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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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

Vol. LXVII

No. 51

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1999

\$1.25/\$2 in Ukraine

Clash of reforms with Soviet system stifles agro-sector

by Yana Sedova

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

KYIV — The clash of land reforms with a Soviet system that refuses to wither away has stifled attempts to revive Ukraine's agricultural sector. With little substantial legislative support for reforms, villagers and farmers are skeptical that there is a future for them in farming.

That was not always the case. In 1992, when land privatization first began, there were high hopes. Legislation had been passed that enabled citizens to take private land plots from the collective farms in which they had worked under the Soviet system. The intention was to put an end to the state control of land.

Ivan Holovko, a former official of the Novosilskyi collective farm in Kyiv Oblast, said that many collective farm workers and officials were optimistic about the country's agricultural future.

"In 1992 we had no problems with taking our plots," said Mr. Holovko, who took a loan at an interest rate of 10 percent from the Kyiv Oblast Association of Farmers and bought a tractor, necessary equipment for every fledgling farmer.

The start was quite promising. However after Mr. Holovko turned in his grain to a state-controlled elevator, he had to wait several months for payment, money that he needed to repay loans for seed and fuel given on consignment.

Severe inflation (from 1990 to 1995 the prices for agricultural supplies increased 202,000 times; finished products' prices increased by 34,000 percent) destroyed Mr. Holovko's plans, and he barely covered his expenditures. Today he has only two tractors left to show for his toil, a relatively new one, and another one that has been written off as scrap, although it still runs. Today he is out of the farming business.

"No one has ever gotten rich on this land, only hunchbacked," said Mr. Holovko. Now he is the head of the "silka rada," the local village council, and declines to criticize the state, although he admits that it should at least regulate agricultural prices and fuel, to give the farmer a fighting chance.

Most of the agricultural sector's problems today stem from the failure of the government to deal with three critical areas necessary to make the farmer competitive: to solve investment problems, to develop a clear state program for land privatization, and to create a competitive land market providing for the sale and purchase of land.

The Ukrainian Support Fund of Peasant Farmers began its work in 1992, and was

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Kuchma abolishes collective farms

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — In the first tangible evidence that Ukraine will now move quickly on economic restructuring and reforms, President Leonid Kuchma issued a decree calling for the reorganization of the country's vast system of collective farm enterprises into private enterprises and agricultural cooperatives.

As could have been expected, the announcement was greeted in Ukraine's Parliament with criticism and cynicism.

The December 3 decree marks the first step in a reinvigorated economic reform process that President Kuchma announced in his inaugural speech on November 30.

Under the presidential decree, collective farms have until April 2000 to turn over their land to the workers who formally own it and give them their ownership certificates.

Holders of certificates issued back in 1994 now may take their plot of land, which is to be doled out by individual village councils, combine it with others in a clear contractual arrangement, sell it

or rent it.

Most importantly, the document orders the simplification of the process of obtaining individual plots of lands and strict oversight to ensure that the process is transparent and fair, with equal access for all those wishing to take part in it.

The decree urges that, where possible, geographical boundaries of the old collective farms remain intact.

In 1994 workers and villagers of collective farms had been allocated pieces of land in what was to have been the beginning of land reform. However, because the process of obtaining land shares was vague and costly, few peasants successfully obtained their plots.

The collective farm directors made the process still more difficult by putting up bureaucratic obstacles — at times simply refusing to turn over government-allotted plots or parceling out land that was not arable or remotely located.

Ukraine's agricultural sector has been in steep decline since independence and has produced lower and lower grain yields with each passing year. While the Soviet Union collected about 50 million tons of grain annually on average, the

1999 harvest came in at about 25 million tons.

Part of the reason lies with the Ukrainian government's failure to thus far produce an effective land reform policy.

"The point of this document is to announce that collective farms are ineffective forms of property," said Minister of Agriculture Mykhailo Hladii on December 6.

He explained that 86 percent of collective farms are expected to show losses in 1999, while most of the private enterprises will turn a profit.

Mr. Hladii was careful to point out that the decree does not give the go-ahead for the general sale of land, merely for individuals within the collective to transfer property among the collective as they formulate their private enterprises and cooperatives.

"It does not say that land is a commodity and thus subject to sale and purchase," explained Mr. Hladii. "In keeping with the Land Code, farmers working the land have the right to purchase a

(Continued on page 12)

CHRIST IS BORN — GLORIFY HIM



"The Creche," 1999 woodcut by Vitaliy Lytvyn, as reproduced on a UNA Christmas card.

Parliament rejects Pustovoitenko's nomination as PM

KYIV — The Verkhovna Rada on December 14 failed to approve Valerii Pustovoitenko as prime minister of Ukraine. RFE/RL Newsline reported that of the 281 deputies present, 206 backed Mr. Pustovoitenko, 44 voted against him, 21 abstained, and 10 did not cast ballots.

Under Ukraine's legislation, 226 deputies must approve a candidate for the prime minister's post, and the president may submit a candidate only once. According to Parliament Chairman Oleksander Tkachenko, President Kuchma was to propose another candidate within two days and another vote would then take place in the Parliament next week.

Mr. Tkachenko commented, "besides the left factions, a number of right factions voted against Pustovoitenko," adding, "out of 15 Rada factions, only four factions officially refuted Pustovoitenko, while the results of the voting reveal that not all factions were sincere in their announcements in support of his candidacy."

Eastern Economist reported that Mr. Tkachenko said the president may recommend the current chief of the Security Service of Ukraine, Leonid Derkach, for the top government post.

A leader of the Hromada faction, Oleksander Yeliashkevych, commented that Mr. Kuchma plans to dissolve the Verkhovna Rada if the latter does not approve a new prime minister in

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ANALYSIS

Russia-Belarus union threatens stability across post-Soviet region

by Paul Goble
RFE/RL Newsline

PRAGUE – A new union treaty signed on December 8 by Belarus and the Russian Federation threatens the prospects for democracy in both countries, stability across the post-Soviet region, and relations between Moscow and the West.

The agreement, sought since 1996 by Belarusian leader Alyaksandr Lukashenka and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, allows each country to retain its sovereignty. But it calls for the establishment of a confederal government consisting of a supranational Supreme State Council and having a common currency, tax, and customs and border procedures.

While the two sides continue to disagree on the scope and speed of integration, there appears – in both Miensk and Moscow – to be more willingness now than at any time in the past to pursue the new union treaty. And that, in turn, suggests the new union could take on a life of its own, even if not all its provisions are implemented.

On the one hand, both Belarusians and Russians are likely to continue to struggle over the possibility of any integration of their two countries, a fight that is increasingly likely to define politics in these two countries. And on the other, leaders in other post-Soviet states as well as in the West seem certain to have to deal with the implications of this first step toward the tighter reintegration of some of the former Soviet republics.

Regardless of how that debate develops over the coming months, three things are already evident. First, this union accord in itself undermines the prospects for democracy in both Belarus and the Russian Federation. Not only is President Yeltsin likely to use it to keep himself in office beyond the year 2000, but the increasing authoritarianism of Belarus seems certain to spread eastward, a development that concerns at least some Russians.

Stanislau Shushkevich, the former

Paul Goble is the publisher of RFE/RL Newsline.

Quotable notes

“President Clinton permitted himself to put pressure on Russia. It seems he has for a minute forgotten that Russia has a full arsenal of nuclear weapons, but Clinton decided to flex his muscles. It has never been and never will be the case that he will dictate to the whole world how to live. ... A multi-polar world – that is the basis for everything. It will be as we agreed with Jiang Zemin. We will dictate to the world. Not him, not him alone.”

– President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, speaking during his trip to Beijing on December 9 in reaction to President Bill Clinton's criticism of Russia's military assault on Chechnya.

chairman of the Belarusian Parliament, said recently that Russia is the “main guilty party” for the difficulties facing Belarus at present. Mr. Shushkevich says Russia's “imperial way of thinking” has united practically all political parties. And, he says its drive for integration with Belarus has enabled Belarusian authorities to “fool the voters.”

Even more, the drive for reintegration has prompted Moscow to defend the Belarusian president's authoritarian actions. For example, Russia's human rights commissioner, Oleg Mironov, visited Miensk recently to contest Western findings of massive violations of human and civil rights in that country.

Mr. Mironov said his visit was intended to “dispel the myth” that Belarus violates human rights. He failed to acknowledge the Lukashenka regime's use of force to disperse anti-regime demonstrations, the disappearance of several leading opposition figures, and the regime's denouncement of Western institutions for criticizing what Miensk is doing.

As it defends Belarusian behavior against the West, Moscow will find it ever easier to sanction such behavior at home, particularly in the context of its own massive violations of human rights in the Chechen war and the Western criticism it has received for such violations.

Second, the new union treaty in itself destabilizes the post-Soviet region. This pact is openly revisionist in its treatment of the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, suggesting, as both Mr. Lukashenka and some Russian leaders have argued, that other former Soviet republics should join either a Slavic union or something even broader.

Some leaders may be attracted to this idea, others may be repelled, but all are certain to adjust their policies in response to this new treaty. That is especially true if Western governments take the position that this accord could be ratified “democratically.” Up to now, Western countries have said that is a requirement, but they have not made clear how such a poll could take place under President Lukashenka's rule.

But there is another way in which this accord might destabilize the region. Several Russian analysts have already suggested that some regions within Russia – including Tatarstan – might ask to join the new union in order to get out from under Moscow's tutelage and boost their own status. Such a move could further threaten the integrity of the Russian Federation itself and would certainly elicit a sharp response from Moscow.

And third, the likelihood that this accord will exacerbate tensions across the former Soviet space will almost certainly contribute to increasing tensions between Moscow and the West – tensions that, as a result of Moscow's campaign in Chechnya, already are higher than at any point since the collapse of the USSR.

Consequently, this latest Lukashenka-Yeltsin agreement, even if it is never fully implemented, may mark a turning point in the history of the entire international system. That may be what the two signatories want, but it is certainly something that many others, including a large number of Belarusians and Russians, clearly fear.

NEWSBRIEFS

Russia, Belarus sign union treaty

MOSCOW – Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his Belarusian counterpart, Alyaksandr Lukashenka, on December 8 signed the treaty on the union of the two countries. The treaty, which follows a number of documents on the countries' union, calls for the creation of a Higher Council, comprising the presidents, prime ministers and chairmen of the legislatures of both countries, to coordinate policies. It also calls for the creation of a single currency and uniform tax policy by 2005 and a joint military doctrine by next year, according to Reuters and Interfax. President Lukashenka, who earlier said the treaty would barely change the status quo, hailed the establishment of the union “as a moral triumph of justice.” President Yeltsin noted that the “union is based on the sovereignty and independence of member-nations and is not directed against anyone, not even against [U.S. President] Clinton.” (RFE/RL Newsline)

Legislatures ratify Russia-Belarus union

MOSCOW – During an extraordinary session on December 13, State Duma deputies voted to ratify the treaty providing for the union of Russia and Belarus. Deputies voted 382-2, with three abstentions, according to Interfax. The leader of the largest Duma faction, Gennadii Zyuganov of the Communist Party, said his faction “has supported and will support the recreation of the destroyed fatherland union.” Mr. Zyuganov also expressed confidence that Ukraine will join a restored Slavic union. In Belarus, the Chamber of Representatives, the 110-seat lower house hand-picked by President Alyaksandr Lukashenka following the controversial 1996 constitutional referendum, ratified the Belarus-Russia union treaty on December 14. The accord was backed by 101 legislators and opposed by one. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Treaty sparks protests in Miensk

MIENSK – Two small demonstrations took place in the Belarusian capital on December 8 to protest the signing of the Belarus-Russia union treaty, Belapan reported. Some 40 people carrying placards with anti-merger slogans tried to block Miensk's main avenue early that day, while some 250 people marched down the main avenue in the evening and burned the Russian flag. Both rallies were dispersed by riot police, which reportedly arrested Belarusian Popular Front deputy chairman Vyachaslau Siuchyuk and some 15 protesters. Two days later, some 200 people gath-

ered outside the presidential administration building, which was cordoned off by police, to deliver petitions demanding respect for human rights in Belarus and protesting the union with Russia, Belapan reported. Several protesters were eventually let into the building to hand the petitions to an official. “What human rights can we speak of? We have no rights and are hardly even human beings,” Reuters quoted one protester as saying. (RFE/RL Newsline)

... and opposition's verbal condemnation

MIENSK – Syamyon Sharetski, exiled speaker of the opposition Supreme Soviet, said in Vilnius on December 8 that the Belarus-Russia union state treaty will meet the fate of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact after democracy is restored in Belarus. Zyanon Paznyak, exiled leader of the Belarusian Popular Front, said the treaty is “an act of aggression and the political occupation” of Belarus by Russia. Former Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislau Shushkevich commented that, by signing the treaty, Belarus President Alyaksandr Lukashenka made “a payoff to Russia to keep him in power, as it was Russia which helped him usurp the power.” The Belarusian opposition deems the treaty illegal as it was signed by a president whose term expired earlier this year. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Neighbors react to new union

KYIV – Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Tkachenko said on December 8 that Ukraine's accession to the Belarus-Russia union is a “matter of time,” adding that Ukraine may join the treaty “in three years at most.” President Leonid Kuchma commented in Washington the same day that Ukraine has already made its choice and “will proceed on the path of independence.” The Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry said Poland does not consider the Belarus-Russia union a threat and will not treat the union as a “new subject of international law.” Lithuanian Parliamentary Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis said the Belarus-Russia treaty is a “challenge [that] sharpens the international situation,” according to ELTA. (RFE/RL Newsline)

U.S. doubtful about voluntary merger

WASHINGTON – U.S. State Department spokesman James Foley said on December 8 that the U.S. does not oppose integration among European countries “as long as it is mutually beneficial ... and voluntary.” Mr. Foley noted, however, that “there is no democratic process in

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THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

FOUNDED 1933

An English-language newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a non-profit association, at 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.
Yearly subscription rate: \$50; for UNA members – \$40.

Periodicals postage paid at Parsippany, NJ 07054 and additional mailing offices.
(ISSN – 0273-9348)

Also published by the UNA: Svoboda, a Ukrainian-language weekly newspaper (annual subscription fee: \$50; \$40 for UNA members).

The Weekly and Svoboda: UNA:
Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 644-9510 Tel: (973) 292-9800; Fax: (973) 292-0900

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

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The Ukrainian Weekly Archive: www.ukrweekly.com

The Ukrainian Weekly, December 19, 1999, No. 51, Vol. LXVII

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Kuchma honors Futey with presidential award

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON – Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine has honored Judge Bohdan A. Futey of the U.S. Court of Federal Claims on December 8 for his work in helping Ukraine develop its judicial system.

He presented Judge Futey with the Presidential Meritorious Award (second degree) during his one-day visit here for talks with the Clinton administration and international financial organizations.

Noting the time and effort Judge Futey has devoted to assisting Ukraine since its independence, President Kuchma called him “a true friend of Ukraine.”

It was the second time that Judge Futey was honored for his work in Ukraine. During festivities marking the anniversary of Ukraine’s independence in Kyiv in 1995, he received a third-degree Presidential Meritorious Award.

Judge Futey has been involved with democratization and rule of law programs in Ukraine, as well as in Russia, organized by the Judicial Conference of the United States, the Department of State and the American Bar Association. He has participated in judicial exchange programs, seminars and workshops and has been a consultant to the working group on Ukraine’s Constitution and Ukrainian Parliament.

Judge Futey is an advisor to the Washington-based International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), which promotes the democratic election process worldwide through technical assistance, legal reform and voter education. He has served as an official observer during the elec-

tions to the Verkhovna Rada in 1994 and 1998 and during the last two presidential elections, in 1994 and this past November, conducting briefings on Ukraine’s election law and guidelines for international observers.

He has authored numerous articles in law journals on Ukraine’s Constitution and the judicial system.

Thanking President Kuchma for his award, Judge Futey said he accepted it as “recognition of the many Americans of Ukrainian descent who have assisted Ukraine in this transitional period.”

He congratulated President Kuchma on his re-election and praised the people of Ukraine for “consciously backing his course toward economic, political and judicial reform, closer cooperation and integration with European structures, and a peaceful and independent Ukraine.”

The award presentation was held at Blair House, the official U.S. visitors’ residence across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House. Among those attending were members of President Kuchma’s delegation, including presidential advisors Yevhen Marchuk and Yuri Shcherbak, as well as a small group of family members and friends of Judge Futey, among them, U.S. Court of Federal Claims Chief Justice Loren A. Smith and former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William Green Miller.

Born in Ukraine, Judge Futey, 60, received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Western Reserve University, and his J.D. from Marshall Law School in 1968. (The two institutions are now part of Cleveland’s Case-Western Reserve University.)

He practiced law in the Cleveland area and in the 1970s also served as executive assistant to the mayor of Cleveland



President Leonid Kuchma congratulates Judge Bohdan Futey.

and as the city’s chief assistant police prosecutor.

He was appointed chairman of the U.S. Foreign Claims Settlement Commission in Washington in 1984, and to his current position on the Foreign Claims Court in 1987.

Judge Futey and his wife, the former Myra Fur, live in Annapolis, Md.

Another Leonid for president? VOA Ukrainian Branch celebrates 50th anniversary

RFE/RL Poland, Belarus and Ukraine Report

PRAGUE – Leonid Hrach, head of the Crimean Parliament and secretary of the Crimean Communist Party, announced last week that he will seek Ukraine’s presidency in 2004. Could this little-known politician become a nationwide figure and muster enough support to become president?

The November 18 *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* engaged in some speculation on this issue and offered a few hypotheses.

Mr. Hrach distanced himself from the presidential campaign of his party colleague Petro Symonenko when, at a gathering in Sevastopol on November 7, he commented that as an official, he cannot publicly support any presidential hopeful. At the same time, the Crimean Parliament’s vice-chairman, Borys Deych, headed President Leonid Kuchma’s election staff in Crimea. (Mr. Kuchma received only 44 percent backing on the peninsula, compared to Mr. Symonenko’s 51 percent.)

Following the incumbent’s victory, Mr. Hrach congratulated President Kuchma on his re-election, calling him the “father of the nation.” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* suggested that Mr. Hrach now sees his own political career linked to that of Mr. Kuchma.

According to *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, Mr. Hrach is interested in Mr. Kuchma’s intention, declared during the recent election campaign, to seek a constitutional referendum on introducing a bicameral Parliament in Ukraine. The newspaper said Mr. Kuchma will model Ukraine’s future Parliament on Russia’s – that is, the upper house will be filled with heads of oblast councils and administrations.

If such a Parliament were to be introduced, Mr. Hrach – as head of the Crimean legislature – would have a seat in Ukraine’s upper house and could become its vice-chairman.

And were he to be supported by President Kuchma, Mr. Hrach could even become chairman of the future upper chamber and, thus, a politician of nationwide significance. His main task then would be to deflect support away from Mr. Symonenko before the 2004 elections.

WASHINGTON – “I can’t believe that I’m actually standing inside the building where VOA studios are located!”

This was the reaction of a recent visitor to VOA’s Ukrainian Branch, one who had been the radio program’s faithful listener throughout the Cold War years when it was strictly forbidden to listen to the broadcasts in the USSR.

Today VOA’s Ukrainian Branch programs – which were heard for the first time on December 12, 1949 – are carried by the Ukrainian State Radio Network and over several Ukrainian commercial radio stations throughout Ukraine.

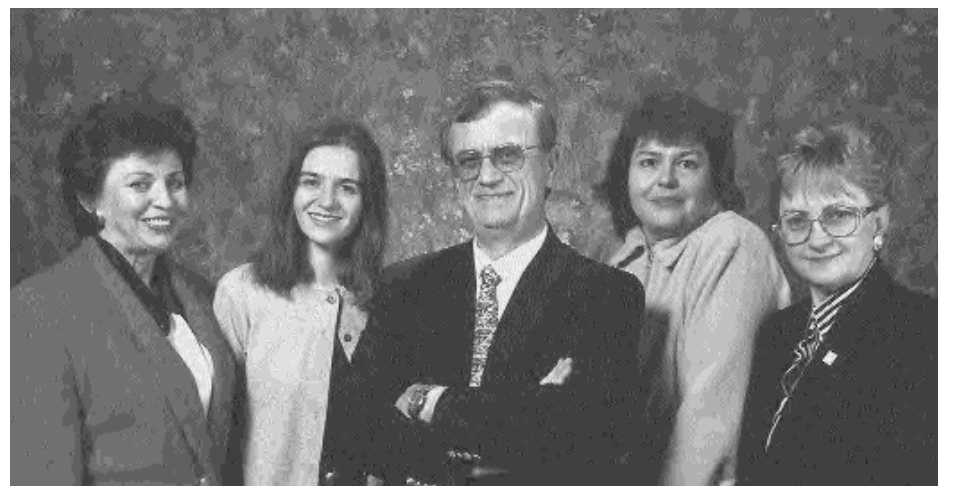
Ukrainian Branch programs can also be heard on the Internet at www.voa.gov/Ukrainian. The Ukrainian Branch maintains a Kyiv bureau managed by branch staff on a rotating basis.

In addition four former VOA Ukrainian Branch staffers produce a popular 30-minute TV program “Window on America,” which is shown on Ukrainian National Television.

On the occasion of its 50th anniversary, VOA’s Ukrainian Branch is paying tribute to former branch chiefs, shift editors, news editors, producers, writers, commentators and others, from those who are enjoying their retirement to and those who still are actively involved in the development and production of the high quality programs.

VOA Director Sanford Ungar congratulated the Ukrainian Branch broadcasts, both past and present, for their “professional and dedicated service,” during the anniversary broadcast. He went on to say that “[his] special thanks and appreciation also goes to our Ukrainian listeners, who over the years, have made this valued 50-year relationship with the Voice of America possible.”

During the broadcast, Ukrainian Branch Chief Lydia Rudins said, “Many former and current staffers have put a lot of time and effort into making our Ukrainian-language programs informative and relevant to our audience. Our 50th anniversary is a time to look back and pay tribute to their accomplishments.” In addition to Ms. Rudins’ comments, former branch chiefs Michael Terpak, Oksana Dragan, Mykola Francuzenko and Wolodymyr Bilajiw recalled their experiences running one of the VOA language branches broadcasting to the former Soviet Union.



Current staffers of Voice of America’s Ukrainian Branch (beginning with top photo, from left): Volodymyr Zviglyanich, Anya Dydyk-Petrenko, Paul Odarchenko, Adrian Karmazyn, Nadia Pikas; Alex Kahanovsky, Yuri Hiltajczuk, Christyna Prynada-Demidenko, Israel Kleiner; Luba Cvikula, Ulana Teliuk, Dennis Boyko, Natalia Korpak and Lydia Sawaryn-Rudins.

COMMEMORATING THE FAMINE-GENOCIDE OF 1932-1933

Toronto community events promote public awareness of Great Famine

by Andrij Kudla Wynnyckyj

TORONTO – Federal, provincial and municipal politicians praised the efforts of Canada's Ukrainian community in raising awareness of the Famine-genocide of 1932-1933, a scholar looked back at the difficulties faced over the years in the academic and political arenas to raise this awareness, and an ecumenical service was conducted for the souls of millions of victims of crimes against humanity perpetrated in the 20th century during commemorations held here over the week of November 22-28.

Gerard Kennedy, a member of Ontario's legislature who is of Ukrainian background, led off the week, and Sarkis Assadourian, a member of the federal House of Commons who is of Armenian ancestry, brought it to a conclusion.

On November 22, Mr. Kennedy, member of provincial Parliament for Parkdale/High Park and the opposition Liberal Party's education critic, rose in the House at Queen's Park to issue a commemorative statement about the Great Famine, placing it on the province's official record that "over 7 million Ukrainian men, women and children were starved to death by the then Soviet regime."

Mr. Kennedy commended the Ukrainian

Canadian Congress (UCC) for "continuing to increase public awareness of the Famine-genocide of 1933."

Later that evening, at an official opening of an exhibit mounted by the UCC Toronto Branch and Media Watch Ukraine in the rotunda of Toronto City Hall, Mr. Kennedy expanded on his remarks by recalling the "rumor that hung over my grandparents' home" that a man-made famine had devastated Ukraine.

The former Food Banks of Canada activist told an assembly of about 250 members of the Ukrainian community they should be praised for their pursuit of a United Nations resolution condemning the use of food as a weapon and stressed that "word of what happened in 1933 must get out more clearly to the world."

City Councillor for High Park-Parkdale Chris Korwyn-Kuczynski, who was active in the erection of a monument in his riding to victims of the Katyn massacre and attendant repressions perpetrated by Stalin's regime, offered assurances that a similar monument to the victims of the famine "would occupy an appropriate and prominent place in the city."

Mr. Kuczynski also brought a proclamation from Toronto Mayor Mel Lastman designating the week of November 22-28 as Famine-Genocide Commemoration Week, and expressed his disappointment that the mainstream media had chosen not to attend that evening's event.

Michael Luchka, host of the "Kontakt" TV program and the master of ceremonies at the exhibit opening, concluded proceedings with a stinging commentary. He said it was high time that the world was aware of the Famine's legacy, and confronted Famine denial both in the past and in the present.

The politics of genocide studies

On November 24, Dr. Frank Sysyn, director of the Petro Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research (PJCURH) was interviewed by CFRB Radio morning show host Ted Woloshyn, and in the afternoon delivered a lecture titled "The Politics of Genocide Studies: Putting the Ukrainian Famine on the Agenda in the 1980s."

Delivering his address in a seminar room at the University of Toronto's John Robarts Library, Dr. Sysyn chronicled the success of the efforts by the Ukrainian diaspora's wider community and a coterie of scholars who braved opposition both from the Soviet political and academic apparatus, and from left-leaning academics and journalists in the West.

Dr. Sysyn drew on his article, "The Role of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Research and Public Discussion of the Famine of 1932-1933," recently published in a collection of essays titled "Studies in Comparative Genocide" (St. Martin's Press, 1999).

Dr. Sysyn noted that the appearance of Robert Conquest's study "The Harvest of Sorrow," the establishment of the U.S. Congressional Commission on the Ukraine Famine, the pursuit of a condemnation of the Stalinist regime at the International Tribunal in the Hague, and statements on the tragedy from the administrations of U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney were watersheds in a tortuous journey leading to the acceptance of the Famine as a topic of discussion on the international stage, scholarly and otherwise.

Dr. Sysyn remarked on the extreme hostility visited by scholarly critics on Famine researchers. He quoted a review of Dr.

Sudbury unveils educational project

SUDBURY, Ontario – In response to the proclamation of a Day of Remembrance of Famine Victims by the current government of Ukraine and in recognition of 66th anniversary of this Forced Famine of 1932-1933, Sudbury's Ukrainian community has unveiled a new educational project aimed at assisting those studying xenophobia and genocide to understand the "Holodomor."

On the eve of the remembrance day, Friday, November 26, the Sudbury Regional Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress donated to the Sudbury Public Library and to the Laurentian University Library video copies of the award-winning and authoritative film titled "Harvest of Despair." In April 1985 this film won first prize and a gold medal at the Houston International Film Festival. This Canadian-made film explores the reasons this man-made famine remains so little known and exposes the campaigns of concealment.

Commenting on this educational effort, the president of the UCC's Ontario Provincial Council, Walter Halchuk, noted: "As we prepare for the new millennium, few Canadians are aware of the fact that Ukraine lost more of its population than any

other country this century. Millions perished in Soviet and Nazi death mills. Stalin's executions by starvation in 1932-1933 contributed in large part to this carnage. Hunger was and remains just as lethal as a bullet."

He continued: "We are particularly fortunate to have these facts depicted in English, in video form, making them accessible to a broader viewership. In 1932-1933, roughly one-quarter of the population of an entire nation was killed by deliberate starvation. This film provides testimony of a lost generation that has been silenced for too long. It provides an eloquent legacy for the future, making sure that the generations of the 21st century recognize the evil that brought about this great European tragedy. We hope that teachers as well as students will make use of this valuable tool to help students come to grips with one of the greatest episodes of genocide in the 20th century."

The UCC Ontario Provincial Council also supports an inclusive museum, where genocides like the Great Famine, an instrument of Soviet state policy that liquidated more than 10 million Ukrainian landowners in 1932-1933, will be remembered and studied.

Parma mourns Famine's victims

CLEVELAND, Ohio – Hundreds of faithful of the Ukrainian community of Greater Cleveland solemnly commemorated the 7 million to 10 million victims of the 1932-1933 Great Famine in Ukraine on Sunday, November 28.

The commemoration began at noon with a five-block procession from St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Parma, to St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, where a monument to the victims of the Famine is located. The Rev. John R. Nakonachny, pastor of St. Vladimir's Cathedral, spoke on the meaning of this solemn event, followed by Msgr. Michael Rewtiuk, pastor of St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic

Cathedral. A memorial service was served, with the participation of more than a half dozen deacons and members of the clergy from nearby Orthodox and Catholic parishes. Responses to the memorial service were sung by St. Vladimir's Cathedral choir under the direction of Markian Komichak. Ukrainian veterans' organizations and youth groups were represented, displaying their flags and standards.

At the conclusion of the service, Wasyl Liscynsky, president of the United Ukrainian Organizations of Greater Cleveland and coordinator of the commemoration, thanked everyone for their participation.



Clergy of Greater Cleveland officiate at a memorial service for victims of the Great Famine.

MP Gerard Kennedy speaks on Famine

On November 22, leading off the afternoon session of the Ontario Provincial Parliament at Queen's Park in downtown Toronto, Gerard Kennedy, member of Parliament for the Parkdale-High Park riding, read the following commemorative proclamation.

It is an honor as a member of provincial Parliament to stand and help this legislature recognize the Famine-genocide that occurred in the Ukraine in 1933, where over 7 million Ukrainian men, women and children were starved to death by the then-Soviet regime. This week, from November 19 to the 28, it is very significant that Canadian Ukrainians will commemorate the 66th anniversary of this great horrific tragedy.

To ignore this event would only be to invite its repetition. So great was the impact and disruption of this Famine-genocide on Ukrainian society that raw statistics to provide the exact number of those starved cannot be determined. However, historians have documented the victims as between 7 million and 10 million in number.

The Ukrainian community continues to make positive contributions to our society here in Canada. I appreciate and thank them for their support, and I'm looking forward to working with them on their future endeavors.

Coinciding with the commemoration date proclaimed by decree of the president of Ukraine is a statement officially presented to the United Nations by Ukraine's ambassador regarding crimes of genocide. The Ukrainian Canadian Congress is to be congratulated for continuing to increase public awareness of the Famine-genocide of 1933.

The Weekly's collection of materials about the Famine

The Ukrainian Weekly's official website contains the largest collection of materials on the Internet dedicated to the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine.

Located at www.ukrweekly.com, the special section includes a chronology of the Famine years, eyewitness accounts, editorials, media reports, stories about observances of the Famine's 50th anniversary in 1983, scholarly articles, interviews with journalists who reported on the Famine, transcripts of testimony on the Famine commission bill ultimately passed by the U.S. Congress, texts of statements before the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, references

(Continued on page 17)

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Report of the Auditing Committee of the Ukrainian National Association

During the period of November 30 through December 2, the Auditing Committee, in accordance with the UNA By-Laws, conducted a review of the business operations of the Ukrainian National Association for the first three quarters of 1999. The previous audit was conducted at the end of April 1999.

The Auditing Committee's plan of action consisted of reviewing the implementation of the decisions of the 34th Convention of the UNA, the operations of the financial and recording departments, UNA publications, the management of the UNA resort Soyuzivka, and other matters.

As a result of its review, the Auditing Committee reports the following.

1. Implementation of decisions of the 34th Convention of the UNA

Delegates to the 34th Convention adopted a series of resolutions that were conveyed for realization to the General Assembly and the UNA Executive Committee. A list and summary of the resolutions that have already been implemented was published in previous reports of the Auditing Committee.

As of the end of November 1999, the status of implementation of decisions of the 34th Convention remains unchanged, with the exception of the following: The merger between the UNA and the Ukrainian National Aid Association has become impossible and was not realized for the reasons listed below.

The insurance authorities of the state of Pennsylvania continuously attempted to force the Ukrainian National Aid Association to merge either with the UNA or with another partner. Insurance authorities of the state of New Jersey continuously postponed a decision on the UNA's request for approval of the merger with the Ukrainian National Aid Association. Therefore, not being able to wait any longer, the Ukrainian National Aid Association informed the UNA on June 17 that it was terminating its agreement regarding merger with the UNA.

New Jersey insurance authorities informed the UNA only on August 6 that they do not approve the merger of the UNA with the Ukrainian National Aid Association, citing the decrease in the UNA's surplus during the course of many years. In a separate letter dated November 6, the insurance authorities of New Jersey informed the UNA that, at present, they will not consider any merger involving the UNA with any other fraternal institution.

2. Financial Department of the UNA

For the first nine months of 1999, the financial deficit of the UNA totaled \$546,000. The surplus decreased by only \$145,000. A positive development was the fact that, in comparison with 1998, during the first three quarters of 1999 the decrease

in surplus was lower by \$1,042,000.

We can expect that the fourth quarter of this year should not markedly change the current financial state. This indicates that the previous projection of UNA Treasurer Stefan Kaczaraj that the UNA budget could be balanced in the year 2001 could be realistic.

The Executive Committee reported that the first floor of the new UNA building is fully rented and that there are no uncollected rents. It is planned to decrease by 10,000 square feet the space occupied by the UNA on the second floor of the building and to rent that space by the beginning of next year. This would increase rental income by an average of \$184,000 per year and would make the building profitable.

From the time of the sale of the UNA's building in Jersey City, a sum of \$400,000 from the purchase price of the building was kept by the buyer in a special escrow fund, as cited in previous reports of the Auditing Committee. Since most of these matters were resolved favorably, the amount in that account has been reduced to \$100,000. At the end of November of this year, the UNA received \$300,000 of the funds withheld, plus \$33,400 in interest. The remaining \$100,000 should be returned during the first quarter of next year.

3. UNA Publications, Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly

As of the end of September 1999, the number of Svoboda subscribers was 7,534, while The Weekly's subscribers numbered 7,033. In comparison with the end of 1998, the number of Svoboda subscribers declined by 10, while the number of Weekly subscribers declined by 159. The editorial staffs of both publications are continuously working on improving the contents of their newspapers and gaining new subscribers.

The deficit of both publications for the first three quarters of 1999 totaled \$187,000. In comparison, for all of 1998 it totaled \$578,000. In accordance with the budget for 1999, the deficit of both publications should not exceed \$100,000.

4. Soyuzivka

For the first nine months of 1999, Soyuzivka had a deficit totaling \$361,000. This sum includes the costs of capital improvements to roads and water tank, which totaled \$69,000. Soyuzivka's deficit for 1998 was \$372,000. Another reason for these higher expenses in the current year was the purchase of drinking water and water to fill the pools at Soyuzivka. Soyuzivka's own water supply was not sufficient due to low precipitation last winter and a dry summer.

(Continued on page 14)

UNA seeks members' addresses

Below are the names of Ukrainian National Association members, listed by branch number and with their insurance certificate numbers, whose addresses are not known to the UNA Home Office.

The members listed are asked to contact Branch Representative Valia Kaploun at the UNA Home Office, (973) 292-9800, ext. 3022.

Branch #	Certificate #	Insured Name
32	A187422	Olga D. Bondarchuk-Huque
32	J096078	A. O. Brien
32	A180769	John Chytruk
32	D188809	John Dulniawka
32	A180978	Orest M. Galan
32	D185946	Frank G. Glass Jr.
32	J095426	A.M. Krawec
32	A183618	Regina M. Krawec
32	A183617	Eugene A. Krawec
32	A995428	Karen A. Krawec
32	J095427	J.M. Krawec
32	A186011	Roman A. Leskiw
32	D184205	H.A. Meyer
32	A181309	Maria Mischtschuk
32	J097058	T.A. Nowakiwsky
32	D185944	Roman Nowakiwsky
32	J098999	Christopher Nowakiwsky
32	D187378	Francis Osinski
32	D183989	Alexander Prociuk
32	J099612	Maria L. Prociuk
32	A168758	Maria R. Rogosky
32	A199391	Joseph P. Sapiha
32	A188597	Donna Sharak
32	A061282	Petro Shoturma
32	A189440	Mary Skolyk
32	A167237	Wasył Tanczak
32	A167115	Anna Tanczak
32	J097171	D. Tanczak
32	J099596	Stephanie Taylor
32	D186037	Raymond T. Zin
107	A169738	Larysa B. Robinson
107	D160609	Lilianna N.W. Roviario
116	A203399	Svitlana Leskiw
116	A186011	Roman A. Leskiw

116	D180822	Alexander Sich
147	J103079	Mary K. Blazofsky
147	D189545	Katherine A. Bochnak
147	J100552	Andrew Z. Milinichik
147	J098463	S. L. Milinichik
147	J097678	C. L. Milinichik
147	J097677	A. Z. Milinichik
147	J095486	H. A. Minarovic
147	J095487	T. C. Minarovic
147	D165042	Walter Obleschuk
147	J097612	C. E. Viehman
156	A106269	Stefania Bitin
156	A164411	I. S. Bitin
156	A161201	Vivian V. Zakorchemny
231	J102331	Amanda M. Birney
231	J103142	Justin Ehling
231	J103141	Jamie Ehling
231	J102463	John J. Tirney
238	D130516	Nacema A. McGinn
238	J103147	Nicholas P. O'Sadcia
238	J102248	Alexa Raniuk
238	J100097	Alexandra N. Yavarow
296	J099596	Stephanie Taylor
305	J100918	Christopher J. Barkus
305	A153813	Stephen Bottock Jr.
305	A197811	Darlene M. Davison
305	J094126	Erica D. Davison
305	J098208	Lauren M. Davison
305	A171388	D.S. Dunlap
305	A192048	Tracy Lynn Fenton
305	A197758	H.T. Fenton Jr.
305	A180279	Helene Forgotch
305	J092441	Rene M. Hall
305	J100238	Amber L. Hall
305	A159397	Marsha L. Hentosh
305	A194182	Robert Kethledge III
305	A192745	Kathleen M. Kershetsky
305	A193928	John Kershetsky
305	A193929	Kathleen V. Kershetsky
305	D190216	Danielle P. Lausterer
305	J085672	Thomas Malitsky
305	D157311	John J. McCormick
305	J097119	Karen Martin
305	A185366	Stephen Postupack
305	A185367	N. H. Postupack

305	D138574	S. Postupack
305	J087978	Andrea J. Postupack
305	J067409	S.S. Postupack
305	D187387	Wayne S. Postupack
305	A193967	Bonnie T. Remaley
305	J099015	Janelle Riotto
305	J093813	Janelle M. Strenchok
305	J098384	Logan P. Strenchok
305	J096310	Kyla A. Strenchok
305	A193930	Irene Walters
340	A197704	Maria L. Makar
377	A162408	J. Czich
397	A195036	Larisa Bairamova
397	A962520	Wolodymyr Fedin
397	A962521	Maria I. Fedin
397	A967927	Michael J. Fedin
397	A965716	Jaroslav Y. Fedin
397	A993665	Michael Hawryliw
397	J093923	Mark Jarema
397	A177149	Rev. Roman Kravec
397	A101313	Iwan Los
397	D146533	Victor J. Lysiansky
397	A184900	Irene Maksymiuk
397	A136840	Jeane Pelensky
397	A187990	Ihor Seniw
397	J096441	Dana M. Seniw
397	A187937	Jaroslava I. Seniw
397	A187938	Irene Seniw
397	A187939	Wasył Seniw
490	J092387	Stephanie Nadia Gibb
490	D172331	W. H. Murray
490	A153911	P. Pasichnyk
421	A175285	J. M. Hnatiuk
440	D145810	A. Kowalczyk
440	A180207	B. Kramarchuk
131	A185350	Sofia Bojczuk
231	D196744	Laurie A. Jones
234	A203007	Myroslava Bychkonyak
305	A195205	Lorena Dorton
305	J099128	Shawna L. Dorton
305	J103066	Skye N. Fenton
305	J093729	Haley D. Dunlap
305	A182458	Carol A. Dunlap
305	A197936	Neil B. Kennedy
364	A201303	Laurel A. Yaeger

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

The gift of contribution

Of the countless wonderful Ukrainian traditions, some of the most special belong to the Christmas season. It is the season during we celebrate the birth of Christ by celebrating life itself – with abundant love and warmth, with giving and sharing. We put abundant food on our tables and, as did the Three Wise Men who brought gifts to the baby Jesus, we bring gifts to our loved ones.

Our community has always been very generous during the holiday season by giving to our religious and community groups – our churches and schools, youth organizations and cultural associations. Our tradition of the fund-raising “kolia-da” – groups of carolers whom we welcome into our homes – makes the task of raising money a fun and social event.

Over the years our newspaper has often encouraged our readers to give to our community groups – sometimes suggesting new ones that are not yet well-known or reminding our readers of long-established organizations that haven’t received much publicity of late. However, this year, we would like to encourage that a new tradition be established in our community – whereby children and grandchildren “buy” a gift for their parents and grandparents by contributing to a church or community organization.

This idea, we confess, is not really ours and not really new. However, we have been reading about it more and more in the mainstream press. Apparently the economic boom of the 1990s combined with longer life expectancy has created a generation of seniors in North America who are living comfortably into their 70s and 80s, but frankly, don’t want – or need – any more “stuff.” In what appears to be an end-of-the-wealthiest-century-in-history trend, many seniors are now asking that their children and grandchildren take the money that they normally would have spent on a gift and, instead, make a donation to a worthy cause.

We are convinced that many of our parents and grandparents would be pleased to know that their adult children and grandchildren are making a contribution to their Ukrainian community institutions, their church or youth group, cultural association or social welfare organization, instead of another set of gloves for “dido” or perfume for “babusia.”

We have no doubt that a handwritten card from a grandchild that read “Dear Babtsiu: This year, in your honor, I made a donation to my church (or Plast or SUM group) as my Christmas gift to you” would bring great pleasure to any grandmother. Adult children could do the same, making contributions in honor of their parents and in lieu of gifts, to organizations that seem less accessible to children, such as our veterans’ groups or scholarly and archival institutions. Particularly appropriate this year, as Ukraine begins yet another extremely harsh and cold winter, would be gifts that support the numerous social welfare organizations that help Ukraine’s children and orphans.

Our community was built on the generosity of the previous generations – let us instill this same spirit in those to follow. Khrystos Razhdaietsia!

December
24
1897

Turning the pages back...

Pavlo Matsenko was born in the town of Kyrykivka, Okhtyrka county, about 50 miles west of Kharkiv. He served in the armies of the dying Russian empire, and the evanescent Ukrainian National Republic. Managing to escape internment, he

fled to Cyprus, and eventually made it back to Eastern Europe, settling in Prague in 1924.

He arrived just in time for the burgeoning of Ukrainian émigré life in the Czech capital. Matsenko studied at the Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute (1926-1928) and then earned a doctorate in musical pedagogy in 1932 at the Prague Conservatory of Music. During his doctoral studies, he wrote and published arrangements for a full divine liturgy for mixed choir (1931).

Four years later, he was on the move again, this time in advance of the tumult that would engulf Europe. In 1936, Matsenko emigrated to Canada and settled in Winnipeg, then the pre-eminent center of Ukrainian Canadian life.

He became active in the Ukrainian National Federation, and initiated and coordinated various courses in higher education for Ukrainian cultural activists. In 1944 he became one of the co-founding members of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center in Winnipeg, since popularly known as Oseredok, and a year later strongly supported the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (now Congress).

Matsenko also resumed his liturgical arranging, this time producing a work for three women’s voices (1948), as well as treatments of various other religious texts, and a wide range of songs and carols, and published biographies of the composers Dmytro Bortniansky (1951) and Fedir Yakymenko (1954). He also published his correspondence with the composer Oleksander Koshetz.

In 1956 he began teaching at St. Andrew’s College at the University of Manitoba, and two years later he traveled to Edmonton to serve as rector of the Ukrainian Orthodox St. John’s Institute until 1961. He returned to Manitoba in 1963, to lecture at St. Vladimir’s College in Roblin, a post he held until 1972.

In 1968 he published “Narysy do Istoriyi Ukrainskoyi Tserkovnoyi Muzyky” (Studies in the History of Ukrainian Church Music), and his retirement from teaching appeared to redouble his efforts in publishing.

Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, he published a number of arrangements and studies of the divine liturgy and Ukrainian religious chants.

Pavlo Matsenko died on March 8, 1991, in Winnipeg.

Source: “Matsenko, Pavlo” *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

CHRISTMAS PASTORAL

Celebrating Christ’s birth and the great Jubilee Year

Christmas pastoral letter of Metropolitan Stephen Sulyk and Auxiliary Bishop Walter Paska of the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Philadelphia.

To the Reverend Clergy, the Venerable Monastic Orders and our Beloved Faithful: Peace in the Lord and our Archiepiscopal Blessing. Christ is Born! Glorify Him!

After the miraculous liberation of the Israelites from the bondage of Egypt, the Lord God directed through Moses that every 50th year was to be observed solemnly as a Holy Year, a year of God’s forgiveness. The beginning of the Holy Year was to be announced throughout the land with the sound of a horn, in Hebrew “yovel.” Moses then announced to the people of Israel: “The 50th year will be for you a jubilee ... which shall be sacred for you” (Lev. 25:11-12). The holy time, or rather, the Jubilee Year was to emphasize to the people God’s forgiveness, that is, the coming of the promised Messiah, who was to “save his people from their sins” (Mt. 1:31).

“When the fullness of time had come, God sent His Son, born of a woman” (Gal. 4:4), so that everyone “who believes in Him might not perish but might have eternal life” (Jn. 3:16). So, on this blessed night, when the Virgin Mary brought into the world the Messiah promised to us ages ago, “the Son of God” (Lk. 1:35), the angel of the Lord, surrounded by heavenly glory, appeared to the humble shepherds in the fields of Bethlehem and said, “I proclaim to you good news of great joy that will be for all the people. For today in the city of David a savior has been born for you who is Messiah and Lord. And this will be a sign for you: you will find an infant wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger” (Lk. 2:9-12). With these words, the angel of the Lord revealed, not only to the shepherds, but to all of us, that the Child born of the Virgin in a cave of Bethlehem and resting in a manger, was truly our Messiah, our Savior, Christ the Lord.

Beloved in Christ, the innocent Child, covered in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger in Bethlehem, is the Eternal God, who came into the world for the salvation of the human race. He is our Savior, and accordingly, the Heavenly Father bestowed upon Him the name of Jesus (Lk. 1:31), in Hebrew – Joshua; literally meaning God saves. The angel at the manger of Bethlehem identified the Child as Christ, the Greek word which accurately translated means “Messiah,” the One anointed by God, or rather, appointed by God. In the Old Testament the Lord God appointed by anointing the kings of Israel (I Sam. 16:1).

In the prophetic book of Samuel, then, we read that, at the direction of the Lord, Samuel anointed with oil David, the son of Jesse and “the spirit of the Lord rushed upon him (I Sam 16:13), and he began to rule in Israel (2 Sam. 5:3). As it

was with David, so also it was with the Lord Jesus, when at the time of His baptism in the river Jordan, the Holy Spirit descended upon Him (Mt. 3:16). This is why our Divine Savior could truly testify of himself, “the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He has anointed me ... to proclaim a year acceptable to the Lord,” the year of salvation for humanity (Lk. 4:16-21).

On this blessed night, commemorating the birth of the Son of God, we too, inspired by this great announcement, come with joyful hearts to Bethlehem, so that together with the shepherds, we adore the Christ Child, lying in a manger (Lk. 2:16). This is the Lord God, promised to us throughout the ages, “who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven. By the power of the Holy Spirit He was born of the Virgin Mary and became man” (The Creed). The prophet Isaiah, foreseeing in spirit this day, joyfully exclaimed, “Behold our God, to whom we looked to save us! This is the Lord to whom we looked; let us rejoice and be glad that He has saved us” (Is. 25:9). And so, we too rejoice on this day, for the Lord God “blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavens” (Eph. 1:3).

The birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah, is an epochal point in the history of the world. In Him were fulfilled all the prophecies of the Old Testament. Dying on the cross, He was able to affirm: “It is finished!” (Jn. 19:30) He marks the beginning of the New Testament, the testament of “grace and truth” (Jn. 1:17). He came to the world, freeing us from the heavy slavery of sin (Jn. 8:34), and from “eternal ruin” (2 Thes. 1:9). He “gave us a new birth to a living hope” (I Peter 1:3), and restored us to the dignity of being “children of God” (Jn. 1:12). He established for us the way of salvation (Jn. 14:6) and opened the way to His heavenly kingdom (Mt. 7:21), “so that everyone who believes in Him might not perish but might have eternal life” (Jn. 3:16). Thus by the coming of his Son into the world, the Lord God revealed to us “what is the plan of the mystery hidden from ages past in God who created all things” (Eph. 3:9).

It is most understandable, then, that Christians, as well as Christian nations, and eventually the entire world began counting the years from the birth of Jesus Christ the second person of the Most Holy Trinity, the Word of God who “became flesh and made His dwelling among us” (Jn. 1:14).

This year, as we approach the holy feast day of the Nativity of Christ, we shall cross the threshold of a special jubilee, the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ. His Holiness Pope John Paul II has appropriately proclaimed this to be a Holy Year, a year of God’s forgiveness. The Holy Father on Christmas Eve will open this Jubilee Year, anticipated by the entire

(Continued on page 18)

Our next issue

Due to holiday scheduling at Redmond Press, which prints our newspaper, the next issue of The Ukrainian Weekly – our yearend issue dated Sunday, December 26 – will be printed and mailed early Monday morning, December 27. (In accordance with our usual printing schedule, that issue would have been printed and mailed on Friday, December 24.) We apologize for this inconvenience.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Why the first lady's message was not read

Dear Editor:

I write, reluctantly, as the solemnity of the Great Famine's observance in New York City should not be marred by the disclosure of politicking. Nevertheless, I am compelled to set the record straight since you intimated in your November 28 issue that it was inappropriate to omit reading the First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's message at the proceedings at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

It was decided at the outset by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), the organizer of the St. Patrick's event that, due to time constraints, no written messages would be read, except for that of the president of the United States. In that regard the UCCA wrote to the White House to request a statement. The White House offered a message from Vice-President Al Gore which we, respectfully, declined. A statement from the vice-president in lieu of a statement from the president was perceived by us as inappropriate and, perhaps, an attempt at politicizing the event in favor of one presidential candidate. The first lady's statement was viewed similarly, albeit as the promotion of a senatorial candidate, especially, given the venue. The White House finally did issue a statement from the president dated November 24 – some four days after the event. It was an unfortunate miscalculation.

Askold S. Lozynskyy
New York

Editor's note: The Weekly's news story and editorial did not "intimate" anything, but simply noted, without offering any judgement, that the first lady's message was not read due to time constraints. Nonetheless, we thank Mr. Lozynskyy for giving our readers a behind-the-scenes account of the planning.

How could Petliura's name be omitted?

Dear Editor,

I do not wish to be overly critical of Andrew Fedynsky's choice of the Ukrainian of the century, because Mr. Fedynsky's heart is in the right place. Still, I am mystified how he could omit the name of Symon Petliura from his list of candidates. To place the leader of a party, Yevhen Konovaletz ahead of a chief of state does not make sense to me.

I was unaware of the attempts by Mr. Konovaletz to organize a nationalist underground in Soviet Ukraine in the 1930s. Such attempts could follow only from lack of knowledge of the conditions in Stalinist Ukraine.

To believe that an isolated armed underground can succeed against a modern tyranny is a pure folly. I share Mr. Fedynsky's respect for the fallen heroes of UPA. The fact that UPA carried their heroic fight until 1950 is almost beyond belief. However, I never understood what the organizers meant to achieve by sending the flower of Ukrainian manhood to near certain death. The sole explanation I could find anywhere was a naive belief that the Western allies would go to war against the Soviet Union shortly after their victory over Germany. Leaders who base their actions on illusions or wishful thinking do not achieve greatness.

Today western Ukraine is the bedrock

of patriotism. UPA deserves the credit, but I believe the price paid was too high. There should have been a better way, because the living could have done more than the dead. The tragedy of the Ukrainians is that they always knew how to die. They are still learning how to live.

I disagree with Mr. Fedynsky that the Ukrainian of the next century is still in the kindergarten. Greatness is achieved at the right coincidence of events, time and personality. The time is at hand. Unless such a leader emerges in the next few years, it may be too late for the little kid.

Ihor Koszman
Montgomery, Texas

Ukrainian diaspora needs The Weekly

Dear Editor:

In a recent letter to the editor Boris Danik quite accurately describes the characteristics of a pop culture driven by the "American Dream" of material possessions and the accompanying decline of intellectual content in our civilization. Nowhere is this process more visible than in the declining intellectual quality of the main stream showboats such as Newsweek and Time. This decline, of course, is no more and no less than a reflection on the changing values of the society as a whole and on the economic necessities of industry that services its needs.

Looking from this perspective, the substantive and intellectual content of The Ukrainian Weekly is head and shoulders above many showboats of the main stream media. And a lot of credit for this goes to two and a half or three members of its staff. But The Ukrainian Weekly is more than its capable staff. In a way that Newsweek and Time do reflect substantive and intellectual character of American society as a whole, The Ukrainian Weekly is a reflection and a mirror of substantive and intellectual prowess of the Ukrainian diaspora. And it so happens that the intellectual prowess is the main asset that the diaspora has, and it is the main source of the prestige and respect it enjoys.

The loss of The Ukrainian Weekly would be a major blow to our very existence as a cohesive and successful ethnic grouping in America. I was saddened to read that in a one million strong Canadian Ukrainian society there are only 554 paid subscribers to the newspaper. And on top of this some are threatening to cancel their subscriptions. This is after The Weekly has devoted so much time and space to their affairs. This is not the way to go.

The existence of the Ukrainian diaspora in 2020 will depend very much on the continued existence of The Ukrainian Weekly, which provides essential cohesiveness to our geographically dispersed society. It is up to us to assure its existence. The establishment of The Ukrainian Weekly Press Fund is a step in the right direction. I would like to suggest one more easy step in the same direction. With the coming of the joyful Christmas season and the overwhelming amounts of gifts we give and receive, I would suggest that at least one gift given be a subscription to The Ukrainian Weekly. If each current subscriber to The Weekly makes one such gift, the support base of the newspaper will double. And such a gift to a relative or a friend will be more appreciated than many useless trinkets they and we all receive.

Ihor Lysyj
Austin, Texas

How the UNA selects its Christmas cards

Dear Editor:

I want to explain to Andrew Fylypovych and other interested parties the purpose and process of the selection of works of artists for the UNA Christmas card project.

It is my opinion that there is a need to publish Ukrainian Christmas cards and since it has been the UNA's tradition in the past to do so, of late this tradition has been revived.

There are a few reasons for this particular project. These projects have usually been monetarily successful and this year in particular the profits are assigned to cultural and educational youth programs at Soyuzivka. The UNA always encouraged cultural and educational projects and the Christmas card project lends itself to promoting Ukrainian artists and Ukrainian Christmas traditions, which are depicted in some of the works.

Please be aware that in the summer, both UNA publications, Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, published requests to Ukrainian artists to participate in the project by submitting their works for publication as the UNA's 1999 Christmas cards. This year 15 artists from the United States, Canada and Ukraine submitted their works. The UNA chose 14 of their works for publication. These works are traditional, modern and/or primitive; icons that are religious and somber; traditional cards that are symbolic and happy. They are varied in media – oil, acrylic, ceramic tile, watercolor, mixed media, tempera and gouache.

We regret that some of the cards were not pleasing to Mr. Fylypovych but can we please everybody? Every year we choose from the art submitted by our Ukrainian artists who read our publications. This gives the UNA an opportunity to promote their

works in our community since no monetary reimbursement is given to them.

Thank you, Mr. Fylypovych, for your support and your remarks. Hopefully, next year we may have more participants and maybe our selection of cards will be more pleasing to you.

Oksana Trytjak
Parsippany, N.J.

The writer is special projects coordinator at the Ukrainian National Association.

Subscriber in Lviv awaits each issue

Dear Editor:

Greetings from Ukraine.

This is just a brief note of gratitude for your objectivity in publishing my response to Dr. Myron Kuropas' "Faces and Places" article of October 31.

I eagerly await every issue of The Ukrainian Weekly since I often use it to find out what is happening, literally – however paradoxical it may sound – in my backyard. Ukraine is an independent country, but there is limited press freedom.

Ilyia Matthew Labunka
Lviv

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FOR THE RECORD: President Kuchma's inauguration address

Published below is the full text of President Leonid Kuchma's inauguration address, delivered on November 30 at the Ukraina Palace of Culture. The English-language text was released in Washington by the Embassy of Ukraine.

CONCLUSION

I believe that the harsh pragmatism of the current reality and future tasks should not delegate spiritual issues to a level of secondary importance, should not impoverish our inner world, should not rock the moral underpinning of the Ukrainian society.

What makes this pertinent is the fact that it constantly and noticeably influences all aspects of our lives, defines the moral health and historical perspectives of the nation, the image of the state, its prestige, its role and place in the international community.

This prompts me to regard spiritual renaissance as an indispensable component of national renaissance.

Hence the acute imperative of our age, to develop education, science, and new technologies, is a top state priority indeed.

We should include among the highest of social virtues intellect, learning, integrity, education and inner culture.

One should take into account the fact that culture is one of the more precise indicators of the extent of societal development, its adherence to general human values, high morality.

We must constantly, with love and care, strive in this direction. Only weeds grow in an uncultivated field.

This is also important because in the contemporary world, with its openness, intensive interaction, influences and expanses, only fully formed and consolidated cultures can withstand.

A cultural defeat would translate into a political defeat today and an economic one tomorrow.

Of all the different times and condi-

tions, during the present, in particular, the stance and actions of the intelligentsia are imbued with special significance.

I believe the intelligentsia will continue to play its social role and answer its civic calling as an active component of the nation, the foundation of its spiritual environment, the leader of the national idea and national will, concord and agreement, and as a creative force.

Understandably, such a high mission burdens its bearers with no lesser responsibility.

We will approach foreign policy matters with the same degree of harsh pragmatism.

Gaining experience along the way, we were able to shape an international environment favorable to Ukraine.

At this stage, the effectiveness of Ukraine's foreign policy, its international reputation and image point to two fundamental factors.

The first factor is how we deal with internal problems.

The second factor is how actively and thoughtfully, with our national interests in mind, we adapt to the realities of the contemporary world, the world, that, while in the process of integration, continues to live according to the rules of competition.

The key focus of our foreign policy are multilateralism, predictability and stability, preserving Ukraine's non-aligned status.

Confirming our European choice, we make accession to the European Union our strategic aim.

The EU member requirements in many ways correspond to measures we plan to undertake domestically. Foremost among them are those that relate to the people's standard of living.

Entry into the European Union is a matter for future concern. As to the re-establishment of our nation's reputation in the Council of Europe – I place it into the foreground.

Ukraine's European choice, as well as the logic, essence, and aims of its foreign policy are dictated by geopolitical realities.

Located at the crossroads of Europe, within a complex system of international coordinates, Ukraine, which is a part of Central, Souther, and Southeastern Europe, cannot but develop close ties with the countries of these regions.

The strategic partnership with Russia is among the top priorities.

All reasons and arguments – from historical and geopolitical to household and ordinary – inextricably intertwine to yield this conclusion.

Without exaggeration, the Ukrainian-Russian relationship in many ways affects the security of all of Europe.

Another key direction in our foreign policy lies in the strategic partnership with the United States of America.

We will expand our ties with that country – the world leader – that throughout Ukraine's years of independence rendered its priceless political, financial, economic and technical support.

These three major vectors of Ukraine's foreign policy, while each of individual merit, reinforce one another.

We will systematically tie them to cooperation in all other directions.

This regards our closer neighbors – Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Belarus, Moldova and Turkey. In this respect, the experience of previous cooperation with Poland may become a good foundation for elaborating and realizing the joint declaration "Together – Into the 21st Century." Cooperation with the member-countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Baltic states will achieve a new dynamic.

We count on close cooperation with France, Germany, Italy, Japan and all member-states of the EU.

We will strengthen our relations with China and Canada, India and Pakistan,

Korea and Israel, other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As a result of Ukraine's election to the U.N. Security Council, new opportunities for expanding its cooperation with this and other authoritative international organizations, in particular the OSCE, BSEC and NATO are now possible. Ukraine has all the prerequisites to become a strong regional power, to play an important geostrategic role in the new world order of the next century.

We will work seriously and determinedly toward the realization of these possibilities.

During times when social systems disintegrate and are transformed, the state should be especially sensitive to social interests and needs, and the governmental authority is particularly responsible. Already at this point it must be strong, even stronger than that of the mature, established democracies. All this prompts me to pose these questions:

– Does the structure of the government correspond to its purported purpose and tasks?

– Is the government truly responsible to the people?

To resolve these issues, I propose to undertake radical measures, essential changes. The Ukrainian state cannot and will not remain hostage to a less than thorough organization of state power, its instability, amateur steps in undertaking important decisions, unforeseen political tumult and extremism. Authority must and will guarantee consistency, stability and dynamism in our country's development. According to the Constitution of Ukraine, the president is the head of state. This means that he is the only bearer of sovereignty and the only source of power – the people delegate to him the power to guarantee civic concord in society, agreement in the activity of governmental bodies and their cooperation with local government.

I will accomplish this. The nature of the position of the head of state sets this high standard and it was not by accident that the Constitutional Commission included it in the draft of the fundamental law. Features inherited from the totalitarian past, the administrative-command system, still exist in the Ukrainian state.

This is natural and understandable, for in deconstructing this system we chose an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary path.

Now, however, the resulting administrative-managerial hybrid more and more is a contradiction to the practice and tasks facing democratization of the state and social life, and the establishment of market relations.

Therefore, the first order of business, an extensive and all-encompassing administrative reform, will be realized, and the structure of state administration will correspond to its current demands.

The government, Parliament, and other executive and administrative bodies need to be in tune not with the past, but the present and future.

Functions and interests will be redistributed and balanced in a more appropriate fashion between the center and the regions, while at the same time strengthening the unity and maintaining the integrity of the country.

A no less important aspect of the administrative reform is the issue of state employees.

It requires on one hand a substantial reduction of the state apparatus and administrative expenditures.

For this reason, during the course of legal reform – which at this point still is incomplete and draws the attention of all

Chief Rabbi Bleich's message to Kuchma

On November 30, President Leonid Kuchma met with representatives of Ukraine's religious denominations as part of his inauguration day activities. Below is the text of the message that Yaakov Bleich, chief rabbi of Ukraine, read at the meeting with the president. The original text, as read to the president and sent to The Weekly by Rabbi Bleich, is in Ukrainian. The text was translated by The Weekly.

In the name of Ukrainian Jewry, the Jewish Confederation of Ukraine, the Association of Hebrew Religious Organizations of Ukraine, as well as from me personally, I sincerely welcome you with your re-election to the highest public office.

Jews of Ukraine, and the world, for whom the fate of Ukraine, as well as your fate, is not irrelevant, prayed for your victory. With it we connect Ukraine's irreversible choice in favor of freedom, democracy and market reforms. And the people of Ukraine made this choice, once again confirming that they have forever bid farewell to the dark past, that they desire happiness, well-being and progress.

For whom, if not for you, is it understandable how much a nationally elected president can do? You have succeeded in accomplishing much during your first term as president. It is during your presidency that the first modern, democratic

Constitution of Ukraine was accepted, laying the foundation for a law-based state, as well as the introduction of monetary reform. Your notable achievement is inter-ethnic and inter-confessional peace and agreement in Ukraine. Obviously, this is also in great merit to the people whose president you are – peaceful, hard-working people who have known much maltreatment, suffered to obtain freedom and fought for their right to an independent state.

We are grateful to you, esteemed Leonid Danylovysh, for your constant attention to the problems of Ukrainian Jewry, the resolution of issues that have meaning for the Jewish community of Ukraine. The Jews of Ukraine, as all other peoples of the country, obtained the ability to revive their national life, their religion and culture only in an independent Ukraine. Once again, synagogues are being built in Ukraine; doors are being opened to Jewish schools, theaters, cultural centers; the process of returning religious buildings and wealth to religious communities has begun. That is why it is so important to us that Ukraine made the correct choice to continue the movement towards democracy and reforms.

Before you is no less than a tremendous task, the fulfillment of which will place you among the noteworthy figures of European and world history, those such as Abraham Lincoln, Vaclav Havel,

Golda Meir, the famous Kyiv-born daughter of the Jewish people. Your plans attest to the desire to complete what has been started and to the desire to do everything so that Ukraine settles into a place of dignity in the world community.

The fate of a politician, overall, is a thankless fate. The majority of politicians receive recognition only from later generations. I wish for you that you, still during your presidency, receive not only recognition but also satisfaction for what you have done, for your contribution to the history of Ukraine.

It is symbolic that your inauguration takes place right before the bright Jewish holiday, Hanukkah. Hanukkah is a holiday of renewal, a holiday of rebirth, a holiday of rebuilding. And, as my people, who rebuilt the Temple after many years of ruination and contempt, you must renew, revive, rebuild Ukraine – a common homeland for us all.

Dear Mr. President! In keeping with tradition, during holidays and Saturday Sabbath, Jews in synagogues pray for the health and well-being of the Ukrainian state and its president, and wish for success in this noble matter of maintaining peace and quiet in Ukraine, and improving the lives of the Ukrainian people.

May God grant you the strength to be a patient and insistent healer of the ills of our society, a wise and decisive statesman and political leader, one worthy of a great nation and a great country.

(Continued on page 16)

NEWS AND VIEWS: *The IRI delegation's observation of the presidential runoff in Ukraine*

by Bohdan Watral

On November 14 the citizens of Ukraine voted in the runoff election for president. In order to verify the validity of the election process, the International Republican Institute sent a 22-member observation mission to Ukraine, comprising nine volunteers and 13 employees.

Established in 1984, the International Republican Institute is a private, non-profit organization dedicated to advancing democracy worldwide. It is not a part of the Republican Party of the United States; its programs are non-partisan and promote fundamental American principles such as individual liberty, the rule of law and the entrepreneurial spirit that fosters economic development.

Thanks to the sponsorship of Sen. John McCain, chairman of IRI's board of directors, I was appointed as one of international election delegates who monitored the elections. The significance of the mission lies in the fact that democratic elections in Ukraine send a positive message to the entire world that Ukraine is committed to an orderly transition to democracy.

The professionalism and organizational ability of the IRI staff must be noted. The staff should be commended for their efforts, commencing with the pre-mission planning, the background information dissemination, the coordination of travel and accommodations, the in-country briefings, the open access and flexibility in the election observation process, and the debriefing and timely issuance of the preliminary report.

Teams of observers were sent to Cherkasy, Chernivtsi, Donetsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kharkiv, Odesa, Ternopil and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. Two teams of observers remained in Kyiv to observe the process in the capital and to observe the national counting process.

Upon arriving in Ukraine, IRI delegates had an opportunity to meet other each other during the evening of November 10. We spent the next day in briefings, which began with an introduction and welcome from IRI Vice-President Grace Moe and IRI CIS Program Director Judy Van Rest, as well as a presentation on the election environment given by Tom Garrett, the IRI's resident program director for Ukraine. Briefings were also held with U.S.

Bohdan Watral is CEO and president of Selfreliance Ukrainian Federal Credit Union. He is well-known for his work in promoting the re-introduction of credit unions in Ukraine.



The majority of the IRI's delegation of election observers during a group meeting.

Ambassador Steven Pifer; the manager of Barents Group, Kathy Chumachenko; and representatives of the European Community.

On November 12 we had the opportunity to visit the Bykivnia Forest, the gravesite of between 50,000 and 300,000 people killed by the NKVD in the late 1930s as part of the Communists' purge of Ukrainian intellectuals. We also visited Kyiv's Pecherska Lavra to view this historic religious sight.

In the afternoon there was a deployment briefing for the election observers. My observer partner, Patricia Stolnacker, the IRI program officer for Azerbaijan and Georgia, and I were assigned to the city of Chernivtsi and Chernivtsi Oblast.

Arriving in Chernivtsi on November 13 we were met by our local facilitator and our drivers. We also had the opportunity to meet with the editors of two newspapers, Chas and Doba. Both newspapers had strongly endorsed Leonid Kuchma while claiming they were independent. We met with campaign organizers for President Kuchma and Petro Symonenko, and with members of the Regional Election Commission. These were enlightening visits during which we discussed the campaign process, including the role played by the press.

On election day observers began visit-

ing polling sites at 7:30 a.m.; our group visited 12 such sites in the city of Chernivtsi, as well as some in villages in the Carpathian Mountains. We witnessed the election process from the opening of a polling site to the closing of one through the tabulation of votes.

The people at all these sites were friendly and spoke freely about their lives and their expectations for a better economic environment. They asked questions about our Ukrainian diaspora in the United States, about our churches, youth organizations, credit unions, fraternal, bank and cultural organizations. People in Ukraine were amazed how Ukrainian Americans have preserved their ethnic roots while being proud citizens and strong supporters of the democracy and freedom of the United States.

We witnessed the tabulation process at the Regional Election Commission in Chernivtsi, where the votes were counted and transmitted – for the first time in history – by computer to Kyiv. Our observation process concluded at 3 a.m. the following day.

In the Chernivtsi Oblast 73.21 percent voted for Mr. Kuchma and 21.43 percent for Mr. Symonenko. The remaining 5.36 percent of the votes were either for none of the above or voided ballots. By 3 a.m. Leonid Kuchma was pronounced the win-

ner of the presidential election by the National Election Commission in Kyiv.

On November 15 we traveled to two other election sites to obtain their election protocols before leaving for Kyiv the next day.

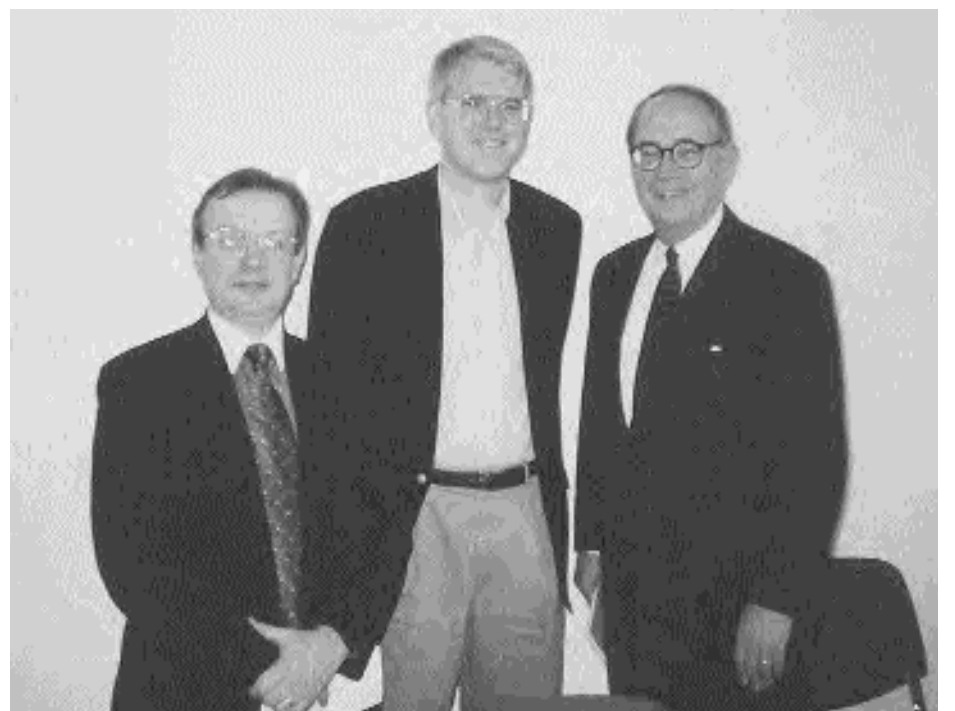
Having been afforded a morning free of responsibilities, on November 16 I met with the president of the Ukrainian National Association of Savings and Credit Unions (UNASCU), Petro Kozynets. After our meeting, we scheduled a meeting with Steven Silcox, the senior business development advisor for the U.S. Agency for International Development, to discuss the roles that UNASCU, credit unions in the United States and the Ukrainian National Credit Union Association can play in a future USAID project focused on small business development. We also discussed credit union development with Chris Crawley, the director of USAID.

In addition, I had the opportunity to speak with Ambassador Pifer about an initiative spearheaded by Illinois State Sen. Walter Dudyecz and Illinois Gov. George Ryan to increase ties between industry in the state of Illinois and the Kyiv Oblast. A meeting was held also with Leonid Knyazev, head of foreign relations for the

(Continued on page 18)



A view of the election process on the day of the runoff.



U.S. Ambassador Steven Pifer is flanked by Gov. Dick Thornburgh (right) and Bohdan Watral.

Christmas memories: A Ukrainian celebration in Canada

by Agnes Kripps

Ah! Ukrainian Christmas! It's so special, so different, and so uniquely Ukrainian. It is completely different from the usual Canadian hubbub of commercialism that appears in the stores even before Halloween has passed.

Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry are richly blessed. Our authentic, time-honored traditions have been passed from one generation to the next – from Ukraine to Canada and to the many other countries of the world to which Ukrainians emigrated.

I remember well "Sviat Vechir" (Holy-Eve/Christmas Eve).

It was a day of intense excitement for my bother, my two sisters and me, not because we anticipated many gifts and toys, but because the entire atmosphere in the house was so different. Mother made it so. We understood that there was to be peace and good will all day, even among us, the children. We were very happy, because the family was together. Togetherness was very important to us.

The house had been thoroughly cleaned, and mother was busy preparing the 12 meatless and non-diary dishes for the "Sviata Vecheria" (Holy Supper) symbolic of the 12 Apostles who gathered for the Last Supper. We all helped.

Hay was spread evenly on the table over which we placed our best Ukrainian embroidered tablecloth. This tradition was to remind us of Christ's birth in the manger. The fragrance of burning incense permeated the air as a reminder of the Three Wise Men who brought gifts for the Christ Child.

A chair was left empty and an extra place setting put on the table in memory of those who died or who were unable to be present for this special family reunion. Guests were not invited for "Sviata Vecheria," as this was a special day for the family. Lights shone throughout the house as light was a symbol of life.

Bread and wheat have always been important elements in Ukrainian life, culture and folklore. At Sviata Vecheria we always had a trinity of "kolach" (round braided bread), as the centerpiece of our dinner table. Kolach comes from the word "kolo," meaning a circle, an old symbol of good luck, prosperity and eternity. Three round "kolachi" were placed one atop the other and a candle was inserted into the top loaf.

Sviata Vecheria was a bountiful, leisurely, memory-filled affair. It was customary for all, except children and elderly, to fast on this day in memory of the hardships endured by Mary on her way to Bethlehem.

The appearance of the first star in the sky was our signal to begin the Holy Supper. Even though many times we weren't able to see a star, we reminded our-

Agnes Kripps of Vancouver is the first person of Ukrainian descent to have been elected to the British Columbia legislature on August 27, 1969, and in 1962 became the first woman in Canada to have been elected president of a branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (now the Ukrainian Canadian Congress). She is also a leading activist of the Vancouver Chapter of the Children of Chernobyl Canadian Fund.

selves that at this particular moment, all over the world, Ukrainians were spiritually united as they sat down to begin their meal with "kutia" – the first and indispensable dish, a preparation of cooked wheat sweetened with honey and ground poppyseeds.

Kutia epitomizes the Sviata Vecheria as the wheat symbolizes a spiritual clan unity of all living and deceased family members.

Mother told us that honey had its own medicinal and ritual symbolism and was quite prominent in old wedding rituals. Poppyseeds symbolized fertility and abundance, and the poppy head represented the family with all members inside.

After reciting in unison the "Lord's Prayer" at the table, our father began the Holy Supper in a ceremonial manner by raising the first spoonful of kutia, invoking God's grace with the traditional Christmas greeting "Khrystos Rodyvsia" (Christ is Born) to which we all replied in unison, "Slavite Yoho" (Glorify Him). Everyone had to partake of the kutia, if only a spoonful.

After kutia we ate borsch – beet soup, known as the national soup of Ukraine; whitefish – baked and/or fried; "holubtsi" (cabbage rolls) stuffed with rice or with buckwheat; pyrohy (dumplings) stuffed with either mashed potatoes or sauerkraut, and some with prunes. We also ate "nachynka" (cornmeal stuffing), and a favorite of mine were "pidpenky" (boletus mushrooms lovingly picked by my father). These pidpenky were dried, and some were preserved in jars to be used for this supper and any other special occasions. Not to be forgotten, we also had "koloचना fasolia" (whipped beans) and "beeb" (broad beans) and bread rolls with poppyseed filling. For dessert we had "uzvar" (a compote of stewed dried fruit), "medivnyk" (honey cake), "makivnyk" (poppy seed roll) and melt-in-your-mouth "khrustyky," (delicate fried pastries) nuts and fresh fruits.

It was a never-to-be-forgotten event. We ate a small serving of each one of the foods because each dish was traditional, and had to be tasted first before we could have extra helpings of our favorite ones.

After supper we sang traditional Ukrainian carols – the first one was always "Boh Predvichnyi" (God Eternal). Memories were shared and stories told about family life in Ukraine, where my grandparents, uncles and aunts and their families lived.

I remember mother relating to us all the customs and traditions of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine. She wished that we would continue to practice these customs in our later life, thereby enriching our own lives, as well as those of Canadians not of Ukrainian descent.

She wanted us to understand, love and respect everything related to our culture so that we would be better equipped to enrich our evolving Canadian culture.

Somehow on this Christmas Eve even our behavior at home was unusual. It was in keeping with the peace and quiet brought to the world with the ancient greeting of "Khrystos Rodyvsia" and reply "Slavite Yoho."

Soon it would be time to dress warmly and walk through the glistening snow to church for the special



Myron Levytsky

midnight service. But first, my father played the "drymba" (Jews harp) that he had brought with him in 1906 from his village of Kadubivtsi, in the "raion" of Zastavna Chernivtsi Oblast in Bukovyna, Ukraine. He played the melodies of many carols, much to our delight. Each one of us, when old enough, took turns to try and play this unique, small instrument that was placed between the lips and held in place with one hand, as a finger of the other played the metal tongue of the drymba.

The church bells of St. Michael's Ukrainian (Greek) Orthodox Church – the oldest Ukrainian church at 110 Disraeli St. in Winnipeg – rang clearly through the cold of the night. The church was filled to capacity. After the service we all sang "Boh Predvichnyi" and once again people greeted one another with "Khrystos Rodyvsia" – "Slavite Yoho."



Jacques Hnizdovsky

My Guardian Angel's Christmas Gift

by Edward Andrusko

In December 1944 I was returning home from the battlefields of the South Pacific during World War II. My 8,000 mile odyssey took over two and one-half months by hospital ship, medical evacuation plane, ambulance, truck, bus and, finally, by train.

I had survived three years of war, had been wounded three times, and finally neared home on December 26 – the day after American Christmas. Being Ukrainian I would still make it home for “our Christmas” on January 7.

I was on the last leg of my trip on a bitterly cold night as our train left New York's Grand Central Station heading for the New Jersey shore cities. The train was running late due to the heavy snow.

We all had dreamed of a white Christmas while faraway in the tropical South Pacific, and I was sure getting one! I also dreamed of the great Ukrainian cooking and baking my mother promised me as soon as I got home. She would make all my old favorites: pyrohy, stuffed cabbage, borsch, babka, sausage, poppyseed cake ... and much more. I savored and pictured each delicious dish of food as a work of art ... Gosh, this train was going slow!

Passengers disembarked our train city after city. After the Perth Amboy, N.J., stop, I was the only passenger left in my car at that late hour. The next stop was my destination. The conductor entered and told me that we would arrive in about 15 minutes or so, and that I must disembark quickly for the already late train would spend only a few minutes at my stop. Although tired and sleepy, I was very anxious to get off the train and head home. The train rumbled along for a while toward South Amboy then suddenly, with wheels screeching, we came to a halt. I grabbed my seabag, buttoned my overcoat, and raced to the doorway. I was finally home!

I opened the large heavy door, and in the dark took hold of the railing and started down the stairs. I halted in mid-step and stared at the ground. How strange – why was I seeing a bright shiny moon at my feet? In that instant of hesitation, before I could take my last step off the train, a gust of wind burst from the bitter cold night and pushed me backward. Then the train lunged

forward, hurling me off balance and down to the train's floor.

I sat stunned on the freezing floor and stared in shock as the moon raced along with the moving train. As structures of a bridge passed, I realized to my horror that the train had not stopped at my station, but on a narrow old train bridge that crossed the Raritan River. Had I taken that final step off the train, I would have plunged into the icy black river 20 feet below. There was no protection, no guardrail, just a dark abyss. Had it not been for the reflection of the bright moon moving over the waves of the wide river, I surely would have fallen and been swept out to sea with the rushing tide.

Still sitting on the cold iron floor in the exit doorway, I watched the trestle bridge structure flashing by, racing like my thoughts. After three years of war and combat on the other side of the world, my guardian angel protected me again – this time with a Christmas gift of a bright, shining moon reflected at my feet, and a miraculous gust of heavenly wind, saving my life – just a mile away from home.

The train pulled into South Amboy. I saw the station decked with a thick blanket of snow and bright Christmas lights. As I stepped off the train I thanked God for bringing me home.

There were large “Merry Christmas” and “Welcome Home Servicemen” signs hanging over the station door. The signs reminded me of my two servicemen brothers fighting somewhere overseas. I had not seen them in years, and I worried for their safety.

When I opened the station door, I was greeted by my excited and cheerful relatives. And there in their uniforms stood my two older brothers, also home safe from the war.

As we left the train station I looked up into the night and marveled at the big, downy flakes falling as soft and white as the feathers of angel's wings.

Free-lance writer Edward Andrusko was born in Perth Amboy, N.J., and now resides in Boulder, Colo. This is his fourth Christmas story for The Weekly.

Ivan's Story

Ivan was getting cold sitting out in his back yard in the snow. He didn't wear boots; he didn't like them and anyway he didn't own any. The thin sneakers he wore had a few holes in them and they did a poor job of keeping out the cold.

Ivan had been in his back yard for about an hour already. And try as he might, he could not come up with an idea for his mother's Christmas gift. He shook his head as he thought, “This is useless. Even if I do come up with an idea, I don't have any money to spend.”

Ivan's father was a Ukrainian immigrant who came to America in the late 1940's. He was a proud, hard-working laborer who came home, lunch box in hand, ready to give Ivan a warm hug and kiss. Ever since his father passed away three years ago, the family of five had struggled. It wasn't because his mother didn't care, or try, there just never seemed to be enough. She even worked nights at the hospital, but the small wage that she was earning could only be stretched so far.

What the family lacked in money and material things, they more than made up for in love, family unity and faith. They believed strongly in their faith and had a deep attachment to their church.

Ivan had three sisters who ran the household in their mother's absence. All three of his sisters had finished sewing beautiful Ukrainian gifts for their mother. Somehow it just wasn't fair. Here it was two days away from Christmas and he had nothing.

Wiping a tear from his eye, he kicked the snow and started to walk down the street to where the shops were. It wasn't easy being 7 years old and without a father, especially when he needed a man to talk to.

He walked from shop to shop, looking into each decorated window. Everything seemed so beautiful and so out of reach. As he reluctantly turned to walk home, he suddenly caught the glimmer of the sun's rays reflecting off of something along the curb. He reached down and discovered a shiny dime.

Never had anyone felt as wealthy as Ivan felt at that moment. As he held his newfound treasure, a warmth spread throughout his entire body and he walked into the first store he saw. His excitement dissipated when salesperson after salesperson told him he could not buy anything with only a dime.

He saw a flower shop and went inside to wait in line. When the Ukrainian shop owner asked if he could help him, Ivan presented the dime and asked if he could buy one flower for his mother's Christmas gift. The shop owner looked slowly at Ivan and his ten-cent offering. He leaned forward and put his hand on Ivan's shoulder and said, “You just wait here and I'll see what I can do for you.”

Ivan waited, he looked at the beautiful flowers and, even though he was a boy, he could see why mothers and girls liked flowers.

The sound of the door closing as the last customer left jolted Ivan back to reality. The last one in the shop, he began to feel alone and afraid.

Suddenly the shop owner came out and moved to the counter. There before Ivan's eyes, lay 12 beautiful fresh long-stemmed roses, with leaves of green and tiny white flowers all tied together with a big silver bow. Ivan's heart sank as the owner placed them gently into a long white box.

“That will be 10 cents young man,” the shop owner said, reaching out his hand for the dime. Slowly, Ivan moved his hand to give the man his dime. Could this be true? No one else would give him a thing for his dime!

Sensing the boy's reluctance, and knowing the boy's family from church, the shop owner added, “I just happen to have these roses on sale for 10 cents a dozen. Would you want them?”

This time Ivan did not hesitate, and when the man placed the long box into his arms, he knew it was true. As the shopkeeper turned inside, his wife walked out. “Who were you talking to back there and where are the roses you were fixing?”

Staring out the window, and blinking the tears from his own eyes, he explained: “A strange thing happen to me this morning. While I was setting up to open the shop, I thought I heard a voice telling me to set aside a dozen of my best roses for a special gift. I wasn't sure at the time whether I had lost my mind or what, but I set them aside anyway. Then just a few minutes ago a little boy came into the shop and wanted to buy a flower, for his mother, with only one small dime.

“When I carefully looked at him, I saw myself, many years ago, in our village in Ukraine. I, too, was a poor boy with nothing to get for my mother. A bearded kind old man, whom I never knew, and never saw again, stopped me in the village and told me he wanted to give me a large bag of fresh fruit. When I saw that little boy, I knew who that voice was, and I brought out the dozen of my very best roses that were set aside.”

The shop owner and his wife hugged each other tightly and thanked God. As they stepped out into the bitter cold air, they heard the ringing of their church bells in the distance. They somehow didn't feel cold at all.

Victor Bucharew is a Ukrainian community activist from Harrisburg, Pa. His most recent submission to The Weekly was “Camp is for counselors, too,” published in our “A Ukrainian Summer” issue.

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Kuchma abolishes...

(Continued from page 1)

part of it.”
The minister noted that Ukraine has a limited land market, which allows for the sale of land plots only among owners.

Oleksander Tkachenko, chairman of Ukraine’s Parliament, quickly attacked the decree at a press conference on December 7. He said the abolition of collective farms would lead to famine and questioned its constitutionality. Mr. Tkachenko also accused President Kuchma of caving in to pressure from the International Monetary Fund.

Other Parliament leaders also criticized the agricultural reform decree. “The decree is issued in a totalitarian way and may cause unforeseen consequences, including starvation in Ukraine under current economic conditions,” said National Deputy Vasyl Kuratsenko of the Peasant Party, a member of the Parliament’s Agricultural Committee, according to UNIAN. He said the committee will appeal to Ukraine’s Constitutional Court to examine the document’s legality.

Another national deputy, Oleksander Riabchenko of the Green Party faction, said he agreed with the president’s move, but that it must be backed up by law.

“This matter has now been politically proclaimed, but it still must be legislative-ly enacted,” said Mr. Riabchenko.

The agricultural reform decree offers the beginning of long-awaited radical economic reforms. The process ostensibly began immediately after President Kuchma took office in 1994, but quickly bogged down as competing interests pressured the president into postponements and delays. At his November 30 inauguration President Kuchma announced that the reform effort would be reinvigorated and would take on a radical character.

The president’s economic reform tsar, Vice Prime Minister Serhii Tyhypko, who has become the front man in the effort to step up the pace, said a day before the inauguration that a sea change in thinking must take place in government and society.

Mr. Tyhypko described what the Kuchma administration pursued in the first term as “the politics of small steps and compromises,” which had led to “economic stagnation, the growth of internal conflicts and a twisting of market ideology.”

He said the only realistic alternative is the implementation of a complex plan of radical economic reforms, in which he included: new monetary, pricing and budget policies; a change in the role of the government from an economic player to a regulator of the private sector, to include extensive administrative reforms; and the creation of favorable terms for the development of small-and medium-size businesses.

Mr. Tyhypko said the government should no longer subsidize budget deficits and should allow the hryvnia to float against world currencies to determine its real worth. Prices of certain staple goods should no longer be government-subsidized, and welfare programs for the less fortunate must be revamped and run according to clear and strict requirements.

In the budget realm, the vice prime minister called for an end to government support for bankrupt and deficit-making government enterprises, and more effective utilization of resources for government services and social support for the population; an end to tax-free status to certain industries identified as “critical”; and audit control and registration of all government contracts.

He said that municipalities must take responsibility for their own budgets, which should be allocated in blocks and then audited, while the private sector must assume responsibility for the development of the economy, with the government reduced to the role of stimulator and regulator.

Extensive administrative reform is required, according to Mr. Tyhypko, along with a reorientation of the role of bureaucrats away from that of controllers and overseers to public servants, whose responsibilities should be to make society run effectively, efficiently and safely.

He called for broad privatization, to include segments of industry that have been excluded from the process thus far, and said that factories which cannot be sold off should be declared bankrupt or reorganized. The process itself must be simplified and made completely transparent, said Mr. Tyhypko.

In his comprehensive plan, the vice prime minister also called for extensive banking reform and the development of bankruptcy laws. He admitted that housing subsidies must be removed and communal services payments on apartments increased.

Mr. Tyhypko said that, while Ukrainian society had expressed its rejection of the command-control style of the Communist system in the presidential elections, it had not yet delineated what it expects as an alternative, and called on such a public debate to begin. Before radical reforms can take place, society must give its approval, suggested the vice prime minister.

“The core of the discussion that is needed today is to choose a direction. It is happening – in informal kitchen settings, in discussions on government portfolios. But society needs a serious and intelligent public discussion,” said Mr. Tyhypko.

Communists threaten impeachment over abolition of collectivization

RFE/RL Newslines

KYIV – Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko on December 15 appealed to the Verkhovna Rada to launch the process of impeaching President Leonid Kuchma following his decree on abolishing collective farms.

Mr. Symonenko said the decree amounts to “national treason,” Interfax reported.

Presidential administration head Volodymyr Lytvyn commented that he treats Symonenko’s appeal “humorously.”

Communists want union expanded

KYIV – Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko told Interfax on December 9 that the Communist caucus in the Verkhovna Rada is going to make the country’s leadership “consider the possibility” of Ukraine joining the Russia-Belarus union treaty. “Under circumstances of the financial and political expansion of cultures alien to us ... this union is a positive phenomenon also for Ukraine,” Mr. Symonenko noted. (RFE/RL Newslines)

Newsbriefs

(Continued from page 2)

Belarus, therefore it’s impossible to conclude that the decisions on the union treaty with Russia reflect the will of the Belarusian people or that they are voluntary in nature.” He added that he is unsure whether the treaty signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka will meet “Mr. Lukashenka’s fondest aims and desires.” (RFE/RL Newslines)

Clash of reforms...

(Continued from page 1)

legislated to support the law on farm enterprises, the original statute on agricultural reform passed in December 1991. The fund was supposed to give interest-free cash credits and to supply farmers with fuel and machinery on consignment under optimal terms.

This year, however, the fund was given merely 3 million hrv for programs to support Ukraine's 35,500 farmers.

"A 100-hectare farm needs at least \$20,000-\$30,000 to go into business," explained Anatolii Starunsky, the director of the fund. "We do not have the resources to help everybody, and do so only with collateral or a guarantor."

The shortage of contracts and markets in an undeveloped system also makes attempts to launch a business highly risky. Farmers do not know where to sell their harvest, or even where to store it. They often enter into contracts with commercial firms that give them fuel and seed on the promise that they will receive a portion of the future harvest. However, the prices of agricultural commodities are low and supplies are expensive. At the end of 1998 the state price for a ton of fuel was five to six times higher than for a ton of grain.

Besides the uncertainty in agricultural reform, a more basic problem exists: the unyielding post-Soviet mentality of control and corruption and graft.

During the period of Soviet state control, local government officials - especially the directors of collective farms - became accustomed to the villagers' total dependence on them. Today many potential individual farmers simply do not have the strength or the knowledge to fight the bureaucratic mill. These are villagers who are accustomed to working hard, but not in the political or bureaucratic field.

The current conflict between farmers and kolhosp (collective farm) directors started during the second phase of the reforms, when the land of collective farms was divided among its members, the villagers that belonged to the collective. Each person got a portion of the total land jointly owned, but few specific plots of land were doled out.

The original idea was to create enterprises based on private property, but it has not turned out that way. For the most part the collective farm directors either bought out people at low prices or convinced people to take stock certificates, turning the collective farms into joint stock enterprises controlled by the directors.

"I still can't get the certificate to my plot of land," said Viktoriya Venchikovskaya, a

farmer from the village of Dzvinkove in Kyiv Oblast. She has been fighting for the document with the head of the village council for many months. Meanwhile, her land continues to be used by the director of the collective farm.

"The parceling out of land became a feeding trough for the directors," said Mr. Starunsky of the Ukrainian Support Fund. He said that today's problems are a direct result of the past philosophy of collective ownership of land.

"If something belongs to everybody, it is nobody's," said Mr. Starunsky. In that case the local officials become the only masters in the village, and they think about their own profits first, he explained. They "write off" machinery - tractors or harvesters only eight years old - and it's quite legal. Local directors know the law better than the villagers, they have ties to regional state administration officials. That, to some extent, is why there are a lot of new agro-entrepreneurs among the former directors.

There are exceptions. An example of this is the Novosilskyi KSP (collective joint enterprise) in Kyiv Oblast. The Novosilskyi enterprise has several modern German and Belarusian tractors and harvesters, and new Belgian milling equipment; it plans to build a bakery as well as barns for its cows. Novosilskyi employs more than 300 people.

The farm is a success thanks to Oleksander Plotnitsky, the enterprise's director, who chose another path to success. He maintains that he has not cheated, or stolen: no bribes, no larceny, no embezzlement. Nonetheless, as Mr. Plotnitsky admits, he has received much help from Viktor Pylypyshyn, the president of the Stoik Concern who, most importantly, is a national deputy and head of the Committee on Consumer Rights and Markets. Today Novosilskyi is part of the Stoik Concern.

Villagers employed by Novosilskyi, however, really don't care who owns what, only that they get paid regularly for their work. "I was lucky to find this place," said a security guard for Novosilskyi, who did not want his name used, and who makes about 140 hrv monthly (about \$30).

Most villagers are grateful that they simply receive their miserly incomes, ironically, for working on land which is supposed to belong to them.

Statistics show that villagers have little faith in land reform: 66 percent said that they are against a free land market, according to the Kyiv Institute of Social Research. In 1998 only 4 percent said that changes were needed, and 52 percent responded that they found the familiar Soviet system of collective farms better. Only 9 percent of villagers said they would like to start their own private farm.

There is a problem with attitude and outlook. People have become accustomed to being menial laborers, cogs in the Soviet system. Villagers often are skeptical and even mocking of those who attempt farming on their own. Many simply do not have the money to invest in a private farm. For them the reorganization of the collective farm is simply reform on paper.

Since the collectivization of the village, peasants have been among the poorest people in society. Today reforms and the potential to farm their lands is considered a joke among villagers who are often owed 14 to 15 months back pay. Today they survive mostly as a result of their private gardens and some livestock.

Hundreds of villages are without gas, and electrical brown-outs are common in most places. There are schools with only two or three children in a classroom, and a chronic lack of teachers. Some villages have a single telephone, located in the post office. According to statistics, 70 percent of villagers do not have a job.

Even if they wanted to rebuild the agricultural sector, the peasants first must survive.


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Errata

• In the report on the UNA General Assembly meeting (December 12), a phrase was inadvertently omitted from the published text. The paragraph reading "After approval of the agenda and acceptance of the minutes from the previous session of the General Assembly - the special meeting convened in November 1998, six months after the 34th Regular Convention of the UNA" should have concluded with the words: "Executive Committee members delivered their reports."

• In the "Focus on Philately" column (December 12) reference was made to a figure that was not published with the text due to technical difficulties with its reproduction. Also, due to a typographical error, it was written: "Just prior to the complete occupation of Khust, President Augustine Voloshyn and part of the government led the country"; the correct verb is "fled." The correct e-mail address for Dr. Ingert Kuzych is ingertjk@gateway.net.

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Report of the Auditing Committee...

(Continued from page 5)

Summarizing Soyuzivka's 1999 season, we note that, despite increased business in July, business in August was unsatisfactory. Business was up during the fall.

The Executive Committee continuously seeks new methods to increase the income of Soyuzivka because all realistic means of reducing expenses have been utilized. As a result, we conclude that without a drastic increase in income Soyuzivka will remain deficit-producing and will have a negative effect on the future of the UNA.

5. Organizing Department of the UNA

During the report period, from January 1 through September 30 of this year, 406 new members were enrolled for insurance coverage of \$4,376,922. During the same period in 1998, which was a convention year, the UNA gained 574 new members insured for \$8,649,533.

Reporting on the enrollment of new members, we affirm that this is mostly the work of branch secretaries since at this time there is only one professional organizer working for the UNA.

It should be noted that a significant number of small branches was merged with bigger branches, which is beneficial for UNA activity.

We affirm that the Executive Committee has taken and is continuing to take all steps possible to improve organizing activity aimed at the enrollment of new members. Proof of this is seen in the introduction of new classes of insurance, which gives secretaries and organizers new opportunities to enroll new members. Also, National Secretary Martha Lysko organized and conducted a secretaries' course at Soyuzivka, and, subsequently, similar courses in many UNA districts in the United States and Canada.

Throughout the year insurance authorities of the state of New Jersey conducted their regular triennial audit of the UNA. The results of this audit still are not ready, as this work has not yet been completed. Asked to participate in the audit were the firms Arthur Andersen, PriceWaterhouseCooper, INS and others.

The UNA has assembled a Year 2000 Project Team that meets regularly. It has prepared an assessment of exposure to possible Y2K problems. The UNA's IBM AS/400 main computer and personal computers, as well as operational and administrative software are year 2000 compliant. They were tested internally and re-tested by outside specialists to ensure they are ready for the year 2000. The UNA is making reasonable inquiry of its service providers and vendors about whether they are taking all appropriate steps to become year 2000 ready on a timely basis.

The Auditing Committee urges not only UNA members, but the entire patriotic Ukrainian community to become subscribers to UNA publications and to contribute to their press funds in order to decrease their deficits.

The Auditing Committee received written and oral complaints about the UNA Executive Committee. Most of them were found to be based on unreliable information.

Some members of the UNA General Assembly turned with their complaints to insurance authorities of New Jersey, which undermines the authority of and trust in the leadership of the UNA and harms the general welfare of the organization.

As well, it was noted that there is a lack of cooperation among certain co-workers at the UNA Home Office.

The Auditing Committee strictly warns against repeating such harmful incidents in the future. The general welfare of the UNA should dictate the behavior and deeds of its workers and members.

For the Auditing Committee:

William Pastuszek, chairman
Stefan Hawrysz, vice-chairman
Dr. Alexander Serafyn, secretary
Myron Groch and **Yaroslav Zaviysky**, members

(Translated by The Ukrainian Weekly.)

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"Dreamscapes" by Alexandra Isaievych on exhibit at Woodrow Wilson School

PRINCETON, N.J. – "Dreamscapes," an exhibit of paintings by Alexandra Isaievych, is on display at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, in Robertson Hall's Bernstein Gallery, December 13 through January 14, 2000.

Ms. Isaievych, a resident of Summit, N.J., is an accomplished artist who earned her master of public affairs degree from the Woodrow Wilson School in 1995. She works primarily in oil and

acrylics, and describes her paintings as explorations of "the hidden mysteries of life – a diverse, dynamic and colorful array of different worlds in which people, nature, thoughts, spirits and emotions interact."

A native of Lviv, who holds a bachelor of fine arts degree from the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and Tufts University, Ms. Isaievych often includes in her paintings icon-like figures that reflect a strong Byzantine influence, portrayed in a minimalist style.

Combining her passion for art with an interest in public policy and economics, Ms. Isaievych has worked on several economic assistance programs in Ukraine, an experience that has strengthened her conviction that "art which provides inspiration for reclaiming the dignity of the human spirit is as essential as good economic advice."

Her work has previously been exhibited at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in Cambridge, Mass., The Ukrainian Museum in New York City, and the New Jersey Center for Visual Arts in Summit, N.J.

There will be a reception for the artist on Sunday, January 9, at 2 p.m. at the gallery. The Bernstein Gallery in Robertson Hall is open daily from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. weekdays and from 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. weekends. There is no charge for admission.

Selected paintings and other works by the artist can be seen on the internet at <http://members.home.net/aisaiev/>.



"Dialog," oil on canvas, 1999.



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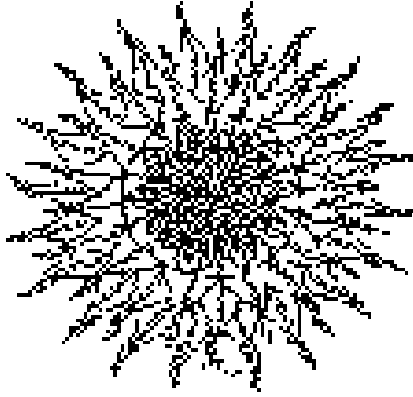

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President Kuchma's...

(Continued from page 8)

the legal bodies of the country – work on legislation regarding the organization and functioning of the public authority commands central importance.

On the other hand, the state and the nation need not simply functional, but also honest authorities.

This, among other things, requires increased reliance on the staff of the new generation – pragmatists and professionals. These are people of superior moral fiber, decisive action, able to materialize their patriotism in specific deeds. Staff must be evaluated – and I will follow this maxim myself, and we expect this from others – not on the basis of declarations of personal devotion or party affiliation that on managerial experience, and results accomplished with regard to given tasks. In general they should be based on economic conditions and the social well-being of our citizens.

As the head of state, I will devote special attention to establishing the political structure in Ukrainian society, strengthening democratic institutions, guaranteeing rights and liberties to persons and citizens.

To me, this is possibly the most essential factor contributing toward strengthening the state and the civil character of power, and constructing a civic society.

I will initiate action to promote the adoption of the law on political parties, that would help them assume the role of political crystallizers in society, and to actually make them able to handle this role.

It would at the same time clearly and thoroughly indicate the rights and obligations of the political opposition, and

would safeguard society from destructive intentions and actions.

Having come forth in defense of honest politics, I turn to all responsible political forces in Ukraine, asking for agreement.

It is time to understand that the elections are over. And so, it is time to bury the hatchets, sharpened in pre-election battles, to renounce the predisposition to conflict and perpetual battle, and to take up work jointly in the name of our own people.

Mother Ukraine is one, and it is impossible to partition it.

Let us aim at the establishment of a favorable atmosphere of constructive collaboration, mutual assistance in society, the benevolent power of the free press, the authority and influence of labor unions, churches, national-cultural affiliations, all joint activities, even the family.

These are the prerequisites for a strong Ukrainian state and country, a just community and a dignified life.

Fellow countrymen! Honorable Council!

I won the highest position offered by the state for the sake of remaining in history as the third President of Ukraine.

Today, I am enriched by experience, positive as well as negative.

Today I know to a greater extent what needs to be done, and what need not be done.

Confidence in my own strengths and capabilities, and the strengths and capabilities of the Ukrainian nation, gives me the basis upon which I can say that before you stands the new president of Ukraine. I believe in Ukraine, its vibrant dawn and its fortunate future, and in the well-being and prosperity of my nation.

I will work toward these goals.

May God give us strength in this sacred endeavor.

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Toronto community...

(Continued from page 4)

Conquest's most recent book, "Reflections on a Ravaged Century" (W.W. Norton and Co. 1999), that appeared in the November 21 issue of The New York Times Book Review.

Josef Joffe, a Munich-based liberal journalist, in an article titled "The Worst of Times," wrote that "Conquest ... at Stanford's Hoover Institution and Richard Pipes at Harvard did not have an easy time in the academy during the 1970s and 80s, when 'anti-Communist' became an epithet and moral judgments about the 'evil empire' became, well, 'judgmental.'"

To dramatize the moral perversity of the Soviet regime's apologists, Dr. Sysyn quoted Dr. Conquest's interview with a Marxist historian, Eric Hobsbawm, who averred that even if he had known that millions had been murdered by the regime, he still would not have renounced communism because "the chance of a new world being born in great suffering would still have been worth backing."

Dr. Sysyn again read from Mr. Joffe's review: "This is the quintessential answer of the 20th century, stunning in its cruelty and breathtaking in its naïveté ... Evil means will not produce lofty ends, but poison them ... Though wrapping themselves in the emancipatory banner of the Enlightenment, the Communists were no better than the Nazis. Conquest asks us to listen to Ilya Ehrenburg, Stalin's poet laureate, when writing about the kulaks...: 'Not one of them was guilty of anything, but they belonged to a class that was guilty of everything.' Substitute 'Jew' for 'kulak,' and 'race' for 'class,' and you can hear Heinrich Himmler."

Dr. Sysyn also proposed some dramatic "what ifs?" Among them, he posited that, if evidence about the Famine been listened to, the West might not have agreed to the secret "repatriation" clauses of the Yalta agreement. Hundreds of displaced persons in Central Europe would not have been driven to suicide, and hundreds of thousands if not millions could have been spared the horrors of the gulag after they were forcibly returned to the USSR, the scholar said.

Concluding his address, Dr. Sysyn pointed out that if global awareness of the Famine-genocide is to take the next step, Ukraine and its society will have to confront its Soviet past. He said that compared to recent commemorations of victims of genocide in Armenia, where a million of that country's citizens and members of its diaspora turned out to consecrate a massive monument, Ukraine's efforts in this regard were minuscule.

Remembering many genocides

On November 27 at St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church a moving candle-lighting ceremony was the centerpiece of an ecumenical service conducted in memory of the 1932-1933 Famine-genocide's victims, as well as the victims of all crimes against humanity committed in this century.

In all, 21 candles were lit for victims of genocides and crimes committed all around the globe. UCC Toronto Branch President Maria Szkambara read off a brief incantation about the particular victims, and then an altar boy would apply the flame from his candle to the wick of another held by a youth flanking the altar.

In chronological order, horrors visited upon the First Nations of North America, Congo (by King Leopold of Belgium), Armenia, the Pontus (southeastern area of the Black Sea where Greeks were murdered en masse), Libya (in Mussolini's occupations and decimation of Arab population), Belarus, China (during Japan's invasion), Poland, the Baltic states, European Jews, Roma (Gypsies), Palestine, India-Pakistan,

Biafra, Cambodia, East Timor, Kurdistan, Sri Lanka, Rwanda-Burundi and the Balkans, were recited.

The Rev. Bohdan Sencio of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Bishop Isidore Borecky of the Ukrainian Catholic Church headed a contingent of 12 clergymen conducting the service, during which the shrine also served as a venue for a secular remembrance.

The Rev. Sencio delivered the homily. In part, it was a recitation of grievances against Stalin and his henchmen, as well as against those in the West who abetted the crime by assisting the Soviet regime with their denials that it was occurring - such as U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who chose to recognize the USSR in 1933, and Walter Duranty of The New York Times, who filed false news reports about Ukraine.

In part, it was an evocation of the evil time when "the sky darkened, the sun went out, the wind howled the funerary 'Vichnaia Pamiat' as mounds of corpses were buried, as even those clinging to life were thrown into pits." In part, it was a condemnation of the abuse of God-given free will, surrendered to leaders who ordered the destruction of millions.

In conclusion, it was an invocation. "Let us not rest until we fix in the world's consciousness the tragedies of this century, so that there be no more famines, no holocausts, no more mass crimes, no genocides," the Rev. Sencio said.

Ukraine's consul general in Toronto, Mykola Kyrychenko, condemned "the deliberate action by Stalin and the Soviet regime that brought about the death of millions of Ukrainian peasants to ensure the country's subjugation."

Mr. Kyrychenko added his voice to those commending the Ukrainian diaspora for its role in preserving the memory of the Famine, praised the decision to commemorate the victims of other tragedies as well, and stressed the further purpose that such ceremonies should have. "Let memory become a real corrective force against the instigators of violence," the consul said.

Assadourian as keynote speaker

The keynote speaker at the week's concluding event was Sarkis Assadourian, the Brampton-based federal member of Parliament (MP) who is spearheading an effort to establish a museum commemorating victims of crimes against humanity in Ottawa. Mr. Assadourian noted that his approach aims to avoid controversies over what is genocide and what is not, and to head off pointless debates that "compare catastrophes."

Mr. Assadourian averred that a museum should be built to mark all such crimes and that Canada is the best country for such a facility. "Canada sends peacekeepers to impede, to prevent such genocides and crimes today, and that's why people should support this effort."

"It's not my mission, it's not an Armenian mission, it's not a Ukrainian mission, not a Jewish mission, to commemorate victims and raise the consciousness of the world so that horrors do not grow to monstrous proportions. It's a mission of all the peoples of the world," the MP underscored.

The Liberal backbencher told the audience that his private member's bill to establish the museum (initially badged as C-479, then as C-224) had been recently endorsed by a member of the Cabinet, Heritage Minister Sheila Copps.

In response to a question Mr. Assadourian addressed to her in the House on November 18, Ms. Copps praised her colleague for assembling a nationwide coalition of 22 organizations and encouraged all MPs to speak in support of Bill C-224.

The MP praised the Ukrainian Canadian community for mobilizing an effective campaign of letters and postcards in support of the museum, which recently topped 80,000, over half of which came from Ukrainians.

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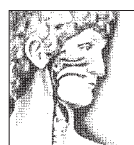
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Parliament rejects...

(Continued from page 1)

the course of 60 days. He added that pro-presidential factions Revival of the Regions, the Social Democratic Party (United) and the Labor Party voted against Mr. Pustovoitenko, which justifies the plan for dismissal of the Verkhovna Rada for its inability to make decisions.

A leading member of the Social Party and the parliamentary faction Liyvi Tsent (Left Center), Yosyp Vynskyi, suggested that Mr. Kuchma will submit the name of National Bank of Ukraine Chairman Viktor Yuschenko as the next candidate for the position of the prime minister.

He added that, according to his faction's sources, the International Monetary Fund insisted on Mr. Yuschenko's candidacy for the prime minister's position during President Kuchma's recent trip to Washington.

Meanwhile, the chair of the parliamentary Budget Committee, Yulia Tymoshenko, said the candidacy of acting Vice Prime Minister for the Economy Serhii Tyhyhko would not be supported because after several years of working as the main reformer in the country he has accomplished nothing.

Parliamentary factions of the Communist Party, Labor Party and Progressive Socialist Party also did not voice support for Mr. Pustovoitenko.

The leader of the Communist Party, Petro Symonenko, said, "we will not support Pustovoitenko's candidacy since we consider the actions of the Cabinet, which he heads, as destructive and wrongful, which led to the state of catastrophe of Ukraine's economy."

The Progressive Socialist Party did not support the acting prime minister due to

his inability to introduce reasonable social policy and his support of policies that make Ukraine dependent on the IMF, said one of the leaders of the faction, Volodymyr Marchenko. He added that the faction would not support any other candidate for prime minister.

Eastern Economist reported that President Kuchma has not yet decided whose candidacy he will next submit to the Verkhovna Rada for approval, and that he intends to discuss that issue with heads of parliamentary factions.

On December 15, Interfax reported that President Kuchma met with right-wing and center parliamentary caucuses and groups and heard their proposal that he nominate NBU Chairman Yuschenko for prime minister.

According to the Constitution, the prime minister must be approved no later than 60 days after the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers, which, in accordance with the law, took place on the day of the presidential inauguration, November 30.

In a related development reported by RFE/RL Newline, following the Parliament's rejection of Mr. Pustovoitenko, President Kuchma stressed his election campaign pledge to seek a referendum on the "redistribution of powers" in Ukraine. "If there is a constructive majority, let [the Parliament] work until 2002. If there is no such majority, the country does not need this Parliament," Mr. Kuchma stated.

According to the president, the referendum should decide whether to give the president the right to dissolve the Parliament if it fails to form a majority. It would also decide the issues of abolishing deputies' immunity, introducing a bicameral national legislature, and making changes in the Constitution of Ukraine only by means of a referendum.

The IRI delegation's...

(Continued from page 9)

city of Kyiv, to discuss the Chicago-Kyiv sister cities program. As a member of this committee I forwarded greetings from Chicago, from our energetic chairperson, Marta Farion.

In the evening IRI organized an election debriefing, where election observers shared their experiences with each other. The delegation found the presidential runoff election to be administratively and technically satisfactory amid a disappointing atmosphere of biased and controlled media and an overreaching use of the power of incumbency. However, the election did strengthen Ukraine's developing democratic tradition and presented a very clear choice to the Ukrainian people about

the future direction of their country.

I am grateful to have had the opportunity to observe the elections with such a distinguished group of volunteers, led by former U.S. Attorney General and Pennsylvania Gov. Dick Thornburgh, and including Constance Berry Newman, Alec Poitevient, Brooke Vosburgh, Zenia Mucha, Walter Raymond Jr., Bettie Kuehn and Alberto Cardenas.

This mission reinforced my belief that Ukraine continues to struggle on the difficult path to democracy and economic freedom. Working with international observers, consultants and the providers of international assistance will help Ukraine in that struggle. I am confident that Ukraine is making positive strides to become a more viable and meaningful partner of our world community.

Celebrating...

(Continued from page 6)

world, with the opening of the holy doors to the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome. This will be a sign that throughout the Holy Year our merciful Lord God opens the doors of his infinite mercy, as He did 2,000 years ago. At that time, He sent His Only Begotten Son into the world (Jn. 3:17), and "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the fellowship the Holy Spirit" bountifully descended upon us so that we may "abound in hope by the power of the Holy Spirit (Rm. 15:13) and may joyfully and courageously progress to our "eternal glory through Christ Jesus" (1 Pt. 5:10).

In the course of this memorable Holy Year, may we approach the eternal source of God's mercy and by living a virtuous life give witness to Christ and to His Holy Gospel. Let us always remember that Christ "is the same yesterday, today,

and forever" (Heb. 13:8) and that He is our promised "Emmanuel - which means 'God with us'" (Mt. 1:23).

May the message of peace, joy and love that the heavenly angels brought to the shepherds on that first holy night, remain with you, and your dear families all the days of this Holy and great Jubilee Year of the Nativity of our Lord God and Savior, Jesus Christ!

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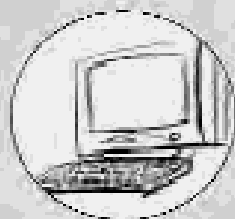
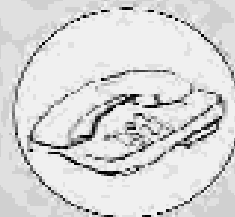
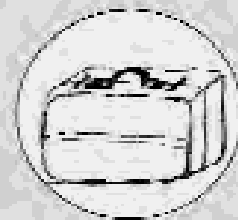
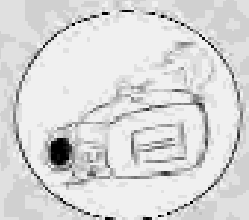
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May your holiday celebrations be warm and wonderful,
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And thank you, our dear readers,
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support of our efforts at The Ukrainian Weekly.

Roma Hadzewycz
Irene Jarosewich
Ika Koznarska Casanova
Serge Polishchuk
Awilda Rolon
Roman Woronowycz
Andrij Kudla Wymnyckyj



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та щасливого Нового Року

всім Членам, Їх Родинам та Прихильникам

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З нагоди 2000 Року від народження Ісуса Христа
на порозі нового сторіччя й на переломі тисячоліть

— с к л а д а є —

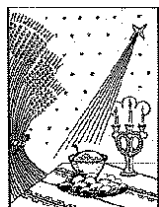
найкращі Різдвяні й Новорічні побажання ієрархії і духовенству наших церков в Україні й у діаспорі, проводам і членству наших молодіжних, науково-культурних, політичних, фінансових, релігійних організацій, товариств і установ, українському народові на рідних землях та українським громадам, розкинутим по цілому земському глобі. Особливі святкові побажання шлемо начальному пластові Любомирові Романову, голові й членам Ю-ловної Пластової Ради й Головної Пластової Булави, Проводам і членству Пластових Ста-ниць в Україні, Канаді, Аргентині, Австралії, Німеччині, Англії, Словаччині, Польщі й у США, всім подругам і друзям, пластунам і пластунам та їхнім родинам у цілому світі, щоб ми дружно і з любов'ю привітали народження Ісуса Христа та з новими надіями й благородними творчими постановами вступили у новий 2000 рік.

Христос Родився! Славимо Його!

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та бажаємо

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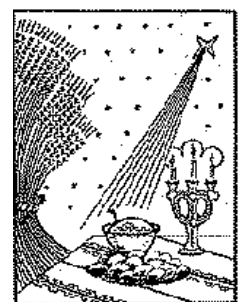


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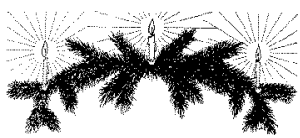


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Володимир і Неоніля Сохани
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та
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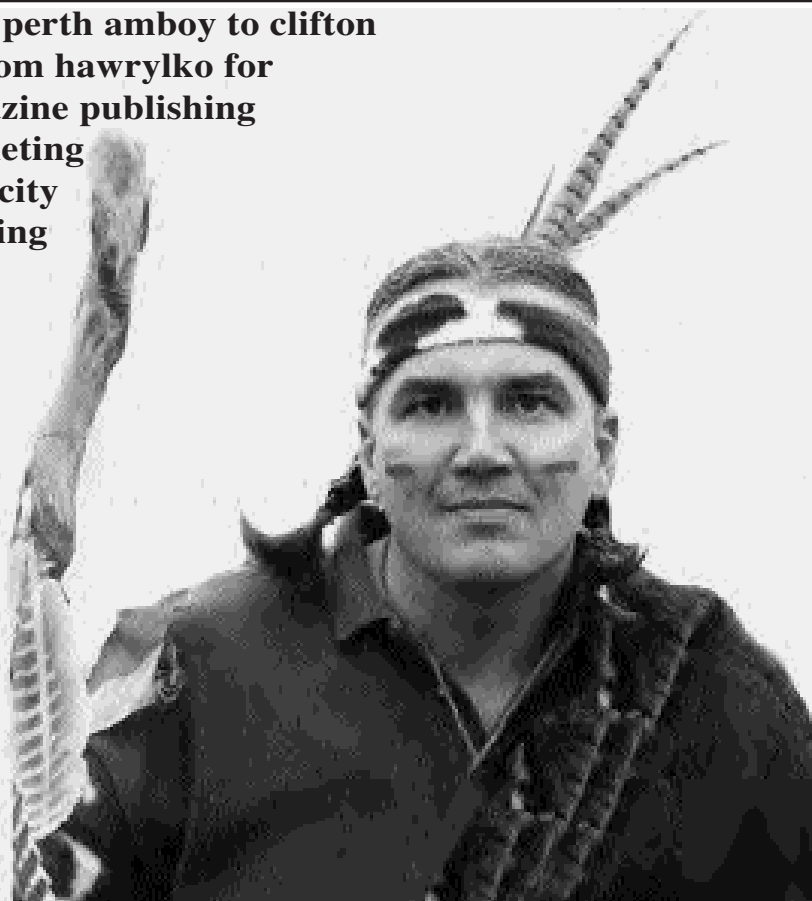
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український народ на рідних землях і всіх наших земляків, розкинутих долею по різних країнах світу, вітаємо ієрархію Українських Церков в Україні і діаспорі, президента України Л. КУЧМУ, УРЯД УКРАЇНИ і державотворчих депутатів українського парламенту, центральні проводи і членство політичних і громадських організацій в Україні і діаспорі, а в тому проводи і членство ІСНО, Фундацію ім. О. Ольжича, Жіноче Товариство ім. О. Теліги, Об'єднання Студіючої Молоді „ЗАРЕВО“ в Україні. Зокрема вітаємо і шлемо сердешно-дружній привіт колишньому Президентові УНР в екзилі і голові Проводу Українських Націоналістів Миколі Плав'юкові і членам Проводу Українських Націоналістів, а разом з тим побажання успіхів у всіх заходах для об'єднання національно-державницьких сил у справі відбудови і закріплення української соборної самостійної України

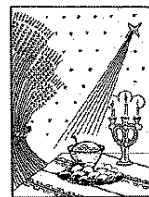
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Новорічний вірш-поздоровлення

Лунають дзвони, вічні, чисті дзвони
 З Різдвом Христовим, що святкує світ
 Летять зірками крізь усі кордони
 Бажання щастя і добра, „Многая літ“

Щоб зникло горе, всяке лихоліття,
 Любов та праця прикрашали час,
 Щасливий Новий Рік і все тисячоліття
 Від Бога подарунок цей для нас.

Але від себе, і батькам, і дітям,
 Далеким друзям - український хист
 Шлемо пакунки крізь усе століття,
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Кому:
 Усім шановним друзям та клієнтам,
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 Разом з бажанням виконання мрій!

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 Сто років Вам віншує

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Friday, December 31

Saturday, January 22, 2000

PASSAIC, N.J.: The Ukrainian Center invites everyone to ring in 2000 with friends and loved ones. A sit-down family-style dinner will be served at 8:30 p.m., followed by dancing to the Sitch band at 9:30 p.m. and a champagne toast with hats and party favors at midnight. Donation: \$50 per person. Without dinner, tickets are \$25 and include admission to the zabava and the Downstairs Bar, where you can enjoy hot and cold hors d'oeuvres all evening, jukebox tunes, and a Happy Hour with half-priced drinks from 8:30 to 9:30 p.m. For reservations call Vira, (973) 473-3379, after 4 p.m.

DENVER, Colo.: "Mellenium Melanka!" Come join the Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 38 for the Malanka celebration in beautiful Denver. Bring in the new century with dinner and dancing to the music of Ostap Stahiv and singers of Cleveland and lots of other fun. Advance purchase tickets: \$35 for dinner and dance; \$15 for dance only; \$10, students. Tickets at the door: \$20, adults, \$15, students. The Malanka will be held at the Sheraton West Hotel, sixth Avenue and Union Street, in Lakewood, Colo. For tickets or information call Marta Arnold, (303) 734-0360, Inya Saldyt, (303) 433-4039, or Anna Taylor, (303) 432-8045.

REMINDER REGARDING NEW REQUIREMENTS:

Effective September 1, there is a **\$10 charge per submission** for listings in Preview of Events. The listing plus payment must be received no later than one week before the desired date of publication. There is also the option of prepayment for a series of listings.

Listings of **no more than 100 words** (written in Preview format) plus payment should be sent to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054. Information sent by fax should include a copy of a check, in the amount of \$10 per listing, made out to The Ukrainian Weekly. The Weekly's fax number is (973) 644-9510.

ADVERTISING RATES FOR THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

(Published in English on Sundays)

ALL ADVERTISEMENTS MUST BE RECEIVED ONE WEEK PRIOR TO PUBLICATION: FRIDAY NOON.

All general advertising: 1 inch, single column \$12.00
 Fraternal and community advertising: 1 inch, single column \$ 7.50
 FOUR-PAGE CENTERFOLD PULLOUT \$2,900.00

7 1/2" x 2" \$165.00
 1 1/4" x 1" \$165.00
 7 1/2" x 4" \$165.00
 1 1/4" x 4" \$35.00
 7 1/2" x 4" \$35.00
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 1 1/4" x 4" \$60.00

Quantity discounts:

1-9 ads	\$12.00 per inch/Sc
10 or more ads	20% discount
24 or more ads	25% discount
52 ads	30% discount

NOTE:

1. A 50% deposit must accompany the text of the advertisement.
2. All advertising correspondence should be directed to: Mrs. Maria Oscislawski, Advertising Manager, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054
3. Kindly make checks payable to The Ukrainian Weekly.

'Harvest of Despair' to air in Maryland

WASHINGTON - In commemoration of the 66th anniversary of the Ukrainian man-made Famine of 1932-1933, Maryland Community Television will broadcast the award-winning documentary film "Harvest of Despair" during mid- and late December and early January. The film, produced by the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Document Center in Toronto, had won major awards at the 1985 International Film and Television Festival in New York.

Following the successful commemorative march and religious service in New York on Saturday, November 20, where approximately 4,500 Ukrainian and non-

Ukrainians participated, Maryland Community Television has offered to air the film "Harvest of Despair" to the greater Washington metropolitan area. In cooperation with the Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS). The airing dates and times of the documentary film are as follows:

- Open Channel 49 or 23: Tuesday, December 14, at 9 p.m.; Thursday, December 16 at noon; Monday, December 27, at 6:30 p.m.; and Sunday January 2, at 10:30 a.m.
- Montgomery County, Channel 21: Saturday, January 8, at 8 p.m.; and Sunday January 16 at 10 p.m.

ATTENTION

The Northern New Jersey District of the Ukrainian National Association is holding a collection of used, clean clothing and footwear in good condition. They will be distributed to the needy in Ukraine.

The goods should be sent/brought to the UNA Home Office, 2nd Floor, 2200 Rt. 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054

For more information contact:
 Andrew - (973) 292-9800, ext. 3055; Marijka - (973) 292-9800, ext 3040.

Eugene Oscislawski, District Chairman

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