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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

Ukraine's new ambassador to the United States meets with Ukrainian community in New York

by Roma Hadzewycz

NEW YORK – Ukraine's new ambassador to the United States, Mykhailo Reznik, 53, paid a visit to New York City, where he met with Ukrainian American community leaders and activists during a reception at the Ukrainian Institute of America on a busy pre-Christmas Sunday afternoon, December 21.

An economist by training and a diplomat who had served as Ukraine's envoy to China and Mongolia since 2001, and prior to that as ambassador to South Korea, he was named Ukraine's ambassador to the United States on November 10.

Speaking before a full house at the Ukrainian Institute of America, Mr. Reznik painted a picture of Ukraine as an integral part of Europe, and a strong economic partner. "Ukraine is and will be an active participant of all economic projects in the world," he stated confidently.

He also stated that Ukraine has plenty to offer to the United States, which granted it the status of a strategic partner in 1996. He explained that Ukraine also has a lot to do in this sphere, especially as relations with the United States in recent years have undergone a change, and not for the better.

Ambassador Reznik said he had already met with President George W. Bush and other administration officials and that he sensed "a signal that they were awaiting us." President Bush, he noted, offered "positive expressions



Ambassador Mykhailo Reznik

about our future relations."

The envoy added that President Bush said "our relations are at a turning point." He agreed with that characterization of the U.S.-Ukraine relationship and commented that Ukraine must do everything possible to ensure that we are heard and to restore trust.

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It's time for Canada's new prime minister to "right historic wrongs," says MP Mark

OTTAWA – Inky Mark, Conservative member of Parliament for the riding of Dauphin-Swan River-Marquette in Manitoba, has called on Canada's new Prime Minister Paul Martin to "stand up and acknowledge the past wrongs done by the Canadian government to Ukrainian and Chinese Canadians."

"Ukrainian Canadians and other Canadians of Eastern European descent were imprisoned in internment camps during the first world war for no other reason than their heritage. Similarly, Chinese Canadians were separated from their families and subjected to the Head Tax and Exclusion Act of 1923," Mr. Mark explained.

"Although these past injustices cannot be erased, a better Canada can be created by recognizing these dark moments in our history," he underscored.

Earlier this month the outgoing Heritage Minister Sheila Copps

announced a government proclamation that recognized the injustices done to Acadians 250 years ago. She also suggested that this proclamation should become a template for the Martin government to acknowledge other historic wrongs carried out against ethnic groups including Ukrainian and Chinese Canadians.

"It is ironic that the former heritage minister would give such advice to the prime minister. She had ample opportunity to conclude an agreement with the Ukrainian and Chinese communities," Mr. Mark stated.

"It is time that the Liberal government and its new leader deal with these issues. Two million Canadians have waited too many years for the recognition that they deserve. I lobbied the previous prime minister on this issue, and I will continue to lobby the new prime minister until he stands up and agrees to right these historic wrongs," Mr. Mark said.

Rada passes constitutional amendment bill Opposition vows to "defend the Constitution"

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – On Wednesday, December 24, as The Weekly was going to press, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine passed in its first reading one of three bills on amending the Constitution of Ukraine. A total of 276 deputies voted in favor of a bill co-authored by Communist leader Petro Symonenko and Viktor Medvedchuk, presidential chief of staff, which would make 2004 the last year that popular and direct presidential elections are held in Ukraine, instead giving this prerogative to the Parliament.

Earlier the Constitutional Court had cleared this bill, as well as two other measures, not yet voted on, for debate and preliminary adoption. Voting came after a day and a half of battles in the legislature which saw the Our Ukraine faction of former Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko and its allies from the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc and Oleksander Moroz's Socialists, physically disrupt proceedings to prevent preliminary voting on the constitutional amendment bills.

The controversy began on Tuesday, December 23, when the Verkhovna Rada was to have debated and voted on all three bills. Wire services reported that opposition deputies objected to the limited amount of time set aside for debate, especially because a second bill, not yet voted on, would have done away with the 2004 popular presidential election – a move that would have deepened divisions within the Ukrainian political elite and one that would fly in the face of public opinion polling suggesting that between 80 and 90 percent of Ukrainians want to elect their president directly and reject delegating this authority to the parliament.

A third bill, whose authors included Mr. Moroz, would have limited presidential powers while increasing the power of the Parliament, but would have maintained direct presidential elections, was not voted on either.

Korrespondent.net reported that the backers of the bill passed in its first reading on December 24 voted by a show of hands because other deputies had allegedly disrupted the operation of the electronic voting system, and because the Communists, who had promised to support the bill, would do so only on the condition that voting take place in the Rada chamber. In January 2000, a different majority had moved proceedings from a deadlocked Verkhovna Rada building to the neighboring Ukrainian Home and elected a new parliamentary leadership, before returning within days to the chamber.

Committee says vote legitimate

The parliamentary committee headed by Communist Valerii Mishura that was charged with counting the show of hands

said on the afternoon of December 24 that voting was legitimate and that 276 deputies had voted for the measure, exceeding the simple majority of 226 required to adopt a bill in its first reading.

Ukrainian News said Mr. Mishura claimed that 11 of the 19 members of the vote tabulation body had agreed to the results of the count. However, deputies from Our Ukraine and others disputed the validity of the results, and promised to challenge them.

Interfax-Ukraine reported that National Deputy Oleksander Zadorozhnyi, the president's representative in the Verkhovna Rada, had claimed that those of his colleagues who voted in favor of the constitutional amendment bill were prepared to confirm their hand vote in writing.

Korrespondent.net also cited Mr. Zadorozhnyi as stating that 49 (of 59) members of the Communist faction supported the bill. The Communists had earlier promised to support doing away with direct presidential elections beginning in 2006 on the condition that the Verkhovna Rada adopt and the president sign a law on full proportional election of members of the Parliament. Under the current system, only half of the 450 legislators are elected through party list proportional voting, and the rest are elected in single-mandate constituencies.

Zinchenko abandons majority

On December 24, following the vote, Rada Vice-Chairman and former member of the Social Democratic Party-United Oleksander Zinchenko cancelled his membership in the parliamentary majority.

Obozrevatel reported that Mr. Zinchenko made the move in protest against the latest conflict in the Verkhovna Rada. For several months, after being ejected from the SDPU headed by Mr. Medvedchuk observers reported that Mr. Zinchenko was planning a move away from the pro-presidential majority.

"Instead of consensus, the methods of Medvedchuk have been confirmed," Obozrevatel quoted Mr. Zinchenko as saying. He went on to state that everything possible was indeed being done at this time to wreck parliamentarianism in Ukraine.

Opposition to challenge the vote

The leaders of the opposition declared on December 24 that they planned to challenge the legality of the day's vote before the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) and that body's Venetian Commission, a high-level experts' group that reviews constitutional legislation of PACE member-states.

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ANALYSIS

Why is the opposition weak in Ukraine?by **Taras Kuzio***RFE/RL Poland, Belarus and Ukraine Report*

The "velvet revolution" last month in Georgia that led to the resignation of President Eduard Shevardnadze should make us contemplate why similar developments did not take place in Ukraine in 2000-2002. The severity of the Kuchmagate crisis, after all, led to opposition demonstrations as large as those in Georgia (20,000 to 50,000 people). Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma was on the defensive from November 2000, when the Kuchmagate crisis began, to March 2001, when he regained the initiative after violence erupted at a mass opposition demonstration in Kyiv.

Although the authorities did poorly in the proportional half of the March 2002 parliamentary elections, they made up for this when most deputies elected in one-seat constituencies joined pro-presidential factions. Since the elections, the authorities have consolidated their power by taking control of all key institutions.

Ukrainians are disillusioned with politics as a whole, and not just with the authorities. All institutions – presidential and parliamentary – obtain low levels of public trust. A June poll by the Democratic Initiatives polling center found that a striking 48.8 percent of respondents did not trust NGOs and political parties; 57.5 percent said, in the main, that they did not trust those groups.

A November Democratic Initiatives poll found that only five parties could make it through the 4 percent threshold of parliamentary representation, of which two were pro-presidential: Ukraine's Regions and the Social Democratic Party-United (SDPU). None of the parties that belong to Our Ukraine would individually make it (unlike the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and Yulia Tymoshenko's Fatherland Party).

Most Ukrainians believe change is required but do not believe that they have the power to push these changes through. A poll cited by the *Ukrayinska Pravda* website back on March 11 found that only 7 percent believed few changes were necessary in Ukraine. Meanwhile, 45 percent, 38 percent and 11 percent, respectively, believed that "radical," "evolutionary" and "revolutionary" changes were needed in Ukraine.

Nevertheless, this does not translate into support for opposition activities. A Razumkov Center poll cited in *Zerkalo Nedeli* on September 27 found that half of Ukraine's population did not back the opposition protests. A poll cited by Interfax on April 25 found even higher negative views of demonstrations, with 69.2 percent of respondents unwilling to take part in them.

Does the public desire to learn the views of the opposition (something which is difficult because they have limited access to television)? When asked if they knew the views of the opposition, 64 percent said "no," according to a May 28 combined poll by four leading sociological organizations on the *Ukrayinska Pravda* website. When asked if they wished to learn more, only 46 percent said "yes" or were partially interested, whereas even more – 54 percent – said "no" completely or were primarily disinterested.

How is this explained? A Center for Sociological and Political Research poll reported by the *Ukrayinska Pravda* web-

site on April 25 found that, although 33.2 percent supported the opposition and only 15.9 percent the authorities, a striking 31.4 percent supported neither side.

This reflects a high degree of atomization of the population. An August Razumkov Center poll found that 90 percent and 92 percent of Ukrainians believe they have no influence over, respectively, local and central authorities, while 91 percent also believe that human rights are regularly infringed.

During the 2002 election campaign Volodymyr Lytvyn, then head of the presidential administration, said that the "opposition does not enjoy the support of the population," according to an UNIAN report of February 23, 2002. Although the four opposition parties and blocs (Our Ukraine, the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party) obtained nearly two-thirds of the votes in the proportional half of elections, Mr. Lytvyn's comment is partially true.

This, of course, does not mean the authorities are popular either. A November poll by Democratic Initiatives found that if elections were held at that time, 1.5 percent would vote for President Kuchma, 1.3 percent for Mr. Lytvyn, and 3 percent for current head of the presidential administration, Viktor Medvedchuk, whose SDPU is one of Ukraine's largest by membership.

The problem for the opposition is that large negative votes are to be found both for the authorities and for the opposition. In a May poll by Democratic Circle Ms. Tymoshenko and Communist Party leader Petro Symonenko obtained two of the highest negative ratings – 29 percent and 26.9 percent, respectively. Both leaders suffer from different problems – Ms. Tymoshenko is a "dissident oligarch" and Mr. Symonenko is a Communist hard-liner. The November Democratic Initiatives poll gave both Messrs. Kuchma and Medvedchuk negative ratings of 50 percent. That was not good news for the opposition as Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Symonenko followed closely with negative ratings of 44 percent and 25 percent, respectively.

Even Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko – always the most popular candidate in polls, does not escape some negative ratings. Mr. Yushchenko is the only opposition leader who obtains higher positive than negative ratings and the lowest negative ratings. At the same time, 32 percent of Ukrainians would never vote for Mr. Yushchenko, according to a poll cited by the *Ukrayinska Pravda* website on August 18.

In December 2002, Democratic Initiatives and September Democratic Circle polls, Mr. Yushchenko's negative ratings were between 14.4 percent and 17 percent. Mr. Yushchenko reached the peak of his popularity in April 2002, just after the elections with 29.3 percent, which declined to between 18 percent and 21 percent in September of the following year.

Questions of "trust" are also a factor in public attitudes toward the opposition. The December 2002 Democratic Initiatives poll gave low levels of "trust" and high levels of "distrust" to Mr. Symonenko (14.8 percent versus 46.6 percent), Ms. Tymoshenko (12.5 percent versus 53.8 percent), and Socialist Party leader Oleksander Moroz (12.2 percent versus 42.6 percent). The September poll by Democratic Circle found that Mr. Yushchenko was trusted fully or mostly

(Continued on page 12)

NEWSBRIEFS**Ukraine, Romania sign visa agreement**

KYIV – Ukraine's Vice Foreign Minister for Foreign Affairs Ivan Kuleba and Romanian Ambassador to Ukraine Alexandru Cornea signed an agreement on December 18 on a new visa regime between their countries, Interfax reported. The agreement provides for visa-free travel for the holders of service and diplomatic passports, as well as for crews of ships and aircraft. Mr. Kuleba noted that the document does not provide for a deadline for introducing the new procedures, however. "This will happen no earlier than July 1, 2004," he said. Romania is introducing visas for Ukrainians in conjunction with its intention to join the European Union in 2007. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Funding sought for fuel reprocessing

KYIV – Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma has sent a letter to U.S. President George W. Bush urging him to resume funding for a program of reprocessing of solid fuel for SS-24 ballistic missiles, Interfax reported on December 17, quoting the Ukrainian president's press service. Mr. Kuchma said some 5,000 tons of such fuel is being kept at a chemical plant in Pavlohrad. The Ukrainian president recalled that Washington had obliged itself to help Ukraine rid itself of its store of rocket fuel under two 1993 agreements relating to the liquidation of nuclear weapons in Ukraine. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Our Ukraine circulates petition

KYIV – Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko told journalists on December 17 that his bloc has already collected some 3.5 million of the planned 8 million signatures under a petition asking the Verkhovna Rada not to amend the constitutional provision stipulating that the Ukrainian president should be elected in a nationwide election, Interfax reported. The Verkhovna Rada is expected to consider two drafts of constitutional reform that provide for the election of the president by Parliament. Mr. Yushchenko said he is confident that the Verkhovna Rada will not abolish direct presidential elections in Ukraine. "I'm sure that if the people are deprived of their constitutional right of choice, they will take to the streets. ... But we will defend the Constitution and the people's right to elect [the president]," Mr. Yushchenko said. (RFE/RL Newsline)

No progress in Gongadze case

KYIV – Procurator-General Hennadii Vasilyev told journalists on December 17 that investigators have not solved the homicide of Internet journalist Heorhii Gongadze in 2000 and have no suspects in the case, Interfax reported. Mr. Vasilyev said the announcement by former

Procurator-General Sviatoslav Piskun that the Gongadze case would soon be solved was unfounded. Mr. Piskun said in September that prosecutors had concluded an investigation into the Gongadze slaying and placed three suspects on a search list, but he declined to reveal their identities. President Leonid Kuchma replaced Mr. Piskun with Mr. Vasilyev in November. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Freedom House issues annual report

NEW YORK – The New-York-based NGO Freedom House classified Belarus as "not free" and Ukraine as "partly free" in its annual survey of freedom and democracy around the world, released on December 18. Belarus is the only country in Europe ranked in the "not free" category, which comprises 48 countries worldwide. "There are two of the 12 former Soviet countries [in which], despite the difficulties, there is some possibility of forward momentum," Freedom House analyst Adrian Karatnycky told RFE/RL. "One is, of course, Georgia. The second one, paradoxically, is Ukraine. If Ukraine goes through this [coming] year and this election cycle with a relatively clean process, it is possible that the trends toward authoritarianism could be averted and reversed." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Probe ordered into fatal bus accident

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma has decreed the creation of a special commission to investigate a bus accident in Crimea in which 17 people died, Ukrainian news agencies reported on December 18. A bus carrying miners from Pavlohrad in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast overturned and plummeted 10 meters down an embankment near Alushta in Crimea on December 17, killing 17 passengers and injuring 19 others. Last week, another Ukrainian bus overturned on a highway in Khmelnytskyi Oblast, killing nine people and injuring 43 in an accident police blamed on poor road conditions. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Kuchma attends Aliyev's funeral

WASHINGTON – Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma was among the heads of state who attended the funeral of Heydar Aliyev, former president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, on December 15. Mr. Aliyev passed away on December 12 in Cleveland. Others in attendance included the presidents of Russia, Turkey, Georgia and Kazakhstan. The U.S. delegation was led by former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and included Sen. Sam Brownback (R-Kansas) and assistant secretary of States Elizabeth A. Jones and Gen. Charles Wald, deputy commander of the U.S. European Command. (Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the United States)

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Yulia Tymoshenko visits Canada on invitation of Canadian Friends of Ukraine

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO –Yulia Tymoshenko, one of the leaders of the opposition forces in Ukraine, announced her support for the selection of Viktor Yushchenko as the opposition's single unity candidate and promised she would not run as a candidate in the forthcoming presidential election.

Ms. Tymoshenko was in Canada from November 28 to December 4 on the invitation of the Canadian Friends of Ukraine. She had three public appearances in Toronto and at each one she underlined the importance of a single candidate, but it was only at her last public appearance on December 3, when she spoke to the Ukrainian community, that she named Mr. Yushchenko as the possible candidate. Her announcements immediately produced widespread resonance in the media in Ukraine.

Ms. Tymoshenko was in Canada as part of a group of parliamentarians – the others being Borys Tarasyuk, Stepan Khmara and Serhii Holovatyi – invited by the Canadian Friends of Ukraine (CFU), by Prof. Jurij Darewych, who explained the aims of the visit: "Among the goals of the CFU are the strengthening of ties between Canada and Ukraine and this includes closer contacts between Ukrainian and Canadian parliamentarians. The current visit is the most recent of invitations that our organization has hosted for Ukrainian parliamentarians" (some previous visitors being Vyacheslav Chornovil, Leonid Kravchuk, Yevhen Marchuk and Oleksander Moroz).

He continued: "We felt that the persons invited are among the key players in the current Ukrainian political scene from the democratic/patriotic side, and could pro-

vide interesting and useful insight into the upcoming presidential election year in Ukraine (Mr. Yushchenko was here earlier). Ms. Tymoshenko, in particular, had not visited Canada previously. We wanted to give them the opportunity of meeting with Canadian political leaders, as well as with members and leaders of the Ukrainian community."

"In inviting them we also wanted to underscore our continuing support of the democratic opposition to the current oligarchical, non-democratic and incompetent regime currently in power in Ukraine," Prof. Darewych added.

Mr. Tarasyuk was Ukraine's foreign affairs minister from 1998 to 2000. In 2002 he was elected deputy to the Verkhovna Rada, where he chairs the Committee on European Integration. This year he was elected leader of Rukh, which belongs to the Our Ukraine election bloc.

Ms. Tymoshenko was first elected to Ukraine's Parliament in 1996. She served as vice prime minister in the government of Mr. Yushchenko and currently heads the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc.

National Deputies Stepan Khmara and Serhii Holovatyi accompanied Ms. Tymoshenko on the visit. Also invited was Oleksander Zinchenko, a member of the Social Democratic Party-United, who is well-known for his championing of the independent media against state control. He is a vice-chairman of the Parliament, but his recent falling out with the SDPU has put his position at risk and prevented him from coming to Canada on this trip.

The visitors' program included the Statesmen Dinner on Sunday, November 30, at which Eric Margolis, contributing foreign editor of the Toronto Sun newspapers and a syndicated foreign affairs columnist whose articles appear in some of the leading newspapers in the world, was honored for his contribution to the field of international journalism, in particular for his articles about Ukraine's Famine-Genocide and on the demise of the Soviet Union. At the dinner, Mr. Margolis was introduced by his longtime friend and chief correspondent of CBC News, Peter Mansbridge.

In keeping with the main aim of the visit – to foster closer ties between Ukrainian and Canadian parliamentarians – the head table included ministers from the Canadian government and the newly elected provincial government, as well as a long-time friend of the city's Ukrainians, David Miller, the new mayor of Toronto. Among the guests were Sen. Raynell Andreychuk, honorary patron of the CFU, consuls and consuls-general. The consul-general of Ukraine in Toronto, Ihor Lissovskiy, could not personally attend. There were about 550 persons at the dinner.

The main drawing card to the Ukrainian delegation's public appearances in Toronto was Ms. Tymoshenko, who after Mr. Yushchenko is probably the biggest political celebrity from Ukraine. And, she did not disappoint. Dynamic, well-briefed, quick on the uptake, politically astute, soft spoken but resolute, she made a profound impression. Using no notes in her speeches, she answered questions well and frequently elicited applause.

Her answers to difficult questions were well-thought-out. When asked why her bloc supported Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's government program, she said it was to split the pro-regime camp. When queried about why she cooperates with the Communists, she said it was to ensure that their votes in the election (in an anticipated second round) did not migrate over to the pro-regime camp.

An issue to which Ms. Tymoshenko referred several times was that of "outside scrutineers" for the presidential election – that Ukrainians from abroad should seek accreditation from the OSCE as official observers to lessen the chances of fraud and malfeasance in the coming election.

Mr. Holovatyi disagreed with her on this point, actually saying that Ukrainians who are citizens of Western countries should "stay home" and ensure that Ukrainian citizens living or working in those countries are not prevented from voting at the various Ukrainian embassies and consulates through illegal demands for documentation or various other maneuvers, as happened in the 1999 elections.

He explained that a person from abroad acting as an observer in say, Donetsk or Dnipropetrovsk, would be so lost as to be useless. At the same time, Mr. Holovatyi said, their presence would just put a "stamp of approval" on the procedures. He referred to the recent elections in Georgia as an example of such developments.

In Toronto, the visiting parliamentarians met with Bill Graham, minister of foreign affairs. According to Lesia Shymko of the CFU, they discussed the engagement of Canada in overseeing Ukraine's presidential election.



Yulia Tymoshenko speaks in Toronto.

Ms. Tymoshenko informed the Minister about the lack of openness in the press in Ukraine, the fact that the Verkhovna Rada is the one institution where democratic debate is still possible and the various maneuvers the current president will use to hold on to power.

The group was also hosted by the speaker of the Ontario Legislature, Alvin Curling, at which time they engaged in discussions about provincial parliamentary delegation visits and trade missions to Ukraine.

The visitors (minus Borys Tarasyuk who left on Monday) spent two days in Ottawa, where they took part in a roundtable with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, again providing Canadians with information about the current political situation in Ukraine. They paid a visit to the Speaker of Parliament, Peter Milliken, and spoke at the University of Ottawa at a Chair of Ukrainian Studies presentation.

Back in Toronto, Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr. Khmara spoke at a meeting with the Ukrainian community and, paid their respect to the various Ukrainian organizations and businesses attending.

Throughout the one-week packed visit, Ms. Tymoshenko – who is slight of build and always wears extremely high-heeled shoes – displayed incredible concentration and physical stamina. On her last stop in Toronto, at the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center, just hours before she was due at the airport, she took her time examining the UPA exhibit, asking many questions, while her "handlers" paced about nervously.

Tymoshenko speaks on single candidate

Below is a transcript of questions posted to Yulia Tymoshenko on December 3 in Toronto about her support of a single candidate for Ukraine's presidency.

Oksana Zakydalsky (correspondent, The Ukrainian Weekly): We are all very pleased that you are certain that there will be a single candidate. And yet you have not named this candidate. We can have various opinions about the actions of Viktor Yushchenko, but it is absolutely understood that it is he who has the best chance for victory. When you speak of a single candidate, is it Yushchenko that you have in mind, and are you putting forth some particular demands for your support?

We are having negotiations between three groups [Our Ukraine, the Socialist Party of Ukraine and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc]. The negotiations revolve around proposing Victor Yushchenko as the single candidate. [Ms. Tymoshenko then said that these negotiations concern three questions: program of action, how to ensure the implementation of the program of action – personnel and organizational problems, joint actions during the election]. Believe me, in these negotiations there are no visible antagonisms. None. This work has to be done. There is slightly less than a year to the election, that is, there is still time and we want to do this work well.

Stepan Ilnytskyi (veteran of the Ukrainian Division): You have talked about the importance of a single candidate from the opposition. Are you ready to announce that, under no circumstances, will you be another candidate for President from the opposition? You can do this without swearing an oath [laughter from the audience].

Thank you for not requiring an oath. I think that common sense would never allow me to do such a thing. I can vouch for that. If each one of us goes separately, the result will be zero. None of us has yet done such an, excuse me, idiotic thing in our political life ...

Stepan Ilnytskyi: Please answer the question.

I have said this three times and will repeat it for you: I will not run by myself, that is I will not be a separate candidate."

Transcript by Olexii Haran, translated by Oksana Zakydalsky.)

Quotable notes

"[Ukraine's] problem is not the president but the oligarchs, and this is realized perfectly well by ordinary citizens. ... Focusing on the slogan 'Down with Kuchma' and not proposing a program of cardinal social transformations is not just the Ukrainian opposition's tactical mistake that can be corrected. It is a distinctive trait of this opposition. ... Enjoying considerable support of the electorate after the Ukraine Without Kuchma campaign [in 2000-2001] ... the political opposition has remained under the leadership of oligarchs of the 'second echelon.' The lack of a position of the most likely [presidential] candidate from the opposition, Viktor Yushchenko, regarding the most acute social issues, and [his] actual rejection of a change of the political system – that is, a move to a parliamentary republic – fully meets the interests of politicians and businessmen who have been offended by the current authorities and are now desiring to recover lost positions by influencing a future government."

– Volodymyr Chemerys, a leader of the Ukraine Without Kuchma movement in 2000-2001, in an article published on the *Ukrainska Pravda* website on December 15, as cited by RFE/RL Poland, *Belarus and Ukraine Report*.

OBITUARIES

Liuboslav Hutsaliuk, Ukrainian-born artist who worked in New York and Paris

NEW YORK – Liuboslav Hutsaliuk, an artist known for his neo-impressionist oil paintings of cityscapes, landscapes and still lifes, died here on December 16.

Mr. Hutsaliuk was born on April 2, 1923, in Lviv. He was member of the Galicia (Halychyna) Division and was wounded in action during World War II.

Like tens of thousands of other Ukrainians, he found himself in displaced persons camps after the war. He emigrated to the United States in 1949 and settled in New York City, where he married Renata Kozicky in 1951. The couple had a son, Yarema.

Mr. Hutsaliuk began his art studies in Munich in 1946 and studied with the renowned Edward Kozak in his studio in Berchtesgaden in 1946-1949. He graduated from The Cooper Union School of Art in 1954 and later continued his studies at the Campanella Academy in Rome, where he received the silver medal in 1970.

Beginning in 1955 Mr. Hutsaliuk divided his time between the two art capitals of New York and Paris. His first major art exhibit was in 1956 in Paris. In subse-

quent years he had numerous one-man shows in Paris, Milan, New York, Boston, Toronto, Kobe, Japan, and elsewhere. His paintings may be found in art collections in France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Canada and the United States.

He was critically acclaimed for his depictions of urban landscapes, particularly of New York and Paris, and was featured in articles in publications as diverse as *Journal de l'Amateur d'Art*, *Revue Parlementaire*, *American Artist* and *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*.

Reviewers noted his bold and aggressive impasto technique and a lyric color perception. "This urban landscape artist," wrote Le Hors-Cote in 1959, "seems to inlay his colors into the canvas to give us cityscapes that haunt us with their new faces." *American Artist* noted in 1969: "His paintings glow with lights; the senses are amazed and excited by his marvelous color."

In addition to painting, Mr. Hutsaliuk also worked in graphic arts, mainly in book publishing. His cartoons and caricatures often appeared in the well-known journal of satire and humor *Lys Mykyta*.

As well, he was the author of art reviews published in such publications as the *Svoboda* daily newspaper and the journal *Suchasnist*.

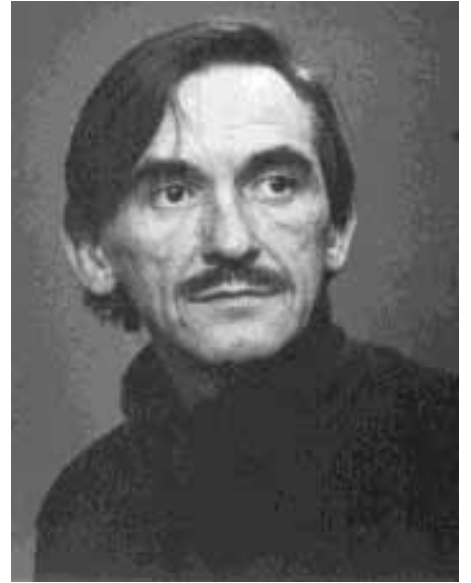
He was a member of the Audubon Artists, La Societe Des Artistes Independants de Paris and the Ukrainian Artists' Association in the United States.

In 1990 Mr. Hutsaliuk suffered a stroke; he recovered, continuing to paint and exhibit his works.

One of his last large one-person shows was in 1999 at the Ukrainian Institute of America. Titled "Five Decades," the exhibit was a retrospective that showcased his oils, gouaches and watercolors.

This past October the editor of the Kyiv-based journal *Obrazotvorche Mystetsvo*, Mykola Marichevsky, visited with Mr. Hutsaliuk in New York and conducted an interview that is planned for publication in the spring in an issue devoted to artists of the Ukrainian diaspora.

Funeral services for Mr. Hutsaliuk were held on December 23 at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J. A final farewell was



Liuboslav Hutsaliuk in a 1976 photo.

offered by Jurij Ferencevych on behalf of veterans of the Halychyna Division. The art community was represented by Zenko Onyshkewych.

Mr. Hutsaliuk was predeceased by his wife and son.

Bohuslava Hnatiw, New Jersey artist and art teacher, 80

LIVINGSTON, N.J. – Bohuslava (nee Najda) Hnatiw of Livingston, N.J., died on Sunday, December 7, at her home after a long illness. She was 80 years old.

Ms. Hnatiw was born on November 18, 1923, in the city of Zhydachiv in Halychyna, Ukraine. In 1942 she married Wasyl Hnatiw and two years later they left for Austria where they lived for four years. In 1948 the Hnatiws emigrated to the United States. They lived in New York at first and then moved to High Street in Newark, N.J., where both of their children, Wasyl and Olena, were born.

In 1950 Mr. and Mrs. Hnatiw opened a variety store called Bazar in downtown Newark in the Ukrainian neighborhood. In the small store they sold clothing, embroidery threads, magazines and books. But it was much more than just a store, serving as a favorite meeting place for the Ukrainian community where many political and literary debates often stirred.

There Ms. Hnatiw met other artists, with whom she could later share her passion. The variety store existed for 44 years under the competent care of the Hnatiw family and the tireless direction of Ms. Hnatiw. In fact, their business became so popular that Ms. Hnatiw became known as Ms. Bazarova in the Ukrainian community. In 1994 Bazar closed its doors, and Ms. Hnatiw donated about \$34,000 worth of children's clothing to the needy in Ukraine.

When Ms. Hnatiw's son, Wasyl, was a teenager, noticing that his mother had artistic talent, he showed her work to Prof. Havas, one of the teachers at Seton Hall Prep. At a parent conference later that year the professor asked Ms. Hnatiw with whom she had studied. Ms. Hnatiw laughed, because she had never been formally taught how to paint. And at the age of 43 she signed up for evening classes at Seton Hall University, where she studied art under the careful direction of Prof. Edwin Havas.

Ms. Hnatiw worked in oils, watercolors and monotypes. She painted landscapes, still lifes and nudes. Ms. Hnatiw loved the French Impressionists and this is reflected in her work. And even though Ms. Hnatiw was a realist in life, she expressed herself



Bohuslava Hnatiw

as a romantic in her artwork. Ms. Hnatiw also had a terrific sense of humor. When her hand would shake as she painted, she would remark, "That's okay, there are no straight lines in nature!"

Ms. Hnatiw's artwork has been exhibited in New York, Philadelphia, Livingston, N.J., and Warren, Mich., and as far away as California. For years she also presented her work at various Ukrainian festivals in New York and New Jersey. Her paintings are found in private collections in Ukraine, England, Italy, the United States, Canada and Bermuda, as well as on various greeting cards.

Ms. Hnatiw spent the recent years passing her talent on to aspiring artists in the New Jersey area. She taught at the Livingston Arts Association and Morris Museum, and gave private lessons.

Ms. Hnatiw is survived by her son, Wasyl, with his wife, Christina; her daughter, Olena Lisewycz, with her husband, Peter; and her grandchildren, Andrew and Deanna Hnatiw, and Melanie Lisewycz.

In lieu of flowers, donations can be made to the Aid for Orphans in Ukraine Fund. Checks can be made out to UNWLA Scholarship Program, and sent to: UNWLA, Inc., P.O. Box 24, Matawan, NJ 07747.

Bohdan Kolinsky, a sports editor at The Hartford Courant, 49

SOUTH WINDSOR, Conn. – Bohdan M. "Bo" Kolinsky, 49, the assistant sports editor at The Hartford Courant, and for 30 years the paper's high school sports editor, died suddenly on December 14 at Manchester Memorial Hospital.

Mr. Kolinsky was also an active member of the Hartford Ukrainian community, where he was born on November 29, 1954, to the late Paul and Julia (Jakymiw) Kolinsky. He was a member of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hartford, the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM) Hartford branch and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. He was active with the Ukrainian National Home of Hartford, having served on its board of directors for several years.

Mr. Kolinsky was also an active member of the Ukrainian Golf Association, and was the founder of the Hartford Ukrainian Golf Open, which held its 25th annual tournament this past July.

Mr. Kolinsky, who began directing the Hartford Courant's high school sports coverage in 1973, was president of the Connecticut Sports Writers' Alliance in 1978-1980 and had been treasurer since 1981. He was one of the principal organizers of the annual Gold Key Dinner and in 1989 received the Art McGinley Award for meritorious service from the Connecticut Sports Writers' Alliance.

In 1996, at the National High School Athletic Coaches Association awards banquet, he received the District I Distinguished Service Award. The Connecticut High School Coaches Association had given him its Distinguished Service Award in 1984.

In 1987 he received the Distinguished Service Award for work outside the field of athletics from the Connecticut Association of Athletic Directors.

Mr. Kolinsky was instrumental in starting the All-State sections in 1984 in conjunction with the Connecticut High School Coaches Association. In 1997 he was elected to the Greater Hartford Twilight Baseball League Hall of Fame



Bohdan Kolinsky

in the honorary member category. He also was an officer of the Jaycee-Courant Baseball League. In 2001 he was inducted into the Connecticut Soccer Hall of Fame and is a member of six other halls of fame.

He was a graduate of Wethersfield High School Class of 1972, completed an associate's degree in media communication from Manchester Community College and attended the University of Connecticut.

As assistant sports editor, Mr. Kolinsky played an important role in The Courant's coverage of the Greater Hartford Open, now known as the Buick Championship. He was an avid golfer and big fan of the University of Connecticut basketball.

Besides his wife, Jill, nee Bianucci, he leaves behind: three brothers, Roman and his wife, Christine, of Newington, Myron Kolinsky of Wethersfield, and Paul and his wife, Heather, of Orlando, Fla.; a sister, Martha, and her husband, Nestor Bojko, of Newington; nine nieces and nephews: Markian, Peter and Andrea Kolinsky of Newington, Julia Ryan and Luke Kolinsky

(Continued on page 13)

INTERVIEW: Askold Lozynskyj, president of the Ukrainian World Congress

by Andrew Nynka

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Several months have passed since the 8th Ukrainian World Congress was held in mid-August, the first of its kind in Kyiv. The Ukrainian Weekly contacted New York-based attorney Askold Lozynskyj, who was recently elected to a second five-year term as the president of the UWC, with questions on a variety of topics regarding the UWC and its changing role as a representative body for diaspora Ukrainians throughout the world. The following is a conclusion of atelephone interview with Mr. Lozynskyj conducted on December 5.

CONCLUSION

Do you feel that the UWC has a good representation on the ground in Eastern countries; a representation that could implement various grassroots action campaigns? For example, protesting against The New York Times bureau in Moscow?

Not yet. I paid a lot of attention to communicating with people in Moscow because I felt that it would be important to have a demonstration in Moscow. There was a demonstration in Moscow on the Tuzla event, but I wasn't able to get the people in the community in Moscow excited about demonstrating against The New York Times office in Moscow.

I think it's a process of bringing them along. It's not an educational process. I don't think that in Moscow the Ukrainian community is used to demonstrating against the press. It's going to take a while, but I think that ultimately this issue with The New York Times and with the Pulitzer is clearly not over; it's got a long way to go. I think that in the future you will have a contingent of the Ukrainian community in Moscow demonstrating against The New York Times offices.

I can contact members of the Eastern diaspora and sometimes I will get results and other times I will not. It's a learning process; it's not so much organizational as it is acclimatization. They have to acclimate themselves to certain Western concepts – that civil disobedience, public displays of an individual's lack of consent, or the fact that you are not in accord is not something that will brand you a dissident in the former Soviet Union. In a lot of these countries the same mindset prevails and this freedom of expression, freedom of speech, is not something that is routine.

Does the UWC have any future plans regarding the action to revoke Walter Duranty of his Pulitzer Prize? Is the Pulitzer Prize Board's recent decision not to revoke the award the end of the line, or is there still some future for revoking Mr. Duranty's prize?

No, I think that what we should do is take the Pulitzer Prize Board to task on their decision. I have familiarized myself with the 13 articles for which Walter Duranty received the Pulitzer and while they do not refer in any way to the Famine – because they were written in 1931 – they are absolutely outrageous articles. If the Pulitzer Prize Board is looking for clear and convincing evidence that he was distorting, that he was misrepresenting, I think we should retain a historian who would go step by step, line by line, and show that while the killings were taking place in the Soviet Union in 1931 Walter Duranty was writing articles which stated, for example, that people who do not wish to toe the

Stalinist line are not killed; they merely become pariahs. That, with all due respect, is complete nonsense. They were killed. They were sent to exile. They were sent to Solovky and other camps where they were killed.

Duranty was nothing more than an apologist for Stalin. He's a very clever apologist because they are well-written articles, but I think that it's incumbent upon us to show the Pulitzer Prize Board that, clearly and convincingly, these articles were distortions. So I appreciate the fact that while the Famine of 1932-1933 is not going to get any more play, because that is the overriding concern and issue here, but nevertheless, I think it's important to show the Pulitzer Board that they were wrong and it's important symbolically for the Pulitzer to be revoked.

The Ukrainian World Congress recently joined the United Nations Economic and Social Council as a non-governmental organization with a special consultative status. How is your organization active in ECOSOC and how do you envision your future involvement with ECOSOC?

We're just getting started. Fortunately, during the observances of the 70th anniversary of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933, we were able to use our position at ECOSOC to distribute a statement on the 70th anniversary of the Famine. We issued a much stronger statement [than the statement issued by Ukraine's ambassador to the United Nations], but it wasn't signed by 26 countries. It was signed merely by the UWC and the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations.

The UWC statement was circulated among 190 or so governments, the missions at the U.N., and some major non-governmental organizations. Were we not members of ECOSOC we would not have been able to do that. Now, particular attention is going to be paid to workers and migration issues dealing with Ukraine – worker's rights and migrant worker's rights in particular. And that's important for our communities; in particular in central Europe, Italy, Sweden and Portugal. Women's trafficking is also a very important issue.

We have a special commission called the UWC-U.N. council that is dealing with these issues and we're working in conjunction with the Ukrainian representation at the U.N., as well as with the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations on these issues. But in particular we will be working during the upcoming year on migrant worker's issues, as well as on women trafficking at the U.N. We're also going to be working on AIDS issues; because AIDS is very much an epidemic in Ukraine now.

Are there any concrete plans for any of these projects within the United Nations?

Well, there are conferences that are coming up and we're in a position for any U.N. conference that's going to be dealing with these issues – and we're entitled – to submit position papers, and we certainly will submit position papers so that the Ukrainian aspects of these issues are addressed. Unfortunately, in women's trafficking issues, I don't think that Ukraine has done an adequate job. In particular, considering what percentage of this problem is Ukrainian in the world, and we're going to be working much more actively in this regard.

Is it true that all future UWC con-

gresses will be held in Ukraine?

No, that's not true. The only thing I can pretty much tell you, this is a personal opinion, is that future congresses will not take place in Toronto or in New York City because it's financially impossible for there to be a representation of communities from the East.

Ukraine was chosen as the site for the eighth congress because of its geographic location, not because it's Ukraine. We were considering Poland, initially. And there were certain problems with Warsaw and so, as a result, we looked into the possibility of holding the congress in Kyiv. But, in the future, Poland may very well be the venue, for example Peremyshl, for the next congress.

This year's congress venue was changed at the last minute. You had to put down a deposit for the original meeting venue. The last we heard the deposit was never refunded. Has the deposit been refunded?

Yes. We got the money back before the convention started.

How is the UWC handling the issue of Russification in Ukraine, especially in terms of the Russification of Ukrainian schools, TV and radio?

Russification is happening primarily in Crimea. We raised these issues, for example, in our meeting with President Kuchma when he was here [New York City] during the U.N. General Assembly session this past year.

Russification now takes different forms. One of the most significant is the fact that, on the street, it's Russian products, Russian books; Russian newspapers and Russian language CDs and tapes are much more readily available. Also, a good portion of television and radio programming is in the Russian language.

Probably the single greatest factor of Russification in Ukraine is the Russian Orthodox Church. I had once given an interview and people asked me "What is worse, assimilation or Russification?" and I said that assimilation is worse and the reason for it is because there is very little that you can do about assimilation. You can fight it but, unfortunately, ulti-

mately to some degree it's inevitable. In terms of Russification in Ukraine we don't think that the effort has been made by the Ukrainian government to combat the issue.

Another problem is that the first lady of Ukraine sees absolutely nothing wrong with belonging to a Church which is, for all intents and purposes, Russian. Let's look at the benefits that are heaped upon the Russian Orthodox Church – the so-called Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate. They were just recently given essentially all of the Kyivan Cave Monastery structures.

The argument that we do not wish to discriminate against religions is a ridiculous argument when you're transferring community property or state property to a Church which actually defies Ukrainian independence, because a number of the prelates of the Russian Orthodox Church have said that Ukraine should be united with Russia. That is tantamount to treason and nothing is being done in that regard. If the Ukrainian government consciously took a practical approach and said that the Ukrainian language is the state language, and we will enforce that provision on an everyday basis, at least in the workplace, everything would change.

Is Ukraine slipping backward in that regard, or is there progress being made with regard to these issues?

There is progress being made, but the progress is so slow and there's just no excuse for it. The reason why it's so slow is because there's no effort; there is simply no effort. When many of Ukraine's diplomats meet they speak Russian among themselves. One can argue that when two Ukrainians meet in the United States they speak English, but that's an entirely different situation because there is absolutely no effort being made by these people. You can't force someone in their own homes to speak one language or another but you can certainly force a government official, during working hours, to speak Ukrainian. And if an effort was made in that regard then I think that significant changes would come about.



Roman Woronowycz

Patriarch Filaret (right) and Cardinal Lubomyr Husar during the observances of the Famine-Genocide held at the time of the Ukrainian World Congress in Kyiv.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

It's way past time for redress

On December 12 a new prime minister took the oath of office in Canada. Formerly the finance minister, Paul Martin replaced Jean Chrétien, who retired after a decade in office. International news media reported that the new prime minister promised to improve Canada's relations with the United States, to enhance the government's ethical conduct and to be more responsive to the public will. The latter, in particular, is where Ukrainian Canadians come in.

For years now, Ukrainian Canadians have been seeking redress and reconciliation for the mistreatment of thousands during World War I who were sent to internment camps as alleged "enemy aliens," had their property confiscated, their human rights violated and their civil liberties abrogated.

The Winnipeg Free Press reported on December 22 that the federal government was advised by its bureaucrats to avoid apologies or compensation to the Ukrainian Canadian community for the internment operations of 1914-1920 because of "concerns that a deal with the Ukrainians would spark demands from other ethnic groups." According to the Free Press, one briefing note to then-Heritage Minister Sheila Copps, marked secret, said: "When made public, the result of the discussions with representatives of the Canadian Ukrainian community will likely lead to increased pressure and demands from other ethno-cultural groups (Chinese, Italians etc.) seeking redress." Other notes made it clear that the government was taking a hard line on both compensation and an apology – this despite the fact that the federal government had "moved to correct the wrongs suffered by Japanese Canadians [under the government of Brian Mulroney], natives abused in residential schools and, earlier this month, for the expulsion of the Acadians three centuries ago."

Ukrainian Canadians are not asking for individual compensation. Instead they seek funding for educational projects that would recall and commemorate a shameful chapter in Canadian history, among them interpretive centers at the sites of internment camps and curriculum materials. And it seemed they were making progress. Indeed, in a letter written to Ms. Copps, Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, research director of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, which has been in the forefront of the redress issue for 16 years now, noted that her intervention had "confirmed considerable agreement on many, if not all, of the elements that must be agreed to before our community can conclude a settlement with the government of Canada."

However, though Mr. Chrétien had pledged back in 1993 to support redress, he "broke his pledge and his legacy will forever include that fact," Dr. Luciuk said. He added that, nonetheless, Ukrainian Canadians have not lost hope and plan to continue their negotiations with the next government.

Member of Parliament Inky Mark – described by Dr. Luciuk as "undeniably the best friend the Ukrainian Canadian community has today in Parliament" – has once again taken it upon himself to push for redress. He has called on the new government of Prime Minister Martin to once and for all recognize the injustice done to Ukrainian Canadians and other East Europeans interned during World War I. His worthy initiative deserves the support of the new government.

For 83 years, since the internment operation came to a close, Ukrainian Canadians have seen justice denied. It is in the power of the new Canadian government to right this historic wrong and to bring a measure of justice to survivors of that heinous chapter of history and their descendants.

Dec.
31
1997

Turning the pages back...

In the last issue of 1977, The Ukrainian Weekly reported on the arrests of two members of the Kyiv-based Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords: Lev Lukianenko and Petro Vins.

Mr. Lukianenko was arrested by the KGB in his home in Chernihiv on December 12, 1977, reported the Ukrainian Central Information Service. His arrest came some 19 months after he was released from a 15-year prison sentence for belonging to a group of Ukrainian lawyers who were tried in 1961 for calling for the session of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR.

Lukianenko's arrest raised to six the number of Ukrainian Helsinki monitors to be arrested since the group's formation in November 1976. Others arrested earlier were Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych and Oles Berdnyk. Observers reported that dissident circles in Ukraine believed this latest attack on the Kyiv group was a major KGB attempt to destroy all Ukrainian Helsinki monitors.

On December 8, 1977, the secret police ransacked the quarters of Petro Vins, son of incarcerated Baptist Pastor Georgi Vins, reported the Smoloskyp Information Service. The younger Vins was reportedly beaten during the search and detained for 15 days.

Source: "Lukianenko, Vins arrested," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, December 31, 1977.

GREETINGS TO THE WEEKLY: Plast Foundation, Selfreliance Association

Dear Editor-in-Chief:

On behalf of the Board of Directors of the Plast Foundation Inc., on the 70th anniversary of The Ukrainian Weekly, it is with great pleasure, that we convey our best wishes for your continual success in managing The Ukrainian Weekly.

Your English-language reporting on various topics provides an excellent opportunity to disseminate valuable information about the Ukrainians to circles outside of the Ukrainian community.

"Mnohaya Lita!"

Bohdan Mychajliw, President
Stefania Kosowycz, Secretary
Plast Foundation Inc.

CHRISTMAS PASTORAL LETTER

The real spirit of Christmas

Below is the pastoral letter issued by the Permanent Conference of Ukrainian Orthodox Bishops Beyond the Borders of Ukraine.

To the venerable and Christ-loving clergy, monastics and faithful of the Holy Ukrainian Orthodox Church for whom "God Eternal is born."

Grace, love and peace descend upon you and strengthen you in your holy vocation!

"Let all mortal flesh keep silence. ..."

The early God-inspired sacred writers and contributors to the liturgy, composed and set this hymn "Let all mortal flesh keep silent..." to be used as the entrance hymn not only of Vespers Liturgy of Great and Holy Saturday, but also that of this Great Feast of the Nativity of our Lord, because it best expresses in human terms the mysteries of transforming Divine Light and Life emanating from the manger of the Bethlehem cave and the Divine Light – triumphant and life giving – emanating from the second manger, the stone slab in the Jerusalem tomb.

Contemplate these two mysteries, brothers and sisters, contemplate them in prayer-inspired silence, and you will come to appreciate who and what we, as Orthodox Ukrainian Christians, are. Contemplate these two mysteries and you will begin to understand the sublime nature of that vocation to which we, along with our brethren in Ukraine and throughout the world, are called – sealed by water and the Spirit in Baptism and Chrismation. It is a vocation, which is the nature of the Church established not as a political entity but for our sanctification and salvation and that of generations to come.

We have specifically selected this as our theme for this year's observance of the Nativity of Jesus Christ, Only-begotten Son of God, Savior, Redeemer and Benefactor, because of its relevance for any time or any age. As servants of the Lord and shepherds whom He has entrusted with the lives of precious souls, we are convinced that the Good News, which the weary and dismayed shepherds received and embraced on that silent night more than 20 centuries ago, can only be embraced and put into practice in these early years of the 21st century by those who, confronted with this miracle of miracles, "stand in reverential awe and respect" in the presence of the Lord of lords and King of kings who comes to give Himself totally for the life of the world and its salvation.

We, the children of a very confused, morally unstable and "what's good for me" society, be that society here in the U.S.A., Canada, Latin America, Europe, Australia/New Zealand, Ukraine or any other part of God's world, really need to act together, in the words of the entrance hymn cited and "stand in reverential awe and profound respect" before, not our brother Jesus, but before the King of kings and Lord of lords. By His birth, He emptied Himself totally for us and we, together with

the angelic powers, welcome Him at the Holy Eucharistic Tables of our parish churches and share his "Good News" with others by being faithful to the evangelical admonition: "Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least of my brethren, you did it to me" (Matthew 25:40).

It is this concept of sharing and nurturing, which is the real spirit of Christmas and the motivation behind the Holy Supper on the eve of this Feast, as practiced by our devout and observant people. It is this concept of sharing and nurturing that has enabled the survival of our Holy Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine and here beyond her borders for 1,016 years.

May this year's observance of Christ's Nativity, by us and our brethren in Ukraine be marked not by "event Orthodox Christians," but by "children of the light and day," unambiguously dedicated to Christ and faithful to His Gospel and Church. May God Eternal, Who was born to save all His people, bestow upon our brethren in Ukraine and upon all of you, whom the Shepherd of shepherds has committed to our care, every good gift of heaven and earth. May you, in turn, share these gifts with those who are in need, thus proclaiming:

"Christ is born! Glorify Him!"

† **Wasyly**, Metropolitan – Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

† **Constantine**, Metropolitan – Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA and Diaspora

† **John**, Archbishop – Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

† **Antony**, Archbishop – Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA

† **Vsevolod**, Archbishop – Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA

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

† **Yurij**, Archbishop – Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

† **Jeremiah**, Bishop – Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Latin America Eparchy



Dear Editor-in-Chief:

The National Board of the Association of American Ukrainians, Inc., Selfreliance, a non-profit organization of an educational, charitable, social and cultural nature, congratulates The Ukrainian Weekly on its 70th anniversary.

May The Weekly continue to grow, prosper and provide the much-needed reports, analyses of events and other noteworthy items, not only to our Ukrainian community, but also to English-speaking readers from all walks of life. The National Board of Directors, with all its local branches and members, wishes you many more years of success!

Bohdan Mychajliw, President
Nadia Sawczuk, Secretary
Selfreliance Association of American Ukrainians

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Thanks for story on Bronko Nagurski

Dear Editor:

Upon reading the exciting story about Bronko Nagurski in *The Ukrainian Weekly* of October 5, I was reminded of an experience related to me by my uncle, Taras Shpikula. He was a Ukrainian National Association officer for many years. On the occasion of the above incident he was host at the 1933 World's Fair Ukrainian Pavilion in Chicago.

One evening Nagurski was relaxing at a table admiring the exhibits when a visitor, on recognizing the football star commented, "Bronko aren't you at the wrong place? Why aren't you at the Polish Room?" "No," Bronko replied, "I belong here. I am Ukrainian." I can just picture his chest swelling with pride as he made this announcement.

I have been a member of UNA Branch 53 in Pittsburgh for more years than *The Weekly* has been published.

Russell Spikula
Winston Salem, N.C.

Karatnycky offers odd view of oligarchs

Dear Editor:

Adrian Karatnycky's interview (October 26) was interesting reading. He has an impressive resumé and writes well – very informed, very dispassionate, very detached. It's the "spin" that I didn't like.

He has an odd view of the "oligarchs" – and even goes as far as calling them an elite. To most of us elite means the best; the first group; most distinguished – superior. Is that who we are really talking about?

It is the accepted view that the "evil empire" collapsed or imploded because Communists stopped being a political party, but instead became a criminal enterprise and so it continues. That is the genesis of our elite, i.e., the oligarchs. When you read about Yulia Tymoshenko's golden faucets you are reminded of Saddam's palaces with their golden faucets, or John Gotti's gaudy cufflinks. It looks like all thugs have the same taste, they all obtained their wealth underhandedly, conspiratorially, illegally. Their only motivation is greed.

Not one of these oligarchs could have gotten there on merit or talent. They succeeded only because of their criminal behavior. They are flaunting the law and exploiting the people – ruining the country. They almost always fail.

In the interview, there is some discussion of the competition of ideas between the governments – Leonid Kuchma and the oligarchs. Neither one nor the other is interested in government by any principals or ideals. They are both of the same mold.

The author also makes a great deal of the current powers that be, trying out people in leadership positions to see who the next best leader would be. What are we talking about? This is post-Soviet Ukraine with its graft-ruled politics. Since when did it become a meritocracy – could it be that they are just taking their turn at the trough?

Mr. Kuchma is a tragedy because he is a talented man: an organizer, a manager and a leader who ran the biggest enterprise under the Soviets. He is the Lee Iacocca of Ukraine. He has all the attributes to have become an outstanding president of Ukraine save for one thing: he lacks noble intentions. He is beholden to men, not to ideas. He is a man without generous passions – homo Sovieticus. Under Mr. Kuchma, politics and

criminality merged. When there is an attempt in the article to draw some comparison between the leadership of Poland and Russia, it is weak. These countries have nationalist leaders. Look how Vladimir Putin is dealing with his oligarchs. Where are Berezovsky, Kusinsky, Abramovich, Rabinovich or Khodorkovsky? Mr. Putin is cleaning house – he gave each one a John Wayne choice – get out of Dodge City or go to jail.

Mr. Kuchma, in the meantime, has descended into criminality. He has shamed himself and is remorseless. He is blackballed in the U.S. and shunned in Europe. The Heorhii Gongadze case was his real undoing. But the world knows that the Gongadze murder was not a one-time incident, there were many. One could say that under Mr. Kuchma, Ukraine is "Goons Gone Wild." He has to go.

I concur with the assessment of Viktor Yushchenko. Yes, he is a politician looking for a constituency. There are no stellar achievements, not at the bank or even in Parliament – only a brief upturn in the economy. He has never made a major policy speech or written anything of note, thus he remains a candidate without a distinct identity, without a program, without an announced plan, without objectives.

The Ukrainian people want simple achievable things: responsible government, a better standard of living and the end of corruption. Mr. Yushchenko is running for president without a message. Without a message, Mr. Yushchenko will have a problem collecting money from the diaspora. Political contributions should not be given without strings. Before you reach for that checkbook find out about his position on: dual citizenship, no-visa entry, compensation for lost wealth, a permanent parliamentary delegation from the diaspora, a Cabinet post for diaspora, civility at customs. These issues should be widely discussed and debated here and in Ukraine.

At the end of the interview, Mr. Karatnycky offers advice to the diaspora: Stop being the diaspora and remember you are just immigrants. Act like immigrants. You want to influence politics, economy, culture in Ukraine? Then go see your congressman or your member of Parliament.

I, however, believe that we have a genuine interest in our country. Our families dedicated their lives to free Ukraine, so why can't we have a voice? Not a full one but at least a limited one. Our voice would hardly sway the politics in Ukraine, but it would endow the debate with a sense of nationalism and exuberance. It would ignite some passion. After all, we all believe that fighting for one's beliefs is honorable, and our national convictions have guided our lives. Without them we would be mere "ethnics" but instead we have built a "virtual Ukraine."

We believe in courtesy, chivalry and honor. We are industrious, we are successful, we are smart, we are patriotic, we are capitalists, we are nationalists. We are "the Ukrainian diaspora."

Zenon Mazurkevich
Philadelphia

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

PERSPECTIVES

BY ANDREW FEDYNSKY



Pereiaslav – a second chance to apologize

In 1988 Congress apologized to Japanese Americans for the way their country abused them in World War II. In 1991, at the dedication of the Babyn Yar monument in Kyiv, President Leonid Kravchuk apologized to Ukraine's Jews for past wrongs. Likewise, in 1997, Prime Minister Tony Blair apologized to the Irish for Britain's role in the Great Potato Famine of 1848.

Despite these and other examples of national contrition, Russia's ambassador to Ukraine, Viktor Chernomyrdin, made it clear that the Russian Federation would not apologize for the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933. There's nothing to apologize for, Mr. Chernomyrdin said. Anyway, Stalin was Georgian – let the Georgians apologize, he said.

Unwilling to confront the enormity of the Famine, the Russian ambassador, no doubt, was counting on the subject changing from the 70th anniversary of the Famine in 2003 to the 350th anniversary of the Pereiaslav Treaty in 2004. Unlike the Holodomor, Pereiaslav is a commemoration that Russia has been eager to embrace. Not so Ukrainians.

In a nutshell, this is what happened. Four centuries ago, Ukrainians who earlier presided over the vast empire of Rus', had succumbed to total Polish domination. In one of history's mysterious turns, a charismatic leader, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, came out of nowhere in 1648 to rally a nation of serfs and renegade Kozaks to overthrow their oppressors. Khmelnytsky's rebellion started as an act of vengeance for a personal wrong, but soon it escalated into a national revolution culminating in a Ukrainian state. Characterizing himself as "a small and insignificant man who by the will of God has become the independent ruler of Rus,'" Khmelnytsky set a goal to "free the entire people of Rus.'" Five years later, in 1654, Khmelnytsky, buffeted by diplomatic intrigue and war, signed the Pereiaslav Treaty.

The actual wording of the agreement was lost centuries ago. Only inaccurate copies and translations survive. As a result, all the interpretations of its intent have been tainted by politics. Russian historians and politicians invariably characterized Pereiaslav as Ukraine's voluntary union with Russia. The Soviets, who celebrated the agreement as the culmination of an age-old desire of Ukrainians and Russians to be united into a single state, staged elaborate ceremonies for its 300th anniversary in 1954, capped with the dedication of a huge arch in the center of Kyiv.

Unlike Russians, most Ukrainian historians reject the claim that Ukraine voluntarily surrendered its sovereignty. Mykhailo Hrushevsky cites clauses guaranteeing Ukrainian rights and liberties, including an army, a foreign policy and unencumbered election of leaders. Vyacheslav Lypynsky viewed Pereiaslav as no more than a temporary military alliance.

If the original terms of the treaty have become obscure, its historical consequences are clear. Ever since 1654 Ukraine has been closely linked with Russia – to Russia's overwhelming benefit and at great cost to Ukraine. Immediately after Pereiaslav, Russia began encroaching on Ukrainian territory, curtailing liberties and rights. Leaders like Ivan Vyhovsky, Ivan Mazepa and Pavlo Polubotok fought to dislodge the tsars' armies from Ukraine, but to no avail.

In the early 1710s, Tsar Peter blocked the election of Ukrainian hetmans who disagreed with him. In 1726, he appoint-

ed a "Little Russian Board" consisting of Russian officers to rule Ukraine. Fifty years later, Catherine II destroyed the final Kozak stronghold, the Sich, and dispatched its elderly leader, Dmytro Kalnyshchuk, to a tiny cell on a White Sea island, north of the Arctic Circle. A century later, Alexander II took the logic of imperialism a huge step further and banned the Ukrainian language itself.

There were even worse horrors in the Soviet era. After a brief Renaissance in the 1920s, Joseph Stalin declared total war on Ukraine, executing the cultural elite and condemning the peasantry to wholesale starvation. Those who survived endured half a century of aggressive Russification and serfdom disguised as collectivized agriculture.

If Russia's President Vladimir Putin missed the opportunity in 2003 to apologize for the Famine, he'll have the opportunity to apologize for Pereiaslav in 2004. That would cover a lot of sins. Although no one knows what was really signed back in 1654, surely it didn't include labor camps, a ban on the Ukrainian language, destruction of churches, the murder of poets, scholars and blind musicians, pollution of the land, waters and skies, and a politically motivated Famine that killed 7 million of Khmelnytsky's descendants. I'll bet the document spoke of friendship and respect, along with a sober listing of political protections and mutual responsibilities. That's not what followed, of course. Whether the capital was St. Petersburg or Moscow, the national symbol a double-headed eagle or the hammer and sickle, Russia's policy toward Ukraine has been destructive, at times genocidal.

Genocide, understandably, is a difficult legacy for a national leader to address. One leader, German Chancellor Willy Brandt, found just the right language of apology. In 1970, at the Ghetto Uprising Monument in Warsaw, he fell to his knees in a gesture of shame and expiation. Only a leader confident in his country's underlying strength and greatness could apologize like that. Widely admired and respected, Willy Brandt went on to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

It would be nice if the former KGB officer turned Russian president were to make a similar gesture toward the Ukrainian people. Mr. Putin could light a candle at the grave of Vasyl Stus, a poet who died in a KGB labor camp. He might want to cast a wreath on the waters of his hometown, St. Petersburg, where the bones of Kozak slaves are intermingled with the very foundations of the city they built. Or like Brandt, he could fall to his knees. Anyplace in Ukraine would be appropriate. There, every square mile is haunted by the ghost of someone who died from political violence that can be traced to the treaty signed at Pereiaslav.

Mr. Putin isn't likely to make any gestures of contrition either for the Famine or Pereiaslav, and it doesn't really matter. In 1991, by a margin of 9-1, the Ukrainian people voted to sever their relationship with Russia. By doing so they rendered their verdict on Pereiaslav, on the Holodomor and all the empty words of friendship and brotherhood that were parroted in the past. More importantly, they signaled their eagerness to move on.

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Ukrainian Rizdvo – a lunar Christmas

by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

Forget Santa Claus, the fir tree and wreaths, the elves, the Yule log and the reindeer. We've got wheat, hay, garlic, poppy seeds, honey, farm animals, and the sun, moon, and stars – now that's Christmas! If not Christmas, then Ukrainian Rizdvo, the birth of Christ as Ukrainians have celebrated it from even before the times of Christ.

There she goes again, confusing us with some pretty strange stuff, you groan. Not really, dear reader, not if you've been following some of my musings on the origins of Ukrainian traditions over the years. Tradition is strange because, while we practice our heritage as passed on by our relatives and ancestors, we rarely fully understand why. And, over the centuries, some of the various explanations and presumptions have been clouded with what people of the time thought or wished them to be. I have become immune to comments about my "pagan" leanings because of my pre-Christian explanations to many of our traditions. These are neither my thoughts, nor my wishful thinking. I couldn't make this stuff up if I tried.

In December/January the Christian world celebrates the birth of the Christ Child, which occurred over 2,000 years ago. Religious celebrations take place in churches, homes and communities. Combined with this Christian feast are celebrations that go back much further, into pre-history, when human beings celebrated the winter solstice – the shortest day and the longest night. The family celebration hinged on the fact that from that day on, the nights would become less and less long, meaning the days would increase in light – spring was on its way. Throughout the world, this feast – along with those celebrating other solar events, marked the annual, seasonal changes so important to nature and life.

With the coming of Christianity, new traditions were begun, while the old ones continued, sometimes

in adapted form. In various parts of the world, Church authorities attempted to eradicate "heathen" practices, meeting with varied success and failure. The traditions we still practice in 2003, after over a millennium of Christianity, indicate that our Ukrainian ancestors were more stubborn than most, and devoted to their way of life and belief, and no "newcomers" (of the Christian variety) would take away what had been believed and practiced since human memory began.

Ukrainian Christmas is steeped in symbolism, extremely archaic symbolism. Each thing, each ritual, each phrase and melody mean something. And that something harkens back to those earliest human times. You couldn't explain the unusual, even strange rituals without it.

From the Paleolithic (Old Stone Age, approximately 22,000 B.C. and forward), we have elements of lunar themes and ancestor worship. The latter is represented in such traditions as the empty place setting at the table, kutia and uzvar, and the non-meat, non-dairy character of the meal, the reverence for animals, certain koliadky (carols) about family, the brushing of the seat before sitting down to supper so as not to sit upon one of the many souls in the house at the time and many other rituals.

From the Neolithic/Mezolithic (New Stone Age, approximately 7,000 to 3,000 B.C.), we get the agricultural themes of Ukrainian Christmas, such as the kolach (the round bread in the center of the table), the numerous references to the sun, as well as the focus on grain and farming. The didukh, the special sheaf of wheat and other grains, is a combination of the two themes, because the souls of the ancestors enter the home for the holidays in the stalks of the best grains from the previous harvest.

The specific lunar themes of Sviat Vechir, or Ukrainian Christmas Eve, are many. The basic one is the 12 dishes served that evening. While nine or 17 are

served in some areas, 12 is the most common. Nine was also a lunar symbol in the East. And no, the number 12 does not represent the 12 Apostles – who really have nothing at all to do with Christmas. The number represents the 12 cycles of the moon, the 12 months.

To the hunter-gatherers of the Paleolithic, the moon and stars were the navigating tools for travel and migration. Only in agricultural times did the sun become more important.

Some of the foods served also have lunar symbolism. Garlic cloves, placed in the corners of the table under the table cloth, are crescent-shaped. Seeds of flax and hemp were scattered alongside the garlic. Varenyky/pyrohy (or "perogies" as they are known in Canada) are also somewhat crescent-shaped, even though they are made of flour, a product of the later, agricultural era. Fish, served in so many variations at Sviat Vechir, is also a lunar symbol, not only for Ukrainians, but among other nations (Armenians, for example).

Ksenofont Sosenko, a priest and ethnographer, in the 1920s wrote extensively about the underlying meanings of Sviat Vechir, and emphasized the lunar aspects of these rituals. Sosenko mentions that the Jewish hamantaschen, the triangular filled cookies, are also horned and have a lunar symbolism.

In many koliadky, the father of the family is compared to the moon, his wife to the sun, and the children to the stars. In some koliadky, the moon has the more prominent place in the lyrics. The moon was believed to be a source of power and energy for the earth, and the hemp and flax seeds near the garlic cloves under the tablecloth were a double symbol, reinforcing the fertility and power of natural growth.

As we sit down to the very special and reverent sviata vecheria, or holy supper of Christmas Eve, we are surrounded not only by beloved family and friends. For that evening, our ancestors and the wealth of our ancient heritage surround us also.

Ukrainian National Choir Kobzar performs on invitation of performing arts council

by Bohdan Knianicky

TEMECULA, Calif. – The Ukrainian National Choir Kobzar of Los Angeles performed in front of 400 people here at Chaparral High School on October 4. The Riverside Council for the Performing Arts extended an invitation to Gregory Hallick-Holutiak, music director and conductor of the choir, to take part in its annual cultural and musical exchange program.

The choir opened the concert with "Blessed Be the Man" (arranged by the late Rev. Stephen Hallick-Holutiak), based on a church evening chant from the Monastery of the Caves in Kyiv, followed by, "O, Lord, Hear My Prayer" and "Ring, Bells of Jerusalem."

Andrij Kytasty, noted Ukrainian artist, performed a bandura solo, as well as a duet with young bandurist Luke Miller, followed by three folk songs sung by the choir.

For the finale, the choir sang "Vichnaya Pamiat," in tribute and in memory of the fallen members of the armed services. An emotional high point was reached when the audience joined the choir in singing "God Bless America."

The choir was warmly received and the concert was a success. The Riverside Council for the performing arts has invited the choir to perform at their next year's event.



Luke Miller (left) and Andrij Kytasty perform with the Kobzar Choir of Los Angeles.

Kovaliv Awards presented to authors Wira Wowk and Marta Tarnawska

by Dzvinika Martiuk Zacharczuk

PHILADELPHIA – On Sunday afternoon, November 30, the Philadelphia Regional Council of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) hosted the presentation of the Kovaliv Award to this year's winner, the eminent authors Wira Wowk and Marta Tarnawska.

Regional Council President Chrystyna Chomyn Izak welcomed the laureates and a distinguished audience in the gallery of the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center in Jenkintown, Pa. She

invited Irena Kurowycky, the National President of the UNWLA, to present the representatives of local organizations and societies who came to honor the recipients. Oksana Farion, third vice-president of the executive committee took over as the mistress of ceremonies. Ms. Farion gave a brief biography of Petro and Lesya Kovaliv, the founders of the award.

This Ukrainian couple of an upper-class background started their life together in 1915 and traveled through Western Europe. Mr. Kovaliv worked in various capitals as foreign diplomatic

attaché for the Ukrainian National Republic. This was terminated, however, by World War I, so the couple settled and spent most of their life in Switzerland. There Mr. Kovaliv had received his doctorate in chemistry and worked for a Swiss drug company until retirement.

On their 50th wedding anniversary in 1965 the Kovalivs fulfilled their dream and expressed their love for their lost homeland by starting a fund to encourage literary, historic and civic consciousness for Ukrainians. To administer their literary-historic fund, they selected the Ukrainian National Women's League of

America because of the organization's apolitical tradition, frugal administration and its dedication to youth as the future of Ukraine. Since 1965 the UNWLA has awarded the Kovaliv Award, alternating yearly for literature and work in the fields of history/civics and sociology.

Ms. Farion then introduced the main speaker, Nadia Svitlychna, who explained the great talent of Dr. Wira Selanska (pen name Wira Wowk) and the richness of her contributions. Her work in four volumes, "Poetry, Prose, Theater

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Tradition and modernity: architecture of the Ukrainian diaspora and Radoslav Zuk

by Walter Daschko

TORONTO – Since 1963, Radoslav Zuk, professor of architecture at McGill University in Montreal, has designed nine very significant and award-winning churches for the Ukrainian diasporas in North America. These projects form the heart of “Radoslav Zuk: ‘Tradition and Modernity’ – Drawings and Photographs,” a much-traveled exhibition that showed at Toronto’s Canadian Ukrainian Art Foundation (CUAF) Gallery on November 9-23. The event was sponsored by the foundation and the Canadian Society for Ukrainian Architecture (CSUA).

Prof. Zuk opened the exhibit with a very well attended lecture, titled “Architecture, Environment and Culture,” that provided additional insights into his design philosophy in general, as well as the genesis of these remarkable churches, in particular.

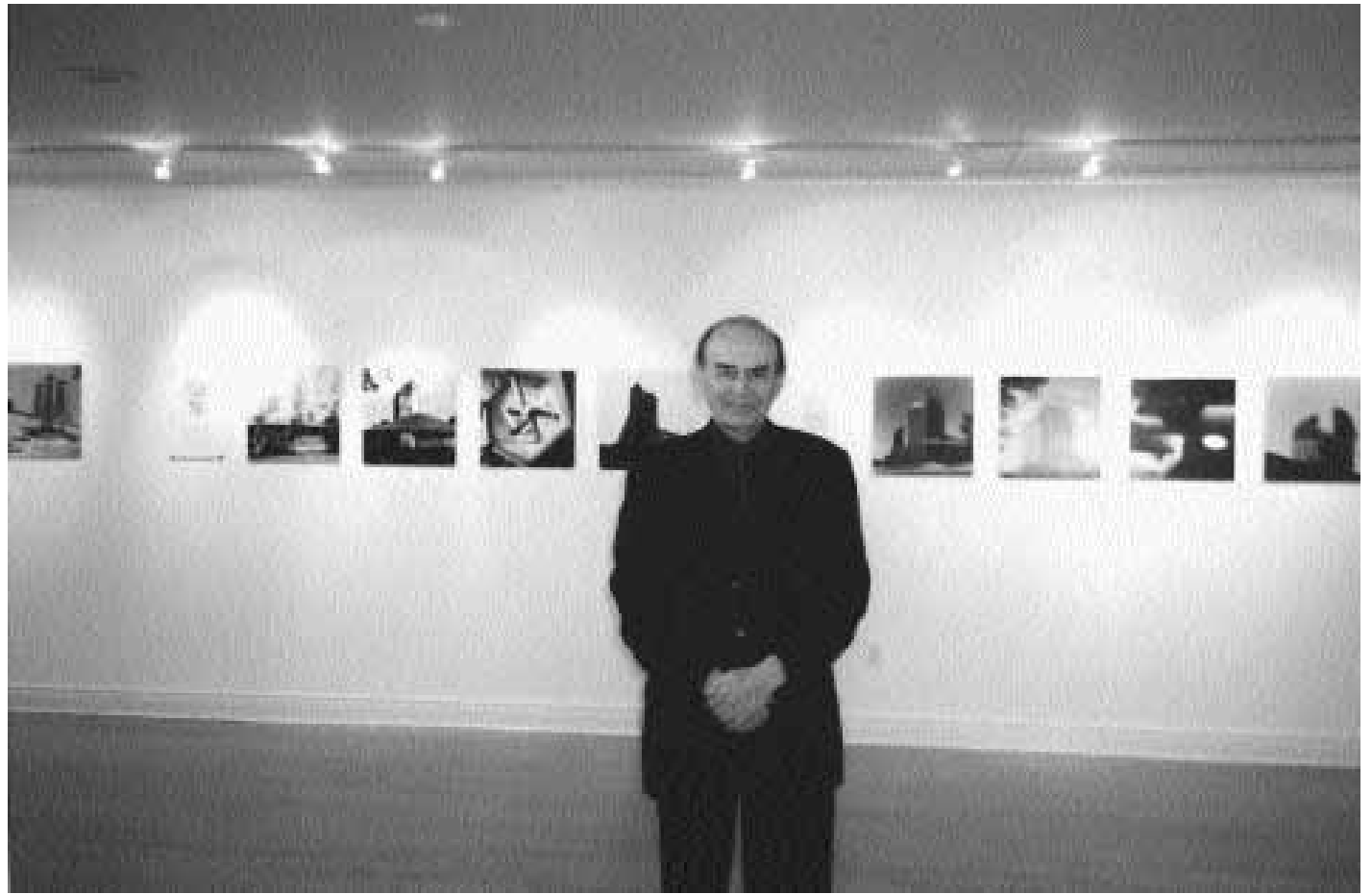
Seven of these churches were built in Canada and two in the United States. New interest has been generated by Prof. Zuk’s 10th church, currently under construction in Lviv, as well as his proposed addition to the Ukrainian National Museum of Fine Arts in Kyiv. The Nativity of the Mother of God Ukrainian Catholic Church in Lviv formed a remarkably modern backdrop to the temporary papal altar for Pope John Paul II’s open-air liturgies in that city last summer. The museum addition, his first major non-ecclesiastic commission, is influenced by, among others, recent deconstructivist trends in international design circles.

While his accomplishments are many, including an influential teaching and writing career, Prof. Zuk’s widest impact to date has been, undeniably, his North American churches. These nine churches have enriched not only the individual and collective lives of their congregations but the neighborhoods and cities in which they are situated as well. Perhaps even more significantly, they have also enriched the development of the Ukrainian Canadian and Ukrainian architectural traditions, in which they are unquestionably rooted.

In Canada before the 1950s, the typical Ukrainian Canadian church building was almost always, by necessity, a bit of a hybrid. Unfortunately, it could at times more accurately be called a jumbled, muddled crossbreed. While attempting to remain faithful to the “remembered” models from the varied villages from which the early Ukrainian immigrants came, these early churches had to deal with difficult exigencies. The realities of unfamiliar local construction conventions and techniques, limited financial resources and deep-seated Anglo-Celtic models of ecclesiastic architecture proved to be especially unrelenting.

However, the architects of the post-World War II wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, and most especially Prof. Zuk, took to this task of hybridization quite willfully and consciously, hoping to transform a necessity into a powerful and complex virtue. In the process the level of discourse was raised expo-

Walter Daschko is an architect, a former associate professor at the University of Toronto, and an executive member and one of the founders of the Canadian Society for Ukrainian Architecture (established in 1990). He has lectured and written extensively about Ukrainian architecture. For over 20 years, as a professional architect, he has helped design and implement major commissions in Canada and the United States. Mr. Daschko established his own practice in Toronto in 1993.



Radoslav Zuk against the background of his exhibit, titled “Radoslav Zuk: ‘Tradition and Modernity’ – Drawings and Photographs,” which was on view November 9-23 at the Canadian Ukrainian Art Foundation Gallery in Toronto.

nentially and the respective cultural contexts were better understood and interpreted – both traditional Ukrainian and modern Canadian. The churches illustrated in the exhibition testify to the success of this project, particularly in the hands of Prof. Zuk.

Prof. Zuk was born in Liubachiv in western Ukraine. He attended high school and studied music in Austria, and after World War II graduated from McGill University in Montreal with a bachelor of architecture degree, as well as several prizes, including the Lieutenant Governor’s Bronze Medal, the Dunlop Traveling Scholarship and the highest award in Canada, the Pilkington Traveling Scholarship.

He traveled in Europe and worked in London and Montreal on such projects as the new U.S. Embassy in London and the new City Hall in Ottawa – each in their own way quite influential in the development of architecture in the late modern period. Thereafter, he obtained a master of architecture degree at MIT in Boston. Most recently he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the Ukrainian Academy of Art in Kyiv.

Prof. Zuk’s skill has also been recognized by the Canadian and international architectural communities. In England, the highly respected journal *The Architectural Review* commented a few years ago that: “Reinterpreting ancient ritual for contemporary congregations in a way that has meaning is a problem that is both liturgical and architectural ... In Canada ... Radoslav Zuk has built a distinguished series of churches ... He had been concerned to make churches which, while they have particular resonance with Ukrainian culture, do not copy the forms of the past but abstract from them to create places which have an authentic, not kitsch relationship to tradition.” Prof. Zuk’s work has also been praised in the Italian magazine, *Domus*, as well as North America’s leading architectural journals.

In Canada, Prof. Zuk is winner and co-winner of several competition prizes and is a co-recipient of a Governor General’s Medal for Architecture, the highest architectural honor in Canada, for St. Stephen’s Byzantine Ukrainian Catholic Church in Calgary, Alberta.

Prof. Zuk’s accomplishments are not limited to his beautiful and influential churches. He has taught at the University of Manitoba and the University of Toronto, and is currently a

professor of architecture at McGill University and an honorary professor of the Kyiv Technical University of Building and Architecture.

He has acted as guest review critic at the prestigious Architectural Association in London, and Harvard, MIT, Pratt, the Rhode Island School of Design, Yale and other universities in the United States. He has also appeared as a guest lecturer in Europe, the United States and across Canada. He has served on juries of architectural competitions, and has published articles on design theory, cultural aspects of architecture and the relationship between architecture and other arts.

It is in the capacity of architectural theoretician, lecturer and essayist that Prof. Zuk has further influenced the next generation of Ukrainian Canadian and Ukrainian American architects. Through his many talks and insightful conference papers, such as his seminal presentation, “Endurance, Disappearance and Adaptation: Ukrainian Material Culture in Canada” for the 1981 University of Manitoba conference, “Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada’s Ukrainians,” Prof. Zuk continued to define the problems and opportunities around building a Ukrainian diasporan architectural culture.

Book documents Soviet Ukraine’s Cold War-era relations with Ukrainian Canadians

by Jars Balan

EDMONTON – An important new book has been published in Kyiv reproducing documents from Ukrainian government archives detailing Cold War era relations between ministries and agencies of the Ukrainian SSR and Ukrainians in Canada.

Titled “Na Skryzhaliakh Istorii, (literally “On the Tablets of History”), the English title of the book is rendered as *Facts of History: Archival Documents on Relations Between Ukraine and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community, late 1940s-1980s*.

The hefty 870-page tome is the first installment in the series “Ukraine-Canada: History and Modern Times,” an ambitious endeavor to issue several volumes of official material dating from the

Soviet period and housed in Ukrainian state repositories.

“Facts of History” contains 266 documents from various government archives in Kyiv, all of which are reproduced in their original language (namely, Ukrainian or Russian), though introduced with Ukrainian-language headings and annotated with footnotes in Ukrainian.

Although the current usefulness of the texts will be limited to specialists knowledgeable in Ukrainian and Russian, the publication nevertheless represents a major addition to the primary sources available to scholars. It is hoped that records of general interest or value to Canadian historians will eventually be put out in English translation.

Documents in the collection include

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Harvard symposium revisits Great Famine of 1932-1933

by Yuri Shevchuk

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — “The Ukrainian Terror-Famine of 1932-1933: Revisiting the Issues and the Scholarship Twenty Years after the HURI Famine Project” was the title of a symposium held on October 20, by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI).

Scholars from the United States, Italy, the Netherlands and France presented their latest research into the causes, extent and lasting impact of what the special commission on the Ukraine Famine, in its 1988 report to the U.S. Congress, called an “act of genocide and terror.”

Organized by HURI Associate Director Dr. Lubomyr Hajda, the symposium pursued a twofold purpose announced by its subtitle: to discuss some of the new findings in Famine studies effected over the last 20 years since the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute launched its Famine studies project in 1982, and to map the course of future research.

Alongside such recognized specialists in East European history as Terry Martin, John L. Loeb Associate Professor of the Social Sciences at Harvard University, and Andrea Graziosi, professor of history, University of Naples “Federico II,” the symposium also included representatives of a younger generation of scholars, among them, Dr. Gijs Kessler, research fellow at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam; Niccolo Pianciola, Ph.D. candidate, Scuola Europea di Studi Avanzati, Istituto Universitario Suor Orsola, Benincasa, Naples; and Dr. Juliette Cadiot, who earned her Ph.D. from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France, and the European University Institute, Florence, Italy, who is currently a HURI research fellow.



Session Two of the Harvard Famine Symposium (from left) Niccolo Pianciola, Lubomyr Hajda and Gijs Kessler.

In his opening remarks, Dr. Hajda gave an overview of the pioneering HURI Famine Project undertaken in 1982-1986 with the financial support of the Ukrainian community channeled through the Ukrainian Studies Fund and the Ukrainian National Association. The project included among other things a memorial exhibition of photographic and other documents held at Harvard’s Widener Library and accompanied by the catalogue “Famine in the Soviet Ukraine 1932-1933” (1986), prepared by Oksana Procyk, Lenoid Heretz and James E. Mace; the publication of the book “Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation. National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933” (1983), written by Dr. Mace, post-doctoral fellow at HURI at the time, who was also instrumental in the work of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine. It was also within the HURI Famine Project that Dr. Robert

Conquest’s seminal book “The Harvest of Sorrow” was published (1986).

Session one of the symposium, “The 1932-1933 Famine in Ukraine: Its Specificities, Its Context,” focused on the discussion of two papers: Prof. Martin’s titled “The Great Famine in Ukraine and the Nationalities Question,” and Prof. Graziosi’s “The Great Famine of 1932-1933: Consequences and Implications.”

Prof. Martin spoke of new documents from the personal archives of Stalin, Molotov and Kaganovich that revealed their direct complicity in the Ukrainian Famine. Stalin connected the stubborn resistance of Ukrainian peasants to his collectivization policies with his longstanding dislike of Ukrainians and fears of Ukrainian nationalism. He also suspected the Ukrainian Communist leadership of disloyalty towards Moscow and of harboring nationalist sympathies. Stalin’s grain requisition policies, which initially targeted peasants as a class,

eventually acquired a clear ethnic, anti-Ukrainian, bias and came to target Ukrainians as an ethnic group hostile towards Stalin’s goals.

Prof. Graziosi raised a multitude of questions that are still unsolved or inadequately treated. They bespeak the enormity of the famine and its far-reaching consequences for Ukrainian, Soviet and European past, but, what is no less important, for the present as well – the consequences of which historians and other social scientists are only beginning to comprehend. He articulated, in fact, a whole program of research that can feed many dissertation and book projects.

What, asked Prof. Graziosi, was the legacy of those seven-eight months, in which millions died, on the population? How was collective psychology affected by the often dreadful death of so many sons, wives, husbands, relatives, and friends? What impact did the famine and death have on religious practices and feelings? What were the effects the famine had on how the urban population conceived its relations with the countryside? “Is it possible to surmise that the wall built of ethnic differences – let’s recall that Ukrainian cities were still largely Russian and Jewish cities,” Prof. Graziosi, said “and civil war memories ... then became higher and thicker as a consequence of the treatment inflicted by the regime on the villages?” Prof. Graziosi’s questions often sounded like compelling hypotheses in search of researchers.

In the conclusion of his paper, Prof. Graziosi voiced a kind of moral imperative: “Without a full awareness of the Great Famine it is simply impossible to understand the European 20th century. This is for me an intellectually and

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INTERVIEW: Andrea Graziosi speaks about the Famine

Andrea Graziosi is full professor of contemporary history at the University of Naples “Federico II” (Università di Napoli “Federico II”), and co-director, history section, at the European School of Advanced Studies, in Naples. He is a recognized authority in modern East European, Soviet and Ukrainian history. He authored seven books, including the influential “The Great Soviet Peasant War. Bolsheviks and Peasants, 1918-1934,” published by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in 1997 and which later came out also in Italian (1998) and Russian (2001) editions. The interview below was conducted by Yuri Shevchuk.

How did you become interested in modern Ukrainian history?

I actually started as a Soviet historian, not as a specialist in Ukrainian history, but several times over the years Ukrainian issues appeared so forcefully in my studies that in the end I became also a specialist on Ukraine. I realized that Ukrainian history has been crucial to Soviet development.

I believe that Ukrainian history is extremely important not only for Soviet history but also European history of the 20th century because many of the key phenomena, ethnic, rural and urban conflicts, influence of empires on peripheries like Ukraine, in a word, many key issues of European history can be found in Ukrainian history. Thus, I moved from Soviet to Ukrainian history and tried to use Ukrainian history also as a means to understanding European history.

You have been a friend of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute for many years now, have you not?

When I found the Italian Foreign Ministry documents on famine and collectivization I presented my findings at the Congress of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies in Naples in 1988. There I met Profs. Roman Szporluk, George Grabowicz, Bohdan Krawczenko and many students of Ukrainian history. At that time I was studying G.L. Piatakov, who was in charge of Soviet industrialization, discovering how important the Ukrainian part of his life was for his formation and his ideas.

During one of my research stays in the U.S. I discussed my Piatakov project at HURI. My article on the subject in which I discussed the importance of Ukraine in Soviet nationality question, was published in the Harvard Ukrainian Studies Journal. We continued to collaborate over the years. In 1997 the Institute published my book “The Great Soviet Peasant War. Bolsheviks and Peasants, 1918-1934,” later also published in Russian and Italian. My collaboration with HURI continues today and is very fruitful.

How do you see the main consequences and implications of the Great Famine from today’s perspective?

By now we have a more or less clear understanding of the dynamics and mechanics of the Famine. A recent discovery of great interest has been the anti-Ukrainian bend given to the Famine by

Stalin after July of 1932, and his decision to break the Ukrainian peasants, but also the Russian and Kazak peasants.

There are many things that remain to be done here. In the last 12 years the opening of archives in the former USSR allowed researchers to make great strides. What is lacking, in my opinion, is an analysis of the impact such a huge tragedy could not but have on the life of the country after the famine.

In my paper at the HURI symposium I tried to raise a few big issues, for example, the relation between the cities that were still not very Ukrainian and the countryside, the psychological impact of the famine upon the peasants and urban population, how it coalesced with the other great tragedy that followed – the second world war, and another very bad famine Ukraine suffered in 1946-1947, how the famine affected Ukrainian mentality and psychological reaction to life.

Another issue I tried to address was what impact this tragedy had upon local political leaders, including Communist functionaries. For example, one is hard-pressed to find any mentioning of the Famine in the Petro Shelest memoirs, though he was a participant in the “dekulakization” and collectivization. The same is true of Khrushchev. The big question is how this tragic experience affected various strata of Ukrainian population – peasants, political elites, urban population, ethnic minorities.

What new knowledge, views, perspectives has the symposium added to what had already been known about the Famine?



Prof. Andrea Graziosi in the HURI library.

There were at least three interesting things discussed at the symposium.

In a pioneering research on the closely related issue that allows us to analyze the Ukrainian Famine in a larger context, a paper on the famine in Kazakhstan was presented by Niccolo Pianciola. There were three areas affected by the Famine in the early 1930s – Ukraine, Kazakhstan and the lower Volga region.

The second thing that was done was an attempt by Mr. Kessler to address the consequences of the Famine for peasants in the kolkhoz system. In particular he clearly showed that food remained a crucial concern for the peasants throughout the 1930s. This, in turn, could not but affect the peasants’ psychology and behavior for many years. He attempted to deal with this issue.

Terry Martin’s contribution to the dis-

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Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies publicizes new research on Famine

by Bohdan Klid

EDMONTON – As part of worldwide efforts to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the 1932-1933 Famine in Ukraine, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) decided to make more widely known – to both the scholarly community and the public at large in North America – important new research and resources on the tragedy. This was done by organizing and co-sponsoring a series of lectures by three Ukrainian scholars, Drs. Yuri Shapoval, Hennadii Boriak and Olexiy Haran, at several scholarly and community events in Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto.

Dr. Shapoval is affiliated with the Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Kyiv. Dr. Boriak is director general of the State Committee of Archives of Ukraine, which oversees the entire complex of Ukraine's archival institutions. Dr. Haran is with the political science department and School for Policy Analysis at the National University of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

The first in the series of lectures took place on November 11 at the University of Toronto, co-sponsored by CIUS (Toronto Office) and the Petro Jacyk Program for the Study of Ukraine at the Center for Russian and East European Studies.

In his talk "Tragic Pages of Ukrainian History and the Current Political Struggle: Debates Over the 1933 Famine," Dr. Haran focused on the different interpretations of the Famine among Ukraine's political groupings. He traced how the 1932-1933 Famine first became a part of public and political discourse in the late perestroika period, and then in the 1990s was officially recognized by the Kravchuk and Kuchma regimes.

Recently, on March 6, 2003, the Verkhovna Rada declared the Famine a genocide and voted to bring the issue to the United Nations; on May 24 the Rada issued a special declaration on the man-made famine. While the former received the support of 287 deputies, the latter was approved by only 226, barely a majority. The Communist Party abstained during both votes, but no deputies opposed the motions as it would have been political suicide to do so, according to Dr. Haran. He also concluded that President Leonid Kuchma is taking advantage of divergent views on the Famine to reinforce divisions among the opposition political parties.

The second CIUS-sponsored famine event took place on November 16, at the Ukrainian Youth Unity Complex in Edmonton. The commemoration, co-sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Edmonton Branch, featured talks by Drs. Shapoval and Haran.

Dr. Shapoval's talk focused on new archival findings in Ukraine and their importance in interpreting the nature of the famine. Dr. Haran spoke on the way interpretations of the 1932-1933 Famine impacted the current political struggle in Ukraine.

On November 21 in Toronto, Drs. Shapoval and Boriak were the main speakers at a session of the national convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies called "New Research on the Famine of 1933." The panel, sponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society, was chaired by Dr. Anna Procyk of City University of New York. Dr. Frederigo Argentieri of John Cabot University (Italy) commented on the two presentations.

Drs. Boriak and Shapoval repeated their presentations before a Ukrainian community audience at St. Vladimir's Institute on Sunday, November 23. The symposium was co-sponsored by CIUS and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Toronto Branch.

Dr. Boriak's talk, titled "The Ukrainian Famine of 1933: Sources and Source Publications," surveyed documentary publications on the Famine and other resources. Prior to 1989, major research on the Famine was conducted in the West. He marked the year 1990 as a "point of departure for the massive unveiling" of Communist Party and Soviet government documents, which had previously been highly classified. Subsequently, more documents from party organs and administrative bodies, as well as repressive entities, have been published, including from regional archives.

Dr. Boriak also briefly identified the types of documents available to researchers of the Famine, organizing these by groups. In total, throughout Ukraine, there are more than 1,500 archival holdings that deal with the Famine, which contain more than 200,000 files. Dr. Boriak ended his talk with a survey of Internet resources on the Famine. The State Committee of Archives in Ukraine maintains the site "Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933" (Holodomor v Ukraini 1932-1933), located at <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/>. The site contains links to Internet resources on the Ukrainian Famine.

Dr. Shapoval made a final appearance to deliver his famine lecture in Winnipeg. His talk, sponsored by the Metropolitan Ilarion Center for Ukrainian Orthodox Studies, took place on November 28 at the Cathedral of St. Mary the Protectress.

Summarized below is Dr. Shapoval's lecture, which he gave in Edmonton, Toronto and Winnipeg.

From denial to documentation

The title of Yuri Shapoval's talk was "The Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine: What Do We Know about It Today?" Dr. Shapoval began by noting that Soviet authorities had for decades denied that a Famine had even occurred. Yet, he asked, how could a tragedy of such massive proportions, in which millions died, have been concealed, and to what degree was the political leadership of the USSR aware of what was happening? Further, could the holocaust of 1932-1933 be averted, and why was nothing done to prevent such a cataclysm from occurring?

Recently, the publication of documents, especially on the activities of the highest leadership of the USSR and on the behavior and responses of party officials

of the Ukrainian SSR, has been particularly important in suggesting answers to these fundamental questions, some of which are still being debated to this day. The book "Komandyry Velykoho Holodu" (Commanders of the Great Famine, Kyiv, 2001), which Dr. Shapoval co-authored with Valerii Vasyliiev, contains such documents.

Consisting of telegrams (including exchanges with Stalin), letters, reports, diary entries and other materials, the documents show the roles played by Stalin's henchmen – Viacheslav Molotov and Lazar Kaganovich – in the extraordinary grain procurement commissions in Ukraine and the north Caucasus. Publications of such documents, Dr. Shapoval stressed, allow researchers to reconstruct events, as well as the paradigms underlining the thoughts of the Communist chieftains. Their importance also lie in the evidence they provide against those who would deny the unique characteristics of the 1932-1933 events or the absence of extraordinary actions taken in this or that region of the former USSR.

A distinctive feature of Ukraine and the north Caucasus was that more than one-half of the total grain production of the former USSR came from these regions. Although recognizing that hunger had already claimed victims there in 1931, Stalin and the top leadership of the USSR accused Ukrainians of hoarding vast amounts of grain, and thus increased grain procurement plans for Ukraine.

Local officials who protested or questioned the directives from above were expelled from the Communist Party and treated as traitors or saboteurs. Eighty percent of raion (county) level party secretaries, for instance, were replaced in 1931-1932. At the third conference of the Communist Party of Ukraine held in the summer of 1932 – attended by Molotov and Kaganovich – attempts by local officials and some of the leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine to point to the difficult circumstances in the countryside were ignored by Stalin's henchmen and the Kremlin.

In a letter to Kaganovich of August 11, 1932, Stalin expressed suspicions about the Ukrainian peasantry and of the loyalty of the entire Ukrainian party apparatus, which he described as dominated by followers of Petliura and agents of the Polish leader, Josef Pilsudski. He expressed fears that Ukraine could be lost and that it should be transformed in the shortest time possible into "a true fortress of the USSR" and an "exemplary republic."

These Stalinist euphemisms, according to Dr. Shapoval, implied that the follow-

ing actions be taken (regardless of the number of victims): (1) to squeeze out of Ukraine the maximum amount of grain possible (justified by the need to modernize and feed the city populace); (2) to conduct a thorough purge of all social spheres (justified by the supposed presence of latent Ukrainian nationalists and other enemies).

On October 22, 1932, the extraordinary commission headed by Molotov began its work in Ukraine. On October 30, 1932, in a report to Stalin, he harshly criticized the work of the Communist Party of Ukraine and then pressed forward with repressive actions against both the Ukrainian party and peasantry. From November 1932 to January 1933 the extraordinary commission squeezed an additional 90 million poods (one pood equals 36.11 lbs.) of grain from the Ukrainian peasants.

Special brigades composed of over 110,000 activists were sent to Ukraine's villages, receiving as compensation a portion of the looted grain and other foodstuffs. Kaganovich headed a similar commission in the north Caucasus and Pavel Poshtyshev in the Volga region of Russia. Postyshev's commission, according to Russian researchers, did not act as viciously as Molotov's, while Kaganovich's was aimed primarily against Ukrainians who lived in the Kuban region.

Toward the end of 1932, Molotov, Kaganovich and Postyshev met with the head of the secret police in Ukraine, Vsevolod Balytsky, to undertake severe repressive actions, which were justified as measures needed to prevent the sabotage of grain procurements. On December 5, for example, Balytsky issued a directive to "destroy the counter-revolutionary underground and to land a decisive blow against all counter-revolutionary kulak-Petliura elements ... in the village."

Dr. Shapoval listed the following measures taken against Ukrainian villages: (1) fines in kind (especially meat and potatoes) levied against individual households for not fulfilling grain procurement orders, while higher norms were levied against entire collective farms for alleged theft of collective farm property by individuals; (2) a prohibition of trade in potatoes, meat and animals; (3) a prohibition of commercial products procurement to villages (such as matches, salt and kerosene); (4) the establishment of a food blockade of Ukraine's borders by Interior Affairs Ministry troops and police (preventing peasants from fleeing the famine zones as well as prohibiting the importation of foodstuffs from Russia into Ukraine without special permission); (5) the institution of an internal passport

(Continued on page 17)



Dr. Hennadii Boriak



Dr. Olexiy Haran



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Harvard symposium...

(Continued from page 10)

morally obvious fact, endowed with
extraordinary strength, which will one
day prevail, even though much time will
probably have to pass before European
historians will fully grasp the famine
and its significance."

The second session of the symposium,
"A Prologue and an Epilogue to the
1932-1933 Famine," could, with good
reasons, be viewed as an early
indication of the fact that other scholars
are already pursuing some of the
avenues of historical inquiry outlined by
Prof. Graziosi.

Both contributors to the session -
Drs. Pianciola and Kessler - are, not
incidentally, Prof. Graziosi's students.
They presented two specific case studies
of other famine-stricken areas of the
Soviet Union - Kazakhstan and the Urals.

In his paper titled "The Other Great
Collectivization Famine: Kazakhstan
1931-1933," Dr. Pianciola discussed an
even lesser known famine that Soviet
policies induced in Kazakhstan causing
more than 1.5 million deaths and wiping
out one-third of the Kazakh population.

Dr. Kessler's presentation, "The Post-
Famine Countryside in the Mid-and Late
1930s," though focusing on the Urals
region, could help set the agenda for the
study of life in the Ukrainian village
after the famine, about which also all too
little is known. Both papers were well in
concert with the time-hallowed approach
practiced by the HURI to study Ukraine in
a wider context of other related problems.

The third and final session of the
symposium was a roundtable held under
the rubric "Issues, Sources, Scholarly
Agenda." Besides Prof. Martin and
Graziosi, its participants included Prof.
Roman Szporluk, Mykhailo
Hrushevskyi Professor of Ukrainian
History, Harvard University; Dr. Sergey
Babionyshev, fellow at the Davis Center
for Russian and Eurasian Studies,
Harvard University; and Dr. Cadiot, who
has written on nationality issues and
policies in the Russian Empire and the
Soviet Union. They elaborated, each
from his or her respective area of expertise,
on issues that had been raised at the
previous sessions. They also raised new
issues and particular problems, such as
methodological difficulties in estimating
population losses.

The roundtable was followed by a general
discussion among the symposium's
speakers with the lively participation of
the audience. The Harvard Ukrainian
Research Institute plans to publish the
proceedings of the Famine Symposium in
one of the forthcoming issues of the
Harvard Ukrainian Studies Journal.

Why is the opposition...

(Continued from page 2)

by 48 percent of Ukrainians, although 37
percent still distrusted him completely or
partially. Higher levels of distrust than
trust were found for all other leading
Ukrainian officials and opposition leaders.

Large numbers of Ukrainians will
never vote for the majority of leading
politicians. According to the September
poll by Democratic Circle, this ranges
from 34 percent to 36 percent for Mr.
Medvedchuk, Ms. Tymoshenko and Mr.
Symonenko, and 20 percent to 25 percent
for Mr. Lytvyn, Prime Minister and Party
of Regions leader Viktor Yanukovich,
and National Bank Chairman and Labor
Ukraine leader Serhii Tyhytko. Messrs.
Yushchenko and Moroz are the most
popular: only 19 percent and 22 percent,
respectively, would never consider voting
for them.

Bohdan Kolinsky...

(Continued from page 4)

of Orlando, Nicholas, John and Vincent Biancucci of Harwinton, Conn., and Tyler Biancucci of Cromwell, Conn.; his mother-in-law, Katherine Biancucci, of South Windsor; brothers-in-law, Paul Biancucci Jr., and his wife, Laura, of Cromwell, and Jerry Biancucci of Harwinton. Besides his parents, he was predeceased by his father-in-law, Paul Biancucci.

A panakhyda (requiem service) was offered on December 17 at the Samsel and Carmon Funeral Home, and a mass of Christian burial was offered the next day at St. Margaret Mary Church in South Windsor. Burial followed at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Cemetery in Glastonbury, Conn.

On December 15 Scot Gray of WTIC Radio in Hartford dedicated his daily commentary to Mr. Kolinsky. He stated in part: "There's a job opening at the Hartford Courant today. The qualifications are these: A heart large enough to embrace every person you meet as a friend. The unmatched integrity necessary to work 18-hour days in the newspaper business, always balancing fairness and factuality. An ego that can be reproduced a hundred times over, on the head of a pin, with no desire to put yourself ahead of the story. And very big feet. You'll be filling the biggest shoes in the Connecticut sports media. The shoes of Bo Kolinsky, shoes worn by a man whose job it was to make sure stories others more impressed with themselves wouldn't lower themselves to cover were treated with the importance of a Red Sox-Yankees post-season series."

"... every state high school athletic official, every athletic director, every coach and every player who came in contact with Bo felt like they were major league, and to Bo they all were. They

were more important, in his mind, than he was, their stories more worth telling than his," Mr. Gray noted.

Reflecting on the genuine esteem in which Mr. Kolinsky was held, the radio commentary underscored: "There isn't a venue in the state that can accommodate all the people who will come to pay their respects for Bo Kolinsky, respect earned more than any by anyone I've ever known."

Memorial donations may be made to the Connecticut Sports Writers' Alliance, New Haven Register Sports, c/o Sean Barker, 40 Sargent Drive, New Haven, CT 06511, or to the Education Fund for the Ukrainian American Youth Association, 961 Wethersfield Ave., Hartford, CT 06114.

Rada passes...

(Continued from page 1)

Speaking at a press conference, Mr. Yushchenko, Ms. Tymoshenko and Yosyp Vynskyi, a member of the Socialist Party leadership, made it clear that their parties and blocs would not leave the day's voting without a response. Ms. Tymoshenko went further, saying that the opposition would use all legal means available to "defend the Constitution."

Mr. Yushchenko said the PACE had the power to take action in response to claims brought before it, and that his supporters would formally ask that body to appraise the bill passed on December 24 and to declare the voting illegitimate.

Opposition deputies said they also plan to file suit in Ukraine, including with the Constitutional Court.

The bill passed on December 24 will be subject to a final vote, most probably in February 2004. If it garners a constitutional majority of two-thirds (300 votes), it will be considered adopted.

Ukraine's new ambassador...

(Continued from page 1)

Turning to his relations with the diaspora, or more specifically Ukrainian Americans, Ambassador Reznik said: "I need your help, I need your advice." Noting that the next day, December 22, was the Day of the Diplomat, which is being celebrated for the fifth year, he added, "you, too, are diplomats" who represent Ukraine in the humanitarian, cultural and other spheres.

He informed metropolitan New York area Ukrainians that he had already met with UCCA President Michael Sawkiw, Ukrainian American Coordinating Council President Ihor Gawdiak and The Washington Group President Ihor Kotlarchuk, among others, and expressed his readiness "to listen to all ideas and to share my own opinions."

The new ambassador also stated that he was lucky to have "a wonderful team in Washington" and that he had met with Ukraine's consul general in New York, Serhiy Pohoreltzev, and would soon meet with Ukraine's representatives in other U.S. cities. "We will coordinate all our activities," he explained.

He went on to state that the Embassy of Ukraine under his leadership will work in all spheres – economic, humanitarian, cultural and others. Ambassador Reznik also emphasized to his audience that "we were, are and will be one family" and observed that eventually the law on the rights of diaspora Ukrainians will

be passed. He referred also to scholarships that will be made available to Ukrainian American students for study in Ukraine.

Mr. Reznik was born in the Orenburg Oblast of Russia in 1950. He graduated from the Kyiv Trade and Economic Institute in 1973 and afterwards worked in various positions at the Ministry of Trade of the Ukrainian SSR. He became vice minister of foreign economic relations after Ukraine re-established its independence in 1991, and was named to lead Ukraine's trade mission to the United States in 1994-1997.

Present with the new envoy at the UIA reception were the ambassador's wife, Iryna, and Counselor Oleksander Potekhin and Second Secretary Nataliia Holub of the Embassy of Ukraine. Consul General Pohoreltzev also attended.

At the conclusion of the official part of the program, officials of the Embassy of Ukraine presented gifts to their host for the afternoon, the Ukrainian Institute of America. Guests lingered to speak personally with the new ambassador and to partake of refreshments.

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Book documents...

(Continued from page 9)

letters and delegation reports, diplomatic notes, briefing papers, intelligence profiles and memoranda covering a 50-year span in the turbulent and complex relationship between Ukraine and the Ukrainian Canadian community – “nationalist” as well as “progressive” organizations and individuals.

Conveniently indexed by both names of individuals and geographical references, the former reads like a who’s who of figures and personalities on both sides of the former Iron Curtain. Among the Ukrainian Canadians cited in the texts are better- and lesser-known community activists and public figures such as: Peter Savaryn, George Ryga, John Kolasky, William Hawrelak, Bohdan Krawchenko, Manoly Lupul, William Kurelek, Wasyl Swystun, Paul Yuzyk, Lydia Palij, Mykola Koliianivsky, Eugene Dolny, Steve Juba, Walter Klymkiw, Zorianna Hrychenko (-Luhowy), William Harasym, Peter Prokopchak, Peter Krawchuk and many more. Figures from the dissident era include Leonid Plyushch, Valentyn Moroz, Irena Senyk and Danylo Shumuk.

On the Soviet side, Petro Shelest is cited nine times, Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, three times, and Petro Tronko, 12 times. Writers Ivan Drach and Volodymyr Brovchenko are mentioned in four documents, while Taras Shevchenko is referred to in 18. John Diefenbaker and Pierre Elliot Trudeau have four and eight references, respectively, Joseph Stalin has four, and Nikita Khrushchev, six.

One of the more fascinating documents in the book is a 1948 letter from Khrushchev to Stalin in the matter of the Shevchenko monument donated by Soviet Ukrainians to their kinsmen in Canada and erected at Camp Palermo, north of Oakville, Ontario.

The compilation of “Facts of History” involved the cooperation of five institutions: the Institute of History of Ukraine at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; the Historic-Archive Department of the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs of Ukraine; the Central State Archives of Ukraine’s Public Organizations; the Central State Museum-Archives of Literature and the Arts of Ukraine; and the Central State Archives of Government Agencies of Ukraine. KGB archives were also accessed for some of the documents.

The project was initiated and financed by the Alberta Ukrainian Heritage Foundation of Edmonton, whose directors are to be congratulated for their foresight and determination in tackling such a daunting undertaking.

“Facts of History” is introduced by a bilingual (English and Ukrainian) overview of Ukrainian history in Canada written by Edmontonian, Marshal Nay, a native of Mundare, Alberta, with help from Walter Makowecki, originally from Lac Bellevue, Alberta, and Yuri Moskal, who was born in Val d’Or, Québec, but lived for many years in Soviet Ukraine.

Work on the project was a collaborative effort involving academicians and community activists on both sides of the Atlantic, with Kyiv-based historians Yuri Danyliuk and Oleh Bazhan doing much of the archival searching and retrieval of documents under the direction of Yuri Moskal and with invaluable assistance from Petro Tronko. The editorial collective included 13 additional readers who contributed to the preparation of the manuscript.

The documents in “Na Sryzhaliakh istorii” embrace but a small fraction of the materials of Ukrainian Canadian interest scattered throughout national, oblast and local archives in Ukraine. Nevertheless, they provide a tantalizing glimpse into an often painful but compelling chapter in the history of both Ukraine and the Ukrainian Canadian diaspora.

Copies of the book will be donated to Ukrainian and Slavic studies departments at universities across Canada. The book can be purchased for \$75 Canadian (includes postage and handling) from the Alberta Ukrainian Heritage Foundation, Suite 215, 12231A Fort Road, Edmonton, Alberta, T5B 4H2. For more information phone (780) 454-6111 or 434-7903.

Kovaliv Awards...

(Continued from page 8)

and Memoirs” said Ms. Svitlychna, “expressed exactly what the Kovalivs had asked for: to present the past or the present of Ukraine in an uplifting, honorable and state-building fashion.”

Ms. Svitlychna reminisced about Ms. Wowk’s 1965 visit to Ukraine, where she first met her and where Ms. Wowk met and befriended the members of the Ukrainian literary renaissance group, the “Shestydesiatnyky.” This sent an uplifting feeling throughout the audience as all realized that oceans and continents separating Ukrainians do not matter – we can connect.

Ms. Svitlychna then referred to “Keys to the Kingdom,” a collection of essays and commentaries by the second Kovaliv Award laureate, Ms. Tarnawska, master of Library Science and distinguished librarian of the University of Pennsylvania Legal Library.

“Her Words,” said Ms. Svitlychna,

“are accurate and carefully chosen.” She pointed out that Ms. Tarnawska’s writing expresses strong optimism and condemns apathy. She accentuates the positives that could be gained from living in the diaspora.

Ms. Farion introduced Halyna Pupin and Lesia Koval, two members of the recently founded UNWLA Chapter 128 in Philadelphia, who conducted readings from the works of the laureates. This was followed by the musical performance of a talented young violinist, Solomiya Ivakhiv, the recipient of a scholarship to the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia.

Ms. Wowk, who resides in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, expressed thanks for the award and an opportunity to visit the Ukrainian community in Philadelphia.

Ms. Tarnawska completed the rich afternoon with some words to ponder: “What is to be done with the declining number of readers in the Ukrainian language?”

Refreshments with good conversation followed.

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Nowytski's latest documentary has U.S. premiere in Washington



WASHINGTON – Following the U.S. premiere of “Between Hitler and Stalin: Ukraine in World War II – The Untold Story” on November 10 in Washington, the film’s producer/director, Slavko Nowytski, mingles with the estimated 500 people who attended the Avalon Theater showing, among them Olya Masnyk and, behind them, the Rev. Volodymyr Steliac, pastor of the St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Silver Spring, Md., and some midshipmen from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis.

– Yaro Bihun

Houston Ukrainians decorate tree at Museum of Natural Science



HOUSTON – The Ukrainian American Cultural Club of Houston once again decorated a tree that is on display at the Houston Museum of Natural Science. The theme for this year is “Chocolate” in reference to the next big art exhibit that’s coming to the museum. The UACCH tree – titled “Sweet Treats from a Ukrainian Kitchen” – features gingerbread Kozaks, round kolachi, paper candy, and sweet breads with white icing sprinkled with silver beads and draped with rushnyky (a close-up is seen above). The UACCH club members who decorated the tree are Joan and Phil Brandt and Larisa Scates, with significant help from Ms. Scates’ neighbor, Jay Oats.

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Andrea Graziosi...

(Continued from page 10)

cussion addressed the fact that there are two interpretations of the Famine today: one that it was premeditated and organized against Ukraine; the other that the Famine had nothing to do with Ukraine, that it just happened also in Ukraine, as it were, by chance. We already knew that it was not a chance occurrence because in Ukraine peasants' resistance to collectivization had been stronger.

Prof. Martin argued that up to June-July 1932, the Famine was not seen in Moscow in national terms, and from this point of view one can say that it was not done on purpose. But when the difficulties started to appear in all their terrible, tragic seriousness Stalin came to regard the Famine as the result of a plot by the Ukrainian national communist leaders and Ukrainian peasants. This can be seen in Stalin's letters to Kaganovich, published recently. In one of them he says, "We risk losing Ukraine."

This clearly anti-Ukrainian bent motivated a series of harsh repressive measures against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the party leaders of Ukrainian ethnic origin and the Ukrainian peasants. The punitive use of the Famine was based on this nationally tainted interpretation that Stalin gave the Famine.

This has now been proven. For example, recently we found a letter of Stanislaw Kosior [Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine] written to Stalin in March 1933 in which he openly states that 'We are using the famine to teach a lesson to Ukrainian peasants.' This happened not only in Ukraine, for Stalin used famine to teach a lesson to all peasants who resisted collectivization. This was a cynical decision to use famine in order to subdue millions of peasants. In Kazakstan there was no such nationality bend, though proportionately more Kazaks – about 35 percent of the Kazak population – died as a result of the famine. Yet in Kazakstan there was no intention on the part of Stalin to punish Kazak peasants as a nationality.

Would it be fair to say that there were two dimensions to the Great Famine as a premeditated, man-made disaster – the class dimension in the sense that it targeted peasants as a social class; and the ethnic dimension because Stalin's enemy were peasants who were also Ukrainians?

My impression from what we know now is that the Bolsheviks did not plan the Famine. They were not happy when they saw it coming. They hoped to win easily. The Famine was clearly a consequence of their policies and, therefore, it was a man-made Famine. The fact is that when the Famine came, at first the Bolsheviks panicked, then they decided to use it against the people. They decided this tragedy could be put to "good use" to advance their political goals of subduing the peasants.

Can the Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933 be considered a genocide against the Ukrainian people?

You may want to call it genocide. Of course, it was a great tragedy in Ukraine. Millions of people died. Famine was probably the most catastrophic human tragedy that happened in Europe before World War II.

The real problem, I believe, is that the people who use the term "genocide" are right in the sense that this is an unrecognized tragedy. Up to the appearance of Robert Conquest's book "The Harvest of Sorrow" (1986) even in scholarly circles

this tragedy was not recognized. Over the past ten-fifteen years the situation has improved among scholars, nobody doubts that there was such a major tragedy, that this was provoked by Stalin's policies. There are a few who still deny it, but the majority of scholars recognize the Famine.

In today's discussions of the consequences of the Great Famine, one can hear the opinion that the famine was a precursor of the Holocaust in the sense that the Nazis in Germany saw how easily the Soviet Bolsheviks got away with murder of millions of peasants and decided that they could just as well get away with their final solution. What are your thoughts on this?

I do not have enough information on this. I am not a specialist in German history.

I know that Hitler in private conversations touched upon the Armenian genocide of 1915. One needs to know what Hitler said on the subject of the Great Famine to make such a conclusion. I know that, of course, Stalin and Hitler closely observed each other's actions. For example we know that on the subject of the Night of Long Knives Stalin said what a great leader Hitler was, teaching the Bolsheviks how to dispose of political enemies. So one can make a case that the Great Terror against the Soviet elite in 1937-1938 was in a sense also a consequence of Stalin's watching Hitler.

How would you comment on the recent decision of the Pulitzer Prize Committee not to strip Walter Duranty of his Pulitzer Prize.

From a historical point of view, Duranty did not deserve the Pulitzer Prize. I think that the recommendation of the historian Mark von Hagen was fully justified. I actually wrote him a personal letter expressing my approval of what he had done. The official historian's opinion the Pulitzer Committee solicited supports this view. They probably decided that it is not expedient to change the decision post-mortem.

But we can be satisfied with the fact that the official historical report they asked for clearly stated that Duranty did not deserve the prize. There is a difference between the scholarly community and public perception. Ten-15 years ago, the von Hagen report would not have been written because the majority of historians did not recognize the fact of the Great Famine. There is still a problem that many scholars do not recognize its anti-Ukrainian bias but recognize it they will.

As the result of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the opening of the archives, our knowledge of that period has greatly advanced. It takes time for what is known by the scholars to be accepted by the wider public. It takes time, books, journals, circulation of ideas, etc. Once the scholars agree on the general interpretation of the Famine, this will unavoidably become part of the wider public awareness. It will be taught at colleges and universities.

For example, this fall semester I am teaching a general course on Soviet history at Harvard and I speak of the famine and give students my interpretation of the Famine, Mark von Hagen does the same at Columbia University, Stephen Kotkin does the same at Princeton, next year Terry Martin will do the same at Harvard.

Gradually this new approach to and interpretation of the Famine is spreading and will continue to do so. It will eventually become part of the standard view of Soviet history. This might take another 15 years though.

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Canadian Institute...

(Continued from page 11)

system that excluded villagers, further restricting their mobility; (6) distress sales of valuables by villagers to special shops in exchange for food. (The intake of valuables in these shops increased dramatically from 1931 to 1933.)

While the famine raged, the cover-up commenced. Village councils were ordered to not list the cause of death upon registration. All entities were forbidden to register incidents of bloating or deaths caused by famine, except for organs of the GPU (predecessor of the OGPU-NKVD-KGB). In 1934 a new order was issued that all record books of vital statistics dealing with deaths for 1932-1933 were to be sent to special units of the GPU, following which they were most likely destroyed.

On January 14, 1933, Maksim Litvinov, the Soviet foreign minister, in response to inquiries from abroad, denied that a Famine was occurring. On February 23, 1933, the Soviet Politburo issued a directive restricting the movement of foreign correspondents in the USSR. At the same time, the Soviet Union was dumping grain at depressed prices on the international market to purchase machinery for industrialization.

It is clear that Western countries knew about the Ukrainian Famine. On May 31, 1933, the Italian consul in Kharkiv wrote in his dispatch that "Famine continues to rage and destroy people, and it is simply impossible to understand how the world can remain indifferent to this disaster..." The Manchester Guardian, commenting on the Famine on November 21, 1933, noted that no areas of the USSR had suffered as much as Ukraine and the north Caucasus.

Dr. Shapoval pointed out that what further distinguished the situation in Ukraine from that in Russia was a concurrent shift in nationality policy in Ukraine. On December 14, 1932, Stalin and Molotov signed a resolution on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Soviet government calling for the "correct implementation of Ukrainization" in Ukraine and in regions of significant Ukrainian settlement outside Ukraine. It also called for decisive struggle against so-called Petliurite and other counterrevolutionary elements. Dr. Shapoval concluded that this signaled the beginning of the end of Ukrainization policies as well as the start of anti-Ukrainian purges.

In 1933 a purge of the party and state leadership of the Ukrainian SSR indeed occurred and, importantly, Pavel Postyshev was appointed second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Published documents show, Shapoval continued, how in 1933 Postyshev and his team - some of them party officials sent from Russia - implemented the Kremlin's policies of grain confiscations as well as the purging of so-called Ukrainian nationalists.

At a plenum of the Communist Party of Ukraine in November 1933 Postyshev boasted that collective farms in Ukraine had now "become bolshevik." He further linked the 1931-1932 drop in grain production to alleged mistakes of the Communist Party of Ukraine in implementing the party's nationality policies. "There is no doubt," Postyshev concluded, "that without liquidating mistakes in implementing the nationality policies of the party, without destroying nationalist elements who had ensconced themselves... in Ukraine, it would have been impossible to have overcome the slow-down in agriculture." The plenum approved a resolution that defined "local nationalism united with imperialist inter-

ventionists" as the main danger facing the party.

The party thus justified the end to Ukrainization and the massive repressions, which began in 1933 and later merged into the 1936-1938 "Great Terror."

Dr. Shapoval concluded that the famine of 1933 was an effective tool in transforming Ukraine into "an exemplary republic." Newly uncovered and published archival documents have identified "specific anti-Ukrainian accents" to the events. The new findings show that the extraordinary organization of particular measures against the Ukrainian peasantry mark the Famine in Ukraine with the characteristics of a genocide.

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70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FAMINE-GENOCIDE: Virginians hold commemoration

VIRGINIA BEACH, Va. – Ukrainians from the Hampton Roads cities of Chesapeake, Hampton, Norfolk, Newport News, Suffolk, Virginia Beach and other cities that make up the Tidewater Ukrainian Cultural Association (TUCA), gathered on November 22 to commemorate the tragedy of the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine.

The commemoration was held at the Roman Catholic Church of the Holy Family in Virginia Beach. Following a brief reception, during which participants deposited food into food bank containers and received black satin ribbons, the award-winning documentary "Harvest of Despair" was shown on a wide screen.

Michael Luciw presented the

Ukrainian flag and three ceremonial candles were lit by members of the Holodomor Program Committee: Nadia Hoots, Andy Grynewytsch and Olga Luciw. Program speakers included Olena C. Boyko, the first president of TUCA, and Dr. Tom Krop, former president, who read House of Representatives Resolution 356 about the Great Famine. Other committee members included Olena Boyko, Wolodymyr Melnitchouk and Anna Makhorkina.

A bandura music interlude followed, and Dr. Olga Maria Cehelska, director of the program "Echoes of Ukraine," sang a bilingual version of Shevchenko's "My Pensive Thought." The audience, many of them non-Ukrainians, were also intro-

duced to the mournful melody of "Vichnaya Pamiat."

Following the bandura interlude, the participants moved into the sanctuary of the church, where the Rev. Taras Lonchyna of the Holy Trinity Particular Ukrainian Catholic Church in Silver

Spring, Md., celebrated the holy requiem liturgy and panakhyda.

Participants, Ukrainians and Americans alike, held lighted candles throughout the panakhyda dedicated to the countless millions who were executed by hunger 70 years ago.

Ukrainian Americans for Dean Committee is formed

CHICAGO – Ukrainian Americans in the Chicago area have announced the formation of a Ukrainian Americans for Howard Dean Committee. The group's principal focus will be to generate interest in the candidacy of Gov. Howard Dean for the presidency of the United States and to raise money.

Andrew Ripeckyj, coordinator of Ukrainian Americans for Howard Dean, noted: "In this Internet age, we invite participation by Ukrainian Americans anywhere in the world."

Anyone interested in this project is asked to write to Mr. Ripeckyj via e-mail at mrcmix76@aol.com.



Seen at the Famine-Genocide commemoration in Virginia Beach (from left) are: Nadia Hoots, Dr. Tom Krop, the Rev. Taras Lonchyna, Olena Boyko, Dr. Olga Cehelska and Stephen Michal.



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Valentines Day Weekend, Dinner
and Show

January 3, 2004

Zabava with BURYA, 8 p.m.

February 21, 2004
Napanoch Fire Department Banquet

January 4, 2004

Brunch, 10 a.m. - 1 p.m., \$15.00

February 28, 2004
SUNY New Paltz Sorority Semi
Formal Banquet

January 6, 2004

Ukrainian Christmas Eve Dinner,
Traditional 12-Course Meal, 6
p.m., \$27.50+per person
overnight package available

March 13, 2004
UACC Rada

January 7, 2004

March 20, 2004
Grace Church Men's Retreat



To book a room or event call: (845) 626-5641, ext. 141
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E-mail: Soyuzivka@aol.com
Website: www.Soyuzivka.com

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

**Tuesday-Wednesday, January 6-7,
and Sunday, January 18**

APOPKA, Fla.: St. Mary Protectress Ukrainian Catholic Church will celebrate Christmas according to the Julian Calendar. The Christmas Eve service will take place at 6 p.m., with the Rev. Ivan Kubishyn, the new parish pastor, officiating. A "Sviata Vechera" or Holy Supper will be offered after the service. For information and reservations for the supper, contact Taissa Meleshko, (407) 886-4803, or Helena Beach, (407) 880-1640. Christmas Liturgy will be celebrated at 10 a.m. on January 7. The Feast of the Epiphany will be celebrated on January 18 at 11 a.m., with the blessing of the water to take place immediately after the mass. High Mass is celebrated in Ukrainian at St. Mary's every Sunday at 11 a.m.

Wednesday, January 7

PARMA, Ohio: St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral will sponsor its 16th annual Christmas radio program for its sick and elderly shut-in parishioners. The entire Christmas divine liturgy will be broadcast live from 9 a.m.-11 a.m. over radio station WERE 1300 AM. The liturgy will be celebrated by the Cathedral clergy, with responses sung by the Ukrainian and English choirs of the cathedral. Also at St. Vladimir's, Great Complines and Matins will be celebrated at 7:30 p.m. on Tuesday, January 6. For additional information contact the parish office, (440) 886-3223.

Friday, January 9

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Art and

Literary Club, the New York Bandura Ensemble and Mayana Gallery present "Christmas in Ukraine," an evening featuring a videotape viewing of the ritual Christmas enactment by the Ostap Stakhiv Folk Theater in Lviv as well as a lecture by Jaroslawa Gerulak titled "Symbolism in Ukrainian Christmas Carols." The program will also include the Promin Vocal Ensemble with Bohdanna Wolansky, director, in a performance of koliadky and shchedrivky (Yuletide songs). Donation: \$7; students, \$5. In the gallery, the Christmas exhibit will be on view through January 25. Gallery hours: Saturday-Sunday, 1-5 p.m. The evening will take place at 7:30 p.m. at the Mayana Gallery, 136 Second Ave., fourth floor. For more information, call (212) 260-4490 or (212) 777-8144; website: www.brama.com/calendar/; e-mail: ukrartlitclub@aol.com.

Saturday, January 24, 2004

CARTERET, N.J.: The St. Demetrius Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral and St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church are co-sponsoring a malanka to be held at the St. Demetrius Community Center, 681 Roosevelt Ave. Music will be by Fata Morgana. Tickets, at \$40, include admission, hot buffet, beer, wine, soda, midnight champagne toast and a midnight buffet. There will also be a cash bar. The St. Demetrius Center is located just blocks from Exit 12 of the New Jersey Turnpike. There is also a Holiday Inn off the exit with free shuttle service. Doors will open at 6 p.m., buffet will be served at 7 p.m., and music starts at 8 p.m. For table and ticket reservations call Peter Prociuk, (732) 541-5452. Tickets will not be sold at the door.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS GUIDELINES

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

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

Please include payment for each time the item is to appear and indicate date(s) of issue(s) in which the item is to be published. Also, please include the phone number of a person who may be contacted by The Weekly during daytime hours. Information should be sent to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

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The Ancient Order of the Most Exalted Ukrainian Wolf-Brothers

is proud to announce that

our November 8th Brewing of the 9,998th year of brewing "Kolyad'ah" was successfully bottled on December 11th and is ready for pickup from the Wolf-Brother's Mother Lodge. This year's "Kolyad'ah" is a Sweet Ukrainian Wheat Stout and "Kolyad'ah Special" is a Sweet Ukrainian Raspberry Stout.

"This beer is SPECTACULAR"... — Greg Zaccardi, Brewmaster
of High Point Brewery, Butler, NJ

Additional bottles may be purchased for \$2.50 each for Wheat Stout, and \$5.00 each for Raspberry Stout. FedEx/UPS add'l \$6.00 shipment.

E-mail address to: Wolf-Brothers Talking Leaves at
BurpCastle@aol.com

(All proceeds go towards the Ancient Order of Ukrainian Wolf-Brothers operating expenses and Spring Event)



Peace and Happiness to All
..... Aaaaauuwwwooo