council (NSDC) Chair Andrii Kliuyev to demonstrate against his pressure on TV networks to censor the news.

• Ukraine's biggest oligarch, Rinat Akhmetov, issues a statement calling upon politicians and "moral leaders" to negotiate a resolution to the political crisis. "Ukraine and the president went along the European path for three and a half years and very much was done during that time," the statement says, concluding that Ukrainians came to the maidan to find answers as to why the EU Association Agreement was not signed. "That peaceful people came to peaceful protests says that Ukraine is a free democratic country and Ukraine won't turn from that road, and that's very healthy," the statement says, adding that it was unacceptable that people suffered during those days. He urges "cool heads and a weighted approached" to ensure common sense prevailed. • The first meeting of the Maidan Citizens Council is held to draft an action plan. More than 2.000 activists had submitted appeals to participate, says Ruslana Lyzhychko, one of the biggest advocates for minimizing the role of political parties in the Euro-Maidan.

which give rise to great doubt. ernment and

• The Kyiv City State Administration reports that the December 11 clashes resulted in 30 people seeking medical help, 15 of which were hospitalized, including six protesters and nine police officers.

• The Students Coordinating Council of National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy calls upon its students to head to the maidan, with the day's classes and exams postponed. Rector Serhiy Kvit announces plans to set up a campus at the conservatory on the maidan's south end.

• Ms. Nuland meets with Mr. Yanukovych for more than two hours, during which she tells him that the early morning's events "in terms of security measures, are absolutely unacceptable in a contemporary democratic society and state." She also tells him that Ukraine still has an opportunity to rescue • Prime Minister Azarov declares the Euro-Maidan is hurting Ukraine's ability to compete for hosting the 2022 Winter Olympics. "Of course, the current political instability in the country undoubtedly reduces our chances for successfully passing the selection round," he tells a meeting of the Olympics organizing committee. "But we're coming from the perspective that there's political instability today, while it won't be there tomorrow."

• Kyiv courts release Svoboda activists Vitalii Blahodarnyi, Oleh Matiash, as well as Viktor Radchenko, who were arrested for their involvement in clashes with police on November 24 at the Cabinet of Ministers building. The Svoboda activists are placed under house arrest. Another activist, Oleksander Ostaschenko, who was among

• A Kyiv Court releases on his own recog-

(Continued on page 15)

### Ukraine's Euro-Maidan...

#### (Continued from page 14)

nizance Valerii Harahuts, and releases under house arrest Yegor Previr, two of nine arrested during the December 1 clashes on Bankova Street. Oleksander Solonenko, arrested during the December 8 destruction of Kyiv's Lenin statue, is released and placed under house arrest.

• The December 11 forceful dispersal of the Euro-Maidan was unnecessary for the Party of Regions, Parliamentary Faction Chair Oleksandr Yefremov tells BBC Ukraine. "When the roundtable began, Maidan representatives came to express their point of view," he says. "We agreed to meet the next day and everything seemed to lead towards starting a dialogue. And these events interfered with the given dialogue. I often have the impression that someone is consciously and very professionally fueling this fire."

• Protesters at the Anti-Maidan organized at Mariyinskyi Park tell 1+1 TV reporter Nataliya Pisnia that they were forced to attend by their employer and were being paid \$37.50 per day (compared to their \$250 a month salary). Their enterprise was reregistering all employees. "You submit a dismissal statement and immediately one on being admitted. And if you don't go, the second statement isn't accepted," said a protester who identified himself as Dima from the Vinnytsia Oblast. State employees in the Zhytomyr Oblast report being forced to attend at a payment of \$50 or face dismissal.

• Prime Minister Mykola Azarov says Mr. Yanukovych will sign agreements on December 17 in Moscow that will remove most trade conflicts with Russia, including issues involving customs and standards.

• The presidential press-service announces Mr. Yanukovych's proposal to offer amnesty to all those arrested during the Euro-Maidan protests. "Even those already convicted need to be released and end the conflict on that," the statement says.

• At the national "Uniting Ukraine" roundtable attended by politicians and civic leaders, Mr. Yanukovych declares his indignation with the Berkut attack on the Euro-Maidan on December 11. "I am angered by the radical actions on the maidan, both from the side of – frankly speaking provocateurs, as well as from the side of enforcement structures, which conducted themselves not always appropriately," he says, adding that he has learned that three state officials were responsible for the attacks. Mr. Yanukovych declares a moratorium on the use of force. He indicates he won't dismiss Mr. Azarov. University students attending the roundtable represented the Regions Youth organization and had no relation to the Euro-Maidan, Ukrayinska Pravda reports. No one representing striking student organizations was invited.

 At the roundtable, Mr. Yanukovych criticizes those Ukrainian officials who prepared the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement, claiming its conditions violated Ukraine's national interests and threatening to dismiss them. He said their work would be investigated and they would certainly be removed from their positions. Ukraine stands to suffer many losses that can't be compensated by the agreement. "Ukraine can't by itself reach a decision that would optimize these losses," he says. "That's why I proposed renewing consultations with the EU and including our strategic partner Russia in that work." • UDAR Chair Klitschko tells the roundtable that Mr. Yanukovych will hold personal responsibility for how the political situation develops. Svoboda Party Chair Oleh Tiahnybok says he's aware of plans to disperse the maidan, not only with police forces but also with the army. He calls for the government's dismissal, to be followed by pre-term elections and a resetting of the

#### government.

• The Odesa Legal Academy, whose rector is National Deputy Serhii Kivalov, forces its students to travel to Kyiv to participate in the Anti-Maidan for the weekend. They are given \$37.50 and are instructed to sleep at the academy's affiliates or else face expulsion or being denied completion of a semester, the Ukrayinska Pravda news site reports. Students participating in Odesa's Euro-Maidan are expelled.

 Independent National Deputy Viktor Baloha releases documents proving the SBU was planning to use force, as well as anti-terrorist measures, since the earliest days of the Euro-Maidan, which then consisted of only a few hundred civic activists and students. On its third day on November 25. "when all that stood in the streets was a group of civic activists that got together on social networking sites, the SBU activated into combat preparedness its entire enforcement leadership in all of Ukraine's regions," the documents revealed. "An analogous command was given on the eve of the bloody battle with students," Mr. Baloha says. A third document, dated December 10, states that the level of terrorists threats are at a "potential" level, to be extended until December 31. Later that evening, the SBU confirms that its Antiterrorist Center activated its anti-terrorism units in the Kyiv Oblast starting in November, prompted by anonymous calls claiming that crowded areas were mined with bombs that could be detonated.

 The Internal Affairs Ministry issues a statement saying the Kyiv police exceeded the legally designated limits in applying force during the November 30 violent dispersal of Euro-Maidan protesters and acknowledging that certain officers violated the law. "In certain cases, the use of measures of physical influence and special measures exceeded limits necessary to fulfill police requirements and didn't lead to minimum possibilities of inflicting damage on the health of lawbreakers," the statement says. "The application of force occurred in the conditions of several event participants engaging in illegal activity in the form of active resistance, the throwing of items at special forces officers that threatened their health and life and the sawing of substances of non-established effects."

#### December 14

• Euro-Maidan activists, reacting to Dynamo Coach Blokhin's earlier statement, apologized for the inconveniences they caused, delivering a Christmas tree to the Dynamo Kyiv training base.

• U.S. Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) visits Kyiv to meet with opposition leaders and the Ukrainian foreign affairs minister before heading to the maidan. He watches that night's Okean Elzy concert from the Trade Union building.

 The government holds its Anti-Maidan, dubbed "Preserving Ukraine," on European Square, just several hundred meters from the Euro-Maidan at Independence Square. Access to outsiders is blocked by trucks, buses and Berkut police with shields. Thousands of participants are bused to Kyiv from throughout Ukraine, with the Ukrayinski Novyny news agency estimating 12,000 total participants. Organizers claim 200,000 participants, while the Internal Affairs Ministry offers an estimate of 60,000. • Titushky, or hired thugs, tell reporters they were bused to Kyiv by the Party of Regions and promised 1,000 hrv, or \$122, to provoke fights with Euro-Maidan protesters, but they declined to fulfill the orders. "We thought that we simply are going to stand," an anonymous titushko tells RFE/RL the new agency. "Just as we approached Kyiv an elder entered the bus and said, 'Whoever starts a tussle on the Maidan will get 1,000 hrv and we'll add some if everything works out.' ... We were told the Berkut would get involved and 'you

won't be seen and you'll be taken away immediately'." We approached the Euro-Maidan, saw how people stood there and very many people declined."

• Mr. Azarov tells those assembled at the Anti-Maidan that the EU required legalizing same sex marriages and sexual minority equality laws before granting visa-free travel. Not only is Ukrainian society not ready for such steps but the Church has spoken against it, he says.

• In response to Mr. Azarov's claims, EU Representative to Ukraine Jan Tombinski says the EU doesn't require legalizing same sex marriage for visa-free travel. Each EU country decides for itself how to legally address the issue of same sex marriage, he says, as reports the zaxid.net news site. As for sexual minority equality laws, he says, "The issue isn't to be more tolerant of sexual minorities. The issue is to resolve the problem of discrimination as a whole. Discrimination can be different, based on age, health status, religious views, as well as sexual. The issue is not about developing principles that only apply to sexual minorities."

• Procurator General of Ukraine Viktor Pshonka tells a press conference that four officials are responsible for the November 30 violent dispersal of protesters: National Security and Defense Council Deputy Secretary Volodymyr Sivkovych, Kyiv City State Administration Chair Oleksandr Popov, Kyiv Police Chief Valerii Koriak and his deputy, Petro Fedchuk. All of them were removed from their posts and received notices of suspicion in abusing their authority, Mr. Pshonka says. No mention is made of them being arrested or prosecuted on criminal charges.

#### December 15

• U.S. Sens. Murphy (D-Conn.) and McCain meet with Ukrainian leaders, present the draft Senate resolution and inform them that sanctions will be used should violence be employed against the Euro-Maidan. The senators report that Mr. Yanukovych assured them the government would do everything possible to ensure the civil right to peaceful demonstrations, as well as to conduct an honest and transparent investigation of the events of November 30 on Independence Square in Kyiv.

• A European Parliament delegation arrives in Ukraine with the mission of helping to resolve the political crisis. "We have the intention of supporting the resolution of the political crisis in Ukraine on the basis of the desire for the country's European course that was clearly expressed by the Ukrainian people," says EU Member of Parliament (MP) Rebecca Harms. EU MP Elmar Brok, says, "The doors for Ukraine are wide open and the Association Agreement is on the table and ready for signing." Meanwhile, members of the Polish Sejm set up a tent on the maidan.

• "The government of Ukraine is oriented towards extending negotiations with the EU to implement the Association Agreement and is working in that direction," states Vitalii Lukianenko, Mr. Azarov's press secretary.

#### **December 16**

• Customs agents in Kyiv Boryspil airport detain diplomat Vasyl Filipchuk as he was on his way to Brussels to attend an international conference on the situation in Ukraine to be attended by EU Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighborhood Policy Stefan Fule. The head of the customs rotation personally approached him and ordered his detention without explanation. Mr. Filipchuk had served as the director of European integration at the Cabinet of Ministers Secretariat. That day, he submits a statement to police saying that his life was under threat.

• Euro-Maidan activists are being called in en masse for questioning throughout Ukraine, particularly in the western oblasts, by the Internal Affairs Ministry, Procurator General's Office and Security Service of Ukraine, says Mr. Tiahnybok of Svoboda.

• The Procurator General's Office states that it found no evidence of the role allegedly played by NSDC Secretary Andrii Kliuyev in the violent dispersal of the Maidan on November 30.

#### December 17

• The Kyiv Appellate Court leaves under incarceration Volodymyr Kadura, who is suspected by law enforcement of driving the front wheel loader in the December 1 clashes on Bankova Street. Maia Moskovych, a Euro-Maidan activist in Lutsk, is sentenced to two months' house arrest for participating in a protest in which Mr. Yanukovych's portrait was paraded upside-down. She is not allowed to leave the city limits without permission from investigators, nor visit protests. She is also required to wear an electronic bracelet. A Kyiv district court releases, without charges, Oleh Panas, a Euro-Maidan protester and photographer arrested in Lviv and transported to Kyiv.

· Presidents Vladimir Putin and Yanukovych reach a deal in Moscow, the key aspects of which involve a natural gas discount by one-third to \$268.5 per 1,000 cubic meters and a \$15 billion loan at 5 percent annual interest. The gas discount is dependent on a quarterly reviewed performed by Russian gas monopoly Gazprom (controlled by Mr. Putin). The leaders do not disclose what Mr. Yanukovych offered Mr. Putin to secure these conditions, which is a source of concern for the public, including Western leaders. Mr. Putin insists Customs Union membership was not discussed. Political observers agree the deal is a lifeline to the Yanukovych administration, which was predicted by Washington economist Dr. Anders Aslund of not having more than four months to survive with its empty budget coffers. Mr. Azarov admits as much afterwards, stating the deal rescued the Ukrainian economy from "bankruptcy and collapse."



Batkivshchyna National Deputy Lesia Orobets holds a Ukrainian flag from the Euro-Maidan stage during the December 11 police assault.

## Andriana Chuchman makes dazzling debut at Met

#### by Helen Smindak

NEW YORK – At the beginning of this year, Ukrainian Canadian soprano Andriana Chuchman was preparing to make her Met debut in February, singing the role of Miranda in a Met revival of "The Enchanted Island."

Much to her surprise – and the delight of reviewers and a full house at the Met – Ms. Chuchman made a much earlier debut, filling in for an ailing Anna Netrebko as Adina in Donizetti's "L'Elisir d'Amore" on January 9.

Ms. Chuchman had been scheduled to make her official Met debut on February 26, following that of Ukrainian soprano Oksana Dyka, a native of Zhytomyr, Ukraine, who will make her first appearance on the Met stage in Borodin's "Prince Igor" on February 6.

The Canadian soprano, a native of Winnipeg, Manitoba, learned of her new posting in time to participate in a dress rehearsal before the January 9 performance of "L'Elisir." She appeared as Adina, the wealthy village girl, in the January 13 performance of "L'Elisir" as well.

Among reviewers who rhapsodized over Ms. Chuchman's performance were Zachary Woolfe of The New York Times and Judith Malafronte of the New York Classical Review.

Mr. Woolfe said Ms. Chuchman had an assured, sparkling success in her Met debut. "Moving with growing confidence through [Bartlett] Sher's conventional, cheesy show, she sang the headstrong Adina with a light, bright sunny accuracy, her voice slender but precise and expressive." He complimented Ms. Chuchman on "an irresistibly lively way with words" as she joyfully dug into the crackling consonants in a word like "scaccia."

He continued: "In her second-act duet with Dr. Dulcamara, the genial charlatan who has come to town trying to pass off cheap wine as an all-purpose elixir, her voice took on a melting fullness, shifting with exuberant vigor from long, lyrical phrases to glittering little tumbles of notes."

Though dressed as if she were the ringleader of a Risorgimento circus – an unflattering combination of bosom-baring blouse with top hat and blazer with tails – Ms. Chuchman was "able to pull it off, convincingly creating a character who's caring under a wary shell of cool," Mr. Woolfe said.

#### **Sensational Met debut**

Ms. Malafronte, who called Ms. Chuchman's Met debut sensational, described the Canadian singer's voice as "a warm, buttery soprano that could be caressing or cajoling." She said Ms. Chuchman's expressive, flexible phrasing



Andriana Chuchman

"complemented a delightful physical vivacity that makes her a valuable artist to fill the Met's light lyric Fach [German system of categorizing singers by certain voice types]."

Ms. Malafronte said the staging retained some silly moves created for Netrebko (ice-dancing, for instance) "but Chuchman... gamely took on the whole package and made it her own, earning a standing ovation."

Christine Chase Sacchi of the Manhattan School of Music reported that Ms. Chuchman "conquered hearts and ears in a dazzling Adina at the Met."

"Chuchman sparkled vocally, seducing us all with her light, agile, sweet yet powerful resonant voice which she wields with consummate acting and charm," Ms. Sacchi said.

"L'Elisir d'Amore" is sung in Italian, with Met titles available in English, German, Italian and Spanish.

Ms. Chuchman has been known to credit her operatic

success to her Ukrainian background (both parents were born in Ukraine) and the Ukrainian folk tradition, pointing out that at age 5 she began to sing Ukrainian songs with her older sister. She received her bachelor's degree in voice performance from the School of Music at the University of Manitoba.

A graduate of the Lyric Opera of Chicago's Ryan Center, she has appeared on their main stage as Yum-Yum in "The Mikado," Valencienne in "The Merry Widow" and in productions of "Die Frau ohne Schatten" and "Manon." As a member of the San Francisco Opera's prestigious Merola Program, she has appeared there as Barbarina in "Le Nozze de Figaro" and Carolina in "Il Matrimonio Segreto."

Ms. Chuchman was a prizewinner at the finals of the 2009 Neue Stimmen Competition in Germany, and received a Sullivan Foundation Encouragement Award in 2007.

#### **Recent engagements**

Her recent engagements have included Yum-Yum at the Michigan Opera Theater, Irma in "Louise" at the U.S. Spoleto Festival, an appearance at the Ravinia Festival in Italy as a guest of the "Prairie Home Companion" radio show, and Handel's "Messiah" with the International Music Foundation in Chicago.

In Canada, Ms. Chuchman made her debuts with the Edmonton Opera and the Manitoba Opera, and has given concert performances with the Toronto Symphony, Prince George Symphony and the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra.

In 2013, she sang the role of Magnolia in Jerome Kern's and Oscar Hammerstein II's groundbreaking musical "Showboat" in a three-week engagement at the Kennedy Center Opera House in Washington. Other recent U.S. engagements have included the Glimmerglass Festival in Cooperstown, N.Y., as Guinevere in "Camelot," the Bard Music Festival in upstate New York as Minka in "Le Roi Malgre Lui," Susanna in "Le Nozze di Figaro" and Cleopatra in "Guilio Cesare."

This season, in addition to her debut at the Metropolitan Opera, she is singing the title role in "Hansel und Gretel" on the Glyndebourne Opera Tour in England.

Besides the February 26 opening night of "The Enchanted Island," Ms. Chuchman will also appear in that production on March 1 and 5.

Inspired by the 18th century tradition of the pastiche, "The Enchanted Island" features music by some of the Baroque era's greatest composers and a new libretto devised and written by Jeremy Sams. A popular genre in its day, a pastiche (or pasticcio) combines existing music by one or several composers (in this case Handel, Vivaldi and Rameau) with a new text and storyline.

## Oksana Dyka to Debut at Met February 6

#### by Helen Smindak

NEW YORK – Soprano Oksana Dyka, a native of Zhytomyr, Ukraine, will make her Met debut in a new production of Alexander Borodin's rarely heard opera "Prince Igor" on February 6. She will sing the role of Yaroslavna, the emotionally fragile wife of Ihor Sviatoslavych, prince of Novhorod-Siverskyi of the Chernihiv principality of ancient Rus'.

Borodin based his four-act opera on the 12th century epic poem "Slovo o Polku Ihorevi" (The Tale of Ihor's Campaign), written by an anonymous author, recounting the unsuccessful campaign mounted in the spring of 1185 by Ihor Sviatoslavych against the Polovtsi (Cumans), Turkic nomadic tribes living in the southern part of the Don Region. It has been suggested that Borodin also incorporated material drawn from two medieval Kyivan chronicles. ranging from Elizabetta in Verdi's "Don Carlo" and Leonora in "Il Trovatore," to Desdemona in Verdi's "Otello" and the title roles in Verdi's "Aida" and Puccini's "Tosca." Her various engagements have taken her to leading opera houses in Argentina, Austria, Canada, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy and the United States.

Her future engagements include "Un Ballo in Maschera" in Tokyo, "Tosca" at the Royal Opera House in London and the Deutsche Oper in Berlin, "Tosca" and "Madama Butterfly" at the Opera Bastille, and Britten's "War Requiem" at the Bregenzer Festpiele.

Performances of "Prince Igor" are scheduled for



Known for its lush score, "Prince Igor" is also famous for its rousing Polovtsian dances.

Ms. Dyka graduated from the Tchaikovsky National Academy of Music (Kyiv Conservatory) in 2004 and was a principal soloist of the National Opera of Ukraine in Kyiv from 2003 to 2007. Winning the National Opera of Montpelier competition in 2003 landed her the title role in the Montpelier 2005 production of "Tosca."

A frequent performer in symphonic and chamber music concerts, Ms. Dyka made a highly successful Canadian debut as a soloist in Shostakovich's 14th Symphony with the I Musici orchestra in Montreal, and went on to repeat her victory with the Padova Symphony Orchestra in Italy and the Odense Symphony Orchestra in Denmark in 2007.

Ms. Dyka has performed a multitude of operatic roles,

February 6, 10, 14, 17, 21 and 24, and March 1 (matinee), 4 and 8. The March 1 production will be shown on the Met Opera's award-winning series of live transmissions to movie theaters – "The Met: Live in HD" – which gives worldwide audiences an unprecedented look at what goes into the staging of an opera at one of the world's great houses. The customary encore will probably take place on the following Wednesday, March 5.

"Slovo o Polku Ihorevi" has been the subject of debate for centuries. According to the Encyclopedia of Ukraine (edited by Danylo Husar Struk and published under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies), a wide range of scholars has demonstrated connections between "Slovo" and Ukrainian folk poetry. Ukrainians, Belarusians and Russians all consider "Slovo" as belonging to their own literature, since it is a literary monument of Kyivan Rus' to which all three East Slavic nations lay claim. However, the

#### Oksana Dyka

Encyclopedia of Ukraine study notes that no serious scholar has disputed that the poem was written in Ukraine and that much of its semantic and poetic usage is characteristically Ukrainian.

## Viktor has fallen

(Continued from page 6)

can be found in the Good Book. Reading "Exodus" one learns how Moses led his people out of Egyptian bondage, into the desert, where they wandered for 40 years before reaching the promised land of "milk and honey." No one who began that odyssey made it, not even Moses, who only looked down from a mountain top to see that his people had arrived – even as all those born and raised in captivity, and burdened with the doubting, fearful and indecisive mentality of slaves – proved incapable of doing so.

I fear Ukrainians will yet wander in an anarchical wilderness for another decade, perhaps longer, and may even be tested in the holocaust of a real revolution before they return to Europe. They will get there, eventually. Of that I have no doubt. But I do wish Ukraine had its own Moses, now.

As for my colleagues on the Euro-Maidan, it's evident they represent a new generation, men and women not reared as Soviet vassals. Being European is the only norm they aspire to. They have no intention of wearing the yoke of subservience. They leave that for Mr. Yanukovych and his ilk.

When they began their demonstrations, in late November 2013, Kyiv's protesters were shouting "Out with the bandits!" Now they are calling for "Revolution!" Their movement has spread far beyond Kyiv's Euro-Maidan. Uprisings are taking place across Ukraine, including eastern Ukraine.

To understand what is coming next, recall a nursery rhyme from your childhood. Remember how Humpty Dumpty had a great fall? The next line is "and all the king's horses and all the king's men couldn't put Humpty back together again." That's what's happening in Ukraine today. Viktor has fallen. He's cracked.

What my friends on the Euro-Maidan have sparked is now unstoppable. So I say "Godspeed" to them.

### **Tensions grow...**

#### (Continued from page 2)

tation since the end of the Cold War and the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991. Despite the Moscow elite's vivid disdain of the Yanukovych administration, for Russia, Ukraine is much more important than Syria, Libya, Iran, Serbia, the rest of former Yugoslavia or Georgia – with which Russia went to war in 2008, essentially to prevent the former Soviet republic from joining the North Atlantic Alliance and the West. There is a belief in the Moscow elite that if the West can successfully destabilize Ukraine by promoting a so-called "color revolution," the same may transpire in Russia or in other members of the Commonwealth of

## N.J. Devils to host Ukrainian Heritage Night

NEWARK, N.J. – The first-ever Ukrainian Heritage Night of the New Jersey Devils will take place on March 8 at Prudential Center, 25 Lafayette St., Newark, N.J. The event will be marked by Ukrainians proudly displaying their culture and blue and yellow colors.

The Carolina Hurricanes will be visiting the Devils for the last time this season, while Ukrainians cheer for the home team.

Doors will open at 5:30 p.m. for all to enjoy the pre-game festivities. The Iskra Ukrainian Dance Ensemble and Academy will appear with their one-of-a-kind choreography, spirited moves and colorful costumes. Strolling accordionists and bandura players will entertain before the game. Ukrainian information tables on the main concourse will include a pysanka demonstration. Many other surprises await the anticipated throngs of ice hockey enthusiasts. After the pre-game warm-ups, at 6:30 p.m., a Ukrainian Kozak will ride on the Zamboni to resurface the ice before game time. A Ukrainian quartet has been engaged to sing the U.S. national anthem before the game. During both intermissions, several dance groups will perform on the main concourse. The Prudential Center's organist will play several Ukrainian songs throughout the game.

Attendees are advised to bring their Ukrainian flags, both large and small, and to wear embroidered shirts to show their Ukrainian pride.

Group prices for tickets to the hockey game range from \$40 to \$100. Each ticket

comes with a unique Ukrainian Devils T-shirt, specifically designed for Ukrainian Heritage Night. To order tickets or to reserve group tickets, readers are advised to call Will Lamont at the Devils at 973-757-6159 and mention that you are with the Ukrainian group. Tickets may also be ordered online at www.newjerseydevils. com/ukrainian (use offer code "ukrainian").

Fund-raising opportunities are available for groups of people who would like to raise funds for their organization and sit together. For questions regarding the event and fund-raising details, readers may e-mail UkrHeritageNight.Devils@gmail.com or call 973-919-1322. In addition, they may visit our Facebook page: Ukrainian Heritage Night at NJ Devils.



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17

Independent States – countries that Moscow considers to be its client states.

According to Gen. Nikolay Bordyuzha, the secretary general of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), a Russian-led military pact of several CIS states, "color revolutions" are the main "nontraditional external threat facing the CSTO" (http://www.ng.ru/realty/2014-01-17/1\_revolutions.html). While defending Kyiv against a perceived Western-sponsored takeover, Russia's leaders believe they are fighting to secure their own political survival.

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Ділимося сумною вісткою, що 14 грудня 2013 року відійшов у вічність СВ. П. Льонгин Світенко нар. З березня 1928 року в Городку, Львівська обл., Україна. В 1951 році прибув з Міттенвальду до Філядельфії, США. Відразу був покликаний до американського війська та служив в 101 Дівізії парашутистів у Fort Brag, North Carolina. із ступенем сержанта. Довгі роки був активний в Українській католицькій церкві свв. Петра і Павла у Williamstown, NJ, співав в хорі та турбувався подіями в Україні. Чітко підтримував українську справу та організації у Філядельфії і світі. У смутку залишилися: - Стефанія з дому Лозинська дружина - Роман з дружиною Анджелею і дітьми Алексис та син Романом з дружиною Діною і їхнім сином Лукою - Володимира Брунінґгавс з чоловіком Павлом і донька дітьми Крістою та Матвієм з дружиною Кері д-р Зенон з дружиною Лідою і дітьми Аріяною син і Віктором сестра - Ніля Павлюк з чоловіком Борисом та синами Борисом, Ігорем і Маркіяном з їхніми родинами братова - Іванка з сином Ігорем з родиною племінники: Тарас Ковальчин Аркадій Федьків і Тарас Світенко з родинами племінниці: Зеня Брожина, Дзвінка Процюк, Оксана Бабич і Христина Білінська з родинами близька родина: Ірена Ґрамозлі, Олена Гич і Андрій Лозинський з родинами

родина в США й Україні: Світенко, Лозинські, Панків, Бурда, Гнатишак, Павлишин і Мельник.

Похоронні відправи відбулися в середу, 18 грудня 2013 року в Українській католицькій церкві свв. Петра і Павла у Williamstown, NJ, а відтак та церковному цвинтарі.

#### Вічна Йому пам'ять!

Пожертви в пам'ять Покійного родина просить складати на:

- United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Inc. 'Orphans of Lviv",
- 1205 Cottman Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19111
- Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center
- 700 Cedar Rd., Jenkintown, PA 19046
- Ukrainian Radio Hour (860AM), c/o Mr. Y. Nakonechny 1205 Cottman Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19111

## NEWSBRIEFS

#### (Continued from page 2)

in Europe (OSCE) on January 22 called on the Ukrainian authorities to halt the violence against media and thoroughly investigate all incidents involving journalists. "I am especially alarmed that most of the journalists received injuries from stun grenades and rubber bullets used by the police during recent events," Ms. Mijatović said in a letter to Foreign Affairs Minister Leonid Kozhara. "In some cases, journalists reportedlv were specifically targeted by the law enforcement despite clear identification as members of the media." According to reports, the cases of violence against members of the media are increasing and more than 30 journalists from various media outlets, including Novaya Gazeta, Vesti, Spilno TV, Radio Svoboda, 1+1, Channel 5 and many others, were severely injured while fulfilling their professional duties covering public protests in Kyiv. "Journalists' safety must be guaranteed at all times and those responsible for the crimes against journalists must be brought to justice to prevent an environment of intimidation, fear and impunity," Ms. Mijatović said, adding that she is ready to visit Kyiv to help the authorities find ways to reverse this disturbing trend. (OSCE)

#### Canadian minister visits Kyiv

OTTAWA – Andrew Bennett, Canada's ambassador for religious freedom, on January 26 concluded a visit to Ukraine, during which he expressed Canada's ongoing concern about violations of basic freedoms and reinforced Canada's commitment to the Ukrainian people. The visit came after Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird requested that Ambassador Bennett visit Kviv following threats to the religious freedom of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic

Church and the intimidation of members of its institutions. "The new laws passed by President Viktor Yanukovych give the Ukrainian government, police and security services harsh new powers that severely limit individual rights and freedoms," said Ambassador Bennett. "This is fundamentally inconsistent with democratic practice and of grave concern to all who are committed to a free and democratic Ukraine." He added, "As Minister Baird has made clear, Canada strongly condemns the deplorable use of violence against protesters by Ukrainian authorities. Canada strongly supports the Ukrainian people, who have spoken out courageously in support of a free and democratic Ukraine." While in Kyiv, Ambassador Bennett met with various clergy, including Patriarch Sviatoslav of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and Patriarch Filaret of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church - Kyivan Patriarchate. "Canada notes the important and crucial role played by the clergy and faithful of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and many other religious leaders during the past weeks in encouraging dialogue between all parties and praying for peace in Ukraine," Ambassador Bennett commented. (Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, Canada)

#### Kravchuk warns of 'civil war'

KYIV - Former Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk on January 29 told the Verkhovna Rada the country is on the verge of a "civil war" and urged lawmakers to act with utmost responsibility. He was speaking during the Parliament's special session held to debate the possible amnesty for demonstrators detained during two months of anti-government protests and other unrest. The session was then adjourned while the opposition and

(Continued on page 19)

With deep sorrow we announce that our beloved father, brother and uncle

## Lubomyr Czubatyj

passed away on January 10, 2014 at the age of 72 at Milford Hospital in Milford, CT.

Lubomyr was born in Horodenka, Ukraine to the late Wolodmyr and Myroslava Czubatyj. He came to the United States in 1950 at the age of 7, was a graduate of Bullard-Haven Technical School and served in the U.S. Army Reserves. He was employed at Fletcher-Thompson as a construction engineer for 48 years.

Lubko was an active parishioner at Holy Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church in Bridgeport, CT, where he served as Treasurer of the Church Committee. He was a co-chairman of the Connecticut State Ukrainian Day Committee and served as chairperson for the annual Ukrainian Day Festival held on the grounds of St. Basil College Seminary in Stamford, CT. He was also a member of the Ukrainian-American Club in Southport, CT where he served as Treasurer. He and his late wife were devoted supporters of the community of Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate motherhouse facility in Sloatsburg, N.Y., which was very special and dear to their hearts. His generosity and loving spirit will be missed by his family and many friends.





He was the beloved husband of the late Zenovia, and is survived by: Andrew of Seymour, CT sons Michael of Milford, CT Jerome and his wife Marie of Milford, CT brother companion Marian Kozanski of Stamford, CT and several nieces and nephews.

A panachyda service was held on Monday, January 13, 2014 at Pistey Funeral Home in Stratford, CT.

Funeral services were held on Tuesday, January 14, 2014 at Holy Protection of the BVM Ukrainian Catholic Church in Bridgeport, CT followed by interment at St. John Cemetery in Stratford, CT.

In lieu of flowers, contributions in Lubomyr's memory can be made to either Holy Protection of the BVM Church, 255 Barnum Ave., Bridgeport, CT 06610 or to the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, 9 Emmanuel Dr, Sloatsburg, NY 10974.

May his memory be eternal!

### **NEWSBRIEFS**

#### (Continued from page 18)

President Viktor Yanukovych's ruling party tried to reach a compromise. The opposition wants unconditional amnesty for scores of detained protesters. A draft proposed by the Party of Regions says amnesty is possible only if demonstrators clear the streets and vacate government buildings they now occupy, a demand the opposition has so far rejected. (RFE/RL)

#### Yulia to protesters: press on

KYIV – Ukraine's jailed former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko has urged Euro-Maidan demonstrators to press on with their demands. The appeal came in a statement read out by Ms. Tymoshenko's daughter, Eugenia, at a news conference in Kyiv on January 28. "Do not stop going forward," Yulia Tymoshenko said. "Rely only on yourselves and on your unity. Get a full and complete victory. If you stop now without a full victory, then all of the sacrifices which were already made by Ukrainians in their selfless fight will be in vain." (RFE/RL)

#### Kozhara: laws meet democratic standards

KYIV - The laws passed by the Verkhovna Rada on January 16 meet democratic standards and implement into Ukrainian legislation the norms existing in most European countries, Ukraine's Minister for Foreign Affairs Leonid Kozhara said at a meeting with U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey Pyatt and the head of the European Union Delegation to Ukraine, Ambassador Jan Tombinski. According to a January 17 release from the press service of the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry: "Kozhara has noted that the laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on January 16, 2014, are aimed at implementing into the Ukrainian legislation a number of rules that already exist in the laws of most European countries, and comply with internationally accepted democratic standards and international practices." Mr. Kozhara also urged foreign diplomats "to be objective and balanced in assessments of internal processes in Ukraine, and avoid unilateral statements and comments that do not reflect the real state of affairs." (Ukrinform)

#### PM: opposition aims to create chaos

KYIV - Ukrainian Prime Minister Mykola Azarov said on January 18 that he is confident that the opposition's actions are aimed at creating chaos in the country. Mr. Azarov wrote this on his page on Facebook, responding to a request from one of the users to "protect" him against the lawlessness of the opposition. "I think that we are pursuing the right policy. Every day increasingly more people admit that we are right. Do not forget that many people are still under the influence of these false slogans and promises [by opposition members], but these are also our people - citizens of Ukraine. So it's necessary to work with them," he wrote. (Ukrinform)

#### Farewells for slain Maidan activists

KHARKIV - Funerals took place on January 26 of 21-year-old Serhii Nihoyan and 25-year-old Mykhailo Zhyzneyskyi. both shot and killed on Hrushevsky Street in Kyiv on January 22. Over 1,000 people took part in Mr. Nihoyan's funeral in the village of Bereznuvativka, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Radio Svoboda reported his father said, "Maidan must hold out. My son died for Ukraine." Mr. Nihoyan's parents sought refuge in Ukraine from the violence over Nagorno-Karabakh shortly before their son was born. The funeral was organized by the Armenian diaspora. Serhii Nihoyan had served as one of the voluntary defenders of the Maidan since December. In Kviv. thousands of Euro-Maidan activists and other Kyiv residents came to bid farewell to Mr. Zhyznevskyi, who had come to Ukraine about 10 years ago from his native Belarus seeking refuge from persecution. In Ukraine he was active in the nationalist UNA-UNSO movement. (Kharkiv Human Rights Group)

### Russia props...

#### (Continued from page 4)

required of him.

Indeed that was the opposition's biggest victory this week, observers said. Far more important than Mr. Azarov's resignation was the January 28 parliamentary vote to cancel the so-called "dictatorship laws" that severely restricted freedoms of speech and assembly, which were criticized by high-ranking Western diplomats.

The dictatorship laws - which forbid, among other things, burning firewood in public places, traveling in motorcades of more than five cars and wearing hard hats - were believed by political experts to have laid the legal groundwork for a violent dispersal of the Euro-Maidan, which was widely expected to happen the night of January 28. That day, Presidential Administration Chair Andriy Kliuyev tried to recruit enough national deputies to conduct a vote approving a state of emergency. But 40 national deputies loyal to Mr. Akhmetov and 38 deputies loyal to banking magnate Sergey Tigipko refused to support it, Ms. Bohoslovska told the Channel 5 TV network that day. Mr. Akhmetov called a meeting of the nation's six biggest oligarchs on January 25 that didn't include the president, reported The Insider. Among those attending was Mr. Firtash, who along with Mr. Akhmetov have been the targets of protests in London, whether outside their luxury apartments or the London Stock Exchange.

mats in recent months and it's widely believed they warned him of possible sanctions on his bank accounts and travel to be imposed by Western governments if violence erupts.

His biggest holding company, System Capital Management, released a statement the day of the oligarchs' meeting in which he condemned violent methods to resolve the civil conflict and urged a peaceful solution.

"For years Akhmetov has been the 'business director' of the Donbas, with Yanukovych as his political director," said Volodymyr Fesenko, the board chairman of the Penta Center for Applied Political Research in Kyiv. "Yanukovych become president thanks to Akhmetov and he's the single oligarch who can directly call the president and influence his position."

Also on January 25, Mr. Yanukovych fered the opposition leaders a chance to serve in the government, proposing the prime minister's seat to Arseniy Yatsenyuk and the vice prime ministership of humanitarian affairs to Vitali Klitschko. Both rejected the offer. First Vice Prime Minister Serhii Arbuzov, an insider in the Yanukovych business clan, is currently serving as the acting prime minister. Demonstrating his eagerness to remain as prime minister, he issued a statement on January 28 expressing his sorrow to the families of victims of the violence, as well as injured journalists. Mr. Arbuzov had actively promoted the establishment of an action plan to sign the EU Association Agreement, which had the support of EU Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fule but was rejected by Mr. Yanukovych.

## Turning...

#### (Continued from page 6)

citizen of Ukraine; and the declaration by the Constitutional Court that the constitutional amendments enacted in 2004 were, in fact, unconstitutional, reverting Ukraine to a presidential republic, Prof. Colton continued.

The lack of checks and balances, a result of the creation of a pro-government majority in Parliament and the revision of the Constitution, created a scenario where no government body has the will or ability to stand up to the president or his administration, Prof. Colton added. He also outlined how the corrupt judiciary plays a part in the president's administration and blamed the Orange leaders who were supposed to change things, and accomplished nothing permanent.

Other panelists included Tammy Lynch, a former research fellow at the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology and Policy at Boston University, and Oxana Shevel, assistant professor of political science at Tufts University, and an associate of HURI and of Harvard's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies.

Dr. Lynch commented on the lack of political pluralism in Ukraine, attacks on journalists (two had been murdered during

### The unaddressed...

#### (Continued from page 3)

Furthermore, Moscow is likely to influence Ukrainian policy by defending its own agenda in meetings with European Union officials. During the January 28 Russia-EU Summit in Brussels, President Vladimir Putin stated that the solvency and structural reforms of the Ukrainian economy are a "principal issue" for Russia – Ukraine must be able to pay back the Russian debt (RBC TV, January 28). Nevertheless, on January 23, Gazprom revealed that Ukraine's debt for last year's gas supplies totaled \$2.7 billion, and set a deadline for repayment for January 25, thus exposing Ukraine's poor financial situation (RIA Novosti, January 23).

On January 24, Mr. Putin's assistant, Yuriy Ushakov, insisted that Russia "emphasized non-interventionism" toward the domestic situation in Ukraine. Yet he added, "But this does not mean that we do not have contacts with various representaYanukovych's first year as president), and the West's "Ukraine fatigue" of inaction based on opportunities wasted time and again.

Dr. Lynch also was critical of the regime's u-turn on the Holodomor, and the attacks on the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. She also questioned why the Donetsk court did not revoke at least 20 other award recipients who were Soviet citizens, not citizens of Ukraine. There is an opposition that still exists in Ukraine, Dr. Lynch added, and the regime cannot easily pursue its full agenda. However, the regime supports extremists to undermine the reformers.

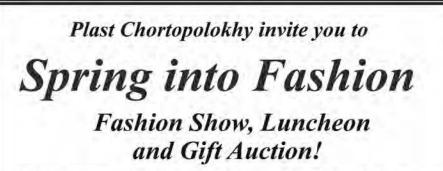
During the study group session on the second day, scholars examined how the Yanukovych regime has reined in all major government institutions under its control that could have acted as a counterweight to the presidential powers. Other panelists suggested that Mr. Yanukovych wanted to turn Ukraine into one big Donetsk, criticized his lack of fear of Russian intervention in Ukraine, and noted the West's disgust with the lack of positive and permanent reforms.

Source: "HURI roundtable analyzes impact of President Yanukovych's first year," by Peter T. Woloschuk, The Ukrainian Weekly, February 20, 2011.

tives, including the most high-standing ones" (Interfax, January 24). On the same day, President Putin discussed the situation in Ukraine at a meeting of the Russian Security Council (Interfax, January 24). Indeed, the perception of Russia's deep involvement in Ukraine's domestic affairs was underscored this week by apparently fake news of Moscow deploying Russian special forces to the Ukrainian city of Mykolayiv, on the coast of the Black Sea (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= IyZQ2G51e9w).

To date, none of the Ukrainian opposition parties has presented a clear strategy for how to deal with Russia's growing influence over domestic politics. But it is clear that, alongside governance reform, this explosive issue is likely to become one of key the factors that will be discussed in the next election campaign.

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Mr. Akhmetov met with Western diplo- Yan





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## The real extremists...

#### (Continued from page 8)

And now turning to your two questions which are traditionally the most difficult for me to answer: I don't know what will happen next, just as I don't know what you could now do for us. However, you can disseminate, to the extent your contacts and possibilities allow, this appeal. Also, empathize with us. Think about us. We shall overcome all the same, no matter how hard they rage. The Ukrainian people, without exaggeration, now defend the European values of a free and just society with their own blood. I very much hope that you will appreciate this.



Edited and compiled by Matthew Dubas

## SUSK delegation participates OSU Ukrainian students' society commemorates in 24th triennial UCC Congress 80th anniversary of the Holodomor in Ukraine



SUSK delegates: Mark Moroz (SUSK director of internal relations), Nadia Demko (SUSK executive vice-president), Danylo Korbabicz (SUSK past president), Christine Czoli (SUSK president), Olena Kit (SUSK alumni director), Emily Bayrachny (SUSK vice-president Central), and Alexandra Kobylecky (McMaster Ukrainian Students' Association co-president)

TORONTO - Representatives of the cuss key issues vital to our community -Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union the Canadian Museum of Human Rights, (known by its Ukrainian acronym SUSK) participated in the 24th Triennial Congress of Ukrainian Canadians held in Toronto.

SUSK delegates were: Mark Moroz, director of internal relations; Nadia Demko, executive vice-president; Danylo Korbabicz, pastpresident; Christine Czoli, president; Olena Kit, alumni director; Emily Bayrachny, central district vice-president; and Alexandra Kobylecky, co-president of the McMaster Ukrainian Students' Association.

The Congress recognized Ms. Czoli's and Mr. Korbabicz's significant contributions and service to the Ukrainian Canadian community with the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Leadership Award of Excellence.

SUSK was awarded \$25,000 for a mentoring program to foster the development of the future leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian community as part of the Ukrainian Dragons Competition, where SUSK and four other finalists pitched ideas for community development projects to a panel of six Ukrainian Dragons – leading Ukrainian Canadian entrepreneurs and philanthropists.

"I was very impressed with the discussion panels and the Ukrainian Dragons event from which SUSK received \$25,000. This money comes with a great sense of responsibility and I am very proud to be a member of the SUSK National Executive, which will ensure it is used to its maximum potential in forging the future leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian community," Mr. Moroz said.

Ms. Bayrachny noted: "It was an incredible experience, a chance to meet with the Ukrainian community as a whole and disrelations with Ukraine, engaging the next generation, and much more. Very inspiring to see our community turn out in such numbers, it really confirms the fact that we are a strong group capable of change."

"As a youth delegate who has attended the previous UCC Triennial Congress in Edmonton, attending this year's Congress was a particularly captivating experience as it brought together leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian community as well as distinguished guests who have a sincere interest in issues facing Ukraine and the hromada [Ukrainian community] here in Canada. It was a privilege to witness several high-quality speakers in the same room, participating in diverse breakout sessions and stimulating constructive discussions. This opportunity provided an engaging environment to challenge, educate and develop my own opinions. An important message was that the notion of our ethnic community is changing and youth need to be inspired and motivated to be future leaders," stated Ms. Kit.

Ms. Demko noted: "From the changing face of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada to the greater fusion of Ukrainian and Canadian arts and culture, there was truly a workshop to suit everyone's tastes. However, youth from the other provinces were underrepresented, and I hope that we can create a greater incentive to draw them to the next Congress."

SUSK congratulates Paul Grod, a former SUSK president, on his re-election as president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, and awaits the next triennial Congress that is to be held in Saskatchewan in 2016.



Oksana Rabosvuk

The OSU Ukrainian Society members (from left): Taissa Zappernick, Lesia Mural, Yuliya Vanchosovych, Orest Danylewycz, Andrew Drozd, Natalie Sywyi, Solomia Zborovska and Olesya Rabosyuk.

#### by Taissa Anna Zappernick

COLUMBUS, Ohio - On November 15, 2013, the Ukrainian Society at the Ohio State University held an event to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the Holodomor, the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine. The event was held at noon-5 p.m. in the Ohio Union.

The group members' goal was to host an event that would honor the victims of this tragedy as well as educate fellow students about the Holodomor. During the event, several informational posters and newspaper

articles were on exhibit, including information about the Famine, photos and accounts from survivors. These items were on loan from the Ukrainian Museum-Archives in Cleveland and the Center for Slavic and East European Studies at Ohio State.

Members of the Ukrainian Society were on hand at the event to answer visitors' questions. Members who attended the event include Yuliya Vanchosovych, Natalie Sywyj, Olesya Rabosyuk, Solomiya Zborovska, Marta Kotsubaev, Lesia Mural, Andrew Drozd, Orest Danylewycz and Taissa Zappernick.

## **SUSK and UCPBA-Toronto** co-host networking event

TORONTO – The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK) and the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association (UCPBA) of Toronto co-hosted a Networking Event for Students and Recent Graduates at St. Vladimir Institute in Toronto on November 21, 2013.

"I was able to talk on a personal level with professionals who I had registered to meet. I took away valuable information and advice, which I will certainly take into consideration when deciding my path to a successful career," said Boarys Brodziuk, copresident of the Ukrainian Students' Club at picked up by various organizations and community leaders, who are working together to enable youth and strengthen the community. The program is already bearing fruit, as one recent graduate walked away from the event with a new employment opportunity, another student was offered a summer internship, while a few students received part-time job offers and interviews lined up for the future.

The next step is to organize regular networking and professional development events for students and recent graduates at the local and national levels. With events that encourage Ukrainian youth to leverage their Ukrainian Canadian contacts, the youth will be able to foster a sense of identity, as well as cultivate self-development and growth, which are elements they need to become the community leaders of tomorrow, noted emcee Taras Hetmanczuk, president of the Toronto Branch of the UCPBA, and opening speaker George Horhota. The networking event was made possible by support from the Ukrainian Credit Union Limited, the New Pathway and all of the professionals who participated in the event. For more information, readers may visit www.susk.ca or www.ucpba.ca/toronto.



SUSK team for the Ukrainian Dragons Competition: Olena Kit (SUSK alumni director), Danylo Korbabicz (SUSK past president) and Christine Czoli (SUSK president)

Ryerson University.

"I learned some new skills and tactics that I will be able to use in an upcoming job. I would attend a future event and recommend it to other students," said Ola Sawicka, a recent University of Guelph graduate.

Wasyl Luczkiw, president of the Ukrainian National Youth Federation, noted, "It is events like these which open many doors and create opportunities for our Ukrainian Canadian youth by providing them with contacts they need to become successful in the future."

The initiative was inspired by the work of Dr. George Foty, and the task has been

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Through April 21 Winnipeg, MB	Exhibit, "Money, Sovereignty and Power: The Paper Currency of Revolutionary Ukraine, 1917-1920," University of Saskatchewan, Oseredok Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center, 204-942-0218	February 10 Cambridge, MA	Sem Shoo Har or h
Through April 16 San Francisco	Exhibit marking the 200th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, "Life and Work of the Greatest Ukrainian Poet, Artist and Prophet," San Francisco Public Library Main Branch, 415-398-0240 ext. 2	February 15 Washington	Win She Was zabo
February 3 Cambridge, MA	Seminar with Christian Raffensperger, "What is a Riurikid? Situational Kinship and Identity in Medieval Eastern Europe," Harvard University, 617-495-4053	February 15 New York	Lect and She
	or huri@fas.harvard.edu	February 15	Cond
February 8 Chicago	Film screening, "The Lion and the Lioness" by Irena Kowal, Ukrainian National Museum,	Galesburg, IL	Knox 302
	www.ukrainiannationalmuseum.org	February 16	Conc
February 8 New York	Book launch, "100 Nahirny Churches. Book 1: The Churches of Vasyl Nahirny" (Lviv, 2013), by Khristina	Chicago	Muh Mod
	Lew, Shevchenko Scientific Society, 212-254-5130	February 21-22 Phoenix, AZ	Wild perf
February 8 Kenmore, NY	Wine-tasting, Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 97, St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church Hall, 716-984-4886		Mar 602
		February 22	Mas
February 8 New York	Book presentation, "Strings Attached: One Tough Teacher and the Gift of Great Expectations," by Joanne Lipman	Ottawa	the 613-
	and Melanie Kupchynsky, Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 11, The Ukrainian Museum, 212-228-0110 or www.ukrainianmuseum.org	February 22 Detroit	Pres Ukro Troy
February 9 Trenton, NJ	Concert, featuring pianist virtuoso Roman Rudnytsky, St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church hall, 609-695-3771		269
February 9- March 30 Chicago	Art exhibit, "Survival, Spirit, Dreams and Nightmares," Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 773-227-5522 or www.uima-chicago.org	Entries in "Out and advertised in The U from all our reader and as space allows	Ukrair rs. Ite

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February 10 Cambridge, MA	Seminar with Maxim D. Shrayer, "Bearing Witness to the Shoah in Crimea: The Case of Ilya Selvinsky," Harvard University, 617-495-4053 or huri@fas.harvard.edu
February 15 Washington	Winter Debutante Ball, with music by Hrim, Taras Shevchenko School of Ukrainian Studies of Greater Washington, Omni Shoreham Hotel, zabavadc@gmail.com or 703-867-6847
February 15 New York	Lecture by Volodymyr Mezentsev, "National Sculpture and Decoration of Mazepa's Chambers in Baturyn," Shevchenko Scientific Society, 212-254-5130
February 15 Galesburg, IL	Concert, featuring violinist Solomiya Ivakhiv with the Knox-Galesburg Symphony, Orpheum Theater, 302-342-2299 or www.theorpheum.org
February 16 Chicago	Concert, featuring violinist Solomiya Ivakhiv, cellist Alexa Muhly and pianist Mio Isoda-Hagle, Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 773-227-5522 or www.uima-chicago.org
February 21-22 Phoenix, AZ	Wild West Ukie Fest, with music by Vechirka and performance by Syzokryli Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, St. Mary the Protectress Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 602-254-3752 or chrystia@cox.net
February 22 Ottawa	Masquerade dance, with music by Burya, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral hall, 613-277-4664 or mj.reshitnyk@gmail.com
February 22 Detroit	Presentation of debutantes, with music by Klopit, Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America – Detroit Branch, Troy Marriott Hotel, gwoloszczuk@yahoo.com or 269-343-9492

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



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## **PREVIEW OF EVENTS**

#### Saturday, February 8

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites all to a book launch for "100 Tserkov Nahirnykh. Chastyna Persha: Tserkvy Vasylia Nahirnoho" ("100 Nahirny Churches. Book 1: The Churches of Vasyl Nahirny," Lviv, 2013) by Khristina Lew. The book is partially sponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society from the Natalia Danylchenko Fund. The book launch 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: Come to The Ukrainian Museum at 7 p.m. to meet co-authors Joanne Lipman and Melanie Kupchynsky, who will present their book "Strings

Attached: One Tough Teacher and the Gift of Great Expectations," the inspiring story of remarkable music teacher Jerry Kupchynsky. Featuring a beautiful recording of Ms. Kupchynsky, a violinist with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, performing "Méditation" from the opera "Thaïs." The New York Times called the book "inspirational"; The Wall Street Journal commented on it in "Why Tough Teachers Get Good Results." The event is co-sponsored by Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 113. Admission (includes reception and gallery access): \$15; \$10 for members, seniors; \$5 for students. Tickets are available at www. ukrainianmuseum.org or by calling 212-228-0110. The museum is located at 222 E. Sixth St.

#### **PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES**

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

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

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

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



Lydia Cairns Evan Klos



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