

THE Ukrainian Weekly

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January 12 — Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners

WCFU appeal calls for Day of Solidarity actions

TORONTO — The Human-Rights Commission of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians has issued an appeal to Ukrainians throughout the world to observe January 12 as the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners.

Pointing to the "alarming reality" in Ukraine — arrests, trials, repressions, a total disregard for fundamental human rights — the WCFU appeal called on both individuals and organizations to prepare and participate in a multifaceted campaign to publicize the obser-

vance and the plight of Ukrainian political prisoners.

In light of the Madrid Conference to review compliance with the Helsinki Final Act, the WCFU urged Ukrainians to inform their government to press the Soviet Union on such issues as the persecution of dissidents, the confinement of political prisoner in psychiatric hospitals, the destruction of Ukrainian Churches, the forced separation of families and the Kremlin's restrictive

(Continued on page 5)

Journalists urge community to defend Chornovil

NEW YORK — The executive board of the Ukrainian Journalists' Association of America has issued a statement calling on Ukrainians in the United States to launch a coordinated campaign in defense of Vyacheslav Chornovil in conjunction with the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners on January 12.

Mr. Chornovil, a Ukrainian journalist serving a five-year term on a phoney-attempted rape charge, initiated the special observance in 1974 when he declared a hunger strike to protest

Soviet injustices and to mark the second anniversary of mass arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals.

The journalists' group specifically asked all Ukrainian human-rights groups in the diaspora to give the Chornovil case top priority in their activities, and urged those organizations to send letters to Mr. Chornovil as well as to the international press. In addition, they suggested that the human-rights groups forge contacts with American government officials, international organizations and press clubs in regard to the case.

Letters to Mr. Chornovil may be sent to: Uchr. Ya D-40/7, Pos. Tabaga, Yakutskaja ASSR, USSR. The UJAA also recommends writing to USSR Procurator General R.A. Rudenko, Prokuratura SSSR, Pushkinskaia Ul. 15A8, G. Moscow, USSR.

The UJAA statement which also called for demonstrations in front of Soviet missions and consulates, included an excerpt from a 1980 document, which was released by the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, calls for a blanket boycott of all cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union if Mr. Chornovil is not released. The document describes Mr. Chornovil as the prime mover behind "organizing resistance in the labor camps, and publicizing the terrible conditions in the Mordovian camps," despite retaliatory steps taken against him by authorities.

The UJAA statement, which was signed by Olha Kuzmowycz, president, and Ludmilla Wolansky, secretary, also reported that Mr. Chornovil is in extremely poor health.

Solidarity Day program

The Ukrainian Journalists' Association and the Slovo Association of Ukrainian Writers will hold a program in honor of their colleague in New York at the Ukrainian National Home, 144 Second Ave., today at 4 p.m. The program will feature an address by Nadia Svitlychna and readings of Mr. Chornovil's works by Marta Zielyk and Orest Kebalo. Mrs. Kuzmowycz will serve as emcee.

The journalists' and writers' associations have urged Ukrainian community members to honor the initiator of the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners by attending the program.

Smithsonian displays Ukrainian Christmas tree

WASHINGTON — As the largest purveyor of American culture and technology, the Smithsonian Institute is constantly collecting new materials which enrich and extend the American cultural landscape. This year's Christmas exhibit, which got under way in mid-December, is no exception.

Twelve Christmas trees grace the first floor of the Smithsonian Museum of American History; nine are adorned in regional motifs and the rest are festooned with ornaments indicative of three distinct ethnic cultures which have become a part of the American mosaic.

Along with the Russian and Lithuanian trees, there is a Ukrainian Christmas tree or, more precisely, a tree decorated with hand-made ornaments with recognizable Ukrainian designs.

The Ukrainian tree, which was created by 25 members of Branch 78 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, was laden with 350 ornaments including tiny embroidered pillows, small wooden dolls dressed in the national costumes of various Ukrainian regions, ceramic ewers and small baked-dough ornaments which traditionally decorate Ukrainian wedding breads.

At the foot of the six-meter tree, stands a ceramic Nativity scene by sculptor Slava Gerulak and a "didukh", a sheaf of wheat which symbolizes all the ancestors of the household.

"We wanted our Christmas tree to be distinct from the others," said Motria Sloniewsky, chairman of Branch 78, "but we also wanted the decorations to have a decidedly Ukrainian character."

Explaining the choice of ornaments, Mrs. Sloniewsky went on to say: "For this reason, we took a rather radical route and used unconventional ornaments that are based on Ukrainian folk traditions."

After the Christmas exhibit is over, all decorations will become part of the Smithsonian's permanent collection and will be displayed during future Christmas exhibits.



Motria Sloniewsky

The Ukrainian Christmas tree at the Smithsonian. At right is Slava Gerulak's Nativity scene.



Mykola Rudenko



Oksana Meshko



Vasyi Stus



Vyacheslav Chornovil



Yaroslav Lesiv



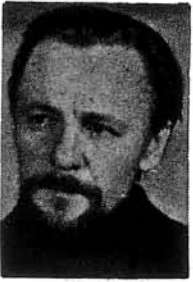
Vasyi Stritsiv



Danylo Shumuk



Myroslav Marynovych



Yuriy Lytvyn



Lev Lukianenko



Oles Berdnyk



Vasyi Romaniuk



Vasyi Sichko



Zinoviy Krasivsky



Mykola Matushevych



Ivan Kandyba



Stefania Shabaturo



Yosyl Zisels

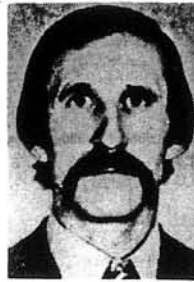
Remember them on January 12

On January 12, 1974, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ukrainian journalist and human-rights activist, staged a hunger strike to mark the second anniversary of his arrest and the mass arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1972. That date has become a symbol of the struggle and plight of all Ukrainian political prisoners, and it has been designated as a Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners. Seven years have passed since Mr. Chornovil's courageous show of defiance, and the state of Ukrainian dissent and dissidents has grown more precarious and gloomy. He, along with the Helsinki monitors, shown here, remains a prisoner of conscience, a scapegoat of a repressive regime that continues to persecute and punish all those who seek individual or national rights or, like the Helsinki monitors, confront it with juridical proof of its national and international transgressions. Besides those pictured, other Helsinki monitors serving prison terms or in exile include Ivan Sokulsky, Petro Rozumny, Vasyi Ovsienko, Oleksa Tykhy and Bohdan Rebryk. Mykhailo Melnyk, a teacher, committed suicide. There are countless others — men and women not part of the Helsinki group — who are suffering daily for their beliefs and for their Ukrainian nation.

Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the late UPA Commander-in-chief Roman Shukhevych, has spent almost his entire adult life in Soviet prisons and camps. Arrested and rearrested for refusing to renounce his father, Mr. Shukhevych's ordeal perhaps best epitomizes the extent of Soviet cruelty and the sham that is the Soviet judicial system. First arrested by authorities when he was 15 years old, Mr. Shukhevych, now 46, is currently being held in a special-regimen camp following his conviction in 1972 on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He joined the Ukrainian Helsinki group in the summer of 1979.



Yuriy Shukhevych



Vitaliy Kalynchenko



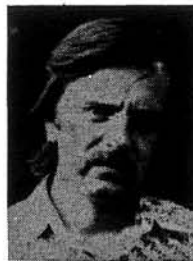
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Kampelman: "Crisis of confidence must be faced" by CSCE

The following address was delivered by Max Kampelman, co-chairman of the U.S. delegation, at the final plenary session of the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which took place on December 19. That day's session marked the conclusion of the phase of talks devoted to review of implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

The Romans had a deity named Janus. He had two faces: one that looked forward and one that looked backward. The two faces — the backward look and the forward look — did not detract from the oneness of his strengths. Here in Madrid we are in a week of transition between the two main aspects of our meeting's work, between the review of how we've implemented our commitments and the examination of new proposals.

The review of implementation phase concludes today. When we reconvene on January 27, we will devote our full effort to new proposals. At this transition point, therefore, it is natural and proper to pause and reflect upon the meaning of what has transpired to this half-way point and to indicate the course of the next phase.

By one measure, it is easy to see whence we have come and whither we go. We have worked here for more than three months. They have been difficult months, but also productive ones. And we now prepare to return to our homes for renewal and for consultations after which our delegations will come back to Madrid for the next phase of our deliberations.

By that same measure, it is clear that:

- We established the ground rules for our main meeting in an unnecessarily difficult and prolonged preparatory gathering.

- We reviewed the implementation of the Final Act thoroughly, forthrightly and constructively. We thus made the important review of implementation phase of our work an integral and permanent part of the CSCE follow-up process.

- And we have brought forward new proposals designed to strengthen our commitments and hopefully to advance the process.

- We next are faced with the task to consider these proposals, examine whether we believe they advance the process and explore possible areas of agreement.

- Finally, we expect to draft and adopt a concluding document, and to establish the date, the place and the terms of the next follow-up meeting.

But a deeper look is called for. Our meeting is indeed in a transition week. The significance of that transition and of these meetings requires an awareness that the European order, of which the CSCE process is so important a part, is also in profound transition. And my country, the United States of America, is in its own inter-related transition.

President Carter, under whose authority and instructions this delegation has acted, will leave office on January 20. When our delegation returns on January 27, it will be under the authority of President Ronald Reagan. In one vital sense, I have already assured this body that my government and its people will

remain true to the commitments we undertook in Helsinki five years ago. No one should doubt American constancy to the powerful ideals of the CSCE process, to the preservation and enhancement of human freedom to respect, for the sovereignty and independence of all states, and to the effort to establish greater military security and cooperation among us. Those will be President Reagan's objectives, as they have been President Carter's. They are my country's objectives.

But, Mr. Chairman, neither the CSCE process nor this Madrid meeting exists in a vacuum. As important as it is and committed as we are to it, the Helsinki process constitutes but a part of a larger movement of politics and history. It affects, and is affected by, the relations between the states of this most developed portion of the world. We must understand that it has all the fragility of a process which is taking place in a geographic area which has twice spanned global wars, which has endured a 35-year period of tension following the second of those wars, and which is now beset by a new crisis of confidence.

That crisis of confidence must be faced if we are to achieve understanding. It has three aspects and these have dominated our thoughts and our discussions during these last 15 weeks of our meeting.

The first manifestation of this crisis of confidence reflected itself in the reality, a surprise to some, that human rights has been a fundamental theme of our Madrid meeting's work to date. This issue is an ever-present and permanent

part of the East-West agenda. Never before have so many governments examined the practical aspects of this question with such comprehensiveness. We have laid to rest forever the notion that the way a country treats its own people is its own affair alone, that such treatment is not a proper subject for international discussion, and that human rights has no effect on inter-state relations or on international security.

The message that my delegation has sought to convey — and which we have heard spoken by the vast majority of states represented here — is our profound displeasure with the failure by some countries, and particularly the USSR, to implement Principle 7 and Basket III, the human-rights provisions of the Final Act. We, and others, have presented sober and incontrovertible evidence of this failure to perform. My delegation has reviewed, *inter alia*, the repression which the Helsinki monitors have suffered; the restrictions on religious freedom; the pressures on the rights of national minorities; manifestations of anti-Semitism and indications of officially sanctioned so-called "anti-Zionism"; the jamming of radio stations that seek to make available more information in the spirit of the Final Act; the restrictions on international mail which isolate people from friends, colleagues and family; and the human suffering represented by continuing obstacles to family reunification.

We have said a great deal. We could have said more. We could have discussed in greater detail the abuse of psychiatry for the purpose of controlling non-con-

(Continued on page 8)

Strive for fuller implementation of self-determination, says U.S. delegate

Following is the complete text of a statement on Principle 8 of the Helsinki Accords, "i.e. Equal Rights and Self-Determination of Peoples," delivered on December 15, 1980, by Warren Zimmerman, deputy chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Conference.

On behalf of my delegation, I should like to address the implementation of the eighth principle: "Equal Rights and Self-Determination of Peoples."

In his opening statement, Ambassador Bell recalled that self-determination is a principle basic to our American Revolution and to our American heritage. He said it was fitting that President Wilson should have championed that principle and that today the United States should be in the forefront of those calling for self-determination where it is ignored or denied.

Our country has a long-standing and deep commitment to self-determination as a principle of international relations. Self-determination is, after all, the foundation of every state's sovereignty, the means by which it maintains itself as an independent nation. Any threat to this principle is thus a threat to all states.

At the same time, the United States is committed to the proposition that self-determination, as one of the principles guiding relations between the participating states of the CSCE process, must not be and is not a threat to the security of any of those participating states. The Final Act underlines this fact in Principle 8, which states that "the participating states will respect the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, acting at all times in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and

with the relevant norms of international law, including those relating to territorial integrity of states."

The Final Act recognizes as well that a denial of self-determination engenders instability and insecurity and is thus a threat to peace. That is at the heart of the language of Principle 8. It was also at the heart of our statement some weeks ago on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. All the states represented at this conference have deep feeling for the losses suffered by most of us during the two great European wars of this century. All of us need a constructive process of stabilizing Europe. Respect for self-determination is necessary to that process.

It is a truism to say that all the states represented here desire to conduct their internal and their external relations in accordance with their own national interests. Yet we must constantly remind ourselves of the necessity always to act in this spirit. All of us have manifold social and economic problems — and allow others to solve them for themselves — in the spirit of the Final Act, which recognizes no exception to the principles of equality, full national sovereignty and independence. In the words of the Preamble to the Declaration of Principles, they apply "irrespective of their political, economic or social systems as well as of their size, geographical location or level of economic development."

Mr. Chairman, every state must be free to decide its own future. Nothing would so destroy the basis for security and cooperation in Europe as intervention by a military power against any state.

In addition, my delegation notes with regret that certain smaller states in parts of Europe feel compelled to live with

ambivalence between their foreign policy and their domestic policy. Some therefore adopt a course of self-determination in their foreign policy while enforcing a rigid system internally. Others develop internal arrangements more in accord with their national traditions and aspirations, while adhering to a foreign policy that echoes another state. Still others are unable to express a full national identity in either foreign or domestic policy.

Such compromises prevent states from developing freely, each in keeping with its historical, social and cultural traditions and aspirations. The stunting of these aspirations is not only an enormous injustice; it also puts in doubt adherence to the principle of self-determination. By weakening this adherence, it weakens the claim of all the nations represented here to sovereignty and independence. The United States wishes to work for improvement in this sensitive but vital area with all 34 of our partners, responsibly, in full recognition of political and strategic realities, but with a conviction that this is an area where there is a common interest in diversity and evolutionary progress.

I would not be true to 40 years of bipartisan and principled United States policy if I did not mention one special case. The United States does not recognize the illegal incorporation, by force of arms, of the states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia by the Soviet Union. This act is clearly inconsistent with Principle 8. I would also recall the statement in Principle 4 that no occupation or acquisition of territory in contravention of international law will be recognized as legal. And I would reiterate my government's consistent interpretation that this provision is applicable to the Baltic states.

Mr. Chairman, in this critical period in our history we cannot leave this subject without referring to an eloquent passage from the letter of a government official, which has burned itself indelibly into our annals:

"As is already known, . . . the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics presented an ultimatum to (my government) under flimsy and unjustified pretexts. . . . On the following day the Russian Red Army, after having attacked (our) frontier guards, crossed (our) border and occupied all of (our country). . . . A puppet government was forced upon us by a high Soviet official sent from Moscow for this purpose, and the entire administration was put under the control of the government of the Soviet Socialist Republics."

These were the words of a Lithuanian diplomat describing the Soviet invasion of his country in June 1940.

We are realists, of course. We know that there is little that can be done to right a wrong committed four decades ago. But let us remember also that the passage of time will not make that wrong right. Time does not make right, any more than might makes right. Heretofore, I have discussed self-determination as it applies to states. Principle 8 also speaks of the rights of all peoples to "pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development." In this regard, let me quote the words of the foreign minister of Yugoslavia, delivered during the first week of this meeting. He stressed the importance of "the right of all nations and national minorities to pursue their national identity, to express their culture and to use their language, as well as their right to economic development of their own."

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THE **СВОБОДА** **SVOBODA**
Ukrainian Weekly

Observe Day of Solidarity

Hyping the Ukrainian cause from a bar stool or, for that matter, from these pages, is useful only if it spurs meaningful action. On January 12, the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners, Ukrainian organizations and individuals must back up highly charged rhetoric with old-fashioned, grass-roots activism. If Ukrainians are to jar the American public and media into recognizing the plight of our brothers and sisters trapped in the gulag, then community action must be both informative and highly visible. So, what to do?

First, we suggest that all Ukrainians write letters to their respective government representatives urging them to press the Soviets at every opportunity on their ghastly human-rights record and the holding of political prisoners in direct violation of reams of international agreements. Moreover, Ukrainians should blitz the non-Ukrainian press with letters detailing Soviet repression and outlining the significance of the Day of Solidarity. In addition, letters of support should be mailed to individual Ukrainian political prisoners. Letters should also be posted to Soviet officials and prison administrators protesting the imprisonment of all national and human-rights activists. But this type of sedentary activism, however vociferous, is not enough.

Ukrainians in the West must be prepared to take their protest into the streets. By participating in demonstrations, marches and mass rallies protesting Soviet kangaroo courts and the detention of political dissidents, Ukrainians will do more than grab the coveted attention of the media. In manning the barricades — en masse — the emigre community will show the Kremlin privilegentsia that Ukrainians in the diaspora are a force to be reckoned with, and that the Ukrainian cause remains the *esprit de corps* of Ukrainian life in the West. Perhaps more importantly, a Ukrainian show of force on the Day of Solidarity will dispel the Kremlin's belief (and hope) that the Ukrainian emigre community is in disarray, incapable of decisive collective action.

If January 12 passes, and mass response to community action fails to materialize or is phlegmatic and desultory, then Moscow will have little choice but to conclude that the sluggishness is a symptom of an irresolute community. Should this happen, the biggest losers will be the thousands of Ukrainians imprisoned in the Soviet Union for their beliefs. We owe it to them, to our nation and to ourselves as Ukrainians to get out on January 12 and demonstrate our support for these courageous men and women, and disapproval for the baleful system that robs them of their freedom.

News quiz

The quiz covers the previous two issues of *The Ukrainian Weekly*. Answers will appear with the next quiz.

1. Which pledges constitute Principle VII of the Helsinki Accords?
2. Who is Svitlana Kyrychenko?
3. Name the Ukrainian-language newspaper, a weekly organ of the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society in Warsaw, Poland.
4. Who is the author of "The Other Holocaust"?
5. Where was the first Ukrainian Catholic Church in America built?
6. What is the Phoenix?
7. Who was elected president of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine?
8. Who became the first vice-president to be hosted at a Ukrainian home?
9. What is Slavko Nowytski's newest award-winning film?
10. Name several Ukrainians who were appointed this past year to important government and academic positions in the United States and Canada.

Answers to the previous quiz:

Irish; liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and subordination of the faithful to the Russian Orthodox Church; December 10; suppression of trade unions as violation of human rights; 28; Vladimir Voinovich; Ivan Sokulsky; "Carol of the Bells" (Shchedryk); traditional Ukrainian puppet theatre, dating back to the 15th century; Yaroslava Surmach Mills.

A Christmas story

The vision of St. Bartolomae

by Orest Kopanycia

Conclusion

*Children, children, where are you
 Hiding in the forest playing in the rain
 I hope you're not too far away
 For me to see again.*

— "Children, Children" by Paul McCartney

The two explosions ripped through the Bavarian air with clean, crisp sounds. They echoed off the Watzmann Mountains, down through the empty sanctum of St. Bartolomae four miles away on Konigsee, and up and down the streets of Berchtesgaden. People in houses everywhere stopped their Christmas Eve meals, frowned, and looked up at one another. The carolers abruptly halted their singing and shivered in place, pondering what had just happened. It was over and within minutes smiles returned to everyone's faces.

The stranger in the fur coat turned his head slightly, undisturbed by the sounds. He looked back down at the pathetic heap lying in front of him in the snow, now barely moving. What a mess he had become! The squalling winds and drifting snows made the scene even more abstract and unfocused. The heap moved again. The stranger gripped the object in his hand more firmly and extended it even further. Another click. This time the flashlight did work, illuminating the creature that had been stalking him so senselessly. So this is what time had done to Vitya Yurkovych!

"Stand up," the stranger commanded in a voice that was unwilling to tolerate a refusal. The young man pushed himself up on his elbows and bowed his head in search of bloodstains. There were none. Catching sight of the flashlight, Vitya felt a sense of embarrassment come over him. Needle nerve endings punctured his body as he mused over what he had just tried to do, on the eve of the Lord's birth, no less! There was nothing to do but stand up. The shadow in the fur coat moved closer and reached out his other hand to him, brushing the snow off his jacket and face. Vitya was numbed by the man's gestures. Who was this guy?

MAMO, THERE'S SOMEONE IN THE SHED...

"Where is your hat?" the stranger inquired, ignoring, to Vitya's astonishment, the question of why he had tried to attack him plus a bevy of other questions.

"Ah, my hat. Well I... wait a minute. How do you know about my hat?" the surprised Vitya remarked.

"I knowed everything about you, Vitya Yurkovych. Everything!"

The carolers had begun their chanting again, more vigorously than before.

"They sing well, don't they?" the stranger said. The singers had not particularly impressed Vitya, but he figured that at the moment it was best to respond in the positive.

"Yes, very well," he lied. "But those gunshots. Were they not at me?"

"No, you don't! You live here in Berchtesgaden and you don't know what they were!" Vitya shrugged his shoulders and shook his head. This is no quiz show, stranger, who the hell are you?

"It happens every year, precisely at six o'clock on Christmas Eve. The students from the gymnasium gather at the Pension Moritz and throw fireworks in front of it."

"Whatever for? To celebrate the Christ's birth?"

"In a distorted sort of way, I suppose. It's more an act of defiance. You see, Hitler wrote part two of 'Mein Kampf' on the third floor of that hotel. It's a way of proving that they are not intimidated by the past. I simply figured that you would be aware of something like that."

"No, not really. But then again, who are you to be figuring anything about me anyway?"

Vitya snapped, trying to look behind the glow of the bright light to see with whom he was having the conversation.

"I guess I can't expect you to know that much after all. You've only been here a year. Still, there are some people out there in the world to whom a year can seem like 20. Those who love someone and are apart from that person can often feel this way."

"What's that supposed to mean? And who the hell are you, already, talking to me this way?"

Vitya objected, no longer frightened by what fate might hold in store for him. A gust of snow moved in on him and stung sharply on his face. The black shadow moved closer, stopping only when he could not be any nearer. They were the same height and sudden, strange thought occurred to Vitya.

The black shadow moved his hand to the thick, dark-colored scarf that covered his mouth and pulled it off. The wind caught it, and it writhed momentarily in its grasp and then fell to the ground. Vitya stared at the face, unmoving. Its horror cut into the pit of his stomach...

NO, I WON'T EAT KUTIA
 I HATE ALL THAT STUFF,
 IT MAKES ME SICK TO MY STOMACH...

and worked its way up into his throat. The shadow did not move nor was it affected in any way by the young man's grimacing.

"Now you see who I am," he said calmly. Yes, he knew! He knew all too well! "Oh my God," Vitya screamed, hoping someone, anyone, would respond. "Everything the same! Everything! And yet..."

"Who am I, Vitya Yurkovych?" The stranger moved the light to himself. "I am merely what you have become. The lines, the yellowing teeth, the bloodshot eyes, the graying hair are the only things that make us different. You gave them to me. Yes, you. Every time your anger and impulsiveness has gotten the better of you I have cringed with pain. Every hatred, every deception, every lie has aged me a little more. How many countless times have I screamed to you through your conscience since you and I last met. You would hear me not preferring to be uncompromising, unaffected, loveless and incapable of loving. And today, the day Our Savior was born, you choose to try and commit the ultimate of human sins. You, Vitya Yurkovych, are against everybody but yourself. The joke is that you alone are the source of all your problems."

Vitya was taken aback by the calmly spoken words. There was nothing much to say. Any rational thought would have confirmed what the shadow has said. He was a victim of himself, a boy who had run from his inability to handle problems. Vitya stood staring at the man. The face was so alive.

I'LL TRY TO BE BETTER, MAMO...
 I'VE HEARD THAT BEFORE...

"What do you want?" Vitya asked blankly, his fist opening and closing rapidly. Another bad habit never broken.

(Continued on page 9)

Below is a translation from the original Ukrainian of a commentary which appeared in the December 20 issue of *Svoboda*.

In their commentaries concerning the 13th UCCA Congress, Liberation Front publicists regularly point out that the decisions of the congress were adopted by a majority of the delegates. Therefore, they argue, the walk-out by minority delegates displayed a lack of political maturity and a disregard for democratic principles on the part of the dissenters.

Anyone at all familiar with the inner workings of Ukrainian community life can guess how this majority came about. Perhaps the publicists of the Liberation Front are only feigning naivete, pretending they do not know how this majority was created and that it in no way represented a majority of the Ukrainian community.

In fact, the UCCA did not even provide a complete list of delegates to the congress from each organization. Therefore, the figures cited in this analysis are based on a delegate count taken before the congress was convened. But even this approximate count should be examined closely, for it sheds light on just how democracy is perceived.

A strange anomaly

There were 647 delegates present at this year's congress. In 1976, there were 508 delegates, and earlier UCCA congresses had between 300 and 400 delegates in attendance. So the question inevitably arises, how do we explain this sudden jump in the number of delegates? Was there a sudden surge of thousands of new Ukrainian immigrants to this country? Or was there a sudden emergence of a new generation of Ukrainian Americans, who formed new organizations that sent representatives to the 13th UCCA Congress? Obviously, these are rhetorical questions. Neither phenomenon took place. In fact, the

This is a majority?

by B. Yaros

opposite has occurred. The number of activists in the older established Ukrainian organizations has declined, and many members of the younger generation have dropped out of Ukrainian life. The number of younger Ukrainians at the 13th congress was minuscule. But, oddly, as the Ukrainian community in the United States seems to be shrinking, the number of UCCA delegates keeps going up. This truly is a strange anomaly.

To understand this anomaly, we must first look at who the delegates were and the organizations they represented. According to statistics supplied by one publicist, the Ukrainian National Association (UNA) had 39 delegates; the Ukrainian Fraternal Association (UFA) had 10. In addition, the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) had nearly 30 delegates, and Plast had between 13 and 19. That brings the total from those groups close to 100 delegates. The question that must be asked is: if the UNA with nearly 85,000 members, the UFA with 23,000 members, Plast with 5,000 and the UNWLA with several thousand, made up less than one-quarter of the 647 delegates, whom did the rest of the 547 delegates represent?

Granted, there were delegates from some of the 76 branches of the UCCA. Even though all the branches did not participate in the 13th congress, let us deduct 76 delegates from the remaining total. We are left, then, with 470 delegates. Whom did they represent?

Among others, there were between 80 and 100 delegates representing the

Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine and the organization's women's association, over 50 delegates from SUM-A, and several dozen delegates from the Ukrainian National Aid Association. It is worth considering why the UFA, with over 23,000 members had only 10 delegates, while the Ukrainian National Aid Association, which has a much smaller membership, had well over 20. SUM-A, which has less members than Plast, had 50 delegates, nearly three times as many representatives. Moreover, the UNA, 85,000 members strong, had only 39 delegates, while the ODFFU had over double that amount, even though it has only several thousand members.

The illusion of control

As we are aware, any well-organized and secretive group can easily gain control of any organization simply by taking advantage of the fact that others are often not inclined or prepared to engage in a struggle for power, or the illusion of power. If, for example, the UNA had been interested in the idea of taking over the congress, it could have mobilized all of its 178 branches which pay into the Ukrainian National Fund, by instructing them to send representatives to the congress. If we include members of the UNA Executive Committee, the UNA could have had nearly 200 delegates in Philadelphia. If the UFA, Plast and others shared this attitude, this year's congress would have been attended by over 1,000 delegates.

Yet, would this have been wise and ultimately productive? Would it have been worth the time and expense to thus

mobilize for the congress? What would have been the benefit of such a move? Certainly, the more delegates present, the greater the chance for bickering and the less likely the chance for concrete and positive results. The majority of organizations refused to enter the delegate race to see who could stack the UCCA congress with the most representatives. The Liberation Front seized on this opportunity and sent hundreds of delegates. Under these circumstances, talk of a true majority is a mockery of democracy.

Democracy demands fair play and a balanced cross-section of votes that fairly represents the electorate (based on territory or the number of authorized voters), as well as a neutral body to check any potential abuses and complaints. Without these prerequisites, we are left with a caricature of democracy. The 13th UCCA Congress was just such a caricature. It is unheard of in a democratic system that several affiliated organizations of one political grouping could send as many delegates as they wished to the congress, knowing full well that other organizations chose not to compete in a numbers race for votes.

A mere caricature cannot yield anything serious. Apparently, the UCCA still exists, but what does it look like? What human resources does it have at its disposal? What can it in fact accomplish when a large segment of the Ukrainian community does not recognize its present structure and is withholding financial and moral support? The congress did not end as a victory for the artificial majority, but as a defeat. Reaction to the congress developments by sober and level-headed community members, including many supporters of the Liberation Front, shows political sophistication and indicates that they will not allow themselves to be manipulated by ambitious but one-sided party activists.

Rakhmanny's book reviewed in journals

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Roman Rakhmanny's book, "In Defense of the Ukrainian Cause," a collection of 44 political essays dealing with various aspects of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, was recently reviewed in two leading military journals.

In a piece which appeared in the Canadian Defence Quarterly, a Canadian military journal, Stephen Davidovich praised Mr. Rakhmanny's work for providing "a broad overview of the wide disparity between Lenin's stated policy vis-a-vis the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR and what Soviet imperialism, as practiced by Stalin and his successors, have actually done in practice."

Writing in the November issue of *Military Review*, Lt. Col. Dallace L. Meehan of the U.S. Air Force noted that

"while both interesting and valuable in terms of revealing the Ukrainian nationalist movement in the Soviet Union, the book suffers from excessive redundancy" in that many of the articles use the same basic facts and persons to illustrate oft-repeated themes.

Lt. Col. Meehan also chides Mr. Rakhmanny for misquoting George Kennan by changing a word (within quotations) in a line taken out of context from Kennan's "American Diplomacy, 1900-50." According to Lt. Col. Meehan, "in an attempt to show that the United States tends to take for granted Ukraine's subservient relationship to Soviet Russia, Rakhmanny quotes Kennan as saying that Ukraine is 'just as much a part of Russia as Pennsylvania is of the United States.'

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Letter to the editor

A thank you

Dear Editor:

As we prepare for the beginning of the new 97th Congress in early January, I would like to take this opportunity to pass along my sincere thanks to the Ukrainian American citizens of Pennsylvania's 15th Congressional District (Lehigh Valley), who honored me with their support in the recent congressional election.

I know that many voters in Pennsylvania and elsewhere had not previously supported a Republican candidate. I

think the independent judgement shown by so many voters in 1980 is a healthy sign for the American political system.

It seems clear to me that there is a historic shift occurring among voters of East European heritage, who are discovering that the Republican Party offers a genuine sensitivity to the basic values of family, neighborhood, religion and respect for America that are so close to the hearts of Ukrainian Americans.

With your continued kind support, we can and will work together to strengthen these values and to be true to the principles of freedom and justice.

Don Ritter
Member of Congress

Book review

Study of nationalism is extensive

Alexander J. Motyl. "The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-29." Denver: East European Quarterly, 1980. 212 pp. \$15.

by Stephan M. Horak

In this accomplished study, the promising scholar Alexander Motyl did exactly as subtitled. Within 173 pages, so much detail has been condensed that it becomes impossible to skip one page without losing the always present continuity of the narrative.

To explain the origin, complexities, and formation of ideological Ukrainian nationalism has not been an easy task considering the obstacles such as language, availability of scattered sources, involvement of internal as well as external factors and, last but not least, the presence of emotion, bias and misinterpretations in regard to the Ukrainian problem in general.

To overcome such "Babylonian" obstacles, the author went to original sources, newspapers and periodicals published by the respective political parties, groups and organizations which were active in the immediate post-World War II period in Galicia, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Germany, and memoirs of individuals who helped to shape Ukrainian thought, views and actions during that period.

Methodologically he investigates the main currents identified here with the conservatives-monarchists (followers of Hetman P. Skoropadsky); moderates represented by Yevhen Petrushevych, the dictator of the short-lived

West Ukrainian Republic; the Ukrainian Socialist parties supporting Symon Petliura, the president of the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian People's Republic; the Sovietophiles from western and eastern Ukraine; the writings of Dmytro Dontsov, the distinguished theoretician of Ukrainian nationalism; student involvement in Ukrainian politics; the former soldiers from the various Ukrainian armies and military units, and especially the role of Col. Yevhen Konovalets, the organizer of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the first leader of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Such extensive background investigation is followed by three valuable chapters dealing with the organization and ideologies of nationalist groups prior to their fusion into the OUN, an analysis of its program and ideology, followed by the author's attempt to trace the emergence of the ideology. He also compares Ukrainian nationalism with European types, especially with Action Francaise and Italian Fascism.

Mr. Motyl's analysis is an example of scholarship and objectivity. Integral Ukrainian nationalism represents a "nationalism of a stateless nation that lives only by irredentism and is ready to sacrifice everything and everybody for the destruction of the cult of those states

(Continued on page 9)

Chervona Kalyna Orchestra: on the right track

by Andrea Roman

CLIFTON, N.J. — Take seven talented individuals, each with a different temperament and personality, with nothing in common other than love of music and Ukrainian culture, and the enjoyment they derive from performing, and you have the Chervona Kalyna Orchestra of New York.

Chervona Kalyna members feel that they have been able, at long last, to mold the group into a combination that works thanks to, or in spite of, its democratic system of decision-making.

You see, the group has no leader; everything is decided by a majority vote. And it is this democratic arrangement that allows each member to feel free to express himself and have influence on the group's creative direction.

As a result, the orchestra has tried many different things, albeit making mistakes along the way, but learning a great deal in the process.

Perhaps it was this valuable learning process that enabled the group last fall to release a debut album that provides such a variety of music — from full instrumentation to solo voice with piano accompaniment; from polka, tango and jazz to rock and roll with a touch of punk; from new arrangements of known works to original compositions by band members.

At times, the group's democratic system can also make decision-making a tedious process, band members admit.

"Last year really tested our togetherness," lead singer Oksana Tromsa says. (In 1980 the group concentrated on recording its album). "It's very hard for seven people who are so different from one another to work together," says Rostyslaw Dekajlo, guitarist and business manager, adding, "if we were serious all the time we would never have lasted" through all the rehearsals, recording sessions and road trips.

But, thanks to humor, they did last — no small feat considering that all the members, who hail from three states, work, go to school, or do both.

The Chervona Kalyna Band was founded in September 1975 with four members. Only two of the original members, Mr. Dekajlo and Miss Tromsa, are members of today's Chervona Kalyna Orchestra.

The group steadily added new members and new instruments, and since June 1979, members are quick to point out, the group has considered itself a full-fledged orchestra. It was then that we felt we had the "right combination" of musicians and "we could see that it was working out," says Mr. Dekajlo. Soon afterward, serious work on Chervona Kalyna's debut album began.

Members say they don't want to imitate any other group, but they do cite Tempo and Rushnychok as influences on their work.

Chervona Kalyna is perhaps most similar to Tempo in the variety of music it performs — Ukrainian folk songs, popular American songs, contemporary Ukrainian songs, new compositions and arrangements — and in trying to appeal to audiences of all ages. Orchestra members say they want to give the public a chance to hear a good variety of songs.

Who are the members of the Chervona Kalyna Orchestra?

Oksana Tromsa, the lead vocalist from Trumbull, Conn., is one of the two orchestra members who completed formal music training. She majored in voice and minored in piano at the Juilliard School of Music. She also studied guitar and continues to take voice lessons. Miss Tromsa, who holds a B.S. in biology and chemistry from Fairfield University, is an international research and development chemist.

Rostyslaw Dekajlo, business manager, guitarist (acoustic and electric) and vocalist, studied piano. The Flushing, N.Y., resident is completing architecture studies at the City College of New York, while taking courses in computer technology at New York University and working in the computer science field.

Oleh Dekajlo, the younger of the two Dekajlos in Chervona Kalyna, is the bass guitarist. He is a student at New York Law School and is associated with the law firm of Bedell and Feinberg. Mr. Dekajlo also studied piano.

Drummer Orest Tarasiuk of Stratford, Conn., is the only Chervona Kalyna member with previous band experience, having played in several rock bands. He also took guitar and accordion lessons. Mr. Tarasiuk has a degree in electronics and works as a senior electronics technician.

Clifton, N.J., resident Orest Wirstiuk plays the accordion and accordion-organ and serves as assistant business manager. He graduated from Rutgers with a



The Chervona Kalyna Orchestra: (seated, from left) Oksana Tromsa, Oleh N. Dekajlo, (standing) Rostyslaw Dekajlo, Borys R. Wirstiuk, Orest Tarasiuk, Orest O. Wirstiuk and Oleh Sochan.

B.S. in economics/business and is pursuing a career in international banking.

Borys, the younger Wirstiuk, and at 18 the youngest orchestra member, lives in Providence, R.I., where he is a pre-law student at Brown University. He plays the saxophone, string synthesizer, clarinet, orchestrator and accordion, and studied guitar as well.

The newest member of Chervona Kalyna, Oleh Sochan, completed piano studies with the Ukrainian Music Institute. He graduated with a B.S. in electrical engineering and computer science from Princeton, where he works as a computer science researcher.

As varied as the members of group are their reasons for devoting their not-too-abundant leisure time to the Chervona Kalyna Orchestra.

"It's an outlet" for the Ukrainian music that I love, says Miss Tromsa, adding that the opportunity to meet people is another plus.

"I like to see people enjoy what I do," the older Dekajlo says, while his brother admits: "I like performing."

Mr. Wirstiuk notes that it almost seems that he works with the band out of force of habit. "I've been doing it for years," he says at first, then adds: "I also enjoy being at social occasions."

Whatever the reasons, members devote an average of 35 weekends per year to performances (they have more offers for bookings than they can possibly accept, the business managers say) and are willing to travel to weekly practice sessions (held alternately in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut).

The Chervona Kalyna Orchestra performs at dances, concerts, weddings and other occasions. Dances, according to Miss Tromsa, are the best forum, because the group can make use of a more diverse repertoire.

The band has performed throughout the Northeast — Boston, New York, Newark, Passaic, Long Island, Soyuzivka, Hunter, Bridgeport, among other locations — and plans to reach out to the Midwest and West with upcoming performances in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Phoenix.

Band members say that among their most memorable performances to date were four in 1980: the Miss Soyuzivka weekend at the UNA estate, the New Jersey Ukrainian Festival at the Garden State Arts Center, the Perth Amboy Ukrainian Youth Festival and the Barnesville (Pa.) Ukrainian Festival.

But, "the best performance ever," says Miss Tromsa, was the Perth Amboy engagement which provided the band with a chance to play in both a concert format and later at a dance. "The people were very receptive, young and old were dancing," she notes. "Later they came up to us — people say we're 'approachable' — and said that what they liked most about our music was that they could listen and dance to it."

Is Chervona Kalyna becoming successful? Members think the answer is yes. About two years ago, they noticed they had cultivated a loyal following — groupies, if you will — which came to dances especially to hear the orchestra play.

Another sign that they were succeeding was a disconcerting one at first. As Miss Tromsa tells it: "We noticed that people weren't dancing to some of our music, and we were afraid that something was wrong with our performance." The reason was revealed at the end of the dance. "The people told us that they found some of the songs so beautiful that they just wanted to sit and listen to the music," explains Miss Tromsa.

"We must be on the right track," muses the older Dekajlo.

Ukrainian apple may soon grow in U.S.

STATE COLLEGE, Pa. — A variety of apple, Reinette Simirenko, which was developed early in the century in Ukraine by noted agricultural scientist Lev Simirenko, may soon be growing in the United States, reported the Penn State Intercom in its March 13 issue.

Establishing the apple as a new variety in this country is to be credited to the efforts of Dr. George A. Theodorson, a colleague of Alex Simirenko — Lev Simirenko's grandson — who was a professor of sociology at Penn State from 1969 until his death last April at the age of 47. Dr. Theodorson hopes to donate a cutting to the university as a memorial to his friend.

Dr. Simirenko "used to tell me about this apple, which he had enjoyed as child in Ukraine. Alex was also always doing things for other people, so I decided to try to locate the apple for him," Dr. Theodorson is quoted by the college paper.

Dr. Theodorson contacted agricultural scientists

across the country without results before he finally discovered that a "tree museum" in Great Britain had grown the Simirenko apple.

"Many of the Simirenko apple trees in Ukraine and Russia were destroyed in the 30s," Dr. Theodorson reports.

"Lev Simirenko was sent to Siberia as a revolutionary. His son Volodymyr, Alex's father, and a leading horticulturist, was arrested in 1933 for not following Marxist theories of biology. He was released for six months and then rearrested only to vanish forever into the Gulag. At that time, the authorities vindictively destroyed as many trees as they could find. Volodymyr was rehabilitated posthumously; but by then his family had fled the country...."

"Although they once tried to destroy the apple, the Soviets now think so highly of it that they sent Simirenko as a treat to their cosmonauts in space," the Penn State Intercom noted.

Plishka performs at benefit for Ukrainian cultural center



Paul Plishka entertains guests. At the piano is Thomas Hrynkiv.

ALLENTOWN, Pa. — A benefit reception, with a special guest — Paul Plishka, leading bass with the Metropolitan Opera — was held on December 14, 1980, at the home of Dr. Ihor and Marta Fedoriw. The event was held to raise funds for the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center in Abington, Pa.

Among the invited guests were Rep. Don Ritter and his wife, Steve Postupack, executive director of the Nationalities Division of the Reagan/Bush Campaign, Mrs. Postupack; and the Rev. Constantine Berdar.

Comprising Mr. Plishka's repertoire for the evening was: "Oh, Hetmans," music by Mykola Lysenko, text by Taras Shevchenko; "Days Pass," music by M. Lysenko, text by Shevchenko; "Balled about Dovbush," arranged by D. Zador, folk text; and an aria from the opera Don Carlos; and "Some Enchanted Evening."

Accompanying Mr. Plishka on the piano was Thomas Hrynkiv.

Dr. O. Chernyk, president of the Ukrainian Cultural Center, expressed his appreciation to Messrs. Plishka and Hrynkiv for their support of the center.

The invitation to the reception was designed by architect Zenon Mazurkevych. It was rendered in the "Kozak Knot" style — a script which dates back to the time of Hetman Mazepa.

On January 2, Mr. Plishka was scheduled to leave for Milan, Italy, for his engagement at La Scala.



Paul Plishka with Marta Fedoriw, hostess of the benefit reception.

WEEKEND PREVIEW

Saturday, January 10

- The Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine and SUM-A's New York branch are holding a Malanka at 9 p.m. at the St. George school auditorium, 215 E. Sixth St.

Thursday, January 15

- Deadline for full payment for a ski week in Engelberg, Switzerland, from March 4-12 organized by the KLK Ukrainian Ski Club. The price for seven nights (\$812) includes a ski lift pass, breakfasts and dinners daily. Contact Orest "Gogo" Slupchynskij, 40 Waterside Plaza, Apt. 23 J. New York, N.Y. 10010; telephone: (212) 889-9488. Travel arrangements are made by Kobasniuk Travel Inc.

Sunday, January 18

- The Brotherhood of the Holy Ascension Ukrainian Orthodox in Maplewood, N.J., will sponsor its traditional Epiphany Eve Lenten dinner in the parish hall. It will be preceded by a Great Compline service celebrated by the Rev. John Nakonachny, parish priest, in the church at 5 p.m. Chairman of the dinner is Alex Bogdan of Irvington, N.J. During the dinner the parish choir will sing traditional carols under the direction of Leonid Charchenko.

Thursday, January 22

- Sonya Gural, puppeteer, will appear with her puppets and the Vertep Theatre on a TV special dealing with Ukrainian Christmas traditions. The program will be in French and can be viewed on the French network of the CBC.

Saturday, January 24

- Ukrainian Engineers' Association of Philadelphia is holding its annual banquet - ball, featuring the presentation of debutantes. Cocktail hour starts at 6 p.m.; banquet at 7 p.m.; ball at 9 p.m. Place: at the Grand Ballroom of the Sheraton Hotel, 1725 J.F. Kennedy Blvd., Philadelphia. The entertainment program will feature Eveline Beluz. Music will be provided by Irenues Kowal's Tempo.

- The Chornomorska Sitch will hold a ball at the Ukrainian National Home in Irvington, N.J. Music for dancing will be provided by Iskra.

Sunday, January 25

- The Ukrainian Culture Center will hold a concert marking the 63rd anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence, the concert will begin at 1:30 p.m. and will feature the Kobzar Ukrainian Choir of Los Angeles and individual performers. Refreshments will be available before the concert. For further information contact (213) 665-3703 between 7 and 9 p.m. weekdays.

Zuk's London performance praised by critics

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Montreal pianist Irenues Zuk gave a concert at the Purcell Room of the Royal Festival Hall on October 17 in London. Included in the concert program were Brahms' F Minor Sonata, Debussy's "Estampes," Kossenko's "Two Legendary Poems," and Liszt's "Complainte" (Dumka on a Ukrainian folk song from Glanes de Woronince and Hungarian Rhapsody No. 6).

Mr. Zuk's performance received favorable reviews from London music critics as well as coverage in both the English and Canadian press.

Although London Financial Times critic Andrew Clements said Mr. Zuk was "bold" to begin with Brahms' F Minor Sonata, "he managed to bring considerable excitement to that exposition" producing a program of "uncommon directness."

David Money of the Daily Telegraph noted "all the power, delicacy and lyricism that could be looked for in a work which so often baffles exponents."

It should be noted that Mr. Zuk's presentation of "Two Legendary Poems" was probably their British premiere. Both critics enthusiastically endorsed the inclusion of this work. Mr. Money wrote that the Kossenko pieces "also showed Mr. Zuk's complete of tonality, and the second marked 'drammatico' became an

exciting event." Mr. Clement added that in these committed performances there was a substantial case made for their inclusion in a suitable context."

The Canadian Cultural Attache in London hosted a reception for Mr. Zuk following the Purcell Room recital, at which many prominent members of the Canadian diplomatic community and personalities from the London arts world were present.

On this tour Mr. Zuk also performed in a special concert at the Westminster Abbey Choir School and at the Aberystwith Arts Center in Wales.

Mr. Zuk is graduate of the Conservatoire de Musique de Quebec, McGill University, the Royal College of Music in London, and also holds a master of science from the Juilliard School in New York. He is presently assistant professor at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., while completing his doctoral studies at the Peabody Conservatory of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

Mr. Zuk has given numerous public, radio and television recitals in Canada, the United States, Europe and the Far East and frequently performs chamber music and appears as soloist with various orchestras. Each year he is the guest artist in the annual Masterworks Artists Series aboard the ship Queen Elizabeth II.

Binghamton museum features Christmas in Hutsul home

BINGHAMTON, N.Y. — The Christmas Tree Forest put on by the Roberson Center for the Arts and Sciences has been an annual Christmas event here for over 25 years.

The museum building, which is an old mansion, is specially decorated for Christmas, and one entire wing becomes an ethnic Christmas tree forest, which features displays of Christmas trees from many lands and the Christmas customs and traditions of the group taking part. The exhibit lasts from Thanksgiving to the beginning of January, receives wide coverage in the press and television, and draws many visitors, including school tours from schools in the area.

Over the past 25 years, Ukraine has been represented in this Christmas

exhibit. This year, the Ukrainian Christmas exhibit shows Christmas in a Hutsul home. The room display includes a painted stove, a table set for Christmas Eve with hay, embroidered cloth, kolach and candles, two life-size mannequins dressed in Hutzul costumes, the man carrying a "didukh." Completing the display are wall hangings, embroideries and ceramics from Hutsulshchyna. To the side of this exhibit is a Christmas tree decorated with stylized Ukrainian ornaments.

The display also includes an explanation of Ukrainian Christmas customs. The Ukrainian exhibit was sponsored by local Branch 9 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America and prepared by a special committee whose members were Christia Czebi- niak, Vlodia Zalusky and Mima Zobniw, chairperson.



Christmas in a Hutsul home, a display at the Roberson Center for the Arts and Sciences.

Kampelman:...

(Continued from page 3)

forming citizens. We could have discussed the imprisonment of Soviet workers for their efforts to form independent labor unions. But we felt that the case was clear enough — and the realization clear that the United States and other nations of the West are profoundly disappointed in the conclusions we have been forced to draw.

Mr. Chairman, the subject of human rights should draw us together, not drive us apart. Whatever disagreements the participating states may have about philosophical and ideological issues of how society should be organized, we should be able to identify in human rights a unifying factor. We were able, after all, to agree in Principle 7 and Basket III on crystal-clear language setting forth our obligations in this area. It is doubly disappointing, therefore, that, during the months since we first convened in Madrid — even as we discussed review of implementation — there, were more than 20 instances of arrest, conviction or other serious harassment of individuals in the Soviet Union that have been brought to our attention — individuals who have sought only to exercise rights confirmed to them in the Final Act.

Let me recall the words of Alexander Herzen, the 19th century Russian patriot who struggled for the rights of the Russian people. He said in 1851: "Russia's future will be a great danger for Europe and a great misfortune for Russia if there is no emancipation of the individual."

Mr. Chairman, progress in the human-rights area would encourage progress in bilateral relations and progress in the security area. If we could observe a willingness to achieve practical improvements in the humanitarian sphere — to the direct benefit of individuals — then my government and the American people would be quick to respond positively. I have every confidence that

other peoples and governments would be similarly inclined. The prospects for cooperation in other spheres would be significantly increased. On the other hand, ignoring this yearning for greater human freedom would inevitably perpetuate the crisis of confidence.

There is a second component of the crisis of confidence that grips us. It is the armed intervention in Afghanistan by the Soviet Union which has been seriously discussed at length by a large number of delegations. Many of us have submitted irrefutable textual evidence from the Final Act itself that the principles basic to the Helsinki process must be observed in relations with all states, whether they are signatories or not. Standards for proper international behavior cannot be selectively applied, and the act makes that clear. The verdict of the vast majority of governments represented here is clear. The Soviet military aggression in Afghanistan does come within the competence of the CSCE. They do adversely affect the relations which the Soviet Union seeks with all of us. To attempt to justify that aggression on a supposed special code of conduct within the so-called "Socialist Community" of states, as if military aggression is justified when it protects or advances their ideology, is not merely unacceptable. It imperils the very existence of the CSCE process.

Afghanistan has raised basic doubts about the degree to which the United States and other nations of the West can rely upon the Soviet Union to adhere to a civilized code of conduct in its international relations. It will remain a serious burden across the full spectrum of East-West relations until Soviet troops are withdrawn and the independence of that brave and tragic land is restored.

Mr. Chairman, the third aspect of the crisis of confidence concerns the essential area of security. Security — whether military security or security in a broader sense — has been addressed by many delegations here. Arms control and disarmament are objectives which must

be mastered. But the wish, even the intention, is not always father to the deed. We have a common expression of goals. But we also have a marked difference in the assessment of how to achieve those goals and in the analysis of why we are far from realizing them.

Our delegation has described in detail our deep concern arising out of the unprecedented Soviet expenditure on armaments — the largest military buildup the world has ever seen. The response of the United States and our friends has been twofold. We have undertaken and will continue to undertake the necessary steps to maintain an adequate level of our own military strength. And we have offered and continue to stand ready to negotiate seriously to enhance mutual security at substantially lower levels of armament.

We must not fail to note, however, that the degree of our confidence in the intentions of the Soviet Union is vital to our perceptions of what is necessary for defense and what is feasible for diplomacy. That confidence, as we have often stated, has been shaken. In recent weeks, that confidence has further eroded.

The preamble to the Document on Confidence-Building Measures and Certain Aspects of Security and Disarmament of the Final Act recognizes "the need to contribute to reducing the dangers of armed conflict and of misunderstanding or miscalculation of military activities which could give rise to apprehension particularly in a situation where the participating states lack clear and timely information about the nature of such activities." The same preamble — as well as the language of Principle 2 — commits the signatories to refrain from "the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state."

Mr. Chairman, in recent weeks the movements and preparations of sizeable Warsaw Pact forces in Central and Eastern Europe have caused us all deep concern. This action is totally inconsistent with the commitments of the Final Act that I have just quoted. It has aroused widespread apprehension. As our distinguished colleagues from France and other countries have said, the CSCE process would make a significant contribution if it were to adopt significant, verifiable confidence-building measures, covering all of Europe, measures that could effectively cope with such a threatening development.

The CSCE can be relevant to East-West relations only if, in the words of the Final Act, its principles are put into practice, by all the participating states "irrespective of their political, economic or social systems as well as of their size, geographical location or level of economic development."

The obligations to refrain from the use of force are not new and are not theoretical obligations. They were violated in Europe in 1956 and again in 1968. If they should again be violated — and we pray they will not — East-West relations as we know them could not continue. And the cooperation which the CSCE could make to the security and cooperation in Europe would be, I am afraid, a certain casualty of that disaster.

Mr. Chairman, I have described three areas which contribute to a crisis of confidence that puts at issue the course of events in East-West relations. Our delegations return to our capitals at a turning point. As with all turning points the direction that is to be taken is not inevitable. Our governments are not the captives of fate alone. We have the capacity to determine the course of events.

We, the CSCE signatories, some with a heavier responsibility than others,

have it within our power to pursue courses of action that will convert each of these crises of confidence into renewed efforts at cooperation that can contribute to mutual security.

It is against this realistic and disturbing background that we will be returning to Madrid next month to consider and discuss new proposals that can help resolve the lack of confidence which has led to the crisis. All of the proposals introduced, co-sponsored or supported by the United States are directed to this objective. The most important of these proposals would:

- Recommit us all to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and to the opening of a true dialogue, both bilateral and multilateral, on this important subject;
- Lead to practical improvement in the areas of human contacts, including family reunification, and to a freer flow of information;

- Encourage decisions for dealing with the problem of terrorism, a threat to all our societies and indeed to civilized behavior on our planet;

- Put us on a path to expanding and strengthening significant, verifiable and geographically broadening confidence-building measures which would, among other things, make more difficult the use of military force for political intimidation.

This meeting is only a piece of a larger picture. What we may do here can affect that larger picture. Our successes or failures in talking to each other here and in putting words on paper will have an effect on the course of East-West relations. But obviously determining will be actions taken by our governments outside this conference hall.

The United States looks at the world realistically. We do not seek to change the social system of any other state represented here. We understand that the Soviet Union, for example, is proud of what it considers the accomplishments of its society and its way of life. We believe the actions we have proposed would not threaten its security. We wish to work with the Soviet Union as a partner in helping to achieve security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. We are deeply conscious of the shared responsibility that our respective military capacities impose upon our two nations.

We wish to ask of the Soviet Union only the possible and the necessary. On human rights, there are steps which we and others have indicated which, if taken, would change the climate of our relations in a fashion that can scarcely be overstated. If prison doors open, if families are reunited, if defenders of human rights are recognized as such — or at least released from imprisonment, psychiatric detention or exile — then the American people will respond enthusiastically with a willingness to improve, in renewed faith, the entire range of our relations.

If the Soviet Union will ponder and act upon the implications of its actions in Afghanistan, then a great impediment to true peace can be set aside.

In every problem there is an opportunity. With human rights, with Afghanistan, with the current situation in Central Europe, there are solutions readily available. They are not mysterious. They are fully spelled out in the Helsinki Final Act.

The need for pragmatism and realism has never been greater. If this meeting has helped all of us to realize this — and to act upon that realization — then the CSCE will have made a great contribution. We can then share the confidence that it will make even greater contributions in the future.

Manor slates dental workshop

JENKINTOWN, Pa. — Eileen Sufet, director of Manor's Expanded-Function Dental Assisting Program announced that plans are being made for the fourth annual TEAM Workshop to be held on Manor Campus, here, on January 21.

The workshop is open to dentists who would like to learn more about utilizing an expanded-function dental assistant in their offices and who are interested in participating in the externship experience, a dentist will have the opportunity to utilize one of a Manor Junior College senior EFDAs in his office one day per week for 12 weeks.

The cost of the workshop for dentists is \$25 and for auxiliaries the cost is \$5. For information regarding the TEAM Workshop call Ms. Sufet (215) 885-2360.

Mail center has job opening

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The New York Bulk and Foreign Mail Center here is accepting applications for the position of nurse from January 5 through May 8. The starting salary is \$8.66 per hour.

Applications may be obtained from the Personnel Office, Room 102, Administration Building, N.Y. Bulk and Foreign Mail Center, 80 County Road, Jersey City, N.J. 07097.

Rakhmanny's...

(Continued from page 5)

In fact, Mr. Kennan wrote that Ukraine should be recognized for its development as a linguistic and cultural entity, but it was "economically as much a part of Russia as Pennsylvania is a part of the United States."

Lt. Col. Meehan goes on to state: "Rakhmanny is absolutely correct when he charges that the West in general takes the prejudiced view that Ukrainians are an unhistoric nationality devoid of its own culture, firmly assimilated as an integral part of Soviet Russia. If only to dispel this popular myth, 'In Defense of the Ukrainian Cause' is worth reading."

WCFU appeal...

(Continued from page 1)

emigration policy — all violations of the Helsinki agreement.

In addition to sending letters and telegrams, the WCFU appeal urged Ukrainian youth organizations in the West to inform their members and non-Ukrainians about the meaning of the observance by holding educational forums. The appeal also suggested that Ukrainian youth organizations mount fund-raising campaigns in defense of Ukrainian political prisoners, and conduct hunger strikes in solidarity with Ukrainians jailed in the Soviet Union.

The vision of St. Bartolomae

(Continued from page 4)

"You will come with me. We will try to salvage you by talking to you about life. Your future lies on Konigsee at the chapel of St. Bartolomae."

The onion-shaped domes of St. Bartolomae, located on a small peninsula which juts out into Konigsee, had often reminded Vitia of Ukrainian churches. When making up his mind where to settle after his big move, it was a postcard of Bartolomae surrounded by the Watzmanns that had made the decision no contest. It was serene, untouched by the world and accessible only by boat. In winter, because of the ice, it was totally impossible to reach.

"Bartolomae? How will we get there? The lake is frozen," Vitia said.
"We will get there," the shadow said, stepping out in the direction of Konigseestrasse, which snaked down perilously to the valley around the lake. Few dared risk the trip in winter due to the ice, Vitia ventured. The man seemed not to hear him.

In five minutes they had traversed more than three of the four miles. Houses and souvenir shops, deserted and boarded up for the season, stood like unmoving grey-white sentinels on either side of the road. By what magic they had covered the distance, Vitia could not bring himself to ask. His mind was still too filled with the truths the man had spoken to be concerned at that moment with what was happening around him.

They marched in cadence up to the waterfront.
"I tell you," spoke Vitia, "that this will be the end of our journey. The water is frozen solid. It has been for weeks! Bartolomae is out of the question."

"What's that you say, Vitia?" spoke the shadow, pointing the light outward onto the water. In front of them, slapping gently against the tourboat docks and the snow-covered ground, the water of Konigsee beckoned them. Vitia gaped for a moment, then ran to the water and dipped his hand into the liquid. It was warm!

SOMETIMES YOU CAN BE SO COLD, VITIA...
OTHER TIMES I COULD JUST ENVY YOUR WARMTH...
I JUST DON'T KNOW WHAT IS WHAT...
THANKS, MAMO...

"I... I don't know what happened," the stunned boy responded. "You never stop long enough to find out," the man said cryptically. "Do you believe you can touch the water?"
"Why, yes... I... Of course," he replied.

"Then our journey has just begun!" From the left side of the lake, close to where Vitia operated his boat, a small green rowboat floated toward them. The stranger highlighted it with the lantern and followed it until it stopped in front of them.

The shadow took Vitia's hand and helped him in. The craft did not sink into the toward as would be expected but, miraculously, floated above the water. The stranger got in, pointed out in the direction of Bartolomae and sat down.

"Where will we go once we are there," questioned Vitia, "everything is locked. Shut tight!"
The stranger smiled, distorting his already-disfigured face to the point that Vitia could not look at him. He turned away.

NOW LOOK WHAT YOU'VE DONE TO IT...
IT'LL NEVER BE REPAIRED,
SORRY, TATU...
WE'LL THATS ALL RIGHT
JUST BE MORE CAREFUL NEXT TIME...

When he forced his eyes open again, they were at Bartolomae. The stranger stood in the distance, examining without expression the huge wooden doors to the chapel. With his flashlight he now struck the locked doors three times.

БОКРЕС ІСУС ІЗ ГРОБА...

They opened with a slight creak. Intense light poured from inside as soon as the stranger entered. It shone into Vitia's eyes like it had that day so many years ago when the shadow had first visited him. When the shadow had been just a small untarnished angel. The thought brought a tear to Vitia's eye.

Vitia moved his body from the boat and swiftly covered the 50 yards to the chapel. The shadow was nowhere in sight, but for some reason the thought of not having the man near him was not disconcerting. There was something else here. Something more. He knew, also, that it would affect the rest of his life.

TURN AT THIS CORNER, VITIA,
THAT'S GOOD... YOU'LL GET
YOUR LICENSE WITH NO TROUBLE...

He moved into the church with his head slightly bowed. There was something odd here. There were no pews where they had been. There were no paintings or statues either. No marble. In their place, standing majestically and reaching beyond the capabilities of his sight, pine trees awaited him. With his first step, invisible choirs began to sing the carols announcing Christ's birth that had been his favorites many years ago. His grandmother had taught him every word, every stanza. He had never thanked her, and she thought made him wince. The trees themselves had gold and silver tinsel on every bough, and decorations of every sort hung gingerly between the strands.

"Heavenly," he described the scene to himself, "yes, indeed."

НОВА РАДІСТЬ СТАЛА
ЯКА НЕ БУВАЛА,
НАД ВЕРТЕПОМ ЗВІЗДА ЯСНА
ВЕСЬ СВІТ ОСІЯЛА...

the angels sang, their voices rising from the trees, the ground, from the light at the end of the tunnel. In his enrapture, Vitia, too, had begun singing, now pacing his movement to the old melody. From the green branches, white birds burst into frantic flight ahead of him.

"Stop," the stranger's voice cut in, magnified twentyfold. He was nowhere in sight. "Vitia Yurkovych, you have been brought here in one last desperate effort to save what is left of your soul."

The man halted, frightened by what may lie ahead. The caroling continued, and the birds sped ever onward. Salvage? How, what?

"We feel that with God's help, this Christmas will not only represent the birth of Jesus, but also the rebirth of Vitia Yurkovych."

"Rebirth? What type of rebirth? I'm not sure I want to be reborn," spoke the young man hesitatingly.

In an instant, the ground beneath his feet began to shake, rocking Vitia from side to side. With a heavy jolt, the man flew into one of the huge pine trees to his left. The force of the wind against his shoulder made him cry out in anguish, falling to his knees. The tremor stopped.

The stranger spoke again:

"We have judged that since our last visit, you have become intolerable to live with. You have caused much pain throughout the world. Your family grieves tonight at the sight of an empty seat at Sviata Vechera. You were a misery to them, but can you, for one moment, imagine the tears they shed when you went away. Did you, Vitia Yurkovych? Do you ever try to reason with them? No! Always everything had to be filled with hatred, inflexibility. Is this the type of life your sainted grandmother taught you to live..."

The boy gasped at the sound of his grandmother's name.
"Babusiu, babusiu, dety?" he moaned in a low voice, frightened now to the point of tears. A gust of wind filtered through the trees and the choirs ceased their singing.

"Vitia Yurkovych, you have become a victim of your own hatreds. You have carved lines in my face that will never disappear. They are your past. The question now is whether you wish to etch more misery into me and, more importantly, into those, who despite everything, still love you very much."

"No, no," he shouted, "I will change. I will. I swear it. Just show me the way." There was no answer. Silence enveloped him and the trees, and ground around him darkened. At the end of the archway, the light brightened and magnetically Vitia Yurkovych crawled toward it, still rubbing a sore shoulder.

Foot by foot, he closed in on the light. A figure, at first no bigger than a speck appeared in the midst of the glow. Vitia crawled onward, amazed at how much distance he appeared to be covering. The road took a sudden upward turn and moving forward became a chore for the man. The spot now took on definite features.

"It's a boy! A boy!" cried the man to himself. "It's... it's Him, here at Bartolomae. For me! Meaningless me!"

The illuminated figure smiled at the boy, extending His small hand.
"Vitia," spoke the stranger, "rise in the presence of the Child." The boy rose, brushed himself off and bowed his head.

"Your salvation is through Him. It is high time to make your road an even one. Turn to Him in your hours of need. Remember always that He allowed himself to be born to save you. He does not expect perfection. That is most evident in this case. But He does require love. The whole spirit of Christmas is predicated on love. Hopefully from tonight forward you will join in the spreading of His love. Mend the fences that you have destroyed with your own hand. You might be surprised at how easily they will bind. Replace your animosities with understanding. Love by giving an open hand and heart to those whom you wish to cherish. Do not go flaunting the name of the Christ, but predicate all your actions by him. Always keep in your mind the words spoken to you by your grandmother: 'Love thy neighbor as you love thyself.' Fill yourself with good. Try and if at first you fail, do not give in to those easy ways. Do not run again. You cannot escape yourself. You may find that beauty of the soul far outshines the beauty of these Alps you love so much. I intend not to return again. Take that as a sign that I have trust in you, but take it also as a warning. Yes... a warning."

The young man looked up at the light. The Child reached out with his other hand now, smiling more broadly than before.

"Welcome back," He spoke.
Vitia, caught up in the ecstasy of the moment, began to cry harder than ever before in his life. Yes, there was hope. There had to be! He would try to mend the fences. Yes, indeed! The chanting rang loudly through the archway and Vitia, standing up, joined in the singing.

Madam Schuher had gone to Mass anyway, crying this time to thank God that Vitia had returned unharmed. Inside the shop, the phone rang, and Vitia looked up from the seat by the fire.

"Hello," he answered.
"Guten Abend, this is the overseas operator. I have a call for Vitia Yurkovych." The boy drew in his breath, surprised.

"Yes, I am he," he replied.
"Go ahead, please."
"Hello," The voice at the other end was weak. The young man's body tensed and then went limp.

"This... this is Vitia Yurkovych. Mother?... Khrystos Rodyvsiya."
The silence that followed drove Vitia to biting his nails. He would stop, he swore.
"Vitia, is it really you... Slavim Yoho... I felt you would call."

"I... I love you all very much. Merry Christmas!"
"We love you too, Vitia. Your hat. We got it special delivery today. We didn't know what to think or what it meant."

"Mama... it means I'm coming home."
The shadow moved up the stairs of Ransomes Food Mart, threw the sack over his shoulder and smiled. He would not be returning again.

Study of nationalism...

(Continued from page 5)

that do not allow it to live" (p. 166). It compares closely to French patterns, formulated by Charles Maurras and Maurice Barres. Its similarity to fascism is only nominal, more in form than in substance. Fascism provided a way of organizing a state, while Ukrainian nationalism was a way of attaining a state. Therefore, Ukrainian nationalism was, first of all, a national liberation movement aimed at the restoration of statehood for this nation of some 35 million people.

Moreover, this work is a welcome link between John S. Reshetar's "The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920: A

Study in Nationalism", and John A. Armstrong's "Ukrainian Nationalism," covering mainly the 1930s and the World War II period, extended by Kenneth C. Farmer's recently published "Ukrainian Nationalism in the Post-Stalin Era".

Mr. Motyl's lively style, extensive documentation with 324 notes, a 10-page comprehensive bibliography and an index make this excellent study an indispensable tool for the expert and student of modern East European history. The publisher, East European Quarterly, added another valuable study to its series.

Stephan M. Horak is professor of history at Eastern Illinois University.

Share The Weekly with a friend

Vegas singer releases Ukrainian album

LAS VEGAS, Nev. — The road from Pine Falls, Man., to the Las Vegas lounge circuit has been circuitous and sometimes a bit bumpy for Winnipegger Joy Brittan, a club singer who has just released her first Ukrainian album titled "Ukrainian Joy — From Las Vegas." There have been pitfalls and detours along the way, including a stint as one of the Four Mice, a singing quartet on the "Juliette" television show in Canada. But the former student at the Toronto Conservatory of Music, who broke into show business as a 17-year-old nightclub performer in Toronto, has worked her way into the lounges of the major hotels along the Vegas strip, including the Sands, the Landmark and the MGM Grand.

The daughter of Mary Pachkowski and Ernest Kozody, Ms. Brittan, who is

married to Las Vegas producer Rick Sias, is, in the words of one Variety critic, "an all-purpose entertainer" who handles her material, mostly country. MOR (middle of the road) and ethnic songs with professional ease and assurance. "Hers is a pleasant, even temperament and it spreads well during the sets," according to Variety.

And yet, despite her successful break into the highly competitive and demanding world of the big-time nightclub circuit. Ms. Brittan knows that the pinnacle of professional success in her field means making it to the main showrooms of the big hotels. Moreover, she hopes to stay close to her roots by entertaining and working in Winnipeg.

Ms. Brittan attributes her success to hard work, perseverance and a positive attitude. In a profile in the Winnipeg Free Press, the dark-haired entertainer told reporter Roslyn Nudell: "The key to success is the longer you stay in the business. Keep forging ahead and don't get depressed about not making it. Keep on, be confident. It will happen some day if you just keep on."

Ms. Brittan traces her interest in Ukrainian music to her parents and, especially, her Ukrainian grandparents.

To promote her new album, Ms. Brittan will be appearing at the International Inn in Winnipeg for three weeks beginning January 9. She then moves on to the Terrace's Inn in Edmonton.

THE YEARLY MEETING

The yearly meeting of the Brotherhood of the Holy Ghost, UNA Branch 237, Chester, Pa., will be held on Sunday, January 18, 1981, in the Church Hall of St. Mary's Church, 3rd and Ward St., Chester, Pa., at noon. The agenda will include reports of various officers, election of new officers and discussion of membership. — Michael Kryka, secretary.

Station features N.J. ethnics

NEW YORK — Recognizing that New Jersey has perhaps the most ethnically diverse population in the United States and that the nearly 100 ethnic groups in the state actively preserve their respective cultural identities through schools, lodges, family relationships, folk fairs and special publications, Channel 13 — WNET-TV has begun to broadcast a series of "New Jersey Station Breaks" designed to

focus attention on some of the state's ethnic communities.

The station breaks, which will continue through early February, show ethnic groups in native dress as they celebrate holidays, display crafts and foods, dance and parade at local festivals. Commentary describes the groups' neighborhoods, family customs and traditions.

The segment on Ukrainians is scheduled to be shown on January 21.

Some segments highlight the annual ethnic festivals held at Liberty State Park and at the Garden State Arts Center: Joseph Carragher, executive director of the Arts Center, speaking of the various folk celebrations planned for the 1981 season at Holmdel recently commented: "The old concept of the 'melting pot' has given way to a recognition of the importance of retaining individual cultural traditions and passing them on to our children. Our festivals each year participate in this development. We are glad that Channel 13, is chronicling this significant process."

The "New Jersey Station Breaks" are presented during Channel 13's broadcasts of the "New Jersey Nightly News" weekday evenings at 6:30 p.m., repeated at 7 a.m. the following week day.

Research assistance on the ethnic segments was supplied by Bobby Rosenfeld; Sandra Kelly, administrative assistant to the Governor's Ethnic Advisory Committee; Mark Dipietro; and the Garden State Arts Center. The "New Jersey Station Breaks" are produced for Channel 13 by Rita J. Kessler and Shirley Churgin.

Oseredok receives government grant for library project

WINNIPEG — The Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre's (Oseredok) project for a library has received government support, as reported in the December issue of the Oseredok's newsletter. The announcement was made by Norma Price, minister of cultural affairs and historical resources.

The project entails the cataloging and listing of 40,000 Ukrainian - language titles currently in the center's possession in order to ensure public access to these books through the library facilities at the center and through the public library extension service.

A staff grant of \$30,000 from lottery funds has been allocated to provide staff for the project.

Mr. S. Muchin, librarian of the University of Manitoba, is in charge of the Oseredok library. Assistant librarians are Oksana Tracz and Mrs. N. Mokry.

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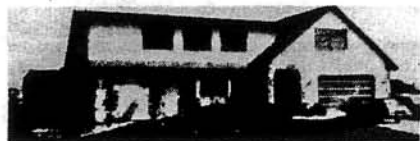
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Strive for fuller...

(Continued from page 3)

We in the United States have no perfect solution to the problems posed by the multinational character of states. We are ourselves made up of many peoples: primarily a nation of immigrants. We began as a nation whose heritage was a European heritage. We have opened our doors to people of all nationalities. This year, for example, we have welcomed hundreds of thousands of refugees—from Vietnam, from Cambodia, from Cuba, from Haiti and elsewhere. In New York Harbor the inscription on the Statue of Liberty—a gift, appropriately, from the government of France—reads: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

At one time, many Americans believed that our country should be a melting pot, in which nationalities and races would mold into a homogeneous American. Tocqueville believed, as he said, democracy makes every man forget his ancestors. Today, we are no longer so sure of that. There is a strong movement to get back to our roots, to find our identity as Americans, at least in part, in the preservation of the traditions which our ancestors brought to our shores. We are today in a transition stage; the outcome is uncertain. But what we are sure of—and what Principle 8 protects—is the right of all peoples to pursue their own particular national identity and heritage.

Regrettably, there are abundant examples of interference with that right. In previous statements, members of my delegation have described many of the most flagrant abuses. I will not dwell on these; instead I will limit myself to discussing only the most important issues relating to Principle 8.

However, before I discuss these matters, let me speak frankly to an important point. The examples that I will give relate to the policies of the Soviet government because we see those policies as, in important ways, inconsistent with the requirements of Principle 8. At the same time, the United States recognizes that the Soviet Union, the largest country on earth, has in many ways the most difficult problem of any state in meeting conscientiously its obligations with respect to the cultural, linguistic and other rights of its national groups. In some cases, serious and valuable efforts have been made by the Soviet authorities to respect these rights and to provide the resources and the opportunities for their exercise. It is in large part because we recognize the scope of the problem, because we ourselves have no full answer and because we wish to be able to pursue these matters with the Soviet authorities and with the authorities of the other participating states to our common advantage, that we feel compelled also to cite areas where concern exists in our country.

• In the Baltic States, those who defend ethnic and national rights are subjected to conditions at least as bad as, and possibly worse than, conditions in other areas. The Lithuanian Catholic Church is under particularly heavy pressure. There appears to be a systematic resettlement of a greater percentage of Russians relative to the native Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian populations. As noted in previous statements, many prominent Baltic activists are in prison for their political convictions.

• Imprisonment or psychiatric detention has been the fate of many of the 45 Baltic citizens who signed a petition on August 23, 1979, the 40th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which

led to the Soviet occupation of the Baltic states. In that petition they recalled that the Soviet government in the 1920s had recognized the sovereignty of the three states. And they asked that the infamous pact through which that sovereignty was overthrown be published and declared null and void by the Soviet government.

• On September 20, 11 days after this Madrid meeting began, Antanas Terleckas, a signer and the reported initiator of that Baltic appeal, was sentenced to eight years of imprisonment and exile. The same day Julius Sasnauskas, a signer of the appeal, was sentenced to six and a half years of imprisonment and exile.

• Since the Belgrade meeting, the plight of half a million Crimean Tatars—driven from their homeland in 1944—has grown worse. A decree of August 15, 1978, made it virtually impossible for the Crimean Tatars to return home to the Crimea.

• Ukrainians and members of other national groups have suffered repression for speaking out for their culture and linguistic rights. Yuriy Badzio, a Ukrainian writer, was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment and exile in December 1979 for advocating fuller expression of Ukrainian cultural rights.

• It was encouraging that the Soviet authorities responded positively to public demonstrations in the Georgian Republic in 1978 to retain Georgian as the official language of the republic. But it was not encouraging that a leading participant in those demonstrations, Avtandil Imnadze, was sentenced to a nine-year term of imprisonment and exile for his role in that peaceful protest.


Mr. Chairman, we raise these recent cases because they are violations of Principle 8, as well as Principle 7. We hope that there can be improvement in this record. We would be prepared to welcome such improvement, as we welcome the release from detention and the permission to emigrate in 1979 for Ukrainian activists Sviatoslav and Nina Karavansky, and the release from prison, also last year, of Ukrainian nationalist historian Valentyn Moroz.

In conclusion, self-determination is an area where exchange of experience

between the United States and Europe would be mutually beneficial. This exchange of experience should proceed from a basis of mutual respect and from the desire to contribute to the international security and cooperation aimed at by the Final Act. All of us, however, should recognize that finding the appropriate balance between the interests of the majority in a state and of the state itself on the one hand, and the cultural, social and economic interests of minorities on the other hand, is a vital subject on the international agenda.

Let us all then resolve to strive for a fuller implementation of the principle of

equal rights and self-determination of peoples. This is a vital and complex subject, at the heart of each of our nations' lives and of our relations with one another. We are far from the ideal set us by the Final Act. We need to work together constructively and with mutual respect to bridge a wide gap between promise and reality. If we can demonstrate reasonable progress in all the areas I have discussed between this meeting and the next, we can be confident that we will have contributed greatly to improvement in the lives of our citizens and to the firmer establishment of the just peace that remains the primary purpose of the CSCE process.



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